

Unravelling the omnivore: A field analysis of contemporary musical taste in the United Kingdom

Mike Savage^{a,*}, Modesto Gayo^b

^a *Department of Sociology, Wentworth College, University of York, Heslington, York YO10 5DD, United Kingdom*

^b *Facultad de Ciencias Sociales e Historia, Universidad Diego Portales, Santiago, Chile*

Abstract

This paper offers a comprehensive field analysis of the structure of British musical taste, drawing on the unusually detailed survey questions and qualitative interviews carried out as part of the Cultural Capital and Social Exclusion project in 2003–04. We argue that concepts of the cultural omnivore, whilst recognising the importance of fluid and hybrid musical taste, can better be conceptualised as forms of ‘expert’ taste by those occupying dominant positions in the musical field. Using multiple correspondence, and cluster, analysis the paper demonstrates subtle differences between ‘classic fans’ and ‘classic omnivores’ and between ‘pop-oriented’ and ‘pop-voracious’ clusters. We thus provide a way of understanding musical taste in ways that go beyond genre labels. The paper concludes by emphasising the need to recognise the continued importance of powerful, contested musical enthusiasms in contemporary cultural life.

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1. Introduction

In the past decade, the concept of the cultural omnivore – who is deemed to enjoy a pluralistic range of cultural activities drawn from both elite and popular culture – has come to play a central role in cultural sociology. The reasons for this are clear. Firstly, the idea that contemporary cultural taste and practice are organised on a pluralistic basis in which increasing numbers of people range across cultural genres allows sociologists to recognise more fluid relationships between social structure and cultural life than those embedded in traditional paradigms. The omnivore thus marks the demise, or transformation, of the exclusive ‘snob’ cultures, which were held to define the contours of status based culture in earlier periods and which were central to foundational sociological

* Corresponding author.

E-mail addresses: Mike.Savage@york.ac.uk (M. Savage), modesto.gayo@udp.cl (M. Gayo).

analysis of Max Weber and Pierre Bourdieu.¹ Some commentators thereby see the omnivore as a marker of the middle classes becoming more tolerant and of liberalising conditions.² Other sociologists, however, see omnivores as the new embodiment of contemporary middle class domination, through their capacity to reflect and absorb previously opposed elements of cultural taste.³ Through these intellectual contests, Bourdieusian and more ‘mainstream’ cultural sociology has effectively locked horns and refined their modes of analysis.

Secondly, and relatedly, the omnivore concept leads itself to clear and definite forms of empirical measurement from survey sources, through its ability to make an analytical virtue out of the existence of hybrid cultural activity that might otherwise appear to unsettle sociological accounts of culture. The omnivore debate therefore has been central to the rapidly emerging quantitative analysis of cultural taste and lifestyle – a field that had previously been dominated by qualitative research (e.g., Chaney, 1996; DeNora, 2000; Lury, 1996) – and has placed these concerns on a stronger empirical footing.

These two virtues have come to allow unusual, productive, cross fertilisation of theoretical reflection and empirical measurement. Yet, although this debate has been important in opening up new avenues for research on cultural taste and participation, we argue for the need to place the phenomenon of the omnivore within a ‘field analytical’ perspective. Building on important recent theoretical contributions, we show that rather than the omnivore straddling different cultural domains as some kind of hybrid figure, it can best be seen as positioned squarely within dominant, expert positions within cultural hierarchies. We argue that the concept of the musical expert is more discriminating than that of the omnivore conceptually underscore this point.

We draw on the sophisticated and extensive quantitative and qualitative data collected by the Cultural Capital and Social Exclusion team, which have demonstrated the class-based inequalities in cultural taste and participation in contemporary Britain (e.g., Bennett et al., 2009; Gayo-Cal, 2006; Warde et al., 2007, 2008; Warde and Gayo-Cal, 2009). The research reported in this paper is entirely new and offers a different (though compatible) angle to previous interpretations of musical taste derived from this project (see Bennett et al., 2009, chapter 5; Savage et al., 2005). Rather than focusing on the age specific tensions between musical clusters that are emphasised there, we demonstrate here the salience of distinctive kinds of ‘expert’ taste communities.

After discussing how we can best elaborate a field analytical perspective on the cultural omnivore in the first section, we turn, in the second section, to introducing the broad patterns of musical taste revealed by a multiple correspondence analysis of CCSE data. Here we show how there is no straightforward ‘omnivore’ cluster, but rather that we can identify two variants of omnivorousness, one each linked to fans of classical and popular music. Thirdly, we examine the structure of the British social space of music, in which we unravel dominant and subordinate positions related to different levels of expertise and knowledge. We finally use the ‘cloud of individuals’ within multiple correspondence analysis as a means of further demonstrating the limited power of the omnivore model. In the conclusion, we restate the need to recognize cultural cleavages and oppositions in musical taste.

¹ This argument is evident in Peterson and Kern’s (1996) influential account of the cultural omnivore that pitches itself against Bourdieu’s account of exclusive snob culture.

² The most clearly developed account of this kind is Lahire’s emphasis on cultural dissonance, which he has recently sought to relate to the omnivore debate (see Lahire, 2008).

³ The most important statements to this effect are Peterson and Simkus (1992), Bryson (1996), Warde et al. (2008), Tampubolon (2008) and Warde and Gayo-Cal (2009). More generally, on the idea that specifically middle class taste is seen as the unacknowledged norm of contemporary life, see Savage (2000) and Skeggs (2004).

2. The cultural omnivore in the musical field

The concept of the cultural omnivore was introduced by Richard Peterson in the 1990s, in his account of the changing nature of American musical taste (Peterson and Kern, 1996; Peterson and Simkus, 1992). It is worth noting that Peterson himself did not expect the idea of the omnivore (which he initially sometimes put in inverted commas [i.e., in quotes] to indicate its provisional and metaphorical status⁴) to become so influential (Peterson, 2005). In his admirably precise and clear way, Peterson laid out the basic idea at stake as follows.

Appreciation of the fine arts became a mark of high status in the late 19th century as part of an attempt to distinguish ‘highbrowed’ Anglo-Saxons from new ‘lowbrowed’ immigrants whose popular entertainments were said to corrupt morals and thus were to be shunned. In recent years, however, many high status people are far from being snobs and have become eclectic, even ‘omnivorous’ in their tastes. . . This suggests a qualitative shift in the basis of marking status—from snobbish exclusion to omnivorous appropriation. (Peterson and Kern, 1996, p. 900)

In this formulation, Peterson was able to use the idea of the omnivore as a means of settling accounts with Bourdieu’s influential analysis of cultural capital in a form that appealed to many critics of Bourdieu’s work (e.g., Chan and Goldthorpe, 2005, 2007a,b). Yet the concept has also been attractive in offering those more sympathetic to Bourdieu’s arguments—notably Alan Warde, who defines contemporary cultural capital in terms of its omnivorous orientation (see Bennett et al., 2009; Warde and Gayo-Cal, 2009; Warde et al., 2007, 2008). Here, it is the way that cultural capital is implicated not in an embrace of staid, traditional forms of high culture, but a more mobile set of ‘cosmopolitan’ references that is seen to be important (see Prieur and Savage, forthcoming).

We do not seek here to clarify all the contributions to the omnivore debate, so much as to signal the value in placing these concerns within a field analytical perspective. We can start by reflecting on the use of genre categories that are taken as measures of a given position within a cultural hierarchy. Thus, famously, Peterson’s argument proceeds by classifying musical genres asked on the American *Survey of Public Participation in the Arts* into either ‘highbrow’ (classical and opera), ‘middlebrow’ (easy listening, Broadway, big band), or ‘lowbrow’ (gospel, country, blue grass, rock and blues) and seeing how far those who liked highbrow music also liked middle- and lowbrow forms. Between 1982 and 1992 it became increasingly likely for highbrows to also report more preferences for low- and middlebrow music. This approach has been influential in defining omnivorousness as (a) a kind of score or scale where the more genres that one likes, the more omnivorous you are, and (b) as linked to mobility across key categorical types defined by the sociologist (in this case, ‘high’, ‘middle’, and ‘lowbrow’). Most subsequent omnivore research uses one or both of these methods to measure omnivorousness.⁵

⁴ See the abstract of Peterson and Kern (1996) and the discussion in Peterson (2005, footnote 7).

⁵ For example of scale based approaches, see Bryson (1996), Warde et al. (2008), Warde and Gayo-Cal (2009), Lizardo and Skiles (2009), and van Eijck and Van Oosterhout (2005); for categorical type based approaches, see van Eijck and Lievens (2008). To use the terms developed by Warde et al. (2008), the former leads itself to ‘volume’ and the latter to ‘compositional’ approaches. Volume based measures are sometimes defined as ‘voraciousness’ (see Peterson, 2005).

A field analytical perspective argues that forms of musical taste are in a process of ongoing contestation and cannot be usefully defined a priori to a hierarchical position. Here, we rehearse the arguments of Holt (1998) who insists that we need to examine how boundaries around and within genres are defined, rather than take genre labels at face value.⁶ This is an argument amply developed in cultural studies where writers such as Frow (2006) see genres as constantly evolving or in process, as subject to mutation and hybridisation, and as historically dynamic. Hennion (2001) has developed this point by emphasizing that genres are constructed through performances involving a range of human, institutional and technical agencies, so emphasizing the fluidity and complexity of musical process which cannot usefully be seen in terms of static and all encompassing ‘genre’ labels (see also Born, 2005—who elaborates how concepts of assemblage can be deployed for a similar purpose).

Therefore ‘brow’ categories need to be approached as historical artefacts that should not be treated as analytical frames. Peterson (2005, pp. 258–259) sees the idea of the ‘highbrow snob’ as tapping Bourdieu’s analysis of cultural capital and legitimate culture which he develops in *Distinction* (Bourdieu, 1985), but this is not warranted by Bourdieu’s own analysis, which focuses on the contrast between the ‘Kantian aesthetic’ and the ‘culture of the necessary’.⁷ Instead, we would emphasise that ‘brow’ labels were developed primarily with reference to literary taste (for the case of British literature, see Rose, 2001) and have hardly ever been used by musical audiences.⁸ They have also been more influential in the United States than in Europe (see Savage, 2009—who argues that, although the terms had resonance in interwar Britain, they largely fell into abeyance by the 1950s).

This point leads us to recognise the supply, as well as demand, processes at work in the formation of cultural boundaries. An important pointer comes from historical research on the constitution of musical boundaries, especially with respect to the way that classical music was wrested away from more popular forms of music during the 19th century. DeNora (1991) showed how groups within the Viennese middle classes espoused the ‘demanding’ music of Beethoven and others in opposition to the ‘light’ music of Italian composers. Music historian Weber (2001, 2009) and sociologist Santoro (2010) similarly explore the physical partitioning of ‘classical’ from ‘popular’ in concert venues, thereby helping to solidify this emergent distinction of classical compared to popular music. This is important in view of ample recent evidence pointing to the proliferation of popular and contemporary music genres and to the differentiation of ‘light’ classical from ‘serious’ classical. The growth of easy/popular/light classical radio stations (Classic FM, but also the old Radio 3 and their ilk) has gone along with a decreasing legitimacy and a growing popular familiarity with some parts of the classical repertoire—operetta, Strauss waltzes, Vivaldi played by Nigel Kennedy, the Three Tenors, etc. Krims (2007) sees this as part of

⁶ This point is nicely and amusingly made in Bryson’s influential account of American musical taste: “...these data cannot tell us what respondents have in mind when they think of each genre. One of the categories, for instance, is named ‘new age/space music.’ While 18.2% of respondents replied that they did not know much about the genre, we cannot tell how the remaining respondents understand the category. Are they thinking about Vangelis [*sic*] and music with an electronic sound from the early 1980s (such as the themes from *Star Wars* and *Chariots of Fire*) or music like that of the group Enigma (whose eerie sound and sometimes disturbing lyrics won a spot in the movie *Silver*), or are they thinking of ‘new age’ music produced by artists on the Windham Hill label?” (Bryson, 1996, pp. 895–896).

⁷ See the discussion in Bennett et al. (2009, chapter 12).

⁸ We might further note that the role of genres is also predominantly developed with respect to literary genres. See for instance Frow’s (2006) account of genres that is based primarily on literature. Although genre definitions are used by fans of music, these often concern highly fluid ‘sub-genres’ that do not necessarily map onto those used by sociologists of music. See Beer (2011) for some interesting reflections.

the reconstruction of classical music as a form of interior design, a kind of background refrain for the privileged middle classes.

Recognising this point means that we need to avoid the conflation of ‘highbrow culture’ with a priori liking for classical music.⁹ This assumption was central to Peterson and Kern (1996), but has been widely adopted. Schulze’s and van Eijck’s (2001, 2008) differentiation between ‘highbrow’, ‘folk’ and ‘pop’ – or Sonnett’s (2004) distinction between art/highbrow, omnivore, folk/lowbrow, and pop/mass culture – all take the view that ‘highbrow’ music can be singled out through an association with appreciating classical music. Here, we often see a genuflection to Bourdieu’s famous arguments about its apparent role in constituting cultural capital (see notably Peterson, 2005). Bourdieu, however, does not regard a taste for classical music as necessarily ‘highbrow’, or a marker of cultural capital. In *Distinction*, he even regards a predilection for Strauss’s *Blue Danube* as a marker of popular taste. Musicologists recognise that the musical canon is no longer to be conflated with a liking for classical music (e.g., Clarke, 2007; Krims, 2007).

We have argued that we need to go beyond a ‘demand model’ of cultural taste in order to recognize the fluidity of genres and cultural boundaries. This involves querying the distinction between a cultural structure (in this case, of genres arrayed into a hierarchy) and individual mobility within this structure (through the figure of the omnivore). Rather than a conceptual architecture involving a ‘variable centred’ focus on the characteristics which distinguish the omnivore from the non-omnivore, we need a field analytical perspective. This allows a means of understanding the patterning of cultural practices and tastes, and in particular a means of delineating the tensions and inequalities that are embedded in them. This demands a systematic analysis of dislikes and avoidances alongside likes and practices, and a fuller appreciation of how forms of cultural differentiation are themselves generated.

One way of developing this concept of the omnivore so that it is consistent with Bourdieu’s field analysis is, using Alan Warde’s (Bennett et al., 2009; Warde et al., 2008) useful terms—by focusing not on volume measures, but on its composition.¹⁰ Here the relationship between liking and disliking is necessary to bring out the specific reformation of taste communities is the focus. This ‘compositional’ approach means developing the work of Bryson (1996). This argument is echoed in earlier analyses of CCSE data such as that of Warde et al. (2008), and Bennett et al. (2009). Warde et al. (2008, p. 164) thus insist on the provisional and limited nature of cultural taste, noting that even for apparent omnivores, “persistent forms of discrimination and disavowal of forms of popular culture (reality TV, fast food, electronic dance music) suggest that the openness of the omnivore is partial and qualified”. In a different paper, Warde et al. (2007) have also talked about the ‘myth of the cultural omnivore’.

Our aim in this paper is therefore to show that we can detect some clear patterning of musical taste in the UK in a form that is consistent with a field analytical perspective. More specifically, we show that whilst the omnivore concept usefully recognises that this patterning is not between advocates of unitary tastes (fans of classical compared with fans of rock, for instance), we can nonetheless readily detect boundaries to ‘wide ranging’ omivorousness. We show how we can conceive these oppositions within a broadly defined ‘field’ theoretical perspective, which clusters likes and dislikes in *n*-dimensional plots so that they can be interpreted.

⁹ The association between classical music and highbrow taste is evident in van Eijck and Van Oosterhout (2005).

¹⁰ See also van Eijck (2001, p. 1179), who notes that “. . . it is possible, and very instructive, to discern specific musical taste patterns that reflect an elementary combinatorial logic of culture”.

We follow the lead of [Bennett et al. \(2009\)](#) in using multiple correspondence analysis (MCA), which was used by Bourdieu as a means of unravelling the structure of field relationships and is, therefore, ideally suited for our purposes here (for other examples, see [Bennett et al., 2009](#); [Ekelund and Börjesson, 2005](#)). MCA is a form of principal components analysis that allows the patterning of complex datasets to be visually unravelled. We will show how it can delineate six different musical clusters, five of which are characterised by different kinds of liking for cognate genres and disliking for distant ones. We show how it is preferable to define the middle classes not as omnivores – since there are marked avoidances and dislikes in their musical tastes and they are far from liking most of the items – but as experts. Finally, we will use in depth interviews to demonstrate how the differentiation between those who like classical music as a form of easy listening and those who define it in more ‘energetic’ terms contributes to a nuanced understanding of genre categories.

3. A field analytical perspective on the structuring of musical taste

The Cultural Capital and Social Exclusion project provides invaluable and unusually detailed information on musical preferences. It contains questions on taste towards eight genres of music (rock; classical; heavy metal; urban; country; jazz; electronic; world) and eight specified musical works (*Stan* by Eminem; *Oops!... I Did It Again* by Britney Spears; *Chicago* by Frank Sinatra; *Four Seasons* by Vivaldi; *Symphony Number 5* by Mahler; *Kind of Blue* by Miles Davis; *Einstein on the Beach* by Philip Glass; and *Wonderwall* by Oasis). The CCSE survey data contain questions which ask respondents their liking or disliking of 8 genres of music, including not only more legitimate but also more popular forms of music, and uses a Likert scale that allows respondents to register their taste in unusual detail. These kinds of questions are not in themselves unusual—questions on as many as 18 musical genres have been asked in the US *General Social Survey*. Because it contains questions about the respondents liking and knowledge of 8 named musical works it is possible to tease out the complex patterning of likes and dislikes in more detail than in many studies, for instance that of [Bryson \(1996\)](#) who could only address tastes towards genres. Furthermore, because the CCSE data also include qualitative data, including interview material collected with a sub-sample of survey respondents, they make it possible to assess whether those respondents classified as omnivores by their survey respondents actually appear to share commonalities in their qualitative accounts.

[Savage et al. \(2005\)](#) and [Bennett et al. \(2009\)](#) especially draw attention to the primacy of age differences in structuring musical taste. They emphasise that there are “key boundaries that are... rarely crossed” ([Bennett et al., 2009](#), p. 92). Their cluster analysis of the survey questions on likes and dislikes for musical genres attest to significant age specific patterns. They also show that the meaning of classical music has been redefined so that it is predominantly appreciated as a form of ‘easy listening’. However, because their own cluster analysis is only derived from the eight questions on musical genre, it fails to draw on their own insights on the complexity of genre construction (see [Bennett et al., 2009](#), p. 80f). We therefore build upon, but extend, this analysis by elaborating a more sophisticated analysis of musical taste by using the questions on specified musical works to explore the boundaries of genres using multiple correspondence analysis. This allows us to see how closely named works of music are associated with what might be seen as ‘their’ genre categories (e.g., for the case of classical, a liking for Mahler’s *Symphony Number 5*, Vivaldi’s *Four Seasons* and Glass’ *Einstein on the Beach*).

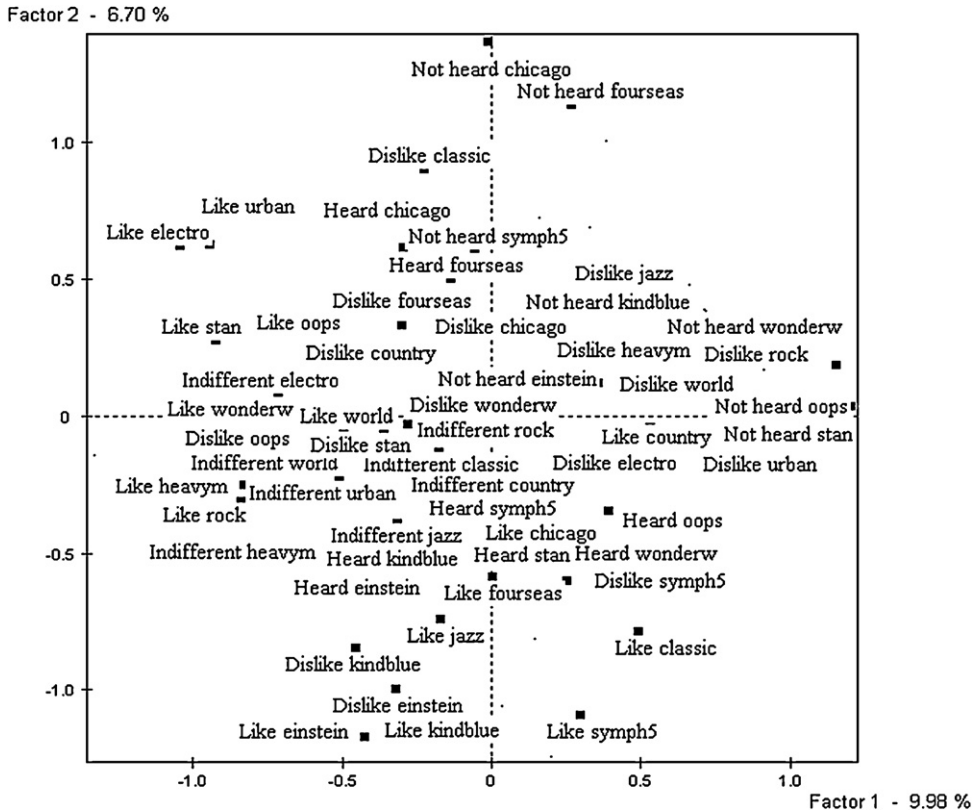


Fig. 1. Mapping of musical taste (genres and named works).

Fig. 1 therefore uses multiple correspondence analysis using as active categories measures of the eight questions on genres and the six questions on musical works.¹¹ We begin by interpreting the two axes before looking in more detail at the location of the various genre and named work questions. If we look first at the first (*x*) axis, we can detect a prime opposition between enthusiasts for popular music, both genres and named works (on the left) and those who dislike these genres and musical works (on the right). Although we can see that the genre questions are opposed to each other—in which those who like electronic, urban, rock, heavy metal and world are located on the left against those who appreciate classical and country on the right—it is also clear that there is a greater intensity of likes on the left. Three of the questions for liking of musical works are arrayed on this first axis, differentiating between those who like *Stan*, *Oops!* and *Wonderwall* on the left, and those who have not heard of them on the right. We therefore interpret axis 1 as distinguishing between those *intensely engaged in contemporary music* on the left and those *indifferent to it* on the right.

The second (*y*) axis is also interesting to unravel. It differentiates between those at the bottom who are likely to have heard of four of the named works (*Symphony Number 5*, *Einstein on the*

¹¹ Additional details about the variables used and their contribution to the MCA can be found in Table A1 in Appendix A.

Beach, *Kind of Blue*, and *Four Seasons*) against those at the top who are less likely to have heard of these named works. This appears to be an axis structured around the extent of musical knowledge for classical works, which distinguishes between those who appear to be musical experts (at the bottom) and those who have a less knowledgeable appreciation of music. It is revealing that this divide is secondary to the more fundamental one between intensity for contemporary popular music (see axis 1). It would appear that the dominant stakes in musical engagement are defined through commitment to contemporary musical forms, not the historical classical canon. There are some interesting parallels here with Hanquinet's (2010) study of museum visitors, which also reveals that rather than a fundamental fracture between those attracted to classical and contemporary art, it is more useful to distinguish between those who have expertise in appreciating classical art (her axis 1) and those who prefer contemporary compared to classical art (her axis 2). However, in the case of music, it is contemporary tastes which are paramount.

Pursuing this point, one of the values of Fig. 1 is that we can see how closely liking of named items is associated with the genres of which they are supposed to be a part, so that we are able to examine critically what actual works of music are assembled under various genre labels. Here we see some interesting contrasts. We can see, notably, very different locations of the three named works of music that might be deemed to be classical. A 'liking' and 'disliking' of Mahler's *Symphony Number 5* is located quite close to a liking for classical music generally (indeed these are the two closest modalities to it). A liking of *Four Seasons* is further away, at about the same distance as a liking for Sinatra's *Chicago*. Most interestingly of all is that a liking for Philip Glass' *Einstein on the Beach* is not found very close to classical at all but much closer to jazz, near a liking for *Kind of Blue*. In general, the boundaries of the classical music genre appear to exclude contemporary classical composers but actually include mainstream easy listening music such as Frank Sinatra. This confirms the arguments of Krims (2007) and Savage et al. (2005) that a genre of 'light classical' that includes familiar forms of classical music alongside other mainstream musicians is now a powerful force, and that this is identified as different from a more contemporary classical music that is closer to jazz. This kind of light classical music circulates in popular media, notably radio stations such as Classic FM rather than Radio 3.¹²

There is also the interesting point that the liking and disliking of *Einstein on the Beach* and *Symphony Number 5* are located closely together. Enthusiasts and critics of these two works are likely to be rather similar, but they are united by having heard and been knowledgeable about it. By contrast, those who do not like the more popular *Four Seasons* are considerably distant to those who do like it: those who dislike it being at the top of the second axis. We can also see that the contemporary popular works – Eminem's *Stan*, Oasis' *Wonderwall* and Britney Spears' *Oops!* – are located fairly close to those who like electronic, urban, and heavy metal. Here again, dislikes are also closely located with likes, indicating that the most powerful structuring is concerned with knowledge rather than taste. In this case, those who have heard of the named items and those who have not are in similar locations.

Fig. 1 therefore suggests that rather than simple differentiation between advocates of different genres, we instead need to recognise the different intensities and expertise bound up with musical tastes. The addition of supplementary variables in the MCA (see Fig. 2) allows us to examine the

¹² This is consistent with the arguments of Chan and Goldthorpe (2007b, p. 7), who note on the basis of their latent class analysis of British Arts Council England survey that, "...there is some non-negligible probability of listening to classical music in addition to more popular forms, which can perhaps be understood as 'crossover' or 'Classic FM' effect".

Factor 2 - 6.70 %

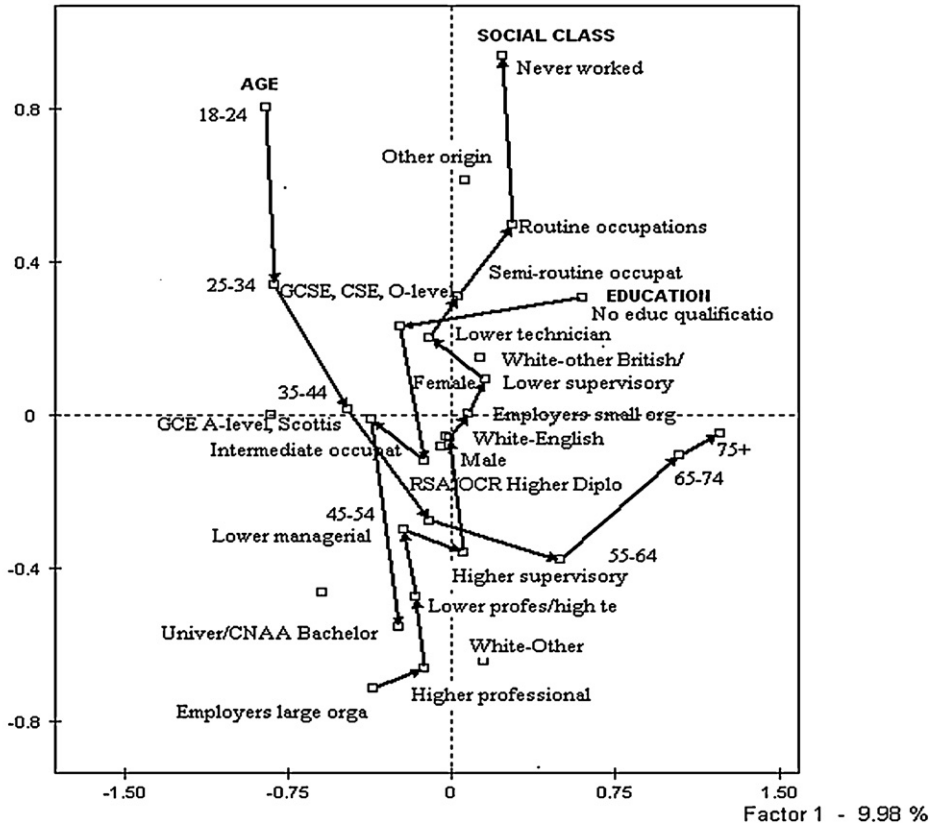


Fig. 2. Mapping of socio-demographic variables onto the musical map.

socio-demographic characteristics of these differentiations. The first and most powerful axis which distinguishes intensities towards popular music is associated most directly with age, whereas the second dimension which distinguishes on the basis of expertise towards more classical music is organised on the basis of class and education.

Although we cannot be sure on the basis of this data whether the importance of age on axis 1 is an age or cohort effect, it is likely that it demonstrates the primacy of youthful socialisation to the creation of musical generations, related to significant shifts in the technologies of musical circulation and reception. The oldest age groups are indifferent to, and ignorant of, contemporary popular music. The middle-aged are more likely to show an interest in classical and country and might also have heard of items of contemporary music. Those under 44 are far more vested in contemporary musical forms.

Class and educational attainment work on axis 2 to distinguish predominantly “middle class” experts from working class “indifferents”. We prefer to talk about the middle class as experts rather than omnivores because a considerable number of dislikes and avoidances are revealed alongside the enthusiasms. This is not an indiscriminating pluralism but a marked deployment of reflective preferences and avoidances. What marks out middle class taste is the capacity to pass (positive and negative) judgements on several of the named items, rather than any particular

range in their cultural taste. This is further confirmation of Bourdieu's emphasis on the way that cultural capital can be usefully defined as a form of competence related to the capacity and the confidence to reflect on questions of value.

We might therefore interpret our MCA using the terms defined by Bellavance (2008) on the basis of in-depth interviews with middle class Canadians. She distinguishes those who like high and new culture (in our bottom left), high and old culture (our bottom right), low and old culture (our top right), and new and low culture (our top left). It is also rather similar to van Eijck and Lievens's (2008) classification of four types of Dutch musical taste in the 1980s (folk, highbrow, pop and 'new omnivore'). Yet we are able to extend the recognition of omnivorous behaviour by recognising the role of expertise and intensity in structuring partitions in musical taste.

4. Mapping musical clusters

We now build on this MCA by conducting a cluster analysis of likes and dislikes both of musical genres, along with the named musical works (see Table 1).¹³ We used SPAD software to define clusters combining tastes for genres and specific musical works. The result offer a crisper number of 6, rather than 8 clusters as delineated by Bennett et al. (2009). These all have marked social and demographic patterns, which we list in italics in Table 1.

Those 6 clusters were produced from the heterogeneous set of variables listed in Table A1. These used Likert scales (with seven categories) for the variables on musical genres. Those variables for named musical works were treated as nominal. The clusters of individuals are derived from the MCA on musical genres and works, which we can treat as a social space of musical tastes. We can then use the specific coordinates for our interviewees in order to locate each respondent uniquely.

Cluster 1 is comprised of 'classic enthusiasts'. These only like classical and country music amongst the genres, and Vivaldi, Mahler, and Sinatra amongst the named musicians. On the contrary, there are marked dislikes of five musical genres, and ignorance of most of the popular musical works. This is far from being omnivorous, and embodies largely unitary taste towards classical music, with some country.

Cluster 2, the 'aversive' is largely antipathetic to all musical forms, both classical and (especially) contemporary forms, with no less than six dislikes recorded. This is largely a group of abstainers. It is subtly different from Cluster 3, the 'uninformed' who have not heard the musical works and also tend to dislike contemporary music.

Cluster 4 might be defined as 'pop-oriented'. There are marked dislikes towards classic, jazz and country, but an enthusiasm for urban and electronic music. The music of Eminem, Britney Spears, and Oasis is appreciated. Positive tastes are entirely for contemporary musical forms.

Cluster 5 is analytically very important. It consists of those who might be deemed, on superficial reading, to be omnivores. Three of the musical genres are liked (classic, jazz and rock) and six of the musical works (all apart from Eminem and Britney Spears). This enthusiasm for so many named works is why we identify them as musical 'experts'. We prefer this label to the omnivore because there is little appreciation towards contemporary music, with the partial

¹³ The questions ask respondents to rank musical genres from 1 (like very much indeed) to 7 (do not like at all), so that we can differentiate real enthusiasts from moderate fans, those who dislike mildly from those who detest a given musical genre. For information on descriptive statistics on the distribution of the genres and the musical works, see Bennett et al. (2009, pp. 78–79). This cluster analysis was conducted using SPAD.

Table 1

Percentage and composition of clusters produced by named musical works and musical genres. It also includes categories of variables associated to the different clusters.

Cluster 1: classic enthusiast	Cluster 2: aversive	Cluster 3: uninformed	Cluster 4: pop oriented	Cluster 5: experts	Cluster 6: pop voracious
Like classic	Dislike electro	Not heard wonderw	Dislike classic	Like fourseas	Like wonderw
Like symph5	Heard stan	Not heard stan	Like urban	Like kindblue	Like stan
Not heard stan	Not heard kindblue	Not heard oops	Like stan	Like symph5	Like rock
Not heard oops	Dislike heavym	Dislike urban	Not heard symph5	Indifferent urban	Indifferent heavym
Like fourseas	Dislike stan	Not heard fourseas	Not heard fourseas	Like rock	Indifferent electro
Dislike urban	Dislike wonderw	Dislike rock	Like electro	Like classic	Indifferent world
Not heard wonderw	Indifferent classic	Not heard symph5	Like wonderw	Like chicago	Indifferent urban
Dislike rock	Not heard symph5	Not heard kindblue	Dislike country	Indifferent world	Indifferent classic
Dislike electro	Indifferent rock	Dislike world	Not heard chicago	Indifferent heavym	Like heavym
Dislike heavym	Dislike urban	Dislike jazz	Not heard kindblue	Like einstein	Like urban
Dislike world	Dislike oops	Dislike heavym	Heard chicago	Like jazz	Like electro
Like chicago	Like oops	Not heard einstein	Like oops	Dislike oops	Like oops
Heard wonderw		Like country	Indifferent electro	Heard stan	Indifferent jazz
Heard oops		Dislike electro	Dislike jazz	Like wonderw	Heard kindblue
Dislike symph5		Heard fourseas	Heard fourseas	Dislike einstein	Dislike oops
Like country		Not heard chicago		Indifferent jazz	Dislike country
17.4%	18%	16.2%	16.2%	15.4%	16.9%
75+	45–54	75+	18–24	45–54	25–34
65–74	35–44	65–74	25–34	35–44	35–44
55–64		55–64			
<i>Lower profes/high te</i>		<i>Routine occupations</i>	<i>Never worked</i>	<i>Higher professional</i>	
		<i>Never worked</i>	<i>Routine occupations</i>	<i>Lower profes/high te</i>	
			<i>Semi-routine occupat</i>	<i>Higher supervisory</i>	
<i>White-Other</i>		<i>White-other British/</i>			
	<i>Female</i>	<i>No educ qualificatio</i>	<i>GCSE, CSE, O-level</i>	<i>Univer/CNAA Bachelor</i>	<i>Male</i>
					<i>GCE A-level, Scottis</i>
					<i>Univer/CNAA Bachelor</i>

Note: The percentage refers to the proportion of each cluster. Above this line, we can find the categories that are positively and significantly (*T*-test) associated to each single cluster. They were ordered according to the number obtained using this statistic. Below the percentage line, there are categories of the following variables: 1. Age groups, 2. Occupational classes, 3. Ethnic origin, 4. Gender, and 5. Educational level.

The named musical works above are as follows: *Stan* (Eminem), *Oops! . . . I Did It Again* (Britney Spears), *Chicago* (Frank Sinatra), *Four Seasons* (Vivaldi), *Symphony Number 5* (Mahler); *Kind of Blue* (Miles Davis), *Einstein on the Beach* (Philip Glass), and *Wonderwall* (Oasis).

The musical genres above are as follows: Rock, Jazz, World, Classical, Country and Western, Electronic, Heavy Metal, and Urban.

exception of ‘rock’ music. It is a clear mirror to Cluster 4, to which it stands in opposition. The demographic data indicate clearly that this is the cluster of the culturally privileged groups, since they are likely to be in higher class positions and to have been university graduates. This appears, demographically, to be the dominant partition within the musical field.

Finally cluster 6 might be labelled ‘pop voracious’ with enthusiasm for rock, electronic, heavy metal and urban music, and for Britney Spears, Oasis, and Eminem. It is clearly different from the ‘pop oriented’ Cluster 4 insofar as its members have more enthusiasms for the contemporary musical works.

In general, Table 1 reveals no cluster that can easily be characterised as omnivorous. Here, our finding is more arresting than that provided by Bennett et al. (2009, Table 5.3)—for one of their clusters (their cluster 4) did straddle the contemporary and classical divide, whereas our Cluster 5 is strongly oriented towards classic and jazz rather than contemporary music. Instead, our partitions are clearly in keeping with a field analytic perspective. Those in least powerful social positions (defined by occupational class and low educational attainment) tend towards the ‘aversive’ and ‘uninformed’ clusters. The most socially advantaged tend towards the ‘expert’ and ‘pop voracious’ clusters, which report more ‘likes’ than any other (nine and seven, respectively). However, as we have also seen, they clearly identify dislikes and avoidances in a form that complicates a rendering of them as ‘omnivores’, and is more similar to Bryson’s (1996) account of the role of key ‘dislikes’ in structuring musical taste communities.

We can build on this cluster analysis by working with the cloud of individuals within MCA. Here individuals are illuminated in different colours according to which of the 6 musical clusters they fall into. Fig. 3 also highlights named individuals with whom we conducted qualitative interviews. We can use their accounts to deepen our analysis of the clustering and boundaries of musical taste. Fig. 3 shows how the 6 clusters each map onto the axes we have identified above. In the top left hand quadrant, we can see the pop-oriented music cluster, which stands in opposition to the old “classic enthusiast” cluster in the bottom right hand quadrant. There is complete separation in the musical tastes of these individuals. We see that the ‘expert’ cluster – which appreciates rock, *Four Seasons*, classic, jazz and *Chicago* – is found in the bottom left hand quadrant. It stands opposed to the advocates of country music in the top right hand quadrant.

We can elaborate this argument further by considering the accounts of those respondents who we interviewed in depth. Here we are also able to go beyond Bennett et al. (2009) who cite qualitative interviews but do not place them in the context of the cloud of individuals. In general, the interviewees generally give a clear and consistent account of their musical taste, organised as accounts of set of related likes and dislikes. Yet we can also see that their accounts further demonstrate the limits of an interpretation in terms of omnivorousness.

On the right-hand side, we can detect plenty of evidence of individuals who feel hesitant about their relationship to music. In these cases, the specific genres they like or dislike are less telling than their relationship to music itself. Stafford, for instance admits to some liking for rhythm and blues, as well as classical, but goes on to note that,

Listen to it on the radio sometimes, or CDs. It’s not every day, by the time I go to work and come back, I’m tired and I don’t have much time. At the weekends, there’s the sport or I do what I have to do, like shopping and bits and pieces and that’s it.

Molly’s case is also revealing. Although situated in the ‘uninformed’ cluster, along with Stafford, she emphasises her liking for country and western and jazz music, as well as traditional Irish music—but then makes it clear that her children’s criticisms of her ‘old fashioned’ musical

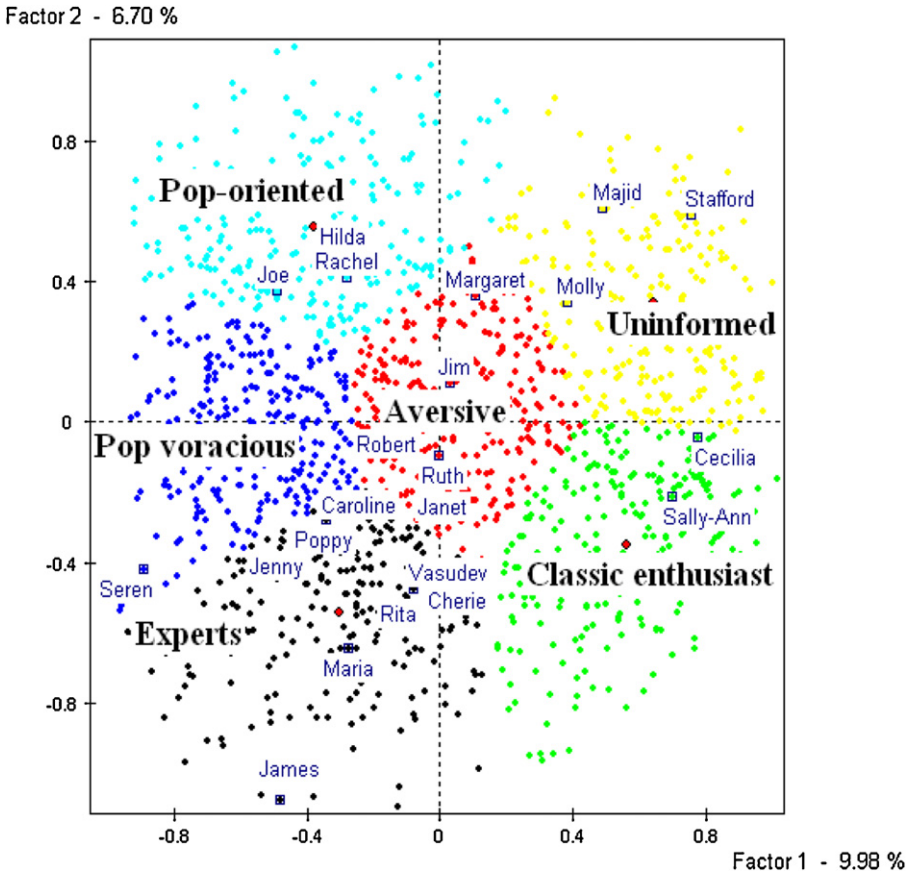


Fig. 3. Mapping of musical clusters in the cloud of individuals.

tastes mark her as someone out of touch with contemporary taste. For her, music “was just everyday life”, and she does not identify as someone who takes it too seriously for its own sake.

By contrast, those on the left of axis 2 are more knowledgeable about music, to the extent that they can discuss the meaning of genres. Joe, who belongs to the ‘pop-oriented’ cluster, puts it as follows:

Probably electronic dance music, including techno and house, not my cup of tea at all. Do you want to know the one I would like the best? Probably urban including hip hop and R&B. I mean, I like things like Luther Vandross and Celine Dion, which I dunno how you would put those into what this category really—I don’t know what. . .

Similarly for Rachel, what matters to her less is the specific genres of music that she listens to (which ranged from urban, through the Happy Mondays, and even onto classical, which she “can take a little bit”), than her command over musical knowledge.

I don’t regularly collect but I will buy when I can, and if not I just—I keep up to date listening to like radio stations and music channels and TV.

We can see, then, that axis 1 distinguishes those who feel confident about positioning their tastes musically and those who do not—and this overrides specific genre commitments. This differentiation can also be found amongst devotees of classical music. A common theme of five of the seven who like classical music is to value its qualities as a form of easy listening, which distinguishes it from more ‘engaging’ and ‘loud’ popular music.

Sally-Ann, a retired doctor’s wife from Northern Ireland, is part of the classic enthusiast cluster and endorses the ‘easy’ qualities of classical music that are deemed to be in contrast with ‘heavy’ music.

I would listen to classical, I would listen to Classic FM in the car, sometimes or here, and we would have gone to the Ulster Orchestra in the Ulster Hall (in Belfast). . . I’m not into heavy, I like nice music, now Michael Ball, I enjoy him, we went to see him now live at the Waterfront, he’s wonderful. He was on television yesterday and I just heard that last year he was the most popular singer and it was amazing. I thought—I just think his singing is lovely, I think he’s very easy to listen to and he’s a very natural nice person, I think. . .

Sally-Ann displays enthusiasm for actual musicians who are not obviously part of the high classical tradition—in her case, Michael Ball—which portrays her as part of a more ‘passive’ musical constituency, even despite her interest in music.

Janet, from the centre of axis 1, shows her interest in classical music to the extent that she identifies some specific composers, Tchaikovsky, Dvorak, and Mozart. However, she then reverts to a refrain of distancing herself from a passion for classical music, in terms of its easy listening qualities:

I have a four CD called *Reflections* which is Mozart, it’s like a choice of all the classical music and yes, I do, I like listening to classical, *only because it chills me out*. That and Michael Ball. I like opera but not the hard opera. I mean somebody with a really good voice. . . got a beautiful voice, it makes all the hairs stand up on me.

In both these cases, we can therefore see how a liking for classical music is associated with disliking of what are seen to be more intrusive musical forms. Poppy, also from the expert cluster is keen on what she termed ‘lighthearted’ opera and refers to the value of listening to classical music in the car which “right calmed me”. Like Sally-Ann, this was in opposition to hip hop which she sees as “noise, and I don’t understand the words. A lot of these rapping now it just doesn’t sound English to me you know I like a song that you know with proper words in, meaning and stuff, yeah”.

What we see here are contested stakes about how far music can be abstracted from everyday life routines and treated as an enthusiasm, even an obsession, in its own right. Classical is here defined in more passive terms. Cherie, also an ‘expert’, is a middle-aged tourist worker who lives in an historic northern town. The antinomies of her cultural tastes are clearly apparent in the way that her distaste for hip hop is much more specific and heart-felt than her liking for classical

Cherie: Well, I just like things that make you feel cheerful, just sort of lift the heart, you want to bounce around the living room and sing along, it adds to the gaiety of the life really. Classical is generally much more soothing, it just sort of mells you out.

Interviewer: And you said the type of music you least liked was jazz, world and urban?

Cherie: Yeah, I hate that kind of hip hop stuff, I really hate it.

Interviewer: Can you say why?

Cherie: I'm embarrassed to tell you! I really really hate it because I really hate those guys in those baseball hats because I really hate baseball hats, and if I could have something in Room 101, that would be the top of my list. I would ban them from the world. I hate those baseball caps so as soon as those guys come on and they've got them, they look as though they're actually thinking of putting one on—I'm totally appalled by the whole thing.

James, a university teacher who works in cultural studies, is more unusual. He evokes his liking for classical through an appreciation of its energy and its modern associations, and in the same voice, articulates his recognition that he is deliberately crossing boundaries that are rarely straddled.

James: Well, I've got a real wide taste, so there's a lot of classical music I do like but I do like jazz music and you know? Some modern stuff—I use music a lot at work whilst I'm teaching drama

Interviewer: Of course you do, yes.

James: But what I look for then, I suppose is often—it can be anything I bring in but it's something that's got to have an energy to it or...

Interviewer: The right energy...

James: Yes, yes.

Interviewer: For what you're...

James: That's right, yes. So, that can be a classical thing or it might be something very modern, you know? But, but, you know? Yes, a very wide taste, you know? But I certainly do like classical, yes.

James clearly distinguishes his liking for classical music as different from an appreciation for 'light classical' forms.

James: Like, I like listening to Radio 3 but I find Classic FM gets on my nerves a bit sometimes.

Interviewer: Yes, yes.

James: Because it's all a bit, you know? Sort of chocolate box kind of classical music, you know? And, so I tend to—Radio 3 perhaps has more of them, it has that but interweaved with other things so I'm quite happy listening to that, yes.

One of James's emphases is that he is picky within genres, so he insists that whilst he liked some jazz, he did not appreciate 'dixieland' jazz. In keeping with the characteristics of his cluster, James thus presents himself as a musical expert—opposed to easy forms of music and embracing classical, modern, jazz and rock. This account has similarities to another teacher, Maria. Her enthusiasm for classical is shared with a taste for the contemporary music: she is the only example of an omnivore who has intense likes for both classical and contemporary music amongst our interviewees. She had learned the piano to grade 6, and loves Debussy, Chopin and Rachmaninov. But she also likes jazz, and "extreme rock music, it's just great, full of energy". She then goes on to describe herself as someone who liked 'extremes', identifying herself as someone who knew the cultural boundaries that she is crossing in her unusual tastes. She hates country and western, in part, because of its American associations. This is a classic profile for someone who has lots of musical education, and thus cultural capital, and has the confidence to exercise judgment in predictably educated ways.

These interviews show, therefore, two very different ways of appreciating classical music. The most common form – shared between those towards the bottom centre of axis 2 – evokes it as a kind of light classical easy listening, contrasting it with heavy metal, hip hop, and other forms of popular music. A minority view, associated with James and Maria – who are at the bottom on axis 2, and found exclusively in the ‘expert’ cluster – identifies its energy, insists on its purist features (for instance through being critical of Classic FM), and is also interested in other forms of modern, popular music. In both cases, we see clearly structured musical tastes – involving liking for specific combinations of genres or sub-genre types and disliking of others. These subtle but powerful distinctions are not readily captured by the ‘omnivore’ label and require more fine-grained analysis that is attuned to the continued tensions of the broader musical field.

5. Conclusions

The aim of this paper has been to move the analysis of musical taste away from the widely shared and broadly used concept of the omnivore towards a terrain that recognises more easily the intensities and expertise associated with musical taste. It is not incidental that although the omnivore is widely debated in quantitative analysis – in journals such as *Poetics*, *American Sociological Review*, and *European Sociological Review* – it has almost no resonance amongst qualitative researchers in cultural sociology, cultural and media studies, or anthropology.¹⁴ Indeed, research from these domains on issues such as the nature of ‘enthusiasms’, the character of ‘sub-cultures’, or ‘lifestyle enclaves’, emphasises the continued significance of cultural boundaries of various kinds.¹⁵ We have shown how a field analytical perspective that places less emphasis on the specific individual characteristics of omnivores, but is more attentive to the nature of engagement in the musical field, is better able to register these issues. Such a field analytical perspective is attentive to both the ‘supply’ and ‘demand’ factors that constitute musical taste boundaries in historically mutable ways. We have thus emphasised the value of distinguishing a series of musical clusters, all of which are characterised by sets of avoidances as well as positive tastes, and some of which can be split into sub-clusters. In following Bellavance (2008) in emphasising the split between old and new, we have also shown how these two groups can also be split into several sub-types.

The clearest oppositions on the first axis differentiate the ‘pop oriented’, the ‘pop voracious’ and the ‘experts’, on the one hand, from the ‘uninformed’ and ‘classical enthusiasts’, on the other hand. This is not a prime tension between fans of classical and popular music which is standard in cultural sociology, and with this recognition, the mainstay of the omnivore argument looks shaky. The dominant positions in the musical field are associated with a confident and assured grasping of a large number of musical genres and items that include both contemporary as well as (for the ‘experts’), more classical reference points. By contrast, on the right hand side of axis 1, we see those with fewer stakes and knowledge of music, and this includes a cluster of ‘classical enthusiasts’ who are not usefully seen, analytically, as sharing any kind of highbrow orientation to music.

¹⁴ The recent issue of *Poetics* (Ollivier et al., 2008) indicates a growing interest in trying to use qualitative research to address the omnivore debate, and it is revealing that contributors such as Bellavance (2008), Warde et al. (2008) and Ollivier (2008) end up by seriously qualifying its importance. For examples of qualitative research that makes no reference to the omnivore concept, see Bennett (2000), DeNora (2000), Krims (2000, 2007), we return to this issue below.

¹⁵ On ‘lifestyle enclaves’ as exclusive communities of like-minded individuals, see Bellah et al. (1985), which follows in the footsteps of Fischer (1982). On the role of enthusiasms, see Stebbins (1992).

On the second axis we do see a differentiation between those more attracted to popular music (at the top) and more towards classical music (at the bottom). Some of those in the expert cluster might be regarded as omnivores insofar as they do openly embrace what they see as contrasting musical forms, but these are a minority.

An important feature of our analysis is the suggestion that a liking for classical music can be associated with different positions in the field of music. For the experts, it is part of a ‘mastery’ of musical interest that peels off into an interest in jazz and some forms of rock and contemporary music, whilst for ‘classical enthusiasts’ it takes on a more sedate, ‘easy listening’ form that crosses over into a more distant relationship to music itself. This latter group of classic enthusiasts might be seen as associated with the institutionalisation of ‘light classical’ taste and is not usefully interpreted as sharing highbrow characteristics.

Rather than focus on the supposed tolerance of the omnivore, we therefore note the marked, and possibly increasing, tensions bound up with the intensity of musical taste. In contemporary Britain, at least, the debate on the omnivore has distracted us from examining the profoundly divided nature of musical taste, one which predominantly pitches younger respondents – passionately committed to new and emerging musical forms – against older ones, whose musical tastes are much less innovative. This division cross cuts those of class and educational inequality. One advantage of our analytical framework is the potential it allows to develop more critical analyses of middle class taste which avoid the normative assumptions that the middle classes are more liberal and tolerant but which instead draws attention to the boundaries of taste communities and the emergence of new kinds of exclusive cultural practices, even if these are different from traditional snob models. They are thus more suitable for unravelling the kind of mobile, reflective identities that the middle classes are often deemed to exemplify (Ball, 2003; Savage, 2000; Skeggs, 2004).

Finally, we can suggest that our field analytical approach allows us to go beyond a ‘demand side’ model that focuses on consumer preferences, and instead recognize the wider historical patterns of musical production, institutionalization and mediation. The extent to which classical music has become part of the mainstream, so leading the formation of ‘light classical’ taste, the canonization of some forms of popular music (e.g., the way that literary theorists such as Christopher Ricks have championed Bob Dylan), has itself transformed the meaning of genre categories and works of art as they are appreciated today. Rather than people changing their musical taste and ranging across more musical genres, we are seeing the reworking of the boundaries of musical genres themselves. What we are seeing today could be a fundamental remaking of the musical canon, in which the historic investment in classical music as the dominant position in the musical field is being reworked. It is the intensities around contemporary and popular music that are now striking to observe, and towards which the figure of the omnivore gestures. It is these new musical ‘experts’ who demand more critical attention in future research.

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analyses of the qualitative data from the focus groups and household interviews. Mike Savage and Alan Warde, assisted by Modesto Gayo, coordinated the analyses of the quantitative data produced by the survey. Tony Bennett was responsible for the overall direction and coordination of the project. The full results have been reported at length in *Culture, Class, Distinction*, Routledge, 2009.

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Appendix A. Additional information on variables used in the MCA

Table A1

Counts, co-ordinates and contributions of the active modalities on the first two axes.

Modalities	Count	Axis 1		Axis 2	
		Coord.	Contr.	Coord.	Contr.
Rock					
Like rock	409	-0.80	4.27	-0.28	0.78
Indifferent rock	485	-0.28	0.62	-0.03	0.01
Dislike rock	610	0.73	5.23	0.19	0.52
Jazz					
Like jazz	193	-0.17	0.09	-0.74	2.56
Indifferent jazz	608	-0.25	0.63	-0.27	1.03
Dislike jazz	751	0.27	0.90	0.40	2.96
World					
Like world	185	-0.46	0.64	-0.02	0.00
Indifferent world	535	-0.61	3.28	-0.16	0.35
Dislike world	793	0.51	3.29	0.10	0.17
Like classic	474	0.49	1.86	-0.79	7.06
Classical					
Indifferent classic	586	-0.17	0.29	-0.13	0.24
Dislike classic	499	-0.23	0.41	0.90	9.82
Country and Western					
Like country	413	0.53	1.88	-0.04	0.02
Indifferent country	604	0.01	0.00	-0.16	0.38
Dislike country	538	-0.38	1.26	0.21	0.60
Electronic					
Like electro	166	-1.04	2.95	0.62	1.56
Indifferent electro	357	-0.71	2.97	0.08	0.06
Dislike electro	908	0.39	2.21	-0.16	0.59
Heavy metal					
Like heavym	164	-0.83	1.84	-0.25	0.26
Indifferent heavym	299	-0.84	3.45	-0.31	0.72
Dislike heavym	1057	0.36	2.20	0.12	0.37
Urban					
Like urban	277	-0.94	4.03	0.62	2.65
Indifferent urban	502	-0.51	2.11	-0.23	0.67
Dislike urban	692	0.66	4.86	-0.09	0.14

Table A1 (Continued)

Modalities	Count	Axis 1		Axis 2	
		Coord.	Contr.	Coord.	Contr.
Wonderwall (Oasis)					
Like wonderw	703	−0.73	6.06	0.05	0.04
Dislike wonderw	203	−0.18	0.11	−0.08	0.03
Heard wonderw	211	0.32	0.35	−0.42	0.89
Not heard wonderw	443	1.15	9.36	0.18	0.36
Stan (Eminem)					
Like stan	473	−0.92	6.60	0.27	0.86
Dislike stan	269	−0.36	0.56	−0.05	0.01
Heard stan	250	0.02	0.00	−0.45	1.25
Not heard stan	571	0.98	8.69	0.01	0.00
Four Seasons (Vivaldi)					
Like fourseas	876	0.00	0.00	−0.59	7.31
Dislike fourseas	98	−0.30	0.14	0.33	0.26
Heard fourseas	276	−0.13	0.08	0.50	1.64
Not heard fourseas	312	0.27	0.36	1.14	9.60
Einstein on the Beach (Philip Glass)					
Like einstein	51	−0.51	0.21	−1.15	1.65
Dislike einstein	45	−0.32	0.08	−1.00	1.09
Heard einstein	164	−0.27	0.19	−0.61	1.49
Not heard einstein	1303	0.08	0.14	0.16	0.84
Symphony No. 5 (Mahler)					
Like symph5	316	0.30	0.45	−1.09	9.14
Dislike symph5	92	0.25	0.09	−0.60	0.81
Heard symph5	335	−0.17	0.17	−0.25	0.49
Not heard symph5	816	−0.05	0.04	0.61	7.20
Kind of Blue (Miles Davis)					
Like kindblue	200	−0.42	0.58	−1.17	6.72
Dislike kindblue	48	−0.46	0.16	−0.85	0.85
Heard kindblue	231	−0.32	0.38	−0.39	0.87
Not heard kindblue	1082	0.19	0.61	0.35	3.19
Oops!... I Did It Again (Britney Spears)					
Like oops	402	−0.50	1.66	0.22	0.49
Dislike oops	589	−0.50	2.36	−0.04	0.02
Heard oops	199	0.39	0.50	−0.35	0.58
Not heard oops	370	1.20	8.50	0.04	0.01
Chicago (Frank Sinatra)					
Like chicago	1033	0.06	0.06	−0.30	2.22
Dislike chicago	266	0.02	0.00	0.30	0.57
Heard chicago	157	−0.29	0.22	0.61	1.43
Not heard chicago	103	−0.01	0.00	1.37	4.56

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Mike Savage is Professor and Head of the Department of Sociology at the University of York. He was previously founding Director of the ESRC Centre for Research on Socio-Cultural Change (CRESC) at the University of Manchester. His previous publications include *Identities and Social Change in Britain since 1940: The Politics of Method*, (Oxford, 2010) and *Networked Urbanism* (edited with Talja Blokland; Ashgate, 2008).

Modesto Gayo was a Research Fellow at CRESC and the Department of Sociology at the University of Manchester whilst working on the Cultural Capital and Social Exclusion project. He is currently Associate Professor at Universidad Diego Portales, Santiago, Chile. His areas of interest are: national and regional identities, middle class theories, and cultural consumption. He is also interested in the application of statistical methods in the social sciences. He is a joint author of *Culture, Class, Distinction* (Routledge, 2009), with Tony Bennett, Mike Savage, Elizabeth Silva, Alan Warde and David Wright.