Omnivorous Consumer or Omnivorous Producer?: Patterns of Cultural Participation in Korea*

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Studies on cultural omnivores have focused on consumption activities, largely overlooking cultural production activities. However, consumption and production activities are both essential fields of cultural participation. Through the use of comprehensive data about cultural consumption and production activities, this study attempts to explore patterns of cultural participation in Korea. It also investigates the determinants of these different patterns. Four major findings resulted from the study. First, four different types of cultural participation were derived: omnivorous prosumers, omnivorous consumers, omnivorous producers, and univores. Second, members of the new middle class, with higher educational levels and higher household incomes, are more likely to be omnivorous consumers or omnivorous prosumers. Third, demographic factors such as gender and age also have effects on the patterns of cultural participation in Korea. Lastly, it was revealed that the larger an individual's social network, the greater the probability of being a cultural omnivore of any type. This study contributes to the expansion of the boundaries of prior discussions on cultural omnivores.

Keywords: cultural participation, cultural consumption, cultural production, omnivore

Introduction

Since Bourdieu's (1984) exploration of the association between class and cultural tastes, much of literature has focused on the relationship between a person's position in the social hierarchy and his or her cultural participation. In Korea, there are also many studies dealing with the relationship between social status and cultural capital (e.g. Nam 2008). Through the critical acceptance of Bourdieu's ideas, several researchers have found that people of higher socio-economic status have a wide range of both highbrow and popular cultural tastes (Peterson 1992; Peterson and Kern 1996). The term 'omnivore' was coined to denote a person with a variety of cultural tastes, whereas 'univore' denotes someone whose cultural tastes are narrow. With these new categories, the debate on the association between one's social position and cultural capacities has shifted from an elite-to-mass status hierarchy to one of omnivore-to-univore status (Peterson 1992; Warde, Wright, and Gayo-Cal 2008).

Studies of cultural omnivorousness or cultural variety have been on the rise of late. Thus far, most researchers have relied on measures of cultural preferences or cultural participation in examinations of cultural variety (Lee and Lee 2014). Those using measures of cultural preferences have demonstrated that people of high socio-economic status like diverse cultural activities or genres (Bryson 1996; Peterson and Kern 1996). Meanwhile, those reliant on measures of cultural participation have found that people of a higher status actually participate in a wide range of cultural consumption activities (Chan and Goldthorpe 2007; López-Sintas and Katz-Gerro 2005). Whereas the bulk of the literature on cultural omnivorousness has endeavored to provide empirical evidence in terms of participation in cultural consumption activities, less attention has been given to the field of cultural production activities. However, according to the 'cultural diamond', in order to understand the relationship between society and cultural objects more thoroughly, it is important to consider producers as well as consumers (Griswold 2008). Cultural consumption activities and cultural production activities lie along a continuum, and are not separate social phenomena (Choi and Lee 2012, p. 69). Bourdieu (1984, p. 75) emphasized the importance of cultural production activities by arguing that people who enjoy both performing and listening to music become more familiar with music than those who are mere listeners. DiMaggio and Ostrower (1990) also suggested the necessity of exploring not only the cultural consumption activities of

individuals but also people's avocational production activities. In this context, by focusing only on cultural consumption activities, empirical studies on cultural omnivores have led to a limited understanding of cultural capital.

The purpose of this study is to explore the different patterns of cultural participation in Korean society by examining both cultural consumption and cultural production activities. If we simultaneously consider the omnivorousness of cultural consumption and of cultural production, it is possible to approach cultural omnivorousness in a more multi-dimensional way. Contrary to general expectations, an individual's omnivorousness of cultural consumption and cultural production activities do not necessarily correlate. Some people could be omnivores either in the field of cultural consumption or of cultural production activities. In this light, the current study attempts to identify the different types of cultural omnivores through the use of comprehensive data about Korean people's cultural consumption and production activities. It is our hope that these categorizations can broaden the discussion of cultural omnivores, which has thus far been limited to cultural consumption activities. Moreover, as people belonging to different types of cultural participation may have heterogeneous demographic backgrounds and be located at different positions within a social structure, this research also strives to analyze the determinants of each type of cultural participation. In doing so, it is expected that this study will contribute to further conceptualization of cultural omnivores.

Literature Review

The Cultural Omnivore Debate

In the early 1990s, a number of studies in the field of the sociology of culture suggested that people of a higher socio-economic status are more closely related with cultural omnivorousness (Peterson 1992; Peterson and Simkus 1992). Peterson (1992) empirically found that people in the upper occupational groups are more likely to prefer various kinds of music and participate in diverse cultural activities that include not only elite, but also non-elite forms of music and activities. Since Peterson's seminal study, researchers have continuously focused on the breadth of cultural preferences or participation (Bryson 1996; Erickson 1996; Chan and Goldthorpe 2007; Warde, Wright, and Gayo-Cal 2008; Nam and Hong 2011). Bryson (1996) proposed the concept of 'multicultural capital,' which is unequally owned by

people according to their social positions. Chan and Goldthorpe (2007) supported the omnivore thesis by analyzing the relationship between social stratification and music consumption patterns in England. In Korea, it has also been found that the new middle class tends to have more diversified tastes than both the old middle class and the working class, and consumes both popular culture and highbrow culture (Nam and Hong 2011).

At this point, numerous studies on cultural omnivorousness have been actively conducted in diverse countries with different social contexts (Choi 2006, p. 145). However, despite the gradual spread of the cultural omnivore thesis, the concept has not been without controversy. First and foremost, there is the matter of whether to measure a person's preferences or actual participation in cultural activities (Peterson 2005). Initial studies dealing with cultural omnivorousness relied on respondents' preferences, but some of the more recent studies have measured people's actual cultural participation such as attendance at live music concerts or the reading of newspapers (Peterson 2005, p. 265). By pointing out the limitations of the measurement of individuals' self-declared preferences, Van Rees and his colleagues (1999) emphasized the importance of measuring actual behaviors. Other researchers have argued that cultural consumption is more meaningful than preferences since consumption is an actual social behavior, and is generally related to social stratification (Chan and Goldthorpe 2007, p. 3). López-Sintas and Katz-Gerro (2005, p. 314) also insisted that one's lifestyle is more strongly embedded in consumption action rather than cultural preferences. In line with these arguments, the current study investigates people's actual actions rather than what they say they like, and considers in particular both consumption and production activities.

The matter of conceptualization is another important factor in investigating cultural omnivorousness. It is true that the term omnivore was originally coined to refer to people who enjoy a wider range of cultural tastes, i.e., not only highbrow culture but also popular or lowbrow culture. However, many scholars have debated whether omnivorousness indicates one's preferences or participation across symbolic boundaries between elite and non-elite forms of culture or whether it simply refers to liking or engaging in a large number of cultural activities (Peterson 2005). In other words, it is a matter of whether to measure by composition or by volume (Warde, Wright, and Gayo-Cal 2008; Warde and Gayo-Cal 2009). Recently, an increasing number of studies operationally define omnivorousness using the number of activities or genres that individuals select (Peterson 2005, p. 264). It has become increasingly difficult to assume a cultural hierarchy among different

cultural activities (Warde and Gayo-Cal 2009, p. 121). Owing to its historical uniqueness, including rapid industrialization and westernization, Korea lacks a traditional highbrow culture (Choi 2013); it is thus difficult to determine a hierarchy of culture in Korean society. This study therefore utilizes the concept of 'omnivorousness by volume,' defined by the sum of the number of activities in which respondents participated.

Different Types of Omnivore

It has been suggested that there could be more than just one type of cultural omnivore and that people with wide cultural tastes cannot be categorized into one group. Peterson (2005, p. 264) distinguished among different types of cultural participation (active omnivore, inactive omnivore, active univore, and inactive univore) by considering the frequency and breadth of participation. In Korea, Kim and Suh (2011) followed Peterson's suggestion in attempting to classify different types of cultural participation. Van Eijck and Lievens (2008) also distinguished different types of omnivores by dividing the cultural field into the three cultural schemes of highbrow, pop, and folk. They then defined omnivores as those who participate in at least two of these schemes, regardless of the combination. It can be also possible to separate different types of omnivores by considering the specific genres and the number of genres people like. In this way, Tampubolon (2008) identified more 'traditional' omnivores versus more 'popular' omnivores. When the acts of attending concerts and listening to music at home were investigated separately, two different types of omnivores were discerned. Those who listened to various music genres at home were referred to as 'omnivorous listeners,' while people who attended diverse concert genres and listened to varied music genres at home were 'omnivorous attenders and listeners' (Roose and Vander Stichele 2010). Other studies have repeatedly confirmed the existence of various types of omnivores (Sonnett 2004; Vander Stichele and Laermans 2006; Purhonen, Gronow, and Rahkonen 2010; Lee and Lee 2014).

However, despite the consistent endeavors to distinguish various types of omnivores, most of the studies dealing with the omnivore thesis are still confined to cultural consumption activities, overlooking cultural production activities. Different types of omnivores can be identified by taking into account both consumption and production activities. In general, it is expected that people who participate in diverse cultural consumption activities also participate in diverse production activities. However, this is not

necessarily true all the time. Thus, the current study employs Latent Class Analysis (LCA) in order to explore how the patterns of cultural participation are classified into various types of omnivore in Korea.

Determinants of Cultural Omnivorousness

It is generally accepted that a person's cultural omnivorousness can be shaped by his or her socio-economic position in a social hierarchy. In their analysis of the results of surveys from 1982 and 1992, Peterson and Kern (1996) found that the musical tastes of high-status Americans had shifted from snobbery to omnivore. According to a study on theatre, dance and cinema attendance in England, it was revealed that people with higher social status, higher levels of education, and higher incomes are more likely to be omnivores than univores (Chan and Goldthorpe 2005). Many other studies from around the globe have shown that higher educational level is closely associated with cultural omnivorousness (Van Eijck 2001; López-Sintas and García-Álvarez 2002; López-Sintas and Katz-Gerro 2005; Purhonen, Gronow, and Rahkonen 2010). Jaeger and Katz-Gerro (2010) used surveys conducted over 1964-2004 in Denmark, and confirmed that socio-economic variables, including income, education, and social class, are the main determinants of omnivorousness. Alderson and his colleagues (2007) showed that social status, graduate degree, and family income are significantly related with omnivores. In line with these studies, researchers in Korea have found that socio-economic status is associated with cultural omnivorousness. For instance, Nam and Hong (2011) have concluded that the new middle class is more likely to participate in more varied cultural consumption activities than the working class. They also noted that educational level and family income are also significant determinants of omnivorousness. People with higher education levels show a greater number of preferred music genres, while the number of music genres they disliked decreases (Han et al. 2007). In sum, numerous studies on cultural omnivores have consistently confirmed that socio-economic variables such as class, social status, education, and income are closely associated with cultural omnivores.

Nonetheless, socio-economic variables are not the only conditions affecting omnivorousness. Through a series of empirical studies on omnivores, it has been demonstrated that various demographic variables could also have effects on the breadth of cultural participation. First, it has been revealed that omnivorousness is negatively correlated with age. By analyzing the pattern of cultural activities among Spanish people, López-

Sintas and García-Álvarez (2002) showed that omnivores are largely characterized by a younger age. Vander Stichele and Laermans (2006) also found that cohorts of younger people were more likely to participate in both highbrow culture and popular culture compared to cohorts of older people. In Korean society, it was found that the younger the individual, the greater the number of music genres he or she liked, while the number of disliked music genres decreased (Han et al. 2007).

In addition to age, gender also plays an important role as a determinant of omnivorousness. Generally, gender has been regarded as an essential factor influencing cultural participation. Numerous studies have concluded that women tend to more actively participate in high-status culture than do men (Bihagen and Katz-Gerro 2000; Lizardo 2006b; Christin 2012). Meanwhile, according to a U.S. study analyzing survey data from 1982, 1992, and 2002, women had consistently higher omnivorousness scores than men over a given period (López-Sintas and Katz-Gerro 2005). Jaeger and Katz-Gerro (2010) showed that in Denmark, women were more likely to be omnivorous cultural consumers. From these results, it can be inferred that gender is a fairly stable determinant of omnivorousness (Kim and Suh 2011).

Another important predictor of omnivorousness is residence. People living near a large crowded urban area tend to participate in more diverse cultural activities. Chan and Goldthorpe (2007), for example, found that people living in London were more likely to be cultural omnivores than people living in the North or the Midlands. Meanwhile, it was proposed that wide-ranging social networks could contribute to the formation of diverse cultural tastes (DiMaggio 1987). Several studies have focused on the relationship between social networks and culture. Erickson (1996), for example, pointed out that Bourdieu's work overlooked an important aspect of social capital, and insisted that cultural omnivorousness could be strongly developed through social networks. According to her, diverse connections with people in different social positions can add to one's cultural variety. Relish (1997) also showed that people with broader social networks are more likely to be omnivores. In sum, one's social networks could play an important role as a determinant in patterns of cultural participation.

As stated above, a series of studies have confirmed that diverse variables could influence an individual's cultural omnivorousness. The current study therefore seeks to add to the literature by exploring how these various factors affect different types of cultural participation in Korean society.

Data and Methods

Data and Variables

The current study used national representative data from the survey on the cultural capital of Korean society that was carried out in 2011. Face-to-face interviews were conducted with a multi-stage stratified sample of 2,000 male and female Korean nationals of 19 years or older by using a structured questionnaire. The questionnaire was designed with a focus on cultural capital, and in particular, a concentration on the social landscape of cultural consumption and cultural production. The socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents are presented in Appendix A.

Respondents' cultural participation is divided into two broad categories: cultural consumption and production activities. Seven cultural consumption activities were considered: 1) attending a play, 2) attending a musical, 3) attending a classical music concert/opera, 4) attending a pop music concert, 5) going to the movies, 6) visiting an art exhibition, and 7) attending a dance performance (ballet, modern dance, or traditional Korean dance). Seven cultural production activities were also considered: 1) playing a classical music instrument, 2) playing a pop music instrument (drums, electronic guitar, etc.), 3) doing art activities (painting, sculpture, design, etc.), 4) writing a novel or poetry, 5) doing photography (excluding personal snaps such as 'selfies', 6) dancing (ballet, modern dance, traditional Korean dance), and 7) pop dancing.[1] These fourteen items, including high/popular culture and consumption/production activities, were selected through consideration of the periodical and social contexts of Korean society (Choi and Lee 2012). For each activity, respondents were asked "Over the last 12 months how often have you done _____?". The original questionnaire used a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 'never done' to 'very frequently done'. The answers were then recoded into dummy variables. If respondents answered 'never done' or 'scarcely done', it was regarded as 'did not participate', which was recoded into zero and one otherwise.

Table 1 shows the percentage of people who participated in cultural

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[1] Of course, some limitations are inherent here, as when people report they play an instrument or dance, it does not necessarily mean that they play an instrument or dance in a public performance. However, even if people do not perform on a public stage, it could be still important cultural capital for them to have such capabilities. Thus, we would consider these activities as cultural production activities regardless of whether they are performed in public or not.

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TABLE 1

PERCENTAGE OF PEOPLE WHO PARTICIPATED IN CULTURAL ACTIVITIES OVER THE LAST 12 MONTHS

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Activities	%
Consumption activities	
Attending a play	32.7
Attending a musical	28.2
Attending a classical music concert/opera	20.3
Attending a pop music concert	39.4
Going to the movies	80.6
Visiting an art exhibition	33.8
Attending a dance performance	17.1
Production activities	
Playing a classical music instrument	16.4
Playing a pop music instrument	16.5
Doing art activities	16.1
Writing a novel or poetry	16.8
Doing photography	30.7
Dancing	10.8
Pop dancing	21.7

consumption or production activities over the previous twelve months for each item. It is clearly shown that Koreans had a higher participation rate in consumption activities than in production activities. In particular, 'going to the movies (80.6%)' was the most common activity in Korean society. As an individual's cultural omnivorousness of consumption and production were measured by simply counting the number of activities in which the respondents participated, omnivorousness of both consumption and production ranged from 0 to 7. Individuals consuming or producing cultural activities more than the overall average are regarded as omnivorous (see Roose and Vander Stichele 2010).

The present study also included various socio-economic and demographic independent variables. First, parents' educational levels were measured by the number of years of schooling. Age and gender were also included in the model, where gender was recoded into a dummy variable, with male as the reference category. The region of residence was divided into the three categories of capital/metropolitan city, city, and town, with town as the reference category.

Each respondent's educational level was also measured by the number of

years of schooling. In addition, whether or not the respondents had received cultural artistic education was considered, and for analyses, it was converted into a dummy variable, with people who had not received cultural artistic education as the reference group. Household income was included as a socio-economic variable. Average monthly household income was used as the measurement.

Another independent variable in this study was household class. Hong (2005) divides social class in Korean society into six different categories, all based on occupation: upper class, new middle class, old middle class, working class, urban lower class, and others. A large volume of research follows this class classification (Nam and Hong 2011; Choi and Lee 2013; Choi 2013), which is in line with Bourdieu's theoretical use of occupation for class classification (Choi 2013, p. 8). Respondents' occupations were used as criteria. However, to measure household class, if the respondent was a woman who was married and unemployed, the occupation of her spouse was used as an alternative. For unmarried and unemployed female participants, the occupation of their parent with the highest status was used. The detailed classification of household class is presented in Appendix B. The "others" category (N=164) was excluded from the analysis, while the urban lower class was taken as the analytical reference category.

Lastly, this study also included one aspect of social networks as an independent variable. Social network size was measured by the average number of people with whom a respondent mainly exchanged information when choosing the following activities: 1) performances (concerts, musicals, and plays), 2) music, and 3) movies. As respondents could answer with up to three people for each sphere, social network size ranged from 0 to 3. Variables and measurement included in the analysis are shown in Appendix C.

Research Methods

As the first step of analysis, this study investigated different types of cultural participation in Korean society. Since all the fourteen selected items were recoded into dichotomous variables, Latent Class Analysis (LCA) was employed. LCA is appropriate when dealing with multivariate categorical data (Linzer and Lewis 2011, p. 1). By carrying out LCA, individuals could be empirically classified into latent classes (Muthén and Muthén 2010, p. 141). After types of cultural participation were derived, the second step of analysis explored the determinants of different types of cultural participation. For this purpose, multinomial logistic regression analysis was employed. This method

is suitable for the analysis of dependent variables having more than three categories.

Results

Patterns of Cultural Participation

Table 2 and Table 3 present goodness of fit statistics for three-class model through five-class model. To decide the number of types of cultural participation, the Lo-Mendell-Rubin adjusted likelihood ratio test was used, along with entropy and three information criteria: Akaike Information Criterion (AIC), Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC), and adjusted BIC. The Lo-Mendell-Rubin adjusted likelihood ratio test compares the improvement of goodness of fit between k-1 and k class models. A non-significant p value provided by this test means that there is no need to increase the number of classes (Nylund, Asparouhov, and Muthén 2007). Meanwhile, an entropy index helps us assess different models by indicating the average classification accuracy of each model (Crosby et al. 2009, p. 184). The value of an entropy index ranges from 0 to 1, and the lower the value is, the poorer is the classification accuracy (Ramaswamy et al. 1993, p. 109). For information criteria, the lower the value, the better the goodness of fit of

TABLE 2

TEST RESULTS FOR THE LO-MENDELL-RUBIN ADJUSTED LIKELIHOOD RATIO TEST

	2-class vs 3-class	3-class vs 4-class	4-class vs 5-class
Value	1088.997***	392.121**	204.070
P value	0.000	0.001	0.051

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

TABLE 3

IC AND ENTROPY FOR THE ESTIMATED LATENT CLASS MODELS

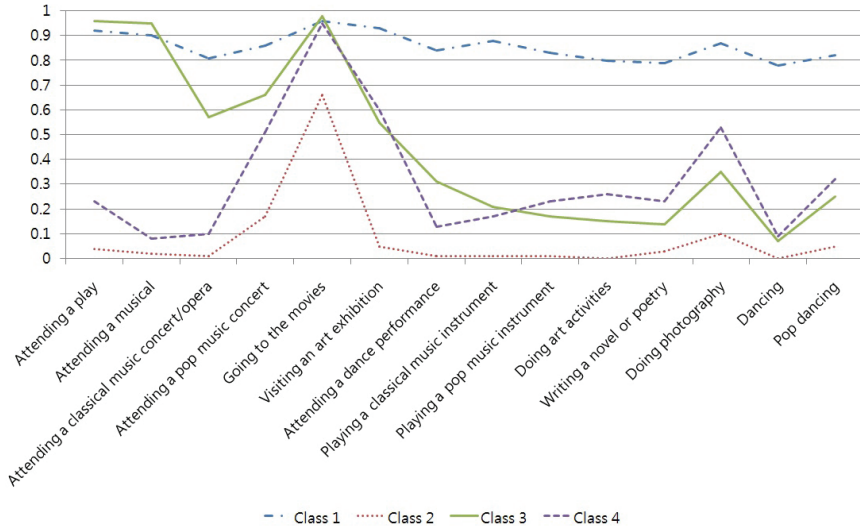|	3-class	4-class	5-class
AIC	22294.445	21928.884	21753.024
BIC	22540.884	22259.337	22167.490
Adjusted BIC	22401.094	22071.891	21932.388
Entropy	0.867	0.822	0.799

FIG. 1.—Conditional probabilities of participating in each item over the last 12 months

model.

According to the results from the Lo-Mendell-Rubin adjusted likelihood ratio test, when comparing the four-class model and the five-class model, the p value was 0.051. Since the p value was marginally greater than 0.05, the four-class model was superior to the five-class model. In addition, the entropy index of the four-class model (0.822) was higher than that of the five-class model (0.799), which supported the greater suitability of the four-class model over the five-class model. In the case of the three information criteria, the four-class model had a lower AIC, BIC, and adjusted BIC than the three-class model, making the four-class model better than the three-class model. Furthermore, as theorized, the four-class model clearly distinguished distinct patterns of cultural participation. With all of these factors combined, the four-class model was deemed as the optimal model.

Figure 1 and Table 4 show the conditional probabilities of participating in each item in the last 12 months for the four-class model. By considering the heterogeneous characteristics of cultural participation for the four classes, it was possible to give them meaningful labels. First, Class 1, comprising approximately 10 percent of the respondents, had high conditional probabilities for every cultural activity, including consumption and production. For Class 1, both omnivorousenss of consumption (6.21) and

TABLE 4
Conditional Probabilities of Participating in Each Item Over the Last 12 Months

	Class 1[a]	Class 2[b]	Class 3[c]	Class 4[d]
Class size	200 (10.0%)	1041 (52.1%)	343 (17.2%)	416 (20.8%)
Consumption activities				
Attending a play	.92	.04	.96	.23
Attending a musical	.90	.02	.95	.08
Attending a classical music concert/opera	.81	.01	.57	.10
Attending a pop music concert	.86	.17	.66	.51
Going to the movies	.96	.66	.98	.95
Visiting an art exhibition	.93	.05	.55	.60
Attending a dance performance	.84	.01	.31	.13
Production activities				
Playing a classical music instrument	.88	.01	.21	.17
Playing a pop music instrument	.83	.01	.17	.23
Doing art activities	.80	.00	.15	.26
Writing a novel or poetry	.79	.03	.14	.23
Doing photography	.87	.10	.35	.53
Dancing	.78	.00	.07	.09
Pop dancing	.82	.05	.25	.32
Omnivorousness of consumption	6.21*	.97	4.97*	2.60
Omnivorousness of production	5.76*	.20	1.35	1.82*

Note.—Omnivorousness of consumption/production shows the total number of consumption/production activities in which respondents participated over the last 12 months respectively (overall mean = 2.52/1.29). Classwhose omnivorousness of consumption/production is significantly higher than overall mean is marked with an asterisk (at .001 level).

[a]omnivorous prosumers, [b]univores, [c]omnivorous consumers, and [d]omnivorous producers.

production (5.76) were significantly higher than the average, so these participants were labeled 'omnivorous prosumers'. In contrast, Class 2, comprising about 52 percent of the respondents, showed low conditional probabilities for all the cultural activities except 'going to the movies'. Since they have a low level of omnivorousness of consumption and production, these respondents were termed 'univores'.

Meanwhile, Class 3 and Class 4 showed distinctly different patterns of cultural participation from one another. Class 3, accounting for nearly 17 percent of respondents, exhibited generally high scores on cultural

consumption, but had relatively low scores on cultural production. Consequently, their omnivorousness of consumption (4.97) was significantly greater than the average, but omnivorousness of production (1.34) was not significantly higher than the average, making this group 'omnivorous consumers'. Class 4, by contrast, had relatively lower conditional probabilities for cultural consumption activities than Class 3. However, Class 4 scored relatively higher on cultural production activities than did Class 3. Given that Korean people are less likely to participate in cultural production activities, the conditional probabilities for cultural production activities of Class 4 are relatively high, especially for 'doing photography' (.53) and 'pop dancing' (.32). In addition, their omnivorousness of comsumption (2.60) was not significantly greater than the average, but omnivorousness of production (1.81) was. Thus, they were labeled 'omnivorous producers'. This groups accounts for nearly 20 percent of Korean people.

Determinants of Different Patterns of Cultural Participation

According to the results from the LCA, four types of cultural participation were identified: omnivorous prosumers, omnivorous consumers, omnivorous producers, and univores. The current study also investigated the determinants of each participation types. To do so, multinomial logistic regression analysis was employed, with univores as the reference group. Table 5 presents the results from the multinomial logistic regression analysis. The -2 Log-likelihood statistic, which indicates the model's overall goodness of fit was 4,012.220. The Cox and Snell R-square was 0.217 and the Nagelkerke R-square was 0.237.

When other variables were controlled, younger people were found to be more likely to be omnivorous producers than univores. However, age did not significantly influence the probability of being omnivorous consumers or prosumers. This suggests that a younger age does not have a significant positive effect on every type of cultural participation. Gender also significantly affected the probability of being omnivorous consumers. Females were found to be more likely to be omnivorous consumers than univores, as compared to males. The odds ratio was 1.478, indicating that the relative risk of being an omnivorous consumer as compared to being a univore was approximately 47.8 percent higher for females than for males. In addition, the higher educational level significantly increased the probability of being omnivorous consumers, omnivorous producers, and omnivorous prosumers compared to univores. This suggests that educational level is a good predictor

TABLE 5

Determinants of Types of Cultural Participation (Multinomial Logistic Regression Analysis)

Variable	Omnivorous consumers vs. Univores			Omnivorous producers vs. Univores			Omnivorous prosumers vs. Univores		
	B	SE	Exp (B)	B	SE	Exp (B)	B	SE	Exp (B)
Intercept	-5.402***	.800		-2.534***	.658		-6.569***	1.072	
Father's educational level	.044	.027	1.045	.027	.024	1.028	.054	.034	1.056
Mother's educational level	.048	.029	1.049	.012	.026	1.012	.066	.035	1.069
Age	-.007	.007	.993	-.014*	.006	.986	.000	.009	1.000
Gender									
Female	.391**	.144	1.478	.133	.131	1.142	-.268	.175	.765
Region of residence									
City	.214	.322	1.239	-.073	.268	.929	-.363	.327	.696
Capital/ Metropolitan city	.364	.321	1.439	.235	.266	1.265	-.408	.329	.665
Educational level	.125***	.033	1.133	.077**	.029	1.080	.114**	.042	1.121
Cultural artistic education	-.042	.194	.959	.530**	.182	1.699	.380	.270	1.462
Yes									
Household income	.002***	.000	1.002	.000	.000	1.000	.001**	.000	1.001
Household class									
Upper middle class	.761	.524	2.141	-.172	.414	.842	1.105	.805	3.020
New middle class	.958*	.463	2.606	.233	.308	1.262	1.537*	.748	4.650
Old middle class	.284	.468	1.328	-.127	.306	.881	.949	.753	2.582
Working class	.056	.496	1.057	-.301	.331	.740	.876	.774	2.402
Social networks size	.229**	.071	1.257	.165**	.062	1.179	.366***	.092	1.442
Number of cases	1830								
Chi-squared	447.112								
-2 Log-Likelihood	4012.200								
Pseudo R-square	Cox and Snell R-square = .217 / Nagelkerke R-square = .237								

NOTE.—The reference categories are the following: gender (male); region of residence (town); cultural artistic education (no); household class (urban lower class).

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

of being an omnivore, no matter what type it is. Meanwhile, results indicated that people who received cultural artistic education were more likely to be omnivorous producers than univores, as compared to those who had not received any. The odds ratio was 1.699, meaning that the relative risk of being an omnivorous producer as compared to being a univore was approximately 69.9 percent higher for those who received cultural artistic education than those who did not.

Household income was also found to significantly influence the probability of being an omnivorous consumer or prosumer. People with higher household incomes were more likely to be omnivorous consumers or omnivorous prosumers than univores. However, household income was not found to have a significant effect on the probability of being an omnivorous producer. It was also found that the new middle class was more likely to be omnivorous consumers and omnivorous prosumers than univores, as compared to the urban lower class. The odds ratio was 2.606 and 4.650 respectively. Lastly, social network size also affected the probability of being an omnivore. A larger network size tended to increase the probability of being an omnivorous consumer, an omnivorous producer, and an omnivorous prosumer rather than being a univore. Neither the educational level of parents nor the region of residence showed a significant effect.

In sum, it was found that the higher the educational level and the larger the social network size, the greater the probability of being a cultural omnivore. It can therefore be said that these variables delineate a distinction between broad cultural participation and narrow participation. In addition, according to the odds ratio, household class, gender, and cultural artistic education are all crucial determinants of patterns of cultural participation in Korean society.

Conclusions and Discussion

Through the consideration of fourteen cultural activities, including cultural consumption and production, this study attempts to explore different patterns of cultural participation. Four types of cultural participation were derived from the results from an LCA on the fourteen items: omnivorous prosumers, omnivorous producers, omnivorous consumers, and univores. That is, different types of cultural omnivore could be classified by considering the two axes of cultural omnivorousness. It was found that about half of all people belong to the univore type, suggesting that although improved living

standards have coincided with a growing interest in diverse cultural activities, many Koreans still remain culturally uninterested, apart from going to the movies.

Furthermore, results from a multinomial logistic regression analysis indicate that not only socio-economic variables such as educational level, household income, and household class, but also various other variables such as age, gender, and social network size influence patterns of cultural participation. In particular, a higher educational level and larger social network size tend to promote the chance of being any type of cultural omnivore. Moreover, people who are younger and have received cultural artistic education are significantly more likely to be omnivorous producers than univores. In addition, women, members of the new middle class, and people with a higher household income are more likely to be omnivorous consumers than univores. Lastly, members of the new middle class who have a higher household income are more likely to be omnivorous prosumers than univores.

This study provides several important implications. Most of all, it contributes to the expansion of the boundaries of prior discussions on cultural omnivorousness. Numerous studies have proposed the existence of different types of omnivores (Peterson 2005; Tampubolon 2008; Van Eijck and Lievens 2008; Roose and Vander Stichele 2010), but little attention has been paid to the intersection of cultural consumption and cultural production activities. This is probably due to the fact that previous research has focused on the field of cultural consumption activities, whereas less attention has been given to the field of cultural production activities. The current study therefore holds significance for the empirical identification of distinct types of cultural omnivores by considering both fields simultaneously.

In addition, it is also noteworthy that different variables influence different types of cultural participation. Socio-economic variables such as educational level, household income, and household class have significant effects on the probability of being omnivorous consumers or prosumers. A particularly important finding is that people with a higher educational level and higher household income who belong to the new middle class are more likely to be omnivorous prosumers. It not only supports suggestions from prior research that people with a higher socio-economic status consume more diverse cultural activities, but also shows that such people participate in more varied production activities. This means that the wide range of cultural participation in both consumption and production activities is a status marker for people of a higher socio-economic status. Therefore, future research on the association of

socio-economic status and lifestyles should also give attention to cultural production activities, as well as consumption activities.

It has also been revealed that gender has a significant effect on the probability of being omnivorous consumers. This is consistent with findings from previous studies that showed that women are more likely to participate in various consumption activities (López-Sintas and Katz-Gerro 2005; Jaeger and Katz-Gerro 2010). In contrast, no such gender difference is present in the field of cultural production activities. Moreover, age significantly influences the probability of being an omnivorous producer. These findings support the argument that we need to consider various demographic variables such as gender, age, region of residence, and religion as constituent elements of Korean society's cultural topographic map (Han and Park 2007; Yang 2009).

The findings of this study also indicate that a larger social network size tends to promote the probability of being a cultural omnivore. There has been an increasing scholarly interest on the intersection of culture and social networks (DiMaggio 1987; Erickson 1996; Relish 1997; Kane 2004; Upright 2004; Roose and Vander Stichele 2010). Nevertheless, little attention has been given to this field in Korean society. The findings of the current study therefore lay the groundwork for filling a much-needed gap in the literature by showing that the larger an individual's social network, the greater the probability of being a cultural omnivore of any type. However, there is a possibility of reverse causality; that is, cultural tastes could shape one's social relations (Lizardo 2006a, 2013; Edelmann and Vaisey 2014). This study uses cross-sectional data, and therefore, cause-effect relationships could not be fully determined (Lee and Lee 2014).

Future studies need to investigate the different underlying meanings of an individual's participation in cultural consumption or production activities. According to one study, men who participated specifically in 'receptive' cultural activities rather than 'creative' ones showed more desirable health conditions (Cuypers et al. 2012).[2] This suggests that cultural consumption and production activities could play relatively different roles in an individual's daily life. Thus, more research is required to uncover the diverse implications of participation in cultural consumption and cultural production activities.

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[2] Creative participation includes activities such as playing a musical instrument, and receptive participation involves activities such as going to concerts or visiting museums (Cuypers et al. 2012). Although it might not fit exactly, this demarcation generally overlaps with the production and consumption classification.

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Appendix A

Socio-demographic characteristics of respondents

Variables	Categories	*N*	%
Gender (*N*=2,000)	Male	977	48.9
	Female	1023	51.2
Age (*N*=2,000)	20s	390	19.5
	30s	411	20.6
	40s	441	22.1
	50s	350	17.5
	60s or older	408	20.4
Household Income (*N*=1,996)	Under 3 million*won* per month	555	27.8
	3-6 million*won* per month	1117	55.9
	Over 6 million*won* per month	324	16.2
Educational Level (*N*=2,000)	Middle school or lower	320	16.0
	High school/College	923	46.2
	University	704	35.2
	Graduate school or higher	53	2.7

Appendix B

The classification of household class based on occupation

Household class (*N*=2,000)	Occupation
Upper class (*N*=122)	Capitalist, Large enterprise owner, High-ranking government official, Higher-grade professional (doctor, accountant, lawyer, etc.), Higher-grade government administrator, Corporate managers (employed)
New middle class (*N*=819)	Lower-grade professional (registered nurse, technician, school teacher, etc.), Managers in small business and industrial establishments, Supervisors of non-manual employees, Petty government officials, Office clerks, Sales workers (employed), Protective service (police officer, security guard, etc.)
Old middle class (*N*=526)	Managers (employer), Lower-grade professional (employer or small-scale self-employed), Sales worker, Restaurant business and Lodging industry worker, Other personal service workers (employer or small-scale self-employed), Manufacture inspector (employer or self-employed), Manufacture and related worker (employer or self-employed), Motor-vehicle driver (employer or self-employed)
Working class (*N*=267)	Service worker (employed), Manufacture inspector(employed), Skilled worker, Semi-skilled worker (employed), Elementary occupation (regularly employed)
Urban lower class (*N*=102)	Peddler, etc., Domestic and related helpers, cleaners, etc., Elementary occupation (temporary or daily employed), The Unemployed (under middle school graduate)
Others (*N*=164)	The Unemployed (above high school graduate) and others

Appendix C

Variables and measurement included in the analysis

Variables	Measurement

Consumption activities
  Attending a play
  Attending a musical
  Attending a classical music concert/opera
  Attending a pop music concert
  Going to the movies
  Visiting an art exhibition
  Attending a dance performance
	Participated inover the last 12 months
	No = 0 /Yes = 1

Omnivorousness of consumption	The number of consumption activities participated in Range: 0-7

Production activities
  Playing a classical music instrument
  Playing a pop music instrument
  Doing art activities
  Writing a novel or poetry
  Doing photography
  Dancing
  Pop dancing
	Participated inover the last 12 months
	No = 0 / Yes = 1

Omnivorousness of production	The number of production activities participated in Range: 0-7
Father's educational level Mother's educational level	Years of schooling
Gender	Male = 0 / Female = 1
Age	—
Region of residence	Town = 0 City = 1 Capital/Metropolitan city = 2
Educational level	Years of schooling
Cultural artistic education	No = 0 / Yes = 1

Variables	Measurement
Household income	Household income per month (in Korean currency: *won*)
Household class	Urban lower class = 0 Working class = 1 Old middle class = 2 New middle class = 3 Upper class = 4
Social network size	The average number of people with whom the respondents mainly exchange information when choosing following activities: 1) performances (concert, musical, play), 2) music, and 3) movies Range: 0-3