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Social capital and cultural participation: spousal influences on attendance at arts events

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Abstract

Empirical efforts to study the determinants of participation in the arts have demonstrated that adult attendance at arts events is influenced by adolescent exposure to the arts, educational attainment, and current income. While many have illuminated the impact of family socialization and individual characteristics, they have neglected the ways in which people's social relationships influence their adult participation in the arts. This paper begins to redress this imbalance by focusing on the role of one crucial relationship—the tie between spouses—in shaping attendance at arts events. The importance of social ties is demonstrated by the finding that spouse's background has an impact on an individual's arts participation comparable to one's own characteristics and that this effect persists even net of one's spouse's own attendance. Consistent with theories of a gendered division of cultural labor, men's attendance is more strongly influenced by spousal characteristics than is women's attendance.

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1. Introduction

Over the last two decades, interest in what factors lead individuals to participate in the arts has increased dramatically. Empirical efforts have demonstrated that adult attendance at arts events is influenced by adolescent exposure to the arts, educational attainment, gender, age, race and current income.¹ DiMaggio and Useem (1978b) suggest that consumption of high arts activities (including the visual arts, opera, ballet, theater, and classical music) is a preference largely handed down from one generation to the next, and that class differences largely explain differing

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¹ See Bergonzi and Smith (1996); Kracman (1996); O'Hagan (1996a); Orend (1988); van Eijck (1997) for individual studies related to specific individual level characteristics, and O'Hagan (1996b); Robinson (1993) for overviews of recent literature.

consumption patterns. These findings support similar results obtained through survey analysis by Bourdieu (1977). Prior research exploring the individual and family socialization factors which lead to increased cultural participation has illuminated many areas but left others unexplored or inadequately explained. Because such efforts have often been rooted in a paradigm that emphasizes the impact of early family socialization and individual characteristics, they have often neglected the ways in which people's current social relationships influence their participation in the arts. Two deficiencies stand out.

First, prior research has theorized that early childhood social relations have an influence on adult participation in the arts, but have neglected adult socialization. This research has been successful at identifying several factors from one's early upbringing or family characteristics which affect later behavior. Given many good reasons to believe that orientation towards high-status culture varies over the life course, it is plausible to assume that the social relations of the adult will also matter (Van Berkel and De Graaf, 1995).

More specifically, existing research has failed to explore adequately the influence of an adult's contemporary peer group in arts participation. Most individuals do not live, work, or play in isolation. The family unit has been theorized to play a critical role in the development of preferences and behaviors for adolescents, yet the influence of the family created by an individual in adult life is rarely explored.

Second, gender consistently appears as a strong predictor of arts participation and other displays of cultural capital, but this has not been adequately theorized or explained. Tepper (1998) provides one exception as he attempts to explain such results in the field of reading literary fiction, positing a "separate spheres" theory of the domestic division of cultural labor.

In this paper, I examine the impact of social relationships on arts participation by starting with an especially strategic relationship: that between wives and husbands. Is the arts participation of an individual truly independent of the behavior of one's spouse? For example, if a woman who infrequently attends arts events marries a man who attends more often, how might he affect her subsequent behavior? Three possibilities include

1. Her behavior doesn't change at all
2. She attends more events, but only with her husband
3. She attends more events, both with and without her husband, suggesting that not only her behavior but also her internal preferences have been changed by her husband's taste.

I hypothesize that participation in the arts reflects not only an individual's backgrounds and preferences, but also those of his/her spouse. I ask if the background characteristics of an individual which have been associated with a higher tendency to attend arts events (such as early arts socialization and educational attainment) might also affect the behavior of that person's spouse.

This study explores these issues through an analysis of the 1992 Survey of Public Participation in the Arts (SPPA). Conducted by the Census Bureau on behalf of the

National Endowment of the Arts, the SPPA interviewed each member of 7103 households concerning their attitudes and behaviors in a variety of arts activities. Using household and other demographic markers, it is possible to identify the responses not only of one individual but also of his or her spouse and investigate the extent to which spouses influence one another's arts participation.

This study primarily focuses on the relationship between individuals' rates of participation and those of his or her spouse. All paired spouses in the subsample live in the same household, assuring that community resources are identical for each pairing. Using data from each partner in a subsample of 1147 matched, married couples from the SPPA, I perform multinomial logistic regressions on whether respondents attended at least once during the previous 12 months each of six activities: visits to art museums/galleries, and performances of classical music, live theater, musicals, dance (both modern and ballet), and opera.

Marriage is but one type of highly influential social relationship that might have an influence on participation in the arts. My goal is both to understand the ways in which spouses shape one another's arts participation, and also to provide a framework for exploring network effects on social participation more generally. In the sections that follow, I explore theoretical issues relevant to participation in arts events, including the roles of cultural capital, arts socialization, and gender. I then describe my data and measures, and summarize the results of several multinomial logistic regressions that demonstrate the influence of an individual's background on a spouse's participation. I conclude by suggesting that the sociology of culture would benefit from a closer analysis of an individual's various social memberships and relationships.

2. Theoretical issues concerning arts participation

Researchers have established that rates of participation in arts events are associated with educational attainment, high income, middle age, and urban residence (DiMaggio and Useem, 1978b; Blau, 1988; DiMaggio and Ostrower, 1990; Peterson and Sherkat, 1992; Robinson, 1993). Additionally, women participate more in almost every type of art activity (with the exception of jazz concerts), and ethnic minorities have lower levels of participation in many art forms. Finally, people who report being exposed to the arts at home or school during childhood attend at higher rates than those who do not. This study focuses on the two factors that research has shown to be the best predictors of adult participation in the arts—childhood exposure to the arts and educational attainment—and asks to what extent these characteristics may influence the behavior of others in one's social network.

2.1. *Accumulating cultural capital through arts socialization*

Research on variation in arts participation has been influenced by the work of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu argues that knowledge of and participation in the arts is a form of cultural capital that serves to reproduce class

hierarchies and societal structures of domination (Bourdieu, [1979] 1984). Bourdieu argues that different class factions employ distinctive cultural repertoires strategically (if not consciously) to gain honor, prestige, and status group membership. Bourdieu attributes the basis of cultural capital to families of origin.

Participation in arts events is ordinarily accepted as an important kind of cultural capital, and research that links a positive orientation to high culture with higher educational attainment and income supports this view. One of the theoretical dangers of relying on one's initial stock of cultural capital to influence later cultural participation, however, is an over-emphasis on origin and reproduction at the expense of transformation and growth. While Bourdieu mentions the "trajectory" of one's cultural capital as ascending or descending, he fails to address the question of how one's social environment influences changes in stocks of cultural capital over the life course. In the only study that anticipates the design I employ in this paper, Van Berkel and De Graaf (1995) found that cultural participation might even decline if one's spouse has a lower level of education, suggesting a status minimization rather than a maximization process.

If cultural capital is used to increase one's social capital (through participation in events which have been deemed worthwhile or useful), this could well alter one's networks (including friends, co-workers, even spouses) and subsequently one's work and leisure activities. This could in turn affect one's stock of cultural capital, through a continuing education process that Bourdieu fails to acknowledge. I suggest that arts participation, like other forms of social participation, is profoundly social, a product not just of each person's experiences and attributes, but of his or her ongoing social relationships.

Consistent with Bourdieu's argument, researchers *have* found that early exposure to the arts, through classes taken in arts production or appreciation, have a profound effect on one's later consumption of arts activities (Orend, 1988; Bergonzi and Smith, 1996; Kracman, 1996).² Additionally, those from higher backgrounds are more likely to receive this early exposure. However, research has found that the relationship between parental socioeconomic status and adolescent cultural capital in the U.S., while positive, is relatively modest, especially for boys (DiMaggio, 1982). More recent research indicates that the content of cultural capital may be changing in the U.S., as the tastes of the highly educated are increasingly marked by breadth and diversity rather than adherence to a single exclusive standard (Peterson and Kern, 1996; Bryson, 1996). Insofar as these changes have occurred within cohorts, this also suggests plasticity of tastes over the life course.

Uncovering the mechanisms that yield the persistent differences in arts participation that most surveys find still remains a critical task. Kracman (1996) argued that if arts socialization was a mechanism for reproducing status, then arts courses taken outside of the formal school setting, those inspired by family rather than educational structures, should be the ones that affect later attendance. Using the 1992 SPPA, she

² Throughout this paper I shall refer to formal arts courses taken before the age of 18 as *arts socialization* or *exposure*, while *education* shall mean overall level of educational attainment.

demonstrated that while such courses do have a stronger effect than those taken within schools, courses taken in schools (even after controlling for family background) are also significant predictors of adult participation. DiMaggio (1982) found that returns on cultural capital in grades for working-class boys are higher than for sons of college graduates. Schools do not appear merely to reinforce status structures, as Bourdieu suggests, but can also influence one's stock of cultural capital, including one's orientation towards the arts.

If we assume that early arts socialization is but one factor that leads to greater participation in later life, in what other areas of social life might one observe additional accumulation of cultural capital? Relish (1997) suggests that while education is (again) a strong indicator of diversity of musical tastes, geographic mobility and network complexity are strongly associated with both a wider range of expressed musical preferences as well as an increased appreciation for "elite" genres such as classical performances and opera. These findings would suggest that individuals take cues from both their environment and their social networks in the formation of preferences, and that these preferences tend to accumulate rather than merely replace those already present.

2.2. Gender differences in arts participation

Individuals generally select mates based upon similar educational backgrounds. DiMaggio and Mohr find that the interests high school students expressed in high-cultural activities had significant effects on their subsequent educational attainment and selection of marital partners. They characterize the marital market as one of "matches, in which both spouses desire intimacy based on cultural similarity" (DiMaggio and Mohr, 1985, p. 1254). In the contemporary U.S., homogamy persists, albeit based more on educational attainment and less on parental occupational status than in the past (Blau and Duncan, 1967; Kalmijn, 1991). Increased educational homogamy is a natural result of the dramatic increase in educational attainment and declining gender differences at every level of formal education.

Table 1
Participation of married couples: both spouses or one spouse only

	Men		Women	
	Attended event	Without spouse	Attended event	Without spouse
Gallery	24.3	7.0	27.5	10.3
Musical	15.6	4.3	20.0	8.7
Classical	11.6	3.3	13.7	5.3
Theater	11.7	3.5	14.1	6.0
Dance	8.7	3.7	11.2	6.2
Opera	3.2	1.2	3.7	1.6

Source: 1992 SPPA, married sub-sample. Note: Attendance without spouse can be determined with confidence. If both spouses report attending a particular event, there is no way to determine if they did so together.

Perfect homogamy (in the sense of perfect correlations between spouses' education and prior exposure to the arts) can never be empirically complete due to the wide variation of potential backgrounds. Women consistently demonstrate higher levels of both arts socialization and participation than men (DiMaggio and Useem, 1978a; Orend, 1988; Robinson, 1993; Cherbo and Peters, 1995). Greater arts socialization among women makes marital homogamy in this dimension more difficult to achieve. Higher participation in arts-related activities suggests that women at least occasionally participate in events in which their husbands do not. [Table 1](#), derived from the 1992 SPPA, demonstrates that men are much more likely to attend particular events during the course of a year if their wives do so as well, while women are much more likely to attend without their husbands.³

Collins (1988) suggests that men are more involved in class (the realm of production), and that women are more involved with status (the realm of culture). He argues that “.. it is largely women who perform the Weberian task of transforming class into status group membership” (Collins, 1992, p. 219), which would help explain the women's higher rates of appreciation for and participation in cultural activities.

Despite the significant changes in gender relations and expectations over the last three decades, established patterns of gender socialization, expectations and norms continue to influence behaviors and attitudes. Van Berkel and De Graaf (1995) find that the effect of a woman's education on her husband's cultural activity has actually been increasing over time. Men may be more likely to attend arts events if their wives give them cues (through their own participation) that such an activity is both worthy and desirable. If so, then we would expect men's participation to be better predicted by their spouses' educational attainment than by their own.

2.3. *Hypotheses*

In this paper, I examine the influences of one's spouse on participation in the arts. Without rejecting the notion that family background has an enduring influence on cultural orientations and behavior, I suggest that relationships in later life also shape these outcomes. While one's spouse is just one potential influence (others include one's co-workers, close friends or other family members), I suggest that spousal relationships are particularly influential because the relationship is both long-term and voluntary, and because married individuals tend to select each other based upon similar (though not necessarily identical) interests and backgrounds. Just as an individual's education and arts socialization level helps predict one's later arts participation, one's spouse's characteristics may both reinforce one's predisposition and provide a surrogate background leading to greater participation.

³ The 1992 SPPA did not actually ask respondents if they attended with a spouse for each type of event. By matching responses, one can confidently determine when one spouse attended without the other, although the converse is not necessarily valid.

This leads me to formulate the following competing hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1. Patterns and orientations towards arts participation influence marital selection, and thus a spouse's background simply mediates the couple's joint participation, without affecting the likelihood of an individual attending without one's spouse.

Hypothesis 2. Arts participation is affected by social networks, and an individual whose spouse has high levels of arts socialization and education will be more likely to attend arts events both with and without his or her spouse even after controlling for the individual's attributes.

Hypothesis 3. Arts participation is primarily determined by women in marriage, and men take cues regarding the proper display and use of cultural capital from their wives. Men whose wives have higher arts socialization and education backgrounds will be more likely to attend art events only if their spouses do as well, even after controlling for the male's attributes.

3. Data and measures

To explore these issues, I analyze data from the 1992 Survey of Public Participation in the Arts. Commissioned by the National Endowment for the Arts, the SPPA has been conducted four times in the last two decades—1982, 1985, 1992 and most recently in 1997. The first three studies were conducted using instruments that the U.S. Census Bureau added to its longitudinal crime victimization survey. These surveys attempted to capture responses from every household member over the age of 18.⁴ The 1992 survey, which I use here, includes responses from 12,736 individuals from 7103 homes.

After deriving my subsample of paired married individuals, I created a series of multinomial models for each of the six categories of arts participation described below. Several researchers have already explored the relationship of various demographic and individual-level arts socialization measures to increased levels of arts participation. Rather than simply replicate their work, I build on their conclusions and explore the impact of these variables on the observed cultural participation of one's spouse as well.

Previous analyses of the data treated all respondents in a given household as independent observations, and included both husbands and wives in populations for statistical modeling. Because this study specifically questions this assumption of independence, I divided my sample based upon gender and included a spouse's characteristics as additional independent variables. I examine each regression model described below separately for men and for women.

⁴ The 1997 survey captured only one respondent per household. For a more complete description of the 1992 survey, which I use here, see Robinson (1993).

3.1. Deriving the married subsample

The Census Bureau conducted the survey during all twelve months of 1992, but only asked respondents the series of questions related to arts socialization during the last six months, thus reducing the effective sample by half. The data set yields 1147 couples for analysis. Descriptive statistics are contained in [Table 2](#).⁵

Table 2
Frequencies of independent and dependent variables

Variable	Full sample	Married, unmatched	Married men	Married women
Male	43.9	32.3	100.0	0.0
Female	56.0	67.1	0.0	100.0
Married	61.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
White	78.8	78.5	82.2	82.1
Black	9.9	9.0	6.9	6.5
Other	8.3	9.0	7.9	8.2
Up to 12th grade	5.0	4.4	5.6	3.7
High school diploma	35.5	36.4	33.8	40.7
Some college, no degree	22.1	22.1	19.7	21.0
Bachelor's degree	12.5	11.8	13.9	13.0
Post-graduate work	9.8	10.2	13.5	8.9
\$16,850 or less	12.8	6.5	7.1	7.1
\$16,851 to \$23,250	10.3	15.8	14.6	14.6
\$23,501 to \$34,750	17.7	9.4	8.9	8.9
\$34,501 to \$46,500	15.9	14.7	17.4	17.4
\$46,501 to \$58,000	28.0	11.7	12.1	12.1
\$58,001 to \$87,150	6.7	10.6	13.7	13.7
\$87,151 and over	8.7	8.8	9.1	9.1
Urban	73.3	70.3	69.1	69.1
Visited: Museum/Art Gallery	26.3	25.4	24.2	27.4
Live Performance: Musical	17.7	18.8	15.6	20.0
Live Performance: Theater	13.5	13.1	11.7	14.1
Live Performance: Classical	12.6	11.8	11.6	13.7
Live Performance: Dance	7.2	6.6	6.0	7.0
Live Performance: Opera	3.4	2.8	3.2	3.6
Arts Socialization	1.7	1.8	1.4	2.4
<i>N</i>	12,736	1136	1147	1147

Sources: 1992 SPPA, full sample; un-matchable married couples; married sub-sample.

⁵ Of the 3528 individuals originally identified as married, I eliminated 1024 due to the absence of their spouse's responses. I was also forced to drop 91 couples with no income information. Finally, I dropped 24 couples in a same-sex marriage; even if they have been properly coded, the present analysis does attempt to examine issues of gender difference, and the sub-sample is too small to form a comparison group.

3.2. *Dependent variables*

I examine the association of spousal arts socialization with the responses to seven questions posed in the SPPA, recording whether individuals participated in a given activity at least once in the previous twelve months. These include attending an art museum or gallery, attending live classical performances, and attending live stage productions of musicals, play, dance (both modern and ballet), or opera. Each type of event received a separate response, although I combine the answers for the two forms of dance due to the low levels of response for each category. Respondents were instructed to exclude elementary and high school performances. While participants were asked about their frequency of attendance, the low level of participation overall would problematize the use of a standard linear regression. Instead, I measured attendance as a binary response and used logistic regressions to explore what factors increased the likelihood of attending at least once during the previous year.

I further differentiated the attendance measures by constructing a multinomial variable that separates attendance into two different categories. If an individual attended a particular kind of art event during the course of the previous year but the spouse did not, the response is coded as “Attended Alone.” If both spouses attended, it is possible (though not certain) that they attended with each other. In these cases the response is coded “Both Attended.”

Table 3
Matrix of correlation coefficients

Race	Age	Income	Educ	Urban	Men	AS	Women AS
Race	1.0000						
Age	-0.1288	1.0000					
Income	-0.1895	-0.1450	1.0000				
Educ	-0.1303	-0.1292	0.5228	1.0000			
Urban	0.1725	0.0271	0.1770	0.1880	1.0000		
Men AS	-0.0760	-0.1678	0.2109	0.3094	0.1028	1.0000	
Women AS	-0.1459	-0.1136	0.2674	0.3117	0.0257	0.3631	1.0000
Museum	-0.0927	0.0041	0.3150	0.3749	0.1353	0.2508	0.2474
Musical	-0.0819	0.0434	0.2579	0.2423	0.0759	0.1203	0.1363
Theater	-0.0542	0.0380	0.1799	0.2660	0.1108	0.1243	0.1397
Classical	-0.0705	0.0439	0.1851	0.2564	0.1029	0.1742	0.1667
Dance	-0.0364	0.0175	0.0841	0.1379	0.0680	0.1471	0.1536
Opera	-0.0169	0.0268	0.1703	0.1756	0.0316	0.0898	0.1056
	Museum	Musical	Theater	Classical	Dance	Opera	
Museum	1.0000						
Musical	0.2888	1.0000					
Theater	0.3054	0.3508	1.0000				
Classical	0.3371	0.2581	0.3635	1.0000			
Dance	0.2133	0.1174	0.1112	0.2256	1.0000		
Opera	0.2098	0.1887	0.1478	0.2590	0.1923	1.0000	

Sources: 1992 SPPA, married sub-sample. AS refers to Arts Socialization.

3.3. *Arts socialization, educational attainment*

My analysis focuses on the possibility of transitivity, that is, whether an individual's participation can be predicted not only by his or her own educational attainment and early exposure to the arts, but by his or her spouse's as well. The SPPA asked respondents a series of questions about courses or lessons in eight arts subjects: acting, ballet, dance, creative writing, art history or appreciation, visual arts, music appreciation, or musical performance. Respondents giving positive responses were questioned further to identify in which of four different life stages the classes occurred. I only consider classes taken before the age of 12 or between 12 and 17 in my measure, both to assess the impact of socialization that occurs in the respondent's youth and also to avoid the possibility that the course-taking may have been influenced by the spouse. I have constructed a very broad measure of *Arts Socialization*, which assigns one point for each period in which a course was taken. This variable has a potential range of 0 to 16, but the maximum value in the data set is 8, with a mean of 1.59. Two-thirds of the respondents received scores of 0.

Recognizing that the social significance of school grade levels rests more upon plateaus of achievement than the specific number of years accumulated, I have collapsed the *Educational Attainment* of the respondents into 5 categories. These include those with no high school diploma; with a high school diploma; some college; bachelor's degree; and education beyond the undergraduate degree. While status homogamy might suggest that the spouses' educational and/or arts socialization measures would be highly collinear, this is not the case. As the matrix in [Table 3](#) indicates, the correlations are 0.52 and 0.36, respectively.

3.4. *Additional explanatory variables*

Following the lead of previous researchers, I include variables marking age, race/ethnicity, income, and urban/rural categories. *Age* is used as a continuous variable. *Race/Ethnicity* is categorical with White as the reference group, and includes Black and Other, the latter primarily composed of those of Hispanic origin.

Finally, *Income* is an ordered variable with seven categories, and *Urban Setting* is a dummy variable indicating that the respondents reside in a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area. Previous research has indicated that individuals living in SMSAs are more likely to attend arts events.

4. Analysis and findings

I analyzed arts attendance at each of the six kinds of arts events, using previously identified factors significant to the arts participation of an individual—race, age, sex, education, income, urban location, and arts socialization. Using multinomial logistic regressions for each separate art event, I calculated the “risk” of an individual's attendance, differentiating participation based upon attendance, first when one's spouse did not attend, and, second, when one's spouse also attended. Each model

replicates previously reported findings. Income and education are two of the best predictors of arts attendance in any category, whites and women are more likely to attend than ethnic minorities and men, and early arts socialization is a significant predictor of later participation.

Using these models as a base, I created a series of multi-nomial logistic regressions which add a single characteristic of the respondent's spouse to explore its potential influence on participation at arts events. Analyzed separately, these models added a spouse's levels of arts socialization or educational attainment.

Table 4 displays the abbreviated results of 12 different regressions (6 types of events modeled separately for men and women), summarizing the exponentiated coefficients of models which include all of the individual variables described above as well as the level of arts socialization of one's spouse. As the table demonstrates, for married men the level of arts socialization reported by one's wife can also be a strong indicator of participation, even after controlling for the husband's own early

Table 4

Summary of adjusted (exponentiated) coefficients of arts socialization variables from multi-nomial logistic regressions

Event type	Arts socialization	Husbands		Wives	
		Attends alone	Both attend	Attends alone	Both attend
Galleries/Museums	Respondent	1.51**** (4.52)	1.25 *** (2.85)	4.14 **** (5.16)	1.25 **** (3.99)
	Spouse	1.09 (1.16)	1.18**** (3.19)	1.02 (0.23)	1.16* (1.85)
Musicals	Respondent	1.34** (2.14)	1.13 (1.23)	1.24 **** (3.28)	1.08 (1.42)
	Spouse	1.19* (1.82)	1.06 (0.87)	1.20* (1.76)	1.13 (1.23)
Theater	Respondent	1.23* (1.65)	1.10 (1.02)	1.24*** (3.44)	1.11 (1.56)
	Spouse	1.20** (2.04)	1.08 (1.18)	1.17* (1.66)	1.09 (0.93)
Classical	Respondent	1.29* (1.67)	1.30*** (2.68)	1.26**** (3.19)	1.12 (1.63)
	Spouse	1.23** (2.27)	1.10 (1.45)	0.90 (-0.686)	1.27 (2.38)
Dance	Respondent	1.33*** (2.34)	1.21 (1.53)	1.20*** (2.77)	1.18*** (2.01)
	Spouse	1.31**** (3.45)	1.19** (2.05)	1.13 (1.13)	1.20 (1.42)
Opera	Respondent	1.51** (2.13)	1.05 (0.22)	0.96 (-0.23)	1.18 (1.29)
	Spouse	1.17 (1.35)	1.19 (1.36)	1.28 (1.24)	1.03 (0.16)

* $p < 0.100$; ** $p < 0.050$; *** $p < 0.010$; **** $p < 0.001$. Note: z-scores in parentheses. $N = 1141$.

exposure to the arts. With respect to dance, the increase of a single additional art course taken by one's wife is associated with an almost 20% increase in the likelihood that the respondent will also attend.

This effect is not confined to cases in which both spouses attend. The level of arts socialization of one's wife is a more reliable predictor of a man attending a dance event than his own early exposure, even if he attends without her. Similar results hold true for men in the areas of musicals, theater, and classical music. For women, the effect of a husband's arts socialization is more limited, and can be observed when both attend galleries and museums, as well as when a woman attends musicals and theater alone. This lends support for rejecting hypothesis 1, which suggested that any observed effect of a spouse's background would be confined to joint attendance, possibly indicating reluctant participation. Instead, the observed effects apply specifically when one's spouse has indisputably not attended. These results support hypothesis 2, suggesting that the social network of an individual (including the

Table 5

Summary of adjusted (exponentiated) coefficients of educational attainment variables from multi-nomial logistic regressions

Event type	Educational attainment	Husbands		Wives	
		Attends alone	Both attend	Attends alone	Both attend
Galleries/Museums	Respondent	1.48**** (5.52)	1.50**** (7.89)	1.52**** (6.42)	1.61**** (8.56)
	Spouse	1.18** (2.22)	1.52**** (7.64)	1.04 (0.70)	1.43**** (7.03)
Musicals	Respondent	1.41**** (3.85)	1.38**** (5.53)	1.26**** (3.32)	1.25**** (3.59)
	Spouse	1.07* (0.78)	1.21*** (3.14)	1.05* (0.87)	1.36**** (5.24)
Theater	Respondent	1.49**** (4.14)	1.53**** (6.09)	1.43**** (4.41)	1.50**** (5.80)
	Spouse	1.26** (2.33)	1.46**** (5.33)	1.04 (0.60)	1.49**** (5.57)
Classical	Respondent	1.22** (2.01)	1.63**** (7.10)	1.82**** (7.25)	1.51**** (5.74)
	Spouse	1.23** (2.27)	1.45**** (5.21)	0.91 (-1.08)	1.60**** (6.79)
Dance	Respondent	1.28*** (2.65)	1.23** (2.55)	1.47**** (4.90)	1.35**** (3.40)
	Spouse	1.25** (2.28)	1.32*** (3.16)	0.96 (-0.50)	1.21** (2.32)
Opera	Respondent	1.26** (1.40)	2.23**** (5.30)	1.52*** (2.76)	1.05 (0.39)
	Spouse	1.20 (1.10)	1.04 (0.32)	1.23 (1.44)	2.23**** (5.30)

* $p < 0.100$; ** $p < 0.050$; *** $p < 0.010$; **** $p < 0.001$. Note: z-scores in parentheses. $N = 1141$.

network represented by marriage) increases the likelihood of attending even in the absence of members of the influencing network.

All of these results are stronger for the analysis of men's participation rather than women's, however, lending support for hypothesis 3—the relative strength of this particular social network is gender dependent.

A spouse's level of educational attainment is an even stronger predictor of an individual's attendance at arts events. Table 5 summarizes the results of an additional 12 regressions, substituting the spouse's education for the spouse's arts socialization. An individual's level of education has been demonstrated to be a strong predictor of arts participation, and this is evident in the results shown—own education is statistically significant at the 0.05 level in nearly every case, and is below 0.001 in several. The educational attainment of one's spouse, however, also proves a strong predictor of many kinds of arts participation, even after controlling for one's own education.

For men, each increase in the level of a wife's education is associated with a dramatic and statistically significant higher level of participation for nearly each type of event. These results are strongest when both partners attended an event, and the coefficients suggest that a wife's educational level is as important to going as is that of the respondent himself. For every event excepting opera, these results are evident even when a wife did not attend.

For women, the coefficients associated with "Both Attend" suggest that the educational level of a husband is also as strong if not a stronger predictor of participation as the wife's own educational attainment. In the case of opera, husband's education is the only variable in the entire model which is statistically significant. The education of a husband appears to have little effect, however, on the odds of his wife attending alone.

5. Discussion and concluding remarks

Students of public participation in the arts have ordinarily modeled arts attendance as an individual decision driven by individual attributes and experiences. Such a perspective is consistent both with the human-capital approach favored by economists and the version of Bourdieu's cultural-capital perspective employed by most empirical researchers in sociology. Consistent with Bourdieu's own earlier work, I argued that arts participation, like other forms of social participation, is profoundly social, a product not just of each person's experiences and attributes, but of his or her ongoing social relationships.

The results of this study of one critically important social relationship—the bond between spouses—strongly supports this position. The arts attendance of many married men and women is predicted as strongly by their spouse's educational attainment and arts socialization as by their own. Even more strikingly, such effects are evident not only on the probability that spouses attend the same arts events, but even on the probability that they attend such events without their spouses. This study also addresses a second gap in sociological research on arts participation, the failure to theorize prominent gender differences in participation. Drawing on theories of the gendered division of labor (Tepper, 1999), the analysis supports

hypothesis 3, demonstrating that the influence of women on husband's arts participation exceeds the influence of husband's on their wives' behavior.

A critical finding is that participation in arts events is a function not just of cultural capital but of social capital—that is, of the attributes of one's close associates, not just the status cultures into which one has been socialized early in life. The effect of the educational level of one's spouse changes depending on whether that spouse also attends similar events. Arts events are social as well as cultural activities, social not only in the sense that they may be used to gain and solidify status, but opportunities for couples to go out and be entertained in each other's company. These findings suggest that further work exploring arenas of social participation will be well served by considering the attributes found in a social network as a personal resource, and just as capable of influencing current behavior as an individual's background and experiences.

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