

Applying dual-process theory to the explanation of cultural consumption: the role of preferences and attitudes in film consumption

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Abstract

To date, sociological research on cultural consumption has largely neglected to give attention to the theory of action underlying it. However, this is exactly what is required in order to explain the relationship between social position indicators, cultural taste, and cultural consumption in a theoretically sound way. Broadly speaking, there are two major perspectives that come into consideration here. The first conceives cultural consumption as the result of a deliberate (rational) decision making process based on the weighing of aesthetic preferences and situational opportunities. The second perspective points to the importance of deeply internalized aesthetic attitudes and dispositions guiding cultural consumption in a rather automatic way, given relevant situational cues. Since either of these perspectives gains plausibility, it seems reasonable to conceptualize cultural consumption as a joint process of deliberate preference weighing and automatic attitude following. This is accomplished by applying dual-process theory which offers a more accurate account of the individual foundations of cultural consumption.

Drawing on recent survey data from Switzerland (conducted in February 2013), the assumption of preferences and attitudes constituting two distinct elements of cultural taste is tested for the domain of film consumption. The main result is that preferences predict film consumption only if attitudes are not strongly internalized. This is in line with the interactive interplay of preferences and attitudes assumed by dual process theory.

Key words: preference, attitude, taste, cultural consumption, film, dual-process, Switzerland

1. Introduction

Since Bourdieu (1979) there has developed a large body of research on the question of how cultural practices shape and are themselves shaped by the structure of social inequality in western societies (see for example Bennett et al. 2010; Chan 2010). The initial finding was that it is mainly people from higher social strata who are consumers of highbrow cultural goods and services (e.g. classical music, poetry, or fine arts) and who show a distinctive highbrow taste. In contrast, members of lower strata rather adhere to simple and popular cultural forms, whereas the middle classes try to imitate the upper classes' cultural behavior albeit never equaling it and thus cultivating a pretentious taste. So, overall, Bourdieu assumed a strong association (homology) between a person's social location and his or her cultural taste and consumption patterns. Since the latter two, shaped and recognized by the habitus, in turn serve as social position indicators they contribute to the reinforcement of established social and cultural divisions. Moreover, the habitus is the main control unit which is responsible for the consistency of cultural forms and ways of acquirement over a wide range of cultural consumption domains like music, eating out, visual arts, domestic furnishing, film, and so on. The result is what can be called a homogeneous lifestyle.

Although Bourdieu's ideas find confirmation even in recent studies and in diverse national contexts (see for example Bennett et al. 2010; Bennett et al. 1999; Le Roux et al. 2008), they are also contested. The individualization argument, brought forward by scholars like Bauman (1988), Beck (1992), or Featherstone (1991), pointed to the increasing decoupling of individual consumption patterns from social class hierarchies, so that class-based tastes tend to dissolve in modern societies. Furthermore, Peterson and his colleagues declared the rise of the cultural omnivore (Peterson 1992; Peterson/Simkus 1992; Peterson/Kern 1996). According to this line of research it is not elitist highbrow consumption alone that serves the upper classes as signifier of their unique status. What is more relevant for distinction is the breadth of cultural forms consumed and the familiarity with a broad variety of high-, middle-, and low-brow genres.

Aside from these controversies there also emerged some questions in cultural consumption which are related to the level of the individual consumer. Lareau and Weininger (2003) emphasize the differences between actual consumption decisions and the stock of a persons's cultural knowledge, preferences, and disposition, i.e. cultural taste. Whereas cultural consumption refers to behavioral phenomena as visible manifestations of the involvement in certain cultural forms, cultural taste incorporates a set of mental phenomena reflecting cultural

evaluations. However, the former is confounded by availability and affordability of cultural goods and services and the latter can be taken as mere statement and is thus socially less meaningful. Following this, Yaish and Katz-Gerro (2012) found that cultural consumption behavior is more tied to economic indicators of a person's social position (occupational class, income) whereas cultural taste is related to cultural indicators (education, parental cultural behavior). Additionally, a debate arose whether it is plausible to assume that individuals hold homogeneous cultural tastes and exhibit consistent lifestyles (Lahire 2003, 2008; Daenekindt/Roose 2013). Against Bourdieu's early view it is stated that individuals encounter a variety of socialization conditions forming a "shattered habitus" and leading to a "mixing of genres" in cultural consumption.

What has hardly been asked in the context of cultural consumption, though, is which theory of action is appropriate to model the individual mechanisms underlying it (see for an exception Rössel 2008). This is somewhat surprising since an answer to that question could – despite its more general relevance for the explanation of human action – help clarifying some crucial points of the debate. If we know how consumption decisions work we can more precisely isolate the relevant individual factors influencing those decisions and therefore better determine for what we need to find its generative structural and situational conditions. Moreover, we are better able to model the interplay of possibly conflicting cultural dispositions in a theoretically sound way. So, the purpose of this paper is to contribute to the identification of the theory of action best suitable in the field of cultural consumption research. In doing so, the focus will be on the role of cultural preferences and cultural attitudes, two individual factors which are assumed to influence consumption decisions in different ways. Since both of them are yet assumed to be of relevance, dual-process theory will be applied to integrate them. Empirically, its usefulness will be tested for the case of film consumption Switzerland. All in all, this endeavor is expected to be in line with a more "mechanism-oriented" and thus less "variable-oriented" kind of social explanation (Hedström/Swedberg 1998; Hedström/Bearman 2011; Esser 1996b).

2. The influence of taste on cultural consumption

At first instance it is crucial to spell out the explanatory framework used here to locate theories of action in cultural consumption research. As stated above, a distinction has to be made between actual consumption decisions and corresponding cultural tastes. Following Rössel

(2008) and Yaish/Katz-Gerro (2012) cultural consumption is the key dependent variable which needs to be explained. Taste, in contrast, is one of the causal influencing factors shaping cultural consumption, hence the key independent variable. Further independent variables are objective restrictions to consumption like spatial or temporal availability or economic affordability of consumption alternatives. This is what Rössel (2008) calls an individual's opportunity structure. In analogy to Coleman's (1994) macro-micro-macro model, bridging between the Bourdieusian space of social positions and the space of lifestyles thus means to explain (1) how structurally relevant resources shape an individual's cultural taste and his or her opportunities to realize it, (2) how taste and opportunities bring individual consumption decisions about, and (3) how these decisions aggregate to individual lifestyles or even lifestyle groups (milieus). Comprehensively, this is quite an ambitious endeavor; however it is possible to take each step separately. Here, the focus is solely on the second, because this is where the theory of action is located and hence the foundation of the other two steps. Even more narrowly, the focus is on the influence of taste on cultural consumption since this relationship is most adequate to say something about the theory of action involved. Opportunities can easily be re-implemented once the latter question is more settled.

So, the point of departure here is that taste is assumed to guide cultural consumption and therefore causally anteceding it (Yaish/Katz-Gerro 2012). However, even without considering objective opportunities directly, the association between taste and overt consumption is not necessarily as perfect as one could think when reading Bourdieu's *Distinction*. Generally, social psychology advises us that the influence of mental phenomena like preferences or attitudes on behavior varies according to a wide range of conditions (Wicker 1969; Glasman/Albarracín 2006; Mayerl 2009). For instance, an individual can hold competing preferences which mutually rule each other's influence out; or there can be situations of social desirability which prevent the individual from realizing personal desires. With respect to cultural consumption Rössel (2008) described three conditions moderating the taste-consumption relation, of which two are of relevance here. First, the *correspondence principle* states that the association between tastes and cultural consumption is stronger the closer the taste measurement is to the specific consumption decision in question (Ajzen/Fishbein 1980). That is, the degree of generality/specificity of the measurement of the two variables should be approximately equal in order to gain strong effects. For example, if one is interested in the explanation of Beethoven consumption it is better to have information on preferences towards Beethoven than towards classical music in general. Second, Rössel (2008) argues that cultural taste influences consumption more in situations with small differences between the costs of

behavioral alternatives, that is in *low-cost situations* (Diekmann/Preisendörfer 2003; Best/Kroneberg 2012). In such situations objective opportunities (e.g. the endowment with financial means) are expected to be of lesser importance giving more potential to the influence of cultural tastes. This is in line with a study by Roose and Vander Stichele (2010) who found that cultural capital (esp. educational attainment) has a stronger influence on public (concerts) than on private (CDs, radio) music consumption. The authors interpret this by the fact that in public consumption situations other motives than taste might play a more pronounced role, specifically considerations to conform to certain social status norms or to expectancies from peers. Private consumption, in contrast, is more devoted to personal pleasure and serves less as a signifier of social status. Moreover, private consumption is generally less costly (in the sense of a possible economic as well as status loss) than its public counterpart. So, altogether, private cultural consumption should be more influenced by taste than public consumption.

Summing up, the association between taste and cultural consumption is the pivotal point of the explanatory chain between the space of social positions and the space of lifestyles. To point to the fact that cultural taste and cultural consumption should not be treated as interchangeable indicators of one single entity (e.g. cultural capital or habitus) I argued that the association between the two concepts is dependent on several conditions (esp. correspondence principle and low-cost hypothesis). And since no superordinate entity can account for it, the only way to explain the taste-consumption association is to embed it into a framework of individual decision making, which I will turn to now.

3. The theory of action in cultural consumption

So far I have used the terms preferences and attitudes as interchangeable notions of cultural taste. But if one is interested in an explanatory framework based on individual decision making it is important to explicitly specify what is meant when talking about taste. However, my strategy to define taste is not by simply stating some mental concepts (“taste *is* X”), but by putting these concepts into the context of two differing models to generally explain human action (“in model A, taste *works as* X”). These two differing models are a rational-choice conception on the one and a habitus-/practice-theoretical conception on the other side. In a rational-choice perspective taste can be conceptualized as preferences for certain cultural or aesthetic forms, genres, or artists (Rössel 2008). These cultural preferences are deliberately

weighed by the individual against his or her disposable resources and objective restrictions in order to achieve the best possible realization of preferences, given specific objective opportunities (Opp 1999). So, the goal of this conscious weighing process is to maximize the subjective utility gained through the fulfillment of cultural preferences. Contrary, in a practice-theoretical perspective, taste can be conceptualized as more or less strongly internalized attitudes or dispositions towards certain cultural or aesthetic forms. According to Bourdieu (1979, 1990) these attitudes are unconsciously activated by situational cues (field) so that individuals follow them in a rather automatic way. However, these attitudes (which can be interpreted as part of the habitus) do not mechanically force individuals into specific actions but rather open up a space of possible behavioral alternatives of which the most appropriate one is to be performed (also see Reckwitz 2002).

If one accepts that both processes described are plausible to certain degrees, cultural taste can be conceptualized as being comprised of preferences for *as well as* attitudes towards cultural and aesthetic forms. The decisive difference between the two elements is the way they are mentally processed (deliberate vs. automatic) and the logic of intentionality underlying them (utility maximization vs. appropriateness). Moreover, preferences are seen as more specifically directed towards certain actions, whereas attitudes define the scope of possible consumption alternatives.

The question, then, becomes which theory of action is most adequate to integrate both notions of taste. The suggestion which I want to make here favors a dual-process approach (Chaiken/Trope 1999; Fiske/Taylor 2010: 25ff, 236ff). The basic idea of this line of theorizing is that human decision making can be the result of two more or less separate information processing systems. On the one hand, people can consciously and deliberately reflect all disposable information relevant for the current decision and thus calculate which alternative is to be chosen. On the other hand, people can automatically react to given decision-situations by following those mental schemata which are spontaneously activated by objects and other cues present in the situation. The reflective system (or: mode) has the advantage of being potentially more accurate; however it is costly in terms of time and energy. The automatic mode has the advantage of being fast and energy saving; however it is potentially more error-prone. To fully exploit the potential of the dual-process framework it is crucial to specify conditions under which each mode prevails (Fazio 1990; Kroneberg et al. 2010; Kroneberg 2011). Besides motivation and opportunity to reflectively calculate information the decisive condition for our purposes is the degree of availability and accessibility of the mental schemata involved in the automatic process. If these schemata are available and highly accessible, then

individuals will (*ceteris paribus*) rather follow them spontaneously than involve other information in a calculative fashion.

When applying the dual-process framework to the case of taste and cultural consumption it becomes apparent that each of the two notions of cultural taste conforms to one of the two modes of information processing. Preferences are part of a reflective weighing process and attitudes are part of a spontaneous activation process. However, this is only one part of the story. Since preferences and attitudes are two elements of a larger concept called taste it is evident that each individual holds (possibly conflicting) preferences and attitudes at the same time (Lahire 2003, 2008). This fact, in turn, makes it necessary to theoretically model the interplay of the two concepts when producing one single consumption decision (instead of assuming that some decisions are driven by preferences and some by attitudes). This also means to allow for decisions that are operated reflectively and automatically at the same time¹. The solution to this paradoxically appearing constellation can be described as follows (I primarily refer to Kroneberg 2011 and Kroneberg et al. 2010 here). First, when individuals enter a situation in which a cultural consumption decision has to be made they will recognize relevant cues and objects which tell them what kind of situation they currently are in (subjective definition of the situation; Esser 1996a). Second, these cues will activate cultural attitudes and dispositions which are relevant in the present situation. Third, the activation of attitudes is dependent on its degree of availability and accessibility (internalization). Fourth, these attitudes define the scope of possible behavioral alternatives. Fifth, if the scope of possible alternatives is very narrow and even allows for only one specific action, this consumption decision will be made in an automatic way. Sixth, if the scope of possible alternatives is wider and allows for a certain variety of actions, people will switch into the reflective processing mode and decide what to consume by deliberately weighing their preferences against their opportunities.

Of course, this is quite a preliminary conceptualization which needs to be further elaborated. What are relevant situational cues? How are situational cues mentally processed? How exactly do availability and accessibility of attitudes differ? Which other conditions have to be met in order to switch into the reflective mode? What if preferences and attitudes are contradicting with regards to content? Are there differences between kinds of consumption decisions? How can other factors like opportunities and social pressure be integrated? Still, the present conception is perfectly able to account for the two distinct notions of cultural taste and thus to give a theoretically sound explanation of cultural consumption. It rests on the idea that atti-

¹ Maybe this is what Bourdieu had in mind when talking of strategic behavior without adhering to a strategy.

tudes are the more general part of cultural taste which give cultural consumption an overall orientation, but only to the point at which they are too generic to precisely prescribe what exactly to consume. If this occurs, more specific preferences will come into play and help finalizing the cultural consumption process.

To facilitate judgments about the plausibility of the conception of cultural consumption put forward here it is advisable to test it empirically. Therefore, I will formulate some hypotheses which apply the theoretical ideas introduced to the case of film consumption. First of all, it is an empirical question whether the presumption of cultural taste being comprised of preferences as well as attitudes is indeed true. If this is the case, it was argued, attitudes are more general mental concepts which give cultural consumption its overall orientation, whereas preferences are more specific. So, in the process of decision making preferences are closer and thus more directly tied to the actual decision than attitudes are (also see Campbell et al. 1960: 24ff). This, in turn, finds its empirical reference in the way preferences and attitudes are measured (see below). In accordance with the correspondence principle (section 2), general measures of taste should be weaker correlated with cultural consumption than more specific ones. Therefore:

H1: Preferences for and attitudes towards films are two distinct concepts.

H1a: Film preferences yield stronger effects on film consumption than film attitudes.

Additionally, if one takes into account that films can be consumed either in cinemas or at home the differentiation between public and private consumption and thus between low- and high-cost situations becomes relevant (section 2). According to the special features of film consumption in cinemas one can suppose:

H1b: Private film consumption is more strongly influenced by preferences and attitudes than public film consumption.

Finally, the interplay of preferences and attitudes was modelled by means of dual-process theory. As a result it was inferred that preferences can exert their influence on film consumption only if attitudes allow for a certain variety of possible consumption decisions. This, in turn, is more probable if attitudes are internalized not so strongly. In a more mathematical

language this means that preferences and attitudes are not additively connected but multiplicatively, that is interactively.

H2: Film preferences and film attitudes are guiding film consumption in an interactive way.

H2a: Deliberate preference weighing is only influencing film consumption if attitudes are not or only weakly internalized.

4. Empirical Analysis – Film consumption in Switzerland

4.1. Data and variables

The data to test these hypotheses stem from an online-survey on lifestyles conducted in Switzerland in February 2013. The population of this survey comprises all residents of German-speaking Switzerland who are between 15 and 74 years old and who use the internet at least once per week. The latter limitation is only of minor relevance since internet usage rates are between 80 and 95 percent in the corresponding age group (Froidevaux 2012). The sample of the survey consists of 1'543 individuals from which I will use a sub-sample of 768 persons which were given a more detailed questionnaire on their film consumption practices, attitudes, and preferences.

Film consumption and film preferences were operationalized on the basis of a list of 15 film genres (see table 1). For each genre participants were asked (1) how often they watched it at home in the last six months, (2) how often they watched it in cinemas in the last 6 months, and (3) how much they like it. Whereas for the two consumption measures respondents were presented a 7-point frequency-scale ranging from “never” (0) to “every day” (6), the preference measure used a 5-point Likert-scale ranging from “don’t like at all” (1) to “like very much” (5). In the preparation of the survey these genres were expected to group together to five more general film dimensions. These are: (1) “sophistication and arts” films, (2) “foreign worlds” films, (3) “suspense” films (4) “good vibrations” films, and (5) “action” films. Referring to these expectancies the attitude measures were designed. For each dimension three attitude statements were formulated (so a total of 15) which tried to grasp the inner meaning of it but definitely without drawing on the film genres expected to belong to it (e.g. “the main purpose of films is to create imaginations of foreign worlds” or “I perceive myself as an artistically and aesthetically ambitious film consumer”). Participants could indicate their agreement

with each statement on a 5-point Likert-scale ranging from to “don’t agree at all” (1) to “totally agree” (5).

Subjecting the 15 preference measures and the 15 attitude measures to two separate principal component analyses revealed that film genre likes and attitude statements yield perfectly analog dimensionalities. In each analysis the identical number of factors was retained with an identical distribution of variables on factors. However, the result was not exactly as expected. Instead of five only four factors could be retained. In both cases the variables expected to form the dimensions “suspense” and “action” formed one conjoint dimension called “action and suspense”. Since this happened for preferences and attitudes likewise it is no methodical problem at all. Using the factor scores of this procedure as variables yields preference measures and attitude measures for each film dimension which can be interpreted as ranging from a weak to strong degree of internalization.

According to the four film dimensions eight sum indices were calculated to account for the film consumption frequency of each dimension at home as well as in cinemas. Separately for consumption at home and in cinemas the frequencies of those genres were added up which the principal component analysis of preferences revealed to belong to one dimension². All in all this leads, for every film dimension, to a frequency measure of private consumption and a frequency measure of public consumption both of which can be explained by corresponding preferences and attitudes (table 1).

In order to better isolate the effects of preferences and attitudes some control variables have to be considered. To account for their location in the space of social positions respondents’ educational attainment (five categories) and occupational status (six categories) are integrated in the models as well as their age and gender. Furthermore, in order to control for the opportunity structure of film consumption, respondents’ disposable income, their disposable leisure time (hours per week), and the spatial availability of cinemas (subjective estimation) are kept constant.

4.2. Results

The results of the empirical analyses are presented in figure 1 (hypothesis 1) and figure 2 (hypothesis 2). To calculate the influence of preferences and attitudes on film consumption “zero-inflated negative binomial” regressions (ZINB) were estimated for each film dimension

² Factor analyzing the frequency scales revealed that at least for film consumption at home the same for dimensions as in the case of preferences and attitudes could be retained.

Table 1: Operationalization of film consumption, preferences, and attitudes

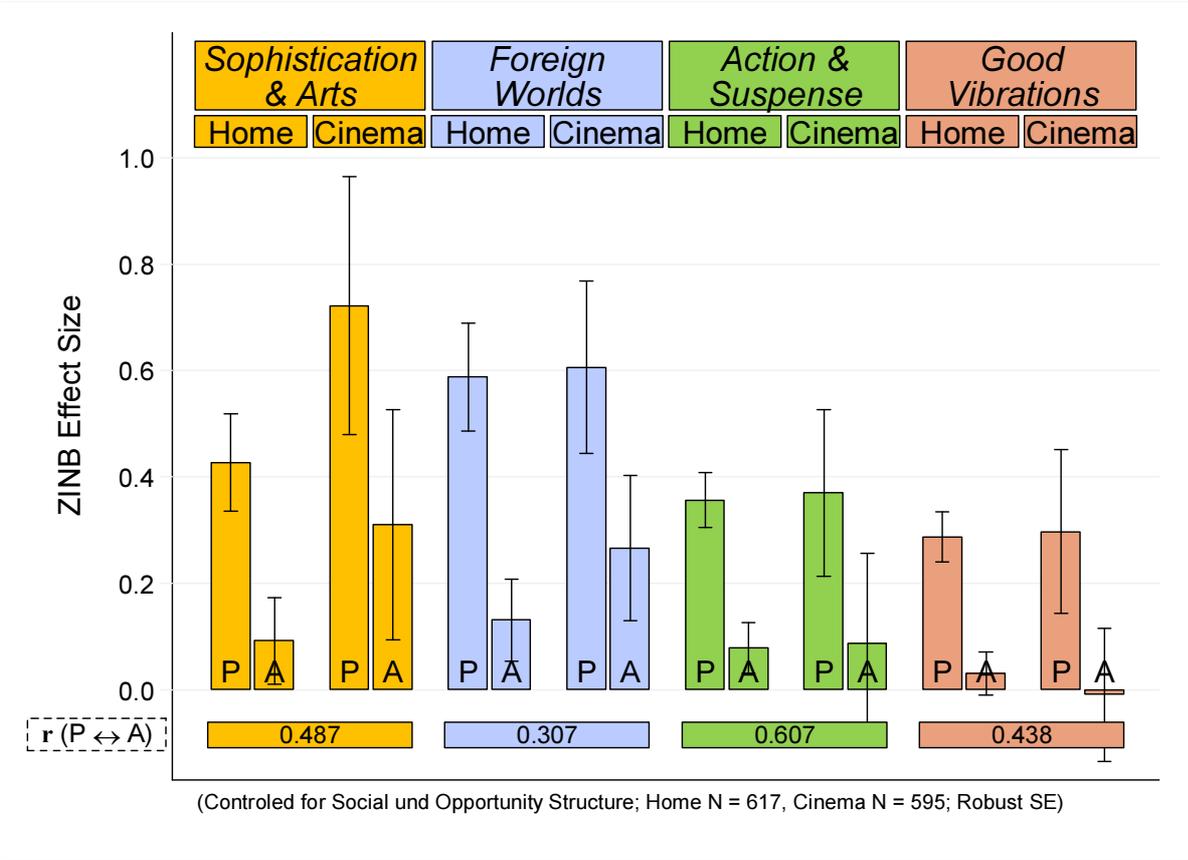
	Film Genres	Film consumption		Preferences	Attitudes
		Private	Public		
Dimension 1 <i>sophistication & arts</i>	Author's film Art film Biography	frequency of watching each genre <i>at home</i> (last 6 months)	frequency of watching each genre <i>in cinemas</i> (last 6 months)	preference for each genre (1: <i>don't like at all</i>) (5: <i>like very much</i>)	agreement with 15 more general, dimension-specific statements (1: <i>don't agree at all</i>) (5: <i>totally agree</i>)
Dimension 2 <i>foreign worlds</i>	Fantasy Science-fiction Utopian film	↓	↓	↓	↓
Dimension 3 <i>action & suspense</i>	Action Adventure Disaster Thriller Crime Gangster	dimension-specific sum index (0 – 18)	dimension-specific sum index (0 – 18)	dimension-specific factor scores	dimension-specific factor scores
Dimension 4 <i>good vibrations</i>	Romance Comedy Tragicomedy				<i>(e.g.: The main purpose of films is to create imaginations of foreign worlds)</i>

separately. These regression models are especially designed to account for frequency variables with large numbers of zero values³. The estimated coefficients (effect sizes) can be interpreted as change in the logarithmized frequency of the dependent variable as the independent variable rises by one unit.

First of all, figure 1 shows that preferences (P) and attitudes (A), even if estimated jointly, each have an effect on film consumption (except for the case of attitudes towards “good vibrations” films). This means that they indeed are separable influencing factors and thus distinct mental concepts. The latter is also becomes evident when looking at the Pearson correlations between the two, depicted by the r (P↔A) values in figure 1. Preferences and attitudes are correlated to a certain degree but this correlation is far from perfect. Moreover, the correspondence principle (hypothesis 1a) is clearly confirmed. In each consumption situation (at home or in cinemas) and for every film dimension the effect size of preferences is considerably higher than the one of attitudes. Although the differences are not always statistically significant at $p < .05$ (which is mainly to be attributed to the limited sample size), the results un

³ The additional inflation estimations include only the same independent variables as the main count estimations besides the indicators for preferences and attitudes.

Figure 1: The effects of preferences and attitudes on private and public consumption of four film dimensions (95% CIs)

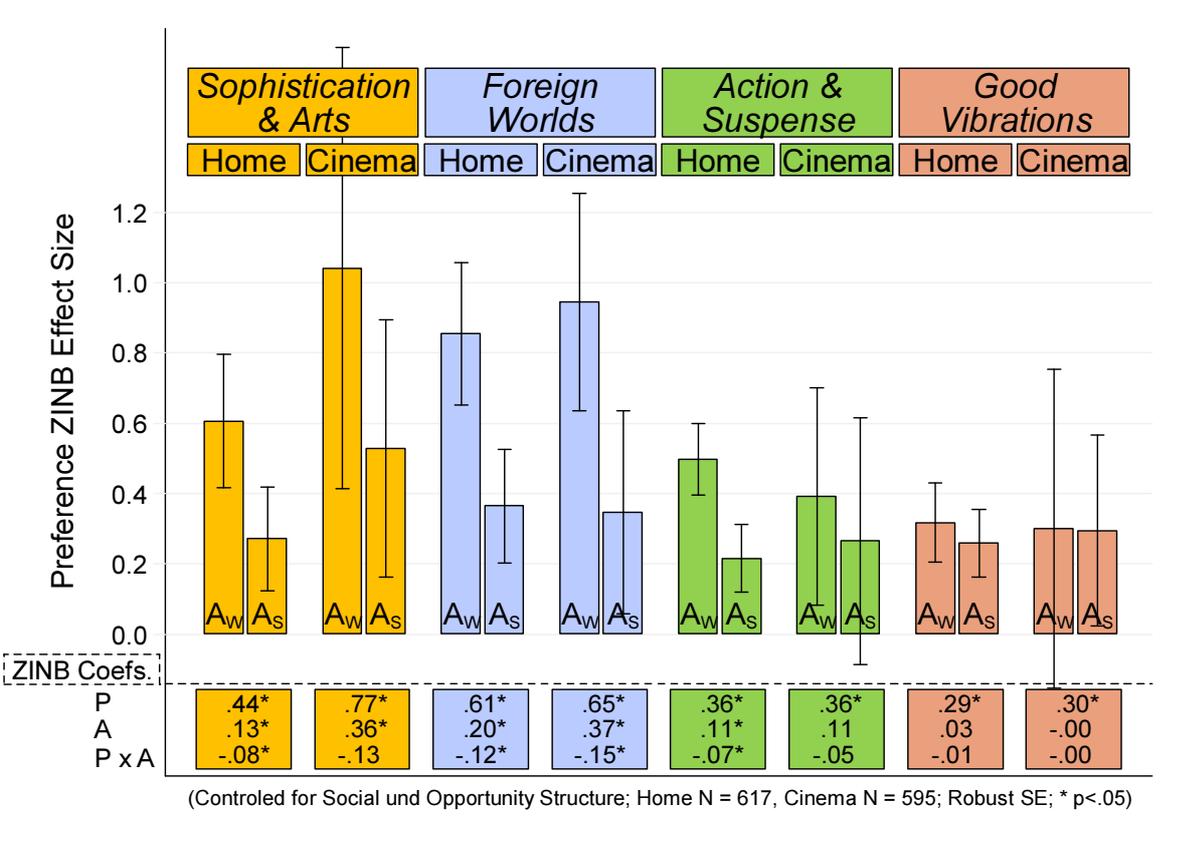


ambiguously point to the fact that preferences are more directly connected with film consumption than attitudes. Because both preferences and consumption were measured on the basis of film genres and attitudes, in contrast, on the basis of verbal statements, it is plausible to assume that preferences correspond to a more specific notion of cultural taste relevant for the behavioral decisions in question here.

However, results look different with respect to the low-cost hypothesis (hypothesis 1b). Contrary to the expectations, the influence of preferences and attitudes is not necessarily weaker in public than in private consumption situations. In film dimension 1 (sophistication & arts) preferences' and attitudes' effect on film consumption in cinemas is even considerably higher than on film consumption at home. This is not only opposed to the low-cost hypothesis but also to Roose and Vander Stichele's (2010) finding that in public cultural consumption situations other influencing factors than taste play a more pronounced role.

Nevertheless, the results so far are not suitable to make any claims about the interplay of preferences and attitudes. In order to test hypothesis 2/2a a multiplicative interaction term was

Figure 2: The effects of preferences on private and public consumption of four film dimensions, specific for weak (w) and strong (s) attitudes (95% CIs)



built between the two elements of cultural taste. This is in accordance with the idea of an interactive relationship between preferences and attitudes. As can be seen in the lower part of figure 2, depicting the ZINB coefficients of the corresponding regression estimations, the interaction terms yield negative effects for all eight dependent variables. This is a clear confirmation of the validity of a dual-process approach in film consumption. The negative interaction effect can be interpreted as the decline of the effect of one of the two variables as the other rises by one unit. This means, for instance, the higher the degree of internalization of the film attitude the weaker is the influence of film preferences on consumption. Since both preferences and attitudes are measured on continuous scales (factor scores, mean-centered) the effect size of preferences was calculated for a weak and a strong specification of attitude internalization (A_w vs. A_s , re-centered $2 \times SD$ below vs. above the mean). The preference effects for differing attitude specifications are depicted by the bars in figure 2. Except for “good vibrations” film consumption in cinemas, preference effects are considerably decreased if attitudes are strongly internalized, although the differences are not always statistically significant. So, if attitudes do not leave enough tolerance to the scope of possible consumption alterna-

tives, which is assumed to occur if attitudes are strongly internalized, there is only a limited chance for preferences to exert an influence. Only if attitudes are internalized not so strongly preferences will be a vital factor in decision making. This is exactly what dual-process theories predict in the case of cultural consumption.

5. Conclusion

Point of departure of this paper was the insight that cultural consumption research exhibits desiderata concerning the individual mechanisms underlying it. Therefore it was stressed that the formulation of a theory of action is pivotal in order to bridge the gap between the Bourdieusian space of social positions and the space of lifestyles. More precisely, it was argued that cultural taste and actual cultural consumption need to be treated as independent correlates of an individual's social position. To explain cultural consumption thus means to exactly trace how it is shaped by cultural taste which itself is assumed to be shaped by social position determinants. Hence, the search for a theoretical connector between cultural taste and cultural consumption becomes crucial, that is a theory of action. Two possible solutions to this problem were presented. On the one hand, rational-choice theory explains cultural consumption by the deliberate weighing of cultural preferences against situational opportunities. On the other hand, habitus-/practice-theory explains cultural consumption by the spontaneous activation and automatic following of deeply internalized attitudes and dispositions giving cultural consumption its more general orientation. Since both conceptions gain plausibility it was suggested to combine them by means of dual-process theory. Following it, cultural taste was defined to comprise of both deliberately weighed preferences and automatically operated attitudes. The most important point, then, is that dual-process theory predicts a specific interaction of preferences and attitudes which can be tested empirically. Precisely, attitudes are expected to be able to rule out the influence of preferences on cultural consumption if they are strongly internalized. This is exactly what could be found as a result when applying the dual-process approach to the empirical study of film consumption in Switzerland. Furthermore, the presumption of film preferences and attitudes being (more or less) independent elements of film taste could be confirmed as well as the more direct influence of preferences compared to attitudes. However, the low-cost hypothesis was not corroborated in the case of film consumption since both preferences and attitude did not exert stronger influences on film consumption at home than in cinemas.

What can be learned from the study presented here is twofold. Firstly, cultural consumption research should differentiate between cultural taste and cultural consumption. This is because of two reasons: as Yaish and Katz-Gerro (2012) have profoundly demonstrated taste and actual lifestyle decisions differ in their structural correlates. So, if one is interested in the homology of space of positions and space of lifestyles one has to make sure whether to look for *class-tastes* or *class-lifestyles*. Bourdieu himself did not display that kind of accuracy as he mixed up tastes and overt behaviors in his three-dimensional space (Bourdieu 1979: 140f). Additionally, it is necessary to make a distinction between cultural taste and cultural consumption in order to have an explanatory foundation for the latter (cf. Rössel 2008). If both concepts are treated as interchangeable, dependent and independent variables are not independent of each other which renders causal inferences tautological (more detailed see Rössel 2005: 225ff). Moreover, as we have seen here, it is also advisable to differentiate between components of cultural taste. On the one hand, this leads to a more precise explanation of cultural consumption by means of dual-process theory. On the other hand, it is not improbable that aesthetic preferences and attitudes are acquired under distinct socialization conditions. Hence, future research should take a closer look at processes of preference and attitude acquisition.

Secondly, the study showed that it is neither rational-choice theory nor practice theory which is most appropriate to explain cultural consumption. Even a wide version of rational-choice theory which tries to capture other incentives than preferences and opportunities as additional utility terms seems not to hold (Kroneberg/Kalter 2012). Such a conception wouldn't predict a negative interaction effect between preferences and attitudes since they would be expected to be connected additively and not multiplicatively (at best a positive interaction would be in line with a wide rational-choice conception). Dual-process theory, instead, is well suited to integrate both rational-choice and practice theory and at the same time maintain the specific features of each. In that way it is better able to grasp a large variety of human decision making. This kind of integrative theory also proved successful in other domains of complex social action like the rescue of Jews in WWII, political voting, or environmental behavior (Kroneberg et al. 2010; Best/Kneip 2011). However, the theoretical model introduced here is quite preliminary. The mechanisms of a dual-process approach to cultural consumption need to be elaborated more precisely (e.g. conditions for automatic vs. reflective information processing, contradiction between preferences and attitudes) and other influencing factors of cultural consumption (e.g. opportunities, social pressure) need to be implemented in the model. Nonetheless, the preceding remarks can help guiding future research in this direction.

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