Cultural Civility and Cultural Barbarism: A Sociological Analysis of the Religious Factor in Australian Cultural Tastes

by

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Declaration

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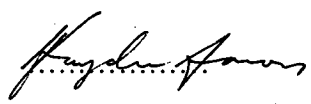

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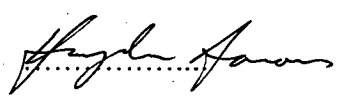

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Abstract

This thesis examines the influence of religion on cultural taste patterns in Australia in the 1990's. Many extant studies in this field concentrate heavily on class and economic factors involved in the distribution of cultural taste through conflict and stratification models and place a marked emphasis on the utility of cultural taste in attaining social and economic position. Emergent empirical evidence suggests that class and economic factors are only partially relevant in explaining cultural taste patterns in Australia and internationally, however.

Consequently there has been a dearth of alternate theorising of culture as a key concept in sociology to accommodate other potential influences on its consumption such as religion. This thesis theorises cultural taste as a moral problem and situates religion as a powerful aspect of cultural structure through which Australians construct cultural taste by assessing levels of "civility" and "barbarism" inherent in the expressive elements of cultural forms and genres. This study draws on the work of Norbert Elias in establishing a theoretical framework for the conceptualisation of culture as a moral problem through its function of emotional arousal in societies characterised by "routinization" and uses a binary scale format of moral conceptualisation and classification that codifies cultural taste as symbolically "civil" and symbolically "barbaric". The emotional arousal afforded by culture is controlled through institutional and self regulating systems, of which religion is one.

Religion, in this study, is confined to various types of Christianity in Australia. Patterns of cultural taste between religious and non-religious Australians and among the religious themselves are compared to reveal variation in the distribution of cultural taste. Religion is then tested against a range of social background experiences to assess its predictive power as a factor in the moral approach to cultural taste.

The thesis hypothesises that the religious will construct cultural taste to display "symbolic civility" and avoid "symbolic barbarism" due to religion's role of emotional regulator within cultural practice. The study reveals the continuing role of institutional religion in contexts of late modernity and how the religious negotiate this aspect of secular life. It also highlights the nature of religious difference within Australian Christianity through cultural taste. The broader significance of the study is to provide alternate conceptualisations of culture that can be explored through various social and cultural elements to further open the inquiry into culture to reflect the diverse and continually changing nature of identity and meaning in contexts of late modernity.

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Related Publications

In addition to the work done to complete my thesis, my candidature has seen the authorship, with Dr. Timothy Phillips, and publication of two research papers that have reflected my deep interest in the social aspects of religion in Australia:

(1) Phillips, T., & Aarons, H. (2005) 'Choosing Buddhism in Australia: Towards a Traditional Style of Reflexive Spiritual Engagement' *British Journal of Sociology* 56 (2): 215 - 232

(2) Phillips, T., & Aarons, H. (2007) 'Looking 'East': An Exploratory Analysis of Western Disenchantment' International Sociology 22 (3): 325 – 342

Contents

Declaration ii

Statement of Authority ii

Abstract iii

Acknowledgements v

Related Publications vii

Contents viii

List of Tables xiii

List of Figures xvi

Introduction 1

Chapter 1

Literature Review 11

Introduction 11

Religion and Cultural Consumption 12

Quantitative research 19

Theory and cultural consumption 24

Strengths Weaknesses and Balances 29

Religion 31

Endnotes 42

Chapter 2

The moral dimension of taste:
a model of religion and cultural consumption 43

Introduction 43

Norbert Elias and process sociology 47

Cultural civility and cultural barbarism 60

A Religious model of cultural

Civility and barbarism 64

Situating religion 74

Summary 79

Endnotes 80

Chapter 3

Methods, Measures and Analysis 82

Introduction 82

Survey research 82

Measuring culture, measuring religion 86

Culture 86

Operationalising Australian religion 92

Theory and Data 101

Research questions, hypotheses, expected effects 102

Analytic Strategy 104

Summary 108

Endnotes 108

Chapter 4

**Culture as a moral problem,
Australian approaches to mimetic culture, religion and civility** 110

Introduction 110

Culture as a moral problem 111

Results 114

Religion and civility 129

Summary 134

Endnotes 135

Chapter 5

**A comparison of religious and non-religious approaches
to mimetic culture: attitudinal constructions of
cultural civility and cultural barbarism** 137

Introduction 137

Results 139

Music Radio programmes 139

Music Leisure 142

Sport 143

Leisure 149

Photographic subjects 150

Music preferences 155

Book preferences 165

Film preferences 173

Summary 179

Endnotes 180

Chapter 6

Bivariate analyses of eight scales of mimetic culture by religious variables 182

Introduction 182

Composite measures of cultural civility and cultural barbarism 183

Results 189

Music radio programmes 189

Music leisure 190

Sport 192

Leisure 194

Photographic subjects 198

Music preferences 200

Book preferences 202

Film preferences 206

Summary 208

Endnotes 211

Chapter 7

Religion, Culture and social background: an exploratory analysis 212

Introduction 212

Theoretical concerns 215

Results 216

Music radio programmes 216

Music leisure 218

Sport 219

Leisure 220

Photographic subjects 223

Music preferences 224

Book preferences 227

Film preferences 228

Summary 230

Results 232

Youth genres 232

Male genres 238

Female genres 242

Older Australians 244

Tertiary educated 246

Summary 247

Endnotes 250

Chapter 8

Conclusion 251

Discussion 251

Significance of the research 261

Limitations 264

Directions for future research 266

References 269

Appendix A 282

List of Tables

Table 3.1 Limited raking scales measuring music, book, and film preferences from the Australian Everyday Cultures Survey 90

Table 3.2 Likert scales measuring music radio programmes, music leisure, sport watched at live venues, and leisure activities from the Australian Everyday Cultures Survey 91

Table 3.3 Multiple choice formats measuring photographic subjects from the Australian Everyday Cultures Survey 92

Table 3.4 Religious affiliation frequencies from the Australian Everyday Cultures survey 98

Table 3.5 Religious affiliation frequencies from the Australian Everyday Cultures survey – reconfigured measure of religious affiliation 99

Table 4.1 Factor analysis: music radio programmes 117

Table 4.2 Factor analysis: music leisure 117

Table 4.3 Factor analysis: sport 118

Table 4.4 Factor analysis: photographic subjects 119

Table 4.5 Factor analysis: leisure 121

Table 4.6 Factor analysis: favourite music 124

Table 4.7 Factor analysis: favourite books 125

Table 4.8 Factor analyses for favourite films 127

Table 4.9 The most important thing for the church to provide in rank order 130

Table 4.10 The most important thing for the church to provide by denomination 131

Table 4.11 The most important thing for the church to provide by church attendance 133

Table 5.1 Factor analysis: music radio programmes for religious and non-religious individuals 140

Table 5.2 Factor analysis: music radio programmes for church attendance 140

Table 5.3 Factor analysis: music radio programmes for denominations 141

Table 5.4 Factor analysis: music leisure religious and non-religious 282

Table 5.5 Factor analysis: music leisure for denominations 283

Table 5.6 Factor analysis: music leisure by church attendance 284

Table 5.7 Factor analysis: sport by religious and non-religious 146

Table 5.8 Factor analysis: sport by denominations and non-religious 147

Table 5.9 Factor analysis: sport by church attendance 148

Table 5.10 Factor analysis: leisure by religious and non-religious 285

Table 5.11 Factor analysis: leisure by denominations and non-religious 286 – 287

Table 5.12 Factor analysis: leisure by church attendance 288 - 289

Table 5.13 Factor analysis: photographic subjects by religious and non-religious 151

Table 5.14 Factor analysis: photographic subjects by denominations and non-religious 152 - 153

Table 5.15 Factor analysis: photographic subjects by church attendance 154

Table 5.16 Factor analysis: favourite music by religious and non-religious 156 – 157

Table 5.17 Factor analysis: favourite music by denominations and the non-religious 159 – 161

Table 5.18 Factor analysis: favourite music by church attendance 163 - 164

Table 5.19 Factor analysis: favourite books by religious and non-religious 166

Table 5.20 Factor analysis: favourite books by denomination and non-religious 168 - 169

Table 5.21 Factor analysis: favourite books by church attendance 171 - 172

Table 5.22 Factor analysis: favourite film by religious and non-religious 174

Table 5.23 Factor analysis: favourite film by denomination and non-religious 175 - 176

Table 5.24 Factor analysis: favourite film by church attendance 177 - 178

Table 6.1 Composite measures of four dimensions of cultural civility and cultural barbarism 184

Table 6.2 Composite measures of leisure, music, film, and books 188

Table 6.3 Civil and barbaric radio programmes by religious identification, denomination, and church attendance 191

Table 6.4 Civil and barbaric music leisure by religious identification, denomination, and church attendance 193

Table 6.5 Civil and barbaric sport by religious identification, denomination, and church attendance 196

Table 6.6 Civil and barbaric leisure by religious identification, denomination, and church attendance 197

Table 6.7 Civil and barbaric photos by religious identification, denomination, and church attendance 199

Table 6.8 Civil and barbaric music by religious identification, denomination, and church attendance 204

Table 6.9 Civil and barbaric books by religious identification, denomination, and church attendance 205

Table 6.10 Civil and barbaric films by religious identification, denomination, and church attendance 207

Table 7.1 Multivariate analysis of religion and civil and barbaric radio programmes, controlling for a series of social background factors 217

Table 7.2 Multivariate analysis of religion and civil and barbaric music leisure, controlling for a series of background variables 219

Table 7.3 Multivariate analysis of religion and civil and barbaric sport watched, controlling for a series of social background variables 220

Table 7.4 Multivariate analysis of religion and high to low civil and barbaric leisure, controlling for a series of social background experiences 222

Table 7.5 Multivariate analysis of religion and civil and barbaric photos, controlling for social background factors 223

Table 7.6 Multivariate analysis of religion and civil music scales, controlling for a series of social background experiences 225

Table 7.7 Multivariate analysis of religion and high to low barbaric music, controlling for a series of background experiences 226

Table 7.8 Multivariate analysis of religion and civil books, controlling for a series of social background experiences 226

Table 7.9 Multivariate analysis of religion and barbaric books, controlling for a series of social background experiences 227

Table 7.10 Multivariate analysis of religion and high and low civil films, controlling for a series of social background experiences 228

Table 7.11 Multivariate analysis of religion and barbaric film, controlling for a series of social background experiences 229

Table 7.12 Barbaric music radio programmes by denomination and church attendance for 18 – 35 233

Table 7.13 High barbaric music by denomination and church attendance for 18 – 35 235

Table 7.14 Low barbaric music by denomination and church attendance for 18 – 35 235

Table 7.15 Barbaric music leisure by denomination and church attendance for 18 – 35 237

Table 7.16 Low barbaric leisure denomination and church attendance for 18 – 35 238

Table 7.17 Barbaric sport by denomination and church attendance for males 239

Table 7.18 High barbaric leisure by denomination and church attendance for males 239

Table 7.19 Low barbaric film by denomination and church attendance for males 240

Table 7.20 Low civil books by denomination and church attendance for males 241

Table 7.21 Civil photos by denomination and church attendance for females 243

Table 7.22 High civil books by denomination and church attendance for females 244

Table 7.23 High civil music by denomination and church attendance for over 45 245

Table 7.24 Low civil music by denomination and church attendance for over 45 246

Table 7.25 Medium barbaric film by denomination and church attendance for tertiary educated 247

List of Figures

Figure 2.1 An Eliasian model of the moral discourse of mimetic culture 60

Figure 2.2 A general typology of the moral discourse of mimetic culture 63

Figure 2.3 A typology of the moral classification of mimetic culture: an approximation of how religious Australians structure cultural civility and cultural barbarism 78

Figure 3.1 A model of the religious factor in Australian cultural tastes 107

Chapter 1

Literature Review

Introduction

This chapter reviews the literature on cultural consumption and religion. The review process in this chapter has three foci in which it describes and evaluates: i) substantive research on the effect of religion on cultural consumption ii) the general compass of literature on cultural consumption and the extended concept of lifestyle, and iii) the literature on the religious factor in social life, with the accent on the Australian religious experience. Given the severe paucity of research into the effects of religion on cultural consumption I cast light on sociological work on the second two foci in isolation with a view to identifying gaps in the literature that neglect the role of religion on cultural consumption and lifestyle. I then consider the largely unacknowledged importance of consumption in the sociology of religion as a critique of the sociology of religion's failure to engage with mainstream sociological debates. The review process of this chapter also addresses methodological concerns and the social and national contexts regarding work on cultural consumption and religion, and the interdisciplinary overlap between sociology and cultural studies in cultural consumption and lifestyle research.

Sociological research on cultural consumption, lifestyle, and religion is characterized and reviewed here by qualitative and quantitative approaches internationally and in Australia. Sociology and cultural studies share considerable overlap in cultural consumption research, revealing methodological and theoretical distinctions. I consider the contributions of both disciplines on cultural consumption and lifestyle. Qualitative work is mostly theoretical and critical. Quantitative research on cultural consumption is dominated by class analysis, although alternative explanatory models are emerging around social identity factors such as gender, age, and religion but are as yet under theorised. Whilst there is a recent but strong quantitative research tradition in the sociology of cultural consumption, the greater majority of scholarship in the cultural studies discipline is qualitative and impressionistic in orientation. Quantitative and qualitative research that considers the effects of religion on cultural consumption is minimal.

Religion and Cultural Consumption

Substantive studies

Substantive quantitative and qualitative approaches to religion and cultural consumption are minimal and are confined to exploring lifestyle and cultural consumption practices within specifically religious contexts. Two seminal examples of this literature are Troy Messenger's *Holy Leisure* (1999) which examines a Methodist leisure park in an American context; and David Lyon's *Jesus in Disneyland* (2000) explores the commercialisation of religion. While this

area can provide researchers with useful insights into how religion structures cultural consumption and lifestyle, and how consumption can possibly structure religious experience and identity, it is the engagement with secular cultural consumption and lifestyle that is the concern of this study.

Quantitative research that considers the role of religion on secular cultural consumption and lifestyle has taken a tangential approach siding religion with other social factors in exploring how different aspects of identity structure cultural consumption and lifestyle (Lamont and Fournier, eds. 1992; Bryson 1997; Katz-Gerro and Shavit 1998: Katz-Gerro 1999, 2002). This emerging acknowledgment of the role of religion is very recent and provides only a glimpse at a largely undefined and unexplained process. No substantive quantitative studies of cultural consumption or lifestyle and religion in an Australian context exist. In the following section I explore the sociological world of cultural consumption and lifestyle to provide the reader with a progressive and informed foundation for the present study.

Cultural Consumption and Lifestyle

The terms 'cultural consumption' and 'lifestyle' are recognised to be associated with or to be directly under the general rubric of 'consumption' in the literature. The sociology of consumption is an emerging and eclectic field that has drawn upon contributions from many disciplines within the social sciences including anthropology, social psychology, and economics. Perhaps the most important field outside of sociology however, that has had a significant influence upon that discipline's approaches to consumption in recent times, is cultural studies. Recent

discussion, however, has criticised the cultural studies approach (Campbell 1995; Rojek and Turner 2000) in an attempt to identify and clarify sociology's mission regarding consumption research. In the section below I briefly discuss the contributions and positions of both scholarly disciplines and discuss the shortcomings of the cultural studies approach on two major fronts. I then turn to review the qualitative and quantitative sociological literature.

Cultural Studies

Perhaps the defining feature of cultural studies is its political analysis of texts, texts that include society. According to Colin Campbell, in Britain[1] at least, cultural studies arose from earlier work on 'mass culture' including popular music and advertising by neo-Marxist Critical Theorists. These theorists were as Campbell states "marked by a general detachment from and indeed an ignorance of, the reality of popular culture, relying heavily...upon a suspicion of American cultural influences" (1995: 98). From a detached and cynical body of work on mass culture by critical theorists that held mass culture to be "embodying selfish, dehumanising, and materialist values" cultural studies evolved to find as Campbell states "supposed 'mass culture' was in reality more of a patchwork of micro cultures, many of which were genuinely popular creations, expressive of the real concerns...of real people" (1995: 98).

An important feature of the cultural studies work that emerged after the work informed by 'mass culture' theories was the nearness of researchers to those researched, relating through ethnography, narratives that suggested consumers are "active, critical and creative" in their consumption practices. This is in contrast to

the critical theory that suggested consumers to be "exploited" and "manipulated" (Campbell 1995: 102). Perhaps the most important contribution from cultural studies on cultural consumption scholarship, is the consideration of popular and working class culture as serious issues of inquiry (Davies 1993; Campbell 1995; Bennett, Emmison, and Frow 1999; Rojek and Turner 2000). Whilst within sociology, the study of sport, popular culture, fashion, shopping, and lifestyles have until recently been considered "trivial" (Elias and Dunning 1986; Campbell 1995;), the cultural studies discipline, however, has paid serious attention to these issues from its beginnings.

As mentioned an important core aspect of the rise of cultural studies, in Britain at least, was a rejection of and challenge to elite culture and values and "the discovery of the popular" by its earlier champions such as Raymond Williams (1976), E.P. Thompson (1991) and Stuart Hall and others (1978) (Turner 1990; Rojek and Turner 2000). This research focus upon popular culture and youth has important consequences for the sociology of consumption. One of the common criticisms of recent sociological approaches to consumption is that sociology's focus is too narrowly confined to the relationships and symbolic meanings of "highbrow" or "elite" culture (Peterson 1997), which reflects a preoccupation with class analysis in social stratification. The inclusion of popular forms of culture in future sociological studies will readdress this imbalance and provide a more holistic picture of cultural consumption by identifying other aspects of identity that divide and distinguish social groups.

Whilst "the discovery of the popular" is a useful signpost for sociology enabling it to graduate from a too narrow focus on elite culture to capture a wider range of consumption experiences, approaching the concept of lifestyle (Katz-Gerro and Shavit 1998), cultural studies research in consumption suffers two major problems. The first of these relates to empirical support. Chris Rojek summarises the cultural studies contribution to research in culture quite bluntly when he states that "cultural studies offer hardly any testable propositions or hypotheses" (1992: 15). Therefore very little empirical support can be provided to substantiate the impressionistic and observatory nature of cultural studies research. Secondly cultural studies is seen as offering only a limited contribution to the corpus of knowledge and meanings regarding consumption because of an emphasis on a politicised textual reading of consumer behaviour (Rojek and Turner 2000). Furthermore while it is recognised that cultural studies offers a politicised rendering of consumption this reading fails to achieve any concrete political action or influence cultural policy. Rojek and Turner (2000: 629) summarise its contribution as merely "decorative sociology", which in the authors' words is; "where 'culture' has eclipsed the social and where literary interpretation has marginalised sociological methods".

The Postmodern turn is also another consideration that effects the way in which cultural consumption is approached. Post-modern accounts of the meanings of culture and its intimate relationship to the capitalist market have emphasised the link between consumption and new experience (Bauman 1998), pleasure (Campbell 1995), and happiness (Baudrillard 1998). Akin to the cultural studies contributions to cultural consumption, post-modern accounts of consumption are

not supported by empirical evidence (Campbell 1995). Some interesting observations in post-modern theory are the importance of the body and the construction of identity in conditions of advanced capitalism. While post-modern theory offers some valuable insights into how identity is constructed and the relationship of society to the body, the challenge to post-modernity from empirical sociology is however the persistence of a collection of essentially modernist identities in the form of age, gender and religion that are emerging in accounts of consumption patterns. These identities are evidence that we may still occupy a place between modernity and post-modernity; "late modernity" Giddens (1990; 1991), revealed and explained by patterns of action such as individuals cultural preferences.

Sociology

Sociology has had a long but inconsistent tradition of research into cultural consumption that has seen it wax and wane in cycles of importance, popularity, and neglect above and below sociology's horizon of theory and research. Certainly the concept of consumption attracted the attention of some of sociology's most important and influential earlier figures including Weber (1978), Veblen (2007), Marx (1990), Elias (1994), and Simmel (1957). In recent times the extensive work of Pierre Bourdieu (1984; 2001; Bourdieu and Passeron 1990) concerning consumption and society in France has done much to refocus the attention of sociology in English speaking countries to its importance.

As mentioned above much of recent sociology's engagement with consumption, reflecting the legacy of Bourdieu, is characterised by a narrow focus on the

relationship with the consumption of "elite" cultural forms and class position. As scholarship advances however, with the recognition of the importance of cultural consumption and lifestyle to more fractious identities within late modernity, more and more sociology has questioned this narrow "highbrow" and "elite" class focus due to the emergence of taste and consumption patterns highlighting other social factors such as age, gender, ethnicity, and nationality (Bihagen and Katz-Gerro 2000; Katz-Gerro 2002). The emergence of these factors in the field importantly reflects the wider debates about social change and identity in post, or late-modern societies (Giddens: 1990; Pakulski and Waters: 1996). Religion has also been considered in a few studies as a tangential variable. There exist no systematic or substantive studies that have examined the role of religion in contemporary secular cultural consumption, taste, leisure, and lifestyle. Furthermore, the brief exploration of the role of religion in consumption patterns in sociology is not at all theorised.

This section has discussed and evaluated the contributions of sociology and cultural studies to the question of cultural consumption. I have emphasised some of the shortcomings of both disciplines in relation to emerging patterns of social change and outlined how the contributions of each can strengthen future studies in the sociology of consumption. This section has also identified research gaps such as the role of religion in consumption that are becoming increasingly important to a coherent understanding of contemporary consumption, and what this means for sociological theory. I turn now to review the recent sociological works that have developed this field in both qualitative and quantitative approaches and expand on some of the arguments touched upon throughout this section.

Qualitative Research

Given the aims of this study my main concern is with the quantitative literature, however I present a selection of important empirical studies that have used qualitative methods to highlight the divergence of approaches to cultural consumption. Qualitative sociological studies into cultural consumption have largely sought to test and expand the findings of Pierre Bourdieu by drawing out the class and educational themes associated with Bourdieu's model of the uses of culture. Focused interviews have been used by Lamont (1992) to assess the different values at the heart of the lifestyles of a selection of French and American upper-middle class. Halle (1992) found that with focused interviews he could extract the reasons why people bought and viewed abstract art, gaining valuable insight into the actual process of class and cultural consumption. In Australia Bennett *et al* (1999) interviewed a series of respondents in follow ups to a national survey. Going beyond class analyses, however, Woodward (2003) has identified how actors' perceptions of the meanings of culture through personal narratives actually inform "the consumption act".

Quantitative Research

This study is a quantitative analysis of religion and cultural consumption in Australia, therefore I devote considerably more attention to the literature in this aspect of the field. This review of the quantitative literature on cultural consumption is organised into three sections. The first section looks at the

empirical findings, both internationally and in the Australian context of studies in cultural consumption and lifestyle. The second section reviews how these findings have been theorised. The second section is usefully divided into two subsections reflecting the dominant theoretical currents: the cultural capital school and the emerging social identity school. The third section, measuring cultural consumption, reviews the measurement issues in quantitative research on cultural consumption.

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Cultural Consumption: research findings from quantitative studies

Theoretical accounts of the role of culture in modern industrial societies in sociology date to the discipline's early years (Veblen: 2007; Weber: 1978). Substantive quantitative research into cultural consumption has in contrast, an only recent, but increasingly dynamic tradition in North America, Britain, and Europe as sociology turns to the analysis of culture. A contemporary innovation in quantitative research incorporates cultural consumption into the broader concept of lifestyle (Sobel 1983) that analyses cultural consumption patterns with reference to multiple measures of culture, indicating a more complex picture of how individuals consume (Katz-Gerro 2004). In Australia there has been but one systematic study of cultural consumption and lifestyle using quantitative research methods (Bennett *et al* 1999). While these studies are dispersed across different national contexts and reflect different points in time the research findings reveal three distinct empirical patterns that revolve around the concepts of social class and social stratification that have largely been assumed to structure cultural consumption and explain the distribution of culture. First, the upper and upper middle classes consume highbrow culture and avoid middle and lowbrow culture

to acquire cultural capital. Second, the upper and upper middle classes consume the most highbrow culture but also include middle and lowbrow culture, and third, social class is increasingly contested by other aspects of identity as the main determining factor in structuring cultural consumption and lifestyle.

Bourdieu's *Distinction* has had profound influence on the way quantitative sociological studies of cultural consumption have been conducted since its publication in English in 1984. *Distinction* is a rich and intricate work detailing the French cultural system and its relationship to French social organisation and has acted as a benchmark study that has been replicated to various degrees in many studies in Europe, North America, Britain, and Australia. The work of Bourdieu and many others have recorded a tome of empirical findings in the study of cultural consumption inside and outside of France as research interest in culture continues. The most salient of these findings however, is concerned with the engagement with, and utility of "highbrow" culture in economic, symbolic, and power relations between social groups.

Bourdieu (1984) revealed that in France in the 1960's 'highbrow' cultural consumption, (i.e. preference for the fine arts, and "serious" literature) was the sole preserve of the upper and upper middle, or what Bourdieu himself termed the "dominant" classes. These classes chose in preference to "middlebrow" cultural forms (such as musicals) and "lowbrow" items (popular culture and sport) only highbrow. It is the relationship to the consumption of highbrow culture that Bourdieu is mostly concerned with in *Distinction*. As important to the identified cultural practices of the "dominant" classes were what cultural practices they

avoided. In selecting only highbrow culture, groups such as social classes practice a distancing from other social classes in an attempt to reconfirm class domination.

Bourdieu's research has been replicated in many places outside of France. In the United States in particular quantitative studies in cultural consumption that have taken their inspiration from Bourdieu or have been guided by class analysis have reported similar but also findings unsupportive of Bourdieu's general theory, based on the highbrow cultural consumption patterns of social classes. Whilst many studies find similar patterns to Bourdieu regarding the consumption of highbrow culture and the importance of cultural capital in obtaining favourable life chances (DiMaggio and Useem 1978a; 1978b; DiMaggio and Mohr 1985; DiMaggio and Ostrower 1990), many studies report that the upper or "dominant" classes also consume lowbrow and middlebrow forms of culture (Gans 1974; Peterson 1992; Peterson and Simkus 1992; Peterson and Kern 1996; Bryson 1996).

Scholars outside of France since the 1960's further report findings at odds with Bourdieu's emphasis on the relevance of class for these specific national and temporal contexts. Many studies report that aspects of identity other than class are statistically significant in structuring cultural consumption and lifestyle such as age, gender, race, ethnicity, and religion (DiMaggio and Ostrower 1990; Bryson 1996; Erickson 1996; Katz-Gerro and Shavit 1998 Katz-Gerro 1999; Lamont and Molnar 2002; Katz-Gerro 2002). These findings evidence a turn away from sociological analyses of culture representing a strictly class struggle in social stratification indicated by cultural capital, to the use of culture as an identity and

moral boundary creating action (Lamont *et. al* 1992). Such boundaries expressed through cultural practice and taste, include gender, age, ethnicity, race, and religion.

In Australia the only quantitative study on cultural practice and taste is *Accounting for Tastes: Australian Everyday Cultures* (Bennett *et al* 1999). While the researchers took their inspiration from Pierre Bourdieu in replicating his survey of cultural practice and taste, the Australian findings, similar to other findings outside of France, reveal some similar but different distributions of cultural participation and taste cultures. The Australian researchers found that whilst class and education were major factors in determining some limited cultural consumption practices and tastes, social identities such as gender and age also impacted significantly on cultural choices. What nearly every study of cultural consumption practice and taste, including the Australian study, has overlooked however is the relevance of religion to cultural choices. There is no mention or consideration of the religious factor in *Accounting for Tastes* at all.

In summary there can be discerned four sets of empirical findings that have emerged from the quantitative research on cultural consumption internationally since the 1960's. First, the greater majority of quantitative sociology has focused heavily on the relationships between class, status, and highbrow culture or the elite arts with little to say of the more popular or mass cultural products and practices. Second, Bourdieu reported that in France the "dominant" classes ie, the upper and upper middle classes consume the most "highbrow" culture and avoid

other forms of culture such as "middlebrow" and "lowbrow". Thirdly, outside of France in contemporary Anglophone societies such as the U.S., Canada, the U.K., and Australia the dominant classes only partially follow the pattern identified by Bourdieu. The dominant classes consume more "lowbrow" or popular forms of culture such as popular music, and Hollywood movies in addition to the consumption of elite culture. Peterson and Simkus (1992) have labelled these consumers as "Omnivores" as opposed to "univore snobs". Fourthly, emergent findings have shown variance in cultural consumption not only between social classes but between gender, age cohorts, ethnic groups, and some religious groups.

Theory and cultural consumption

How are the empirical findings in the study of cultural consumption theoretically informed and interpreted? Is there a need for further theoretical developments to better comprehend the overall emergent cultural consumption patterns revealed by empirical findings, or should theory aim at informing and explaining the disparate empirical findings in relative terms? This section of the review considers the role of theory in the study of cultural consumption. I discern two major related theoretical models evident in the literature centred on the importance of social class in analyses of cultural consumption: cultural capital theory and omnivore/univore. I note however the lack of theorising for the newer findings that seem to suggest a heightened need to explain the impact of social identities. I finish by flagging a new theoretical discourse that aims to further develop prior theoretical work into a systematic classification and explanatory scheme to inform

the later analyses and attempt to fill the gap in theory building with a particular focus on religion.

Cultural Capital Theory: the role of culture in social class and power

Research in cultural consumption has, as noted earlier, been heavily influenced predominantly upon the findings and methodologies of Pierre Bourdieu's (1984) study of cultural consumption in France in the 1960's. His findings have not appeared in a theoretical vacuum however, rather they have been informed and explained by an intricate and variegated theoretical composition. Whilst the theoretical scheme Bourdieu lends to his findings is complex his main theoretical concerns can be usefully distilled for this study's purposes under the banner of "cultural capital".

Cultural capital refers to competencies in relation to the appreciation of "highbrow" culture such as classical music, fine art, and "serious" literature as a few general examples. Cultural capital is accumulated much like economic capital[2] and has the effect of positioning one in a status hierarchy of a social structure so that one may gain economic and social opportunities usually associated with the "dominant" classes, as Bourdieu (1984) terms the upper and upper middle classes. In Bourdieu's scheme the role of culture is as a status marker to distinguish one class from another or what Bryson (1996) terms a "pass-key" into the dominant classes. Elite or highbrow culture is legitimised by its association with these classes, as are the dominant classes legitimised by their association with highbrow culture in a homology between taste and social structure. The system of high art produces strict markers of status, only decoded

by those with the specialist knowledge to do so, as symbols of membership in the dominant classes. Cultural capital is acquired in order to gain life chances and opportunities, to maintain class domination and reinforce class inequalities.

The uniqueness of Bourdieu's theoretical scheme is to reveal the use of culture in the class system emphasising its role in stratification and inequality. Its social function for Bourdieu is solely that of a symbol to locate one in the status hierarchy from which many kinds of social and economic advantages are obtained. Bourdieu has been criticised for his "reductive" view of culture and its social utility however (Frow 1987; Alexander 2005). Later empirical findings outside of France suggest the cultural capital model to be only a partial explanation for the distribution of cultural preferences that may well be time and place specific[3].

Omnivore v Univore

A major theoretical departure from Bourdieu's cultural capital theory is the omnivore versus univore thesis first proposed by Peterson and Simkus in their work *How Musical Tastes Mark Occupational Status Groups* (1992) and further developed in Peterson and Kern's 1996 article *Changing Highbrow Taste from Snob to Omnivore*. Whilst empirical findings for this thesis prefigured Peterson and Simkus's study (Wilensky 1964; Sontag 1966; Robinson 1985) these two scholars were the first to theorise the findings by conceptualising the "omnivore" or "cultural omnivorousness" as a specific movement or change in cultural consumption over time in the United States. In common with Bourdieu's theoretical focus the omnivore thesis still locates the structuring of consumption

as a product of class. Yet this strand of cultural consumption research has questioned Bourdieu's rigid adherence to highbrow culture as the dominant status marker outside of France.

As Peterson and Simkus (1992), and Peterson and Kern (1996) have found, high status Americans indulge in cultural practices that range from highbrow through lowbrow. Peterson and Kern (1996) cite five main reasons for this move to omnivorousness including: structural change: social mobility and mass meida; value change: greater tolerance of the other, art-world change; changes in aesthetic appreciation; generational politics, and status group politics. "Omnivorous taste", say Peterson and Kern (1996: 904) "signifies an *openness* (italics in the original) to appreciating everything. In this sense it is antithetical to snobbishness, which is based on rigid rules of exclusion". While the authors claim that omnivorousness is to be equated with openness they still maintain that "...omnivorousness does not imply an indifference to distinctions. Rather its emergence may suggest the formulation of new rules governing symbolic boundaries" (1996: 904).

Social identities as class antithesis?

Common to both the cultural capital and omnivore/univore schools of thought are the relationships between cultural consumption, class, status, and highbrow culture. Only very recently has scholarly attention in sociology turned to view the effect of non-class variables such as gender, age, ethnicity, region, and to a very small degree, religion, on not only highbrow culture but the more popular forms of culture, usually called "middlebrow" and "lowbrow". As I noted earlier,

quantitative sociology - which is responsible for the emergent empirical portrait of the increasing importance in patterns of cultural consumption of social factors other than class - needs to further its association with these under studied aspects of cultural practice to form a more complete picture of what the cultural means to society in conditions of late modernity. An important aspect of this association is the creation and development of alternative theoretical and conceptual schemes of culture (Featherstone 1990; Campbell 1995; Rojek 2000; de la Fuente 2007).

How then might the relationship between social and cultural identities such as religion and cultural consumption be theorised when so much work has been produced that claims cultural consumption is simply a product of social class? I hope to show that it is the way in which consumption and cultural practice are conceptualised that lends it readily available to be considered not just a tool for the acquisition of social status and the consolidation of power but as a system of pleasure mediated by a range of social identities and institutions through socialisation. I will only discuss this conceptualisation briefly here and expand upon it later. In the next section I review some theoretical and critical avenues that lead to such a re-conceptualisation.

In a critique of Bourdieu's theoretical program of cultural function John Frow writes: "To write that the 'legitimate culture of class societies' is 'a product of domination predisposed to express or legitimate domination' is to assign a single function to cultural practice, and to assume that the work of the text is exhausted in this function". (1987: 66). Clearly it can be argued that cultural practice can have a range of competing and complementary symbolic meanings and utilities

for social groups and individuals in contemporary societies underscored by advanced capitalism (Fiske 1989). The functions that culture performs are also matched by the social factors that influence culture's consumption: this situation points to a dearth in theory and conceptualisation. How, for example, might we explain cultural practice and taste when analysed by gender? Gender poses some interesting problems for cultural capital theory in particular. It is widely noted that women consume more elite culture than men, yet their cultural competencies may not translate into the class and status advantages assumed to accompany cultural capital as they do not occupy to the same degree the positions of social and economic power than men.

The challenge for quantitative sociology in expanding beyond the cultural capital theory insights to capture these symbolic meanings, is to adequately conceptualise cultural practice and theorise the quantitative distributions in cultural consumption for variables other than class. To this end with a view to forging a conceptual relationship between cultural practice and taste and religion I propose that cultural practice be conceptualised as moral behaviour mediated by a religious identity that has historically sought to limit human affects. In the next section I consider some methodological concerns for the sociological study of culture. My emphasis is again on quantitative research.

Strengths, Weaknesses, and Balances

Qualitative and quantitative approaches have both methodological strengths and weaknesses. The study of cultural consumption is not immune from these imbalances. Critics of survey research in cultural consumption such as David

Halle (1992: 132) have lamented that "sociological surveys have done little more than document that some people like abstract art and others do not". While Halle's criticism is related to a specific field of cultural consumption, Herbert Gans (1999: 17) however, directs his criticism at the general compass of survey research in cultural consumption. By noting its deficiencies in providing a more detailed picture of people and tastes, claiming that we still know "virtually nothing" about people and tastes Gans' view is that surveys only produce "findings about general tendencies". Both criticisms assert that surveys are inadequate means of studying the actual processes of thought in the minds of people consuming culture. For Halle (1992: 132) what happens when people view abstract art is vitally important: "...what goes on in their minds when they view it? For Gans (1999: 18) survey data need to be preceded by "ethnographies and life-history data" that can "identify fundamental patterns of cultural choice".

Peterson and Simkus (1992) alert that traditional measurements of "highbrow", "middlebrow", and "lowbrow" reflecting "presumed aesthetic merit" are not easily justified. Concerning musical tastes the authors state that "neither the relative rankings of the type of music nor the relative distances between ranks are self evident" (1992: 154).

Focus on one measure of cultural consumption only is a problem that plagues many quantitative studies. For example many studies focus singularly on music taste which is instructive but does not indicate how individuals combine different forms of culture to construct lifestyles from a number of cultural items. Theoretically it is difficult to interpret findings that concentrate on one aspect of

cultural consumption. These limitations have been acknowledged in the literature by scholars such as Peterson and Simkus (1992) who admonish that musical preferences "...may not reflect taste in the arts generally", and that taste in music is an "...opinion and may not reflect behaviour" (161). Katz-Gerro and Shavit (1998) also make mention of the need to study the combinations of culture that people consume to gain a clearer picture of how they combine to form lifestyles. The evidence for empirical work in cultural consumptions however, especially quantitative work rests in the claim made by Bennet *et al* (1999: 14) that particular disciplines such as cultural studies "often suffer from the lack of an appropriately disciplined engagement with the real". Meaning that sometimes little is known about how actual actors feel and attribute meaning to culture themselves. This study, given the field's general ignorance of the topic, uses quantitative methods to gain a first empirical look at how religion and culture interact.

Religion

So much for cultural consumption the next part of my review focuses on the sociology of religion. In this section I note the areas in which religion has been demonstrated to effect social life. I mostly confine my review of the research streams in the sociology of religion to the Australian experience, tracing the conceptual and theoretical trajectory of contemporary sociology of religion in Australia, but augment generic sociological experiences of religion where relevant. The main purpose of this review of the sociology of religion however, is to look critically at the absence of any consideration of cultural consumption and taste as a matter of scholarly attention for sociologists of religion. I argue that this

situation is emblematic of the tendency of the sociology of religion to sometimes not engage in contemporary central sociological debates. This study aims to introduce the sociological inquiry of religion into that realm in an exploratory manner. I begin with a survey of recent sociology of religion in Australia and a report of the main empirical findings. I then discuss theoretical and measurement issues of religion.

A Survey of the Sociology of Religion in Australia

Historically religion has been a crucial factor in the sociological inquiry of modern societies evidenced by the attention given to it by foundation figures in sociology such as Marx, Durkheim, and Weber. Since the 1960's and 1970's however there has been a decline in the importance that sociologists assign to the influence of religion on social life. Factors such as the rise of Marxism within academia and the secularisation thesis have driven the study of religion in society from a central position in sociology to a marginal one (Turner 1990). From within the sociology of religion itself its marginal status was compounded by what Turner (1990) and Beckford (1989) cite as a reluctance to engage in mainstream sociological debates.

At this time however, the religious is experiencing a rapid and steep ascent in importance within sociology with the flow of contemporary worldwide geo-political currents, in which the rise of fundamentalist groups in most of the traditional faiths play an important role, particularly since September 11 2001. Further, new religious movements (Wilson and Cresswell eds 1999) that have

produced or reflect social and cultural change have arisen (Kurtz 1995; Heelas, Martin, and Morris eds 1998). Globalisation of culture through various forms of electronic media and mass transportation have afforded the interchange of cultural products such as religions across borders and away from traditional social contexts (Phillips and Aarons 2005). Finally the persistence of traditional religious identities have all contributed to what Sherkat and Ellison (1999: 364) call "...a period of substantial organizational and intellectual growth" for the sociology of religion.

Given the resurgence of interest in religion in sociology, what then are the main currents of investigation and theory in contemporary sociology of religion in Australia? Contemporary sociology of religion in Australia has focused on two main areas of investigation: quantitative and qualitative work on religious diversity and the changing demographic profile of religious communities, and qualitative work on new age spiritual identities and narratives. Earlier empirical work employing surveys on the effect of religion on social attitudes and values has waned somewhat in favour of demographic and narrative studies. These two areas reflect very much Australia's position in a contemporary global configuration as an advanced capitalist nation and also historically as a British colonial society that in more recent times has become a multicultural and therefore religiously plural society (Bouma 1992; 1995). Whilst the most contemporary work in the sociology of religion has placed the accent for inquiry on subjective experience and demographic profiles, theorists such as Turner (1990) have lamented the lack of empirical inquiry done on the "neglected

mainstream" including traditional established religious groups in industrial societies. Are they still at all relevant to social life?

The Effects of Religion on social attitudes and values

Researchers have made use of large-scale national surveys to analyse the religious factor in a variety of aspects in Australian social life. Hans Mol's *Religion in Australia* (1971) and Bouma and Dixon's (1986) *The Religious Factor in Australian Life* are the two most systematic quantitative studies in Australian religion, empirically gauging the effects of religion across a variety of social, economic, and political variables. No studies of religion and cultural consumption and taste exist in Australia.

Using data from the 1983 Australian Values Systems, Survey Bouma and Dixon (1986) reported that Australia could not be considered "essentially secular and irreligious", given that over 85% of Australians identified with a religious group. Further, nearly 60% of Australians claimed to be religious persons, and that two thirds of Australians pray, meditate or contemplate occasionally or more frequently. Being religious or indeed Christian[4] makes a difference in how Australians approach social life according to Bouma and Dixon. The researchers also found that the type of Christian religion (i.e, the denomination) that one identifies with and how religious one is (i.e, degree of religiosity) also makes significant differences to the attitudes and values of Australians.

The major findings of the Bouma and Dixon study reveal that religion measured by denomination and degree of religiosity is a significant factor in social distance

or tolerance measures, social issues, the family, moral issues, and political preferences. Whilst the researchers found much empirical evidence of religion effecting the attitudes and values of Australians in regard to social, political, and moral issues, no evidence was provided to substantiate the one substantive statement made in the work on religion and cultural consumption, taste, and leisure. Given its solitude within the literature and the relevance to this study it is worth quoting in full. The authors assert that:

> "The areas in life in which one has decisions to make is rather small. In the ordinary course of everyday life one makes decisions as to how to spend leisure time, such as whether to watch TV, which programme, or to go to the theatre, or to a sporting event. One makes some life-style decisions such as, whether to wear a tie or a turtle neck; whether to wear a suit or a sport coat; whether to wear blue jeans or something dressier. There are a variety of consumer choices to make: whether to follow a health food diet; whether to look for non-polluting detergent; but is anyone really concerned about whether to buy bread form a non-Christian baker? When one takes a close look at one's life the opportunity for decision-making in which specifically religious beliefs will have any impact, is rather rare. Moreover, if this is reduced to those beliefs that could be defined as religious, the area of life on which they would impinge would be even smaller. The amount of ordinary human behaviour accounted for by conscious, rational decision making is very small. The amount of decision making influenced by religious beliefs is even smaller" (1986: 179).

This statement represents the only engagement with religion and consumption in daily life in Australia. Given that it is over twenty years old, and that the issue of consumer choice is now, unlike 1986, a central concern of sociology, and that many Australians still hold some form of religious identity and express that identity through some form of religious practice, the question of whether religion effects consumer choices is ripe for re-examination.

More recent survey research reviving the notion of religious influence in the attitudes and values of Australians are found in Clive Bean's study of religion and

voting (1999). Bean draws the conclusion that whilst a process of secularisation during the last quarter of the 20th century is evident in Australia, the influence of religion on voting has not declined to such an extent that it ceases to be relevant. The influence of religion on the Australian electorate has remained constant from the 1960's into the 1990's despite a decline from the 1940's to the 1960's. Bean's work suggests that there has existed a deep neglect of the religious factor in political sociology in Australia in recent years stemming from the preoccupation of scholars with the study of the effects of class. Further, Bean (1999) contends that a mistaken assumption amongst scholars is "...a decline in religious adherence and commitment...would automatically correspond to a declining political influence for religion, a conclusion which does not necessarily follow at all" (554).

Certainly a similar attitude amongst scholars exists in relation to cultural consumption and taste in the Australian study (Bennett *et al* 1999) and internationally. This neglect reveals an unwillingness to consider the religious factor in survey research on social attitudes and values after a decline in adherence and commitment recorded over the last few decades. It would appear as though, considering studies like Bean's, there is a predetermined and unquestioned assumption regarding the long term prospects of religion in survey research. Whilst much quantitative social research in Australia has ignored or down played the continuing influence of religion in political sociology resting on the assumption of continuing decline in adherence and commitment, much empirical work has been done to suggest that religion is still important to how Australians see themselves, despite the emphasis on class. Indeed Bouma and Dixon's (1986:

4) study begins with the premise that "Australia is more religious than many think". The next section of this review looks at a major stream of sociological investigation concerned with the continuing demographic presence and changes of the Australian religious mosaic.

Religious diversity and immigration: the changing religious profile of Australia

Recent quantitative studies have largely neglected the religious factor in analyses of Australian social life, discounting the influence of religious or Christian identity and belief. Within the sociology of religion itself however, a major stream of inquiry in Australia has focused attention on the changing face of Australia's religious profile post World War II using longitudinal census data (Bouma 1992; Hughes 1993; Bouma and Mason 1995; Bouma ed 1997) and the Australian Values Systems Survey of 1983 (Bouma 1992). This work has documented the rise of many non-Christian and some Christian groups and the decline of some mainstream Christian groups.

In relation to this overall demographic profiling, much work has been done constructing separate community profiles of religious groups in Australia, again employing census data, in concert with brief historical and descriptive tracts including the beliefs and practices of each religious community (Dixon 1996; Hughes 1996a; Hughes 1996b; Adam and Hughes 1996; Bilimoria 1996; Blombery 1996; Burke and Hughes 1996; Godley and Hughes 1996; Rubinstein 1996; Schild and Hughes 1996; Bentley and Hughes 1996; Omar and Allen 1996). Other work includes studies on Muslim settlement (Bouma 1994) the Jewish community in Melbourne (Goldlust 1993), and the religious aspects of some

African communities in Melbourne (Batrouney 1991). The role of religion in the establishment of recent migration communities had become an important focus, until its demise, for the Bureau of Immigration, Multiculturalism, and Population Research (BIMPR) (Bouma *et al* 1997) making such work important for future government policy.

The emergence of this community profiles work is a direct response to Australia's recent immigration patterns and policy of multiculturalism that has seen 'a dramatic alteration in the religious profile of this society' (Bouma ed 1997b). That alteration has seen since the Second World War a decline in the percentage of Australians whom identify as Christian from 88% in 1947 to just over 70% in 1996. Non-Chrisitan groups have increased dramatically in the same time period. Buddhists, Hindus, Jews, Muslims, and others in Australia have increased from numbering only 36,000 at .5% to a total of 445,000 in 1991 at 2.64% to 816,000 in 1996 at 3.5% of religious Australians. Further changes and increases in Australia's religious profile are Australians with no religion who in 1947 were just .3% compared to the substantial 1996 percentage of 16.5%. Amidst this decline, however, Australians whom identify with new religions have soared in between the 1991 and 1996 censuses with growth rates for new-age, nature, and spiritualism religions up 150%: the fastest growing religious groups in Australia (Bouma 1997a).

New-age religions, narratives, and identities

This last demographic figure from the census data expressed as a quantitative reality is also a feature of another important research stream within the sociology

of religion in Australia that is more qualitative. Research into new-age religions including neo-pagan, earth based, and eastern spiritualities record how else Australians have identified as religious or spiritual. The globalisation of ideas and culture through mass media and mass transportation (Giddens 1991) has allowed religions and spiritualities to be embedded in non-traditional social contexts. Identity construction in conditions of post or late modernity has, for some, resulted in the conversion to or combining of religious traditions and or new spiritualities. (Possamai 2000; Phillips and Aarons 2005, 2007).

At the same time the increasing numbers of non-Christian and newly settled religions in Australia has given rise to a series of narratives and identity studies, separate from the community profiles, recording how religious traditions have re-embedded in Australia from their traditional cultural and social contexts (Ata 1988).

The role of religion in how migrant communities and individuals see themselves has also been a feature of religious diversity research. Some of this research has made an important link with culture and everyday life highlighting the need for further investigation. Mubarak (1997) has focused on the importance of the hijab for Muslim women in Australia in identifying who they are and how they are treated in a traditionally non-Muslim country. Mubarak's study carries some importance for the issues in this study because it is indirectly a study of religion and everyday life. The wearing of the hijab is a taste issue for Muslim women who choose to wear it in identifying themselves as Muslim within a secular social

context, informing us about how cultural decisions, such as what to wear, differentiates people who live in the same social and geographic locale.

Whilst the notion of taste is assumed to mean a stylistic consideration in aesthetics, here taste is a product of a direct cultural identity that prescribes modesty and in doing so informs us about how religion effects cultural consumption. Mubarak's respondents reported some level of social boundary making in leisure contexts such as socialising leading to a change in employment that was directly attributable to the respondent being Muslim. The respondent notes that part of the reason she left her job was that: "I couldn't do things with them. I couldn't go with them to their luncheons or pubs because they all drank alcohol" (1997: 137). Modesty is also an important consideration in wanting to wear the hijab for many of Mubarak's respondents. Beyond studies like this there exist no systematic studies that consider religion's role in the cultural choices of Australians. It is on the level of everyday life indicated by seemingly "trivial" cultural choices that sociologists learn more about how individuals and groups are differentiated in contexts of late modernity. Beyond religion, everyday cultural practices also tells us about personal reflections about other aspects of identity such as being Australian in foreign contexts (West 2006) and being Australian but coming from other places (Phillips and Holton 2004).

This chapter has sought to describe and critique the different strands of research entailing various methodological approaches, empirical findings and patterns, and explanatory theoretical paradigms in cultural consumption and to some extent with religion. It has identified the emergent patterns in empirical studies of

cultural consumption and found that these latter day patterns do not conform to some of the key theoretical approaches that the sub discipline is notable for. This situation has resulted in scholarship faced with a less assured position about what explains cultural consumption in conditions of late modernity, and able to entertain the possibility that factors other than class may well contribute to our understanding of how and why culture is consumed. In response I have posited the possibility of religion having some impact on cultural consumption patterns in Australia.

The review also revealed that while scholarship was embracing the possibility of a range of social and cultural factors having impact on taste, religion has hardly been considered at all as a structuring factor in cultural consumption. Sociology of religion also has not considered a key strand of mainstream sociological debate in cultural consumption. There is, as a result, little to no previous empirical or theoretical studies exploring this relationship internationally or in Australia. This study seeks therefore to gain a first time empirical picture of that relationship.

One of the consequences of the dearth of scholarly application to that relationship is the absence of a plausible and explanatory theoretical framework within which a conceptualisation of culture can be imagined to accommodate taste differences between religious and non-religious individuals. In the next chapter I attempt to present a theoretical model to facilitate and exploratory and explanatory framework for the empirical investigation to proceed.

Endnotes

[1] The majority of this section is based on the British cultural studies experience that has produced the intellectual foundation for its development in other countries. Rojek and Turner (2000) claim that the development of cultural studies in not only Britain but in the USA, Canada, and Australia owes much to the now defunct Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies. "We submit that the output and intellectual culture developed in the Birmingham School between 1964 and 1979 was the decisive juncture in the formation of Cultural Studies as an academic discipline" (630).

[2] Bourdieu uses the term capital as an economic metaphor that does however result in economic effects.

[3] Indeed Bourdieu's Distinction is evidenced with data from the 1960's. It goes without saying that tremendous changes in the production and consumption of culture associated with wider economic and social change in western nations has expectedly resulted in the emergence of other social factors as influential in explaining taste distribution.

[4] The analyses in *The Religious Factor in Australian Life* are confined to Australian Christian groups because of insufficient data on non-Christian groups.

Chapter 2

The moral dimension of taste: a model of religion and cultural consumption

Introduction

This study is a large scale empirical investigation of religion and cultural consumption. The study's social and temporal focus is Australia in the middle 1990's: an era that is distinguished by the manifestation of cultural consumption as an important moral and religious issue (Marr 1999). Two key events that captured this mood were the *Piss Christ*[1] episode of 1997 and the Port Arthur massacre[2]. The *Piss Christ* episode was a public exhibition of art contested by Australian churches in the courts due to its "offensive" nature. The Port Arthur massacre prompted the Prime Minister of Australia in 1996 to assemble a committee of ministers to formally inquire into the portrayal of violence in the electronic media[3]. Religious groups figured prominently in the two events[4].

The present study examines taste as a moral problem focusing specifically on the impact of religion on taste using data from a national survey of Australian cultural consumption. The Australian Everyday Cultures Survey is the only extant survey of Australian tastes and is a general yet comprehensive measuring instrument of Australian cultural tastes. I use the survey in the subsequent chapters to study

variation in cultural taste patterns between religious and non religious Australians, as well as among religious Australians themselves. The principle task of this chapter, however, is to develop a theoretical model to be used to qualify, sensitise (Giddens 1984), and guide the empirical analysis of religion and cultural consumption.

As the preceding review of the literature sought to illustrate, the dominant theoretical and conceptual focus within contemporary quantitative sociological accounts of cultural consumption are structural analyses that emphasise the role of culture in the production and maintenance of systems of social stratification in Western societies. A theoretical consequence of the dominance of class and economic factors in these accounts has been a neglect of alternative conceptualisations of culture facilitating the exploration of taste formation produced by social factors other than class. Extant analyses are largely limited to "high", "middle", and "low brow" or "elite" and "mass/popular" conceptions. Culture, within these models, is reduced to a kind of economic and social instrumentality: i.e. the only reason one consumes it is to achieve a better social and economic position. Some newer conceptual approaches such as the "omnivore"/"univore" (Peterson and Kern 1996) or the "inclusive"/"restricted" (Bennett *et al.* 1999) cultural consumer, challenge the straightforward homology between class and taste groups with taste formations entailing preferences from all levels of the traditional "high" "middle" and "low" scheme as opposed to the "high brow snob" (Peterson and Simkus 1992). Yet the sociological study of cultural consumption and taste continues to be dominated by economic models of

culture that reduce taste to something that is overwhelmingly determined by class position.

Notwithstanding the important insights of the class based models of cultural taste, religion is essentially a different kind of concept. Consequently the task of gauging its influence on cultural taste turns our attention to how symbolic resources such as religious identity are implicated in the formation of cultural taste, and some means of explaining how and why. This chapter will propose a model of cultural taste formation and distribution that highlights how religion shapes the cultural tastes of Australians. The chapter has two foci relevant to answering a question about how religion and culture might be theoretically related: (1) outlining a theoretical model that explains how religiosity structures cultural taste formation and distribution, and (2) conceptualising culture and religion.

Against the established tendency to treat culture as a symbolic resource in economic and stratification struggles, here I highlight the expressive elements of culture. By this I mean culture's pleasurable, emotional, and permissive aspects that feature in the cultural consumption decisions of individuals (Featherstone 1990). Throughout the following discussion I highlight religion as a special and potent aspect of cultural structure (Alexander and Smith 1993). This conceptualisation of culture emphasises "intrinsic" over "use" or "exchange" value and may not have any overt social or economic effects (Simmel 1997; Sayer 2000) such as the uses of culture in securing economic advantages through "cultural capital" (Bourdieu 1984) but may evidence symbolic moral boundaries

in social life (Lamont 1992) revealing how institutional religion continues to be of importance in late modernity. The religious factor in cultural taste may have overt political consequences however given the contested nature of cultural policy and legislative issues surrounding censorship and classification in which religious groups are extremely active.

Such a conceptualisation seeks to highlight the "everyday perceptions and attitudes of ordinary actors" against more reified conceptualisations of culture (Woodward and Emmison 2001: 296). There is an emphasis on treating taste as a moral disposition or a symbol of how individuals frame the world as "good" and "bad" through the culture they consume as a result of a religious identity and religious practice. My approach to this re-conceptualisation draws mainly on the work of Norbert Elias's process sociology, but principally Elias's theory of leisure in connection with his more general theory of the civilising process (Elias and Dunning 1986; Elias 1994; van Krieken 1998). Elias's work is one of the few coherent sociological theories offering an alternative conceptualisation of taste to the class based models inspired by Bourdieu that might help sensitise and explain the influence of religion. Elias's ideas emphasise the emotions in social life. Culture's function in Eliasian theory is to provide the arousal of pleasurable emotions which entails a discourse of their control through various social and cultural mechanisms. I interpret this discourse as the moral evaluation of culture, in which religion is a key factor. Below is a brief introduction to Elias's sociological work to assist the reader in contextualising the proceeding theoretical discussion.

Norbert Elias and process sociology: prospects for the sociology of culture

The social theory of Norbert Elias and his followers, usually termed, "figurational" or "process" sociology, is receiving greater recognition and increased application in the social sciences after many years of neglect. Indeed "Elias only began to be recognised as a major sociologist after the 1980's" (van Krieken 1998; 2) despite a career that began in the 1930's with his seminal works *The Court Society* and *The Civilising Process.* This may simply reflect the fact that his ideas only became available to readers in English through translation during the 1980's however, and not any broad institutional prejudice against his work. Since that time, according to van Krieken (1998:2) "a growing number of books and articles on topics including health, sexuality, crime, shame, national and ethnic identity, femininity, and globalisation, in a variety of disciplines make positive reference to Elias as an authority on the history of emotions, identity, violence, the body, and state formation." The scope of research to which Elias' ideas have been applied in recent times has contributed to the growing recognition of the importance of Elias' work for theory and research in sociology.

Given the rapid emergence of cultural consumption as a field of study since Bourdieu's *Distinction: a Social Critique on the Judgement of Taste*, Elias' theoretical approach may provide researchers with a useful alternative to class and political models to better explain the emergence of factors other than class influencing taste formation and the distribution of culture. Additionally, empirical investigations associated with the current "cultural turn" in sociology including studies of taste, might benefit from Elias' approach by examining alternative "readings" or interpretations of culture other than the political which emphasise

"decorative" narratives of domination and oppression in cultural production and consumption (Turner and Rojek 2000).

Elias' inquiries into leisure (Elias and Dunning 1986) provide researchers with a framework in which alternative models of cultural taste might be usefully conceptualised through examining culture as a source of emotional arousal and pleasurable tension in contrast to the emotional restraint enacted in everyday lives around routines of work and spare time. These pleasures are attended by restraints in a process Elias calls a "controlled decontrolling of the restraint of the emotions" (Elias and Dunning: 96). I interpret this process as a moral discourse on culture based on the view that culture can be coded as "good" or "bad", "harmful" or "harmless". Recent studies of taste in Australia have highlighted the potential of Elias' theories for such a re-conceptualisation of culture by suggesting it to be useful in the delineation of the "moral codes of interpersonal conduct" that actors use in response to other people or "sociability" when defining good and bad tastes through concepts such as "civility" and "attunement to others" (Woodward and Emmison 2001: 295). In a departure from the economic and class models of culture the Australian researchers found that "in many instances everyday judgements of taste are not only understood as a question of aesthetics but that they are also matters of moral, ethical and communal sensibility" (Woodward and Emmison 2001: 296-297). Now I turn to a discussion of Elias' theories of the civilizing process and leisure.

The Civilizing Process: the history of the emotions and social change

In developing a model of how religion gives rise to taste formation using Elias' theoretical approach it will be instructive to the reader if some general discussion is given over to Elias' key ideas on the civilizing process and culture[5]. I do this to provide the reader with a theoretical context to the problem of re-conceptualising culture that departs from the more established and familiar models of culture indicating economic position that currently abound in the literature. In so doing I delineate the specific aspects of his approach and ideas that I use in the conceptualisation and operationalsation of cultural taste. I begin by discussing Elias' theory of the civilizing process: an historical development of the modern concept of civility based on the restraint of the emotions in everyday life. Civility is then discussed in relation to leisure which is theorised by Elias as a counter balance to civility subject to various forms of institutional and self control, thereby revealing culture's moral dimension. Religion is then introduced into the discussion as a civilizing force controlling the emotions aroused in cultural consumption with specific consequences for cultural taste formation.

In *The Civilizing Process* Elias is concerned principally with two things, firstly: how and why through the long term history of the secular European upper classes has the control of individual affectual behaviour through external and internal forces changed in a specific direction i.e. toward a "civilizing" or civility (Elias 1994: 449) and second, how these individual changes are bound to wider social

processes of increasing social differentiation and integration (Elias 1994: 450). The theory of the civilizing process therefore connects "individual psychological structures (so called personality structures) and figurations formed by large numbers of interdependent individuals (social structures)" (Elias 1994: 452). These structures viewed in long-term historical perspective are characterised by change in a specific direction - towards a "civilizing" - through formative processes that Elias termed "sociogenesis" and "psychogenesis" (Elias 1994). In other words, changes in society are accompanied by changes in the psychological structure or the "habitus" of humans[6].

So what does Elias mean by "civilizing" and civility? Essentially for Elias "civilizing" is a gradual change in personality and behaviour due to external and self-controls concerned with "how people, in the course of the civilizing process, have sought to suppress in themselves everything that they feel to be of an "animalic character"" (Elias 1994: 102). The civilizing process is therefore a structured, but unplanned, historical process of increasing restraint of the emotions, the affects, and the expression of bodily functions. It represents ever advancing "thresholds" of repugnance, shame, embarrassment, and delicacy with respect to these human attributes (Elias 1994). These behavioural changes are linked to processes of state formation and monopolies of violence[7], hence their description as having a "sociogenesis" (Elias 1994).

Connected to these individual transformations in personal behaviour are expanding "chains of interdependence" between individuals and groups. These shifts are associated with social change producing increasing "functional

dependence". In other words as societies become increasingly subject to centralised control in the form of a monarchy or nation-state encompassing large geographic areas and masses of people, individuals are increasingly socially and economically dependent on the authorities that govern the society in which they live. Further this dependence is strengthened by the state's monopoly on the means of violence and its ability to raise taxation. As a result individual behaviour such as manners and emotional expression transform in a particular way, toward being "civilized", to reflect this dependence.

Elias demonstrates that the level of control or restraint of emotions and affects in contemporary Western societies is the result of very long-term historical social processes, concerning Europe, with the middle-ages as an arbitrary starting point. Restraint of the emotions is associated with how one acts in regard to others within power relationships derived from interdependencies associated with large social configurations such as the nation-state. These in turn contribute to producing new standards of acceptable behaviour commonly termed civility. The models of behaviour associated with the civilizing process, according to Elias, began with the secular European upper classes through the aristocratic courts and disseminated downwards to other social classes within a stratified social system (Elias 1994: 427). As an indication of the thoroughness of the passage of these behavioural models through numerous social classes, and their association with the development of the nation state from princely court, the manners and etiquette derived from the civilising process take on the resemblance of "national character" (Elias 1994: 32). They form part of the habitus of nations.

Process sociology has a pronounced empirical dimension. The evidence Elias uses to illustrate the civilizing process is derived from etiquette books from the twelfth to the nineteenth centuries. These texts contain guidance on manners and appropriate etiquette concerning a range of everyday behaviours in varied social situations (e.g. how one should conduct oneself at table). Over the course of his discussion in *The Civilizing Process* Elias demonstrates how these changes were related to changing patterns of sleeping, sexuality, language, and a variety of "trivial" everyday behavioural attributes and standards. Many of these more "animalic" characteristics, that had become "distasteful", were increasingly "removed behind the scenes of social life" (Elias 1994: 103). Elias provides a poignant example of this process with regards to the carving of meat, once an action in view of dinner guests that became, over time, a function sequestered from public witness and performed elsewhere[8].

Throughout *The Civilizing Process*, Elias compares the emotional structure or habitus of people in later phases of European history as products of social change with those in the Middle-ages. In this earlier period the emotional tenor of everyday life was considered to be much less stable, with more violent and strong emotions associated with interaction and far less restrained in public life. This emotional structure or habitus in individuals is commensurate with diffuse and loosely bound authority structures such as duchies and fiefdoms containing very short chains of control and interdependence that characterised these European societies. These configurations are distinguished from integrated monarchies and nation states that controlled vast amounts of territories and people through one administrative executive. This is characterised by very long chains of

interdependence producing in the individual a more even and restrained emotional self in everyday life (Elias 1994: 375). While Elias demonstrates that the restraint of drives and impulses increases over time through "civilizing spurts" curbing violent outbursts and wild displays of passion, it is important to note that strong emotion, passions, and violence normally restrained in everyday life, do not simply vanish but are released in specific areas such as culture and leisure (Elias 1994; Elias and Dunning 1986).

Viewed contemporaneously, individuals have in general, as a result of the historical moulding theorised as the civilizing process, learnt to restrain strong emotions and bodily functions in everyday life to the extent that life has become safer and more controlled yet less satisfying and emotionally pleasurable. This restraint of the emotions and drives explains the historical development of modern concepts such as civility, politeness, and delicacy that characterise contemporary models of everyday behaviour in Western societies (Elias 1994). Within this milieu culture and leisure perform a revitalising function to counter the emotional repression characterising everyday life: "for what is lacking in everyday life a substitute is created in dreams, in books and pictures. So...the bourgeois contemplate violence and passion in films" (Elias 1994: 375). The function of leisure in the everyday lives of individuals and communities is primarily to provide an emotional counter-balance to the regular emotionally controlled patterns of civility that threaten life with dullness and boredom (Elias and Dunning 1986).

In the next section I expand on this development in the theory of the civilizing process and of the function of culture and leisure in contemporary societies to inform the operational definition of cultural taste used in this study. I discuss with relation to Elias's ideas how models of civility are inverted through a theory of the function of sport and leisure via the oppositional nature of "mimetic" leisure to the civilizing process that produces routinization of everyday life. On the basis of this more focused theoretical discussion I outline an operational definition of culture consisting in a moral discourse between the dimensions of cultural "civility" and cultural "barbarism" and then discuss how religion can be seen to impact upon it.

The Civilising Process inverted: sport and leisure

Despite a discussion of how the civilizing process is extended through the historical development of sport, the general theory of leisure derived by Elias with Eric Dunning in *Quest for Excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process* suggests leisure's function to be contrary to models of civility that are a feature of the historical social and emotional development of Western societies. According to Elias and Dunning (1986: 15), the "principal function [of leisure (or culture)] appears to be the arousal of pleasurable forms of excitement". Leisure is therefore a means to escape for a time the "routinization that a civilizing process engenders" (Elias and Dunning 1986: 16). Sport and leisure are functionally defined essentially as a "controlled decontrolling of restraints on emotions" (Elias and Dunning 1986: 96) and are "complementary to the control and restraint of overt emotionality in our ordinary life" (Elias and Dunning 1986: 66) In this way

they counter the threat of life in "civilized" societies becoming too dull and can be seen as an "inversion" of the civilizing process or as a means of "de-civilizing" (Wouters 1986; Elias 1996).

This "inversion" of the civilizing process through leisure is really only a feature of one particular, but very important, mode of leisure – "mimetic leisure". Elias and Dunning in *Quest for Excitement* highlight it in the formulation of a general typology of "spare-time activities" away from work, of which only some are deemed to be "leisure" (1986: 95). They propose a theory of leisure within a "spare-time spectrum" (1986). Leisure is categorised into three broad divisions: 1) "spare-time routines": attending to bodily needs such as drinking and washing, and routines associated with the house including cleaning, and other household administration; 2) "Intermediary spare-time activities of self fulfilment and self expansion" such as voluntary work, private study associated with occupation, and religious activities amongst others; and 3) "leisure activities" such as sociable activities, "mimetic" play and a residual category of miscellaneous activities (Elias and Dunning 1986: 98).

The three major categorical divisions within the "spare-time spectrum" are set off against what Elias and Dunning call "routines" which they define as "recurrent channels of action enforced by interdependence with others, and which impose upon the individual a fairly high degree of regularity, steadiness and emotional control in conduct and which block other channels of action even if they correspond better to the mood, the feelings, the emotional needs of the moment" (1986: 98). "Routines" can be viewed as the civilizing process applied to the daily

activities and interactions of individuals that are to various degrees suspended through the practice of leisure. "Routines" are also a feature of many spare-time activities "classified under 1 ["spare-time activities"], less so those classified under 2 ["intermediary spare-time activities"], still less so those classified under 3" ["leisure activities"] (Elias and Dunning 1986: 98). A key dimension of "leisure activities" is "mimetic leisure". Mimetic leisure, which from now on I term culture, is the focus of the rest of the chapter and informs the emergent model.

Mimetic Culture

Elias and Dunning's "mimetic" culture is a concept borrowed form classical Greek philosophy formulated most substantively through the writings of Aristotle in a discussion about the function of drama, poetry, and music[9]. The term "mimesis" means to imitate. Mimetic culture according to Elias and Dunning, arouse emotions associated with the emotions of real life events. Mimetic cultures are not "representations of real life events but rather that the emotions - the affects aroused by them - are related to those experienced in "real life", situations, only transposed in a different key, and blended by a "kind of delight"" (1986: 80).

This imitative or mimetic quality is a common characteristic of many types of culture traditionally conceptualised as "high" or "low" in many studies that employ class based models of taste formation (Elias and Dunning 1986: 80). For example a common feature of classical and rock music is the emotional arousal

they produce through the imitation of the emotions experienced in real life events or situations. Here they share a common element that may account for a shared appreciation within taste formations usually termed "omnivorous" (Perterson and Kern 1996). Rather than simply conceptualised at opposite ends of a cultural taste hierarchy such as "high" or "low" the mimetic aspect to culture draws attention to different ways in which culture might be distributed through its function of emotional arousal. Individuals who favour forms of mimetic culture are therefore in search of a particular emotional response that might be governed not by economic or stratification concerns but discourses of pleasure and its control that have been traditionally framed as moral issues (Freud 1963; Foucault 1980).

Mimetic culture arouses all manner of emotions that one may or may not desire in real life such as joy, happiness, love, but also fear, anger, and hatred, in a pleasurable tension. The mimetic class of culture, report Elias and Dunning, entails an extensive array of activities, allowing one to

> "experience hatred and the desire to kill, defeating opponents and humiliating enemies. One can share making love to the most desirable men and women, experience the anxieties of threatened defeat and the open triumph of victory. In short one can tolerate, up to a point, the arousal of strong feelings of a great variety of types in societies which otherwise impose on people a life of relatively even and unemotional routines and which require a high degree and great constancy of emotional controls in all human relationships" (1986: 125).

It is clear that mimetic culture arouses a range of emotions that may be perceived as "good" or "bad", "harmful" or "harmless" based on standards of everyday civility entailing emotional restraint. This conceptualisation of culture emphasising emotionality opens up the possibility of examining the impact of

factors such as religion on taste formation because mimetic culture, through its emotional arousal and pleasure, is subject to control through moral evaluation within the broader social contexts of civility discussed earlier. Mimetic culture is set in relief to standards of "civility" in Elias' scheme with varying degrees of control that strongly allude to its moral dimension. This moral dimension of mimetic culture is plainly evident in Elias and Dunning's discussion of its nature (1986). Due to its function as a means to a "controlled decontrolling on the restraint of the emotions" (1986: 96) mimetic culture enables "people to ease or to tease the norms of their non leisure life" (Elias and Dunning 1986: 100). They involve "playing with norms" as one "plays with fire" apparently "without offending society" (Elias and Dunning 1986: 100).

But mimetic cultures have the potential for great offence and disruption to the order of complex societies however because "under the impact of strong feelings, [aroused by mimetic culture] people are apt to act in a manner which they themselves can no longer control" (Elias and Dunning 1986: 118). Therefore "a decisive characteristic of leisure activities" Elias and Dunning note, "is that the de-controlling of restraints on emotions is itself socially and personally controlled" (Elias and Dunning 1986: 96). The regulation or control of mimetic culture is performed in a number of ways that suggest a moral patterning of behaviour associated with mimetic culture as "good" and "bad". "The way in which most societies couple the legitimization of sexual and other emotional satisfactions" write Elias and Dunning is, "within the framework of the family, with a socializing training, with beliefs, with direct restraints and prohibitions countering the dangers to others of any liberation of instinctual and emotional

forces in a person" (1986: 119). Culture theorised as emotional pleasure affords a logical conceptual link to religion in taste formation because religion has historically facilitated the control of emotional pleasure in Western societies (Bell 1976).

At this point it might be useful to summarize the discussion so far to see how culture can be conceptualised as a moral problem and by what mechanisms individuals discriminate against it in forming taste. I have sought to re-conceptualise culture as a moral problem within Elias' theoretical scheme of the civilizing process. It was shown that through processes of historical development Western societies have acquired specific models of civility that characterise individual and social behaviour determined through the habitus or emotional structure of individuals. Civility, a result of the civilizing process, is based on the increasing restraint of the emotions, a decrease of violence and aggression in public life, and a removal of the "animalic" aspects of human behaviour "behind the scenes". The development of civility is a causal derivative of wider social changes such as state formation enforcing interdependence between individuals and groups. Associated with this notion of civility are "thresholds" of delicacy, decency, shame and embarrassment that serve as standards of acceptability and appropriateness in behaviour. Mimetic culture provides a counter-balance to this restraint by enabling a "decontrolling of restraints on emotions" by arousing the emotions normally suppressed in everyday routines. A key feature of the consumption of mimetic culture however is a moral discourse of control ensuring a limitation to the transgression of the norms of civility aroused by pleasure

through what Elias calls external and internal controls. Figure 2.1 presents a simplified summary of the moral dimension of mimetic culture.

Figure 2.1 An Eliasian model of the moral discourse of mimetic culture

Civility	→	Restraint on emotions decreasing violence, aggression and the "animalic" in public life. Routines. "Thresholds" of decency, Delicacy, shame, and embarrasment
Mimetic culture	→	"Decontrolling of restraints on emotions" Pleasurable arousal of emotions "teasing of norms"
Moral Discourse	→	"Controlled decontrolling of restraints on emotions" through social institutions/self -family -socialisation -beliefs

Cultural civility and Cultural barbarism

While Elias and Dunning provide a general theory of culture in relation to civility they do not provide an operational definition of mimetic culture informing taste formation incorporating the different modes or fields of culture expressed as genres, forms, or media. How then does civility and mimetic culture impact on taste formation, i.e. how can mimetic culture be operationalised within this theoretical scheme to capture variation in taste patterns? I contend that tastes in mimetic culture are formed through the level of control one has over the pleasurable decontrolling of emotions aroused by mimetic culture through various modes of socialisation and identity. That is to say taste will be formed through an

evaluation of the type of emotional pleasures that mimetic culture will be perceived to arouse indicative of a moral discourse. I use the term "control" here not only as a direct restraint on the emotions, which it is, but also as a channelling device through moral discourse allowing the arousal of particular types of emotions and providing a mechanism for participation in or preference for culture. This is an important distinction within the general function of mimetic culture as emotional arousal is profoundly variegated.

For example one may wish for the arousal of emotions associated with romance when watching a film or reading a book of that genre, but not wish the arousal of emotions directly associated with sexual experience, though the two may be related and imitated in different ways. A key element of this contention then is the expressive elements of mimetic culture. What mimetic culture offers through content, mood, and form is a range of pleasurable emotional experiences that might range form hatred and anger through to calmness and well being. Mimetic culture is a way in which individuals can experience aggression, violence, and the animalic normally restrained in everyday life. Arousal of these emotions is engaging the barbaric, the opposite of civility. In contrast mimetic culture may also serve to reinforce standards of civility by promoting the arousal of more "civil" or less violent and aggressive emotions such as peacefulness, calmness, pensiveness, and less exuberant forms of joy or sadness. These variations are evaluated as "good" and "bad", "harmful" and "harmless" through the moral discourse of control and are set off against general standards of civility that have been achieved through the civilizing process. Individuals act as "carriers" (Weber 1964; Alexander 2005) of perceptions about culture, such as "good" (civil) and

"bad" (barbaric) learned through institutions such as religion that structure their choices.

So what does mimetic culture consist of? The type of culture that comes under the description of mimetic is very broad. "Most, though not all, leisure activities belong to it" according to Elias and Dunning. "From sports to music and drama, from murder films, to Westerns, from hunting and fishing, to racing and painting, from gambling and chess, to swinging and rocking, and many others" (1986: 66). Within the specific modes or fields of mimetic culture are types or genres that carry variable mimetic qualities. For example music is a general field of mimetic culture but heavy metal and easy listening are two very different types of genres that through content and mood arouse very different emotions.

The "thresholds" of decency, delicacy, embarrassment and repugnance that Elias applied to manners should equally apply to mimetic culture through codified taste formations. We might expect heavy-metal music to break particular thresholds and easy listening to be well within them. Indeed government regulatory bodies of culture such as the Office of Film and Literature Classification in Australia, informed by specialists and community representatives, regulate culture in a similar process through codes indicating the level of violence, sex, nudity, and course language. Culture is to some extent controlled externally through classification informing individuals about the content usually with a letter rating such as "M" for "mature" and "C" for "children" (OFLC 2005).

I propose that cultural tastes be seen as reflecting a symbolic scheme of the thresholds and standards of decency and civility evaluated through moral discourse in the taste formations of individuals. In operationalising mimetic culture I highlight a key distinction in mimetic culture between "cultural civility" and "cultural barbarism". What is culturally "civilized" or "barbaric" will reflect divergent standards of mimesis and emotional arousal. Mimetic cultures will arouse particular emotions in a secular cultural matrix of expression. Cultural taste formation then reflecting a moral discourse can be coded as "cultural civility" and "cultural barbarism" on a scale of high to low. Below is a general typology of the moral discourse of culture as "cultural civility" or "cultural barbarism".

Figure 2.2 A general typology of the moral discourse of mimetic culture

The moral discourse about mimetic culture

	Perceived Cultural Civility			*Perceived Cultural Barbarism*	
Mimetic culture					
Music	High	Medium	Low	Low	Medium	High
Film						
Books						
Sport						
Leisure						
Photography						

Cultural civility and cultural barbarism can be thought of as essentially a continuum that entails two extremes, "high", with more moderate states in between, "medium" and "low". Importantly the model is exploratory and seeks to codify not the actual emotions aroused by various forms of mimetic culture but to position hypothetically the attitudinal judgements about mimetic culture based on the function of groups in relation to culture distinguished by various identity factors such as religion. The model offered here is a theory of how the system of mimetic culture may be perceived and evaluated by various groups in structuring taste based on culture as a form of emotional excitement. Religion is one such group. The model may equally apply to other social groups or experiences.

In other words the typology presents a general scheme for classifying mimetic culture and allocating it a variety of scores on a scale of civility or barbarism which inform its moral evaluation. This is operationalised later in the study through attitudinal responses to mimetic culture in a national survey of cultural taste. It manifests in this study through the attitudinal positions of symbolic civility and symbolic barbarism between religious and non-religious groups.

A Religious model of cultural civility and cultural barbarism

In light of the proposed typology of the concept of mimetic culture perceived by actors as civil and barbaric an elementary assumption is that religious individuals have different thresholds of delicacy and decency with regards to mimetic culture to non-religious individuals, thereby anticipating variance and difference in cultural taste patterns. In this section I refine the conceptual focus to the relationship between religion and culture and discuss why we might expect

religious groups to have different thresholds of decency and delicacy to non-religious groups and propose an approximate religious model of cultural civility and cultural barbarism to forecast the structures of symbolic civility and symbolic barbarism between religious and non religious Australians. The discussion toward this end will comprise a consideration of the place of religion in the civilizing process. This section spends some time delineating the specific sociological aspects of the substantive problem of religion and culture and employs the sociological imagination in making a distinct and plausible conceptual argument about the links between religion and mimetic culture that is pursued through analyses of individuals' taste preferences in later chapters.

Religion is a problematic area for processes of civilizing due to Elias' deliberate focus on the secular upper classes of Europe in *The Civilizing Process*[10]. Sympathetic interpreters of his work have generally acknowledged that the omission of religion is an issue of concern for his general theory of civilizing processes. Bryan Turner states that "The absence of any sustained analytical interest in the regulative and restraining functions of religious norms in the historical process of civilizing military violence, the court and the bourgeois household is a significant problem in Elias' treatment of the institutional matrix of Western nation-states" (2004: 251). In a similar vein Johannes Goudsblom declares that "there can be no doubt that what we now classify as religious forces have at times exerted a strong pressure towards socially induced self-restraint" (2004: 278).

Elias only makes a handful of scattered references to the role of religion in *The Civilizing Process*, his general position on the role of religion in it summarised thus: "Religion, the belief in the punishing or rewarding omnipotence of God, never has in itself a 'civilizing' or affect-subduing effect. On the contrary, religion is always exactly as 'civilized' as the society or class which upholds it" (1994: 169). Despite Elias' denial that religion "in itself" is not a producer of the civilizing process he does afford it the role of an agent in the dissemination of behavioural models to other strata of society that emanated from the princely courts. "Clerical circles, above all", Elias writes, "became popularisers of the courtly customs" (1994: 86) to the extent that "*civilité* was given a new Christian religious foundation" (1994: 87). Leading Elias to conclude that "the church[11] proved, as so often, one of the most important organs of the downward diffusion of behavioural models" (1994: 87).

Elias' position on religion in the civilizing process has been compared with Weber's parallel work on what Bryan Turner (2004) calls "the rationalization process" in a general theory of the development of Western societies. By contrast Weber of course places religion in the lead role in the development of the modern world of "sober bourgeois capitalism" by looking to the ethical foundations of Western rationalization, derived from the Catholic monasteries and applied to everyday life by Protestantism with specific consequences for economic conduct and everyday life in general. "When asceticism was carried out of the monastic cells into everyday life, and began to dominate worldly morality, writes Weber,

"it did its part in building the tremendous cosmos of the modern economic order" (1967: 181).

Weber and Durkheim both believed that religion in itself had, through ascetic practices and beliefs, specific attributes that achieved and promoted self-restraint and control of the affects. For Durkheim this was present in the "moral community" founded in the rituals and doctrines binding individuals into a group that evaluated the world and all things in it as sacred or profane through the auspices of the "positive" or "negative" cult (1995). For Weber religion produced a particular "psychological vehicle" or habitus that produced an orientation toward the world, which in turn regulated conduct toward the aim of salvation (1967). Notwithstanding the debate about the specific influence of religion in the development of modern Western societies, all three theorists allocate to religion a role in the restraint of the emotions and logically therefore a special place in the regulation of culture. Marx and Engels (2002) were also of the opinion that religion produced an emotional pacifism that obstructed political action with the famous "opiate of the people" pronouncement. Moreover it is difficult to separate religion from the models of civility suggested by Elias that have developed through history irrespective of whether they were of a religious or secular derivation because of the role in which churches performed in social life, in all sections of society. In summary religion, as a means of "moral community" can be viewed as a sacralising force for civility, as Elias theorises it.

It is only Weber however that discusses religion in relation to culture as a substantive issue. In his *Sociology of Religion* he conceptualises culture,

particularly music, in much the same way as Elias conceptualises leisure in that its function primarily resides in the production of ecstasy, ecstasy toward religious goals however.

> "Religion and art are intimately related in the beginning. That religion has been an inexhaustible spring of artistic expressions is evident from the existence of idols and icons of every variety, and from the existence of music as a device for arousing ecstasy... Religion has stimulated the artistic activities of magicians and sacred bards, as well as stimulating the creation of temples and churches...together with the creation of religious artefacts and church vessels of all sorts" (Weber 1964: 242-243).

Yet through historical and social processes culture has increasingly gained independence from religious authority. Indeed Weber (1964: 243) acknowledges this development when he states:

> "But the more art becomes an autonomous sphere, which happens as a result of lay education, the more art tends to develop its own set of constitutive values, which are quite different from those obtaining in the religious and ethical domain".

As a result of this type of secularisation religion is then in a state of "tension" with art that represents an alternate mode of salvation as a result of the loss of direct control over the production of culture. Elias and Dunning also claim that many examples of mimetic culture have religious bases to them such as the Christian carnivals of the middle ages and the Dionysian festivals in ancient Greece (1986: 65), but "in contemporary societies...it is no longer a framework of religious activities and beliefs which provides scope for a balancing relaxation of restraints" (Elias and Dunning 1986: 66). One could, however, point to the ever

increasing production of religious culture that does allow for a relaxation of restraints such as Christian rock (Hager 2000).

In more recent times theorists such as Daniel Bell have also considered the relationship between religion and control as a substantive issue within a broad theory of social change. Bell (1976: 182) states that

> "In the history of Western society there has always been a dialectic of release and restraint. The idea of release goes back to the Dionysiac festivals, Baccanalian revels...or to the examples in biblical legend and history of Sodom and Gomorrah or the Babylonian episodes...The great historic religions of the West have been religions of restraint. We find in the Old Testament an emphasis on the law, and a fear of human nature unchecked: an association of release with lust, sexual competitiveness, violence, and murder. The fear is the fear of the demonic – the frenzied ecstasy (ex-stasis) of leaving one's body and crossing the boundaries of sin. Even the New Testament, which suspends the law and proclaims love, recoils from the mundane implications of the suspension of the law and erects a barrier".

While the religions of the West are generally thought of as religions of restraint when it comes to culture it cannot be said that the religious do not seek a "decontrolling of the restraints of the emotions" in leisure however. They may simply not seek the "frenzied ecstasy of leaving one's body and crossing the boundaries of sin" that they feel might be facilitated in specific forms of mimetic culture. Indeed religion provides this very outlet through parallel forms of culture available to the religious in contemporary societies such a Christian music, novels, and art. Elias' theory of leisure applies to religious culture as much as it does to secular culture and the totalitarian impression of emotionally restrained religious groups may not be an accurate one. The greater majority of culture however, is secular, and not produced, nor consumed for that matter, to arouse

ecstasy in religious contexts or for religious purposes[12]. Given this "ideal type" situation we may think that the religious may avoid the many forms of secular culture, as some more specialised religious groups do such as Hasidic Jews or the Amish. This study however considers lay religious actors in a predominately secular matrix of cultural expression and assumes that religious Australians will unavoidably engage in secular culture but in a way that highlights the "tension" between religion and culture that Weber suggests and that the concept of mimetic culture offered here theorises.

That religion has acted to restrain cultural expression is beyond doubt. Historically this has been the area of censorship exerted by the state in association with religion to regulate standards of decency and limit obscenity in accordance with prescribed moral codes and standards (Bertrand 1978; Coleman 2000; Vnuk 2003). This model of public and institutional regulation has changed however and despite occasional appeals by the churches to ban particular items of culture from public consumption, churches do not occupy a position of political power any longer so as to be able to directly influence the cultural choices of individuals through political means (Dobbelaere 1981; Wilson 1982; Dobbelaere 2003). This does not mean that religion is not active in the structuring of taste cultures however, indeed it means that researchers need to analyse religion on a different level such as individual lay religious actors associated with such developments as the "privatization of religion" (Luckmann 1967).

The tenor of contemporary culture

Given the general secularisation and decline in direct institutional control of cultural production by religions, what in terms of the notions of cultural civility and barbarism can we say characterise the cultural systems of representation in contemporary societies such as Australia? To assess religion's probable impact on taste a few comments about the general emotional tenor of contemporary culture will be instructive.

It may be safe to assume that culture, in Western societies, has in recent history, coinciding with the decrease of religious authority become more barbaric, increasingly permitting depictions of sex and violence across mimetic cultural fields[13] (Thompson and Sharma 1998). Given this assumption, mimetic culture's development could be seen to represent within process sociology, a "decivilizing process" (Wouters 1986; 1989; Mennell 1990; Wouters 1991; Elias 1996). Elias initially dismissed "decivilizing processes" terming them 'fluctuations' within the general direction of the restraint of drive affects toward increasing civility but came to consider them more seriously in his later works (see Elias 1996). "One such fluctuation" Elias (1994) writes

> "is present today in the memories of all: in the period following World War I, as compared to the pre-war period, a "relaxation of morals" appeared to have occurred. A number of constraints imposed on behaviour before the war have weakened or disappeared entirely. Many things forbidden earlier are now permitted. And, seen at close quarters, the movement seems to be proceeding in the direction opposite to that shown here; it seems to lead to a relaxation of the constraints imposed on individuals by social life" (157).

As noted earlier it is important to discriminate between the various levels of application in which the theory of the civilizing process has been applied and where decivilzing processes can be traced. The present study differentiates between a civilizing process in the real life behaviour of individuals who through chains of interdependence in particular figurations will submit to "routines" as Elias and Dunning define them, and a decivilizing process on a cultural level that can be indicated by cultural production allowing a "controlled decontrolling of the restraint of emotions" that may or may not have any social effects. A rise in one direction may not necessarily indicate a decline in another.

Process sociologists, analysing the behaviour changes in the twentieth century, have also made claims of a process of "informalization" with regards to manners, language, and parental child relations. In moral terms informalization and decivilization have characterised the "permissive society" (Wouters 1977; 1986) or the "expressive revolution" (Parsons 1999). Both terms reveal the underlying moral dimension of the civilizing process and how changes in the opposite direction can be perceived and can assist in the derivation of hypotheses, which I articulate in the next chapter.

On the symbolic level this decivilizing process or "permissive society" that might account for the rise in depictions of barbarism including particular renderings of sex and violence especially is, according to Daniel Bell a product of the decline of religious authority since the mid nineteenth century, in which culture "crossed

over" from the "sacred to the profane" in a continuing "dialectic of release and restraint" in relation to what he terms "the demonic". Bell (1976: 117) insists that:

"The culture - particularly the emerging current we now call modernism - took over, in effect, the relation with the demonic. But instead of taming it as religion sought to do, the modernist culture began to accept the demonic, to explore it, to revel in it, and to see it (correctly) as the source of a certain type of creativity".

The current phase of decivilization or "permissiveness" in accordance with the decline in religious authority is a key aspect of contemporary mass media as Camille Paglia (1991: 45) asserts

"Historiography's most glaring error has been its assertion that Judeo-Christianity defeated paganism. Paganism has survived in the thousand forms of sex, art, and now the modern media. Christianity has made adjustment after adjustment, ingeniously absorbing its opposition (as during the Italian Renaissance) and diluting its dogma to change with changing times. But a critical point has been reached. With the rebirth of the gods in the massive idolatries of popular culture, with the eruption of sex and violence into every corner of the ubiquitous mass media, Judeo-Christianity is facing its most serious challenge since Europe's confrontation with Islam since the Middle Ages. The latent paganism of Western culture has burst forth again in all its daemonic vitality".

It may well be assumed then that current standards in cultural expression are somewhat barbaric in comparison to previous ones. However this portrays culture as simply a one sided affair replete with representations of the "darker" aspects of human life. Despite the indications that mimetic culture has undergone a decivilizing spurt many forms of culture exist that might be conceived as "civil", morally acceptable, and well within particular thresholds of decency in that they limit the portrayals of barbarism indicated in mimetic culture by particular expressions of sex and violence.

Situating religion in relation to mimetic culture, and society

The discussion has thus far sought to establish that religion as a general concept has demonstrated an intimate relationship with culture. Through historical social processes religion, culture and art have separated into separate realms and have often demonstrated a tension toward each other. How might this more general and amorphous thought translate into contemporary Australian religious responses by individuals to secular culture and how might it be sociologically valid to think about and explain real differences between denominations and different levels of religious commitment and secular culture?

Max Weber's general notion of a "tension" between the realms of art and religion in the production of ecstasy is reminiscent of a general tension theorised to exist between religious groups of varying theological orientation and the broader secular society (Niebuhr 1957; Troeltsch 1931). This body of literature has emphasised the differences in religious sub-group values orientation, organisation, membership, and authority structure. A more contemporary version of religious tension with the wider social environment is presented by Stark and Finke (2000). These theories of religious differences may account for variation in cultural consumption between religious individuals belonging to different religious groups and levels of religious commitment indicating a level of tension between a religious group or level of commitment to a religion and the broader secular world indicated by cultural tastes.

In addition to thinking about religions and religiosity as being more or less in a state of tension with secular society, situating religion in terms of civility and barbarism within the civilizing process can assist us in stating how religion relates to this particular theoretical orientation. It has been contended that religion has acted as an agent or force for civility, reinforcing the particular thresholds of repugnance and delicacy that form behavioural models, extended to the formation of taste structures. Religious individuals as carriers of these standards draw from a cultural tool kit (Swidler 1986) and project these codes of civil and barbaric onto mimetic culture. We would expect then that religious individuals would seek to demonstrate more symbolic civility through taste than non-religious individuals. This section has attempted to establish a theoretical connection between religion and culture as a sociological problem embedded in an historical progression to foreshadow the more empirical analyses of individual cultural tastes in later chapters.

Mimetic cultural tastes

Finally what forms of mimetic culture might the religious perceive as representing cultural civility and cultural barbarism? Below is an approximation of how the model may inform the evaluation of mimetic culture of individual Australians who are religious through taste items recorded in the Australian Everyday Cultures Survey. Figure 2.3 suggests a hypothetical model of the moral evaluation of cultural tastes based on religious identity factors. While the process sociological theory of leisure is a theory of interest to scholars, little has been written about the operationalisation of mimetic culture as a guide to the structure of taste preferences or how mimetic culture might actually be thought of by

individuals. Similarly the neglect of cultural consumption by sociologists of religion has left little in the way of guidance and or empirical support for moral classification of culture. The classifications below proceed within an exploratory framework. Despite the pronounced difficulties in measuring culture (Marsden and Swingle 1994; Emmison 1997; Katz-Gerro 2004; Bennet *et al* 1999) and limitations associated with secondary analysis I outline a proposed scheme of mimetic cultural classification in Eliasian terms below to provide some preliminary sensitising to cultural civility and cultural barbarism. Despite presenting this section of the theoretical model as how the religious might perceive culture, other aspects of identity commonly associated with social background experiences may also structure tastes in a similar manner because religion isn't the only institution with a moral view of culture. Gender, age, education, and other factors may also construct culture in a moral terms associated with civility and barbarism in mind.

Cultural civility in music might include "softer" genres such as classical, light classical, easy listening and musicals. "Harder" genres such as rock, heavy metal, techno, and avant-garde music are coded to represent cultural barbarism. Subjects such as a vase of flowers, a sea sunset, and a wedding might indicate civility in photographic subjects as opposed to more violent scenes including the homeless fighting, a demolition site, and a car crash as barbaric because of the violence associated with such images. Civil reading tastes might include classical authors, poetry, romances, travel, gardening and cooking, while genres such as horror, science fiction, erotica, and crime, barbarism. War, horror, R or X rated, film noir, and independent films are coded as indicating barbarism; musicals, romances,

dramas, and adventure films civility. Finally music leisure such as attending orchestral concerts, ballet, and musicals are coded to represent civility and attendance at night clubs, pubs with live bands, and rock concerts, barbarism. The approximation is essentially a creation that is not based on scholarly literature or on any specific religiously informed positions on the cultural fields which is simply non existent to the greater majority of mimetic culture beyond its extreme forms.

Figure 2.3 A typology of the moral classification of mimetic culture: an approximation of how religious Australians structure cultural civility and cultural barbarism

Domain of mimetic culture	Civil Cultures	Barbaric Cultures
Music	**Musical tastes** classical, light classical, easy listening, musicals religious, opera, jazz, big band, folk, top 40 pop	rock, alternate rock blues, heavy metal avant-garde techno
	Music Leisure orchestral concerts musicals ballet chamber music concerts	rock concerts night clubs pubs with live bands
	Music programmes on radio classic hits, easy listening, classical	mainstream rock, alternative rock
Photographic subjects	landscapes vase of flowers sunset over the sea wedding horse in a field	car crash homeless fighting demolition site pregnant woman
Books	classical authors poetry romances educational gardening cooking craft hobbies historical romances travel	crime thrillers contemporary novels horror occult erotica science fiction
Film	comedies musicals romances dramas adventure spectaculars westerns	war horror R or X rated film noir independent horror thrillers
Leisure	body surfing, surfing, swimming, walking, bush walking, power walking	aerobics, jogging, martial arts, weight training, hunting, fishing
Sport	tennis swimming cricket golf basketball netball	car racing boxing wrestling rugby union soccer rugby league

Summary

This chapter has presented a theoretical model sensitising the relationship between religion and cultural taste. With so little written about the effects of religion on cultural taste, some effort has gone into providing a credible theoretical rationale and sociological problematic for pursuing this field of enquiry. The preceding discussion presented a different sociological approach to the conceptualising of cultural taste that many current studies have employed based on class differences and the utility of culture within stratification and conflict theories. The new conceptualisation has sought to qualify the conceptual links between religion and culture through emphasis on the emotional and expressive features of culture as a mimetic experience and therefore informs a more appropriate conceptual approach to the problem.

The conceptual basis for the study worked out in this chapter is derived from the process sociology of Norbert Elias who proposed that the emotions are restrained and released through different time contexts such as spare time, everyday routines, and mimetic culture that function to arouse pleasurable emotions. The chapter has discussed the idea that moral categories are applied to culture by individuals and that these categories inform how culture is consumed. These moral qualities are the result of particular elements of identity, principally religion but also the social background experiences of Australians that help shape the emotional structure or habitus of individuals that structure behaviour. The model proposes how individuals perceive culture and select it in the process of experiencing emotional pleasure that is the function of mimetic culture in contemporary societies.

In the next chapter I descend the ladder of abstraction and seek to operationalise the concepts that I have introduced and discussed in this chapter. I turn from the more general to the more specific and from the more theoretical to the more empirical to situate how the study will be executed through measurement and analysis. I delineate specific regimes of operationalisation of mimetic culture and Australian religion.

Endnotes

[1] Piss Christ is a photograph of a crucifix immersed in urine created by Andres Serrano that was on exhibition in the National gallery of Victoria in October of 1997. The exhibition including Piss Christ was cancelled after the piece was vandalised twice.

[2] The Port Arthur massacre occurred on 28th April 1996 and claimed the lives of 35 people at Port Arthur, a tourist spot in Tasmania, Australia.

[3] This Prime Ministerial response to this tragedy reflected the belief that the perpetrator of the Port Author massacre, Martin Bryant, was heavily influenced in his murderous actions by a collection of violent media.

[4] See http://libertus.net/censor/senatecomm.html#SSCpvem

[5] As Elias' theories are principally about social change in long-term historical perspective the present study does not aim to test their validity but employs them principally in the conceptualising and operationalising of cultural taste.

[6] The "habitus" a concept that contemporary sociology, and not in the least, cultural consumption and taste studies, has utilised and become familiar with through the writings of Bourdieu was first used in sociology by Elias who used the term to describe the personality structure as a "second nature" (Elias 1994: 117). The term in Western scholarship however does date back to the writings of St Thomas Aquinas.

[7] cf. Weber 1948

[8] "Carving... was formerly a direct part of social life in the upper class. Then the spectacle was felt more and more to be distasteful. Carving itself did not disappear, since the animal must, of course, be cut when eaten. But the distasteful was *removed behind the scenes of social life* (italics in the original)... It will be seen again and again how characteristic of the whole process that we call civilization is this movement of segregation, this hiding "behind the scenes" of what has become distasteful" (1994: 103).

[9] See Aristotle's *Poetics* in which he considers culture such as drama and music in medical terms.

Culture was purgative and curative of particular ailments of the soul: the arts as providing "catharsis".

[10] The notion of a "secular" upper class in Europe is intended to mean those classes who were not clergy or religious professionals. Indeed to suggest that there was a secular upper class in European society from the middle-ages is, according to certain meanings of "secular" somewhat rediculous due to the place of Christianity in European social life. Many European monarchs are today still the earthly representatives of God and symbolic head of their various churches.

[11] It is not clear whether Elias is referring here to the Catholic Church, which so often is written as simply "The Church" in European histories or if he meant any kind of Christian church, be it Catholic or Protestant.

[12] These no doubt still exist. Indeed a direction of further research in cultural consumption could look at Christian leisure, particularly Christian rock and literature that is a multi million dollar industry in western countries.

[13] The political scientist and social commentator Robert Manne professed on SBS television that "I think that there is a lot of barbarism in popular culture of a kind which has been growing over the last 20 or 30 years..." (Insight 17/4/1997). No empirical studies, in process or any other sociological perspective, exist to state whether or not there was more barbarism in culture and leisure in the 1990's than at other periods in the twentieth century.

Chapter 3

Methods, Measures, and Analysis

Introduction

In this chapter I describe the methodological approach, some issues surrounding data and measurement, and the analytic strategy used in the empirical investigation of religion and cultural taste encountered in the proceeding chapters. The present study employs a series of quantitative research methods to gain a primary empirical understanding of the effect of religion on cultural taste as suggested by the conceptual model presented in Chapter Two. To this end a large scale national survey of cultural taste preferences for Australians is analysed. Below I discuss the prospects and problems of survey research, the benefits and limitations of secondary analysis in general terms and in relation to the present study, the Australian Everyday Cultures Survey, the research questions that direct the study, and the analytical strategy that the study executes in the coming empirical chapters.

Survey research

Survey research is a common method available to sociologists and other social science researchers involved in scholarly investigation of the social world. As is the case with other methods it is imbued with distinct advantages and

disadvantages, problems and prospects. However it is an appropriate and well established methodology and despite its limitations proves, when used appropriately, to be an excellent method for exploratory studies that seek to establish the empirical contours of a problem involving a large population (Marsh 1982).

Problems and Prospects of survey research: the present study

The advantages and disadvantages of survey research are the subjects of numerous methodological textbooks and scholarly articles. Survey research has a number of well known limitations and problems but also offers the researcher some very useful prospects. Pertinent to the present study survey research provides an excellent means of acquiring empirical data for a sample of people that is representative of a broader population such as a nation, allowing confident generalisations inferred from empirical patterns (Walter 2006). The quantitative data that surveys produce is profitably used for exploratory studies such as this one, to measure opinions, attitudes, and behaviour and to assess patterns across groups (Neuman 1994). Another distinct advantage of survey research is the availability of data for secondary analysis, allowing researchers the ability to use data already collected for a variety of purposes not necessarily associated with its original design (Walter 2006).

Secondary analysis

This thesis uses secondary analysis of two surveys in the empirical investigation of religion and culture. Secondary analysis is an excellent means for researchers to gain high quality large scale data for research, especially post graduate

students. Despite the advantages of quality data availability secondary analysis can produce a range of problems for the researcher. A key concern is the validity and reliability of measures that were not purpose built for the secondary analyst's own research problems (Bryman 2001). In addition to these concerns the relevant data available for analysis may be limited in the number of questions contained in a survey and in the scope of how a concept is measured forcing the secondary analyst to work within limited parameters of investigation. Increasingly however large scale general surveys are becoming more and more amenable to secondary analysis and are designed with this feature in mind providing researchers with excellent material for analysis (Phillips 2006).

The Australian Everyday Cultures Survey

Overall, comprehensive large scale national data for analyses of cultural taste in Australia is scarce. Extant surveys that measure culture are very few and contain only a low number of measures of a lesser quality that severely limit research on the topics of interest to this study. Data for analysis employed in this study is derived from the Australian Everyday Cultures survey of 1995 and the National Social Science Survey of 1993. The AEC survey is a one time large-scale national survey that sought to question Australian respondents on a wide range of everyday cultural practices and tastes.

In some measure the AEC survey is a replication of the survey Pierre Bourdieu employed for his study of French cultural life in the 1960's that evidenced his 1979 work *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Similarly the researchers who developed the AEC survey employed the survey to produce

Accounting for Tastes: Australian Everyday Cultures (Bennett *et al* 1999), with corresponding themes and theoretical orientation to that of Bourdieu's *Distinction*.

This theoretical orientation notwithstanding, the AEC survey is a general survey instrument that records cultural taste preferences. According to Bennett *et al* (1999) the aims of the AEC survey for the researchers who developed it were threefold. First, simply to map out the range of cultural practices and tastes that Australians might engage in as comprehensively as possible. Second, "to explore attitudes to aesthetic and cultural matters", and third to document the social background of the respondents so as to "produce a richly textured social cartography of cultural tastes" (1). Third, a more sociologically focused, yet similarly exploratory aim of the research was "to delineate the cultural activities of Australians and their relationship to social class" (2).

The leisure practices and tastes measured in the survey are amenable to analyses that do not seek to relate social class to cultural taste because of the general nature of the survey questions, which simply ask respondents if they do, have, want, or prefer some object or quality in an item of culture. The survey's generalist orientation, conceptual range, and representativeness are advantages in the exploratory aims of this study and represent the most appropriate method of investigation for this study. However the study is not purpose built and does not directly measure qualities such as "civility" and "barbarism". The data, working from the model in Chapter Two, is proposed to represent civil and barbaric states. The sampling frame for the AEC survey was 5000 non-institutionalised Australian adults derived from the Australian Electoral Roll of August 1994 using

a stratified random sample in all states and territories in the Commonwealth of Australia. The questionnaire was self-administered mail out and return. From the 5000 sent a survey, 2756 useable surveys were returned (61%). The AEC is a cross sectional survey.

Measuring culture, measuring religion

In this section of the chapter I operationalise[1] the concepts of religion and culture pertinent to the theoretical focus of the study. The main focus of this section is the construction of the religion variables. I describe the specific measures available to indicate civil and barbaric culture in this chapter also but further develop them in relevant later chapters. I also discuss the ways in which culture was measured in the survey and the consequences for analysis.

Culture

The AEC contained a comprehensive list of cultural practices and taste preferences available for analysis which I detail and specify for operationalisation Chapter Six. The survey questions measured the level of participation in practices and the level of favouritism for particular genres across a number of cultural fields. The survey did not measure opinions and attitudes about specific genres or practices, which problematises to some extent its ability to tap concepts such as civility and barbarism in culture[2]. This notwithstanding participation rates and levels of favouritism can act as reliable proxies for these more pronounced positions because favouritism and participation indicates a non compulsory emotional attachment to cultural items.

A key advantage of the AEC survey was the range of cultural practices and tastes that it sought to measure. Many studies of cultural consumption suffer from a dearth of data that limit the examination of the distribution of culture across numerous cultural fields. As a consequence studies are often reliant upon measures of a single cultural field such as music and therefore not able to comment on the full breadth of cultural practice and lifestyle that analysis of many dimensions of cultural taste may offer. The AEC survey asked respondents to record their cultural taste preferences and practices across numerous fields potentially providing a means to overcome these deficiencies.

Pre-existing measures of cultural taste

An important question for the present study is whether or not pre-established measures can be used to indicate new conceptualisations of culture, given that they have been specifically designed to test stratification and conflict theories of cultural consumption (Bennett *et al* 1999). My contention is that as dependent variables many of the measures of culture that exist in surveys are sufficiently general so as to allow a range of competing interpretations and conceptualisations of cultural preferences. Cultural taste is measured usually by simply asking respondents to indicate their favourite music, book, film, or leisure activity or how much they like or dislike a particular music, film, or reading genre. Examples of these kinds of questions can be found in the American General Social Survey of 1993 and the survey that Bourdieu used to evidence *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste.*

The data that this study employs, the Australian Everyday Cultures survey, also measures culture in this very general way. The generality of the data however does it make it difficult to test models of cultural taste that propose a value laden stance such as "civil" and "barbaric". However working from an exploratory base the model is only intended to provide a possible explanation for any findings that may reveal differences between religious and non-religious Australians.

Available data

The data is from one survey of cultural taste in Australia – the Australian Everyday Cultures survey AEC survey. Other survey data was available but lacked the variety and scope of measurement that the AEC survey covered to test the model of culture that this study concerns itself with[3]. Items were selected for their ability to measure mimetic culture as indicators of cultural civility and cultural barbarism in accordance with the theoretical model proposed in Chapter Two across eight fields: favourite music, music leisure, music radio programmes, favourite book and film preferences, sport, leisure activities, and photographic subjects. The AEC survey provided twenty items measuring music genre preferences, eight items measuring music leisure, five items gauging music radio programmes, twenty-two items measuring book preferences, sixteen film genres, twenty-four sports watched at live venues, seventeen leisure activities, and thirteen photographic subjects. A variety of scales were employed to measure cultural tastes: limited ranking scales, Likert scales, binary choice, and multiple choice formats (de Vaus 2002: 102 – 103).

Tables 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3 present the available survey items according to their measurement type. Limited ranking scale formats are concerned with rating the "importance or strength of agreement *relative to the way other items in the set have been rated*" (de Vaus 2002: 103). I specify "limited" because the questions formatted in this way in the AEC survey required respondents to rank only three items from a larger list and disregard the remainder. Likert scales usually measure opinions and attitudes and the extent to which a respondent agrees or disagrees with a statement or proposition about an issue. As a form of numerical rating Likert scales can also measure how often or how seldom a respondent does something. This aspect of Likert scaling is used in a number of the AEC survey items that I employ for this study. Multiple choice format questions simply require the selection of a single item among many in a question. Binary choice questions demand either a yes or no answer to a question.

The data presented in the following tables is used to through out the empirical chapters to measure mimetic culture across eight fields in various ways using a range of statistical techniques to pursue that questions and hypotheses that will drive this study. The data is only displayed and listed in this chapter but more properly operationalised in later chapters through a process of analysis designed to deal with specific concerns that the thesis deals with. The AEC survey contained much more data than is contained here but not all of it was relevant to the aims of the thesis nor was it amenable to particular types of analysis and technical use required to explore the relationship between religion and culture.

Table 3.1 *Limited raking scales measuring music, book, and film preferences from the Australian Everyday Cultures Survey*

Music

"Which are your three favourites from the following types of music? Put '1' in the box which is your most favourite, '2' in the box for your next favourite, and '3' in the box for your third favourite. (Please list only three types of music)"

Classical	Avant-garde	Folk
Light classical	Easy listening	Rock
Opera	Musicals	Techno
Traditional jazz	Blues	Alternative rock
Modern jazz	Soul	World
Big band	Top 40 pop	Religious
Heavy metal	Country & Western	

Books

"Which are your three favourites from among the following types of books? Put '1' in the box which is your most favourite, '2' in the box for your next favourite, and '3' in the box for your third favourite. (Please list only 3 types of books)"

Thriller/adventure	Science fiction	Poetry
Crime/murder/mystery	Romance	Scientific
Political	Travel/exploration	Educational
Cooking	Historical	Erotica
Historical romances	Gardening	Horror
Biographies	Classical authors	Occult
Craft/hobbies	Humour/comedy	Sport and Leisure
Contemporary novels		

Films

"Which are your three favourite types of films? Put '1' in the box which is your most favourite, '2' in the box for your next favourite, and '3' in the box for your third favourite. (Please list only three types of films)"

Adventure	Dramas	War
Horror	Westerns	Cartoons
Thrillers	Film noir	Comedies
Art films	Spectaculars	Independent
Musicals	Documentaries	R or X rated
Romances		

Table 3.2 *Likert scales measuring music radio programmes, music leisure, sport watched at live venues, and leisure activities from the Australian Everyday Cultures Survey*

Music radio programmes

"When you listen to the radio at home how often would you listen to the following types of programmes? (please circle the numbers that apply to you"). Easy listening programmes, Classic hits programmes, Classical programmes, Mainstream rock programmes, alternative rock programmes. (listen regularly, listen sometimes, do not listen).

Music Leisure

"Do you attend?" rock concerts, orchestral concerts, chamber music concerts, ballet, musicals, opera, night clubs, pubs with live bands. (often, sometimes, hardly ever, never).

Sport watched at live venues

Do you watch any of the following sports activities at live venues? (watch regularly, watch sometimes, do not watch)

Rugby league	Rugby union	Australian rules football
Soccer	Cricket	Basketball
Netball	Tennis	Golf
Hockey	Volleyball	Swimming
Track and field athletics	Boxing	Wrestling
Motor car racing	Speedway racing	Stock car racing
Motor cycle racing	Horse racing	Water polo
Gymnastic	Surf carnivals	Ironman competitions

Leisure activities

Of the activities listed below, which do you do often, which do you do sometimes, and which do you never do? (often, sometimes, hardly ever, never)

Camping	Visiting the beach	Bushwalking
Fishing	Hunting	Fossicking
Sailing	Swimming	Surfing
Body surfing	Jogging	Aerobics
Martial arts	Weight training	Cycling
Walking	Power walking	

Table 3.3 *Multiple choice formats measuring photographic subjects from the Australian Everyday Cultures Survey*

Photographic subjects

How would you characterise the following subjects for a photograph?
(beautiful, interesting, clichéd, unattractive)

A landscape	A car crash	A pregnant woman
A vase of flowers	Homeless people fighting	A sunset over the sea
A tackle in a football match	A horse in a field	A demolition site
Aboriginal dancers	The Sydney Opera House	A wedding
A halved onion		

Operationalising Australian religion

In this section I operationalise the concept of religion in Australia. Religion and religiosity is measured via a number of familiar dimensions. Commonly employed measures include identity, affiliation, devotion, belief, and commitment (Bouma 1992; Graetz and McAllister 1994; Van Krieken *et al* 2000). The present study operationalises religion across three of these dimensions: identity, affiliation, and commitment based on data availability. While questions that tap these dimensions provide an adequate set of measures for religion, some more detailed indicators would have allowed a more thorough and varied analysis of the independent variable and as a result a more comprehensive view of the effect of religion on cultural taste. For example, the AEC survey did not provide any measures of religious belief that are common in many other national surveys that incorporate more detailed measures of religion.

In social surveys and censuses the majority of Australians identify as religious and most commonly as "Christian" affiliated with a vast array of Christian denominations with varying levels of commitment. The steady increase in the number of non-Christian religions that have settled in Australia due to migration is an important feature of Australia's changing religious landscape. Despite this fact the major focus in this study will be Australian Christians due to the restraints of the data. Below I consider some basic tenets of Australian religion with special reference to Christianity and then go on to include the operationalised concept of religion in the model of culture.

Identity and affiliation

Two measures of religion that are somewhat related are identity and affiliation. As the majority of Australians might identify themselves as having a religion such as Christianity, they are affiliated with a variety of denominations within that religion. While one may identify as Christian one is also affiliated as Anglican, Catholic or Protestant for example (Similarly Jews can be broadly affiliated with Orthodox, Conservative, or Progressive strains within Judaism, Muslims Shiite or Suni and Buddhists Theravadan or Mahayanan). These are meaningful social and cultural divisions within Australian life (Mol 1971; Bouma 1992). The AEC survey measured these two dimensions of religion with the following questions: *"Do you consider yourself as having a religion"?* and *"What religion is that"?*

The effects that affiliation differences produce are a feature of the sociology of religion making affiliation an important variable in gauging religion's influence in social life. In Australia affiliation differences have been shown to produce

variation in attitudes towards politics, economics and traditional moral issues such as abortion (Bouma and Dixon 1986; Bouma 1992; Bean 1999). Weber's Protestant Ethic thesis (1967) is based on the denominational differences between Catholics and Protestants.

Affiliation is achieved via conversion, or more often as a product of socialisation such as family or schooling. Bouma reports that the effects of religious affiliation and identity can influence behaviour irrespective of how committed one is to their religion. "Those who do not attend [church] frequently may still show the effect of the meaning system and plausibility structure [denomination] with which they identify" (1992; 108). Denominational affiliation has been described as the "context of religiosity" (Grichting 1985). In Australian history denominational affiliation has indicated differences in religious orientation, social position, and ethnic background that underscored general inequalities and world views between Catholics and Protestants (O'Farrell 1977; Breward 1993; Carey 1996).

In the present study Australian Christians are affiliated with the following denominations: Roman Catholic, Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist, Uniting, Lutheran, Baptist, and myriad evangelical Protestant denominations. The study will seek to identify variation in cultural tastes across the affiliative divide anticipating that affiliations can vary in their tension with secular society (Stark and Finke 2000).

Commitment

Religious commitment is predominately measured by how often one attends religious services. The AEC survey measured religious commitment with the use of one familiar question: *"About how often do you attend religious services"?* Other measures of commitment exist such as voluntarism or community involvement. Regarding Christianity, church attendance is an important dimension of religiosity or religious action. A criticism of this measure, however, is the lack of uniformity of attendance standards across Christian denominations (Bouma 1992). Attending church once a week maybe considered a high level of commitment in some denominations such as Catholicism, but a low level of commitment for other affiliations, such as Jehovah's Witnesses making it difficult to effectively compare levels of commitment. Religiosity such as commitment indicated by attendance at religious services is usually measured quantitatively as often/regular, sometimes, and hardly ever/never. A lower level of commitment for the majority of Australian Christians is a characteristic of Australian Christianity (Bouma and Dixon 1986; Hogan 1987; Bouma 1992).

Social background experience

Religious identity, affiliation, and commitment are patterned themselves by several social factors of ascribed and achieved identity, the major set of these factors include age, gender, ethnicity, and class. In general older compared to younger Australians, and female compared to male Australians are more likely to be religious and have a higher level of commitment. Religious Australians are not likely to be radically differentiated across factors such as education and class (Bouma 1992; 2006).

Social background experiences need to be considered in their own right as potential structuring agents of cultural taste concerning mimetic culture. Morality is, of course, not the sole provision of religion. Values informing behaviour are certainly the product of social and economic class, gender, and age. In relation to mimetic culture Elias and Dunning contend as much when they state that: "There are evidently considerable differences between age-groups and different classes in the openness with which they show their tension and excitement...there are differences in the whole social setting of different mimetic events" (1986: 84). In the exploratory nature of this study religion will be considered alongside a number of social background experiences to test the contention that religion as a moral force will structure cultural taste. Social background variables are measured typically in the AEC survey through a series of standard questions including about how old one is in years, what sex one is, and years of school attendance.

From the existing measures of the three dimensions of religion I undertook some variable recoding[4] to provide a set of more manageable measures for analytical purposes. I achieved this by collapsing some categories of church attendance and the type of religion that respondents indicated. Church attendance was recoded to display three levels of commitment: regular, sometimes, never. The original variable displayed six categories of response, some of which measured approximately the same level of religious commitment such as: "once a week", "about once a week"; "a few times a year", "less often".

There was no alteration of the variable used to measure religious identity. In answering the question, *"Do you consider yourself as having a religion"* respondents simply answered "yes" or "no".

Measuring religious affiliation is a somewhat complex affair given the profusion of religious expression in a multicultural/multifaith society such as Australia. The measures of religious affiliation also required recoding, careful category selection, and even omission to ensure reliability, validity, and utility in measurement. The AEC survey recorded thirteen religious groups, both Christian and non Christian in measuring respondents' religious affiliation. To the question *"What religion is that"?* respondents chose from thirteen response categories including "Church of England"[5], "Roman Catholic", "Lutheran", "Orthodox Presbyterian", "Uniting Church", "Baptist", "Other Protestant", "Other Christian", "Islam", "Buddhism", "Judaism", "Hinduism", "Other religion".

Within the categories of "Other Protestant", "Other Christian", and "Other religion" respondents recorded another twenty types of affiliation. "Other Protestant" categories included "Church of Christ", "Methodist", "Unitarian", and "Salvation Army". "Other Christian" included "Assemblies of God", "Reformed Church of Australia", "Jehovah's Witnesses", Greek Orthodox", "Russian Orthodox", "Open Bretheren", "Bretheren", "New Church of Jerusalem", "Seventh-Day Adventists", "Apostolic", and "Pentecostal". "Other religion" included some other forms of Buddhism and "Meher Baba"[6].

Table 3.4 *Religious affiliation frequencies from the Australian Everyday Cultures survey*

Affiliation	%	n
No Religion	26.6	720
Roman Catholic	22.9	632
Anglican	21.9	604
Lutheran	1.5	40
Presbyterian	2.6	72
Uniting	9.1	250
Baptist	1.1	31
Other Protestant	1.9	51
Other Christian	3.4	93
Islam	0.6	16
Buddhism	1.1	29
Judaism	0.7	18
Hinduism	0.1	3
Other religion	4.9	136
Total	100	2706

From the initial response categories I combined clusters of the affiliations to compose a regime of affiliation measures on the basis of previous Australian sociological research informed by the theological similarities of the combined religious affiliations (see Bouma 1992). The combining of some religious groups into a smaller set of theologically similar affiliations allowed the research to proceed with a set of meaningful and statistically relevant religious sub groups for which comparisons could easily be made against the non-religious sub-sample and a ready means of comparing theological conservatism.

The condensed variable for religious affiliation included two numerically superior stand alone categories: "Roman Catholic[7]" and "Anglican", and two composite

categories referred to by two acronyms: PMU (Presbyterian, Methodist, and Uniting) and CEP (Conservative Evangelical Protestant). The PMU group simply combined the more mainstream versions of Protestantism in Australia: the Presbyterians, the Methodists, and members of the Uniting Church, while the CEP group combined the many more theologically conservative and evangelically disposed and included the Baptist, Lutheran, and Other Protestant and Other Christian groups. Unfortunately the non-Christian groups were omitted from the analysis due to the lack of numbers that resulted in the data being not suitable for analysis. The reconfigured measure of religious affiliation is presented in tabular form below

Table 3.5 *Religious affiliation frequencies from the Australian Everyday Cultures survey – reconfigured measure of religious affiliation*

Affiliation	%	n
No Religion	26.6	720
Roman Catholic	22.9	632
Anglican	21.9	604
PMU	11.7	322
CEP	7.8	215
Total	100	2493

Future national surveys that seek to measure religion need to overcome this deficiency as non-Christian religions continue to grow in Australia. It is of increasing interest to sociologists to gain adequate numeric representation of these groups so to include them in national studies and in doing so overcome the charge

that the sociology of religion is so very often the sociology of Christianity (Turner 1994). In addition to the omission of the non-Christian religions, Greek and Russian Orthodox religious groups were also omitted. This is because they were few in number and did not readily share similar theological features with other Christian groups. This study therefore will proceed as more or less an examination of Australian Christianity and cultural taste.

This study contends that the religious affiliations can be viewed as more or less theologically conservative which provides the researcher with a meaningful scale in which to locate religious traditions informing how theoretically "tense" the relationship is between a religious affiliation and the wider society. For the purposes of this study "tension" with the wider society through theological conservatism can help explain variation in patterns of cultural taste between religious groups. For the purposes of this study the denominations rank 1 (low) through 4 (high) in theological conservativeness as follows: 1 Catholic; 2 Anglican; 3 PMU; 4 CEP. The notion of theological conservatism relates to how literal a reading of scripture a denomination asserts to its followers which is the basis of religious teaching. Catholics are related to but in some senses very separate from Anglicans, they are also markedly different to the other Protestant groups concerning scriptural interpretations.

Another concern of this study is associated with the extent to which religion is an indicator of civility. Religion, the reader will recall is cast in the guise of an institutional agent of the civilising process by promoting morality and decency in social life. I employ one measure from the 1993 National Social Science Survey

to test this proposition. The NSSS of 1993 is a large scale national survey based on a stratified random sample of respondents 18 years of age and over, extracted from the Commonwealth Electoral Roll. The NSSS is a self completion mail out and return questionnaire.

Theory and data

Some comment is needed to clarify the association between the theoretical context of this study that drives the sociologically imaginative (Mills 1970) aspect of the thesis and the empirical data used to test its hypotheses. This thesis employs a theoretical framework derived from the work of Norbert Elias. Elias's theory of the civilizing process (1994) is a theory that encompasses a very long term historical trajectory analysis of everyday behaviours of particular European communities. The behaviour and action that informed the theory of the civilizing process is indeed still in "process", as it were and subject to its own particular research (Wouters 1986).

This thesis is a case study that examines the cultural tastes of religious and non-religious Australians at one time only. The units of analysis are individuals. It assumes a certain level of civility which is the result of the long term social and psychological development associated with European and British communities that have been transmitted to Australia since the eighteenth century. As such the thesis makes no comment about the level of civility or barbarism that occurred or is occurring in Australia as a long term historical project, as a thesis dedicated to the study of the civilising process might do. The thesis engages with the theory of the civilising process to the point that it identifies religion as an agent of that

process and that religion provides an institutional restraint on the practice of "controlled decontrolling" which is a key theoretical position of Elias and Dunning in their associated theory of sport and leisure (1986).

Research questions, Hypotheses and expected effects

The more refined ambitions of this study are two separate but related goals. First I pursue some general research objectives associated with culture defined and approached as a moral issue in Eliasian terms: civil and barbaric. This exploratory phase also considers the place of religion in the generation of civility through its promotion of good manners and morals. From this more general and exploratory orientation the study is further refined in its aims to empirically examine three measures of religion to assess their impact on the display of cultural civility and cultural barbarism compared to the non-religious. The first phase proceeds through the direction of some more general research objectives and works to produce a preliminary conceptual basis from which the more specific relationship between religion and cultural consumption can proceed within the theoretical framework suggested. The second phase is more precisely guided by a set of hypotheses and specific research questions. The study is philosophically and methodologically positioned as post-positivist in its orientation to the substantive issues.

Research questions

Q1: Is civility a key quality that Australians associate with religion?

Q2 When controlling for a series of social background experiences is religion the best predictor of individuals favouring civil cultures more and barbaric cultures less?

Hypotheses

H1: Individuals' cultural preferences will indicate the perception that mimetic culture can be evaluated across a moral discourse of civil and barbaric

H2: Individuals who claim to have a religion will favour civil culture more than individuals who claim not to have a religion.

H3: Individuals who claim to have a religion will favour barbaric culture less than individuals who claim to not to have a religion.

H4: Among religious individuals those who are theologically more conservative will favour civil cultures more than religious individuals who are less theologically conservative and the non-religious.

H5: Among religious individuals those who are more theologically conservative will favour barbaric cultures less than religious individuals who are less theologically conservative and the non-religious.

H6: The more committed individuals are to religion the more they will favour civil culture than individuals less committed to religion

H7: The less committed individuals are to religion the more they will favour barbaric culture than individuals more committed to religion.

The expected strength of the effect of religion on cultural consumption given the exploratory nature of this thesis are not discussed or hypothesised. It cannot be expected that religion will have a substantial effect on cultural taste when considering the broad neglect of this aspect of social and cultural life. Suffice to say that this study hopes to bring to light the possible effects of religion on cultural taste and measure the extent to which it may or may not be effective and in doing so provide an empirical base for further work.

Analytic Strategy

This thesis combines a range of analytic techniques concerning numeric data that address the particular concerns of the empirical investigation. The study employs univariate, bivariate, and multivariate levels of analysis. The empirical investigation proceeds from the construction of a series of measures of civil and barbaric culture to comparisons of religious and non-religious sub-samples and a

comparison of religious and social variables in accord with the exploratory aims of this study.

In Chapter Four I seek to discover if Australians view culture as a moral issue by measuring civil and barbaric mimetic culture by using principle components factor analysis, a data reduction technique that combines a series of measures into a smaller set of underlying factors (de Vaus 2002: 186) that can assist in the validation and reliability of measures in order to operationalise the concepts of civil and barbaric culture. In addition to the preliminary investigation of a series of measures used to operationalise civil and barbaric culture in Chapter Four, I also conduct a univariate analysis of some measures of religion to test the theoretical contention that religion is an agent of civility by recording frequency distributions in tabular form. In Chapter Five I undertake an exploratory comparative factor analysis exercise between religious and non religious Australians, Christian groups, and various types of church attendees to assess whether or not the composition of cultural taste across numerous measures is differentiated between the religious and the non-religious. In Chapter Six I use bivariate cross tabulation to compare the participation in and aversion to civil and barbaric culture of religious and non religious Australians, different Christian groups, and church attendees and those who do not attend church. In Chapter Seven I use sequential multiple regressions to compare the religious variables with a series of social background factors to test religion against social experience in predicting participation and aversion to civil and barbaric culture. Sequential multiple regression is a technique used to assess how well a series of independent variables predict an outcome for a dependent variable (Pallant 2005).

To conclude this chapter I present a diagrammatic rendition of the Eliasian model of the religious factor in Australian cultural tastes illustrated in figure 3.1. The model will guide the empirical examination of religion and cultural tastes in Australia through the available survey data. In summary the model suggests a sixteen cell typology of the religious evaluation of mimetic culture comprising eight bi-coded cultural fields determined by three dimensions of religion; identity, affiliation, and commitment. The model presents a hypothesised mechanism about how individuals structure cultural taste through perceptions of mimetic culture.

Figure 3.1 A model of the religious factor in Australian cultural tastes

Religion: moral community → Agent of the civilizing process	Individual evaluation of → of culture/ perceiving taste as	cultural civility cultural barbarism

IDENTIFICATION	AFFLIATION	COMMITMENT
Religious	**Christian**	**Attendance at religious Services**
Yes	Anglican Catholic	Regularly
No	Presbyterian, Methodist, Uniting (PMU) Conservative Evangelical Protestant (CEP)	Sometimes
	No religion	Never

Moral evaluation of culture/ taste coded by individuals as

CULTURAL CIVILITY

Music - Classical, light classical, easy listening, musicals, religious, opera, jazz, big band, folk, top 40 pop

Music Leisure - orchestral concerts, musicals, ballet, chamber music concerts

Radio Programmes – classical music, easy listening, classic hits

Photography - landscape, vase of flowers, sunset over the sea, wedding, horse in a field

Reading - Classical authors, poetry, romances, educational, gardening, cooking, craft hobbies, historical romances, travel

Film - Comedies, musicals, romances, dramas, adventure, spectaculars, westerns

Leisure - walking, bush walking, swimming, surfing

Sport - cricket, tennis, golf, basketball, swimming, netball

CULTURAL BARBARISM

Music - Rock, alternate rock, blues, heavy metal, avant-garde, techno

Music Leisure - rock concerts, night clubs, pubs with live bands

Radio Programmes – mainstream rock, alternative rock

Photography - car crash, homeless fighting, demolition site, pregnant woman

Reading - Crime, thrillers, contemporary novels, horror, occult, erotica, science fiction,

Film - War, horror, R or X rated, film noir, independent, horror, thrillers

Leisure - weight training, martial arts, jogging, aerobics, hunting, fishing

Sport – rugby league, rugby union, boxing, wrestling, motor sports

Summary

This chapter has sought to foreground the empirical investigation with descriptions and discussion about the methodologies employed, the data used, the measurement of key concepts, theoretical issues, and the analytical shape that the empirical investigation will take in the following chapters. Two general research questions and seven refined hypotheses were proposed, measurement of the religious variables were discussed in some depth, as was the nuance associated with an empirical case study associated with the long term historical trajectory of process sociology. In the next chapter I turn to execute the first phase of a series of empirical analyses concerning religion and cultural taste. I set out in Chapter Four to test whether Australians actually think religion is a key factor in the production of civility, and that individuals actually perceive culture as civil and barbaric.

Endnotes

[1] To "operationalise" a concept means to make it function as an empirical measure, hence its operation in a study. The process of operationalisation in this chapter more or less describes what data I will employ in measuring concepts.

[2] To tap concepts such as civility and barbarism in culture more precisely a purpose built survey would ask respondents not only what culture or leisure they liked or disliked but why they liked or disliked it.

[3] For example the National Social Science Survey of 1996 measured culture in a very general way by asking respondents about attendance at "art museums", "other museums", "concerts", and "theatres"; if they read "serious", "practical", or "popular" books etc. These measures are difficult to theorise as either mimetic representing either symbolic civility or symbolic barbarism due to the lack of cultural types such as genres and styles that broad fields contain. Further the NSSS of 1996 measures could be said to favour a "high" brow model of culture and contains very few measures of "popular" or "low" brow culture.

[4] Recoding is a technique that allows the researcher to reduce the number of response categories in a survey item so as to make that variable more amenable to analysis, without compromising the range of results that a variable can offer analysis. Recoding is achieved through a special function in the SPSS computer package.

[5] The "Church of England" response category is represented throughout the thesis as "Anglican" and reflects the change in the church's own appellation to "The Anglican Church of Australia".

[6] Followers of the Indian Spiritual guru Merwan Sheriar Irani.

[7] Although the official name for this religious group is "Roman Catholic", I use the abbreviation "Catholic" throughout the thesis.

Chapter 4

Culture as a moral problem, Australian approaches to mimetic culture, religion and civility

Introduction

This chapter has two main aims concerned with empirically testing the theoretical model in Chapter Two and providing some preliminary empirical evidence on which later chapters can proceed and other aspects of the model be examined. First, building on previous research, I examine whether Australians as a whole perceive mimetic culture to represent the proposed moral divide of civil and barbaric. I discover if Australians perceive eight discrete fields of mimetic culture as civil and barbaric through a statistical technique called principal components factor analysis[1]. The findings revealed by the factor analyses form the bases of a series of new measures of mimetic culture: "cultural civility" and "cultural barbarism", against which religious and non-religious individuals are compared in later chapters. For these analyses I use the Australian Everyday Cultures survey.

Second I examine the proposed link between religion and civility also suggested by the model in Chapter Two. I employ the National Social Science Survey of

1993 to discover what Australians think is the most important role of the Christian Church in social life. The link between religion and civility will lend some empirical plausibility to the model's more general propositions and establish a justification for explaining variation in cultural taste preferences between religious and non-religious individuals in later chapters.

The analyses undertaken in this chapter traverse from the general to the more specific to test some aspects of the model in Chapter Two and to foreground other aspects of the model and empirical analyses in later chapters, thereby answering two of the more general questions the thesis pursues about how Australians view culture in moral terms and religion as a civilizing force. Establishing that Australians view culture in general as a moral problem allows some justification for investigating whether specific measures of mimetic culture are viewed in moral terms also. A related general enquiry concerns the role of religion in the generation of civility. If religion is seen as an institution whose major feature is the production of civility in social life then there is some rationale for investigating its more specific effects as carried by individuals through identity, affiliation, and commitment in the structuring of individual cultural taste preferences because of the moral views all Australians bring to the question of culture.

Culture as a moral problem

Along with the call for consideration of factors influencing cultural tastes other than class (Katz-Gerro and Shavit 1998), international research on cultural taste has also emphasised a consideration of the role of morality for future research in

this field (Rojek 2000; Sayer 2000). A major conceptual concern of the present study is that cultural taste is interpreted as a moral problem. In Chapter Two I proposed a model of the moral dimension of cultural taste, based on Norbert Elias's theory of culture functioning as a source of emotional release. Culture, from this perspective, can be seen as representing "civil" and "barbaric" states. Various individual items and cultural genres, within larger fields such as music, reading, or sport were theorised as "civil" or "barbaric", indicating the perception of types of emotional release they may offer. The first task of this chapter is to address hypothesis one: *"Individuals' cultural preferences will indicate the perception that mimetic culture can be evaluated across a moral discourse of civil and barbaric"*. It essentially asks if Australians think of culture in moral terms.

Previous research on cultural taste in Australia has produced some encouraging evidence that cultural taste in general is thought of and described in moral terms. Does 'good' and 'bad' taste mean more than what is aesthetically pleasing to individuals and refer to the way in which the display of cultural taste is a part of social behaviour conducted between individuals? This is an important first step in establishing an empirical foundation for an alternate conceptualisation of culture. If morality is a consideration when thinking about cultural taste for individuals then the construction of measures indicating the concepts of cultural civility and cultural barbarism can proceed with some confidence. It will be possible to go from the more general notions of taste as a moral problem to investigate how specific cultural items indicate the proposed moral divide and how tastes are structured as a result. That is to say if culture is a moral concern grounded in

social relations in general, how are individual cultural fields consumed to reflect this? And does religion have any impact on this consumption?

Is cultural taste defined as a moral issue by individuals? The previous research I mentioned above used the AEC survey to investigate this issue. The survey asked respondents to describe in their own words what 'good' and 'bad' taste entails with the aid of an open ended question[2]: *"Could you indicate in a few words what you think "good" taste and "bad" taste entail"?* In addition to some views of 'good' and 'bad' taste as merely personal concerns about aesthetics that did not relate to moral concerns (which colours or clothing types go with which for example) Australians did view cultural taste as a moral issue denoting "good" and "bad" in terms that represent the Eliasian civil/barbaric discourse. In doing so, Australians promoted the moral discourse of cultural taste as a social concern grounded in relations between people based on values.

Emmison and Woodward (2001: 295) found that the AEC survey data recorded that "everyday definitions of taste" were linked to socialness and the civil/barbaric divide, interpreting these definitions as "moral codes of interpersonal conduct" in "managing relations with others". From the statements of respondents the authors report that "the socialness of taste judgements are evident in terms such as "thoughtful", "civil", "courteous", "politeness", "discretion", "sensitivity", and above all by the word "considerate"...conversely bad taste is imagined as "selfish", "self-opinionated", "insensitive", "confrontational" and "vulgar" (2001: 312). These taste descriptors offer evidence for the way in which social interaction is conducted between people via values. It

can be reasonably expected therefore that displays of specific genre level cultural taste indicated by preferences will reflect the same civil and barbaric discourse, and structure patterns of cultural consumption based on more discrete measures of culture and informed by institutional forces such as religion. A further deduction is that cultural taste represents a symbolic disposition reflecting interpersonal behaviour. "Good" taste is a product of civility and "bad" taste is conversely associated with barbarism.

The way in which Australians think about cultural taste in general can be said to be related to moral values informed by a discourse of civil and barbaric. I now present a series of factor analyses that examine whether Australians consider more discrete and specific forms of mimetic culture in moral terms.

Results

Australian approaches to mimetic culture

In this section I undertake exploratory principal components factor analysis to discover whether diverse cultural tastes are structured across two moral dimensions: cultural civility and cultural barbarism. I present factor analyses for all eight areas of culture: music radio programmes, music leisure, sport, leisure, photographic subjects, favourite music, favourite books, and favourite films. A hypothesised model of how Australians were likely to evaluate mimetic culture in moral terms was presented in at the end of Chapter Two. The factor analyses aim to provide general empirical validation for theorising mimetic culture perceived as representing different moral positions that I have termed civil and barbaric. They

achieve this by identifying clusters of cultural items or genres that indicate underlying concepts such as civility and barbarism.

Tables 4.1, 4.2, 4.3, and 4.4 all contain items that fall out on two unambiguous factors in much the same way as was predicted by the model. For table 4.1, music radio programmes, two items on factor one represent cultural barbarity and three items on factor two represent cultural civility. Both "mainstream" and "alternative rock" are genres characterised by "harder" more aggressive styles of music. They are exemplified by radio stations such as Triple M and Triple J nationally and a station such as 3 Triple R in Melbourne. In contrast the "civil" genres are "softer" and broadcast by stations such as 104 Gold in Melbourne, 2CH in Sydney and ABC Classic Fm nationally[3].

In table 4.2 the first five items on the first factor loading represent cultural civility these items are variants of the typical "highbrow" measures of music, but combine with musicals, not traditionally considered a "highbrow" genre. Their "civility" is premised on the type of music encountered and emotional experiences imitated but also the venues in which these music types are performed. The concert hall where the majority of the civil genres are performed demands more restrained audience participation (Cook 1992) than the pub or night club (Bennett 1997). The bottom three items on factor two comprise cultural barbarity for music leisure, which provide an altogether different type of mimetic experience of decontrolled emotions.

The first seven items clustered together on factor one in Table 4.3 are contact or physically dangerous sports that indicate cultural barbarity in contrast to the six non-contact sports that represent cultural civility for sport in factor two. There is some ambiguity in table 4.3 with regards to rugby union, soccer, and rugby league which all load strongly on both factors. The rugby codes in particular might be seen as indicating both cultural barbarity and cultural civility. One interpretation of the presence of the rugby codes on the cultural civility factor might be its association with a series of sports watched at venues that have a successful national team or that are somewhat "traditionally Australian". As a result they provide spectators with successful national teams around which Australians rally. Therefore there is the possibility that this is indicating neither civil or barbaric but nationalist or communal type approach to culture meaning Australians view these sports as indicative of a positive endorsement of national identity (Phillips 1996; Phillips and Holton 2004). Evidence supporting the rugby codes' status as a measure of cultural barbarism however can be found in the medical and cultural literature. The football codes in particular are the subject of studies in concussion and head injuries because of their violent nature (Hinton-Bayre *et al* 1999) In more mimetic terms, football codes produce violent pleasure and pain amongst participants and spectators alike (Gard and Meyenn 2000). The more civil sports are non contact sports and offer a more genteel and refined measure of sport preference usually without physical risk, crowd violence or disruption.

Table 4.1 *Factor analysis: music radio programmes*

	Factor 1 *Barbaric*	Factor 2 *Civil*
Radio Programmes		
Mainstream Rock	**+.87**	+.08
Alternative Rock	**+.81**	-.10
Classic Hits	+.30	**+.80**
Easy Listening	-.11	**+.75**
Classical Music	-.31	**+.41**
Eigenvalue	1.64	1.41
Percentage of Variance	32.7	28.2

Source: AECS 1995

Table 4.2 *Factor analysis: music leisure*

	Factor 1 *Civil*	Factor 2 *Barbaric*
Music Leisure		
Orchestral Concerts	**+.82**	-.04
Ballet	**+.76**	-.02
Opera	**+.76**	-.04
Chamber Music Concerts	**+.75**	-.05
Musicals	**+.64**	+.14
Pubs with live bands	-.00	**+.87**
Night clubs	-.02	**+.84**
Rock concerts	+.02	**+.81**
Eigenvalue	2.81	2.17
Percentage of Variance	35.2	27.1

Source: AECS 1995

Table 4.3 *Factor analysis: sport*

	Factor 1 *Barbaric*	Factor 2 *Civil*
Sports Watched		
Motorcycle racing	**+.80**	+.13
Motor car racing	**+.75**	+.18
Boxing	**+.72**	+.36
Wrestling	**+.72**	+.29
Rugby union	**+.52**	+.42
Soccer	**+.51**	+.32
Rugby league	**+.45**	+.41
Tennis	+.10	**+.76**
Swimming	+.30	**+.67**
Cricket	+.25	**+.66**
Golf	+.30	**+.65**
Basketball	+.27	**+.59**
Netball	+.24	**+.55**
Eigenvalue	5.61	1.10
Percentage of Variance	43.2	8.49

Source: AECS 1995

In table 4.4 photographic subjects are neatly divided into cultural civility, comprised of the top six items in factor one, and cultural barbarism indicated by the last four items on factor two. The civil subjects are all quite pleasant and evoke images that many consider beautiful, peaceful, and evoking calm and reflection. In contrast the "barbaric" images convey violence and destruction in a variety of contexts. The barbaric photographic subjects might be seen as more experimental, pushing the collective "thresholds of repugnance" and challenging common regimes of decency with various social and cultural results (Sontag 2004).

Table 4.4 *Factor analysis: photographic subjects*

	Factor 1 *Civil*	Factor 2 *Barbaric*
Photographic subjects		
Vase of flowers	**+.65**	-.03
Horse in field	**+.64**	+.09
Sea sunset	**+.61**	-.18
Landscape	**+.60**	+.04
Wedding	**+.58**	-.14
Demolition site	-.03	**+.70**
Homeless fighting	-.08	**+.69**
Car crash	-.14	**+.65**
Football tackle	+.05	**+.40**
Eigenvalue	2.13	1.46
Percentage of Variance	23.7	16.2

Source: AECS 1995

Tables 4.5, 4.6, 4.7, and 4.8 all contain more than two factors but still broadly confirm the distinction between cultural civility and cultural barbarism as predicted by the model. In Chapter Two it was suggested that cultural civility and cultural barbarism could be thought of as two ends on a continuum entailing more extreme and moderate forms upon which cultural items may be located. In these tables the factor loadings are interpreted to represent different levels of cultural civility and cultural barbarism from "high" to "low".

Table 4.5 presents four factors for leisure that broadly confirm the predicted outcome. Factors one and three represent cultural civility while factors two and

four represent cultural barbarism. Factor three I term "high" cultural civility. It contains walking activities which are not usually as physically demanding – with the exception of power walking – as the water based activities of factor one which represents "medium" cultural civility. Both factors of cultural civility in leisure represent meditative engagements with nature. Certainly they cover a range of physical exertions from low to high but their civility lies in a lack of violence to self and surroundings. These activities are often characterised as having a meditative quality relating to well being (Ransford and Palisi 1996), health benefits, and even something approaching a spirituality that do not arouse violent or aggressive emotions. Their mimesis is a quiet awe and reflection on the wonder of nature or more peaceful inner moods (Taylor 2001).

Factor two; "medium" cultural barbarity, is associated with a disciplined and strenuous application of the body usually without the more pleasant recourse to nature and with some level of violence as indicated by martial arts. The mimetic derivation of these activities may be the determined victory over the "pain barrier" or with the sensation of achieving a particular physiological feeling or body image within a public exercise space that is replete with fast energised music (Crossley 2006). Violence is also a theme of factor four "high" cultural barbarism, although fishing is also undertaken as a form of experiencing the more pleasant aspects of nature. Despite this association fishing is still a form of violence to animals which does provoke protest from animal rights campaigners[4]. Activities associated with fishing such as gutting, scaling, filleting, and beheading fish are comparable to Elias' comments on the carving of meat once performed at the table (1994: 103) but as an action sequestered by the civilising process and

removed behind the scenes. The excitement aroused by fishing is closely related to that of hunting. Hunting can be seen as an activity that was once performed quite openly and proudly in European cultures but is now the subject of fierce protest by campaigners advocating animal rights (Singer 1976; Jasper and Nelkin 1992). Hunting and fishing provide different mimetic qualities to the other nature based activities such as bushwalking.

Table 4.5 *Factor analysis: leisure*

	Factor 1 *Low civility*	Factor 2 *Low Barbarism*	Factor 3 *High Civility*	Factor 4 *High Barbarism*
Leisure activities				
Body surfing	**+.86**	+.18	+.05	+.05
Surfing	**+.84**	+.05	-.02	+.00
Swimming	**+.59**	+.21	+.32	+.11
Weight training	+.11	**+.76**	-.00	+.12
Aerobics	-.00	**+.60**	+.39	-.25
Jogging	+.22	**+.59**	+.24	+.08
Martial arts	+.13	**+.55**	-.14	+.20
Walking	+.05	-.05	**+.78**	+.01
Bush walking	+.27	-.00	**+.61**	+.31
Power walking	-.03	+.37	**+.60**	-.14
Hunting	-.08	+.14	-.02	**+.80**
Fishing	+.18	+.06	+.08	**+.74**
Eigenvalue	3.07	1.52	1.27	1.18
Percentage of Variance	25.6	12.6	10.6	9.86

Source: AECS 1995

Tables 4.6, 4.7, and 4.8 provide factor analyses to test the validity of cultural civility and cultural barbarism for favourite types of music, books, and films. An important qualification for these findings is that they are influenced by a

particular question format that only sought respondents' three favourite types of music, books, and films from a list of multiple choices. The three choices were ranked against each other but not against the remaining categories[5]. Therefore clusters of two and three items are all that is possible in the following data. This notwithstanding, the principal components do suggest a structured scaling of cultural civility and barbarism from "high" to "low".

In table 4.6, favourite music falls out on six factors. While the factors are dispersed they broadly confirm the model. I interpret this dispersion of six factors to represent various grade points of cultural civility and cultural barbarism such as "high", "medium", and "low". Three of the factors: factor one, factor three, and factor five represent various levels of cultural civility and the remaining three factors: factors two, four, and six represent different grades of cultural barbarity.

I interpret factor one as representing "high" cultural civility. The musical styles associated with this factor are particularly light, generally uplifting in mood, and evoke more positive emotional themes representing a more controlled version of emotional engagement[6]. Factor three as "medium" cultural civility is characterised by traditionally "high" brow musical styles. The general mood of these genres, while at times potentially intensely emotional and even violent with the potential to challenge some levels of decency and decorum, is generally packaged as pleasant and calming and is surrounded by a culture of civility especially the more familiar and popular forms of these genres[7]. Factor five as "low" cultural civility is more of a "decontrolling" group due to its association with dancing and movement afforded by particular rhythms and harmonies.

Historically Jazz, and big band music has been controversial due to its association with arousing sexual desire (Jones 1998). Jazz has been marked "barbaric" in certain historical periods, as a result of its emotional provocation, sexuality (Rasula 2005) and association with African American composers and performers (Peretti 1992).

Factor two represents "high" cultural barbarism. These music types are particularly aggressive, provide ample scope for the decontrolling of emotions, and are often associated with sex, violence, other "reckless" behaviour (Arnott 1991) and also feature at times decidedly anti-religious through various content (Hinds 1992). Factor four I term "medium" cultural barbarism because of its more negative themes and darker moods and due to its lower levels of sexual and violent mimesis in general to factor two. Factor six "low" cultural barbarism whilst related to a more energetic musical style is characterised by lighter themes such as romance. Techno was more specifically related to dancing and the club environment which has been associated with a kind of ecstatic spirituality sometimes aided with the use of drugs, its moods are not particularly violent or aggressive but is decidedly secular (Reynolds 1999).

Table 4.6 *Factor analysis: favourite music*

	Factor 1 *high civility*	Factor 2 *high barbarism*	Factor 3 *medium civility*	Factor 4 *medium barbarism*	Factor 5 *low civility*	Factor 6 *low barbarism*
Music genres						
Religious	**+.61**	+.13	-.02	+.09	-.29	+.14
Top 40 pop	-.61	-.14	-.18	-.13	-.27	**+.34**
Rock	-.57	**+.35**	-.11	+.09	-.23	-.12
Light classical	**+.53**	-.16	+.11	-.19	+.01	-.15
Musicals	**+.40**	-.10	-.12	-.30	+.06	-.05
Alternative rock	+.01	**+.66**	-.16	+.06	-.02	+.10
Heavy metal	-.23	**+.62**	-.03	-.28	-.08	-.16
Easy listening	+.00	-.58	-.37	-.26	-.12	-.25
Classical	+.06	-.04	**+.76**	+.03	+.02	-.05
Opera	+.05	-.06	**+.73**	-.12	-.06	-.00
Soul	-.03	-.12	-.09	**+.68**	-.06	+.12
Blues	-.12	+.14	-.01	**+.66**	+.03	-.27
Traditional jazz	+.03	+.01	+.10	+.10	**+.71**	-.01
Big band	+.04	-.06	-.16	-.16	**+.67**	+.02
Techno	-.07	+.09	-.03	-.02	+.01	**+.85**
Eigenvalue	2.13	1.49	1.20	1.15	1.05	1.04
% of Variance	14.2	9.9	8.0	7.7	7.0	6.9

Source: AECS 1995

Turning to books and table 4.7 is also characterised by multiple factors that lend support to the model. Two factors, factor one and factor five represent cultural civility, while factor two, three, and four represent cultural barbarism. Factor one represents "high" cultural civility. Genres such as gardening, cooking, and crafts provide a more restrained excitement or pleasure associated with culture around the home. Factor five represents "low" cultural civility that would be expected to produce a less controlled decontrolled mimetic experience without strong recourse to barbarism such as explicit sex and violence. Books such as Australian sporting biographies may provide humorous anecdotes, as well as recounts of sporting glories perhaps aimed to provide a retired sportsman with good public

standing. Sports stars such as Steve Waugh have written autobiographies[8] in this vein. Factor four represents "low" cultural barbarity and is replete with darker themes challenging accepted moral boundaries (Ben-Yehuda 1985). Factor two represents "moderate" cultural barbarity, with violence, sex, and other forms of transgression often featured in various ways. Factor three represents "high" cultural barbarity. High cultural barbarity as the genres suggest, deals explicitly with sex, violence, and death.

Table 4.7 *Factor analysis: favourite books*

	Factor 1 *high civility*	Factor 2 *medium barbarism*	Factor 3 *high barbarism*	Factor 4 *low barbarism*	Factor 5 *low civility*
Book genres					
Craft/Hobbies	**+.67**	-.04	+.01	+.05	-.02
Gardening	**+.64**	-.14	-.11	+.07	+.01
Cooking	**+.60**	-.05	-.02	-.27	-.13
Thriller adventure	-.14	**+.70**	-.02	+.16	+.01
Crime/Murder mystery	-.14	**+.68**	-.07	-.07	-.03
Erotica	-.07	-.18	**+.60**	-.11	+.33
Occult	-.14	-.18	**+.55**	+.11	-.28
Horror	-.03	+.20	**+.48**	+.25	-.20
Travel/exploration	-.23	-.44	-.45	+.17	-.12
Romance	-.01	+.17	+.09	-.71	-.22
Science fiction	-.03	+.16	+.15	**+.64**	-.08
Sport and leisure	+.05	-.11	+.03	+.05	**+.75**
Humour/comedy	-.16	+.12	-.08	+.04	**+.50**
Eigenvalue	1.70	1.32	1.18	1.03	1.01
Percentage of Variance	13.1	10.1	9.0	7.9	8.8

Source: AECS 1995

Table 4.8 presents the factors for favourite films. This table shows five factors: two indicating various measures of cultural civility and three indicating various measures of cultural barbarism. Cultural barbarism in film is varied from high to low. High cultural barbarism is represented by factor three, a cluster of genres which arouse emotions associated with the experiences of sex and violence in an explicit way. Medium cultural barbarism is represented by factor five in which the contemplation of sex and violence can be major themes. Despite the tendency to contemplate sex and violence in a graphic manner, this factor is also characterised by an aesthetic and stylistic drive that seeks to create artistic quality including more liberal representations of beauty that have inspired at times an aesthetic reflection on porn versus erotica (Juffer 2004). Factor one represents low cultural barbarity. These films contain and portray violence and some sexuality but often present these themes less explicitly. This collection may be characterised by examples such as the Hollywood blockbuster.

The factors representing cultural civility can be said to espouse lighter or more pleasant emotions that conform to an accepted level of "good" taste that does not significantly challenge, but perhaps reinforces, particular thresholds of delicacy. The emotional experience of these films may well be intense at times but the types of emotions espoused may be more congenial and acceptable (Troost and Greenfield 2001). Dramas, comedies, and musicals might be thought of as represented by film adaptations of Jane Austen's or Charles Dickens' literary works such as *Sense and Sensibility, Emma,* or *Oliver,* Art Films and Spectaculars such as Baz Lurhman's *Moulin Rouge* or *Pricilla Queen of the Desert.* I classify factor two as high civility based on the less challenging themes and

commensurate emotions aroused and factor four as low civility that entails acceptable emotional transgression with particular norms.

Table 4.8 *Factor analyses for favourite films*

Film genres	factor 1 *low bar*	factor2 *high civil*	factor 3 *high bar*	factor 4 *low civil*	factor 5 *medium barbarism*
Adventure	**+.59**	+.21	+.05	+.01	-.16
Dramas	-.08	**+.69**	-.04	+.23	+.21
War	**+.73**	-.11	-.11	-.06	+.11
Horror	-.02	+.01	**+.77**	-.06	-.03
Westerns	**+.67**	-.04	+.07	+.01	+.03
Film noir	+.19	-.03	-.04	+.01	**+.66**
Comedies	+.15	**+.55**	-.08	-.20	-.13
Art films	-.05	+.04	+.01	**+.68**	+.27
Spectaculars	+.03	-.08	-.05	**+.77**	-.24
Independent	-.17	-.01	+.02	+.01	**+.69**
Musicals	-.03	**+.66**	-.00	-.03	-.07
R or X rated	+.00	-.11	**+.76**	+.02	+.01
Eigenvalues	1.48	1.39	1.23	1.09	1.07
Percentage of variance	12.3	11.5	10.2	9.1	8.9

Source: AECS 1995

Overall hypothesis one was generally supported. Australians view mimetic culture across the moral divide of civil and barbaric much like the model proposed. The factor analyses discerned clean and unambiguous singular or multiple civil and barbaric dimensions across different levels. The analyses also revealed more ambiguous and less clear support for the hypothesis at times to suggest that perhaps Australians approached some aspects of culture with a different set of perceptions in mind. The ways in which Australians perceived some mimetic culture, such as sport, may be problematic for the model.

The results have produced a challenge of interpretation at times given the fact that mimetic culture has not been theorised through a body of scholarly literature that has commented on a broad range of cultural expression, such as the range presented in this chapter. Identifying particular levels of civility and barbarism has proven to be not as clear cut at times. Such revelations in the data promote considered reflection and suggest that a post positivist caution in the relationship between quantitative data and theoretical concept (Alexander 1988). The categorising of whole genres also presents a significant problem for the researcher given the diversity and variation of expression and meaning inherent in each of them.

Despite some caution and speculation this exploratory examination will be useful to construct specific and discrete measures of cultural civility and barbarism for analysis in later chapters. While I have sought to demonstrate that mimetic culture can be interpreted as representing the civil and barbaric in the preceding discussion, the next section explores the institutional relationship between religion

and civility. I seek to demonstrate that one of religion's key functions in contemporary social life is as a producer of civility thereby foregrounding the more specific analyses of the religiosity of individuals and its impact on mimetic culture.

Religion and Civility

The reader will recall that the model in chapter two proposed religion, and in Western contexts specifically Christianity, as a civilising force that promoted restraint of the emotions, politeness, care of others, and the regulation of the affects. Although Elias did not discuss it in any great detail, religion, it was proposed, had clearly and substantially contributed to the civilizing process (Goudsblom 2004; Turner 2004). Religions such as Christianity promote civility into everyday life, including civility into the sphere of culture as an important aspect controlling the "decontrolling of the restraints on emotions" afforded by the mimetic class of culture (Elias and Dunning 1986: 96). The reader is reminded that through "beliefs", (in addition to families, socialisation, values, and norms – areas of social life in which religion is also influential), Elias and Dunning claim emotional release, the function of mimetic culture, is controlled (Elias and Dunning 1986: 118). This section of the chapter seeks an answer to the first research question: *Is civility a key quality that Australians associate with religion?*

The NSSS of 1993 contained one pertinent measure of the role of religion in social life that can be used to evidence its social function as a generator of civility. The survey sought to measure the role of the church in social life by asking what

the church[9] should provide with the question: *"How important is it that the church provides?"*. The fifteen item module included four items that were specifically and overtly religious such as *"conversion for unbelievers"*, *"guidance through prayer"*, *"Christian values"*, *and "worship through prayer and the sacraments"*. Nine more general items tested attitudes concerning the church's role in providing influence in the now more secular social, political, and philosophical aspects of life that historically the church may have been more responsible for including *"providing nursing homes"*, *"hospitals and health care"*, *"charity"*, *"punishment for wrongdoing"*, *"education"*, *"fellowship or companionship through social activities"*, *"resolution of political disputes about economic inequality"*, *"challenges to social injustice"*, and *"meaning, purpose, and direction to life"*. Finally two response categories measured the church's role in providing civility: *"encouragement for decent, respectable behaviour"* and *"good morals"?*

Table 4.9 *The most important thing for the church to provide in rank order*

	%	N
Encouragement of decent, respectable behaviour	**23.2**	2119
Encouragement of good morals	**21.8**	2106
Guidance through prayer	20.3	2116
Meaning, purpose, and direction to life	15.8	2112
Charity	14.9	2112
Worship through prayer and the sacraments	14.7	2101
Christian values	13.6	2106
Fellowship or companionship through social activities	11.3	2115
Nursing homes	9.5	2114
Challenges to social injustice	8.2	2103
Conversion for unbelievers	7.1	2112
Hospitals and health care	5.5	2112
Education	5.5	2109
Resolution of political disputes about economic inequality	1.6	2102
Punishment for wrongdoing	1.1	2114

Source: NSSS 1993

Table 4.9 displays the results for what Australians think to be the most important things for the church to provide in rank order. The categories were not ranked in relation to the other variables in a single question format but arranged as separate questions within the module. Nor was what the church should provide asked in relation to other social institutions such as family, schools, and social networks. However the results provide support for the theory that Christianity's role in social life is as a force for civility indicated by the highest ranking for the encouragement of decent and respectable behaviour (23.2%) and good morals, second in rank (21.8%). Notably these two items outranked all of the specifically religious items.

Table 4.10 *The most important thing for the church to provide by denomination*

	Catholic %	Anglican %	PMU %	CEP %	NR %
Education	11.5	3.2	4.5	8.2	1.6
Charity for poor	20.5	11.2	14.0	15.8	11.9
Good morals	**29.1**	**16.8**	**21.4**	**35.6**	**11.7**
Decency/ Respectability	**29.1**	**19.3**	**25.0**	**34.2**	**13.0**
Punishment	.2	1.4	.8	.9	.0
Fellowship/ Companionship	9.7	11.8	14.0	17.8	6.4
Meaning/purpose	19.4	15.0	16.4	30.8	5.9
Solving political Disputes	1.6	1.0	1.8	2.1	.9
Social justice	10.4	6.1	7.7	7.5	6.7
Health care	7.2	5.5	5.4	3.4	2.8
Nursing homes	10.2	10.7	10.4	6.2	5.3
Xian values	21.7	12.2	12.2	26.0	3.0
Guidance thru Prayer	27.8	18.1	22.9	37.0	6.2
Worship	18.5	12.4	16.1	37.7	2.8
Convert unbelievers	6.3	5.5	7.1	28.8	.9
N	443	507	336	146	563

Source NSSS 1993

From an analysis of the whole sample I turn to how individuals view the church's role in social life across religious groups and religiosity. How do the variously affiliated and committed view the churches role in contemporary social life? It may be expected that the religiously affiliated and the more committed to religion will favour the specialist religious measures indicating what the churches role in social life is but tables 4.10 and 4.11 confirm that religiously affiliated and committed individuals both religious and not, consider the most important thing for the church to provide is civility. For most religious groups the measures of civility out ranked the specific Christian measures. For the religiously committed the church's role in civility was nearly as important as its function of producing specific Christian culture and teaching.

Table 4.11 *The most important thing for the church to provide by church attendance*

	Regular %	Sometimes %	Never %
Education	12.4	5.7	2.7
Charity for poor	20.4	11.0	12.8
Good morals	**40.6**	**23.6**	**14.7**
Decency/ Respectability	**42.4**	**25.8**	**15.8**
Punishment	1.8	.6	.8
Fellowship/ Companionship	19.6	9.4	8.5
Meaning/purpose	35.7	16.7	8.9
Solving political Disputes	2.6	.0	1.3
Social justice	12.9	6.6	6.4
Health care	5.7	3.1	5.1
Nursing homes	9.3	7.5	8.9
Xian values	45.0	13.5	4.5
Guidance thru Prayer	50.4	21.1	10.7
Worship	44.4	15.4	5.4
Convert unbelievers	27.4	4.1	1.8
N	318	387	1442

Source NSSS 1993

From these analyses it is clear that religion is a social institution that is concerned with the promotion of civility. While there were no direct measures available to test a direct conceptual relationship between religion, civility, and the moral dimension of cultural taste as it has been defined in this study, these preliminary findings suggest that morality and civility are important considerations in cultural taste judgements and that cultural items might be thought of in moral terms structuring taste cultures through a social display of cultural civility and

barbarism. As a result, it could be reasonably expected that the religious might well structure tastes differently to the non-religious due to its role in promoting civility.

Summary

This chapter is the first of four empirical chapters. The chapter has presented and examined data in pursuit of hypothesis one and the first research question and reported the empirical basis for the construction of a series of measures of cultural civility and cultural barbarism. The preliminary considerations about the moral dimension of taste drawing on previous research provided a theoretical and empirical basis for the confident exploratory analysis of how Australians approach mimetic culture. Hypothesis one was broadly confirmed. Australians mostly viewed mimetic culture in terms of cultural civility and cultural barbarism evidenced by genre distinctions across eight common fields of mimetic culture.

This finding facilitates the empirically based constructions of the cultural measures against which the religious and the non-religious will be compared in later chapters. The factor distinctions that discerned the civil and barbaric dimensions of mimetic culture can be thought of representing the general habitus of Australians in relation to how culture is thought about as a moral concern. In other words the factor analyses can be thought of as an attitudinal snapshot of the types of "controlled decontrolling" of emotional restraints that Australians display through the moral evaluation of cultural preferences.

It was also shown that the popular perception of what the church should provide in social life was civility through the promotion of "decent respectable behaviour" and "good morals" more than any other concern. These analyses assist in establishing a critical conceptual link between religion, civility, and taste from which the more specific analyses of cultural taste and religion can proceed. If religion is thought of as an agent of civility, especially by the religious, and that mimetic culture is evaluated morally as civil and barbaric, then it might be reasonable to assume that the religious will demonstrate different cultural consumption patterns than the non-religious, thereby more clearly defining the effect of the religious factor on cultural taste in Australia.

In the next chapter I use factor analyses again in the same way as I have in this chapter to compare how the religious and the non-religious attribute moral division to mimetic culture. I compare these groups to the general measures composed by the whole sample to see if variation exists through how cultural items are grouped revealing how the religious and the non-religious conceive their own moral distinctions within mimetic culture.

Endnotes

[1] Principal components factor analysis, or factor analysis is a statistical technique that is used to discern an underlying concept that is measured through more than one dependent variable. For example in this chapter three measures of music genres: "heavy metal", "alternative rock", and "rock" are statistically correlated enough to indicate a connecting theme or concept associated with their preference, that underlying concept I interpret as "cultural barbarism".

[2] As this is a study that utilises secondary analysis of data I was not able to secure access to the answers that respondents gave for the open ended questions that evidence this section of the empirical examination. The data file did not contain the written statements of respondents. In lieu of access to the quantitative data I therefore simply report on the work of Emmison and Woodward (2001).

[3] The 2CH Sydney website stresses its more "civil" atmosphere when it claims that "Our award winning 2CH personalities are household names in Sydney, their pleasant unobtrusive and entertaining style providing the ideal compliment to radios finest variety of Sydney's Greatest Memories and Easy Listening Hits" (http://www.2ch.com.au/2005/favourites.shtml).

In addition to its "civil" ambience 2CH Sydney has a formal arrangement with the NSW Council of Churches who state on their website: "**Radio Station 2CH 1170** has always been a feature of the Council's ministry. Like the Council it has a long history - at 75, one of Sydney's earliest radio stations. Especially on Sundays, it continues to be the voice of our churches. Sunday @ 7.30, the 2CH morning service, presents a message from a fine gospel speaker, together with music. The scripts are available each week from this website, the two most recent ones here on this page. Also available each week are the scripts of the Council of Churches' News Comments presented at intervals on 2CH each Sunday" (http://www.nswchurches.com/).

ABC Classic FM carries slogans to suggest a more civil ambience to counter routines such as "Traffic is heavenly with ABC Classic FM" or "Ironing is wonderful with ABC Classic FM. See www.abc.net.au/classic

In contrast Triple R in Melbourne appeals to the "cultural vanguard" who like to "listen to and discover new music and trends and be challenged by new ideas" (http://www.rrr.org.au/aboutus.php?aboutus=faq). There is a distinct challenge here to the accepted "threshold of repugnance" that the community may hold for radio programmes.

[4] Organisations such as People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) conduct campaigns such as "Fishing hurts" (see http://www.fishinghurts.com) such campaigns target all kinds of fishing, not just commercial fishing but leisure fishing such as angling.

[5] This is a limitation but does not render the data useless. The preferred question format would ask respondents to rank all of the categories that existed from which clearer regimes of favouritism could be discerned with techniques such as factor analysis.

[6] The appellation "Light Classical" denotes as much.

[7] While respondents were asked to indicate is classical and opera were favourite musical genres they were not asked to indicate what particular pieces of music they had in mind when answering. Classical as a distinct period of music is at its height during the 18th century and is characterised by figures such as Mozart, of whom Elias wrote a book (Elias 1993) contending that his music embodied the particular restraint of the European courts at the time.

[8] Steve Waugh was captain of the Australian cricket team from 1999 to 2004 (See Waugh 2005)

[9] The institution of "the church" as recorded in the National Social Science Survey of 1993 is not differentiated along denominational lines. There was no question that sought to measure the effect of non-Christian religious institutions on civility.

Chapter 5

A comparison of religious and non-religious approaches to mimetic culture: attitudinal constructions of cultural civility and cultural barbarism[1]

Introduction

The previous chapter presented empirical evidence for a reconceptualised model of culture that discerned two broad antonymous moral dimensions in the evaluation of mimetic culture: cultural civility and cultural barbarism. This finding concerns Australians as a whole. The aim of this chapter is to examine the impact of religion on the way in which Australians approach mimetic culture by analysing it across three dimensions, indicated by three measures offered by the AEC survey: religious identity (considering oneself as having a religion); affiliation (the type of religion); and commitment (how often one attends religious services). To this end I again employ exploratory factor analysis to examine whether religious and non-religious sub-samples replicate or deviate from the general model of cultural civility and cultural barbarism empirically defined in Chapter Four.

While a major concern for the present study is the re-conceptualisation of culture that accounts for its neglected moral dimension, the impact of religion on cultural consumption represents a more concentrated focus in assessing the validity of the

conceptual scheme in line with the aims of this study. The last chapter established a general set of empirical measures of mimetic culture interpreted along moral lines grounded in the Eliasian theory of culture's function as an arouser of the emotions. A key concern for this chapter is whether this model, established for the whole sample, is replicated by religious and non-religious sub-samples. The chapter investigates how those who identify as religious perceive cultural civility and cultural barbarism in secular culture compared to the general model; how religious groups compare among themselves in the construction of cultural civility and cultural barbarism; whether the level of commitment to a religion produces any differences in the attitudinal construction of cultural civility and cultural barbarism compared to the general model, and how the religious, across the three measures, compare with the non-religious in relation to the perception of cultural civility and cultural barbarism.

The relevance of this specific analysis is found in the extent of the general model's replication by the religious and non-religious groups lending evidence to the general proposition that religion structures cultural consumption and that the moral approach to culture may or may not be predominantly the concern of religious groups. Further the chapter aims to capture and explicate the various ways in which religious and non-religious sub-groups evaluate and assemble a collection of mimetic cultural experiences into a series of specific clusters that represent in Eliasian terms attitudinal approaches to the "controlled decontrolling of the emotions" thereby linking the chapter to the bigger question of how religion effects cultural consumption in Australia.

I again use the Australian Everyday Cultures Survey to investigate the impact of religious variables on the model of the moral dimension of culture across the eight cultural fields examined in Chapter Four: favourite music, music radio programmes, and music leisure, sport, leisure, photographic subjects, book, and films preferences. The chapter presents each of the eight cultural fields that were considered in Chapter Four across the religious and non-religious sub-samples.

Results

Music radio programmes

Tables 5.1, 5.2, and 5.3 show the effects of religious identity, commitment, and affiliation on music radio programme tastes. Table 5.1 shows that the religious replicate the model that was established by the whole sample while non-religious Australians do not consider music radio programmes to be defined in the same moral terms. For non-religious Australians classical music programmes did not load onto the collection of culturally civil items perhaps identifying music radio programmes in more class or stratification based "high/low brow" terms or occupying a higher or different bracket of civility.

In table 5.2 "regular" and "sometimes" attendees at religious services confirm the results reached for the whole sample. Those who never attend religious services, like non-religious Australians, did not replicate the model entirely. Again classical music is seen by non-religious Australians to be something outside of the civil/barbaric divide or representing a different type of civility. In table 5.3 all the denominations with the exception of the Presbyterian/Methodist/Uniting group replicate the general model.

There is a difference between some religious groups and the non-religious in the construction of cultural civility for radio programmes. Classical music radio programmes form a key part of cultural civility for the religious, church attendees, and the Catholic and Anglican traditions, and CEP's. The combination of "classical" with "easy listening" and "classic hits" suggests that religious have a more integrated

Table 5.1 *Factor analysis: music radio programmes for religious and non-religious individuals*

	Factor Matrix (Varimax Rotation)					
	Whole sample		Religious		Non-religious	
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2
Radio Programmes						
Mainstream Rock	**+.87**	+.08	**+.87**	+.04	**+.85**	+.21
Alternative Rock	**+.81**	-.01	**+.83**	-.08	**+.79**	-.14
Classic Hits	+.30	**+.80**	+.34	**+.77**	+.15	**+.84**
Easy Listening	-.11	**+.75**	-.05	**+.73**	-.25	**+.77**
Classical Music	-.31	**+.41**	-.27	**+.50**	-.42	+.07
Eigenvalue	1.64	1.41	1.66	1.39	1.62	1.39
Percentage of Variance	32.7	28.2	33.3	27.9	32.4	27.8
Number of respondents	2706		1986		720	

Source: AECS 1995

Table 5.2 *Factor analysis: music radio programmes for church attendance*

	Factor Matrix (Varimax Rotation)							
	Whole sample		Regularly		Sometimes		Never	
	F 1	F 2	F 1	F 2	F 1	F 2	F 1	F 2
Mainstream Rock	**+.87**	+.08	**+.86**	+.03	**+.87**	+.01	**+.84**	+.22
Alternative Rock	**+.81**	-.01	**+.84**	-.02	**+.82**	-.12	**+.79**	-.14
Classic Hits	+.30	**+.80**	+.24	**+.81**	+.39	**+.75**	+.15	**+.84**
Easy Listening	-.11	**+.75**	+.01	**+.67**	-.08	**+.75**	-.25	**+.77**
Classical Music	-.31	**+.41**	-.21	**+.61**	-.21	**+.50**	-.42	+.08
Eigenvalue	1.64	1.41	1.63	1.45	1.66	1.40	1.62	1.38
% of Variance	32.7	28.2	32.6	29.0	33.2	28.0	32.5	27.7
Number of respondents	2706		622		1315		818	

Source: AECS 1995

Table 5.3 *Factor analysis: music radio programmes for denominations*

	Factor Matrix (Varimax Rotation)											
	Whole sample		Catholic		Anglican		PMU*		CEP**		None	
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2
Radio Programmes												
Mainstream Rock	**+.87**	+.08	**+.87**	+.03	**+.85**	+.00	**+.83**	+.08	**+.87**	-.00	**+.85**	+.21
Alternative Rock	**+.81**	-.01	**+.80**	-.13	**+.84**	-.08	**+.82**	+.30	**+.85**	+.04	**+.79**	-.14
Classic Hits	+.30	**+.80**	+.35	**+.77**	+.37	**+.74**	+.22	**+.83**	+.12	**+.84**	+.15	**+.84**
Easy Listening	-.11	**+.75**	-.10	**+.70**	-.15	**+.71**	-.10	**+.83**	+.05	**+.73**	-.25	**+.77**
Classical Music	-.31	**+.41**	-.25	**+.63**	-.09	**+.54**	-.45	+.09	-.34	**+.54**	-.42	+.07
Eigenvalue	1.64	1.41	1.63	1.49	1.62	1.36	1.95	1.18	1.62	1.55	1.62	1.39
% of Variance	32.7	28.2	32.7	29.9	32.4	27.2	39.0	23.6	32.5	31.0	32.4	27.8
N	2706		632		604		322		215		720	

Source: AECS 1995
*Presbyterian, Methodist, and Uniting
**Conservative Evangelical Protestant

view of civility in music. The inclusion of "classical" into the civil collection of radio programme tastes also indicates a more omnivorous (Petersen and Kern 1992) disposition for the religious. That a "civility" is at work through tastes that may be a product of the lightness and calmness of the music or the context in which it is heard. While civility may underscore the three selections for the religious, the non-religious see classical music radio as a distinct genre. Certainly the place of classical music in the Catholic and Anglican traditions given their history is understandable. Classical music is not a feature of the Presbyterian and Methodist traditions however. Nor is it a feature of the evangelical stream of Christianity however it unexpectedly forms part of cultural civility for that denomination.

Music Leisure[2]

Tables 5.4, 5.5, and 5.6 show the impact of religious identity, affiliation, and commitment on the division of music leisure tastes. There are no differences between religious and non-religious Australians across any of the dimensions of religion in the views about what constitutes civil and barbaric music leisure. All the sub-samples analysed concur on the collections of items indicating cultural civility and cultural barbarism in music leisure.

Sport

Tables 5.7, 5.8, and 5.9 show the consequences of religion on taste perceptions for watching sport at live venues. In table 5.7 religious Australians replicate the findings for the general sample with similar ambiguities. Rugby league and rugby union load strongly on both factors for religious Australians as they do for the whole sample. For the religious basketball and netball also load strongly on both factors. For the non-religious three factors are discernable: one that indicates cultural civility (factor one) and two that indicate cultural barbarism. Notably the football codes form an independent factor (factor 3) following the findings for the whole sample; cricket and boxing also load strongly on factor 3 suggesting perhaps a form of nationalist symbolic barbarism with a register of sports watched at live venues that are staple Australian sports (Vamplew and Stoddart 1994).

Table 5.8 charts the denominational effect on sports watched at live venues and provides a series of factor solutions that broadly confirms the model while providing some variation. Anglicans and PMU's follow the whole sample quite closely with the unexpected exception of the PMU group's rendering of basketball and netball onto the cultural barbarism factor (factor 1). Catholics and the non-religious both exhibit a three factor solution.

While Catholics identified cultural barbarity in sports watched largely commensurate with the model, they identified two tiers of cultural civility: the first, (factor 2), combines rugby union, rugby league, cricket and golf; the second, (factor 3), tennis, swimming, netball, and basketball. This division may indicate

that gender is also a factor in the catholic structuring of sports watched. The three factor solution of the non-religious suggests another dimension of cultural barbarism comprising the football codes (factor 3). Cricket also loads strongly onto factor 3 which could be interpreted as more evidence for a particularly Australian form of cultural barbarism in sports watched. These findings may also indicate the influence and reach of Catholic education, which has traditionally provided Catholics with sporting outlets (O'Farrell 1977).

Finally Conservative, Evangelical Protestants (CEPs), while largely replicating cultural barbarism for sports watched in factor one display some ambiguities. I interpret these in two ways. First the CEP group could be seen to extend the notion of cultural barbarism to include cricket and basketball. While these sports are officially considered non contact sports, the potential for injury and serious bodily risk is a strong possibility. Second, similar to Catholics the CEP's selection of sports watched may also feature gender as a factor, swimming, tennis, netball and golf can combine to suggest a more 'female' collection of sports watched as opposed to rugby league, cricket, and basketball.

Attendance at religious services produces a mix of variation and replication against the factor solutions of the entire sample. There is broad empirical support for the items informing cultural barbarism in factor one for regular attendees combined with some unexpected loadings such as netball and basketball. Consistent with some other sub-samples regular attendees may be demonstrating a nationalist tendency in the sports they watch considering the cluster of sports in factor two such as the two rugby codes, tennis, swimming, cricket and golf:

notable omissions are soccer and basketball both traditionally "non-Australian" sports. Netball is a curious item however loading strongly on both factors it could also be interpreted as part of the nationalist cluster of sports watched. While those who attend religious services sometimes broadly confirm the model while those who never attend religious services also broadly confirm the model but display what could be interpreted as two dimensions of cultural barbarity with factor two as a more extreme form and factor three as a less extreme form comprising the football codes.

Table 5.7 *Factor analysis: sport by religious and non-religious*

	Factor Matrix (Varimax Rotation)						
	Whole sample		Religious		Non-religious		
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Sports Watched							
Motorcycle racing	**+.80**	+.13	**+.80**	+.17	+.14	**+.83**	+.09
Motor car racing	**+.75**	+.18	**+.71**	+.23	+.15	**+.82**	+.17
Boxing	**+.72**	+.36	**+.76**	+.33	+.36	**+.56**	+.38
Wrestling	**+.72**	+.29	**+.76**	+.26	+.24	**+.66**	+.25
Rugby union	**+.52**	+.42	**+.51**	+.42	+.25	+.16	**+.78**
Soccer	**+.51**	+.32	**+.55**	+.27	+.20	+.26	**+.56**
Rugby league	**+.45**	+.41	+.39	**+.46**	+.09	+.14	**+.85**
Tennis	+.10	**+.76**	+.11	**+.76**	**+.80**	+.12	+.08
Swimming	+.30	**+.67**	+.34	**+.65**	**+.64**	+.18	+.29
Cricket	+.25	**+.66**	+.20	**+.71**	**+.49**	+.17	+.48
Golf	+.30	**+.65**	+.26	**+.69**	**+.60**	+.27	+.32
Basketball	+.27	**+.59**	+.35	**+.52**	**+.61**	+.16	+.13
Netball	+.24	**+.55**	+.34	**+.46**	**+.63**	+.12	+.10
Eigenvalue	5.61	1.10	5.71	1.06	5.31	1.23	1.07
Percentage of Variance	43.2	8.4	43.9	8.2	40.8	9.5	8.2
Number of respondents	2706		1986		720		

Source: AECS 1995

Table 5.8 *Factor analysis: sport by denominations and non-religious*

Factor Matrix (Varimax Rotation)

	Whole sample		Catholic			Anglican		PMU*		CEP**		None		
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Sports Watched														
Motorcycle racing	**+.80**	+.13	**+.81**	+.16	+.10	**+.61**	+.37	**+.78**	+.12	**+.78**	+.14	+.14	**+.83**	+.09
Motor car racing	**+.75**	+.18	**+.78**	+.15	+.17	**+.50**	+.46	**+.71**	+.23	**+.68**	+.12	+.15	**+.82**	+.17
Boxing	**+.72**	+.36	**+.74**	+.31	+.25	**+.71**	+.43	**+.78**	+.27	**+.82**	+.27	+.36	**+.56**	+.38
Wrestling	**+.72**	+.29	**+.68**	+.20	+.33	**+.70**	+.36	**+.80**	+.23	**+.82**	+.24	+.24	**+.66**	+.25
Rugby union	**+.52**	+.42	+.21	**+.77**	+.14	**+.78**	+.12	**+.72**	+.22	**+.72**	+.33	+.25	+.16	**+.72**
Soccer	**+.51**	+.32	**+.58**	+.16	+.23	**+.63**	+.24	**+.60**	+.30	+.16	**+.66**	+.20	+.26	**+.56**
Rugby league	**+.45**	+.41	+.20	**+.83**	-.01	**+.71**	+.15	**+.58**	+.26	**+.51**	+.40	+.09	+.14	**+.85**
Tennis	+.10	**+.76**	+.22	+.27	**+.61**	+.05	**+.83**	+.07	**+.86**	+.12	**+.72**	**+.80**	+.12	+.08
Swimming	+.30	**+.67**	+.34	+.46	**+.48**	+.32	**+.69**	+.38	**+.56**	+.31	**+.54**	**+.64**	+.18	+.29
Cricket	+.25	**+.66**	+.12	**+.60**	+.45	+.25	**+.68**	+.32	**+.60**	**+.45**	+.41	**+.49**	+.17	+.48
Golf	+.30	**+.65**	+.23	**+.56**	+.34	+.32	**+.67**	+.28	**+.74**	+.35	**+.60**	**+.60**	+.27	+.32
Basketball	+.27	**+.59**	+.19	+.14	**+.77**	+.34	**+.57**	**+.43**	+.31	**+.51**	+.37	**+.61**	+.16	+.13
Netball	+.24	**+.55**	+.23	+.04	**+.70**	+.40	**+.44**	**+.40**	+.28	+.17	**+.68**	**+.63**	+.12	+.11
Eigenvalue	5.61	1.10	5.63	1.24	1.04	6.00	1.12	5.73	1.16	5.66	1.19	5.31	1.23	1.07
Percentage of Variance	43.2	8.4	43.3	9.5	8.0	46.1	8.6	44.1	8.9	43.5	9.1	40.8	9.5	8.2
Number of respondents	2756		632			604		322		215		720		

Source: AECS 1995

*Presbyterian, Methodist, and Uniting

**Conservative Evangelical Protestant

Table 5.9 *Factor analysis: sport by church attendance*

Factor Matrix (Varimax Rotation)

	Whole sample		Regular		Sometimes		Never		
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Sports Watched									
Motorcycle racing	**+.80**	+.13	**+.77**	+.24	**+.69**	+.26	+.14	**+.85**	+.09
Motor car racing	**+.75**	+.18	**+.71**	+.22	**+.64**	+.30	+.16	**+.83**	+.16
Boxing	**+.72**	+.36	**+.78**	+.29	**+.70**	+.40	+.36	**+.56**	+.37
Wrestling	**+.72**	+.29	**+.80**	+.19	**+.62**	+.42	+.25	**+.59**	+.32
Rugby union	**+.52**	+.42	+.35	**+.54**	**+.74**	+.17	+.27	+.17	**+.77**
Soccer	**+.51**	+.32	**+.62**	+.14	**+.50**	+.36	+.18	+.24	**+.59**
Rugby league	**+.45**	+.41	+.23	**+.66**	**+.73**	+.06	+.12	+.15	**+.84**
Tennis	+.10	**+.76**	+.15	**+.71**	+.14	**+.77**	**+.79**	+.11	+.03
Swimming	+.30	**+.67**	+.33	**+.64**	+.41	**+.61**	**+.64**	+.17	+.25
Cricket	+.25	**+.66**	+.15	**+.76**	+.43	**+.47**	**+.53**	+.16	+.43
Golf	+.30	**+.65**	+.22	**+.71**	+.46	**+.51**	**+.62**	+.23	+.29
Basketball	+.27	**+.59**	**+.54**	+.36	+.18	**+.72**	**+.61**	+.16	+.15
Netball	+.24	**+.55**	**+.45**	+.39	+.18	**+.63**	**+.62**	+.12	+.12
Eigenvalue	5.61	1.10	5.63	1.32	5.81	1.04	5.22	1.25	1.04
Percentage of Variance	43.2	8.4	43.3	10.1	44.7	8.0	40.1	9.6	8.0
Number of respondents	2706		622		1315		818		

Source: AECS 1995

Leisure[3]

Tables 5.10, 5.11, and 5.12 present the effects of religion on leisure tastes. A characteristic of the conceptual structure of leisure tastes for the whole sample is the two dimensions of both cultural civility and cultural barbarism representing more and less extremes of both concepts. There is little significant diversion from the factor solutions generated by the entire sample among the religious and non-religious sub-samples with all religious and non-religious sub-groups broadly confirming the model.

Photographic subjects

Tables 5.13, 5.14, and 5.15 present the effects of religion on the taste assemblies of photographic subjects. There is no significant deviation from the model as empirically defined by the whole sample. The only change in the model from religious groups is the third factor solution that occurs in table 5.15 in which all of the denominations exclude the football tackle subject from the cultural barbarism factor (factor two on each denominational table). This may represent a milder form of cultural barbarism given football's aggressive nature as a contact sport in accord with an earlier discussion on the moral divide of sports (see table 4.7 and 5.7, 5.8. and 5.9) or it may represent an item outside of moral consideration and be interpreted more or less neutrally for example as simply a news item in a magazine or newspaper.

Table 5.13 *Factor analysis: photographic subjects by religious and non-religious*

	Factor Matrix (Varimax Rotation)					
	Whole sample		Religious		Non-religious	
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2
Photographic subjects						
Vase of flowers	**+.65**	-.03	**+.66**	-.01	**+.62**	-.05
Horse in field	**+.64**	+.09	**+.64**	+.12	**+.65**	+.02
Sea sunset	**+.61**	-.18	**+.62**	-.16	**+.58**	-.46
Landscape	**+.60**	+.04	**+.58**	+.03	**+.63**	+.02
Wedding	**+.58**	-.14	**+.57**	-.17	**+.59**	-.03
Demolition site	-.03	**+.70**	-.03	**+.72**	-.03	**+.69**
Homeless fighting	-.08	**+.69**	-.06	**+.69**	-.08	**+.70**
Car crash	-.14	**+.65**	-.11	**+.66**	-.21	**+.59**
Football tackle	+.05	**+.40**	+.03	**+.34**	+.09	**+.48**
Eigenvalue	2.13	1.46	2.06	1.48	2.18	1.44
Percentage of Variance	23.7	16.2	22.8	16.5	24.2	16.0
Number of respondents	2706		1986		720	

Source: AECS 1995

Table 5.14 *Factor analysis: photographic subjects by denominations and non-religious*

	Factor Matrix (Varimax Rotation)								
	Whole sample		Catholic			Anglican		
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Photographic subjects								
Vase of flowers	**+.65**	-.03	**+.69**	-.09	+.01	**+.63**	+.06	-.04
Horse in field	**+.64**	+.09	**+.71**	+.09	-.01	**+.59**	+.05	+.27
Sea sunset	**+.61**	-.18	**+.56**	-.13	-.35	**+.61**	-.11	-.29
Landscape	**+.60**	+.04	**+.47**	+.14	-.57	**+.58**	-.03	+.06
Wedding	**+.58**	-.14	**+.58**	-.27	+.21	**+.57**	-.17	-.06
Demolition site	-.03	**+.70**	+.01	**+.66**	+.32	+.00	**+.64**	+.30
Homeless fighting	-.08	**+.69**	-.14	**+.72**	-.07	+.02	**+.74**	-.15
Car crash	-.14	**+.65**	-.04	**+.70**	+.06	-.14	**+.66**	-.00
Football tackle	+.05	**+.40**	+.15	+.22	**+.72**	-.00	-.00	**+.89**
Eigenvalue	2.13	1.46	2.18	1.52	1.01	1.92	1.40	1.04
Percentage of Variance	23.7	16.2	24.2	16.9	11.2	21.3	15.6	11.6
Number of respondents	2706		632				604	

Table 5.14 *Factor analysis: photographic subjects by denominations and non-religious* ***continued***

	PMU*			CEP**			None	
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 1	Factor 2
Vase of flowers	**+.59**	-.24	+.05	**+.68**	+.12	-.37	**+.62**	-.05
Horse in field	+.30	-.13	**+.59**	**+.60**	+.04	-.14	**+.65**	+.02
Sea sunset	**+.69**	+.00	+.12	**+.70**	-.06	+.10	**+.58**	-.25
Landscape	**+.55**	+.28	+.27	**+.61**	+.00	+.02	**+.63**	+.02
Wedding	**+.71**	-.19	-.19	**+.61**	-.14	+.28	**+.59**	-.03
Demolition site	-.20	**+.48**	+.30	+.01	**+.71**	-.06	-.03	**+.69**
Homeless fighting	-.03	**+.74**	+.02	-.01	**+.77**	-.09	-.08	**+.70**
Car crash	-.04	**+.76**	-.14	-.06	**+.70**	+.24	-.21	**+.59**
Football tackle	-.05	+.08	**+.76**	+.01	+.06	**+.88**	+.09	**+.48**
Eigenvalue	2.02	1.51	1.01	2.11	1.64	1.11	2.18	1.44
Percentage of Variance	22.5	16.8	11.2	23.5	18.3	12.3	24.2	16.0
Number of respondents		322			215		720	

Source: AECS 1995
*Presbyterian, Methodist, Uniting
**Conservative Evangelical Protestant

Table 5.15 *Factor analysis: photographic subjects by church attendance*

	Factor Matrix (Varimax Rotation)							
	Whole sample		Regularly		Sometimes		Never	
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor1	Factor2	Factor1	Factor2
Photographic subjects								
Vase of flowers	**+.65**	-.03	**+.67**	+.00	**+.66**	-.11	**+.62**	-.05
Horse in field	**+.64**	+.09	**+.70**	+.11	**+.68**	+.06	**+.65**	+.02
Sea sunset	**+.61**	-.18	**+.65**	-.26	**+.62**	-.11	**+.58**	-.46
Landscape	**+.60**	+.04	**+.62**	-.01	**+.61**	+.10	**+.63**	+.02
Wedding	**+.58**	-.14	**+.62**	-.16	**+.58**	-.16	**+.59**	-.03
Demolition site	-.03	**+.70**	-.06	**+.70**	-.07	**+.70**	-.03	**+.69**
Homeless fighting	-.08	**+.69**	-.18	**+.69**	-.10	**+.66**	-.08	**+.70**
Car crash	-.14	**+.65**	-.15	**+.68**	-.12	**+.67**	-.21	**+.59**
Football tackle	+.05	**+.40**	+.15	**+.35**	+.06	**+.35**	+.09	**+.48**
Eigenvalue	2.13	1.46	2.45	1.44	2.19	1.41	2.18	1.44
Percentage of Variance	23.1	16.2	27.2	15.9	24.4	15.7	24.2	16.0
Number of respondents	2706		622		1315		818	

Source: AECS 1995

Music preferences

Tables 5.16, 5.17, and 5.18 present the consequences of religion on music preference tastes. The reader will recall in Chapter Four that music preferences fell out along six factor loadings indicating six dimensions of cultural civility and cultural barbarism from high to low. There is a broad replication of most of the cluster patterns indicating the general moral division of musical preferences across the religious and non-religious groups. The data reveals some points of diversion from the general model that need interpretation however. A general impression of the data in these tables is that the ways in which different sub-samples combine different music genres reveal a range of moral constructions of musical taste that point to the specific impact of religion.

Simply identifying as religious or not religious does not impact greatly on the perceived moral structure of musical tastes compared with the whole sample. In table 5.16 both groups differ in the structure of their choices for religious music however. Religious music for religious Australians does not load onto any other factor. One explanation for this is that it is perhaps a special type of music associated with religious practices such as music heard at a religious service or at certain times of the year such as Easter and Christmas. Another way of interpreting this situation is to view it as a distinct manifestation of Durkheim's conception of the sacred and profane (1996). Religious music as sacred music is set off against the profane (secular) music of the other genres which are heard in specific spaces and times affording it its specially status as separate from the other genres. This is the only measure of distinctly "religious" mimetic culture in the study.

Table 5.16 *Factor analysis: favourite music by religious and non-religious*

	Factor Matrix (Varimax Rotation)												
	Whole Sample						Religious						
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6	factor 7
Music genres													
Religious	**+.61**	+.13	-.02	+.09	-.29	+.14	+.06	-.01	-.00	-.07	-.08	-.00	**-.92**
Top 40 pop	-.61	-.14	-.18	-.13	-.27	**+.34**	-.56	-.19	-.11	-.26	-.19	**+.32**	+.26
Rock	-.57	**+.35**	-.11	+.09	-.23	-.12	-.57	-.09	**+.30**	-.21	+.06	-.09	+.21
Light classical	**+.53**	-.16	-.11	-.19	+.01	-.15	**+.62**	+.12	-.10	-.11	-.07	-.14	-.07
Musicals	**+.47**	-.10	-.12	-.30	+.06	-.05	**+.66**	-.13	+.05	-.00	-.15	+.06	+.20
Alternative rock	+.01	**+.66**	-.16	+.06	-.02	+.10	+.03	-.14	**+.71**	-.04	+.09	+.15	+.00
Heavy metal	-.23	**+.62**	-.03	-.28	-.08	-.16	-.23	-.01	**+.61**	-.08	-.26	-.30	+.07
Easy listening	+.00	-.58	-.37	-.26	-.12	-.25	+.10	-.41	-.53	-.16	-.19	-.27	+.14
Classical	+.06	-.04	**+.76**	+.03	+.02	-.05	-.04	**+.74**	-.10	+.05	-.05	-.10	-.15
Opera	+.05	-.06	**+.73**	-.12	-.06	-.06	+.21	**+.72**	+.00	-.10	-.05	+.05	+.19
Soul	-.03	-.12	-.09	**+.68**	-.06	+.12	-.02	-.08	-.01	-.12	**+.70**	+.13	+.01
Blues	-.12	+.14	-.01	**+.66**	+.03	-.27	-.16	+.01	+.05	+.06	**+.70**	-.20	+.07
Traditional jazz	+.03	+.01	+.10	+.10	**+.71**	-.01	-.04	+.12	-.01	**+.74**	+.06	-.05	-.00
Big band	+.04	-.06	-.16	-.16	**+.67**	+.02	+.10	-.16	-.04	**+.69**	-.15	+.04	+.07
Techno	-.07	+.09	-.03	-.02	+.01	**+.85**	-.09	-.01	+.08	-.02	-.04	**+.84**	+.00
Eigenvalue	2.13	1.49	1.20	1.15	1.05	1.04	2.11	1.46	1.22	1.16	1.06	1.05	1.00
Percentage of Variance	14.2	9.9	8.0	7.7	7.0	6.9	14.0	9.7	8.1	7.7	7.0	7.0	6.6
Number of respondents				2706						1986			

Table 5.16 *Factor analysis: favourite music for religious and non-religious* ***continued***

Non-religious	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6
Religious	-.12	-.02	+.23	+.01	+.04	**+.64**
Top 40 pop	-.57	-.20	-.21	+.01	**+.42**	-.11
Rock	-.56	**+.31**	-.18	+.00	-.22	-.18
Light classical	**+.61**	-.19	+.08	-.21	+.03	-.10
Musicals	**+.34**	-.23	-.06	-.29	+.02	-.19
Alternative rock	-.00	**+.64**	-.14	-.06	+.06	-.04
Heavy metal	-.29	**+.50**	-.08	-.40	-.01	+.01
Easy listening	-.00	-.70	-.26	-.22	-.09	+.00
Classical	+.13	+.04	**+.74**	+.03	-.12	+.00
Opera	-.01	-.06	**+.77**	-.06	+.04	+.02
Soul	-.05	-.08	-.04	**+.75**	+.10	+.00
Blues	-.03	+.30	-.01	**+.51**	-.39	-.19
Traditional jazz	**+.59**	+.11	-.07	+.13	-.01	+.02
Big band	+.17	-.03	-.22	-.06	-.08	**+.75**
Techno	+.05	+.23	-.04	+.05	**+.82**	-.04
Eigenvalue	2.08	1.57	1.19	1.75	1.08	1.05
Percentage of Variance	13.9	10.5	7.9	7.7	7.2	7.0
Number of respondents			720			

Source: AECS 1995

Australians who do not identify as religious unexpectedly couple religious music with the big band genre, which for the whole sample and the many sub-samples is often coupled with traditional jazz. Traditional jazz for the non-religious in table 5.16 loads onto a dimension of cultural civility taking the place of religious music, which for the whole sample, teams with light classical and musicals. Religious and big band music for the non-religious may well be associated with older Australians (Bennett *et al* 1999), whereas traditional jazz, light classical, and musicals may appeal to a broader spread of age cohorts.

With the exception of Anglicans, table 5.17 does report some minor denominational differences with reference to a select number of genres in the structure of music preferences between denominational groups and the whole sample, between Christian types themselves, and between Christians and the non-religious. Of most interest is how denominational groups express different engagements with cultural barbarism in music. An unanticipated finding was the Catholic combination of religious music with techno suggesting perhaps a "new-age/spiritualist" type of taste culture that is perhaps a sacred type of cultural barbarism associated with religious ecstasy, and most probably with younger Catholics. This could indicate that the level of tension with mainstream society is minor for Catholics concerning musical taste. Catholics and PMU's also, combine rock and top 40 pop in a taste culture that may be interpreted as a milder form of cultural barbarism than the one offered by the whole sample that combines rock with alternative rock and heavy metal.

Table 5.17 *Factor analysis: favourite music by denominations and the non-religious*

Music genres	Factor Matrix (Varimax Rotation) Whole Sample Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6	Catholic Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6
Religious	**+.61**	+.13	-.02	+.09	-.29	+.14	-.11	+.23	-.02	-.21	-.09	**+.62**
Top 40 pop	-.61	-.14	-.18	-.13	-.27	**+.34**	**+.60**	-.32	-.24	-.05	-.26	+.12
Rock	-.57	**+.35**	-.11	+.09	-.23	-.12	**+.58**	-.13	+.07	+.25	-.26	-.17
Light classical	**+.53**	-.16	-.11	-.19	+.01	-.15	-.69	+.13	-.09	-.08	-.11	-.07
Musicals	**+.47**	-.10	-.12	-.30	+.06	-.05	-.59	-.18	-.14	+.04	-.12	+.00
Alternative rock	+.67	**+.66**	-.16	+.06	-.02	+.10	-.05	-.22	+.02	**+.69**	+.02	+.06
Heavy metal	-.23	**+.62**	-.03	-.28	-.08	-.16	+.24	+.18	-.18	**+.55**	-.11	-.24
Easy listening	+.00	-.58	-.37	-.26	-.12	-.25	-.14	-.30	-.27	-.54	-.00	-.40
Classical	+.06	-.04	**+.72**	+.03	+.02	-.05	+.05	**+.76**	+.04	-.11	+.00	+.00
Opera	+.05	-.06	**+.73**	-.12	-.06	-.06	-.22	**+.58**	-.12	+.08	-.02	+.02
Soul	-.03	-.12	-.09	**+.68**	-.06	+.12	-.01	-.13	**+.72**	+.07	-.03	+.00
Blues	-.12	+.14	-.01	**+.66**	+.03	-.27	+.17	+.08	**+.75**	-.08	-.04	-.05
Traditional jazz	+.03	+.01	+.10	+.10	**+.71**	-.01	+.04	+.07	+.06	-.02	**+.74**	-.14
Big band	+.04	-.06	-.16	-.16	**+.67**	+.02	-.02	-.09	-.14	-.06	**+.71**	+.10
Techno	-.07	+.09	-.03	-.02	+.01	**+.85**	+.13	-.22	-.06	+.21	+.03	**+.64**
Eigenvalue	2.13	1.49	1.20	1.15	1.05	1.04	2.07	1.46	1.27	1.20	1.08	1.02
Percentage of Variance	14.2	9.9	8.0	7.7	7.0	6.9	13.8	9.7	8.4	8.0	7.2	6.8
Number of respondents	2706						632					

Table 5.17 *Factor analysis: favourite music by denominations and the non-religious* ***continued***

Anglican								PMU*					
Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6	Factor 7		Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6
Religious	+.02	+.07	+.01	-.03	-.02	-.05	**+.90**	-.52	-.12	+.07	-.53	+.03	+.10
Top 40 pop	-.61	-.17	-.12	-.28	-.28	**+.26**	-.07	**+.71**	-.18	+.02	-.11	-.15	-.13
Rock	-.57	-.07	**+.36**	-.17	+.06	+.06	-.07	**+.67**	+.00	+.03	-.16	+.05	+.27
Light classical	**+.69**	+.18	-.08	-.11	-.11	-.10	-.18	-.46	+.19	-.23	-.12	-.19	-.09
Musicals	**+.62**	-.18	+.04	+.23	-.19	+.13	+.12	-.45	+.00	-.03	+.05	-.34	+.13
Alternative rock	+.08	-.10	**+.63**	-.12	+.20	+.25	+.09	+.05	-.12	**+.73**	-.03	+.10	+.07
Heavy metal	-.18	-.00	**+.72**	-.02	-.20	-.25	-.06	+.28	+.04	-.07	-.08	+.19	**+.63**
Easy listening	+.14	-.47	-.41	-.31	-.09	-.30	-.17	+.10	-.44	-.60	-.01	-.13	-.08
Classical	-.05	**+.73**	-.14	+.04	-.04	-.16	+.07	-.17	**+.67**	+.08	+.05	-.04	+.05
Opera	+.22	**+.68**	-.02	-.10	-.01	+.09	-.03	+.02	**+.75**	-.11	-.03	-.08	-.02
Soul	-.05	-.01	-.09	-.19	**+.72**	+.18	+.04	+.17	-.01	-.05	-.06	**+.23**	-.63
Blues	-.16	-.03	+.13	+.17	**+.69**	-.23	-.10	+.04	-.11	+.04	+.01	**+.80**	+.00
Traditional jazz	+.05	+.14	-.02	**+.74**	-.02	+.00	-.22	-.11	+.16	-.03	**+.60**	+.31	-.13
Big band	+.10	-.26	-.13	**+.64**	-.09	-.01	+.23	-.16	-.21	+.01	**+.70**	-.23	+.18
Techno	-.09	-.01	+.01	+.00	-.01	**+.83**	-.06	+.22	-.01	**+.64**	-.03	-.24	-.28
Eigenvalue	2.11	1.50	1.26	1.17	1.09	1.06	1.01	2.15	1.48	1.22	1.20	1.08	1.07
Percentage of Variance	14.2	9.9	8.0	7.7	7.0	6.9	6.7	14.3	9.8	8.1	8.0	7.2	7.1
Number of respondents				604						1986			

Source: AECS 1995

Table 5.17 *Factor analysis: favourite music by denominations and the non-religious* ***continued***

	Factor Matrix (Varimax Rotation)													
	CEP**							No religion						
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6	Factor 7	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6
Music genres														
Religious	-.28	-.01	-.51	-.09	-.38	+.24	-.26	-.12	-.02	+.23	+.01	+.04	**+.64**
Top 40 pop	**+.58**	-.12	+.13	+.09	-.11	-.18	+.27	-.57	-.20	-.21	+.01	**+.42**	-.11
Rock	+.29	-.12	**+.47**	+.25	-.22	-.11	+.03	-.56	**+.31**	-.18	+.00	-.22	-.18
Light classical	-.72	-.06	-.06	-.17	-.10	-.15	+.00	**+.61**	-.19	+.08	-.21	+.03	-.10
Musicals	-.29	-.15	+.03	-.08	**+.60**	-.19	-.06	**+.34**	-.23	-.06	-.29	+.02	-.19
Alternative rock	+.10	-.07	+.13	**+.62**	-.08	+.26	-.02	-.00	**+.64**	-.14	-.06	+.06	-.04
Heavy metal	+.08	-.00	-.07	**+.74**	-.02	-.18	-.09	-.29	**+.50**	-.08	-.40	-.01	+.01
Easy listening	-.10	-.34	-.33	+.02	+.21	-.51	+.07	-.00	-.70	-.26	-.22	-.09	+.00
Classical	-.12	**+.76**	-.17	-.08	-.11	+.10	-.04	+.13	+.04	**+.74**	+.03	-.12	+.00
Opera	+.01	**+.82**	+.06	+.01	+.04	-.12	+.00	-.01	-.06	**+.77**	-.06	+.04	+.02
Soul	**+.55**	-.10	-.00	**-.41**	-.16	-.07	-.39	-.05	-.08	-.04	**+.75**	+.10	-.00
Blues	-.02	-.03	**+.84**	-.07	-.06	+.14	-.10	-.03	+.30	-.01	**+.51**	-.39	-.19
Traditional jazz	-.04	-.09	-.05	+.03	+.09	**+.78**	+.03	-.59	+.11	-.07	+.13	-.01	+.02
Big band	+.13	-.02	-.14	-.03	**+.73**	+.20	-.05	+.17	-.03	-.22	-.06	-.08	**+.75**
Techno	+.08	-.04	-.04	-.13	-.09	+.01	**+.86**	+.05	+.23	-.04	+.05	**+.82**	-.04
Eigenvalue	2.08	1.61	1.21	1.15	1.12	1.04	1.00	2.08	1.57	1.19	1.17	1.08	1.05
Percentage of Variance	13.8	10.7	8.1	7.7	7.4	6.9	6.6	13.9	10.5	7.9	7.8	7.2	7.0
Number of respondents				215							1986		

Source: AECS *Presbyterian Methodist Uniting **Conservative Evangelical Protestant

For PMU's heavy metal forms its own taste culture as a measure of extreme cultural barbarism: this group combine alternative rock and techno in a milder form of the concept. The music preferences of the CEP's differ from the other denominations and from the non-religious mostly through the way in which they engage in cultural barbarism also. Firstly they combine top 40 pop with soul, which the whole smaple paired with blues as a form of mild cultural barbarism. Second, CEP's combine rock and blues, representing a slightly heavier mode of cultural barbarism, leaving alternative rock and heavy metal at the extreme end of the spectrum. While the approaches offer some minor variation they do so within the same genus of barbaric culture.

Table 5.18 is also of interest for the way in which different levels of religious commitment impact upon cultural barbarism in music. Those who attend religious services sometimes mostly replicate the model. For regular attendees at religious services typically milder forms of cultural barbarism such as top 40 pop and rock are combined with heavy metal suggesting a more comprehensive moral extreme for regular attendees indicating a level of tension between them and other groups. A milder form of cultural barbarism for this group is created by pairing alternative rock with techno. Regular and sometimes attendees also separate religious music dramatically from other forms, again suggesting a sacred/profane dichotomy. Those who never attend religious services also display a broad replication of the general model created by the whole sample.

Table 5.18 *Factor analysis: favourite music by church attendance*

	Factor Matrix (Varimax Rotation)											
	Whole Sample						Regularly					
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6
Music genres												
Religious	**+.61**	+.13	-.02	+.09	-.29	+.14	-.06	-.04	-.00	-.13	-.12	**-.87**
Top 40 pop	-.61	-.14	-.18	-.13	-.27	**+.34**	**+.58**	-.20	-.00	-.14	-.21	+.35
Rock	-.57	**+.35**	-.11	+.09	-.23	-.12	**+.48**	-.08	+.21	+.14	-.19	+.13
Light classical	**+.53**	-.16	-.11	-.19	+.01	-.15	-.57	+.08	-.20	-.16	-.06	-.00
Musicals	**+.47**	-.10	-.12	-.30	+.06	-.05	-.65	-.11	+.19	-.07	-.14	+.26
Alternative rock	+.67	**+.66**	-.16	+.06	-.02	+.10	+.04	-.10	**+.73**	+.08	+.00	-.04
Heavy metal	-.23	**+.62**	-.03	-.28	-.08	-.16	**+.32**	+.08	+.14	-.27	-.05	+.10
Easy listening	+.00	-.58	-.37	-.26	-.12	-.25	-.03	-.50	-.51	-.16	-.12	+.25
Classical	+.06	-.04	**+.76**	+.03	+.02	-.05	+.05	**+.71**	-.19	+.04	+.02	-.11
Opera	+.05	-.06	**+.73**	-.12	-.06	-.06	-.20	**+.69**	+.01	-.14	-.05	+.25
Soul	-.03	-.12	-.09	**+.68**	-.06	+.12	+.11	-.05	-.02	**+.66**	-.01	+.08
Blues	-.12	+.14	-.01	**+.66**	+.03	-.27	+.03	+.06	+.07	**+.75**	-.03	+.01
Traditional jazz	+.03	+.01	+.10	+.10	**+.71**	-.01	+.08	+.13	-.06	+.06	**+.75**	+.00
Big band	+.04	-.06	-.16	-.16	**+.67**	+.02	-.15	-.14	+.09	-.11	**+.70**	+.08
Techno	-.07	+.09	-.03	-.02	+.01	**+.85**	+.22	-.07	**+.54**	-.20	-.02	+.19
Eigenvalue	2.13	1.49	1.20	1.15	1.05	1.04	1.94	1.45	1.24	1.72	1.20	1.04
Percentage of Variance	14.2	9.9	8.0	7.7	7.0	6.9	12.9	9.7	8.2	7.8	7.4	6.8
Number of respondents	2706						622					

Table 5.18 *Factor analysis: favourite music by church attendance* ***continued***

	Sometimes							Never						
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6	Factor 7	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6	factor 7
Religious	+.05	-.01	-.01	-.01	-.04	+.05	**+.94**	-.07	+.10	+.14	+.07	**+.77**	+.01	+.22
Top 40 pop	-.54	-.20	-.12	-.27	-.24	**+.36**	-.16	-.54	-.28	-.16	+.02	-.15	**+.42**	-.11
Rock	-.62	-.07	+.28	-.22	+.05	-.06	-.08	-.57	+.28	-.16	-.04	-.19	-.15	-.14
Light classical	**+.65**	+.14	-.06	-.13	-.03	-.13	+.13	**+.63**	-.17	+.02	-.15	+.03	-.01	-.13
Musicals	**+.61**	-.11	+.02	+.05	-.19	-.05	-.24	+.35	-.15	-.17	-.13	**+.56**	-.01	-.22
Alternative rock	+.03	-.12	**+.72**	-.05	+.08	+.12	-.04	-.03	**+.63**	-.20	-.13	+.03	+.01	-.14
Heavy metal	-.22	-.01	**+.66**	-.07	-.22	-.25	+.02	-.29	**+.45**	-.05	-.44	-.09	+.11	+.08
Easy listening	+.15	-.40	-.51	-.18	-.21	-.35	-.05	+.06	-.69	-.30	-.21	-.02	-.14	-.05
Classical	-.02	**+.76**	-.08	+.06	-.06	-.08	+.10	+.12	+.01	**+.78**	-.00	-.09	-.11	+.02
Opera	+.20	**+.72**	-.01	-.14	-.04	+.04	-.11	+.01	-.05	**+.74**	-.05	+.13	+.02	-.11
Soul	+.05	-.13	+.03	-.15	**+.71**	+.16	-.02	-.10	-.03	-.04	**+.78**	-.02	+.09	+.09
Blues	-.24	+.03	-.04	+.09	**+.70**	-.20	-.02	-.05	+.39	-.06	**+.47**	-.03	-.39	-.21
Traditional jazz	+.00	+.10	-.01	**+.73**	-.07	-.05	-.01	**+.57**	+.14	-.00	+.10	-.35	+.06	+.21
Big band	+.11	-.18	-.07	**+.67**	-.17	+.03	-.00	+.07	-.09	-.10	-.05	+.07	-.07	**+.87**
Techno	-.06	-.01	+.02	-.01	-.01	**+.84**	+.05	+.05	+.19	-.06	+.04	+.02	**+.83**	-.07
Eigenvalue	2.13	1.47	1.24	1.17	1.09	1.03	1.00	2.09	1.56	1.19	1.16	1.07	1.04	1.01
Percentage of Variance	14.2	9.8	8.2	7.8	7.3	6.8	6.7	13.9	10.4	7.9	7.7	7.1	6.9	6.7
Number of respondents			1318								1986			

Source: AECS 1995

Book preferences

Tables 5.19, 5.20, and 5.21 present the impact of religion on the general model for favourite book preferences. Overall the religious and non-religious groups broadly confirm the general moral structure of cultural civility and cultural barbarity offered by the whole sample for favourite book preferences. The impact of religion is seen most within the construction of barbaric reading producing more subtle differences in the moral engagement with this dimension of the model.

In table 5.19 religious identifiers load science-fiction onto the extreme or high form of barbaric books. The reader will recall that humour/comedy and sport and leisure serve as an indicator of low cultural civility in the general model. Religious Australians pair erotica with sport and leisure in a form of printed barbarity that may also have a gendered component as a male form of the concept. Another difference that religious identity produces is again perhaps underscored by gender: a factor of romance books with a strong association with cooking suggesting a more traditional form of gender role perhaps reinforced by religious identity. The non-religious combine romance books with crime/murder and mystery books which also load strongly with the thriller adventure genre as in the factors for the whole sample.

Table 5.19 *Factor analysis: favourite books by religious and non-religious*

Factor Matrix (Varimax Rotation)

	Whole sample					Religious					Non-religious				
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Fact 5
Book genres															
Craft/Hobbies	**+.67**	-.04	-.01	-.05	-.02	-.01	**+.60**	-.09	+.01	+.03	**+.61**	+.16	-.01	+.08	+.20
Gardening	**+.64**	-.14	-.11	+.07	+.01	-.16	**+.58**	-.14	-.05	+.04	**+.62**	-.13	+.00	-.01	-.04
Cooking	**+.60**	-.05	-.02	-.27	-.13	-.14	**+.51**	-.04	+.42	+.00	**+.63**	-.07	+.11	+.23	-.05
Thriller adventure	-.14	**+.70**	-.02	+.16	+.01	**+.70**	-.15	+.05	-.06	-.01	-.36	+.09	**+.44**	+.09	+.31
Crime/Murder mystery	-.14	**+.68**	-.07	-.07	-.03	**+.69**	-.11	-.07	+.11	-.07	-.47	+.03	+.35	**+.37**	+.19
Erotica	-.07	-.18	**+.60**	-.11	+.33	+.01	+.06	+.17	+.00	**+.75**	-.19	**+.30**	-.66	+.16	-.08
Occult	-.14	-.18	**+.55**	+.11	-.28	-.32	-.17	**+.65**	+.00	-.11	+.00	**+.64**	-.13	-.10	+.01
Horror	-.03	+.20	**+.48**	+.25	-.20	+.09	-.06	**+.62**	-.02	+.05	-.08	**+.60**	+.13	-.01	+.09
Travel/exploration	-.23	-.44	-.45	+.17	-.12	-.27	-.09	-.32	-.43	-.28	-.08	-.27	+.05	-.13	-.73
Romance	-.01	+.17	+.09	-.71	-.22	+.10	-.02	+.01	**+.73**	-.11	+.03	+.03	+.07	**+.63**	-.02
Science fiction	-.03	+.16	+.15	**+.64**	-.08	+.32	+.12	**+.36**	-.48	+.08	-.14	+.24	+.14	-.62	-.05
Sport and leisure	+.05	-.11	+.03	+.05	**+.75**	-.12	-.16	-.30	-.17	**+.59**	-.00	-.33	-.58	-.07	**+.32**
Humour/comedy	-.16	+.12	-.08	+.04	**+.50**	-.15	-.52	-.18	+.09	+.25	-.09	-.29	+.12	-.36	**+.51**
Eigenvalue	1.70	1.32	1.18	1.03	1.01	1.66	1.35	1.17	1.05	1.04	1.78	1.26	1.22	1.08	1.02
Percentage of Variance	13.1	10.1	9.09	7.94	8.80	12.8	10.4	9.0	8.1	8.0	13.7	9.7	9.4	8.3	7.9
Number of respondents			2706					1986					720		

Source: AECS 1995

The denominational effect on favourite books is again subtle with most of the factorial divisions in the whole sample replicated. In table 5.20 Catholics and PMU's view science fiction as high cultural barbarity. PMU's follow the religious identity construction of erotica and sport and leisure as do Anglicans who also add science fiction to that factor of cultural barbarity. CEP's differ mostly from the other denominations and from the non-religious by forming a unique brand of culturally civil reading that is action oriented. The combination of gardening, travel, and sport and leisure suggest a reading regime that is associated with a moral ethic of an active creative lifestyle perhaps conforming to the Weberian notion of this worldly action associated with Protestants (Weber 1967). This may reflect an evangelical Protestant culture of enthusiasm and life affirmation as a form of the sacred expressed attitudinally.

Table 5.20 *Factor analysis: favourite books by denomination and non-religious*

	Factor Matrix (Varimax Rotation)																			
	Whole sample					Catholic					Anglican									
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor5					
Book genres																				
Craft/Hobbies	**+.67**	-.04	-.01	-.05	-.02	-.05	**+.72**	-.04	+.17	-.05	**+.33**	-.15	-.06	+.10	-.42					
Gardening	**+.64**	-.14	-.11	+.07	+.01	-.04	**+.58**	+.00	-.14	+.40	**+.59**	-.14	-.03	+.13	+.03					
Cooking	**+.60**	-.05	-.02	-.27	-.13	-.15	**+.62**	-.12	-.14	-.26	**+.66**	+.02	+.04	+.00	-.15					
Thriller adventure	-.14	**+.70**	-.02	+.16	+.01	**+.73**	-.14	+.11	-.03	-.10	-.27	**+.62**	-.00	+.05	+.17					
Crime/Murder	-.14	**+.68**	-.07	-.07	-.03	**+.75**	-.06	-.11	-.00	-.08	-.08	**+.67**	-.09	-.20	+.00					
Erotica	-.07	-.18	**+.60**	-.11	+.33	-.17	-.15	**+.42**	+.00	+.06	+.08	+.06	-.01	**+.66**	-.16					
Occult	-.14	-.18	**+.55**	+.11	-.28	-.18	-.04	**+.61**	+.02	-.16	+.03	-.18	**+.75**	-.10	-.02					
Horror	-.03	+.20	**+.48**	+.25	-.20	+.19	+.01	**+.45**	-.04	-.04	-.07	+.16	**+.77**	+.07	+.03					
Travel/exploration	-.23	-.44	-.45	+.17	-.12	-.14	-.06	-.27	-.13	**+.61**	-.30	-.56	-.16	-.19	+.17					
Romance	-.01	+.17	+.09	**-.71**	-.22	+.07	+.07	-.27	-.27	-.63	**+.38**	+.22	-.04	-.39	-.05					
Science fiction	-.03	+.16	+.15	+.64	**-.08**	+.35	+.00	**+.57**	-.05	+.22	-.48	+.08	+.04	**+.30**	-.30					
Sport and leisure	+.05	-.11	+.03	+.05	**+.75**	-.02	+.09	-.17	**+.69**	+.22	+.03	-.08	-.08	**+.62**	+.43					
Humour/comedy	-.16	+.12	**-.08**	+.04	**+.50**	-.01	-.09	+.08	**+.76**	-.16	+.02	-.00	-.01	+.03	**+.79**					
Eigenvalue	1.70	1.32	1.18	1.03	1.01	1.77	1.41	1.18	1.08	1.01	1.64	1.39	1.22	1.15	1.05					
% of Variance	13.1	10.1	9.0	7.9	8.8	13.6	10.9	9.0	8.3	7.8	12.6	10.7	9.4	8.8	8.1					
N			2706					1986					720							

Table 5.20 *Factor analysis: favourite books by denomination and non-religious* ***continued***

	PMU*					CEP**						None				
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5
Craft/Hobbies	**+.56**	-.08	-.10	-.07	-.13	-.04	-.19	+.32	**+.65**	+.00	+.04	**+.61**	+.16	-.01	+.08	+.20
Gardening	**+.67**	-.02	-.05	-.06	-.01	-.04	-.50	**+.34**	+.10	-.12	+.12	**+.62**	-.13	+.00	-.01	-.04
Cooking	**+.51**	-.15	-.06	+.44	-.03	-.06	-.14	-.05	**+.59**	+.11	+.08	**+.63**	-.07	+.11	+.23	-.05
Thriller adventure	-.08	**+.76**	-.03	-.18	-.11	-.08	**+.76**	+.06	-.09	+.13	+.00	-.36	+.09	**+.44**	+.09	+.31
Crime/Murder	-.11	**+.65**	+.00	+.13	+.01	+.09	**+.71**	+.02	-.06	-.16	+.15	-.47	+.03	**+.35**	**+.37**	+.19
Erotica	-.04	+.02	+.00	+.14	**+.81**	**+.88**	+.01	+.01	-.02	-.09	+.09	-.19	**+.30**	-.66	+.16	-.08
Occult	-.29	-.12	**+.47**	+.10	-.17	-.01	-.13	-.14	-.10	-.00	-.84	+.00	**+.64**	-.13	-.10	+.01
Horror	-.14	+.28	**+.49**	-.08	-.01	**+.87**	+.01	+.00	-.03	+.15	-.02	-.08	**+.60**	+.13	-.01	+.09
Travel/exploration	-.34	-.41	-.24	-.16	-.04	-.06	-.14	**+.59**	-.17	-.31	+.04	-.08	-.27	+.05	-.13	-.73
Romance	-.12	+.06	-.10	**+.82**	-.04	-.07	-.01	-.58	-.02	-.28	-.17	+.03	+.03	+.07	**+.63**	-.02
Science fiction	-.04	+.00	**+.62**	-.22	-.05	-.04	+.03	+.00	-.00	**+.89**	-.00	-.14	+.24	+.14	-.62	-.05
Sport and leisure	-.11	-.12	-.12	-.31	**+.66**	-.08	-.15	**+.34**	-.60	+.26	+.11	-.00	-.33	-.58	-.07	**+.32**
Humour/comedy	-.39	+.06	-.54	-.19	-.13	-.05	-.25	-.58	-.15	+.00	**+.49**	-.09	-.29	+.12	-.36	**+.51**
Eigenvalue	1.67	1.45	1.18	1.08	1.03	1.79	1.54	1.37	1.13	1.12	1.02	1.78	1.26	1.22	1.08	1.02
% of Variance	12.9	11.1	9.0	8.3	7.9	13.7	11.9	10.5	8.7	8.6	7.8	13.7	9.7	9.4	8.3	7.9
N			2706					1986					720			

Source: AECS 1995 *Presbyterian Methodist Uniting ** Conservative Evangelical Protestant

For those who attend religious services regularly as indicated in table 5.20 occult books do not load onto any factors not surprisingly suggesting a clear avoidance of the genre. Science fiction is also loaded onto high cultural barbarity for regular attendees. Following other religious sub-samples, those that attend religious services sometimes, combine erotica and sport and leisure.

Table 5.21 *Factor analysis: favourite books by church attendance*

Factor Matrix (Varimax Rotation)

	Whole sample					Regularly				
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5
Book genres										
Craft/Hobbies	**+.67**	-.04	-.01	-.05	-.02	-.12	**+.56**	-.12	+.20	-.09
Gardening	**+.64**	-.14	-.11	+.07	+.01	-.43	**+.38**	+.02	+.07	-.05
Cooking	**+.60**	-.05	-.02	-.27	-.13	-.30	**+.51**	+.00	+.24	+.27
Thriller adventure	-.14	**+.70**	-.02	+.16	+.01	**+.65**	-.08	+.13	-.07	+.03
Crime/Murder mystery	-.14	**+.68**	-.07	-.07	-.03	**+.71**	+.03	-.03	+.13	+.03
Erotica	-.07	-.18	**+.60**	-.11	+.33	-.09	-.14	**+.65**	+.18	-.25
Occult	-.14	-.18	**+.55**	+.11	-.28	-.07	-.03	-.13	-.68	+.03
Horror	-.03	+.20	**+.48**	+.25	-.20	+.10	+.06	**+.74**	-.09	+.20
Travel/exploration	-.23	-.44	-.45	+.17	-.12	+.30	+.13	+.06	+.28	-.68
Romance	-.01	+.17	+.09	-.71	-.22	+.16	+.03	+.06	+.33	**+.69**
Science fiction	-.03	+.16	+.15	**+.64**	-.08	+.15	+.04	**+.40**	-.53	-.05
Sport and leisure	+.05	-.11	+.03	+.05	**+.75**	-.40	-.52	+.09	+.11	+.07
Humour/comedy	-.16	+.12	-.08	+.04	**+.50**	-.01	-.54	-.11	+.26	+.02
Eigenvalue	1.70	1.32	1.18	1.03	1.01	1.73	1.27	1.23	1.12	1.09
Percentage of Variance	13.1	10.1	9.09	7.94	8.80	13.3	9.8	9.5	8.6	8.4
Number of respondents			2706					622		

Table 5.21 *Factor analysis: favourite books by church attendance* ***continued***

	Sometimes					Never				
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5
Book genres										
Craft/Hobbies	-.18	**+.57**	-.13	+.02	+.07	**+.62**	-.05	+.13	+.06	+.24
Gardening	-.24	**+.50**	-.18	-.01	-.07	**+.62**	-.07	-.12	-.05	-.06
Cooking	-.12	**+.46**	-.04	-.44	+.05	**+.65**	+.03	-.11	+.21	-.12
Thriller adventure	**+.70**	-.11	-.01	+.16	-.00	-.28	**+.56**	-.02	+.04	+.23
Crime/Murder mystery	**+.66**	-.13	-.07	-.10	-.05	-.40	**+.49**	-.05	+.29	+.13
Erotica	-.07	-.03	+.00	+.05	**+.84**	-.24	-.47	**+.48**	+.20	-.03
Occult	-.25	-.12	**+.70**	-.03	+.00	-.03	-.05	**+.68**	-.03	-.01
Horror	+.08	-.07	**+.63**	+.12	+.05	-.01	+.29	**+.52**	-.13	+.10
Travel/exploration	-.38	-.22	-.22	+.22	-.44	-.06	-.06	-.25	-.17	-.72
Romance	+.17	+.04	+.08	-.69	-.00	+.08	+.18	+.07	**+.64**	-.00
Science fiction	+.23	+.20	+.22	**+.63**	+.06	-.09	+.18	+.19	-.66	-.00
Sport and leisure	-.24	-.28	-.41	+.22	**+.35**	-.10	-.59	-.23	+.01	**+.30**
Humour/comedy	-.14	-.55	-.12	-.05	+.03	-.09	+.00	-.25	-.32	**+.57**
Eigenvalue	1.63	1.40	1.19	1.08	1.02	1.80	1.27	1.23	1.08	1.01
Percentage of Variance	12.5	10.8	9.1	8.3	7.8	13.9	9.7	9.4	8.3	7.8
Number of respondents			2706					1986		

Source: AECS 1995

Film preferences

Tables 5.22, 5.23, and 5.24 displays how the religious and the non-religious view favourite film preferences compared to the whole sample. The general distribution of film preferences presented a five factor solution that was divided into two levels of cultural civility and three levels of cultural barbarity. Table 5.22 reports some minor differences between the religious, the non-religious, and the general model for the construction of film tastes. For the non-religious "R or X rated" films load onto no factors or combine with any other genre, while the religious are more orthodox in their assessment of it as barbaric and combining with "horror".

In table 5.23 the denominational differences are again minor when compared to the general model overall. Despite some minor compositional differences the type of religious affiliation that one assumes doesn't seem to impact greatly on the way in which filmic civility and barbarity are pronounced causing no meaningful variation between religious groups and the non-religious, the denominations do produce some minor differences.

Table 5.24 reports the results for church attendance and film. The level of commitment to a religion does not seem to effect the distribution for film preferences a great deal, with regular and sometimes attendees not differing considerably from the general model, the non-religious, and from each other.

Table 5.22 *Factor analysis: favourite film for religious and non-religious*

Factor Matrix (Varimax Rotation)

	Whole sample					Religious					Non-Religious				
	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5	F 1	F 2	F 3	F 4	F 5	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5
film genres															
Adventure	**+.59**	+.21	+.05	+.01	-.16	**+.57**	+.23	-.07	+.12	-.04	+.34	-.25	+.32	-.16	**+.52**
Dramas	-.08	**+.69**	-.04	+.23	+.21	-.12	**+.65**	+.20	-.07	+.29	-.15	+.12	+.40	**+.50**	+.26
War	**+.73**	-.11	-.11	-.05	+.11	**+.73**	-.08	-.02	-.15	+.10	**+.74**	-.07	-.03	-.15	+.05
Horror	+.02	+.01	**+.77**	-.06	-.03	+.03	+.01	-.03	**+.79**	-.02	-.15	-.24	-.17	-.14	-.44
Westerns	**+.67**	-.04	+.07	+.01	+.03	**+.66**	-.05	+.02	+.09	-.03	**+.78**	+.02	+.01	+.14	-.02
Film noir	+.19	-.03	-.04	+.01	**+.66**	+.23	-.07	+.04	-.05	**+.67**	-.04	**+.54**	+.04	-.11	+.02
Comedies	+.15	**+.55**	-.08	-.20	-.13	+.17	**+.59**	-.18	-.03	-.08	-.11	-.20	**+.76**	-.23	-.05
Art films	-.05	+.04	+.01	**+.68**	+.27	-.05	+.07	**+.77**	-.02	+.11	+.09	+.64	-.01	+.13	-.01
Spectaculars	+.03	-.08	-.05	**+.77**	-.25	+.02	-.08	**+.78**	-.04	-.11	-.18	-.11	-.26	-.03	**+.79**
Independent films	-.17	-.01	+.02	+.01	**+.69**	-.18	+.01	-.04	+.04	**+.72**	-.11	**+.64**	-.07	-.08	-.04
Musicals	-.03	**+.66**	-.00	-.03	-.07	-.02	**+.68**	+.02	-.02	-.13	+.03	-.18	-.06	**+.84**	-.07
R or X rated	+.00	-.11	**+.75**	+.02	+.01	+.03	-.11	+.01	**+.78**	+.02	-.08	+.10	-.57	-.18	-.01
Eigenvalue	1.48	1.39	1.23	1.09	1.07	1.53	1.41	1.27	1.14	1.10	1.57	1.31	1.28	1.13	1.10
% of Variance	12.3	11.5	10.2	9.1	8.9	12.7	11.7	10.5	9.9	9.1	13.1	10.9	10.7	9.4	9.1
Number of respondents			2706					1986					720		

Source: AEC1995

Table 5.23 *Factor analysis: favourite film by denomination and non-religious*

Factor Matrix (Varimax Rotation)

	Whole sample					Catholic					Anglican				
	F 1	F 2	F 3	F 4	F5	F 1	F 2	F 3	F 4	F 5	F 1	F 2	F 3	F 4	F 5
Film genres															
Adventure	**+.59**	+.21	+.05	+.01	-.16	**+.60**	+.14	+.25	+.39	-.14	+.06	+.08	+.42	**+.51**	-.12
Dramas	-.08	**+.69**	-.04	+.23	+.21	+.01	-.05	+.56	**+.57**	+.07	-.19	+.32	+.19	-.57	+.05
War	**+.72**	-.11	-.11	-.05	+.11	**+.78**	-.03	-.00	+.02	+.01	-.08	+.04	+.02	**+.77**	+.07
Horror	+.02	+.01	**+.77**	-.06	-.03	-.04	**+.81**	-.07	-.03	-.06	**+.78**	+.01	+.10	-.04	-.00
Westerns	**+.67**	-.04	+.07	-.01	+.03	**+.79**	-.08	-.02	-.14	-.00	**+.55**	-.04	+.18	+.16	-.02
Film noir	+.19	-.03	-.04	+.01	**+.66**	-.02	-.03	-.19	**+.83**	+.04	+.01	-.01	+.05	-.03	**+.74**
Comedies	+.15	**+.55**	-.08	-.20	-.13	+.19	-.08	**+.51**	-.07	-.13	+.02	-.07	**+.64**	+.14	-.03
Art Films	-.05	+.04	+.01	**+.68**	+.27	-.04	-.00	-.12	+.05	**+.63**	-.00	**+.85**	-.01	-.07	-.01
Spectaculars	+.03	-.08	-.05	**+.77**	-.24	-.10	-.20	-.40	+.13	-.54	-.01	**+.84**	-.09	+.01	-.00
Independent	-.17	-.01	+.02	+.01	**+.69**	-.04	-.10	-.10	+.03	**+.57**	-.03	+.00	-.07	+.02	**+.75**
Musicals	-.03	**+.61**	-.00	-.03	-.07	-.11	-.08	**+.68**	-.02	-.07	+.03	-.03	**+.74**	-.17	+.03
R or X rated	+.00	-.11	**+.75**	+.02	+.01	-.00	**+.82**	-.07	+.00	-.02	**+.78**	-.02	-.22	-.06	-.00
Eigenvalue	1.48	1.39	1.23	1.09	1.07	1.83	1.45	1.25	1.11	1.05	1.77	1.48	1.33	1.14	1.09
% of Variance	12.3	11.5	10.2	9.1	8.9	15.2	12.1	10.4	9.3	8.8	14.8	12.3	11.1	9.5	9.1
N		2706						632					603		

Table 5.23 *Factor analysis: favourite film by denomination and non-religious* ***continued***

	PMU*					CEP**					Non-religious				
	F 1	F 2	F 3	F 4	F 5	F 1	F 2	F 3	F 4	F 5	F 1	F 2	F 3	F 4	F 5
Adventure	-.15	-.11	+.15	-.69	+.17	+.19	-.03	**+.52**	-.00	+.39	+.35	-.25	+.33	-.16	**+.52**
Dramas	**+.77**	-.01	-.08	+.12	+.07	-.06	**+.74**	-.60	+.27	+.07	-.15	+.12	+.40	**+.50**	+.26
War	-.16	-.00	**+.48**	-.30	+.21	**+.89**	-.03	+.10	-.01	+.03	**+.74**	-.07	-.04	-.15	+.04
Horror	-.06	+.01	-.07	-.05	-.61	-.07	+.03	+.09	-.10	-.83	-.15	-.24	-.18	-.14	-.44
Westerns	+.02	+.02	**+.76**	+.19	+.08	**+.78**	-.14	+.08	+.01	+.04	**+.78**	+.02	+.01	+.14	-.02
Film noir	-.01	**+.84**	+.03	+.00	-.01	**+.79**	+.04	-.11	-.03	-.07	-.04	**+.54**	+.04	-.11	+.02
Comedies	**+.70**	-.01	+.32	-.23	-.08	-.13	**+.69**	+.38	+.03	-.04	-.11	-.20	**+.76**	-.23	-.05
Art Films	-.04	+.23	-.42	+.07	**+.46**	+.02	+.07	-.75	+.03	+.11	+.09	**+.64**	-.01	+.13	-.01
Spectaculars	-.16	-.09	+.27	**+.70**	+.20	-.06	+.02	-.27	**+.74**	-.04	-.18	-.11	-.26	-.03	**+.79**
Independent	-.04	**+.85**	-.06	+.03	+.04	+.05	**+.74**	-.28	+.21	-.01	-.11	**+.63**	-.07	-.08	-.04
Musicals	**+.68**	-.07	-.33	+.10	+.28	-.15	+.14	+.21	-.42	**+.41**	+.03	-.18	-.07	**+.84**	-.07
R or X rated	-.07	+.00	-.08	+.10	-.58	-.03	-.00	-.26	**+.63**	+.16	-.08	-.10	-.57	-.18	-.01
Eigenvalue	1.71	1.59	1.25	1.19	1.03	2.19	1.57	1.38	1.14	1.04	1.57	1.31	1.28	1.13	1.10
% of Variance	14.2	13.2	10.4	9.9	8.6	18.3	13.1	11.5	9.5	8.6	13.1	10.9	10.7	9.4	9.1
N			322					215					720		

Source: AECS 1995 *Presbyterian Methodist Uniting ** Conservative Evangelical Protestant

Table 5.24 *Factor analysis: favourite film by church attendance*

Factor Matrix (Varimax Rotation)

	Whole sample					Regular					
	F 1	F 2	F 3	F 4	F5	F 1	F 2	F 3	F 4	F 5	F 6
Film genres											
Adventure	**+.59**	+.21	+.05	+.01	-.16	+.25	-.14	-.00	**+.53**	-.05	-.35
Dramas	-.08	**+.69**	-.04	+.23	+.21	-.00	+.18	**+.53**	+.45	+.41	-.09
War	**+.72**	-.11	-.11	-.05	+.11	**+.75**	-.02	+.08	+.07	+.00	+.08
Horror	+.02	+.01	**+.77**	-.06	-.03	+.05	+.02	-.05	+.08	-.04	**+.84**
Westerns	**+.67**	-.04	+.07	-.01	+.03	**+.72**	-.05	+.11	-.21	-.18	-.06
Film noir	+.19	-.03	-.04	+.01	**+.66**	**+.54**	+.09	-.28	+.31	+.32	-.03
Comedies	+.15	**+.55**	-.08	-.20	-.13	+.05	-.20	**+.59**	-.20	+.20	+.32
Art Films	-.05	+.04	+.01	**+.68**	+.27	-.01	**+.80**	+.08	+.07	+.06	-.05
Spectaculars	+.03	-.08	-.05	**+.77**	-.24	-.02	**+.79**	-.07	+.02	-.05	-.07
Independent	-.17	-.01	+.02	+.01	**+.69**	-.06	-.01	-.01	-.14	**+.85**	-.01
Musicals	-.03	**+.61**	-.00	-.03	-.07	+.07	-.08	**+.75**	+.11	-.19	-.19
R or X rated	+.00	-.11	**+.75**	+.02	+.01	+.12	+.01	-.04	-.67	+.12	-.21
Eigenvalue	1.48	1.39	1.23	1.09	1.07	1.59	1.45	1.29	1.13	1.06	1.00
% of Variance	12.3	11.5	10.2	9.1	8.9	13.3	12.1	10.7	9.4	8.8	8.3
Number of respondents	2706						632				

Table 5.24 *Factor analysis: favourite film by church attendance* ***continued***

	Sometimes					Never				
	F 1	F 2	F 3	F 4	F 5	F 1	F 2	F 3	F 4	F 5
Adventure	**+.64**	+.25	+.14	-.07	+.01	+.37	-.18	+.39	-.01	**+.50**
Dramas	-.18	**+.58**	-.12	+.25	+.04	-.13	+.03	+.09	**+.68**	+.04
War	**+.71**	-.19	-.21	-.02	+.00	**+.74**	-.07	-.03	-.12	+.05
Horror	+.03	+.02	**+.79**	-.03	-.02	-.19	-.17	-.00	-.55	-.33
Westerns	**+.59**	-.08	+.12	+.06	-.07	**+.77**	+.00	+.00	+.08	-.11
Film noir	+.03	+.01	-.01	-.02	**+.75**	-.05	**+.63**	+.09	-.07	+.01
Comedies	+.32	**+.65**	-.05	-.11	+.00	-.12	-.18	**+.70**	-.10	+.07
Art Films	-.04	+.06	+.01	**+.80**	+.09	+.10	**+.57**	-.12	+.20	-.07
Spectaculars	+.04	-.08	-.03	**+.75**	-.08	-.15	-.09	-.11	+.10	**+.72**
Independent	-.09	-.05	+.00	+.03	**+.70**	-.11	**+.69**	-.04	-.04	-.02
Musicals	-.10	**+.66**	+.01	-.08	-.07	+.02	-.24	-.00	**+.58**	-.46
R or X rated	+.03	-.13	**+.77**	+.01	+.01	-.08	-.16	-.71	-.01	-.13
Eigenvalue	1.52	1.47	1.24	1.19	1.06	1.58	1.32	1.28	1.13	1.04
Percentage of Variance	12.8	11.8	10.3	9.9	8.9	13.1	11.0	10.6	9.4	8.6
Number of respondents							720			

Source: AECS 1995

Summary

This chapter has compared how religious and non-religious Australians perceive mimetic culture. In particular the chapter sought to evaluate religious and non-religious cultural constructions against a general model of cultural civility and cultural barbarism. Overall there was little variation in the ways that Australians perceived cultural taste in moral terms with most sub groups, religious and non-religious, suggesting that the way in which secular culture is viewed in Australia is not effected significantly by religion. The general alignment of religious and non-religious cultural civility and barbarism indicates a general standard or habitus (Elias 1994) with regard to mimetic standards of secular culture shared by the religious and the non religious.

The very similar collections of attitudes towards mimetic cultures of both he religious and non-religious indicate a general moral approach to how these sub-groups feel about mimetic culture. These data suggest that both the religious and the non-religious hold similar views about the underlying characteristics of mimetic culture. The findings also suggest that the non-religious also think about culture in moral terms which highlights the potential role of other social factors that Elias and Dunning (1986) also mention as demonstrating particular levels of restraint and control effecting how different social groups consume culture.

Despite the general consensus between religious and no-religious cultural views the most notable difference that religion made was for particular aspects of cultural barbarism and the place of classical music in one measure of musical taste, both of these findings suggest a slightly more integrated and slightly less

ambiguous view of the two moral divisions, something we might expect from a religious perspective and an indication that the religious view culture with a slightly keener sense of moral absolution.

Of the religious measures the most interesting feature was the variation displayed by the different Christian affiliations. Simply identifying as religious and the level of commitment to a religion did not produce any substantial differences. In particular the chapter reported that the type of individual religious affiliation was of some minor consequence to the cultural domains of music and sport.

The data also showed veiled signs of other social factors at work through religious affiliations such as age, gender, national identity, and schooling particularly in the measures of sports watched. Gender in particular is a key social background variable for Australian religion (Bouma 1992) and it is no surprise therefore that its presence is felt in cultural taste patterns. I examine religion and a range of social background experiences in Chapter Seven. In the next chapter I refer back to the general model of cultural civility and cultural barbarism as the whole sample reported it to construct specific measures against which I compare the three measures of religion against the non-religious to assess the level of participation in cultural civility and cultural barbarism.

Endnotes

[1] This chapter is "data intensive" and as a result I have forwarded some of the tables associated with the specific measures of mimetic culture to an appendix at the back of this study. It is hoped that this action will make this chapter somewhat more reader friendly without compromising the analyses. The tables that I have forwarded to the appendix are tables associated with particular aspects of mimetic culture that did not show the religious variables to be of any impact.

Please note that a selection of tables in this chapter are recorded on more than one page and are continued. This is one of the only ways to present data of this kind and remain within printing requirements. I thank the reader for his/her patience.

[2] The tables associated with music leisure are published in Appendix A
[3] The tables associated with leisure are published in Appendix A

Chapter 6

Bivariate analysis of eight scales of mimetic culture by religious variables

Introduction

In this chapter I investigate the participation rates of religious and non-religious Australians in barbaric and civil mimetic cultures to further assess the impact of religion upon cultural consumption. The chapter builds on Chapter Four in which culture was empirically shown to be perceived as divided between the moral points of civility and barbarism, and religion, an institution that promoted civility. The rationale for this chapter is to explore whether or not the religious display more symbolic civility and less symbolic barbarism by comparing participation rates in the civil and barbaric mimetic cultures than the non-religious as was predicted by hypotheses two to seven in Chapter Three. In doing so I present a series of composite measures indicating various levels of cultural civility and cultural barbarism that are derived from the factor analyses presented in Chapter Four. I present the findings through a series of tables using bivariate analysis[1]. The chapter speaks to the more general question of how religion impacts on Australian cultural consumption patterns.

In Chapter Three the study presented six hypotheses stating essentially that the religious would participate less in culturally barbaric culture and more in culturally civil culture. The hypotheses are premised on the function of culture in Eliasian theory and the impact religion has upon the restraint of the emotions toward a "civilizing" of behaviour, including the engagement with mimetic culture. The analyses in this chapter expect to find that all of the religious sub-samples including religious identity, affiliation, and commitment will participate more in civil culture and less in barbaric culture than the non-religious.

I present each of the eight cultural fields across the three measures of religion in a series of bivariate tables. The data used for these analyses is again from the Australian Everyday Cultures Project of 1995. Before I present the findings, however, I construct and describe the scales used to indicate the new measures of civil and barbaric mimetic cultures.

Composite measures of cultural civility and cultural barbarism

From the eight mimetic cultural fields (music radio programmes, music leisure, sport, leisure, photographic subjects, music, book, and films preferences) twenty-eight groups of items measuring from between two to six dimensions of cultural civility and cultural barbarism (high, medium, and low) comprise the operational Eliasian model of mimetic culture.

Four of the eight fields are simply divided along the dual dimensional scheme of cultural civility and cultural barbarism without the scaled gradations of "high" through "low". Civil music radio programmes was measured by summing the

three items on factor two, attitudes towards barbaric music radio programmes was measured by combining the two items on factor one (see table 4.1). Civil music leisure was composed by adding the five items on factor one. Barbaric music leisure was measured adding the three items on factor two (see table 4.2). Civil sport was measured by summing the items on factor two, barbaric sports by adding the seven items on factor one (see table 4.3). Civil photographic subjects was measured by adding the five items in factor one and the combination of four items in factor two comprised barbaric photographic subjects (see table 4.4).

Table 6.1 *Composite measures of four dimensions of cultural civility and cultural barbarism*

	Scoring (L – H)	items	n	mean	sd	range	alpha
Music radio programmes							
civil	3 – 9	3	2130	6.3	1.4	6	.42
barbaric	2 – 6	2	2130	4.8	1.2	4	.68
Music leisure							
civil	5 – 20	5	2074	17.8	2.5	15	.79
barbaric	3 – 12	3	2216	9.7	2.3	9	.80
Sport							
Civil	6 – 18	6	2756	15.9	2.5	1	.79
barbaric	7 – 21	7	2750	19.3	2.6	14	.83
Photographic subjects							
Civil	-5 – 5	5	406	2.1	1.6	5	.60
barbaric	-4 – 3	4	2399	-2.4	1.1	3	.48

Source: AECS 1995

The other four cultural fields contain sub-dimensions of cultural civility and barbarism that range through "high", "medium", and "low". Leisure is comprised of four dimensions; two sub-dimensions of civility and barbarism each. "High" civil leisure is measured by adding the three items loading onto factor three, "low" civil leisure is measured by adding the three items loading on factor one (see table 4.5). Barbaric leisure is also measured by two dimensions: "high" barbaric leisure is measured by adding the two items that load on together in factor four, "low" barbaric leisure was measured by combining the four items that load onto factor two (see table 4.5).

Favourite music, book, and film preferences, the reader may recall, all contain up to six dimensions of civility and barbarism. Civil music, constructed from the findings in table 4.6, contains three sub-dimensions: "high" civil music is measured by adding the items that load onto factor one; "medium" civil music is measured by combining the two items loading on factor three, and "low" civil music is measured by adding the items that loaded onto factor five. Barbaric music also (derived from table 4.6) is comprised of three sub-dimensions: "high barbaric music is measured by adding the three items that load onto two, "medium" barbaric music is measured by combining the two items that load onto factor six, and "low" barbaric music is measured by adding the two items that load onto factor four.

Book preferences are divided into five sub-dimensions: two indicating civility and three indicating barbarism. "High" civil books is measured by adding the three items in factor one, "low" civil books is measured by combining the two items

that load onto factor five. "High" barbaric books is measured by adding the three items loading onto factor three, "medium" barbaric books is measured by the one item loading onto factor four, and "low" barbaric books is measured by combining the two items loading onto factor two (see table 4.7).

Preferences for films contain five dimensions two civil and three indicating various levels of cultural barbarism. High civil films is derived by summing the factors in factor two, low civil film combines the factors clustered in factor four. The three barbaric film measures are composed of items arranged in the following order: high barbaric film, factor three; medium barbaric film, factor five; low barbaric film, factor one (see table 4.8).

The composition of scales is an effective means of measuring underlying concepts that clusters of correlated variables indicate, revealed through quantitative techniques such as factor analysis offering a range of benefits to the researcher. Creating composite measures therefore assists in capturing the complexity of a concept such as cultural barbarism. Scaled or composite measures also lend the measures more validity and reliability so as to gain more certainty that the concepts of interest are indeed being tapped and that they are measuring exactly what we want them to measure. Scaling also helps to reduce or simplify analysis without compromising the complexity of concepts by summarising individual measures into one measure providing the scale is conceptually plausible and statistically valid (De Vaus 2002).

In the bivariate tables that follow participation is measured as "high", "moderate" and "low" based on the scale scores associated with the particular variable. For example consider civil music radio programmes, the range of participation indicated by preference for those items contained within the composite measure is between 3 (low) and 9 (high) a score of between 3 and 5 is considered "low" while a score of 8 or 9 is "high". These differences measure the rates of favouritism or participation in each field of mimetic culture. The high to low scores represent the aggregate scores recorded for each individual measure within the scale. A feature in the tables below is the identification of the "highest percentage differential" or HPD for each table to highlight the participation differences between subgroups[2].

The composite measures vary in their reliability as measured by an alpha score[3]. The composite measures described in table 6.1 vary from solid to highly reliable measures. The measures presented in table 6.2 however, especially those for music, books and films are less reliable and some caution should accompany their use and interpretation.

Table 6.2 *Composite measures of leisure, music, film, and books*

	Scoring (low – high)	items	n	mean	sd	range	alpha
Leisure							
Civil							
High	3-12	3	2344	7.7	1.9	9	.52
Low	3-12	3	2355	9.1	2.2	9	.73
Barbaric							
High	4-16	4	2347	14.2	2.2	12	.59
Low	2-8	2	2391	6.6	1.4	6	.49
Music							
Civil							
High	0-3	3	2756	.45	.65	3	.12
Medium	0-2	2	2756	.22	.48	2	.21
Low	0-2	2	2756	.14	.38	2	.07
Barbaric							
High	0-3	3	2756	.43	.64	3	.23
Medium	0-2	2	2756	.18	.42	2	.15
Low	0-2	2	2756	.35	.52	2	.11
Books							
Civil							
High	0-3	3	2756	.40	.68	3	.47
Low	0-2	2	2756	.26	.49	2	.28
Barbaric							
High	0-3	3	2756	.10	.33	3	.04
Medium	0-1	1	2756				
Low	0-2	2	2756	.55	.71	2	.32
Film							
Civil							
High	0-3	3	2756	.37	.56	3	.31
Low	0-2	2	2756	.62	.53	2	.09
Barbaric							
High	0-2	2	2756	.37	.56	2	.33
Medium	0-2	2	2756	.07	.32	2	.17
Low	0-3	3	2756	.25	.49	3	.39

Source AECS 1995

Results

Music Radio Programmes

Table 6.3 presents the results for the religious sub-samples and the engagement with civil and barbaric music radio programmes. Identifying as religious, the type of religion one affiliates with, and the level of commitment to religion all have consequences for the individual's participation in civil and barbaric music radio programmes. As expected the religious groupings all participate more in the civil aspect of the moral divide of this mode of mimetic culture and participate less in the barbaric than the non-religious and those who never attend religious services.

Table 6.3 shows a statistically significant relationship between religious identity and attendance at religious services and lesser participation in barbaric radio programmes. The more religious and the greater the attendance at religious services the less likely the participation in barbaric radio music programmes. Those who never attend religious services participate in barbaric music radio programmes at a rate of more than twice that of regular attendees (10.5% - 22.4%). There are also denominational differences in participation in barbaric music radio programmes in table 6.3. Catholics display similar participation to the non-religious, recording the highest engagement with barbaric radio programmes and are more than twice as likely to listen to barbaric music radio programmes than CEP's (8.5% - 21.1%).

Hypotheses 2 – 7: supported

Music Leisure

Table 6.4 displays the impact of religion on attendance at civil and barbaric music leisure performances. The three dimensions of religion all produce variation in the participation in music leisure when compared to the non-religious and against themselves. With the exception of attendance at religious services there exist only minor differences in high participation in civil music leisure, yet the religious sub-samples all exceed the non-religious and non-attendees at religious services in participation in civil music leisure. Religion's impact upon this cultural field, however, is considerably stronger on the barbaric dimension of music leisure's moral divide.

Considerable and statistically significant variation exists between the religious groups and the non-religious and those who never attend religious services. Of note is the denominational effect of Catholics whose high engagement is virtually at the same rate as the non-religious. The table indicates that the more theologically conservative the lesser the participation in barbaric music leisure. There is heavy decline in high participation in barbaric music leisure across the denominations, resulting in Catholics consuming barbaric music leisure at almost three times the rate that CEP's do (16.7% - 45.6). The more religious services are attended, the less the engagement in barbaric music leisure. Almost half of those who never attend religious services participate at a high rate in barbaric music leisure; more than double the amount of regular attendees (20.6% - 44.6).

Hypotheses 2 - 7: supported

Table 6.3 *Civil and barbaric radio programmes by religious identification, denomination, and church attendance*

	Religious		Denomination					Church attendance				
	Yes (%)	No (%)	Cath (%)	Ang (%)	PMU (%)	CEP (%)	None (%)	*HPD*	Reg (%)	Some (%)	Never (%)	*HPD*
Civil radio programmes												
High	29.9	21.4	29.4	31.5	30.7	**32.3**	**21.4**	*10.9*	**30.1**	30.0	**21.5**	*8.6*
Moderate	48.8	52.8	47.6	48.6	49.4	48.8	52.8		48.8	48.4	53.4	
Low	21.3	25.9	23.1	19.9	19.9	18.9	25.9		21.1	21.6	25.1	
N	(1520)	(580)	(511)	(457)	(241)	(164)	(580)		(465)	(1028)	(637)	
Measure of association	gamma .16***				$X^2 = 20.9$**				gamma .10***			
Barbaric radio programmes												
High	15.6	23.5	21.1	13.1	14.6	**8.5**	**23.5**	*15*	**10.5**	18.0	**22.4**	*11.9*
Moderate	37.0	41.6	40.1	35.5	33.5	33.3	33.3		29.9	39.9	41.7	
Low	47.4	34.9	38.7	51.4	51.9	58.2	34.9		59.6	42.1	35.9	
N	(1517)	(584)	(506)	(459)	(239)	(165)	(584)		(465)	(1027)	(638)	
Measure of association	gamma -.22***				X^2 64.7***				gamma -.24***			

Source: Australian Everyday Cultures Survey 1995.
Notes: X^2 = Chi squared; p value (p < .05 = *, p < .01 = **, p < .001 = ***)

Sport

Table 6.5 presents the consequences of religion on watching civil and barbaric sport at live venues. Generally there exists some variation in the expected directions. Identifying as religious means favouring civil sports more than those without a religion. Table 6.5 presents some large denominational differences between CEP's and the other denominations and the nones partially supporting hypotheses four and five. Notably again there exists a denominational effect of declining high participation in watching barbaric sports at live venues across the denominations indicating the effect of theological conservativeness. Catholics again participate at a high level in the barbaric dimension at almost double the rate of Conservative Evangelical Protestants (27.1% - 14.5%). While attendees at religious services generally favoured civil sports more than the non-committed they did so in a pattern not hypothesised. The same pattern is evident for the avoidance of barbaric sports also.

Hypothesis 2: supported

Hypothesis 3: weakly supported

Hypotheses 4 and 5: partially supported

Hypotheses 6 and 7: partially supported

Table 6.4 *Civil and barbaric music leisure by religious identification, denomination, and church attendance*

	Religious		Denomination					Church attendance				
	Yes (%)	No (%)	Cath (%)	Ang (%)	PMU (%)	CEP (%)	None (%)	*HPD*	Reg (%)	Some (%)	Never (%)	*HPD*
Civil music leisure												
High	33.5	29.0	30.0	34.0	38.3	**38.9**	**29.0**	*9.9*	42.6	29.4	29.6	*13*
Moderate	29.7	32.0	32.5	29.2	27.8	26.3	32.0		27.7	30.6	31.7	
Low	36.7	39.0	37.5	36.8	33.9	34.7	39.0		29.7	39.9	38.7	
N	(1473)	(572)	(480)	(435)	(227)	(167)	(572)		(437)	(1002)	(635)	
Measure of association	gamma .06***				$X^2 = 12.1$**				gamma .10***			
Barbaric music leisure												
High	34.3	45.6	45.4	33.8	23.5	16.7	45.6	*28.9*	20.6	40.4	44.6	*24*
Moderate	29.9	28.4	28.4	29.3	32.7	37.9	28.4		32.9	28.9	27.7	
Low	35.8	26.0	26.2	36.9	43.8	45.4	26.0		46.5	30.7	27.7	
N	(1517)	(584)	(506)	(459)	(239)	(165)	(584)		(465)	(1027)	(638)	
Measure of association	gamma -.20***				X^2 95.2***				gamma -.23***			

Source: Australian Everyday Cultures Survey 1995.
Notes: X^2 = Chi squared; p value ($p < .05$ = *, $p < .01$ = **, $p < .001$ = ***)

Leisure

Table 6.6 displays the effects of religious identity, affiliation, and commitment on participation in civil and barbaric leisure. Looking at the two civil forms of leisure first, table 6.6 reports an expected higher participation in high civil leisure from all of the religious groups than the non-religious and non-attendees at religious services. Participation in high civil leisure for the denominations does not represent a linear relationship, however individuals who are affiliated with the most theologically conservative denomination do participate at the highest level. The more committed to religion one is the more one will participate in high civil leisure however.

Participation in low civil leisure is not structured by religion in any meaningful way however, indicating overall that the more civil or restrained leisure is, the more religion is a factor in its participation. Indeed the data in table 6.6 reveals patterns in the opposite direction than hypothesised for the religious and the more or less committed. The denominations carried little variation in participation in low civil leisure and in the opposite direction to that hypothesised.

Turning to the two forms of barbaric leisure in table 6.6, religion does have some minor impact on individual's participation in barbaric leisure activities. Considering high barbaric leisure the non-religious and non attendees participate to a high level more than the religious, the affiliated, and those who attend religious services, as predicted. Catholics demonstrate the highest level of participation in high barbaric leisure and CEP's again the lowest indicating again a linear pattern in denominational displays of symbolic barbarism. Another linear

pattern, in accord with the predictions, is the more religious services are attended the less high barbaric leisure is participated in. With the exception of CEP's a similar pattern attends participation in low barbaric leisure, albeit with reduced rates of variation.

Hypotheses 2 and 3: supported for "high" civil leisure; not supported for "low" civil leisure; supported for both "high" and "low" barbaric leisure.

Hypotheses 4 and 5: partially supported for "high" civil leisure; not supported for "low" civil leisure; supported for "high" barbaric leisure; partially supported for "low" barbaric leisure

Hypotheses 6 and 7: supported for "high" civil leisure; partially supported for "low" civil leisure; supported for "high" and "low" barbaric leisure

Table 6.5 *Civil and barbaric sport by religious identification, denomination, and church attendance*

	Religious		Denomination					Church attendance				
	Yes (%)	No (%)	Cath (%)	Ang (%)	PMU (%)	CEP (%)	None (%)	*HPD*	Reg (%)	Some (%)	Never (%)	*HPD*
Civil sport												
High	32.5	24.7	**35.4**	33.4	34.8	**21.9**	24.7	*13.5*	30.1	**33.8**	**25.2**	*8.6*
Moderate	29.0	30.0	26.4	29.3	32.9	34.4	30.0		26.8	30.2	28.9	
Low	38.5	45.3	38.1	37.3	32.3	43.7	45.3		43.1	36.0	46.0	
N	(1986)	(720)	(632)	(604)	(322)	(215)	(720)		(622)	(1315)	(818)	
Measure of association	gamma .14***				X^2 39.1**				gamma .06*			
Barbaric sport												
High	23.1	23.5	**27.1**	23.7	19.6	**14.5**	23.5	*12.6*	**17.7**	**26.0**	22.3	*8.3*
Moderate	27.3	26.3	26.5	28.4	24.6	25.2	26.3		24.5	28.4	26.1	
Low	49.6	50.2	46.4	47.9	55.8	60.3	50.2		57.7	45.6	51.6	
N	(1982)	(719)	(631)	(603)	(321)	(214)	(719)		(620)	(1313)	(816)	
Measure of association	gamma .00				X^2 23.0**				gamma -.05			

Source: Australian Everyday Cultures Survey 1995.
Notes: X^2 = Chi squared; p value ($p < .05$ = *, $p < .01$ = **, $p < .001$ = ***)

Table 6.6 *Civil and barbaric leisure by religious identification, denomination, and church attendance*

	Religious		Denomination						Church attendance			
	Yes (%)	No (%)	Cath (%)	Ang (%)	PMU (%)	CEP (%)	None (%)	*HPD*	Reg (%)	Some (%)	Never (%)	*HPD*
High civil leisure												
High	26.3	20.9	27.6	23.7	24.8	**30.4**	**20.9**	*9.5*	**30.1**	24.9	**21.0**	*9.1*
Moderate	36.1	41.6	36.8	32.8	36.0	44.2	41.6		38.5	34.9	41.1	
Low	37.6	37.5	35.5	43.5	39.2	25.4	37.5		31.4	40.2	37.9	
N	(1681)	(635)	(543)	(494)	(278)	(181)	(635)		(519)	(1124)	(701)	
Measure of association	gamma .05				$X^2 = 28.6$***				gamma .09**			
Low civil leisure												
High	32.3	35.6	34.0	34.6	31.9	**27.2**	**35.6**	*7.4*	**30.1**	33.2	**35.6**	*4.5*
Moderate	36.1	36.5	35.8	36.6	32.6	38.6	36.5		37.0	35.9	36.3	
Low	31.7	27.8	30.2	28.7	35.5	34.2	27.8		32.8	30.9	28.1	
N	(1683)	(643)	(539)	(494)	(279)	(184)	(643)		(521)	(1123)	(711)	
Measure of association	gamma .-07*				$X^2 = 9.8$				gamma .-06***			
High barbaric leisure												
High	17.0	21.6	19.7	18.0	15.7	**14.0**	**21.6**	*7.6*	11.9	19.4	20.9	*9*
Moderate	41.8	41.0	41.6	41.7	41.3	40.3	41.0		39.2	42.9	41.2	
Low	41.2	37.4	38.7	40.3	43.1	45.7	37.4		48.9	37.8	37.9	
N	(1709)	(653)	(548)	(506)	(281)	(186)	(653)		(523)	(1147)	(721)	
Measure of association	gamma -.09*				X^2 10.5				gamma -.12***			
Low barbaric leisure												
High	28.4	34.3	**34.7**	22.5	**21.8**	29.0	34.3	*12.9*	**27.6**	28.8	**33.9**	*6.3*
Moderate	26.5	23.1	26.1	27.4	24.3	33.9	23.1		27.2	26.5	23.1	
Low	45.1	42.6	39.2	50.1	53.9	37.2	42.6		45.1	44.7	43.0	
N	(1677)	(641)	(533)	(497)	(280)	(183)	(641)		(514)	(1124)	(709)	
Measure of association	gamma -.07*				X^2 46.0***				gamma -.04			

Source: Australian Everyday Cultures Survey 1995.
Notes: X^2 = Chi squared; p value (p < .05 = *, p < .01 = **, p < .001 = ***)

Photographic subjects

Table 6.7 presents the impact of religion on individuals' evaluation of photographic subjects. The table generally indicates respondents' preferences for terming civil photographic subjects "beautiful" and barbaric photographic subjects "unattractive" (Australian Everyday Cultures survey 1995). As expected the religious highly endorse civil photographic subjects as "beautiful" significantly more than do the non-religious (26.1% - 15.6%). There are statistically significant variations between the denominations and between different levels of attendance at religious services. All of the affiliated respondents endorse civil photographic subjects as beautiful more than the non-religious, substantially more in some cases: the CEP's more than doubling the non-religious (34.4% - 15.6%) and those who regularly attend religious services very nearly double those that never attend (31.6% - 16.3%).

The effect of religion on repulsion of barbaric photos is apparent but slightly less in statistical terms than its endorsement of civil subjects. Identity, affiliation, and commitment all have some impact on individuals' moral critique of barbaric photos as unattractive. Affiliation records the most impact however. Anglicans, PMU's, and CEP's all display substantially higher levels of high repulsion to unattractive photographic subjects indicating symbolic barbarism than Catholics and the non-religious.

Hypotheses 2 and 3: supported

Hypotheses 4 and 5: mostly supported and partially supported

Hypotheses 6 and 7: supported and partially supported

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Table 6.7 *Civil and barbaric photos by religious identification, denomination, and church attendance*

	Religious		Denomination						Church attendance			
	Yes (%)	No (%)	Cath (%)	Ang (%)	PMU (%)	CEP (%)	None (%)	*HPD*	Reg (%)	Some (%)	Never (%)	*HPD*
Civil photos – "beautiful"												
High	26.1	15.6	25.0	23.2	27.2	**34.4**	**15.6**	*18.8*	**31.6**	23.8	**16.3**	*15.3*
Moderate	46.3	41.2	46.5	46.4	50.9	43.5	41.2		45.4	46.6	42.2	
Low	27.6	43.2	28.4	30.4	21.9	22.0	43.2		23.0	29.6	41.5	
N	(1736)	(643)	(563)	(530)	(279)	(186)	(643)		(534)	(1161)	(711)	
Measure of association	gamma .29***				X^2 77.0***				gamma .23***			
Barbaric photos – "unattractive"												
High	58.7	47.8	54.1	64.5	**64.7**	59.2	**47.8**	*16.9*	56.7	**59.9**	**47.9**	*12*
Moderate	40.7	50.8	45.0	35.5	34.5	40.8	50.8		42.0	39.7	50.8	
Low	0.6	1.4	0.9	0.0	0.7	0.0	1.4		1.3	0.3	1.2	
N	(1717)	(653)	(545)	(532)	(275)	(191)	(653)		(526)	(1151)	(722)	
Measure of association	gamma .21***				X^2 49.7***				gamma .12***			

Source: Australian Everyday Cultures Survey 1995.
Notes: X^2 = Chi squared; p value ($p < .05$ = *, $p < .01$ = **, $p < .001$ = ***)

Music Preferences

Table 6.8 presents the impact of religion on music preferences. Considering the civil forms of music in table 6.8, religion makes a clear difference to the musical tastes of individuals. The more civil the music regime the more impact religion has across all three of the dimensions of religion considered here. Religion has the most impact upon favouritism for high civil music, which should not surprise considering it contains the "religious" music genre. There is a strong association between identifying as religious, affiliating with a more theological conservative denomination and attending church regularly and consumption of high civil music that is also statistically significant and in the predicted direction. High and moderate favouritism in high civil music is on every measure greater for religious groups than the non religious.

The type of religion makes a difference to the favouritism levels of civil music. Catholics favour it the lowest of all the denominations and CEP's the highest as predicted. CEP's are over six times more likely to highly favour high civil music than the non-religious (20.5% - 3.3%). The higher the level of commitment, the higher the favouritism for high civil music. When looking at high favouritism for high civil music, the rate for the religiously committed is over four times the rate between regular attendees and those who never attend (17.5% - 3.9%). Attendance at religious services is the only dimension of religion that makes a difference to the favouritism for medium civil music amongst religious and non-religious Australians with a more even spread of favouritism for medium civil music between religious groups and the non-religious. However religious identifiers and CEP's did lend support to the hypothesis. Also of interest in table

6.8 are the patterns for religious identity and commitment in "low civil music" that produce patterns directly opposite to those predicted. Religious affiliation also goes against the predicted patterning.

Turning now to the barbaric music scales, table 6.8 reports as expected, that religion is also influential in the preferences for barbaric music. With the exception of but two instances in favouritism for "medium barbaric music", the non-religious and those who do not attend religious services favour high, medium, and low forms of barbaric music more than the religious and those that regularly attend religious services. With the exception of medium barbaric music the results are statistically significant and record a strong association between religion and reduced favouritism for barbaric music.

Hypotheses 2 and 3: partially supported

Hypotheses 4 and 5: supported for "high civil music"; not supported for "medium" or "low" civil music; partially supported for all forms of barbaric music

Hypotheses 6 and 7: strongly supported for "high civil music"; supported for "medium civil music" not supported for "low civil music"; strongly supported for "low barbaric music" and "high barbaric music" partially supported for "medium barbaric music".

Book preferences

Table 6.9 displays the effects of religion on favourite book preferences for religious and non-religious, denominationally different, and religious service attending Australians. Table 6.9 reports that religion is of some consequence to book preferences. Religion across the three dimensions considered has the most effect on the more extreme versions of civility and barbarism for books. As predicted those individuals who identify as religious, the more theologically conservative, and who attend religious services regularly record high favouritism for high civil books more than the non religious, the less theologically conservative, and less regular attendees. Of note are the patterns of favouritism for "low civil books". The patterns are exactly opposite to the ones predicted by the hypotheses. One interpretation of these patterns is that "low civil books" may actually be tapping into a form of cultural barbarism. The measure is comprised of two genres: sport and leisure and humour/comedy which can contain particular moral subversion and vulgarity (Jenkins 1994) challenging particular sensitivities.

Turning to the different shades of barbarism pertinent to books, table 6.9 confirms the predictions. The general patterns for "low barbaric books" and "high barbaric books" indicate that the non-religious favour them at around double the rate than the religious (7.9% - 15.0% and 7.5% – 13.7%). The non-religious also favour "low" and "high" barbaric books three and over six times respectively more than the more theologically conservative denominations of PMU's (4.7% - 15%) and CEP's (2.4% - 13.7%). The familiar linear pattern of the higher the level of religious commitment the lower the participation in cultural barbarity is again reported in table 6.9 for "low" and "high" barbaric books. Religion, across all

measures, has made no significant difference to way in which Australians favour "medium barbaric books" however.

Hypotheses 2 and 3: supported for "high civil books, not supported for "low civil books"; supported (weakly for "medium civil books").

Hypotheses 4 and 5: partially supported for "high civil books", not supported for "low" civil books; partially supported for "low" and "high" barbaric books, not supported for "medium barbaric books".

Hypotheses 6 and 7: supported for "high civil books", not supported for "low civil books"; supported for "low" and "high" barbaric books, not supported for "medium barbaric books".

Table 6.8 *Civil and barbaric music by religious identification, denomination, and church attendance*

	Religious		Denomination						Church attendance			
	Yes (%)	No (%)	Cath (%)	Ang (%)	PMU (%)	CEP (%)	None (%)	*HPD*	Reg (%)	Some (%)	Never (%)	*HPD*
High civil music												
High	10.2	3.3	6.2	10.5	14.0	**20.5**	**3.3**	*17.2*	**17.5**	6.7	**3.9**	*13.6*
Moderate	30.1	21.5	24.7	31.0	32.0	39.5	21.5		37.3	26.8	22.0	
Low	59.8	75.1	69.1	58.4	54.0	40.0	75.1		45.2	66.5	74.1	
N	(1986)	(720)	(632)	(604)	(322)	(215)	(720)		(622)	(1315)	(818)	
Measure of association	gamma -.34				X^2 = 158.6***				gamma -.35***			
Medium civil music												
High	19.8	17.4	**17.2**	20.6	17.1	**22.3**	17.4	*5.1*	**24.9**	17.5	**17.4**	*7.5*
Low	80.2	82.6	82.8	79.3	82.9	77.7	82.6		75.1	82.5	82.6	
N	(1986)	(720)	(632)	(604)	(322)	(215)	(720)		(622)	(1315)	(818)	
Measure of association	gamma -.07				X^2 5.9				gamma -.12***			
Low civil music												
High	12.6	14.8	**9.6**	**15.5**	15.3	10.7	14.8	*5.9*	**10.9**	13.3	**14.8**	*3.9*
Low	87.4	85.1	90.3	84.4	84.8	89.3	85.1		89.1	86.7	85.2	
N	(1986)	(720)	(632)	(604)	(322)	(215)	(720)		(622)	(1315)	(818)	
Measure of association	gamma .-07*				X^2 = 17.2*				gamma .09*			
Low barbaric music												
High	13.5	23.6	14.1	**11.6**	11.8	14.9	**23.6**	*12*	**8.7**	15.6	**22.9**	*14.2*
Low	86.6	76.4	85.9	88.4	88.2	85.1	76.4		91.3	84.4	77.1	
N	(1986)	(720)	(632)	(604)	(322)	(215)	(720)		(622)	(1315)	(818)	
Measure of association	gamma .32***				X^2 49.9***				gamma .30***			
Medium barbaric music												
High	31.6	35.6	**41.3**	30.9	28.3	**21.4**	35.6	*19.9*	**22.0**	**36.6**	34.0	*14.6*
Low	68.4	64.4	58.7	69.0	71.7	78.6	64.4		78.0	63.4	66.0	
N	(1986)	(720)	(632)	(604)	(322)	(215)	(720)		(622)	(1315)	(818)	
Measure of association	gamma .08				X^2 41.5***				gamma .13***			
High barbaric music												
High	4.9	13.3	7.0	3.8	**2.5**	2.8	**13.3**	*10.8*	**1.6**	6.6	**12.3**	*10.7*
Moderate	25.2	36.0	32.6	24.5	19.6	19.5	36.0		16.7	29.4	34.0	
Low	69.8	50.7	60.4	71.7	78.0	77.7	50.7		81.7	64.1	53.7	
N	(1986)	(720)	(632)	(604)	(322)	(215)	(720)		(622)	(1315)	(818)	
Measure of association	gamma .37***				X^2 143.9***				gamma .35***			

Source: Australian Everyday Cultures Survey 1995. Notes: X^2 = Chi squared; p value (p < .05 = *, p < .01 = **, p < .001 = ***

Table 6.9 *Civil and barbaric books by religious identification, denomination, and church attendance*

	Religious		Denomination						Church attendance			
	Yes (%)	No (%)	Cath (%)	Ang (%)	PMU (%)	CEP (%)	None (%)	*HPD*	Reg (%)	Some (%)	Never (%)	*HPD*
High civil books												
High	31.5	25.1	29.7	32.3	30.1	**36.3**	**25.1**	*11.2*	**32.2**	31.6	**24.7**	*7.5*
Low	68.5	74.9	70.3	67.7	69.9	63.7	74.9		67.8	68.4	75.3	
Measure of association	gamma -.13**				X^2 = 19.5				gamma -.10***			
N	(1986)	(720)	(632)	(604)	(322)	(215)	(720)		(622)	(1315)	(818)	
Low civil books												
High	21.5	28.5	22.2	22.5	**20.2**	21.4	**28.5**	*8.3*	**17.6**	23.8	**26.8**	*9.2*
Low	78.5	71.5	77.8	77.5	79.8	78.6	71.5		82.5	76.2	73.2	
Measure of association	gamma .17***				X^2 21.9*				gamma .14***			
N	(1986)	(720)	(632)	(604)	(322)	(215)	(720)		(622)	(1315)	(818)	
Low barbaric books												
High	7.9	15.0	10.8	7.5	**4.7**	5.6	**15.0**	*10.3*	**5.6**	8.7	**14.2**	*8.6*
Low	92.1	85.0	89.2	92.5	95.3	94.4	85.0		94.4	91.3	85.8	
Measure of association	gamma .34***				X^2 39.8***				gamma .30***			
N	(1986)	(720)	(632)	(604)	(322)	(215)	(720)		(622)	(1315)	(818)	
Medium barbaric books												
High	12.8	13.3	13.3	13.4	**13.9**	**12.1**	13.5	*1.8*	**9.3**	**14.5**	13.1	*5.2*
Moderate	29.4	30.1	27.8	32.6	32.0	26.0	30.1		25.7	31.3	29.1	
Low	57.8	56.5	58.7	53.5	55.9	60.5	56.5		65.0	54.2	57.8	
Measure of association	gamma .02				X^2 6.5				gamma .07*			
N	(1986)	(720)	(632)	(604)	(322)	(215)	(720)		(622)	(1315)	(818)	
High barbaric books												
High	7.5	13.7	7.6	8.1	7.4	**2.4**	**13.7**	*11.3*	**3.3**	9.6	**12.5**	*9.2*
Low	92.5	86.3	92.4	91.9	92.5	97.7	86.3		96.7	90.3	87.4	
Measure of association	gamma .32***				X^2 37.1***				gamma .33***			
N	(1986)	(720)	(632)	(604)	(322)	(215)	(720)		(622)	(1315)	(818)	

Source: Australian Everyday Cultures Survey 1995. Notes: X^2 = Chi squared; p value (p < .05 = *, p < .01 = **, p < .001 = ***

Film Preferences

Table 6.10 displays the effect of three measures of religion on film preferences for Australians. Again religion is most at work at the extremes of cultural civility and cultural barbarism when the overall effect of religion on film taste is considered. Regarding more particular patterns the predictions are supported for "high civil film" as the religious out rank the non-religious, the more theologically conservative favour it more than the less theologically conservative, and the more committed more than the less committed at significant levels.

Religion also impacts on favouritism for high barbaric films. Those identifying as religious are favour these films more than half as much as those who do not claim to have a religion. Two other linear and statistical relationships are revealed in table 6.10. The more theologically conservative individuals are the more they avoid high barbaric films, also the more committed to religion, the less high barbaric film is favoured. The remaining aspects of table 6.10 provide only minor variations between sub-samples that do not reveal any significant or structured underlying patterns.

Table 6.10 *Civil and barbaric films by religious identification, denomination, and church attendance*

	Religious		Denomination						Church attendance			
	Yes (%)	No (%)	Cath (%)	Ang (%)	PMU (%)	CEP (%)	None (%)	*HPD*	Reg (%)	Some (%)	Never (%)	*HPD*
High civil films												
High/moderate	35.0	28.0	35.2	34.9	**39.4**	37.2	**28.0**	*11.4*	**38.9**	36.3	**28.4**	*10.5*
Low	65.0	72.0	64.8	65.1	60.6	62.8	72.0		61.1	63.7	71.6	
Measure of association	gamma ..35**				X^2 24.3*				gamma .10***			
N	(1986)	(720)	(632)	(604)	(322)	(215)	(720)		(622)	(1315)	(818)	
Low civil films												
High/moderate	6.5	11.5	7.6	**4.5**	7.5	6.5	**11.5**	*6.0*	6.6	**6.2**	**11.2**	*6.6*
Low	93.5	88.5	92.4	95.5	92.5	93.5	88.5		93.4	93.8	88.8	
Measure of association	gamma .30***				X^2 23.6***				gamma .21***			
N	(1986)	(720)	(632)	(604)	(322)	(215)	(720)		(622)	(1315)	(818)	
Low barbaric films												
High/moderate	13.2	11.1	12.7	**16.9**	12.1	**9.3**	11.1	*7.6*	**10.5**	**14.5**	10.9	*4.0*
Low	86.8	88.9	95.9	97.2	87.9	90.7	88.9		89.5	85.5	89.1	
Measure of association	gamma -.06				X^2 20.1				gamma .-00			
N	(1986)	(720)	(632)	(604)	(322)	(215)	(720)		(622)	(1315)	(818)	
Medium barbaric films												
High/moderate	2.7	7.0	2.7	**1.3**	1.9	3.3	**7.0**	*5.6*	4.1	**2.0**	**6.5**	*4.5*
Low	97.3	93.0	97.3	98.7	98.1	96.7	93.0		95.9	97.0	93.5	
Measure of association	gamma .46***				X^2 37.6***				gamma .23***			
N	(1986)	(720)	(632)	(604)	(322)	(215)	(720)		(622)	(1315)	(818)	
High barbaric films												
High/moderate	7.1	16.4	8.2	7.1	5.0	**3.3**	**16.4**	*12.9*	**2.8**	9.2	**15.0**	*12.2*
Low	92.9	83.6	91.8	92.9	94.0	96.7	83.6		97.2	90.8	84.0	
Measure of association	gamma .43***				X^2 63.6***				gamma .43***			
N	(1986)	(720)	(632)	(604)	(322)	(215)	(720)		(622)	(1315)	(818)	

Source: Australian Everyday Cultures Survey 1995. Notes: X^2 = Chi squared; p value ($p < .05$ = *, $p < .01$ = **, $p < .001$ = ***)

Hypotheses 2 and 3: supported for high civil film; not supported for low civil film; supported for high barbaric film; weakly supported for medium barbaric film; not supported for low barbaric film

Hypotheses 4 and 5: supported for high civil film; not supported for low civil film; supported for high barbaric film; partially supported for medium barbaric film; not supported for low barbaric film

Hypotheses 6 and 7: supported for high civil film; not supported for low civil film; supported for high barbaric film; partially supported for medium barbaric film; weekly partially supported for low civil film.

Summary

This chapter has investigated the effect of religion on cultural taste through analyses of individuals' favouritism and participation in civil and barbaric modes of mimetic culture. In general terms, it was shown that religion and religiosity does make a difference to the ways in which individual Australians consume culture. Those ways vary according to the type of religion and level of commitment, and the type of culture available. The differences that religion produced for individuals varied from the substantial and significant to the less noticeable.

The data in this chapter reported comparative levels of consumption of civil and barbaric cultures across individual association with three measures of religion and

the non religious. Those levels were shown to vary from minor to more significant between the religious and the non-religious, among the different types of religious themselves, and between the more and less committed. The hypotheses that this chapter set out to test across the eight cultural fields were mostly supported with some exceptions.

Overall, religion, in all of the dimensions considered, did make an impact on how Australians consume culture. While the patterns displayed by the religious did mostly support the hypotheses, religion's most significant impact was on the barbaric forms of mimetic culture wherein variation between the religious and the non-religious and the religious themselves was at its most extreme.

Identifying as religious produced the predicted findings. Denominational differences mostly confirmed the predictions and reported many linear relationships between the level of theological conservatism and more or less participation in civil and barbaric culture suggesting some support for the "tension" theory (Stark and Finke 2000). Indeed Conservative Evangelical Protestants often consumed the most civil and the least barbaric cultures. Catholics were much closer to the non-religious in their patterns of cultural taste. This suggests that the type of religion that one is denotes a particular relationship to secular cultural consumption indicative of a tension between religious context and the wider secular environment. The level of commitment to a religion, measured through church attendance, also produced a number of linear relationships with civil and barbaric cultures. Overall the more committed to religion, the more one consumed civil and the less barbaric cultures. Considering

the bigger social and cultural picture, this chapter has also offered some small insight into the way in which mainstream Australian Christianity is still relevant to the cultural contexts of late modernity. Australian Christians can be seen as offering some resistance to the more liberal notions of mimetic expression affording emotional release.

In terms of the Eliasian theoretical framework, religion's position as a cultural force for civility can explain the particular variations that religious individuals' recorded. Their greater aversion to barbaric cultures and stronger endorsement of civil cultures compared with the non-religious is what we would expect. This aversion of the culturally barbaric I interpret as a social psychological defence against "decontrolling" that the mimetic class of culture affords. Different forms of culture can be thought of as representing specific challenges to what Elias terms the "threshold of repugnance". A threshold of repugnance is a limit or boundary that particular actions break or are contained within, more or less amounting to the level of some kind of offence against a particular standard. Elias speaks of thresholds of repugnance in relation to bodily functions such as eating and drinking, sexual practices, and violence (Dunning 1999). Culture too can be thought of as representing different thresholds of repugnance that individuals evaluate through preferences. When an individual makes a preference for mimetic culture they can be seen to act through the evaluative framework that one of the many institutional influences on their life provides. Religion is one of these.

In the next chapter I extend the analysis of religion and culture to include an examination of series of competing institutional influences through analysis of a

variety of social background experiences. This examination continues the layered approach to the exploratory investigations of this study by building on Chapter Five wherein it was suggested that social background experiences worked through religious institutions to structure taste cultures. The extended analyses aim to test how religion compares with a range of social experiences as competing moral institutions that consume cultural civility and cultural barbarism.

Endnotes

[1] Bivariate analysis is analysis that consists of two variables: an independent and dependent. The aim is to find variation in the independent variable that leads to variation in the dependent variable or covariance in discerning a relationship between concepts. They are often presented in tabular form, as they are in this chapter.

[2] The HDP is calculated for comparisons that include more than two sub-groups and indicate the emphasis on percentage differences for "high" participation.

[3] An "alpha" score is a statistic generated by SPSS to assess how reliable a composite measure is. The reliability is premised on how strongly various individual measures correlate to create a composite measure through co-efficients. The alpha scores range from 0 to 1, 0 indicating the weak end of the scale.

Chapter 7

Religion, culture, and social background: an exploratory analysis

Introduction

In this chapter the study turns to consider, in an exploratory manner, the role played by a series of social background experiences in the distribution of mimetic cultural tastes in Australia. Until this point the study has focused solely on the effects of a limited range of measures of religion on how culture is distributed among the sample. The previous empirical investigations in this study suggest that religion does impact on how Australians consume culture. To this point the data suggest that there exists a clear and significant linear pattern between the type of religion one affiliates with and the level of commitment to religion, and the extent and type of culture one consumes within a particular institutional framework.

Notwithstanding the hitherto findings recorded for religion and cultural consumption, some important questions need to be addressed. Do these findings hold when the analysis is broadened to include a range of social background factors, or do they mask the influence of other intervening factors? How does religion combine with social experience to formulate taste? What does social background experience contribute to the Eliasian model of controlled decontrolling in mimetic leisure? How does religious moral evaluation of mimetic culture compare to that of other social forces represented by social background experiences? It is important to broaden the analysis and further interrogate the data at this point to examine the effects of social background experiences on a moral conception of culture to produce a more holistic sociological picture of taste cultures that includes other facets of identity and its variegated force in the formation of cultural taste. This extended analysis will provide a more credible empirical and robust basis from which to assess the role of religion in cultural consumption in Australia.

Social background experiences and the sociology of the emotions in culture

Elias and Dunning point out that the emotional outlet or "decontrolling" afforded by mimetic culture is variously limited and structured by self-restraint and social institutions such as religion. (1986: 92). Religion isn't the only form of social institution that restrains the emotional experience of "decontrolling" associated with mimetic culture however. Social backgrounds composed of familiar and influential facets of identity and experience such as age, gender, and social class are all considered to have their own forms and limits of emotional restraint impacting on

consumption of mimetic culture (Elias and Dunning 1986). Their inclusion in the analysis is justified to examine the ways in which factors other than religion approach the moral dimension of culture and assess how religion compares and combines with social experience to delineate cultural taste.

The reader will recall that in Chapter Five the study considered whether the non-religious envisioned mimetic cultures with the same or similar moral evaluative attitudes as the religious: civil and barbaric. Chapter Five found that there was not a lot of difference between the religious and the non-religious in the way in which culture was conceived. We have evidence therefore that there exist various locations of identity, other than religion, that present particular standards or thresholds of taste that structure the level and nature of "decontrolling" that mimetic cultures afford expressed symbolically through cultural taste preferences. This chapter therefore considers the role of other aspects of identity in the choice of civil and barbaric cultures and how, if at all, factors other than religion, symbolise restraint or control through positive and negative association with civil and barbaric culture. While the analysis may shed some light on the questions posed earlier in the chapter, the analyses formally addresses an exploratory research question:

Q1 *When controlling for a series of social background experiences, is religion the best predictor of individuals' favouring civil cultures more and barbaric cultures less?*

Theoretical concerns

The distribution of cultural tastes in Australia does not conform to clear regimes of social or economic patterns that evidence a general theory of the role of culture in the maintenance of power and position by a dominant class (Bennett *et al* 1999). Instead socio demographic background and economic location produce a variety of differentiated patterns of cultural taste that elude reductionist interpretation to overarching social and economic models. This notwithstanding, social background variables are still important to the ways in which Australians disparately consume culture such as education in "restricted and inclusive" regimes, predominately "male" and "female" genres, and the general effects of age (Bennett *et al* 1999). Education is a key factor in a particular negotiation of cultural taste that Emmison terms "cultural mobility" (2003). While the contribution of social background factors to Australian cultural taste is important it defies a general class model of explanation. The analysis of social background factors may however provide a window into the moral approach to culture from the disparate sections of social experience. For example do men and women, the younger and the older, the occupationally diverse, the politically different, and the ethnically diverse differ in the way in which they structure taste to symbolically indicate civility and barbarism?

The proceeding analysis is inclusive of eight measures of social background experience: age, gender, ethnicity, occupational class, political identification, geographic location, income, and education. In the exploratory nature of this chapter I have selected a series of the more influential and common indicators of social background experience on Australian social life (Graetz and McAllister 1994) as a sensitising guide toward investigating religion, social factors, and cultural taste. It is expected that the religious variables will indicate various strengths of aversion to barbaric culture through negative correlations, and participation in civil culture through positive association, thereby expressing various levels of symbolic civility and barbarism. The religious variables included for analysis are denomination and church attendance. Religious identity has been omitted from the analyses of this chapter. Denomination is scored from 1 to 4 indicating the level of tension (De Vaus 2001; Stark and Fink 2000) with mainstream society. This variable range of tension was a key finding in chapter six of the present study. The analysis is produced with the combined use of sequential regression[1] and bivariate analysis.

Results

Music radio programmes

Table 7.1 looks at religious and social factors influencing consumption of and aversion to civil and barbaric radio programmes. In column 1 consumption of civil

radio programmes is moderately to weakly positively associated with the type of religion and the level of commitment to religion. When controlling for a series of social background variables the religious variables maintain a positive but weaker association with civil radio programmes that are more strongly associated with being female, over 45 years of age, and earning a higher income. Table 7.1 also reports a moderate to strong negative effect in the choice of barbaric radio programmes for the religious variables. While this direction is maintained after controlling for background factors, the association is clearly weaker. The overwhelming social influence in the aversion of barbaric radio however is age.

Table 7.1 *Multivariate analysis of religion and civil and barbaric radio programmes, controlling for a series of social background factors*

	Civil Radio		**Barbaric Radio**	
	Model A (beta)	Model B (beta)	Model A (beta)	Model B (beta)
Constant				
Denomination	.08**	.05	-.12***	-.06*
Church attendance	.06*	.05	-.11***	-.06*
Female	-	.10***	-	-.01
Age: 45+	-	.09***	-	-.50***
Ethnicity: Australian	-	-.04	-	.08***
Class: white collar	-	.03	-	-.03
Political ID: left	-	-.03	-	.07**
Urban	-	-.06*	-	.02
Income	-	.07*	-	-.00
Education: tertiary	-	-.01	-	-.05*
R^2	.01	.04	.04	.31

Source: AEC 1995
*p< .05 **p< .01 ***p< .001

Music Leisure

Table 7.2 reports the impact of religion and social background experiences on the consumption of civil music leisure and barbaric music leisure. While the type of religion one affiliates with has no effect on the participation in civil music leisure the genre is strongly and positively influenced by the level of religious commitment as indicated in the first column. Even after controlling for the social background variables, commitment is a strong predictor of participation in civil music leisure. Of interest however is the accompanying social attributes that also suggest strong influence on the dependent variable. Being female, older, working in a white collared profession, and having a tertiary education strongly combines with religious commitment in the consumption of civil music leisure. Both the religious variables have a negative relationship to barbaric music leisure with denomination a better predictor than church attendance, but again aversion to barbaric culture is clearly characterised by being older more than anything else.

Table 7.2 *Multivariate analysis of religion and civil and barbaric music leisure, controlling for a series of background variables*

	Civil Music Leisure		Barbaric Music Leisure	
	Model A (beta)	Model B (beta)	Model A (beta)	Model B (beta)
Constant				
Denomination	.00	-.02	-.16***	-.10***
Church attendance	.19***	.15***	-.10**	-.06*
Female	-	.18***	-	-.05*
Age: 45+	-	.17***	-	-.44***
Ethnicity: Australian	-	-.00	-	.10***
Class: white collar	-	.10***	-	-.00
Political ID: left	-	-.07**	-	.02
Urban	-	.05*	-	.01
Income	-	.07*	-	.04
Education: tertiary	-	.19***	-	-.01
R^2	.04	.17	.05	.27

Source: AEC 1995
*p< .05 **p< .01 ***p< .001

Sport

Table 7.3 shows the effects of religion and social experience on watching civil and barbaric sport. Watching civil and barbaric sport is weakly associated with the type of religion affiliated with and the level of commitment to a religion in the anticipated directions. Being female, older, and having a tertiary education have a negative association with watching barbaric sports.

Table 7.3 *Multivariate analysis of religion and civil and barbaric sport watched, controlling for a series of social background variables*

	Civil Sport		Barbaric Sport	
	Model A (beta)	Model B (beta)	Model A (beta)	Model B (beta)
Constant				
Denomination	.00	.01	-.02	.01
Church attendance	.01	.05	-.06*	-.03
Female	-	-.07**	-	-.21***
Age: 45+	-	-.01	-	-.10***
Ethnicity: Australian	-	.01	-	-.00
Class: white collar	-	.02	-	-.04
Political ID: left	-	.00	-	.04
Urban	-	.01*	-	.03
Income	-	.03*	-	.05
Education: tertiary	-	.07**	-	-.09***
R^2	.00	.01	.00	.08

Source: AEC 1995
*p< .05 **p< .01 ***p< .001

Leisure

Table 7.4 presents the results for civil and barbaric leisure practices. The table conveys two dimensions of civility and barbarism with regard to leisure practices and denotes a regime of more or less civil and barbaric indicated by the ranked titles of "high" and "low".

Looking at the two dimensions of civil leisure first, religion is positively but weakly to moderately associated with high civil leisure as a separate model and after controlling for the social background variables; participation in high civil leisure is

best predicted by being female however. Religious commitment, being female, white collar professions, and tertiary education combine again to structure tastes for high civil leisure. The religious variables have a weak negative effect on the participation in low civil leisure and a very weak positive association after social background variables are controlled for. Low civil leisure is a combination of beach culture and water sports which is associated with younger Australian born men, with tertiary educations and a higher income level. This indicates a more gendered and nationalist orientation of engagement.

Turning to the two dimensions of barbaric leisure, table 7.4 reports that the type of religion has a moderate aversionary effect on low barbaric leisure that is weakened when the social background variables are introduced. Being older is the strongest predictor of non participation in low barbaric leisure that includes particular strenuous physical exercise. Church attendance has a strong to moderate negative association with high barbaric leisure that is weakened somewhat when controlling for social factors. While being female strongly effects aversion to high barbaric leisure, church attendance, age, living in an urban area, and tertiary education produced negative effects also.

Table 7.4 *Multivariate analysis of religion and high to low civil and barbaric leisure, controlling for a series of social background experiences*

	High Civil Leisure		**Low Civil Leisure**		**Low Barbaric Leisure**		**High Barbaric Leisure**	
	Model A (beta)	Model B (beta)	Model A (beta)	Model B (beta)	Model A (beta)	Model B (beta)	Model A (beta)	Model B (beta)
Constant								
Denomination	.02	.03	-.04	.01	-.08**	-.02	.00	.03
Church attendance	.08**	.07**	-.01	.02	.02	.04	-.11***	-.07*
Female	-	.15***	-	-.13***	-	-.03	-	-.30***
Age: 45+	-	-.11***	-	-.19***	-	-.37***	-	-.10***
Ethnicity: Australian	-	.01	-	.12***	-	-.00	-	.06*
Class: white collar	-	.06*	-	.06*	-	.01	-	-.03
Political ID: left	-	.03	-	.02	-	-.03	-	.01
Urban	-	-.01	-	.02	-	.08***	-	-.10***
Income	-	.05	-	.11***	-	.06*	-	.00
Education: tertiary	-	.09***	-	.10***	-	.07**	-	-.09***
R^2	.01	.06	.00	.12	.00	.16	.01	.14

Source: AEC 1995
*p< .05 **p< .01 ***p< .001

Photographic subjects

Table 7.5 displays the effects of religion and social background experiences on civil and barbaric photos. Denomination has effects in the anticipated directions for both civil and barbaric photos. Its effects are somewhat weakened after controlling for the social background experiences while maintaining the initial directional relationship however. Church attendance is positively associated with civil photos, but also very weakly with barbaric photos. The effect of religion and social experience on civil photos is combinatory but civil photo appreciation is best predicted by gender. Denomination combines with being older and female to construct a social and religious aversion to the appreciation of barbaric photos but gender again best predicts photographic appreciation.

Table 7.5 *Multivariate analysis of religion and civil and barbaric photos, controlling for social background factors*

	Civil Photos		**Barbaric Photos**	
	Model A (beta)	Model B (beta)	Model A (beta)	Model B (beta)
Constant				
Denomination	.13***	.08**	-.13***	-.06*
Church attendance	.10***	.07*	.01	.03
Female	-	.23***	-	-.21***
Age: 45+	-	.08***	-	-.17***
Ethnicity: Australian	-	-.04	-	-.01
Class: white collar	-	-.03	-	.01
Political ID: left	-	-.03	-	.02
Urban	-	.01	-	.03
Income	-	-.10***	-	.03
Education: tertiary	-	-.05*	-	.10***
R^2	.04	.13	.01	.11

Source: AEC 1995
*p< .05 **p< .01 ***p< .001

Aversion to barbaric photos is strongly predicted by gender and age, which also combines with a weakened denominational effect. Being tertiary educated is positively associated with barbaric photos.

Music Preferences

Table 7.6 reports the effects of religion and social background experience on civil music tastes. Civil music is measured across three sub dimensions ranking music from civilly high to low. Overall, as the level of civility in music declines so does the effect of both measures of religion, even after controlling for social background experiences. The strongest effects displayed by the religious variables were for high civil music. While this is reminiscent of other findings throughout the study, it to be expected considering that religious music is a component of the scale. The consumption of high civil music is positively associated with regularly attending church, being female, older, and to a lesser extent being theologically more conservative as indicated by denomination.

The social associations with medium civil music provide evidence that this measure is indicating a more classical measure of "elite" or "high brow" taste given the association with white collar occupations and the tertiary educated. Religious commitment is also moderately associated with this measure suggesting that despite its indication of structural effect the measure could be underscored by a cultural meaning of civility.

Table 7.6 *Multivariate analysis of religion and civil music scales, controlling for a series of social background experiences*

	High Civil Music		Medium Civil Music		Low Civil Music	
	Model A (beta)	Model B (beta)	Model A (beta)	Model B (beta)	Model A (beta)	Model B (beta)
Constant						
Denomination	.14***	.07**	.01	.02	.03	.01
Church attendance	.21***	.16***	.08**	.05*	-.03	-.05
Female	-	.14***	-	.01	-	-.04
Age: 45+	-	.30***	-	.12***	-	.22***
Ethnicity: Australian	-	.00	-	-.08**	-	.02
Class: white collar	-	.04	-	.09***	-	.01
Political ID: left	-	-.08***	-	-.00	-	-.03
Urban	-	.02	-	.03	-	.05*
Income	-	-.03	-	-.00	-	-.01
Education: tertiary	-	.03	-	.16***	-	.04
R^2	.09	.21	.01	.07	.00	.05

Source: AEC 1995
*p< .05 **p< .01 ***p< .001

Table 7.7 shows the effects of religion and social background experiences on three sub dimensions of barbaric music from high to low. Overall the effect of religion is one that the strength of aversion to this form of culture decreases as the level of barbarity decreases. The effects of the religious variables are strongest on high barbaric music for which the type of religion and the level of commitment both have significant consequences. Barbaric music in all of its hues is the decided preserve of younger people.

Table 7.7 *Multivariate analysis of religion and high to low barbaric music, controlling for a series of background experiences*

	High Barbaric Music		Medium Barbaric Music		Low Barbaric Music	
	Model A (beta)	Model B (beta)	Model A (beta)	Model B (beta)	Model A (beta)	Model B (beta)
Constant						
Denomination	-.15***	-.08**	-.05*	-.02	-.06*	-.02
Church attendance	-.15***	-.11***	-.10***	-.09***	-.07**	-.04
Female	-	-.12***	-	-.01	-	.07**
Age: 45+	-	-.44***	-	-.16***	-	-.35***
Ethnicity: Australian	-	.06**	-	.05*	-	.00
Class: white collar	-	-.01	-	-.01	-	-.04
Political ID: left	-	.06**	-	.05*	-	.01
Urban	-	.01	-	.00	-	.06**
Income	-	.00	-	-.00	-	.09***
Education: tertiary	-	.00	-	.08**	-	-.12***
R^2	.07	.28	.02	.06	.01	.16

Source: AEC 1995
*p< .05 **p< .01 ***p< .001

Table 7.8 *Multivariate analysis of religion and civil books, controlling for a series of social background experiences*

	High Civil Books		Low Civil Books	
	Model A (beta)	Model B (beta)	Model A (beta)	Model B (beta)
Constant				
Denomination	.02	-.00	-.03	.01
Church attendance	.00	-.00	-.05	-.01
Female	-	.16***	-	-.25***
Age: 45+	-	.02	-	-.06*
Ethnicity: Australian	-	.03	-	.05
Class: white collar	-	-.04	-	-.01
Political ID: left	-	.01	-	.00
Urban	-	-.07**	-	-.00
Income	-	-.01	-	.06*
Education: tertiary	-	-.03	-	-.03
R^2	.00	.03	.00	.08

Source: AEC 1995
*p< .05 **p< .01 ***p< .001

Book preferences

Table 7.8 reports the effects of religion and a series of social experiences on tastes for high and low civil books. Religion of its own accord and after controlling for social factors has little effect on the preference for high or low civil books. Preference for high civil books are associated with being female, which also is the best predictor of aversion to low civil books.

Table 7.9 *Multivariate analysis of religion and barbaric books, controlling for a series of social background experiences*

	High Barbaric Books		**Low Barbaric Books**	
	Model A (beta)	Model B (beta)	Model A (beta)	Model B (beta)
Constant				
Denomination	-.04	-.01	.05*	.05
Church attendance	-.11***	-.10***	-.05*	-.06*
Female	-	-.05*	-	.03
Age: 45+	-	-.16***	-	-.02
Ethnicity: Australian	-	-.03	-	-.00
Class: white collar	-	-.02	-	.06*
Political ID: left	-	.02	-	-.03
Urban	-	.03	-	.02
Income	-	-.04	-	.03
Education: tertiary	-	.00	-	-.00
R^2	.02	.04	.00	.01

Source: AEC 1995
*p< .05 **p< .01 ***p< .001

Table 7.9 presents the effects of religion and social background factors on taste preferences for high and low barbaric books. Of the religious factors church

attendance maintains an important influence on aversion to high barbaric books, even after controlling for social background factors. Age is also associated with aversion of high barbaric books. Again, the religious factors decrease and increase with the level of barbarity.

Table 7.10 *Multivariate analysis of religion and high and low civil films, controlling for a series of social background experiences*

	High Civil Films		**Low Civil Films**	
	Model A (beta)	Model B (beta)	Model A (beta)	Model B (beta)
Constant				
Denomination	.04	.01	-.06*	-.04
Church attendance	.08**	.05	-.03	-.04
Female	-	.31***	-	-.02
Age: 45+	-	-.00	-	.01
Ethnicity: Australian	-	.01	-	.02
Class: white collar	-	.02	-	.05*
Political ID: left	-	-.02	-	.01
Urban	-	.06	-	.04
Income	-	.02	-	-.01
Education: tertiary	-	.03	-	.12***
R^2	.01	.11	.00	.02

Source: AEC 1995
*p< .05 **p< .01 ***p< .001

Film preferences

Table 7.10 presents the effects of religion and social background experiences on tastes in civil film. Civil film is composed of two dimensions: high civil film and low civil film. After controlling for the social background experiences the religious variables produce weak to moderate effects in the hypothesised direction for high civil film and in the opposite direction on low civil film. The effect of religion for

taste on high civil film is attenuated by gender: being female predicts favouritism for high civil film more powerfully than any other factor. Having a tertiary education is associated with low civil films.

Table 7.11 *Multivariate analysis of religion and barbaric film, controlling for a series of social background experiences*

	High Barbaric Film		**Medium Barbaric Film**		**Low Barbaric Film**	
	Model A (beta)	Model B (beta)	Model A (beta)	Model B (beta)	Model A (beta)	Model B (beta)
Constant						
Denomination	-.04	.00	-.08**	-.04	.04	.06*
Church attendance	-.14***	-.13***	-.03**	-.04	-.04	-.01
Female	-	-.06*	-	.04	-	-.32***
Age: 45+	-	-.15***	-	-.01	-	.05*
Ethnicity: Australian	-	-.03	-	-.02	-	-.01
Class: white collar	-	-.03	-	.04	-	-.03
Political ID: left	-	.04	-	.07**	-	.00
Urban	-	.04	-	.04	-	-.06**
Income	-	.02	-	.00	-	-.02
Education: tertiary	-	.03	-	.21***	-	-.08**
R^2	.03	.06	.01	.07	.00	.12

Source: AEC 1995
*p< .05 **p< .01 ***p< .001

Table 7.11 shows the effects of religion and a series of social background experiences on taste for barbaric film. The effect of religion on barbaric film taste is one that weakens with the decrease of the level of barbarity. Regular church attendees are the least likely to consume high barbaric film, especially if they are over 45 years of age. There are milder effects on medium and low barbaric films for both denomination and church attendance. Medium barbaric film is strongly associated with tertiary education and to a lesser extent on a left wing political

identity combined with a lesser aversion by the religious, suggesting these films may not carry the same moral meanings as other forms of barbaric culture and that they are more of an intellectual project. Aversion to low barbaric film is strongly structured by gender.

Summary

From the multivariate analyses that have been undertaken in this chapter so far religion has maintained its effects after controlling for a series of social background factors. Consolidating a familiar pattern encountered in this study, religion seems to be most active in its effect, which typically is averse, on the more extreme forms of barbarism in mimetic culture to the extent that the level of barbarity is commensurate with the level of religious aversion.

Social background experiences

Little impact can be attributed to many of the social background experiences overall to suggest that a clear pattern evidencing a particular social model of taste formation was working through the dependent variables. In a number of the multivariate analyses however, the effects of religion were attenuated or accompanied by the dominance of age and gender as predicting factors structuring civil and barbaric tastes. These findings might be interpreted as evidence for a particular symbolic demonstration of emotional restraint of females and older Australians, perhaps in accord with the particular gender roles (Chodorow 1978)

and modes of "femaleness" (Gilligan 1982) and age associated with certain figurations (Elias and Dunning 1986) of interdependence and power between family, work, and other institutions through which women and older Australians exist.

The intersection of age and gender confirms a well established pattern in the sociology of religion among whose general findings in Western societies are that women and older persons are more religious across any measure of religion than men and the young (Bouma 1992). If, as is proposed, the religious will structure secular tastes by consuming more civil culture and averting barbaric culture, then women more than men, and older more than younger, would be highly likely to follow that pattern. Yet there exist some extremes of effect in the measures examined here, that although accompanied by strong religious effects, explain significant levels of variance themselves. Further the dominance of gender and age in the structure of mimetic culture requires further analysis of sub-samples that may provide the more precise social location of religious influence. For example what of the many mimetic cultural fields examined so far that are strongly associated with younger Australians?

At this point I continue the exploratory journey between civil and barbaric cultures, religion and social difference, to examine the sub samples of male and female, older and younger Australians whose impact upon particular aspects of civil and barbaric culture was significantly dominant, to see if religion is at work amongst these

groups in structuring cultural tastes. The analyses clearly distinguished particular sections of civil and barbaric culture that could be deemed to be significantly defined as "gendered" and or a product of being older or younger significantly more than anything else. I now investigate these "youth", "female", "male", and "older" civil and barbaric genres to see if religion is a factor among the specified taste genres of female, male, younger, and older Australians. I investigate these issues with a series of bivariate analyses.

Results

Youth genres

Tables 7.12 to 7.16 report the findings for the effects of denomination and level of church attendance on favouritism for a selection of mimetic culture for Australians between the ages of 18 and 35. All of the tables record data for measures of cultural barbarism leading to an expectation, based on previous findings in this study, that religion and religiosity will have some impact among the cultural tastes of younger Australians. I have omitted religious identity as a factor for analysis from this section also due to its minimal previous effects. That youth strongly favour the more barbaric elements of mimetic culture suggests a higher decontrolling of emotional restraint, perhaps related to the particular figurationally structured interdependent position such as the absence of particular milestones and responsibilities associated with the life course and structural position such as child rearing, employment, and financial obligations[2].

In table 7.12 there exists little meaningful variation between most of the denominations and the non religious. Younger Conservative Evangelical Protestants however are likely to tune into barbaric radio programmes at only half the rate of the non-religious, Catholics, and PMU's. Younger regular church attendees are also significantly less likely to consume barbaric radio programmes than those who attend church sometimes or never.

Table 7.12 *Barbaric music radio programmes by denomination and church attendance for 18 – 35*

	Denomination				
	Catholic	**Anglican**	**PMU**	**CEP**	**No religion**
High	**42.7**	34.1	40.7	**18.1**	41.0
Medium	27.9	25.8	35.6	27.3	33.3
Low	29.4	40.1	23.7	54.6	25.7
N	221	143	62	60	300
Chi squared χ^2					39.3

	Church attendance		
	Regular	**Sometimes**	**Never**
High	**26.3**	**40.2**	39.4
Medium	29.3	30.1	33.1
Low	44.4	29.7	27.4
N	148	397	317
Gamma γ			-.15

source: AECS 1995

Table 7.13 reports favouritism for high barbaric music which is strongly associated with younger Australians. Religious denomination and commitment make quite a pronounced difference to the engagement in high barbaric music for younger Australians. There are significant differences between the most theologically conservative and non-religious, more and not committed to religion among younger Australians. Only two in five CEP's display favouritism for high barbaric music compared with three in four non-religious Australians. Notably there is a statistically significant linear pattern between the level of theological conservativeness and aversion to high barbaric music, as there is between the level of religious commitment and aversion to high barbaric music. In other words the more theologically conservative and committed to religion, the less one favours high barbaric music.

A similar pattern of aversion is revealed between the type of religion younger Australians affiliate with and low barbaric music in table 7.14. The exception is that the non-religious favour it less than most of the Christian groups to which younger Australians belong. Regular attendance at religious services does make an impact on low barbaric music but not to the same extent and direction as it did for favouritism for high barbaric music.

Table 7.13 *High barbaric music by denomination and church attendance for 18 – 35*

	Denomination				
	Catholic	**Anglican**	**PMU**	**CEP**	**No religion**
High/med	70.1	67.1	51.6	**40.0**	**74.0**
Low	29.1	32.9	48.4	60.0	26.0
N	221	143	62	60	300
Chi squared χ^2					50.4

	Church attendance		
	Regular	**Sometimes**	**Never**
High/med	**47.3**	67.5	**72.6**
Low	52.7	32.5	27.4
N	148	397	317
Gamma γ			-.27

source: AECS 1995

Table 7.14 *Low barbaric music by denomination and church attendance for 18 –35*

	Denomination				
	Catholic	**Anglican**	**PMU**	**CEP**	**No religion**
High/med	**64.7**	62.2	58.1	**40.0**	52.0
Low	35.3	37.8	41.9	60.0	48.0
N	221	143	62	60	300
Chi squared χ^2					44.0

	Church attendance		
	Regular	**Sometimes**	**Never**
High/med	**40.5**	**64.0**	52.1
Low	59.5	36.0	47.9
N	148	397	317
Gamma γ			.21

source AECS 1995

The data in table 7.15 informs that younger religious Australians continue their aversion to barbaric music with lower participation rates in barbaric music leisure. Not only do younger Australians avert their favouritism from the types of music played in these venues but the venues themselves that provide a particular type of mimetic experience. Younger non-religious Australians are around twice as likely to attend pubs with live bands and night clubs than younger Conservative Evangelical Protestants (50% - 23.3%), younger regular church attendees (49.5% - 25%), and considerably more than younger Australians associated with the other Protestant forms of Australian religion.

The effect of affiliation and commitment on barbaric music leisure for younger Australians is again statistically significant and linear, signifying strong co-variance between level of theological conservatism and aversion to barbaric music leisure and level of commitment to religion and aversion to barbaric music leisure.

Table 7.15 *Barbaric music leisure by denomination and church attendance for 18 – 35*

	Denomination				
	Catholic	**Anglican**	**PMU**	**CEP**	**No religion**
High/med	43.4	36.4	33.9	**23.3**	**50.0**
Low	56.6	63.6	66.1	76.7	50.0
N	221	143	62	60	300
Chi squared χ^2					82.7

	Church attendance		
	Regular	**Sometimes**	**Never**
High/med	**25.0**	43.1	**49.5**
Low	75.0	56.9	50.5
N	148	397	317
Gamma γ			-.20

source: AECS 1995

Table 7.16 displays the results for participation in low barbaric leisure. Religion and religiosity does make some difference to the way in which younger Australians consume low barbaric leisure practices. Though the engagement with this type of leisure is not high for young Australians as a whole, the non-religious are more inclined to participate than the religious, although younger Anglicans participate higher than other religious groups. The more younger Australians attend church the less likely they are to participate highly also.

Table 7.16 *Low barbaric leisure denomination and church attendance for 18 – 35*

	Denomination				
	Catholic	**Anglican**	**PMU**	**CEP**	**No religion**
High	**13.9**	22.3	14.8	15.5	**25.6**
Medium	28.4	33.4	42.6	39.7	24.9
Low	57.7	44.6	42.6	44.8	49.5
N	208	143	61	58	289
Chi squared χ^2					10.0

	Church attendance		
	Regular	**Sometimes**	**Never**
High	**15.7**	17.0	**24.8**
Medium	33.6	31.6	25.2
Low	50.7	51.4	50.0
N	140	383	306
Gamma γ			.06

source: AECS 1995

Male genres

While there are no significant differences in the spectatorship levels of barbaric sports between male Australian Christians and the non-religious, or male Australian church attendees and those who never attend church, table 7.17 indicates that there is a linear relationship between the level of theological conservatism and the aversion to barbaric sports. The most significant differences apply to male Catholic and CEP Australians[3]. This again may indicate some level of mitigation from school experience in which the Catholic education system in Australia has facilitated the participation in barbaric sports (Horton 2000).

Table 7.17 *Barbaric sport by denomination and church attendance for males*

	Denomination				
	Catholic	**Anglican**	**PMU**	**CEP**	**No religion**
High/med	43.2	**44.1**	36.0	**23.9**	36.0
Low	56.8	55.9	64.0	76.1	64.0
N	313	322	195	138	305
Chi squared χ^2					34.3

	Church attendance		
	Regular	**Sometimes**	**Never**
High/med	**35.3**	**43.3**	**36.1**
Low	64.7	56.7	63.9
N	382	673	349
Gamma γ			.04

source: AECS 1995

Table 7.18 *High barbaric leisure by denomination and church attendance for males*

	Denomination				
	Catholic	**Anglican**	**PMU**	**CEP**	**No religion**
High	29.5	27.5	33.7	27.6	26.8
Med	21.6	21.9	16.4	19.8	25.0
Low	48.9	50.6	49.7	52.6	48.2
N	268	269	171	116	280
Chi squared χ^2					11.3

	Church attendance		
	Regular	**Sometimes**	**Never**
High	**24.2**	**31.5**	26.8
Med	20.7	20.5	24.3
Low	55.1	48.0	48.9
N	314	590	313
Gamma γ			.02

source: AECS 1995

Table 7.18 displays the participation rates for high barbaric leisure among Australian males. There is little meaningful difference between Australian men of any Christian denomination and the non-affiliated, and between men who attend church and those who do not. It would be expected that the religious would avoid high barbaric forms of leisure such as hunting and fishing but they are, according to the data, mostly keen participants in it. This may indicate preference for one form of high barbaric leisure over another, such as fishing[4] more than hunting.

Table 7.19 *Low barbaric film by denomination and church attendance for males*

	Denomination				
	Catholic	**Anglican**	**PMU**	**CEP**	**No religion**
High/med	48.0	**41.5**	46.9	43.1	**56.0**
Low	52.0	58.5	53.1	56.9	43.0
N	313	322	195	139	305
Chi squared χ^2					22.5
	Church attendance				
	Regular		**Sometimes**	**Never**	
High/med	42.6		**44.1**	**37.8**	
Low	32.5		28.3	35.1	
N	383		673	349	
Gamma γ					.04

source: AECS 1995

Table 7.19 reports the impact of religion and religiosity on faviourtitism for low barbaric film for Australian men. There is some difference between the religious and the non-religious in the favouritism for low barbaric film particularly between some of the Protestant denominations and the non-religious, church attendance however makes little impact on favouritism for this kind of film for Australian men.

The following table, table 7.20, presents the impact of religion and religiosity on favouritism for low civil books for Australian men. There is a very low level of favouritism for this type of book among Australian men in general. Despite a linear pattern associated with lower church attendance and higher favouritism for these types of books, religion does not impact upon favouritism for this type of book among Australian men.

Table 7.20 *Low civil books by denomination and church attendance for males*

			Denomination		
	Catholic	**Anglican**	**PMU**	**CEP**	**No religion**
High/med	11.8	12.7	11.8	15.8	**16.4**
Low	88.2	87.3	88.2	84.2	83.6
N	313	322	195	139	305
Chi squared χ^2					31.2
			Church attendance		
	Regular		**Sometimes**	**Never**	
High/med	**12.0**		**13.4**	15.2	
Low	87.0		86.6	84.8	
N	383		673	349	
Gamma γ					-.07

source: AECS 1995

Female genres

Turning to mimetic culture strongly associated with being female. Table 7.21 reports the impact of religion and religiosity on the endorsement of civil photos as "beautiful" for Australian women. There is significant religious impact on how women attribute particular civility onto photographic subjects. Substantial differences exist between all the denominations and the non-religious. Two thirds of the women affiliated with the Presbyterian, Methodist, and or Uniting Churches endorse civil photos as beautiful compared to only two in five non-religious women. Religiosity is also important to the level of endorsement that Australian women give to civil photos. A strong and statistically significant pattern exists between the level of church attendance and the high endorsement of civil photos as beautiful.

Table 7.21 *Civil photos by denomination and church attendance for females*

			Denomination			
"beautiful"	**Catholic**	**Anglican**	**PMU**	**CEP**	**No religion**	
High	60.2	55.1	**66.4**	62.6	**41.7**	
Low	39.8	44.9	33.6	37.4	58.3	
N	313	322	195	139	305	
Chi squared χ^2						60.1
			Church attendance			
	Regular		**Sometimes**	Never		
High	**64.2**		57.7	**45.4**		
Low	35.8		42.3	54.6		
N	383		673	349		
Gamma γ						1.9

source: AECS 1995

In table 7.22 though the variance between sub-samples is not significantly high but all the denominations record higher favouritism for high civil books than the non-religious. Again there is a linear relationship between church attendance and favouritism for high civil books in the expected direction.

Table 7.22 *High civil books by denomination and church attendance for females*

	Denomination				
	Catholic	**Anglican**	**PMU**	**CEP**	**No religion**
High	36.4	39.8	36.4	**41.0**	**30.8**
Low	63.6	61.2	63.6	59.0	69.2
N	221	143	62	60	300
Chi squared χ^2					23.4

	Church attendance		
	Regular	**Sometimes**	**Never**
High	**38.9**	38.5	**31.2**
Low	61.1	61.5	68.8
N	148	397	317
Gamma γ			.04

source: AECS 1995

Older Australians

Two tables in this section record the findings for two kinds of mimetic cultures, favouritism for which is strongly influenced by older age. Religious influence is a factor in favouritism for both high civil music and low civil music. In table 7.23 there is a significant relationship between denomination, church attendance and high civil music in the expected direction. The more theologically conservative and the more committed to religion older Australians are, the more they favour high civil music.

At first glance the findings in table 7.24 suggest that religious influence on favouritism for low civil music is in the opposite direction to that anticipated. Low civil music, however, is indicated by jazz and big band styles which have, as discussed earlier (see Chapter Four), been evaluated as a form of barbarism in previous eras. There is some evidence therefore that jazz and big band music still resonates as a barbaric form associated with the perception of particular emotional risks for older Australians explaining the lower patterns of favouritism for some denominations and the linear patter of aversion associated with church attendance.

Table 7.23 *High civil music by denomination and church attendance for over 45*

	Denomination				
	Catholic	**Anglican**	**PMU**	**CEP**	**No religion**
High/med	47.0	55.5	61.5	**76.7**	**45.0**
Low	52.0	44.5	38.5	23.3	55.0
N	249	335	182	103	249
Chi squared χ^2					73.2
	Church attendance				
	Regular		**Sometimes**	Never	
High	**65.6**		51.5	44.6	
Low	34.4		48.5	55.4	
N	337		600	289	
Gamma γ					.21

source: AECS 1995

Table 7.24 *Low civil music by denomination and church attendance for over 45*

	Denomination				
	Catholic	**Anglican**	**PMU**	**CEP**	**No religion**
High/med	16.9	24.2	20.9	**12.6**	**26.1**
Low	83.1	75.8	79.1	87.4	73.9
N	249	335	182	103	249
Chi squared χ^2					12.4

	Church attendance		
	Regular	**Sometimes**	**Never**
High/med	**14.8**	22.3	**26.3**
Low	85.2	77.7	73.7
N	337	600	289
Gamma γ			-.12

source: AECS 1995

Tertiary Educated

The final table in this section displays the impact of religion and religiosity for tertiary educated Australians on medium barbaric film. While this form of mimetic culture is not significantly favoured among the sub-sample, the religious, distributed among the Christian denominations do favour less than the non-religious by around half and up to around four times. Commitment to religion has little impact on favouritism for this type of mimetic culture.

Table 7.25 *Medium barbaric film by denomination and church attendance for tertiary educated*

	Denomination				
	Catholic	**Anglican**	**PMU**	**CEP**	**No religion**
High/med	5.5	**3.0**	3.4	6.8	**11.6**
Low	94.5	97.0	96.6	93.2	88.4
N	271	197	116	103	335
Chi squared χ^2					10.9

	Church attendance		
	Regular	**Sometimes**	**Never**
High/med	8.5	**3.9**	**11.2**
Low	91.5	96.1	88.8
N	260	516	367
Gamma γ			.02

source: AECS 1995

Summary

The previous section has analysed a selection of civil and barbaric cultural fields that were found to be strongly associated with age, gender, and education. The purpose of the analysis was to inquire about the role of religion in these more specific areas of social experience and cultural taste. While there was a limited range of minor findings associated with religion and cultural taste for men, older Australians, and a more significant finding for women (civil photos), the key finding in this section was that religion and religiosity strongly impacted on the way

in which younger Australians consumed culture that was specifically associated with being younger. A clear and statistically significant linear patter emerged among younger Australians who were more or less theologically conservative and more or less committed to their religions, and the extent of the favouritism for or participation in various forms of cultural barbarism indicated by various measures of musical taste and musical practice. This indicates that, despite perceptions of continued and significant irrelevance, mainstream institutional religion is still a potent factor in the lives of younger Australians. That a key cultural difference between religious and non-religious younger Australians is powerfully expressed in musical taste and musical practices is not arbitrary but captures a prominent factor of contemporary life for younger Australians. According to the Christian Research Association (2007: 1):

> "For most young people life revolves around the enjoyment of life, which they find primarily with their friends and family and in excitement-generating activities. They value music greatly and often turn to music to express themselves, to reflect or to change their moods".

Indeed the meanings and function of music in the lives of younger Australians resonates well with the Eliasian notion of emotional arousal and its mimetic power. These analyses show that religion is a key institution in the moral evaluative process of culture, not just for the young.

This chapter has examined whether religion was still a significant factor in predicting cultural taste patterns for Australians when analysed alongside key indicators of social background experience. In answering the question posed at the beginning of this chapter, overall the chapter found that many of the forms of mimetic culture were better predicted by social attributes such as age and gender. Religion however remained a robust predictor often maintaining its influence over a number of measures of cultural civility and cultural barbarism after controlling for these social factors and acting primarily in concert with other social factors to reinforce displays of symbolic civility through preference for civil cultures and aversion to barbaric cultures. From the list of cultural fields that were presented in the first section of this chapter I refocused the analysis to specify particular sub-samples strongly associated with particular modes of mimetic culture. From these further analyses it was shown that religion had some significant effect on the way that younger and older, male and female Australians displayed favouritism and participation in mimetic culture.

Another prominent observation from this chapter has been how social factors and religion have combined to demonstrate a more holistic social and cultural display of symbolic civility. While a clear pattern is discerned by the role of religion in the aversion of barbaric cultures, of particular note is how religion and religiosity has reinforced civil cultures associated with mature female tertiary educated professionals. Favouritism for and participation in civil radio programmes, civil music leisure, high civil music, and high civil films shows the combinatory effects

of these factors to produce a particularly gendered and religious civil disposition toward mimetic culture.

Endnotes

[1] Sequential regression is a method of analysis that allows the researcher to measure the impact of two or more independent variables on a dependent variable. It is sequential because I begin with the religious independent variables then introduce the social independent variables in ordered sequence.

[2] Indeed the engagement in barbaric forms of mimetic culture by younger Australians, or indeed any of the patterns indicated by social background could comprise a study in itself. An Eliasian perspective may account for youth and cultural barbarism through an expanded exploration that might include physiological as well as sociological concerns.

[3] While I have highlighted the differences between Catholics and CEP's, the Anglican, and PMU churches in Australia also have long traditions of facilitating school sport that includes the playing of what I have termed barbaric sports and may suggest why the percentage differences between them in table 7.15 are not very significant.

[4] A more symbolic reading of this pattern may associate the participation in fishing by younger Christians with biblical stories and parables such as Jesus' calling Simon and Andrew to apostleship with the pronouncement of "come follow me and I will make you fishers of men" (Mark 1:17). The fish is also a potent symbol in Christianity with various meanings.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

Discussion

The primary aim of this thesis was to empirically investigate the impact of religion on the cultural consumption patterns of Australians during the 1990's. The study sought to explore the impact of religious identity, religious affiliation, and religious commitment on how Australians perceived culture and how they displayed preference for it and aversion to it in comparison with non-religious Australians. The relationship between religion and cultural consumption was seen as an important social and cultural issue that had consequences for policy during the 1990's. A conceptual model was developed that positioned the problem in moral terms making a decisive theoretical and conceptual break from the class and stratification based conceptualisations of culture. The study aimed to answer a series of questions about religion and cultural consumption. I now present these questions that were investigated throughout the study and corresponding findings.

1. How might the effect of religion on cultural taste be explained?

In Chapter Two I developed a model to be investigated that presented a theoretical explanation of how religion would impact on cultural taste, essentially considering what the religious perceive culture to represent. The model was necessary to accommodate any variance in individual cultural taste patterns between religious and non-religious Australians. Because the primary concern of the thesis was the effect of religion, many extant models and explanations of variance in cultural taste patterns were unsatisfactory due to their specific design and purpose in pursuit of other kinds of questions such as the role of culture in economic and stratification strategies. The model was exploratory and experimental.

The model, developed by drawing on the conceptual framework and language of Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning, specified culture as a moral problem rather than a economic resource, and highlighted culture's emotional qualities that produced a variety of pleasures that were subject to more or less control and restraint facilitated by the self through institutions such as religion whose norms and behavioural expectations were internalized within the self. This control and restraint was the precise indicator of culture's moral dimension.

The model emphasized that it was not the *actual* emotions that culture created and individuals experienced that was being investigated but that recorded cultural preferences indicated an attitudinal favouritism for or participation in culture

premised on how individuals might have perceived these types of culture through its moral evaluation as "civil" (good/harmless) and "barbaric" (bad/harmful). The moral approach to contemporary culture primarily assesses culture through its depictions of sex and violence. An assessment of culture's expressive style, mood, associations, reputation, and character underscored how individuals might perceive, evaluate, then avoid or favour it as indicated in the preferences recorded by the Australian Everyday Cultures survey.

Religion was discussed in historical sociological perspective and shown to have had an intimate relationship and control over how it handled ecstatic experience – a key component of "mimetic culture". Religion in places like Australia, in contemporary times, as a result of secularization did not have institutional control over what individuals consumed. The analysis proceeded on the individual level and sought to discern how individuals enacted judgment on culture informed by religious experience.

2. Do Australians think about culture in moral terms?

For the model to have some plausibility and validity as an explanatory mechanism a couple of assumptions needed to be investigated. While the model suggested that mimetic culture would be morally evaluated in the way in which individuals chose culture, some validation of culture's moral dimension was necessary to allow some confidence in further analyses about religion and culture to be undertaken in later chapters. I wanted to know whether Australians thought of culture in moral terms in

general. That way I could more confidently suggest that religion would make a difference to consumption patterns because the religious might be more likely to favour particular types of culture and avoid others.

Building on previous research that used the same data (AEC survey) that found Australians view good and bad taste through moral and immoral categories such as politeness and vulgarity (Woodward and Emmison 2001) I set out to investigate whether this general position translated into specific measures of the moral discourse on culture evidencing a civil and barbaric divide. The results of Chapter Four confirmed that Australians thought about cultural taste in moral terms indicated and validated by a series of attitudinal measures that displayed culture in terms of civil and barbaric. A series of factor analyses indicated that individual cultural items clustered together in meaningful ways to indicate underlying concepts which I interpreted as, and constructed into a series of measures of, cultural civility and cultural barbarism. In terms of testing the model, these measures could be interpreted as representing a particular Australian habitus or level of civility and barbarism that were emblematic of mimetic standards or thresholds that individuals would embrace or show repugnance towards evidenced by favouritism for, avoidance of, and participation in the cultures that they represent.

3, Is religion still a major influence on moral and civil behaviour in Australia?

Chapter Four also investigated whether religion, in the guise of the institutional church, was seen to be a generator of morality and civil behaviour. While it is a common sense notion that the religious might be more "moral" it never-the-less needed to be empirically investigated as part of the model that offered explanation for the impact on cultural taste defined in terms of civility and barbarism. The analyses found that Australians in general thought that the most important thing for the church to provide in social life was "good morals" and "decent and respectable behaviour" above all the more dedicated and specifically Christian elements that one might readily associate with a church. Further the religious themselves thought "good morals" and "decent and respectable behaviour" to be not always the most important thing for the church to provide but among the top three or four things indicating that along with specific Christian practices and beliefs the church provided, identifying and practicing Christians with models of civility that might impact upon how they would choose culture.

4, How does religion impact on individual cultural consumption patterns?

I investigated this question in two chapters. In Chapter Five I investigated whether the religious and the non-religious perceived culture in similar ways indicating particular moral positions and approaches to culture. There was little difference to the perception of culture that the religious, across the three available measures of religion, identifying as religious, affiliation with a type or religion, and commitment

to religion, displayed compared to the non-religious. This finding indicated that religious and non-religious Australians all had similar attitudes to how culture was perceived and what it meant.

In Chapter Six I investigated whether religion impacted on cultural taste by comparing rates of favouritism for, avoidance of, and participation in, a variety of measures of civil and barbaric cultures across eight fields of mimetic culture recorded in the survey. It was found that religion impacted on cultural tastes in particular ways and to particular degrees. The findings generally supported the hypotheses that suggested that the religious would favour civil cultures more than the non-religious and avoid barbaric cultures more than the non-religious. In addition to more random findings, the investigation revealed three general patterns of interest.

First religion's greatest impact on preferences for mimetic culture was found in the extremes. Religion had more impact on individual preferences for those cultures that were theorized as highly civil and highly barbaric and less impact on those cultures that were less civil and less barbaric in terms of favouritism and participation rates. Second, the type of religion one affiliated with made a difference to how much and what type of mimetic culture was preferred. The level of favouritism and participation in some civil and barbaric cultures was associated with the type of Christian religion one affiliated with to the extent that the more theologically conservative the affiliation the more one preferred civil cultures and

the less one preferred barbaric cultures. There were some consistently large and statistically significant differences between the Conservative Evangelical Protestants and Catholics, and the non-religious, with mainstream Protestants such as Anglicans and PMU's in between indicating various levels of tension with secular culture.

Third, the level of commitment to a religion made a difference to how much and what type of mimetic culture was preferred. Commitment was measured by the level of attendance at religious services. The more one attended church and displayed commitment, the more one preferred civil cultures and avoided barbaric cultures indicating a linear pattern of favouritism, avoidance, and participation.

The wider implications of these findings suggest that the more theologically conservative one is and the higher the commitment to ones religion the higher the tension with secular culture differentiating one symbolically from others of lesser theological conservatism and commitment. The patterns of favouritism and avoidance between Catholics and Anglicans, on the one hand and Conservative Evangelical Protestants on the other, present one of the more interesting findings in this study.

These differences, as I have mentioned can be usefully thought of as demonstrative of a particular tension a group displays with the broader society. How might this tension be explained however? It is significant that the greatest amount of tension

indicated by avoidance of barbaric cultures, is demonstrated by the CEP's. While they are perhaps the most theologically conservative of the Australian Christian denominations, their response to Australian secular culture may well have more to do with the type of organizational dynamic and culture that this group espouses and practices. A key characteristic of this type of religious group's organizational culture is "strictness" (Kelley 1986; Iannaconne 1994). These groups place particular demands on their members that members must adhere to so as to be awarded more benefits aiding salvation. In order to achieve these benefits members must submit themselves to particularly intense regimes of religiosity that according to Kelley (cited in Iannacone 1994: 1181) are characterized by "strict demands for complete loyalty, unswerving belief, and rigid adherence to a particular lifestyle". Less "strict" or more "liberal" churches according to Kelley (cited in Iannacone 1994: 1182) exhibit "relativism, diversity, and dialogue" thereby weakening the group's control on everyday life experiences such as cultural consumption.

Despite the rigidity and discipline expected of clergy the larger, more established religions such as Catholicism and Anglicanism in Australia do not demand or enforce this type of organizational dynamic on lay members do not subject lay adherents to totalitarian regimes of religiosity. Indeed these religions may be more or less compartmental for Australians: engaged for some things such as weddings and funerals, but have little influence in other areas of life such as some aspects of cultural consumption.

Strictness and liberalism in religious groups are values derived from perceptions of the outside world. These perceptions, as this thesis has argued, colour the way in which the religious evaluate cultures and assists in defining the civil and barbaric discourse that cultural patterns informed by the moral approach display.

5. How does religion compare to other social factors in choosing culture?

In Chapter Seven I extended the analysis of religion and cultural taste to include a series of social background experiences to investigate which aspects of identity might best predict moral cultural tastes. The model in Chapter Two suggested that religion, while a potent source of moral evaluation of culture, was not the only aspect of identity to evaluate culture morally and therefore structure cultural taste. I ran a series of regressions to assess how a range of social background variables impacted on favouritism for, avoidance of, and participation in civil and barbaric cultures. While religious denomination and church attendance mostly remained robust predictors of cultural tastes, social background experiences attenuated them. Many of the social background variables made little difference to many of the measures.

A key finding in Chapter Seven was that many mimetic cultures were strongly associated with age and gender. Indeed these two factors were the best predictors of favouritism and participation in civil cultures and avoidance of barbaric cultures. Another finding revealed in Chapter Seven was that religion combined with some social background variables to indicate a more holistic social pattern of culturally

civil consumer. High civil cultures were strongly favoured by religious, professional, tertiary educated, older women. Barbaric consumers were generally younger, non religious men.

In considering the findings for age and gender I further extended the analysis to investigate the role of religion in these specific social sub-samples. I compared rates of favouritism, avoidance, and participation in a range of civil and barbaric cultures strongly associated with younger and older Australians, men and women, and the tertiary educated. Religion demonstrated only minor effects on cultural taste for a number of these sub-samples but substantial effects for two of the sub-samples. A prominent finding for this aspect of the research was the strong impact of religion on all of the barbaric cultures (many of them measures associated with music) associated with Australian youth. Statistically significant, linear patterns were revealed between the level of theological conservatism, the level of commitment to a religion, and the avoidance of barbaric cultures. For younger Australians, the more theologically conservative and the more church was attended the less pubs with live bands, night clubs, and rock concerts were attended, the less rock, alternative rock, heavy metal, top 40 pop, and techno was favoured, and the less particular radio programmes were listened to. For women religion impacted substantially on the way in which they endorsed photographs as civil by electing them to be "beautiful". Again the more theologically conservative and the more committed, the more civil photos were deemed "beautiful".

Significance of the research

In one of the very few sociological papers on the social bases of cultural consumption and lifestyle that considered religion as a meaningful variable, Tally Katz-Gerro and Yossi Shavit in reviewing their findings opined: "Particularly interesting is the religious dimension, that although not unique to Israel, is rarely discussed in the literature on cultural lifestyles" (1998: 383). What is so interesting about religion and its effect on cultural lifestyles? "Religiosity has consistent and significant effects on all lifestyle dimensions. It attenuates participation in highbrow and popular culture, and enhances, as one would expect, participation in the religious lifestyle" (1998: 383).

The first reason why this study is significant then is because it is the first dedicated sociological study of religion and cultural taste. It highlights religious identity, affiliation and commitment as a culturally unique lived experience that has particular effects on the ways in which individuals think about their cultural choices and the ways in which they practice culture. While the study is exploratory it has contributed to our knowledge of how religion effects cultural taste through a theoretical engagement with how the religious think about secular culture and an empirical examination of how the religious actually behave when asked about cultural preferences. While this study has considered religion and cultural consumption in Australia, the questions it sought to answer are applicable to many different societies.

A second reason why the study is significant is that it offers researchers an alternative conceptual framework that might assist the researcher in better interpreting empirical findings in studies of cultural taste and consumption. With the flow of knowledge about how people consume culture and why breaking its class, economic, and stratification based banks, more theoretically nuanced and empirically relevant conceptual thinking is needed to gain deeper understanding about culture's relevance to social life, social change, and how the individual relates to contemporary conditions of late or reflexive modernity. While the conceptual model was developed to examine and explain how and why religion may impact on cultural taste, it was found that other social experiences such as gender and age, were also significant factors. Theoretical approaches to general studies of cultural taste need to be able to explain various patterns of cultural preference associated with important variables such as age and gender.

A third reason why this study might be considered important is that it highlights the continuing role of institutional religion in Australian social and cultural life. At a time when many observers in Australia continue to announce institutional religions such as Christianity as meaningless and moribund, this study reveals that it still deserves consideration as a powerful indicator of how individuals negotiate contemporary life through its specific evaluative qualities. Religion, through its relationship to culture can still serve to indicate how people use culture to indicate symbolic boundaries and cultural differences revealing particular cleavages in

society whose consequences need exploring. Moreover it still functions in interesting ways in combination with other social experiences such as being younger or being female. Religion, culture, and youth are an especially interesting mix. Differences in cultural consumption between different types of Christians still serve to highlight some older cultural divides that have been all but dismissed in Australia. Being Protestant or Catholic have at times very strong effects on the type of culture one prefers indicating a continued pattern of sectarian difference between individuals, exactly why this is and how this translates into other social consequences is not clear.

A fourth reason why this study is significant is that the work contributes to the emerging theoretical and empirical research program of process and figurational sociology and the sociology of the emotions. The use of Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning's scheme was developed to provide a theoretical framework of interpretation, but also empirical inquiry. The study has provided a first time operationalisation of mimetic culture. In other words the study has attempted to measure this concept and test how various social and cultural factors effect its distribution for the first time. With better measures and a range of methodological approaches future research can better grasp the consequences of the mimetic qualities of culture that individuals seek or avoid.

Limitations

The study had two significant limitations around theory and data. As an empirical investigation the data employed was crucial to the aims of the thesis. While I feel that the data was adequate to achieve these aims overall, some important limitations compromised the quality of measurement of key concepts. The thesis employed secondary analysis which does provide the researcher with some distinct advantages but some sharp and poignant disadvantages. The Australian Everyday Cultures survey lacked detailed measures of religion and religiosity. While the three measures used provided satisfactory measures of the concepts, additional measures could have assisted in the exploratory aims of the study. Questions tapping how often one prays, specific beliefs, and time spent on religious activities for example would have contributed to capturing the complexity of the concepts and allowed more nuanced analysis allowing a detailed picture of religion's impact on cultural consumption.

The way in which the survey measured culture was also limited. Some question formats did not allow a more thorough empirical analysis and compromised the analyses that were undertaken. A particular disadvantage in this regard was the limited ranking format question for music, books, and film in which respondents were only asked to assess three categories instead of ranking all of them. Further the measures of culture were at the genre level, this is a broad and sometimes confusing level of analysis as genres contain myriad forms of difference. Take rock music for example, rock music can be further distinguished by reference to hard rock, country

rock, Christian rock, and indi rock to name just a few. A further limitation concerned the lack of specific purpose built measures of civility and barbarism. Future survey research in this field using a similar conceptual and theoretical framework would require a set of more reliable and valid measures that sought to capture whether individuals recognised culture as possessing these qualities.

This issue could also be overcome to some extent with the addition of a qualitative component designed to elicit the particular feelings and meanings of culture that individuals ascribe to it, particularly concerning binary codes such as civil and barbaric. While this quantitative study revealed some preliminary contours providing a basic descriptive picture of the impact of religion on cultural taste, it is only with good qualitative data that the deeper meanings of individual cultural choice could be more precisely mapped and the impact of factors such as religion better understood.

The second limitation is theoretical. The thesis has drawn from outside sociology to attempt to justify a regime of categorisation of mimetic cultures that are theorised of as more or less civil and barbaric. There was little dedicated research into this particular notion, even though it derives from a somewhat active sociological tradition. To overcome this limitation and better test and examine mimetic cultures a lot more work needs to be done to establish benchmarks of cultural civility and cultural barbarism.

Directions for further research

While this thesis has made a small and preliminary contribution to research on cultural consumption and taste, the topic does offer researchers other potential avenues of inquiry. The study raises an important question that about what other types of culture the religious consume and how it is used. Does specific symbolic difference translate into other meaningful divisions in social life on moral terms just as it might in economic terms? By this I mean, while we know something about how the religious negotiate secular culture, might they consume much more specifically religious culture and what consequences may ensue because of it? For example there exists a parallel world of religious cultural taste that might provide "moral capital" to reinforce faith and solidify moral and social difference. Preference for cultures such as Christian Rock music, may indicate particular cultural divisions and social consequences. The commodification and consumption of religious culture (Miller 2004) and its relationship to other social experiences is another important avenue of inquiry.

A second future direction might entail looking well beyond the cultural preferences and practices of Christians and extending analyses to the wider variety of religious forms in Australia to better assess the impact of religion given culture's prominence in sociology (Warde 1990). How Muslims, Hindus, Buddhists, and others participate in Australian secular culture indicated by tastes in music, films, books, might inform us about how different cultural groups experience Australian cultural life. This focus might inform researchers and policy analysts about key forms of

division and exclusion that marginal and minority groups experience, or indeed present a way of providing opportunities for greater participation and inclusion in the wider social environment. That religion is a fundamental aspect of the migrant experience in Australia is a well established fact (Bouma 1997), through religious institutions cultural inclusion leading to social and economic inclusion might be better facilitated.

Another direction of future research relates to how aspects of identity embodied in institutions can impact upon policy and legislation through political action. The religious evaluation of culture and its structure of preferences has the potential to shape the types of culture Australians can and cannot consume. While I have not pursued this important consequence of the religious impact on cultural life in Australia, that the religious approach culture as more of a moral concern can drive individuals into action to the extent that policy and legislation can be contested and reformed on particular moral grounds based on religious type (Castles 1994). Indeed this has been a constant theme in studies of Australian censorship (Coleman 1974). The political consequences of religious considerations of culture may well impact upon what culture Australians can choose.

More specifically, analyses of cultural taste might inform the sociology of religion about processes of conversion, religious switching, commitment to religion, and the divisions with religions themselves, religious globalisation (Kurtz 1995), and religion in late modernity (Heelas 1996). For example, among Catholics there exist

some profound symbolic and social differences between the more liberal and traditional approaches to that faith which is played out in the contest of symbols such as the Latin mass, traditional music, and traditional ritual (Owen 2007). This has ramifications for how particular Christian Churches proceed into the twenty-first century. The cultural aspect of religions in the late modern "consumer society" may well serve sociologists of religion as a potent indicator of the organisational and institutional dynamics of religions, just as culture currently serves sociologists in general as an indicator of the broad social changes that began in the last century and will continue into this one.

Cultural Civility and Cultural Barbarism:
A Sociological Analysis of the Religious Factor in Australian Cultural Tastes

by

Haydn Mark Aarons

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Tasmania

January 2008

Declaration

I certify that this thesis contains no material which has been previously submitted for the award of any other degree at any university, and that, to the best of my knowledge, this thesis contains no material previously written by any other person except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis, and that the thesis contains no material that infringes copyright.

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Abstract

This thesis examines the influence of religion on cultural taste patterns in Australia in the 1990's. Many extant studies in this field concentrate heavily on class and economic factors involved in the distribution of cultural taste through conflict and stratification models and place a marked emphasis on the utility of cultural taste in attaining social and economic position. Emergent empirical evidence suggests that class and economic factors are only partially relevant in explaining cultural taste patterns in Australia and internationally, however.

Consequently there has been a dearth of alternate theorising of culture as a key concept in sociology to accommodate other potential influences on its consumption such as religion. This thesis theorises cultural taste as a moral problem and situates religion as a powerful aspect of cultural structure through which Australians construct cultural taste by assessing levels of "civility" and "barbarism" inherent in the expressive elements of cultural forms and genres. This study draws on the work of Norbert Elias in establishing a theoretical framework for the conceptualisation of culture as a moral problem through its function of emotional arousal in societies characterised by "routinization" and uses a binary scale format of moral conceptualisation and classification that codifies cultural taste as symbolically "civil" and symbolically "barbaric". The emotional arousal afforded by culture is controlled through institutional and self regulating systems, of which religion is one.

Religion, in this study, is confined to various types of Christianity in Australia. Patterns of cultural taste between religious and non-religious Australians and among the religious themselves are compared to reveal variation in the distribution of cultural taste. Religion is then tested against a range of social background experiences to assess its predictive power as a factor in the moral approach to cultural taste.

The thesis hypothesises that the religious will construct cultural taste to display "symbolic civility" and avoid "symbolic barbarism" due to religion's role of emotional regulator within cultural practice. The study reveals the continuing role of institutional religion in contexts of late modernity and how the religious negotiate this aspect of secular life. It also highlights the nature of religious difference within Australian Christianity through cultural taste. The broader significance of the study is to provide alternate conceptualisations of culture that can be explored through various social and cultural elements to further open the inquiry into culture to reflect the diverse and continually changing nature of identity and meaning in contexts of late modernity.

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Related Publications

In addition to the work done to complete my thesis, my candidature has seen the authorship, with Dr. Timothy Phillips, and publication of two research papers that have reflected my deep interest in the social aspects of religion in Australia:

(1) Phillips, T., & Aarons, H. (2005) 'Choosing Buddhism in Australia: Towards a Traditional Style of Reflexive Spiritual Engagement' *British Journal of Sociology* 56 (2): 215 - 232

(2) Phillips, T., & Aarons, H. (2007) 'Looking 'East': An Exploratory Analysis of Western Disenchantment' International Sociology 22 (3): 325 – 342

The papers in full are included in Appendix B

Contents

Declaration ii

Statement of Authority ii

Abstract iii

Acknowledgements v

Related Publications vii

Contents viii

List of Tables xiii

List of Figures xvi

Introduction 1

Chapter 1

Literature Review 11

Introduction 11

Religion and Cultural Consumption 12

Quantitative research 19

Theory and cultural consumption 24

Strengths Weaknesses and Balances 29

Religion 31

Endnotes 42

Chapter 2

The moral dimension of taste: a model of religion and cultural consumption 43

Introduction 43

Norbert Elias and process sociology 47

Cultural civility and cultural barbarism 60

A Religious model of cultural civility and barbarism 64

Situating religion 74

Summary 79

Endnotes 80

Chapter 3

Methods, Measures and Analysis 82

Introduction 82

Survey research 82

Measuring culture, measuring religion 86

Culture 86

Operationalising Australian religion 92

Theory and Data 101

Research questions, hypotheses, expected effects 102

Analytic Strategy 104

Summary 108

Endnotes 108

Chapter 4

**Culture as a moral problem,
Australian approaches to mimetic culture, religion and civility** 110

Introduction 110

Culture as a moral problem 111

Results 114

Religion and civility 129

Summary 134

Endnotes 135

Chapter 5

**A comparison of religious and non-religious approaches
to mimetic culture: attitudinal constructions of
cultural civility and cultural barbarism** 137

Introduction 137

Results 139

Music Radio programmes 139

Music Leisure 142

Sport 143

Leisure 149

Photographic subjects 150

Music preferences 155

Book preferences 165

Film preferences 173

Summary 179

Endnotes 180

Chapter 6

Bivariate analyses of eight scales of mimetic culture by religious variables 182

Introduction 182

Composite measures of cultural civility and cultural barbarism 183

Results 189

Music radio programmes 189

Music leisure 190

Sport 192

Leisure 194

Photographic subjects 198

Music preferences 200

Book preferences 202

Film preferences 206

Summary 208

Endnotes 211

Chapter 7

Religion, Culture and social background: an exploratory analysis 212

Introduction 212

Theoretical concerns 215

Results 216

Music radio programmes 216

Music leisure 218

Sport 219

Leisure 220

Photographic subjects 223

Music preferences 224

Book preferences 227

Film preferences 228

Summary 230

Results 232

Youth genres 232

Male genres 238

Female genres 242

Older Australians 244

Tertiary educated 246

Summary 247

Endnotes 250

Chapter 8

Conclusion 251

Discussion 251

Significance of the research 261

Limitations 264

Directions for future research 266

References 269

Appendix A 282

Appendix B 290

List of Tables

Table 3.1 Limited raking scales measuring music, book, and film preferences from the Australian Everyday Cultures Survey 90

Table 3.2 Likert scales measuring music radio programmes, music leisure, sport watched at live venues, and leisure activities from the Australian Everyday Cultures Survey 91

Table 3.3 Multiple choice formats measuring photographic subjects from the Australian Everyday Cultures Survey 92

Table 3.4 Religious affiliation frequencies from the Australian Everyday Cultures survey 98

Table 3.5 Religious affiliation frequencies from the Australian Everyday Cultures survey – reconfigured measure of religious affiliation 99

Table 4.1 Factor analysis: music radio programmes 117

Table 4.2 Factor analysis: music leisure 117

Table 4.3 Factor analysis: sport 118

Table 4.4 Factor analysis: photographic subjects 119

Table 4.5 Factor analysis: leisure 121

Table 4.6 Factor analysis: favourite music 124

Table 4.7 Factor analysis: favourite books 125

Table 4.8 Factor analyses for favourite films 127

Table 4.9 The most important thing for the church to provide in rank order 130

Table 4.10 The most important thing for the church to provide by denomination 131

Table 4.11 The most important thing for the church to provide by church attendance 133

Table 5.1 Factor analysis: music radio programmes for religious and non-religious individuals 140

Table 5.2 Factor analysis: music radio programmes for church attendance 140

Table 5.3 Factor analysis: music radio programmes for denominations 141

Table 5.4 Factor analysis: music leisure religious and non-religious 282

Table 5.5 Factor analysis: music leisure for denominations 283

Table 5.6 Factor analysis: music leisure by church attendance 284

Table 5.7 Factor analysis: sport by religious and non-religious 146

Table 5.8 Factor analysis: sport by denominations and non-religious 147

Table 5.9 Factor analysis: sport by church attendance 148

Table 5.10 Factor analysis: leisure by religious and non-religious 285

Table 5.11 Factor analysis: leisure by denominations and non-religious 286 – 287

Table 5.12 Factor analysis: leisure by church attendance 288 - 289

Table 5.13 Factor analysis: photographic subjects by religious and non-religious 151

Table 5.14 Factor analysis: photographic subjects by denominations and non-religious 152 - 153

Table 5.15 Factor analysis: photographic subjects by church attendance 154

Table 5.16 Factor analysis: favourite music by religious and non-religious 156 – 157

Table 5.17 Factor analysis: favourite music by denominations and the non-religious 159 – 161

Table 5.18 Factor analysis: favourite music by church attendance 163 - 164

Table 5.19 Factor analysis: favourite books by religious and non-religious 166

Table 5.20 Factor analysis: favourite books by denomination and non-religious 168 - 169

Table 5.21 Factor analysis: favourite books by church attendance 171 - 172

Table 5.22 Factor analysis: favourite film by religious and non-religious 174

Table 5.23 Factor analysis: favourite film by denomination and non-religious 175 - 176

Table 5.24 Factor analysis: favourite film by church attendance 177 - 178

Table 6.1 Composite measures of four dimensions of cultural civility and cultural barbarism 184

Table 6.2 Composite measures of leisure, music, film, and books 188

Table 6.3 Civil and barbaric radio programmes by religious identification, denomination, and church attendance 191

Table 6.4 Civil and barbaric music leisure by religious identification, denomination, and church attendance 193

Table 6.5 Civil and barbaric sport by religious identification, denomination, and church attendance 196

Table 6.6 Civil and barbaric leisure by religious identification, denomination, and church attendance 197

Table 6.7 Civil and barbaric photos by religious identification, denomination, and church attendance 199

Table 6.8 Civil and barbaric music by religious identification, denomination, and church attendance 204

Table 6.9 Civil and barbaric books by religious identification, denomination, and church attendance 205

Table 6.10 Civil and barbaric films by religious identification, denomination, and church attendance 207

Table 7.1 Multivariate analysis of religion and civil and barbaric radio programmes, controlling for a series of social background factors 217

Table 7.2 Multivariate analysis of religion and civil and barbaric music leisure, controlling for a series of background variables 219

Table 7.3 Multivariate analysis of religion and civil and barbaric sport watched, controlling for a series of social background variables 220

Table 7.4 Multivariate analysis of religion and high to low civil and barbaric leisure, controlling for a series of social background experiences 222

Table 7.5 Multivariate analysis of religion and civil and barbaric photos, controlling for social background factors 223

Table 7.6 Multivariate analysis of religion and civil music scales, controlling for a series of social background experiences 225

Table 7.7 Multivariate analysis of religion and high to low barbaric music, controlling for a series of background experiences 226

Table 7.8 Multivariate analysis of religion and civil books, controlling for a series of social background experiences 226

Table 7.9 Multivariate analysis of religion and barbaric books, controlling for a series of social background experiences 227

Table 7.10 Multivariate analysis of religion and high and low civil films, controlling for a series of social background experiences 228

Table 7.11 Multivariate analysis of religion and barbaric film, controlling for a series of social background experiences 229

Table 7.12 Barbaric music radio programmes by denomination and church attendance for 18 – 35 233

Table 7.13 High barbaric music by denomination and church attendance for 18 – 35 235

Table 7.14 Low barbaric music by denomination and church attendance for 18 – 35 235

Table 7.15 Barbaric music leisure by denomination and church attendance for 18 – 35 237

Table 7.16 Low barbaric leisure denomination and church attendance for 18 – 35 238

Table 7.17 Barbaric sport by denomination and church attendance for males 239

Table 7.18 High barbaric leisure by denomination and church attendance for males 239

Table 7.19 Low barbaric film by denomination and church attendance for males 240

Table 7.20 Low civil books by denomination and church attendance for males 241

Table 7.21 Civil photos by denomination and church attendance for females 243

Table 7.22 High civil books by denomination and church attendance for females 244

Table 7.23 High civil music by denomination and church attendance for over 45 245

Table 7.24 Low civil music by denomination and church attendance for over 45 246

Table 7.25 Medium barbaric film by denomination and church attendance for tertiary educated 247

List of Figures

Figure 2.1 An Eliasian model of the moral discourse of mimetic culture 60

Figure 2.2 A general typology of the moral discourse of mimetic culture 63

Figure 2.3 A typology of the moral classification of mimetic culture: an approximation of how religious Australians structure cultural civility and cultural barbarism 78

Figure 3.1 A model of the religious factor in Australian cultural tastes 107

Introduction

This study is a first time empirical exploration of the effects of religion on the cultural consumption choices of Australians during the 1990's. Consumption is currently a key field in mainstream sociological debates and a field that the Australian researcher Michael Emmison claims "...continues to be not only one of the most active arenas of contemporary sociological research but also one in which the 'sea changes' that the discipline has witnessed can most readily be observed" (2003: 211). The analysis of consumption, particularly cultural consumption provides sociology with the operational and empirical means to be able to discern the key emergent divisions between actors and groups in conditions of late modernity. Culture is marshalled, aligned, and displayed symbolically to reflect status, position, meaning, and host of other related readings in the midst of a changing world characterised by declining traditions (Heelas *et al* 1996), fluid identities (Bauman 1992), and constant change associated with reflexive modernisation (Beck 1992; Beck, Giddens, and Lash 1994; Beck, Bonss, and Lau 2003).

In concert with the rise to prominence in sociology of cultural consumption the field of mainstream institutional religion in western nations has suffered repeated theoretical blows by those outside of the discipline, and some within it, pronouncing its demise in actual terms associated with declining numbers of

adherents and by extension in sociological terms pertaining to its loss of explanatory power and meaning. Even for some who still take religion seriously as a meaningful component in Australian social life[1] mainstream institutional religion is not an overly exciting prospect alongside the potentially more colourful and alluring questions about "spirituality", new religious movements, the engagement in eastern religions, and the phenomenon of the new age, in the attempt to provide intelligent sociological insight about our contemporary world. After all, are not Australia's mainstream Christian churches only populated with the old and the older until the day soon comes about when the latest census tells us there are no Catholics or Anglicans left in Australia?

Despite the claims it isn't as grim as all that, as many in the discipline know and testify (Bouma 2007). Indeed the reverse is true for some Australian churches. While some Australian churches are slowly declining in the number of adherents, others are holding their own and even growing, such as the Catholic Church and many evangelical Protestant denominations such as Hillsong in Sydney. Regardless of shifting denominational fortunes and patterns, over 70% of Australians still claim to have a religion (Bouma 1997a) and most of that 70% claim that religion to be Christian of one form or another.

Of course institutional religion in Australia does not simply start and stop with the Christian churches or with its Jewish communities, they just happen to be the oldest and most established, and therefore most familiar forms as a result of British and European settlement. Australia is home to an enormous array of institutional forms of religion that have accompanied the many thousands of

people who have settled here from other lands. Indeed among the fastest growing religions in Australia are Islam and Buddhism (Bouma 1997a). Australia also has significant numbers of Hindus, adherents of Chinese religions, and Orthodox Christians. Institutional religion in Australia is alive and well and any "neglect of the mainstream" (Turner 1990) is a neglect of a very sizable and influential aspect of Australian social life.

The "neglect of the mainstream" is a sin that scholars in the sociologies of both cultural consumption and religion have committed however, for there exists little to no research on the effects of religion on cultural consumption in sociology. Sociologists of religion have neglected the mainstream currents of sociological debate, currently occupied by cultural consumption, and sociologists of culture have neglected religion in studies of taste and lifestyle.

This thesis aims to address this imbalance. It is justified in doing so because the 1990's was a time of quite profound searching for Australians about what culture meant to how we saw ourselves as a nation, as individuals in contemporary social conditions, and to the rights of individuals to consume the type of culture that pleased them. The decade saw federal and state parliamentary committees look into questions of decency, violence, and obscenity on television, video games, and publishing. The decade saw a change of federal government whose cabinet was populated with devoted Christians of various hues and who were keen to look for answers to some tragic questions[2] in the culture that Australians consumed. And while it is more familiar as an American phenomenon, the "culture wars", have been fought here on more than one front by key representatives from Australian

religions battling over the content in the nation's galleries, cinemas, books, music and on its television screens.

The religious concern about what culture means and its effects is a moral one that is often expressed in clear terms of "good" and "bad", "harmful" and "harmless". Despite no devoted sociological research to the topic the relationship between religion and culture in Australia is an old one, remnants of which continue on into the present day such as the prohibition against playing Australian Rules football on Good Friday. "Profanation of the Sabbath" with games, sports, gambling or dancing was something very serious, blasphemy and indecency in publishing and broadcasting criminal offences. There are numerous examples of the moral discourse about culture in Australian history[3].

Not that this thesis takes such impressionistic liberties, indeed it seeks to achieve the opposite, but the relationship between religion and cultural consumption makes some intuitive sense when culture's moral dimension is emphasised. The religious, and not just the religious, have sought to evaluate culture in moral terms thereby controlling it and by extension a nation's cultural habits. In western culture those institutions and individuals, both religious and secular have taken their cue from the ancients. When Plato banished the poets from his ideal society in *The Republic* because they aroused the wrong kinds of emotions among the people, especially the young, he set a precedent that has been followed ever since by governments, religious bodies, families, and individuals.

There was a time when the Christian churches in Australia, as institutional bodies had a lot more power and influence over the cultural life of Australians than they do today. This study concerns itself with lay individuals therefore who identify as religious and practice that religion and for whom religion acts as an instrument of moral evaluation when choosing culture: one of the tools in the cultural toolkit (Swidler 1986). As an exploratory work it seeks to reveal the broad contours of religious influence in secular culture, to gain a primary look at how the religious structure their taste preferences in comparison with non-religious Australians. In doing so it goes some way in discovering how institutional religion is still relevant to contemporary social life in Australia.

The inquiry into religion and cultural consumption presents some difficulties but a worthy intellectual challenge however. In the light of little dedicated sociological inquiry into this topic there exist no established paths of interpretation and explanation, no signposts indicating methodological caution, or an easily read map to guide an empirical vehicle to some meaningful destination. In accord with the exploratory mission I seek answers to five general questions about religion and cultural consumption in the Australian context that may give us some basic insight into how religion is relevant to contemporary social and cultural life.

1, How might the effect of religion on cultural taste be explained?

2, Do Australians think about culture in moral terms?

3, Is religion still a major influence on moral and civil behaviour in Australia?

4, How does religion impact on individual cultural consumption patterns?

5, How does religion compare to other social factors in choosing culture?

One of these intellectual challenges is to face off against some of the more accepted orthodoxy in the field based on the powerful insights of such luminaries as Herbert Gans and Pierre Bourdieu. I do not seek to mount any serious intellectual challenge to the brilliant insights these sociologists have provided, only to derive complimentary analysis to a rapidly diversifying field. But comments stating that cultural consumption, is as Herbert Gans most assuredly claims, "...shaped above all by class and thus particularly by economic and related inequalities" (1992: vii) do need addressing if not revision.

It is of note that the field is sufficiently open and dynamic and empirically less defined and settled that sociologists are exploring a range of social and cultural factors that might impact upon cultural consumption. Still Gans' ideas coupled with the pioneering work of the late Pierre Bourdieu dominate this field. So the first intellectual challenge for this study was to present a meaningful and plausible model of how religion and culture could be conceptually related and how that conceptual relationship would translate into some kind of mechanism for explaining action.

After a review of the literature in Chapter One that places emphasis on the more recent empirical work on cultural consumption in sociology after Bourdieu, I consider this problem in Chapter Two. Chapter Two provides a theoretical model of religion and cultural consumption explaining how they are conceptually related. This is a crucial chapter in the study because it provides the study with the conceptual foundation to examine and interpret differences in cultural

consumption patterns between the religious and the non-religious, better explaining any impact that religion may have. In the absence of any previous work I take some time to establish this relationship so as to be able to account for any empirical differences between the religious and the non-religious that may be revealed in later empirical chapters.

It does not make sense to discuss the individual patterns of cultural consumption of religious Australians in conflict or stratification model terms. That the religious might consume more "high" or "low" brow culture is something in need of explanation that would necessarily reduce culture and religion to class determination, leaving us with no insight about its independent effect and relevance. I make the claim that religion is a different kind of variable to class, independent and culturally effective in its own right, which is not to say that it is not subject to influence by social experience, which it is.

Instead I favour an alternate conceptualisation of culture based on the work of Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning (1986) who theorise culture's function as a source of pleasure that impacts on the emotions through its mimetic qualities. With this definition of culture I conceive culture to be a moral problem based on the need to control the emotions that culture arouses. As an arouser of the emotions the effects of culture are controlled through moral evaluation informed by institutional experience and considered selection of cultural items such as music, books, and films, in the display of symbolic civility and symbolic barbarism. Through this model religion gains a more meaningful place in the field based on its function as a provider of morals and civil behaviour[4].

In Chapter Three I prefigure the empirical investigation of religion and cultural consumption with a discussion of the methods employed in the analysis, the available data, and the presentation of two research questions and seven hypotheses that formally direct the empirical investigation.

The investigation of the theoretical model developed in Chapter Two is carried out in four empirical chapters. In Chapter Four I investigate two of the preliminary claims of the model: (i) that Australians view culture in moral terms by an analysis of how individual cultural items are selected in clusters indicating an underlying binary conceptual regime of cultural civility and cultural barbarism and (ii) that religion is a key institution in the provision of moral and civil behaviour through an examination of what Australians think to be the most important thing for the church to provide in social life. This general approach assists in setting up specific analyses in later chapters by suggesting that Australians do view culture as a moral issue and that religion is a key institution in the generation of morality and civility.

In Chapter Five I consider whether the moral approach to culture, expressed for the whole sample as cultural civility and cultural barbarism, is shared or differentiated between the religious and non-religious by another analysis of how the religious and the non-religious select individual cultural items together to indicate the underlying conceptual scheme.

In Chapter Six I investigate the model's claims that the religious, due to their pronounced sense of moral evaluation, will consume more of one particular kind of culture and less of another type based on the analysis of a series of "new measures" of culture. I construct these "new measures" of culture indicating various states of cultural civility and cultural barbarism from the analyses presented in Chapter Four. With these measures I then examine the rates of favouritism for them and participation in them between Australians who identify as having a religion, Australians who affiliate with different religions, Australians who attend church in varying degrees and the non-religious. I treat any variation in the rates of favouritism and participation as indicative of different moral evaluative strategies based on the socialisation of institutional norms.

Finally in Chapter Seven I investigate competing sources of emotional control and moral evaluation of culture identified by the model to assess how strong the effect of religion is in structuring culture. I compare the religious variables with a series of common and influential social background experiences to see if religion is the best indicator of the moral approach to culture. The chapter explores the Eliasian notion that emotional pleasure aroused by culture is controlled through a number of social institutional experiences in addition to religion. Additionally in Chapter Seven, I explore how religion impacts on cultural consumption within specific sub-samples of social background experience such as younger Australians and women, and how religion and social background experience combine to form displays of symbolic civility.

Endnotes

[1] Admittedly much has changed on this front since September 11 2001 however the increase in interest in religion is manifested in and interest in Islam and its role in terrorism and is more or less a feature of international politics and broader issues of globalisation and not how religion operates in the analysis of everyday life.

[2] I have in mind the Port Arthur massacre here.

[3] For a detailed gateway into this issue as it pertains to government and community group censorship of broadcast and publishing material in Australia see http://libertus.net/ . The website is fiercely partisan however.

[4] It is this more general way of explaining the effect of religion on cultural consumption patterns that is most instructive. Religious teachings rarely have any direct teachings or prohibitions against many forms of culture that are consumed today. For example there are no teachings in the Christian scriptures about not watching particular films, listening to particular genres of music, or assessing particular forms of art. Some more strict (Iannaccone 1994) religions and some more dedicated religious people however do mark themselves off from the "temptations" of contemporary culture through direct rules. I am only interested in lay actors in contemporary secular contexts however, in which these people are to some extent engaged in secular culture.

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Appendix A

Supplementary material for Chapter Five.

Table 5.4 *Factor analysis: music leisure by religious and non-religious*

	Factor Matrix (Varimax Rotation)					
	Whole sample		Religious		Non-religious	
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2
Music Leisure						
Orchestral Concerts	**+.82**	-.04	**+.83**	-.04	**+.78**	-.04
Ballet	**+.76**	-.02	**+.75**	-.01	**+.76**	-.03
Opera	**+.76**	-.04	**+.75**	-.04	**+.77**	-.01
Chamber Music Concerts	**+.75**	-.05	**+.74**	-.05	**+.77**	-.04
Musicals	**+.64**	+.14	**+.66**	+.16	**+.60**	+.14
Pubs with live bands	-.00	**+.87**	-.00	**+.86**	+.01	**+.87**
Night clubs	-.02	**+.84**	-.02	**+.84**	-.04	**+.85**
Rock concerts	+.02	**+.81**	+.02	**+.80**	+.04	**+.83**
Eigenvalue	2.81	2.17	2.83	2.14	2.76	2.20
Percentage of Variance	35.2	27.1	35.3	26.8	34.5	27.5
Number of cases	2076		1986		720	

Source: AECS 1995

Table 5.5 *Factor analysis: music leisure by denominations and non-religious*

	Factor Matrix (Varimax Rotation)											
	Whole sample		Catholic		Anglican		PMU*		CEP**		None	
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2
Music Leisure												
Orchestral Concerts	**+.82**	-.04	**+.85**	-.02	**+.84**	-.05	**+.74**	-.06	**+.86**	+.05	**+.78**	-.04
Ballet	**+.76**	-.02	**+.75**	+.01	**+.78**	-.05	**+.77**	-.04	**+.63**	-.09	**+.76**	-.03
Opera	**+.76**	-.04	**+.80**	-.04	**+.71**	-.04	**+.79**	-.05	**+.68**	-.18	**+.77**	-.01
Chamber Music Concerts	**+.75**	-.05	**+.75**	-.03	**+.73**	-.06	**+.79**	+.01	**+.74**	-.03	**+.77**	-.04
Musicals	**+.64**	+.14	**+.62**	+.18	**+.67**	+.25	**+.67**	+.03	**+.73**	+.13	**+.60**	+.14
Pubs with live bands	-.00	**+.87**	+.03	**+.87**	-.03	**+.84**	-.01	**+.87**	-.03	**+.87**	+.01	**+.87**
Night clubs	-.02	**+.84**	+.05	**+.85**	-.06	**+.83**	-.04	**+.86**	-.15	**+.73**	-.04	**+.85**
Rock concerts	+.02	**+.81**	-.03	**+.81**	+.06	**+.79**	-.00	**+.76**	+.10	**+.78**	+.04	**+.83**
Eigenvalue	2.81	2.17	2.93	2.17	2.84	2.11	2.89	2.07	2.74	1.95	2.76	2.20
Percentage of Variance	35.2	27.1	36.7	27.2	35.5	26.3	36.2	25.8	34.3	24.4	34.5	27.5
Number of cases	2756		632		604		322		215		720	

Source: AECS 1995
* Presbyterian, Methodist, and Uniting
**Conservative Evangelical Protestant

Table 5.6 *Factor analysis: music leisure by church attendance*

	Factor Matrix (Varimax Rotation)							
	Whole sample		Regular		Sometimes		Never	
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2
Music Leisure								
Orchestral Concerts	**+.82**	-.04	**+.84**	-.02	**+.82**	-.02	**+.78**	-.03
Ballet	**+.76**	-.02	**+.73**	+.08	**+.76**	-.04	**+.76**	-.04
Opera	**+.76**	-.04	**+.72**	+.01	**+.76**	-.06	**+.78**	-.01
Chamber Music Concerts	**+.75**	-.05	**+.75**	-.08	**+.73**	-.02	**+.77**	-.03
Musicals	**+.64**	+.14	**+.63**	+.21	**+.65**	+.17	**+.60**	+.13
Pubs with live bands	-.00	**+.87**	+.06	**+.84**	-.01	**+.87**	+.00	**+.87**
Night clubs	-.02	**+.84**	+.03	**+.80**	-.02	**+.85**	-.04	**+.85**
Rock concerts	+.02	**+.81**	+.01	**+.79**	+.03	**+.80**	+.04	**+.83**
Eigenvalue	2.81	2.17	2.82	1.97	2.82	2.16	2.78	2.20
Percentage of Variance	35.2	27.1	35.3	24.6	35.3	27.0	34.8	27.5
Number of cases	2076		622		1315		818	

Source: AECS 1995

Table 5.10 *Factor analysis: leisure by religious and non-religious*

Leisure activities	Whole sample Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Religious Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Non-religious Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
	Factor Matrix (Varimax Rotation)											
Body surfing	**+.86**	+.18	+.05	+.05	**+.85**	+.20	+.05	+.04	**+.87**	+.12	+.09	+.05
Surfing	**+.84**	+.05	-.02	+.00	**+.84**	+.04	-.09	+.01	**+.84**	+.03	-.08	-.00
Swimming	**+.59**	+.21	+.32	+.11	**+.59**	+.20	+.32	+.12	**+.56**	+.24	+.34	+.12
Weight training	+.11	**+.76**	-.00	+.12	+.09	**+.76**	-.05	+.10	+.15	**+.75**	-.03	+.23
Aerobics	-.00	**+.60**	+.39	-.25	+.00	**+.60**	+.41	-.23	-.06	**+.65**	+.28	-.25
Jogging	+.22	**+.59**	+.24	+.08	+.22	**+.60**	+.25	+.10	+.24	**+.60**	+.19	+.07
Martial arts	+.13	**+.55**	-.14	+.20	+.12	**+.57**	-.12	+.14	+.11	**+.42**	-.19	+.40
Walking	+.05	-.05	**+.78**	+.01	+.05	-.05	**+.78**	+.02	+.03	+.03	**+.78**	-.03
Bush walking	+.27	-.00	**+.61**	+.31	+.29	-.02	**+.61**	+.29	+.19	+.06	**+.65**	+.29
Power walking	-.03	+.37	**+.60**	-.14	-.02	+.38	**+.62**	-.11	-.06	+.39	**+.51**	-.22
Hunting	-.08	+.14	-.02	**+.80**	-.08	-.10	-.01	**+.81**	-.07	+.10	-.01	**+.77**
Fishing	+.18	+.06	+.08	**+.74**	+.20	+.07	+.08	**+.74**	+.14	-.05	+.11	**+.72**
Eigenvalue	3.07	1.52	1.27	1.18	3.12	1.48	1.27	1.21	2.87	1.64	1.33	1.11
Percentage of Variance	25.6	12.6	10.6	9.86	26.0	12.4	10.5	10.1	23.9	13.6	11.0	9.2
Number of respondents	2706				1986				720			

Source: AECS 1995

Table 5.11 *Factor analysis: leisure by denominations and non-religious*

	Factor Matrix (Varimax Rotation)											
	Whole sample				Catholic				Anglican			
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
Leisure activities												
Body surfing	**+.86**	+.18	+.05	+.05	+.15	**+.82**	+.05	+.02	**+.85**	+.07	+.26	+.06
Surfing	**+.84**	+.05	-.02	+.00	-.00	**+.82**	+.03	-.02	**+.85**	-.02	+.05	+.02
Swimming	**+.59**	+.21	+.32	+.11	+.24	**+.56**	+.37	+.06	**+.65**	+.30	+.07	+.19
Weight training	+.11	**+.76**	-.00	+.12	**+.74**	+.12	-.10	+.12	+.09	+.13	**+.79**	-.00
Aerobics	-.00	**+.60**	+.39	-.25	**+.71**	-.07	+.30	-.18	+.07	**+.51**	+.43	-.27
Jogging	+.22	**+.59**	+.24	+.08	**+.61**	+.24	+.16	+.07	+.17	+.29	**+.59**	+.19
Martial arts	+.13	**+.55**	-.14	+.20	**+.42**	+.29	-.18	+.23	+.08	-.09	**+.69**	+.10
Walking	+.05	-.05	**+.78**	+.01	+.01	+.04	**+.79**	-.00	+.01	**+.75**	-.03	+.09
Bush walking	+.27	-.00	**+.61**	+.31	+.09	+.21	**+.66**	+.22	+.29	**+.61**	-.00	+.29
Power walking	-.03	+.37	**+.60**	-.14	**+.55**	-.08	**+.50**	-.13	+.04	**+.69**	+.20	-.07
Hunting	-.08	+.14	-.02	**+.80**	+.06	-.11	-.01	**+.83**	-.01	+.01	+.03	**+.82**
Fishing	+.18	+.06	+.08	**+.74**	-.01	+.14	+.15	**+.76**	+.26	+.07	+.16	**+.68**
Eigenvalue	3.07	1.52	1.27	1.18	2.98	1.55	1.35	1.19	3.32	1.52	1.26	1.13
% of Variance	25.6	12.6	10.6	9.86	24.8	12.9	11.2	9.95	27.0	12.6	10.5	9.2
N	2756				632				604			

Table 5.11 *Factor analysis: leisure by denominations and non-religious continued*

	PMU*				CEP**				None			
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
Body surfing	**+.84**	+.24	+.09	+.08	**+.86**	-.00	+.05	+.19	**+.87**	+.12	+.09	+.05
Surfing	**+.86**	-.05	+.02	-.10	**+.79**	+.06	+.11	+.10	**+.84**	+.03	-.08	-.00
Swimming	**+.62**	+.27	+.26	+.17	**+.68**	+.18	+.02	+.04	**+.56**	+.24	+.34	+.12
Weight training	+.02	**+.69**	+.01	+.25	+.28	-.03	+.05	**+.68**	+.15	**+.75**	-.03	+.23
Aerobics	+.05	**+.71**	+.18	-.14	+.26	+.44	-.29	**+.50**	-.06	**+.65**	+.28	-.25
Jogging	+.13	**+.72**	+.11	+.17	**+.36**	+.35	+.26	+.36	+.24	**+.60**	+.19	+.07
Martial arts	+.20	**+.37**	-.18	-.05	-.02	-.00	+.24	**+.71**	+.11	**+.42**	-.19	+.40
Walking	+.01	+.07	**+.82**	-.12	+.11	**+.72**	+.26	-.22	+.03	+.03	**+.78**	-.03
Bush walking	+.33	-.07	**+.67**	+.20	+.32	**+.48**	+.47	-.14	+.19	+.06	**+.65**	+.29
Power walking	+.04	+.43	**+.49**	+.02	-.00	**+.77**	-.22	+.25	-.06	+.39	**+.51**	-.22
Hunting	-.09	+.02	-.09	**+.81**	-.05	+.02	**+.76**	+.26	-.07	+.10	-.01	**+.77**
Fishing	+.17	+.11	+.12	**+.74**	+.17	-.01	**+.75**	+.04	+.14	-.05	+.11	**+.72**
Eigenvalue	3.09	1.51	1.30	1.17	3.28	1.53	1.37	1.20	2.87	1.64	1.33	1.11
% of Variance	25.7	12.6	10.9	9.7	27.3	12.7	11.4	10.0	23.9	13.6	11.0	9.2
N	322				215				720			

Source: AECS 1995
*Presbyterian, Methodist, Uniting
**Conservative Evangelical Protestant

Table 5.12 *Factor analysis: leisure by church attendance*

Leisure activities	Factor Matrix (Varimax Rotation)							
	Whole sample				Regular			
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
Body surfing	**+.86**	+.18	+.05	+.05	+.19	**+.83**	+.02	+.05
Surfing	**+.84**	+.05	-.02	+.00	+.02	**+.83**	+.01	+.04
Swimming	**+.59**	+.21	+.32	+.11	+.25	**+.56**	+.34	+.09
Weight training	+.11	**+.76**	-.00	+.12	**+.72**	+.13	-.06	+.13
Aerobics	-.00	**+.60**	+.39	-.25	**+.61**	-.04	+.44	-.14
Jogging	+.22	**+.59**	+.24	+.08	**+.60**	+.17	+.25	+.23
Martial arts	+.13	**+.55**	-.14	+.20	**+.63**	+.17	-.13	+.13
Walking	+.05	-.05	**+.78**	+.01	-.12	+.11	**+.78**	+.13
Bush walking	+.27	-.00	**+.61**	+.31	-.03	+.35	**+.52**	+.35
Power walking	-.03	+.37	**+.60**	-.14	+.43	-.07	**+.63**	-.13
Hunting	-.08	+.14	-.02	**+.80**	+.17	-.05	-.02	**+.83**
Fishing	+.18	+.06	+.08	**+.74**	+.09	+.15	+.13	**+.71**
Eigenvalue	3.07	1.52	1.27	1.18	3.20	1.46	1.28	1.2
Percentage of Variance	25.6	12.6	10.6	9.86	26.6	12.1	10.7	10.1
Number of respondents	2706				622			

Table 5.12 *Factor analysis: leisure by church attendance* ***continued***

Leisure activities	Somtimes				Never			
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
Body surfing	**+.86**	+.06	+.20	+.04	**+.87**	+.12	+.09	+.05
Surfing	**+.85**	-.02	+.04	-.02	**+.84**	+.03	-.08	-.00
Swimming	**+.61**	+.32	+.16	+.13	**+.56**	+.24	+.34	+.12
Weight training	+.07	+.04	**+.78**	+.08	+.15	**+.75**	-.03	+.23
Aerobics	+.03	+.45	**+.56**	-.27	-.06	**+.65**	+.28	-.25
Jogging	+.24	+.27	**+.58**	+.05	+.24	**+.60**	+.19	+.07
Martial arts	+.11	-.13	**+.57**	+.16	+.11	**+.42**	-.19	+.40
Walking	+.04	**+.77**	-.05	+.01	+.03	+.03	**+.78**	-.03
Bush walking	+.27	**+.63**	-.04	+.30	+.19	+.06	**+.65**	+.29
Power walking	+.01	**+.64**	+.39	-.11	-.06	+.39	**+.51**	-.22
Hunting	-.10	-.01	+.09	**+.80**	-.07	+.10	-.01	**+.77**
Fishing	+.21	+.07	+.08	**+.75**	+.14	-.05	+.11	**+.72**
Eigenvalue	3.11	1.52	1.27	1.21	2.87	1.64	1.33	1.11
Percentage of Variance	25.9	12.7	10.6	10.1	23.9	13.6	11.0	9.2
Number of respondents	1315				720			

Source: AECS 1995