Different Like Me: Why Cultural Omnivores Get Creative Jobs

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Abstract

Combining primary survey data collected from a probability sample of U.S. advertising agencies and semi-structured interviews with advertising practitioners, I tested a novel link from class background to creative employment through a cultural process of matching people to jobs that benefits people from class privileged backgrounds. Qualitative data show that shared culture, specifically "omnivorous"—diverse and inclusive—taste and socialization, signals creative potential to employers and motivates people to pursue creative positions. Structural equation modeling reveals that omnivorous socialization and taste mediate the relationship between class background and creative employment: when middle class parents expose their children to diverse organized activities, this exposure has a positive indirect effect on creative employment. It may not actually make those children more creative, but such exposure makes them more likely to enter fields in which they will be viewed as creative. The findings highlight a new direction for research on creativity, contribute to the debate on the role of cultural capital in occupational attainment and extend knowledge on the early origins of career choice.

Keywords: Creative employment, cultural capital, occupational attainment, labor markets, cultural omnivores, hiring, career choice, social class

Popular perceptions of desirable employment are shifting. Occupations that add economic value through creativity—henceforth, "creative occupations"—first drew attention for their perceived contribution to economic growth in Western countries (e.g., Reich, 1992; OECD, 1998), especially in the face of deskilling, routinization, and technological advances that have increasingly moved job growth to emerging markets like China and India. Though the economic importance of the broadly defined "creative class" (Florida, 2002) has come under scrutiny (e.g., Tepper, 2002; Oakley, 2004), the surrounding rhetoric has nonetheless transformed ideas about work. Good jobs are increasingly described as "creative," attracting applicants by highlighting work-based opportunities for creative expression (Ross, 2004; Lloyd, 2010). Known as "cool jobs" in "hot industries" (Neff, Wissinger, and Zukin, 2005), creative occupations are glamorized by the media (McRobbie, 2002; Massoni, 2004), managerial discourse (Prichard, 2002), and people employed in them (Ross, 2004; Lloyd, 2010).

A notoriously slippery term, creativity is typically defined as the generation of novel, useful outcomes (Amabile, 1996), a definition that depends on social context. Despite that, creativity has historically been considered an individual activity, rooted in the subconscious and subjectively experienced as a "gift" from an unidentifiable source. Scientific studies of creativity, most commonly conducted by psychologists, locate it deep in the minds of select individuals. In the last 60 years, psychologists have developed more than 250 instruments that attempt to define the creative personality type (Torrance and Goff, 1989), but such empirical applications are plagued by a lack of construct validity (Hocevar, 1981), predictive validity (Cropley, 2000), and face validity (Zinkhan, 1993) and run counter to strong experimental evidence (Amabile, 1996). Importantly, they neglect the social factors that shape perceptions of individual difference.

Meanwhile, the sociological literature on creativity relies heavily on situational factors like network position, leaving variation at the individual level uninvestigated. Sociologists have conducted extensive research on networks of artistic and intellectual worlds, underscoring how creativity is mobilized by systems of intersecting relationships (Becker, 1984; Fine, 1992; White and White, 1993; Collins, 1998; Godart and Mears, 2010). But efforts to identify the optimal social network position for creative output have failed to reach a consensus: some scholars argue that positions on the periphery are ideal (Perry-Smith and Shalley, 2003; Schilling, 2005; Perry-Smith, 2006), while others advocate being closer to the core (Becker, 1970; Hargadon, 2005) or somewhere in the middle (Cattani and Ferriani, 2008; Dahlander and Frederiksen, 2012). As creative production remains an uncertain enterprise—"nobody knows" which cultural products will be a success (Caves, 2000) and "all hits are flukes" (Bielby and Bielby, 1994)—studies have focused on how uncertainty is managed through over-production (Hirsch, 1972), information sharing (Godart and Mears, 2010), and signaling (Jones, 2002). Social psychologists have joined this conversation, analyzing the effects of the organizational environment on creative outcomes (e.g., Woodman, Sawyer, and Griffin, 1993; Amabile, 1996). Yet variation at the individual level remains unexplained.

Though creativity must somehow be recognized for people to enter desirable creative occupations, we know very little about how this recognition happens in real-world settings (Elsbach and Kramer, 2003; Malakate, Andriopoulos, and Gotsi, 2007). To answer this question, I build and test a conceptual model of creative employment based on the premise that labor market outcomes can be understood through the matching of people to jobs: firms seek employees with abilities and tastes they perceive as aligned with the local environment (employer selection), and individuals seek jobs that they perceive to be aligned with their

abilities and tastes (individual choice) (March and March, 1978; Sørensen and Sharkey, 2014). This occupational sorting, long the focus of the sociological literature on status attainment (Blau and Duncan, 1967; Breen and Jonsson, 2005), has been recently reconceptualized as a process of cultural matching (Rivera, 2012). Drawing on theoretical arguments that shared culture—such as tastes, cultural interests, and styles—can be used as capital to access societal rewards such as desirable jobs (Bourdieu 1984), Rivera (2012) showed that elite professional service firms hire new employees culturally similar to their existing workforce. Building on evidence this cultural capital has shifted from a highbrow "snob" into a more inclusive and diverse "cultural omnivore" that enjoys a variety of cultural forms (Peterson and Kern, 1996), I propose an intergenerational model of omnivorous cultural capital transmission that provides benefits to people from privileged class backgrounds when entering creative employment.

To test my conceptual model, I rely on original data from the advertising industry, in which a firm's key asset is its workforce, the main product is creative thinking, and employees in creative positions are afforded relatively high status (Bilton, 2007). A large part of the problem with extant approaches such as psychological assessments is that they ignore the social process of assessing whether a person or product is creative (Kasof, 1995; Elsbach and Kramer, 2003; Guetzkow, Lamont, and Mallard, 2004). Examining creativity as a cultural construct rather than imposing an a priori definition avoids these difficulties. My interest is not in the cognitive activity or ability itself but in how people come to be recognized as creative and enter creative occupations.

Entering Creative Employment

In labor markets, people are matched to jobs through supply-side factors, such as individual choice, and demand-side factors, such as employer selection. Yet these factors are seldom studied in conjunction. Status attainment research has historically focused on the former. The Wisconsin model posited that significant others, such as parents, shape children's goals and aspirations through socialization, which in turn shapes occupational attainment (Sewell, Haller, and Portes, 1969). This explanation was called into question in the mid-1970s, when scholars realized that black and white students had similar aspirations but very different levels of attainment (Portes and Wilson, 1976). What followed was a turn in the other direction: an emphasis on institutional context and opportunity structures to the neglect of individual motives and choice (Kerckhoff, 1989). Termed the "new structuralism" (Baron and Bielby, 1980), this research emphasized the demand side of labor markets (for a review, see Breiger, 1995), arguing that occupational attainment was the result of structural limitations and gatekeepers' selection criteria rather than socially acquired motives (Kerckhoff, 1989).

Cultural capital theory brings culture to the center of this discussion, integrating employer selection and individual choice. Cultural capital refers to widely shared, high-status cultural signals, such as tastes, cultural interests, and styles, which confer social advantages and are transmitted intergenerationally (Bourdieu, 1984; Lareau and Lamont, 1988). As an unequally distributed resource, cultural capital shapes employers' selection of job candidates through shared culture—such as a shared appreciation for highbrow cultural forms like classical music—that serves as grounds for evaluating merit (Bourdieu, 1984; DiMaggio, 1987; Lamont, 1992). It is also a product of class-privileged socialization that shapes individual choices and aspirations through socializing experiences with what is considered legitimate culture (e.g., playing the piano), themselves the result of parents' financial resources (buying a piano) and cultural capital

(valuing musical instruction). Such socialization not only predisposes an actor to acquire and use cultural capital but also provides a seemingly natural affinity for the places or "fields" in which this capital can be invested to yield social profits (Bourdieu, 1977; Lareau and Lamont, 1988).

Researchers use cultural capital theory to study both employer selection and individual choice of occupations, yet these literatures are relatively distinct. Based on Bourdieu's (1984) study of French taste and consumption practices, cultural sociologists have tested the relationship between highbrow taste and occupational attainment. They have found that selection criteria used by gatekeepers vary cross-nationally (Lamont, 1992); in North America, taste associated with high-status occupations includes a broader range of consumption practices than originally hypothesized, described variously as "omnivorous" (Peterson and Kern, 1996), "multi-cultural" (Bryson, 1996), and "cultural variety" (Erickson, 1996). At the same time, educational scholars, drawing on Bourdieu and Passeron's (1990) analysis of the French educational system, have followed DiMaggio's (1982) extension of the Wisconsin model. Such research has demonstrated that socialization that exposes children to highbrow culture has positive effects on various aspects of academic achievement (DiMaggio and Mohr, 1985; Aschaffenburg and Maas, 1997; Kaufman and Gabler, 2004). Yet the lack of a dialogue between these two literatures obscures the fact that cultural capital (in our time, omnivorous taste) shapes occupational outcomes both as a resource valued by employers and as an aspiration guiding individuals' choices.

Employer Selection: The Role of Omnivorous Taste

Omnivorous cultural capital matters for entry into desirable occupations. Bourdieu (1984) argued that cultural capital (in his time, highbrow taste) could be converted into wealth by highlighting its association with occupational status. Such a relationship exists, he theorized,

because shared taste facilitates social bonding: “Taste is what brings together things and people that go together . . . taste is a matchmaker” (Bourdieu, 1984: 241). More recently, research has debated how contemporary cultural capital (omnivorous taste) shapes occupational status. In a study of the private security industry, Erickson (1996) argued that business-related culture is a source of distinction in the private sector and that having a variety of non-work-related cultural interests is useful only because it increases the chance of shared interests with colleagues. In a study of elite management consulting, investment banking, and corporate law, Rivera (2012) refined this argument by focusing on the hiring transaction. Finding that time- and resource-intensive shared cultural interests (e.g., sailing and tennis) produced positive evaluations of job candidates, she argued that hiring can be understood as a process of cultural matching between class-privileged candidates and evaluators. Ultimately, she followed Erickson’s argument that omnivorous taste is valuable because it increases the chance of shared interests with evaluators.

Creative occupations are different from previously studied fields in an important way: they have different rules of the game or logics that privilege different symbolic resources. According to Bourdieu (1984), society is stratified by two hierarchies, one economic and one cultural, each with its own elite. The private security guards studied by Erickson (1996), as well as the bankers, consultants, and corporate lawyers studied by Rivera (2012) occupy positions in the economic hierarchy, which is stratified by market value. The shared cultural interests that function as capital in these fields—e.g., leisure activities like sailing (Rivera, 2012) and business culture like *Forbes* magazine (Erickson, 1996)—reflect this logic by displaying wealth and economic interest. In contrast, cultural fields are stratified by a logic that holds that the right way to evaluate any cultural object prioritizes form or style over function or content (Bourdieu, 1984). Culture that functions as capital in these fields may reflect this logic by prioritizing a

shared way of consuming culture over specific shared interests. As a consequence, I expect that the labor market process of cultural matching in cultural fields will be different from that in economic ones because the similarity that serves as the basis for the match is the form of culture consumed rather than the content. To my knowledge, there have been no empirical investigations of how culture shapes access to desirable jobs in cultural fields like creative occupations.

An omnivorous form of cultural consumption may help explain entry into creative occupations by serving as the basis for cultural matching. Selecting employees for creative positions is difficult because traditional indicators of competence like credentials have less relevance (Mears, 2013), and the traits that purportedly identify creative individuals are not easily observable (Malakate, Andriopoulos, and Gotsi, 2007). As a result, assessments often rely on implicit theories of what a creative person should be like. For example, Hollywood executives consider screenwriters to be more creative if their behavior matches the stereotype of artists as "quirky" (Elsbach and Kramer, 2003). In the for-profit creative sector, omnivorous culture is linked to conceptions of creativity (Johnston and Baumann, 2007; Lloyd, 2010; Vangkilde, 2013; Deresiewicz, 2015). In line with the long-standing Western ideal—from polymaths in ancient Greece to the multi-talented Renaissance man—these contemporary members of the creative class find multiple and distinct cultural interests "integral to establishing a unique creative identity" (Florida, 2002: 13). In these fields, creative identities are forged through omnivorous cultural consumption (Bookman, 2014), and firms encourage employees' creativity by promoting omnivorous cultural pursuits (Lloyd, 2010; Vangkilde, 2013). Whether omnivores are actually more creative is unclear, as this consumption-based ideal contradicts other stereotypes of creative people (e.g., "starving artist") and can indicate indifference (Ollivier, 2008), failure (Zuckerman et al., 2003), or a lack of commitment (Leung, 2014). More likely, omnivorous taste

is associated with creative potential because—much like "brilliance" in the French educational system (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1979) or "dedication" in elite professional firms (Rivera, 2011)—evaluators who share this form of cultural consumption view similarity as a signal of merit (Bourdieu, 1984; Lamont and Molnar, 2002; Rivera, 2012). Thus I expect that omnivorous taste will increase the chance that an individual will be employed in a creative occupation because culturally similar gatekeepers view this similarity as a signal of creative potential.

Individual Choice: The Role of Omnivorous Socialization

Omnivorous cultural capital is also a powerful motivator. Parents transmit their values, interests, and tastes to their children through socialization, predisposing them to acquire and use certain symbolic resources like cultural capital. Children then choose to enter fields that reward these resources, a process described as a "natural affinity" by individuals and a "natural talent" by observers (Bourdieu, 1977). In particular, socialization that exposes children to elite culture—experienced primarily by those from privileged class backgrounds—has lasting effects on educational choices (e.g., DiMaggio, 1982; Wildhagen, 2009). Children of the economic elite are more likely to choose to study economics and law, fields in which their commercial knowledge and skills are most useful, while the children of cultural elites are more likely to choose majors like the humanities that reward their cultural knowledge (Van de Werfhorst, De Graaf, and Kraaykamp, 2001). While such effects can likely be extended to occupational choice, empirical assessments of the impact of cultural socialization beyond educational attainment are scarce (Rivera, 2012). To best understand the accumulation of cultural capital, we must consider its trajectory over the course of someone's life (Aschaffenburg and Maas, 1997).

Class-privileged childhood socialization may shape creative employment indirectly, by providing the motivation to choose a creative occupation. Middle-class parents transmit skills to their children through a process called "concerted cultivation." A crucial part of this process is spending leisure time in organized activities arranged by adults such as cello lessons or club soccer (Lareau, 2003). Parents say they encourage these activities to foster their children's creativity by exposing them to a wide variety of experiences (Weininger and Lareau, 2009). Whether this actually fosters creativity better than the working-class "accomplishment of natural growth"—leisure time spent in unstructured, child-initiated play with local friends and relatives (Lareau, 2003)—is unclear, because working-class children have more unsupervised time and opportunities to be imaginative and invent their own forms of entertainment. But there does not need to be a causal connection between this exposure (henceforth, "omnivorous socialization") and creativity for individuals to attain rewards. People need only believe in the power of omnivorous socialization for them to realize benefits in the form of enhanced potential for creative employment. By providing exposure to a wide range of cultural experiences, omnivorous socialization may increase an individual's likelihood of appreciating diverse forms of culture and having omnivorous taste as an adult. Thus, through omnivorous socialization, I expect that the children of middle-class parents are more likely to display omnivorous taste and choose to pursue occupations in which it is rewarded because they believe they have an affinity for such work.

Research Design

To investigate whether and how omnivorous taste and socialization shape creative employment, I employed mixed methods, using a concurrent triangulation strategy (Creswell,

2013) to collect and analyze qualitative and quantitative data. Specifically, I integrated qualitative insights from interviews with a quantitative analysis that tested my conceptual model. In doing so, I maximized the scope and depth of my analysis and addressed falsifiability (Denzin, 1989; Flick, 1992). I built my sample from one industry (advertising) to observe relationships within a field (Erickson, 1996) and control for extraneous variation (Eisenhardt, 1989).

I began by examining how employers select creative employees and why people choose creative jobs. Though theory and research suggest that cultural capital shapes both processes, a complete explanation emerges through the specification of mechanisms. Once I identified the mechanisms by which culture shapes entry into creative occupations, I applied structural equation modeling techniques to nationally representative survey data from this industry to test whether they mediate the relationship between class background and creative employment across a larger sample of the population (Maxwell, 1998).

Setting

The advertising industry is an ideal setting in which to examine how people enter creative occupations. The division of creative and non-creative work is relatively well defined within this industry, which eases the analytic burden of specifying which employees are recognized as creative. Every full-service advertising agency has a department called Creative Services, whose employees go by the moniker "creatives." Creative thinking also occurs outside these walls, of course, but this department houses the people widely regarded as creative within the organization. Most advertising practitioners, however, are not employed in this department. Client management or Account Services is the largest department, accounting for 25 percent of

the workforce. Other well-represented occupational categories include administrative support (20 percent), management (11 percent), and business operations specialists such as market researchers and strategists (8 percent) (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2013). These advertising practitioners differ from creatives in their career advancement strategies (McLeod, O'Donohoe, and Townley, 2011), self-presentation methods (Morais, 2007), evaluation of aesthetic objects (Koppman, 2015), and definitions of good advertising (Fox, 1997).

The advertising industry also allows for a strong test of my conceptual model. Much like architecture (Jones, 2010), product design (Mattarelli and Tagliaventi, 2015), and software development (Metiu, 2006), creative work in advertising is considered desirable and is afforded relatively high status, so much so that members of the creative department use informal closure strategies to exclude others from contributing to creative tasks (Koppman, 2014c). The presence of differences between occupational sectors in an industry that highly values creativity indicates that differences would be even larger if advertising creatives were compared with professionals in industries that do not value creativity.

The nature of this labor market also eliminates organizational advancement as an alternative explanation. In advertising, creatives rarely rely on formal organizational structures to further their careers, as they are not typically promoted within organizations. Reputation and creative awards serve as the basis for offers from competing agencies with more creative reputations (McLeod, O'Donohoe, and Townley, 2011), making hiring the key site through which creative employment is attained. Outside the creative department, advancement follows a more traditional corporate model of intra-organizational promotions based on seniority and performance.

Sample

I drew a random sample of full-service advertising agencies in the United States, stratified by organizational size, from the *Standard Directory of Advertising Agencies* (2012) (henceforth, "Agency Red Book"), a commonly used sampling frame for the advertising industry (see Cohen and Broschak, 2013). For each sampled agency, I sent two personalized e-mails to the organization contact listed in the Agency Red Book: an initial invitation asking the contact to forward the survey invitation to everyone in the organization and a reminder one week later. Organization contacts were typically upper-level management, such as a chief executive officer (CEO), chief financial officer (CFO), or chief operating officer (COO). I offered respondents a report of survey findings and the possibility of winning a $50 giftcard to Amazon.com as incentives. I successfully sent requests to 600 organizations. Unfortunately, I cannot precisely calculate the response rate because, by institutional review board mandate, the survey is anonymous at the individual level. Given that the survey asked respondents about information that is generally not publicly shared within organizations (e.g., salary, personal feelings about their organization), anonymity was needed to elicit truthful responses. I am, however, able to calculate an approximation using IP addresses. Of the 600 organizations contacted, 202 unique IP addresses were used to access the survey, for a response rate of 34 percent. I received responses from 405 people, for a total response rate of approximately 39 percent at the individual level.[1] Of these individuals, 334 people completed the entire survey, for a complete response rate

[1] I requested that contacts forward the survey to their whole organization, but it is unlikely everyone complied. A study of e-mail forwarding behavior found that only 18–56 percent of e-mails requesting forwarding were forwarded (Phelps et al., 2004). In my sample, only 42 IP addresses were used more than once, indicating that only 21 percent of the 202 initial contacts forwarded the e-mail to their colleagues. Whether they sent the e-mail to all their colleagues or a few is unknown; as a conservative estimate of my response rate, I assumed the former. Cross-referencing IP addresses with e-mail addresses collected in a separate database not linked to survey responses, I identified the 42 organizations that forwarded the e-mail and their size in the Agency Red Book. The sum of all organization sizes that forwarded the e-mail was 878. Summing this with contacts that did not forward the survey but took it themselves (160) produces 1,038 potential respondents.

of 32 percent. This is above the average 20 percent response rate for an e-mail survey (Kaplowitz, Hadlock, and Levine, 2004), especially considering the survey's length (more than 70 questions). To assuage concerns about demographic representativeness, I compared my sample with industry averages from the 2013 *Current Population Survey* (CPS) and found that my sample is demographically representative of U.S. advertising practitioners in age (CPS 40.4 median; sample 40–49), gender (CPS 53 percent female; sample 51.5 percent), and race (CPS 75.8 percent non-Hispanic white; sample 82.5 percent).

Following the completion of the initial survey, I asked respondents if they were willing to be contacted further about the study, and 111 respondents said yes. When contacted, 41 of these respondents scheduled interviews (36 percent response rate). I conducted an additional 13 interviews (attained through personal contacts) with a purposive sample of advertising practitioners employed in the industry's most competitive sector in Manhattan (total N = 54). I asked all 54 informants questions about their decision to enter advertising and whether they had been involved in hiring decisions. I asked informants with experience hiring for entry-level creative (N = 36) or other roles (N = 37) additional questions about how their agency selected new employees. I conducted interviews, averaging 25 minutes in length, in person, by video chat on Skype, and by phone in 2012 and 2014. Table 1 summarizes interviewee characteristics, including occupation, organizational size, industry tenure, the subject of their bachelor's degree, when they were interviewed, whether they were involved in hiring, and whether they were survey respondents. In all, 27 of my informants worked in Creative Services, seven in Account Services, 14 in management, and six in administration or business operations.

[Insert Table 1 about here]

I found little evidence of response bias. The mean organization size in my sample is 31; according to my survey's categorical measure, the median for all responding organizations and the subset of those who forwarded the e-mail is between 25 and 49. The location data from IP addresses that accessed the survey showed that respondents were geographically distributed across the country, though the Mid-Atlantic region and Chicago—places with the highest concentrations of firms—had the highest concentration of responses. Respondents from organizations that forwarded the e-mail do not significantly differ from respondents from organizations that did not on any key variables.

Qualitative Analysis

Interview Procedures

To understand how cultural capital shapes creative employment, I relied on the interview data. I asked informants who reported experience hiring for entry-level jobs in creative or other roles about employer selection (e.g., "What do you look for when hiring entry-level copywriters and designers?"). I asked all informants questions about individual choice (e.g., "How did you get into advertising?" and "Why did you choose this occupation?"). To avoid leading the informants, I did not directly ask about early life or parental influences on their decision to enter advertising, as I wanted to leave open the possibility that they might not consider such influences important. Instead, I used follow-up questions to probe further when they mentioned related concepts on their own. Relying on this strategy, 34 informants described early life influences (26 from creative departments, 8 from other departments), and 23 described parental influences (18 from creative departments, 5 from other departments). The fact that 26 of 27 informants in creative positions, but only 8 of 27 from other departments, mentioned early socializing

experiences in their interviews without being explicitly asked strongly suggests that socialization was involved in this process. Interviews were recorded and professionally transcribed verbatim.

Analytic Strategy

I used a grounded theory approach to analyze interview data. I began by open coding the interview transcripts of informants with hiring experience using *Atlas-ti* 6.2, seeking to understand how employers selected entry-level employees for creative and other roles. The recurring themes identified in this stage of analysis were aggregated into the following higher-order categories: cultural similarity, passion, business skills, abstract thinking, and interpersonal skills. See Online Appendix A (http://asq.sagepub.com/supplemental), table A1, for coding examples. Although I began by coding any mention of culture (e.g., tastes, interests, and styles), I soon realized what employers sought was culture that was shared—of the 30 informants who used culture to evaluate aspiring creatives, 27 described it as valuable due to similarity with them or their firm. I used these categories in the second stage of coding, finding that cultural similarity was the most commonly evoked criterion for hiring entry-level creatives. In the third stage of coding, I refined this category by what cultural similarity meant and how it was used. In line with Rivera's (2012) study of bankers, consultants, and lawyers, I found that cultural similarity worked through the cognitive, emotional, and (to a lesser extent) organizational processes. In contrast to her study, the cultural similarity in question was based not on shared cultural interests but on shared cultural omnivorousness.

I followed a similar process to analyze the mechanisms underlying individual choice, although in this case I analyzed interview transcripts for all of my informants. In my initial stage of coding, while examining why they chose to enter advertising, I noticed that their explanations

were patterned by orientations to work rewards that are known to shape career choice (e.g., Johnson, 2002). For example, people chose to enter advertising because it provided intrinsic rewards like creativity, extrinsic rewards like economic compensation and professional status, altruistic rewards like the chance to help others, and social rewards like friendship (see Online Appendix A, table A2, for coding examples). Using analytic coding, I classified all of my informants' choices by these work rewards. I found that creativity was the most common motivating factor regardless of occupation. Economic compensation and professional status were the second-most-common reward for job holders outside creative departments, while social rewards were second for those inside creative departments. Given that creativity was the most prevalent and theoretically interesting motivator, I used selective coding to examine variation in its meaning, origins, and priority.

Employer Selection

Given the glamour and mystique of advertising, there are many more would-be *Mad Men* than positions. Employers I interviewed described frequent experiences with applicants whom they deemed "untalented," "uninteresting" or "ill-suited." For example, a creative director described an experience trying to hire a copywriter. Despite an enthusiastic response to his job posting, he found the majority of candidates disappointing. "There's a reason a lot of these people aren't working: they're not that talented," he explained. Likewise, another creative director expressed frustration with the lack of "interesting people" evident from his experience interviewing a large number of candidates who "have really nothing to say about life." "They [job candidates] watched *Mad Men*," an agency owner complained, "and they think it's just all

fun. 'You guys just sit around and you create stuff and you throw spit wads.'" Given the surplus of job candidates, the hiring process became a crucial mechanism for occupational sorting.

The literature generally views cultural signals as "unproductive" and thus nonessential to the hiring relationship (Tilly, 1998), but in a situation of high uncertainty in which traditional markers are considered largely irrelevant, evaluators rely on cultural similarities as an indicator of merit (Rivera, 2012). No degrees are necessary to enter advertising, and evaluators further devalued standard indicators: "I tell students all the time, your GPA or your diploma is like the last thing I look at, if ever," a creative director reported. "No one really cares that much about your résumé, and how long you've been [working]," explained another. Instead, as shown in figure 1, cultural similarities were the most frequently invoked criterion for evaluating candidates for creative jobs—more so than abstract thinking, presentation skills, and interpersonal skills (see Online Appendix A, table A1 for coding examples). For candidates for jobs outside creative departments, by contrast, interpersonal skills were the most frequently invoked criterion.

[Insert Figure 1 about Here]

The cultural similarities valued by evaluators of aspiring creatives were not based on the content of cultural interests but rather how they were experienced. Evaluators in this field favored candidates with whom they shared a way of consuming culture, rather than shared interests. Two-thirds of my informants with experience hiring creative employees described how shared cultural omnivorousness—manifest in diverse tastes, interests, and styles—influenced their evaluation of potential creative skill. Cultural omnivorousness was valued through evaluators' assessment of a candidate's merit (mentioned by 71 percent), emotional responses to

a candidate's work (58 percent), and explicit consideration of compatibility with the firm's "personality" (38 percent).

Assessments of merit: Using the self as a model. Evaluators of aspiring creatives interpreted culturally omnivorous tastes and interests as signals of potential creative skill. To be successful in the creative department, a person needed more than a command of business culture—he or she needed a broader interest in the world and a desire to acquire a diverse array of knowledge. As an agency president explained,

> I don't hire very many people who have advertising degrees. Because they think they know everything. They've been taught the processes and procedures about advertising. Then you have people they've studied anthropology, or journalism, or English or Spanish, those people, they have what's most important. They have diversity of knowledge and also a quest for knowledge.

Evaluators used their own omnivorous taste as a frame through which a candidate's creativity was interpreted. Like bankers and consultants (Rivera, 2012), evaluators inside creative departments used themselves as models of merit. They figured that because they were creative, candidates similar to them were also likely to be creative. A creative director described his approach to interviewing candidates for entry-level positions this way:

> It doesn't matter, a copywriter, designer, [they need] a tremendous intellectual curiosity. A lot of times, one of the first questions I will ask is "Do you read? What do you like to do in your own time? What are your hobbies?" Because you can tell a lot about someone, about their own intellectual curiosity. We're artists at the end of the day and I like the fact that when I go into Barnes & Noble, like if you were to look at the magazines I take out or the books I'm reading, they are all over the place because I want to know about everything.

He expressed a preference for diverse cultural genres ("the books I'm reading . . . are all over the place") as the result of his curiosity ("because I want to know about everything"). This evaluator specifically looked for candidates who shared his mode of cultural consumption. He had omnivorous taste in books and sought a similar quality in employees. To him, this mattered

above and beyond the role (copywriter or graphic designer) the candidate sought to fill. This method of assessment was even used by evaluators outside creative departments, who drew on personal experience with people they considered creative. For example, an agency vice president described how she looked for candidates who were "creative sponges for the world around them." "That's what makes them interesting people," she explained. "We have some creative people here who play accordion in alternative bands. We have people who like to make films on the side. That's the kind of thing we look for."

Omnivorous interests beyond cultural consumption signaled merit in the same way. One creative director described his method of evaluation in the context of his own circuitous path to advertising: "I studied artificial intelligence," he explained, but "halfway through my degree I tried to change to politics." This abrupt shift led him to a self-realization—"I realized at an early age that I'm a generalist. I like to know a little about a lot of things"—that informed his evaluation of job candidates: "The biggest problem I find is that the young people that come into the industry do degrees in advertising and filmmaking, and I don't care about that stuff." Instead, he sought entry-level candidates who, like him, were interested in many different things: "What is lacking in the people that we see coming into the business is knowledge of the classics, understanding of archaeology, degrees in artificial intelligence. People with that level of information about the world have more to say, more interesting things to say."

While cultural similarity typically led culturally omnivorous gatekeepers to attribute creative potential to culturally omnivorous job candidates, it led a small number of gatekeepers to attribute creative potential to a different form of cultural consumption—a deep investment in a small number of cultural interests. For example, a graphic designer asserted, "I always think it's important to know the fine arts basics, like the drawing and typography I took in art school." She

explained, “They [typography professors] wrote the fonts. They didn’t type fonts. So, it just makes us more knowledgeable about how spacing should look. Once you know those basics, then you can go as crazy as you want.” Her emphasis on cultural depth rather than breadth, though rare in my sample, is aligned with the view that dominates higher education in art—that “technique” and “visual fundamentals” are prerequisites to creativity (Singerman, 1999). Such variation suggests that cultural similarity, more than anything intrinsically creative about omnivores, underlies attributions of creativity in this field.

Emotional reactions to work: Listen to your heart. Omnivorous culture was also assigned value during the assessment of candidates’ work, through their use of diverse styles. Along with a résumé, candidates for creative positions submitted portfolios or “books” containing examples of past work. Those lacking professional work would use “spec ads,” personal projects that highlighted design or writing capabilities. Portfolios were, first and foremost, evaluated for their use of a mix of diverse styles. “A lot of portfolios will be focused in a single style, but I love to see people with different styles, with writers and designers,” a creative director explained. Another creative director illustrated the point this way:

> I’m looking for an ability to change tonality . . . don’t become Tom Cruise, be Sean Penn. When you see Tom Cruise in a movie it’s Tom Cruise as a lawyer, Tom Cruise as a fighter pilot. But when you see Sean Penn in a movie it’s like the difference between Jeff Spicoli in *Fast Times at Ridgemont High* and the guy in *Dead Man Walking*. The guy just totally erases himself and puts himself into the role.

Even evaluators from firms specializing in one industry (N = 7) and one client (N = 2) expressed this preference for diverse styles. A head copywriter whose agency worked solely in pharmaceutical advertising described how he looked for candidates’ portfolios that displayed diversity: “I try to make sure there’s a mix, you know? I want headlines in there that are more

playful, and then I want some that are more direct and clinical." Serving clients from multiple industries was thus not necessary for valuing diverse styles.

Evaluators used their emotional reactions to diverse styles as an indicator of creativity. One a copywriter described how she was "drawn to" candidates whose portfolios had "a good range," and a creative director asserted he knew immediately when a candidate was "not talented" because "everything in their portfolio had the same tone, all their designs felt very familiar." "I just say 'Wow, I would have done that.' You're looking for that kind of spark," another creative director explained. "If they've taken an approach or a style that I haven't seen before, that's what really gets me excited." Through these affective responses, employers equated diverse styles with creativity: "Creativity's hard to define, but I look at it as something different," explained a creative director. "I get a gut feeling when I look at something and I see enough of those differences in a portfolio, I know this is the kind of person we're talking to." Another informant asserted, "Most people will kind of lean on the same technique they've done all the time, but really good people will come up with really fresh ideas." When I asked how he identified "really good people," he responded "It's tough. You just kind of get a feel for them."

Associating diverse styles with creative potential was not universal, however. One creative director explained that she specifically looked for a consistent style: "I look for a flavor . . . I like to have a sense of the person who is writing. I love to have a sense that they inject something of themselves into their work." In the same intuitive way (i.e., "a sense of the person") as other informants, she preferred a single consistent style, even though she worked with clients in multiple industries. An exception in my sample, her response is aligned with a prominent definition of creativity in fine art, in which the hallmark of success is a distinctive, independent style (Simpson, 1981; Sgourev and Althuizen, 2014). Again, this suggests that the

link between omnivorous culture and creativity is driven more by interpersonal connection than omnivorousness itself.

Compatibility with the firm: Different like me. The explicit consideration of a candidate's perceived similarity or "fit" with the firm's existing workforce reinforced the preference for cultural omnivores. Members of creative departments saw themselves as different and interesting and favored candidates who were different and interesting like them. As an art director explained,

> They [job candidates] have to work well with us. Everyone that you're working with has similar insights and they're able to tap into culture inside the office and outside in similar ways that you can. Everyone's in a similar mindset, in such a way that you read something online or in a magazine, and you just decipher in a different way than normal. It's just a different way of looking at the world.

In addition to signaling creative potential, omnivorous tastes and interests were valued because they suggested that the candidates saw themselves as different in the same way as evaluators. A creative director described how he and his colleagues were different because they were cultural omnivores: "You're surrounded by people who care about different kinds of art and music and fashion, clothing, all that stuff. Other places where I worked, people are buttoned up and sort of guarded. Here is the polar opposite." To him, hiring was about looking for people who fit this mold. Notably, my informants explicitly stated that this preference was not, as other scholars have argued (e.g., Erickson, 1996; Rivera, 2012), because such diversity increased the chance of shared interests with applicants. As a copywriter explained, "Having an interesting personality is important, even if that person is not like me. I'm not saying the greatest personality but something that makes you interesting."

The consideration of the fit of a candidate's work with the firm reinforced preferences for stylistic diversity. Evaluators often described their firm's work as "different" and sought

employees who could produce the same kind of different work as they did. For example, a creative director explained, “We look at it [the portfolio] and we say, ‘Would they be a fit for us?’” Because his firm was “edgy,” he looked for candidates whose work used diverse styles: “We do work that’s pretty edgy, so can they be versatile? Can they have an illustrative style? Can they go kind of dirty and do things that are organic, as well as something that looks like it’s been tuned by a computer?” Another creative director said he first asked himself, “Is there a feeling that the kind of work they do is the kind of work that my agency is doing? We’re looking for a type of work that is very creative, unique, some people use the word ‘edgy.’” When seeking work that was “creative” like his agency, he explained, “I’m looking for a lot of different solutions. I’m looking for different ways to stop people.”

Notably, when I asked informants about hiring outside the creative department, fit with the firm was the only form of cultural similarity they mentioned. Unlike evaluators of candidates for creative jobs, these evaluators emphasized fit because, they said, shared interests maximized their enjoyment of shared time. As with the evaluations of bankers and consultants (Rivera, 2012), fit was considered important because it determined whether the candidate would make a good office mate and travel companion: “Account management, you have to fit in with the majority of people personality-wise, because you have to be able to share space, to travel together,” an agency president explained. Thus cultural similarity’s role in hiring for jobs outside creative departments appeared to be more similar to its role in consulting and banking than in creative departments.

Individuals' Career Choice

Though creativity is often regarded as a natural talent, the cultural omnivorousness that serves as its signal is shaped by social experience. As shown in figure 2, when asked why they entered the field, advertising practitioners from all lines of work were more likely to mention creativity than motives like compensation, prestige, or sociability (see Online Appendix A, table A2, for coding examples). But creativity was assigned different meaning, origins, and priority by those employed in creative occupations and those who were not. Members of creative departments defined creativity as a general skill, evidenced by their early experience with often multiple cultural interests unrelated to advertising (e.g., painting, architecture, film)—interests they cited as proof of their natural affinity for their current occupation. Practitioners in other departments by contrast defined creativity as a "fun" and "exciting" work environment of the industry itself, an attraction rarely rooted in early life and often secondary to economic or professional motivations.

[Insert Figure 2 about Here]

Inside the creative department. For members of creative departments, creativity was defined as a general competency they possessed. When I asked an art director how he attained his current position, he first corrected me, saying: "I see myself more as a 'creative' than as an 'art director.' We're trying to not settle into being either an art director or a copywriter, we're trying to be creative." He then answered my question, stating, "I knew it was what I was, what I always wanted to do." To him, creativity was a competency he viewed as an essential part of himself. This creativity was expressed as being a general skill that crossed domains rather than a specific ability that required expertise and intense effort in a specific domain (e.g., Becker, 1984). A similar view was reported by a creative director:

> Most of the creatives I've talked to will say if you have this ability to be creative, like you're really good at this, but you're not good at all at most anything else. It's the only thing I'm good at. [*Laughs*] You're at a job that highlights this thing and God forbid it ever goes away, I'll be sweeping streets, because it is a very specific skill.

He spoke of creativity as a competency that was general in its applications but specific in the sense that it defined him, so much so that he saw his career choice as a lack of choice.

Members of creative departments described creativity as a predisposition they had from an early age, evidenced by their interest in multiple cultural pursuits that were not advertising. Such interests included creative writing, art, design, filmmaking, music, architecture, art history, comedy, literature, painting, photography, poetry, printmaking, product design, and woodworking. Only a minority (11 of 27) actually described interests directly related to their current jobs (e.g., a copywriter interested in writing). More frequently (18 of 27), informants described more than one pivotal interest (mean = 2.3) in which there was no direct link between the interest and their occupation: "I had always wanted to be a filmmaker" (creative director); "As a kid, I was always interested in architecture" (graphic designer); "I was in a rock band in high school, I wanted to be a musician" (creative director). For two-thirds of these informants, such interests were supported by their parents' investment of time and resources. A graphic designer recalled, "When I was young, my parents were very supportive of me being creative. Like always in creative writing and they were putting me into you know, summer programs, or whatever sort of creative programs." Similarly, a creative director recounted, "My parents always encouraged creativity in general. They always appreciated it and encouraged it and had patience for me when I wanted to show them the latest thing I'd made."

By defining creativity as a general skill, the link between these disparate cultural interests and current occupations came to be seen as a natural affinity. One graphic designer described a

childhood attraction to computer programming ("In eighth grade I was learning how to make websites"), a college degree in film ("I wanted to be a writer of TV shows"), and his first job in the music industry ("I love music, so I was working at this record label"). He made sense of this path through his predisposition to general creativity: "I've always had that knack, I just have a lot of creativity to offer." Similarly, a creative director recalled, "I used to write quite a bit for fun. Paint some. Make things. . . . It's something I've always knew that I had and that I enjoyed. I [just] didn't know where in business I'd be able to apply that creative energy." In his eyes, writing, painting, and making things were all evidence of an underlying skill that had driven him to advertising. Likewise, an art director explained, "I knew it was what I always wanted to do. I was always painting and like, you know, constructing things. My father's an architect, my mother's an interior designer, so I've always wanted to get into a similar field." His decision to enter advertising was motivated by early cultural interests and his parents' occupations. Even though constructing, architecture, and interior design did not seem directly related to his job supervising the creative team's graphic designers, they provided (at least from his perspective) evidence he was well suited for a creative occupation.

Through these early socializing experiences, informants in creative positions developed a view of themselves as "creative" in a way that matched the definition of creativity widely accepted in the field of advertising. These informants' beliefs that they were broadly creative largely because of multiple cultural interests would not likely function as capital in all creative domains—for example, in a field emphasizing technical competence such as ballet. To earn social profits, they had to invest their capital in a field in which it was valued.

Outside the creative department. Outside the creative department, most (21 of 27) informants also indicated that their decision to enter advertising was motivated by the desire for

creativity, but there were notable differences in the meaning, origin, and priority of this motivation. To these informants, creativity was attractive because it made work "fun" and "cool." As a vice president explained,

> Advertising really suited me really well. I knew that I did not want to work with numbers or science. I liked being in a creative environment. It was a kind of a robust kind of environment with people that were expressive and verbal and out there and interesting . . . being around creative people is fun.

Compared with occupations involving "numbers or science," she saw advertising as attractive because of the "creative environment." Given that mathematical and scientific jobs often require considerable creativity, her explanation suggests she was motivated by the environment she associated with creativity rather than viewing creativity as a competency she necessarily had.

Almost all (25 of 27) these informants did not see their decision to enter advertising as the fulfillment of an early interest in a cultural pursuit. Instead, advertising itself was the motivating interest. "It was a fun industry, I just liked the thought of being able to talk to people and create," explained an agency president. Only a quarter asserted that early life experiences drew them to advertising, and their responses emphasized the industry itself: "I was interested in the creative culture of the industry," an account executive said. "As a kid, I was just always interested in advertising culture. It was just being exposed a lot to interesting TV spots." "I've been fascinated with advertising since I was 16, 'cause for my sixteenth birthday, my mother got me this coffee table book called *Advertising Today,"* an account planner explained. "It seemed like a fun, cool, dynamic industry to work in."

Unlike members of creative departments, they did not describe their occupational choice as a natural affinity. Though most informants mentioned the intrinsic rewards of creativity, for many these were combined with economic and professional motives, mentioned by 20 of 27 informants. The excitement of advertising was frequently combined with an interest in economic

compensation. For example, an agency president was attracted to advertising during her initial encounter as a model: “I was hired to represent different brands and I just thought, ‘Wow, this is kind of cool.’” Eventually, though, she entered advertising for financial reasons: “I was getting a broadcast journalism degree, because I thought I wanted to work on-air. . . . but I found out that marketing people have much better cars.” Similarly, a desire for professional status was often combined with an attraction to the industry. As an agency owner recalled, “I was the marketing manager for a company and I managed a million dollar budget, but I wasn’t on a growth path on the corporate side and it wasn’t particularly creative. And I managed an ad agency and I realized they were having a lot more fun than I was.”

Thus far my analysis has shown that the cultural capital valued in advertising is not directly related to business (Erickson, 1996) or upper-middle-class culture (Rivera, 2012) but is instead omnivorous. This analysis also suggested that having and profitably investing this capital stems from early cultural experiences that instill a view of creativity as broad exposure, what I term omnivorous socialization. Primary survey data allowed me to test in a quantitative survey whether omnivorous taste and socialization mediate the relationship between class background and creative employment.

Quantitative Analysis

Endogenous Variables

Creative employment. My survey instrument used department names indigenous to the advertising industry to demarcate creative employment and included eight broad categories: Creative Services, Account Services, Media, Interactive, Operations, Planning, Production, and senior management. Creative Services describes the agency’s artists, including graphic

designers, copywriters, illustrators, and their managers: art directors, copy supervisors, and creative directors. Given that employees in smaller agencies frequently have more than one job function, the survey asked for a departmental affiliation and, if applicable, a secondary affiliation. Because my primary interest was whether respondents were able to earn the organizational designation of "creative," I included both primary and secondary affiliations in the measure of creative employment, which was coded 1 if either the primary or secondary affiliation was Creative Services and 0 otherwise.

Omnivorous taste. Omnivorous taste is defined as "choosing a large number of distinctive tastes or activities" (Peterson and Kern, 1996) and is based on Bourdieu's (1984: 18) assertion that "nothing more clearly affirms one's 'class,' nothing more infallibly classifies, than tastes in music." My survey instrument was modeled on the most commonly used data source to study omnivores, the 1993 General Social Survey (GSS) question on whether respondents "like" a particular musical genre. "Liking" musical genres, "passing knowledge" (Van Eijck, 2001), or "weak culture" (Schultz and Breiger, 2010) functions as a signal of status in a way stronger affinities do not. I used fifteen of the same genres as the GSS (Heavy Metal, Country, Oldies, Jazz, Contemporary Rock, Blues, Rap, Classical, Easy Listening, Folk, Opera, Latin, New Age, and Reggae), excluding four (Bluegrass, Big Band, Broadway, and Gospel) and adding one (Pop/Top 40) based on pre-testing.

Scholars disagree on whether measurement of omnivorous taste should emphasize the quantity or distinctiveness of musical genres (Warde, Wright, and Gayo-Cal, 2008). Most studies use the former approach, called *omnivorous taste by volume*, counting the number of musical genres each respondent likes (e.g., Erickson, 1996; Peterson and Kern, 1996; Fishman and Lizardo, 2013), but this operationalization does not take into account how distinctive selected

genres are from one another: classic and contemporary rock, for instance, are not as distinctive as classic rock and opera. This is especially important given that, in my qualitative analysis, evaluators of potential creative employees emphasized difference more than quantity. To account for genre distinctiveness, I created a co-occurrence matrix of musical preferences using data from a nationally representative dataset, the General Social Survey's (1993) Culture Module. [2] The resulting matrix was symmetrical, with the total number of likes for each genre running along the diagonal. I converted this matrix into a cosine similarity matrix, presented as a heat map in figure 3.[3] Musical genres frequently selected together by the same respondent are considered similar and are represented by a lighter square (e.g., oldies and contemporary rock); musical genres rarely selected together by the same respondent are considered distant and are represented by a darker square (e.g., opera and heavy metal).

[Insert Figure 3 about Here]

Relying on this cosine similarity matrix and my person-level data, I used a modified version of Porter and colleagues' (2007) measure of integration—i.e., a scientific paper's integration of knowledge from diverse disciplines—to account for what I term *omnivorous taste by distinctiveness*. This index incorporates not only the variety of categories—in Porter and colleagues' case, subject categories describing references in a paper's bibliography—but their cognitive distance using a cosine similarity matrix based on the co-occurrence of subject categories from the population of Thomson Reuters Web of Knowledge articles. Porter et al.'s measure is a particular parameterization of the Sterling Index:

[2] A newer dataset with this question is available from the Survey of Public Participation in the Arts (2008), but it includes fewer musical genres. To ensure that distinctiveness did not change considerably since 1993, I calculated the QAP correlation between cosine matrices from both sources, finding they were highly correlated ($r = .92$).

[3] Only the 14 genres that appeared in both my survey and the GSS were used to construct this matrix.

$$\sum ij \; s_{ij,} \; p_i \; p_j$$

where p_i is the proportion of referenced papers in subject category i and s_{ij} is the similarity between subject categories i and j based on the cosine similarity matrix (Rafols and Meyer, 2010). To convert this to a measure of distance rather than similarity, the total from the formula above is subtracted from 1. This creates a score that ranges from 0 to 1 and increases as more, unrelated subject categories are referenced. To use this index to measure the distinctiveness of a person's musical taste, p_i is the proportion of all musical genres "liked" by a respondent that a given genre i represents (e.g., if a respondent liked two genres, p_i is always ½; if a respondent liked four genres, p_i is always ¼), and s_{ij} is the similarity between musical genres i and j, based on my cosine similarity matrix.

Omnivorous socialization. Omnivorous socialization is a latent construct measured by three observed variables: (1) the number of types of organized *activities* (e.g., organized sports, music lessons, community service, and martial arts) the respondent participated in as a child, (2) the number of types of cultural *events* he or she attended as a child (e.g., art galleries, street fairs, and the rodeo), and (3) the number of types of family *vacations* he or she went on as a child (e.g., Disneyland, national parks, and historical sites). The specific items used to measure each observed variable are listed in Online Appendix B. For all three socialization processes, "omnivorous" was operationalized using the number of different options chosen by the respondent as a continuous variable (Peterson, 2005).

The measurement model for this latent variable is presented in table 2. Only two factor loadings are estimated because one must be set to 1 to scale the latent variable (Bollen, 1989). Both factor loadings are relatively large and statistically significant at $p < .001$(two-tailed tests). The model is just-identified, which means that the number of parameters estimated is equal to the

number of data points in the sample covariance matrix.[4] Just-identified latent variables can be advantageous because they are more stable than over-identified ones; their one and only solution does not depend on what other variables are included in the model (Little et al., 2002).

[Insert Table 2 about Here]

Exogenous Variables

Father's occupation. Occupational data for this study were collected using the scale for occupational categories inductively derived by Peterson and Simkus (1992), based on the respondent's father's occupation when the respondent was 14 years old. This scale was developed as a critique of aggregations used in existing class schemas. For instance, the categories used by the U.S. Census lump physicians and exotic dancers under the category "professional." Other commonly used occupational schemas have similar limitations (for a thorough review of occupational classification schemas, see Bergman and Joye, 2001). In contrast, Peterson and Simkus (1992) grouped occupations with similar job conditions, cultural competencies, and social skills into 20 categories, thus incorporating the volume (e.g., high or low) and composition (e.g., cultural or economic) of capital, which I aggregated further into seven categories: professional (e.g., architects, lawyers, doctors), cultural (e.g., teachers, social workers, and artists), technical (e.g., software developers, accountants), service (e.g., barbers, waiters, firemen), managerial, sales, and manual. Aggregation involved combining two levels of the same category (e.g., "high managerial" and "low managerial" were combined into "managerial"). I used an even more aggregated measure that distinguishes between only working-class (manual and service) and middle-class occupations (professional, cultural,

[4] Global goodness-of-fit indices (e.g., CFI, TLI) are not presented because they have no meaningful interpretation for just-identified models. Such indices assess the validity of over-identifying restrictions that just-identified models, by definition, do not have (Reichardt, 2002).

technical, managerial, and sales) in the main models, as well as two robustness checks that used the more refined categories aligned with Bourdieu's predictions (e.g., cultural and professional occupations). Although my survey contained a similar question about mother's occupation, 35 percent of respondents had mothers who did not work outside the home, which was common for women from all social classes for the time period covered by this analysis. Given that dropping this category would introduce a large number of missing values, I chose not to include mother's occupation in my analysis.

Father's and mother's education. Research on work and the family has generally focused on father's occupation as the determinant of class (Mortimer, 1976), but parental education has been found to affect cultural capital more than occupation or income (Hughes and Peterson, 1983; DiMaggio and Mohr, 1985). For this reason, I included both father's and mother's education in this analysis. Each was coded 1 if the respondent reported that the parent in question had a bachelor's degree or higher and 0 if the parent did not.

Control variables. Although gender is not the focus of this study, I included it as a control at each stage of the analysis because of its previously documented effects on all three endogenous variables (Nixon, 2003; Lizardo, 2006b; McCoy, Byrne, and Banks, 2010; Sherman, 2011). To control for the possibility that creative employment was attained through social contacts (Granovetter, 1974), I used a dichotomous measure of whether or not a respondent attained his or her first job in advertising through a referral from a friend, family member, or acquaintance. I used a dichotomous measure for private art school attendance to account for possible effects of elite artistic education. I also included a dichotomous measure of age, coded 1 for respondents over 40 and 0 for respondents under 40. I chose a threshold because the survey

contained a categorical rather than continuous measure of age, to ease the burden on respondents in a long (70-question) survey.

Analytic Strategy

To assess the extent to which my conceptual model explains creative employment, I used structural equation modeling (Bollen, 1989), which can incorporate a measurement model for an endogenous variable of interest (omnivorous socialization) and the indirect effects specified by the conceptual model. This process-oriented approach also fits well with the theoretical framework of intergenerational cultural capital transmission.

I present structural equation models estimated in MPlus 7 (Muthén and Muthén, 2010b), using the weighted least squares means- and variance-adjusted (WLSMV) estimator, which is robust to non-normality, providing accurate parameters for binary outcomes with clustered samples. It provides linear regression coefficients for continuous outcomes and probit regression coefficients for binary outcomes (Muthén and Muthén, 2010a). Mplus uses a full information maximum likelihood procedure to estimate models with missing variables; the WLSMV estimator uses a modified version of this procedure (see Asparouhov and Muthén, 2010, for a technical discussion). I compared models run with this missing data procedure and listwise deletion, without significant differences in the results. I present models run with the missing data procedure in this article.

Due to model equivalence and other mathematical problems associated with structural equation estimation (MacCallum et al., 1993), a strong rationale for each model tested is crucial. I began by testing the direct effects of class background on creative employment. I then tested the conceptual model, examining the extent to which the relationship between class background

and creative employment was mediated by taste and socialization. I included gender at each stage because of its previously documented effect on all three endogenous variables, while I used other control variables to assess the robustness of the final results. Covariances between gender and indicators of class background (e.g., father's occupation, father's and mother's education) were constrained to zero, because men and women are equally likely to be born into a given class position. All indicators of class background were positively correlated ($p < .05$) in all models presented.

Descriptive Statistics

Table 3 presents descriptive statistics and a correlation matrix for all observed variables. As a child, the average respondent participated in four organized activities, attended three types of events, and went on three types of vacations. On average, respondents like almost six different musical genres and have an omnivorous taste by distinctiveness score of .48—for example, someone who likes rock, oldies, new age, and jazz. Forty-four percent work in creative positions. The sample is equally divided between men and women (approximately 52 percent are female) and between respondents over and under 40 years old (approximately 56 percent are over 40). Forty-two percent of respondents' mothers and 56 percent of respondents' fathers had at least a bachelor's degree, and almost 80 percent of respondents' fathers worked in middle-class (or higher) occupations.

[Insert Table 3 about Here]

To test whether the measures of omnivorous socialization are conceptually and practically distinct from omnivorous taste and class background, I examined the correlation matrix of the observed variables. As shown in table 3, the correlation coefficients between

omnivorous taste by volume and each of the measures of omnivorous socialization are, respectively, .146 (activities), .230 (events), and .155 (vacations). Correlation coefficients between middle-class fathers and measures of omnivorous socialization are .134 (activities), .275 (events), and .219 (vacations). Omnivorous socialization appears to be analytically distinct from omnivorous taste and class background, although these measures are positively correlated.

Comparisons between my data and nationally representative samples temper concerns about industry effects. In table 4, I compare the distribution of my novel construct, omnivorous socialization, with similar measures of childhood participation in organized activities from the National Educational Longitudinal Study (NELS) (1988) and Lareau's (2003) qualitative work. Although the comparison is crude—the scales are not equivalent and were assessed at different moments in the lifespan (measured during childhood, rather than retrospectively, as in my study)—the standardized proportions are quite similar. I also compare my measure of omnivorous taste by volume with that of the GSS Culture Module (1993) and the Survey of Public Participation in the Arts (2008). Results likewise indicate that an industry effect is unlikely.

[Insert Table 4 about Here]

Structural Equation Modeling Results

I began by testing the direct effects of indicators for class background on creative employment, none of which appears to be statistically significant, as shown in table 5, model 1. According to the goodness-of-fit statistics for structural equation models, this model does not fit the data well: the CFI (Comparative Fit Index), the TLI (Tucker–Lewis Index), and 1-RMSEA (Root Mean Square Error of Approximation) are far from their ideal of 1. Without a significant direct effect, traditional mediation analysis (e.g., Baron and Kenny, 1986) might end here. Most

statisticians now agree, however, that an indirect effect can be present without a direct effect due to a suppressor effect (see Shrout and Bolger, 2002; Hayes, 2009; Zhao, Lynch, and Chen, 2010), a common occurrence in models, like the one hypothesized here, with more than one mediator (Hayes, Preacher, and Myers, 2011).

[Insert Table 5 about Here]

As shown in table 5, model 2, the effect of class background on creative employment is mediated by omnivorous socialization and omnivorous taste. Adding socialization and taste (measured by volume) as mediators provides a better-fitting model. The CFI, TLI, and 1-RMSEA are very close to their ideal of 1 (.995, .992, and .984, respectively). As expected, the path from taste to creative employment is positive and statistically significant, although the magnitude of the coefficient is modest. Holding gender constant at zero, at the mean of omnivorous taste (liking approximately 6 out of 15 possible musical genres), the predicted probability a respondent will be employed in a creative position is approximately 51 percent. Increasing this by one standard deviation (about 3 musical genres) increases the predicted probability 2 percent. Also as hypothesized, the path from parental class background through omnivorous socialization to taste is positive and statistically significant. For every one unit increase in the latent variable for omnivorous socialization, the expected value of omnivorous taste—specifically, the number of musical genres the respondent enjoys—increases by .56. There is no direct path from omnivorous socialization to creative employment (results not shown), only via omnivorous taste.

Omnivorous taste's effect appears to be driven by the distinctiveness of musical genres more than the quantity (see table 5, model 3). Substituting omnivorous taste measured by volume with omnivorous taste measured by distinctiveness substantially increases the magnitude of the

coefficient, from standardized probit β = .116 in model 2 to standardized probit β = .174 in model 3. Results from this model are presented in figure 4, without error terms, controls, and intercorrelated exogenous variables for interpretability. Unstandardized estimates are presented due to the presence of binary variables (Muthén and Muthén, 2010a). In model 3, a change from the theoretical minimum (0) to the theoretical maximum (1) increases the odds of creative employment more than six times ($e^{1.164*1.6} = 6.439$).[5] Though the magnitude of the coefficient for omnivorous socialization decreases in this model (standardized probit β = .264 to standardized probit β = .153), all other coefficients remain relatively unchanged.

[Insert Figure 4 about Here]

To aid interpretation, predicted probabilities associated with the final step of the path in table 5, model 3, are illustrated in figure 5. Holding gender constant at zero (i.e., for men), increasing omnivorous taste one standard deviation from the mean—e.g., moving from someone who likes classical, jazz, folk, and rock to someone who likes new age, blues, rap, and heavy metal—increases the predicted probability of creative employment by 43 percent. Holding gender constant at one (i.e., for women), increasing omnivorous taste one standard deviation from the mean increases the predicted probability of creative employment by 39 percent.

[Insert Figure 5 about Here]

Though I did not focus on gender in this article (but see Koppman, 2014a), it is clear from the model that its effects are significant. Women are less likely to be employed in creative positions, but the positive indirect path from gender to creative employment via omnivorous socialization and taste ($p = .069$) suggests that women may be more likely than men to attain creative employment via omnivorous socialization. To formally test whether these relationships

[5] Given the difficulty interpreting probit coefficients, probits were converted to exponentiated logits using the 1.6 rule: $\beta_{logit} = 1.6\ \beta_{probit}$ (Amemiya, 1985).

are conditioned on gender, I conducted a multiple group analysis (Kline, 2005). When the chi-square from the model with parameters allowed to vary by gender (χ^2 (38) = 36.382, p = .544) is compared with the chi-square for the model with parameters constrained to be equivalent for men and women (χ^2 (46) = 41.228, p = .672), the difference is not significant (χ^2 (8) = 4.846, p = .774). This confirms that the model is not conditioned on gender.

Hypothesized paths remain positive and statistically significant with the inclusion of controls for elite artistic training, social capital, and age (see table 5, models 4 and 5, with taste measured by volume and distinctiveness, respectively). Though these models have slightly lower model fit indices, the R^2 for creative employment increases. As would be expected, elite art education and age increase the likelihood of creative employment. Social capital has a negative coefficient, indicating that advertising practitioners in creative departments were less likely than their colleagues to use social contacts to get their first job in advertising. The direction of this coefficient is initially surprising, but it reflects the fact that managers are more likely to use social ties to enter advertising than those in other occupations (Koppman, 2014b).

My results are robust to alternative specifications and measures, as shown in table 6. I chose to include gender in all the aforementioned models, due to its established effect on all three endogenous variables, but I also ran the model without gender and found no significant differences (model 6). The effect of father's occupation remains positive and significant using more-refined measures, such as, in model 7, whether the father worked in a cultural occupation (e.g., teacher, social worker, artist) or, in model 8, a profession (e.g., architect, lawyer, doctor). I addressed the relatively low R^2 for organized activities in the measurement model by running the model, in model 9, with the observed variable for number of organized activities rather than the latent omnivorous socialization variable. The paths are robust to this modification.

[Insert Table 6 about Here]

The path from omnivorous taste to creative employment is robust to an alternative outcome and subsample—creative employment in a high-status firm (table 6, models 10 and 11). Though prior studies and my qualitative analysis suggest that creative jobs are highly desirable, not all advertising practitioners may want to work in the creative department. Therefore I tested the best-fitting model on this alternative dependent variable, using a subsample limited to those employed in creative departments. I measured employment in a high-status firm by whether respondents worked for an agency that had won prestigious awards (e.g., Clio, One Show, and the Art Directors Club), which provide higher salaries and increased visibility (McLeod, Donohoe, and Townley, 2011). Model 10 is specified in the same way as previous models; however, according to goodness-of-fit statistics, it does not fit the data well, which means coefficients must be interpreted cautiously. In this model, omnivorous taste remains significant but drops below the 0.05 threshold ($p = .068$). Because of the lack of fit, I respecified the model. In model 11, the best-fitting model for this dependent variable, the path from omnivorous taste to creative employment is positive and significant (probit $\beta = .061$, $p = .029$).

To assuage concerns about implicit causal ordering, I directly tested the alternative explanation that network positions inform creativity (Burt, 2004) and taste (Erickson, 1996) by respecifying the model to include a reciprocal effect between creative employment and taste, as well as a path from network position as "broker" to creative employment. To measure brokerage, I asked respondents to list four friends (i.e., friendship ties) and four people they would ask for advice on a project (i.e., advice-seeking ties), and to specify relationships between those listed. Respondents with relationships to people not otherwise connected were "brokers," a desirable position for creativity (Burt, 2004). Although structural equation modeling cannot offer a

definitive test of causality, the direction and significance of the effect of taste on creative employment were robust to this inclusion.

A final supplemental analysis provides support for the cultural matching mechanism, showing that the positive effect of omnivorous culture on creative employment is stronger in organizations with a more culturally omnivorous workforce. In my qualitative analysis, omnivorous culture was interpreted as a signal of creative potential through similarity—evaluators sought job candidates who were cultural omnivores like themselves. To test these homophilic tendencies statistically, I examined the extent to which organizational level omnivorousness moderates the relationship between individual level omnivorousness and creative employment. A multilevel approach would be ideal, but my data do not have a sufficient number of clusters with a sufficient number of observations to reliably fit multilevel models. Instead, using a subsample limited to respondents from organizations with more than one respondent, I respecified the model to include a variable for organizational level omnivorousness, coded 1 if organizational mean was greater than the overall mean and 0 otherwise. As expected, the interaction between omnivorous taste at the organizational level and the individual level was positive and significant (probit $\beta = .490$, $p < .01$).

Discussion

This article proposes and tests a novel path from class background to creative employment through a labor market process of cultural matching. Using qualitative data, I illustrate two ways omnivorous culture shapes the matching of people with creative jobs: directly, through employer selection based on omnivorous taste, and indirectly, through individual choice rooted in omnivorous socialization. Using quantitative data, I test my

conceptual model, confirming that these cultural processes create class disparities in access to creative occupations.

My findings have implications for research on creativity. Despite a vast literature, we know little about how creativity is evaluated in real-world settings (Elsbach and Kramer, 2003; Malakate, Andriopoulos, and Gotsi, 2007). By studying creativity as a cultural construct, I explored what it means to those who value it highly. In this context, I found that creativity is understood as a general skill signaled through cultural omnivorousness, which goes against much of what we know about creative fields: that success requires extensive and deliberate practice (Ericsson, Krampe, and Tesch-Römer, 1993), that production depends on collectives of individuals with specialized skills (Becker, 1984), and that producers that specialize experience enhanced employability (Faulkner, 1983; Zuckerman et al., 2003). Furthermore, I found that the evaluation of a job candidates' creative potential is based on interpersonal processes—a definition of merit in one's own image, gut reactions to work, and evaluations of fit with firm "personality"—rather than identification of individual traits. Both findings highlight the need to move beyond standard psychometric and laboratory-based studies of individual creativity, which treat social context as a "contaminating" influence to be controlled, to approaches that treat it as central to the process (Kasof, 1995; Elsbach and Kramer, 2003).

My results also contribute to the debate on the role of culture in occupational attainment. Though the positive correlation between omnivorous taste and occupational status is well documented (see Peterson, 2005, for a review), scholars disagree over whether omnivorous taste is actually used to gain entry into desirable occupations, particularly in corporate settings (Lamont, 1992; Erickson, 1996; Rivera, 2012). In a study of private security, Erickson (1996) argued that elites do not use culture to gain advantages in the workplace unless it has a direct

application to the job involved. More recently, Rivera (2012) argued that they do, through a process of cultural matching in which evaluators favor job applicants who, like themselves, participate in upper-middle-class culture. Bringing this question to a cultural field, I showed how shared omnivorous taste shapes creative employment by serving as a signal of creative potential. In my study, evaluators sought creative employees with similar forms of cultural consumption and used that similarity as an indicator of potential skill. In this context, similarity was manifest in the omnivorous form of cultural consumption (e.g., I like capoeira and opera, you like ballet and heavy metal) rather than the specific cultural content (e.g., we both like tennis). This suggests that, in the creative industries, omnivorous taste is used to gain entry to desirable occupations and that it is not, as others have argued (Erickson, 1996; Rivera, 2012), because it increases the probability of shared interests—omnivorous taste itself is the shared interest. Such findings also suggest that cultural similarity grounded in the form rather than content of cultural consumption may differentiate cultural matching in cultural occupations from that in economic occupations.

Finally, my findings extend knowledge on the early origins of occupational choice. Bourdieu (1984) famously argued that the cultural capital necessary to enter desirable occupations originates from class-privileged familial socialization, yet, to my knowledge, this relationship has remained unexplored. This study highlights how patterns of childhood socialization, studied in education (e.g., Lareau, 2003; Bodovski and Farkas, 2008), shape adult taste and occupational status studied in the sociology of culture (e.g., Erickson, 1996; Peterson and Kern, 1996). Bringing Bourdieu's (1984) model of cultural capital transmission to the contemporary United States, I showed how middle-class children's participation in a wide variety of cultural activities leads them to have and value the omnivorous taste that becomes a

valuable signal of creativity in employment contexts. Such findings build on research that middle-class parents expose their children to diverse leisure activities to further their children's success (Weininger and Lareau, 2009) by showing that this type of socialization has a positive indirect effect on creative employment. But this relationship does not occur so much because this socialization actually makes children more creative, as parents claim, as because it makes them more likely to choose to enter fields in which gatekeepers will recognize them as creative.

Though I argued that omnivorous taste works as capital by serving as the basis for cultural matching, an alternative explanation is that omnivorous taste is valued because it indicates a candidate's tolerance for ambiguity, a dispositional trait that psychologists link to creative performance. I believe this is not the case for two reasons. First, as shown in the qualitative analysis, omnivorous taste was not assigned value through the identification of traits but through an interpersonal process: evaluators selected new hires based on their own preferences, gut feelings, and sense of their firm's personality. Second, this interpersonal process was fundamentally based on a preference for the familiar—evaluators liked candidates who were cultural omnivores like them—a preference considered indicative of intolerance for ambiguity in the relevant literature (Furnham and Ribchester, 1995).

Another plausible explanation is that the value of omnivorous culture is an artifact of the job's cultural demands. My quantitative results strongly suggest this is not the case. Though liking a large number of musical genres could help in the production of advertisements (the more genres someone likes, the larger the audience he or she can appeal to), liking the most distinctive genres was a stronger predictor of creative employment. Given that advertising is targeted to the general public, one would expect the least distinctive combinations—those that resonate with the largest number of people—to be highly valued. Distinctive tastes are not desirable if the goal is

to reach the largest number of people possible. People who like opera and heavy metal are considered creative by their peers, but they have little in common with the public targeted by advertisements.

Like all studies, this one has limitations that can guide future investigations. Although the processes I observed were interpersonal rather than based on the identification of candidates' dispositional traits, the relationship between these interpersonal processes and the traits identified by the large experimental literature is a potentially rich direction for future research with important practical implications. Ideally, such knowledge would provide organizations with alternative ways to identify people with a high potential for creative insight that do not privilege a particular social group. Additionally, though I advanced the argument that individuals enter the industry already having this taste, the relationship is likely reciprocal, reinforced through interactions with other members of the creative department. Within creative industries, interaction plays a vital role in assessing who and what is creative (Godart and Mears, 2010). Likewise, interaction shapes and is shaped by taste (DiMaggio, 1987; Erickson, 1996; Lizardo, 2006a). Future research should aim to specify the mechanisms that guide causality in the other direction, from creative employment to taste. Finally, there could be a more-nuanced way to capture omnivorous socialization than simply measuring quantities of childhood activities. This might include intensity (Schultz and Breiger, 2010) or the activities' relative distinctiveness from one another.

Although this is a study of a single industry, I expect my findings to be generalizable to creative industries beyond advertising, for example, to new media companies that similarly value diverse cultural activities (Lloyd, 2010) and video game producers that similarly reward diverse cultural styles (De Vaan, Vedres, and Stark, 2015). Within the cultural field more broadly, I

suspect that cultural matching based on the shared form of cultural consumption—as opposed to the shared content—shapes occupational attainment, although the particular form in question may vary. Conceptions of creativity and cultural omnivores are likely linked in the for-profit creative sector due to the lack of a widely accepted body of knowledge and institutionalized training. Creatives in these industries have a diverse range of prior work experiences—my informants were former musicians, writers (television, film, and poetry), visual artists (painting, book-making, and illustration), and designers (of media, software, and toys)—with little in common except that they considered themselves creative. Cultural fields that do have accepted bodies of knowledge or trainings may be more likely to embrace a definition of creativity associated with a unique style and to value depth of cultural interests (i.e., a "cultural univore") over breadth. Google, for example, seeks employees deeply invested in a single pursuit or hobby such as astronomy, Sanskrit, or restoring old pinball machines (Schmidt and Rosenberg, 2014). I also expect that this process shapes creative recognition beyond employment. For instance, recent work has linked scientists' recombination of distinctive bodies of knowledge to their professional visibility (Leahey, Beckman, and Stanko, 2012; Trapido, 2015). A promising direction for future research is to develop a typology of creativities to delineate what creativity means and how it is evaluated in different contexts.

By conceptualizing creative jobs as a desirable occupation and examining the way new hires are screened, I show how class background affects entry into these ostensibly open and meritocratic sectors of the labor market. Such findings suggest that although creative occupations have been widely heralded as a force for expanding opportunity and social progress (e.g., Florida, 2002), class distinctions play an enduring role in the formation of this workforce.

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Author's Biography

Sharon Koppman is an assistant professor of organization and management at the Paul Merage School of Business at the University of California, Irvine, CA 92617 (skoppman@uci.edu). Her research uses mixed methods to study the work of culture and the culture of work. She studies the work of culture by investigating career and employment processes in cultural and creative fields. She studies the culture of work by analyzing how culture is used as a resource in the workplace. In 2015, she received her Ph.D. in sociology from the University of Arizona.

Figure 1. Number of informants who used each criterion to evaluate entry-level job candidates.

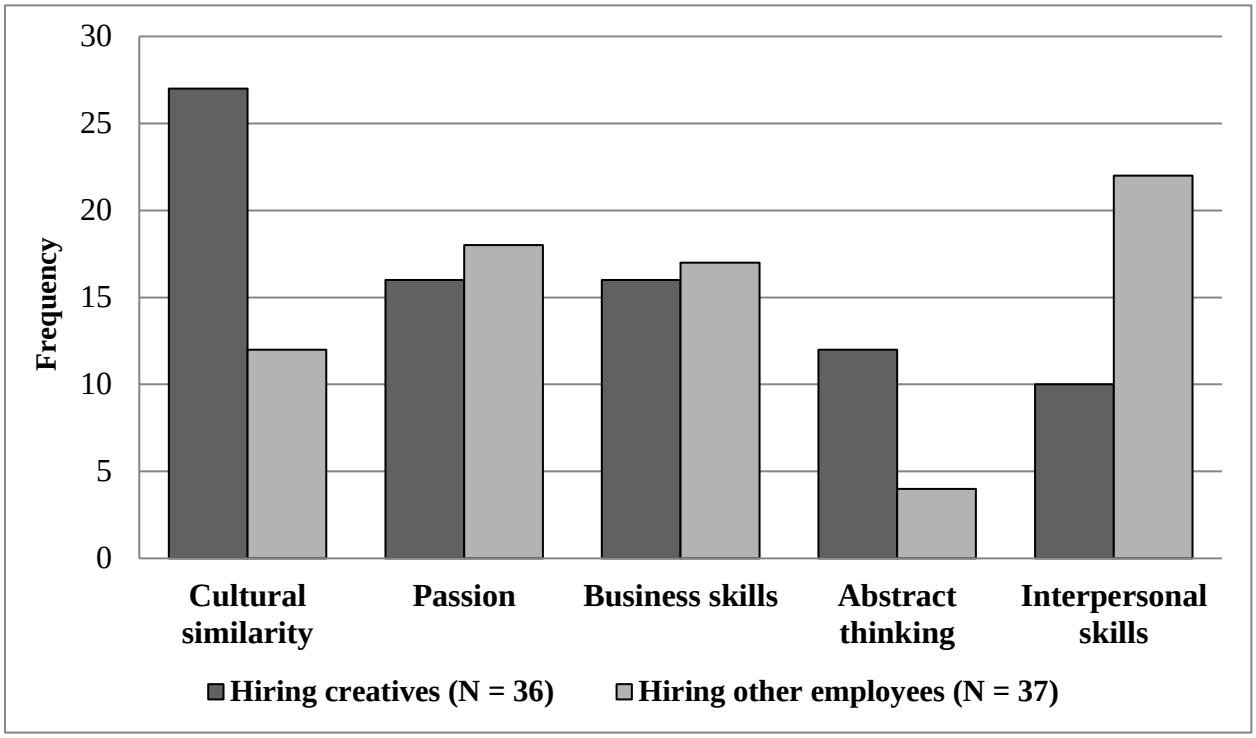


Figure 2. Number of informants who described each motivation as the reason they chose their current occupation.

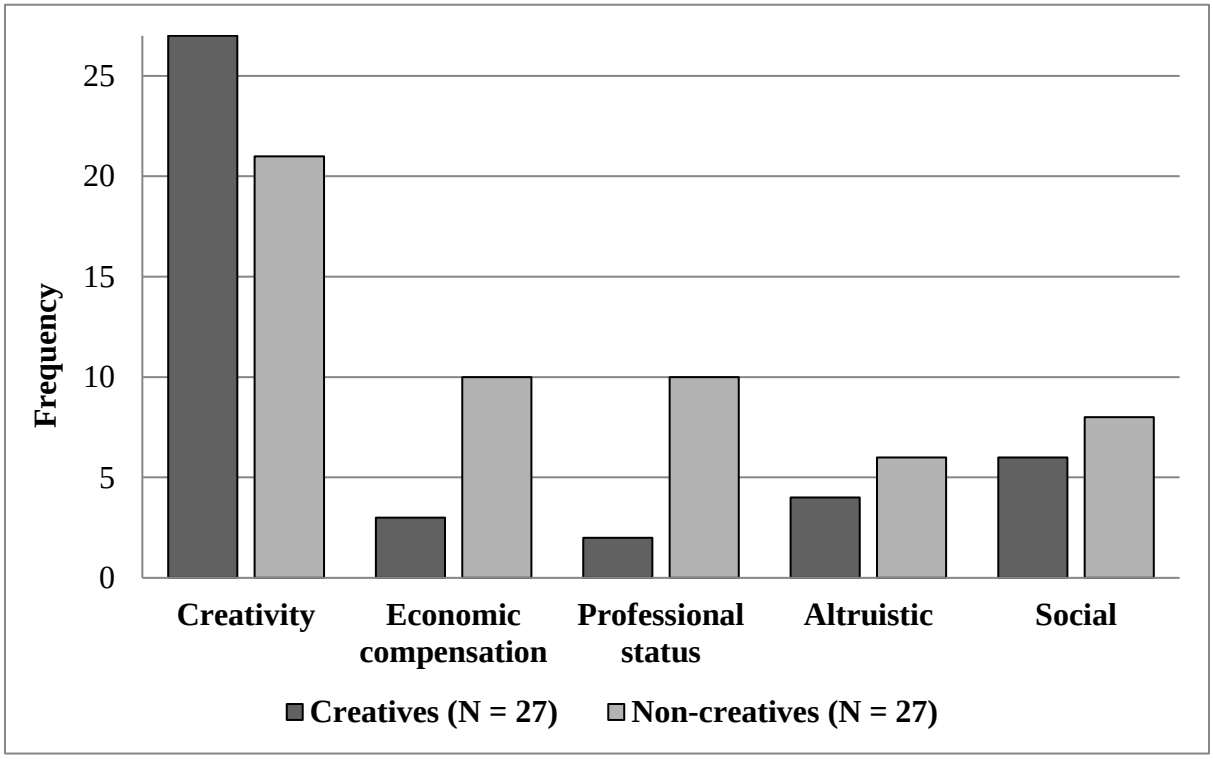


Figure 3. Cosine similarity matrix derived from the GSS Culture Module (1993).

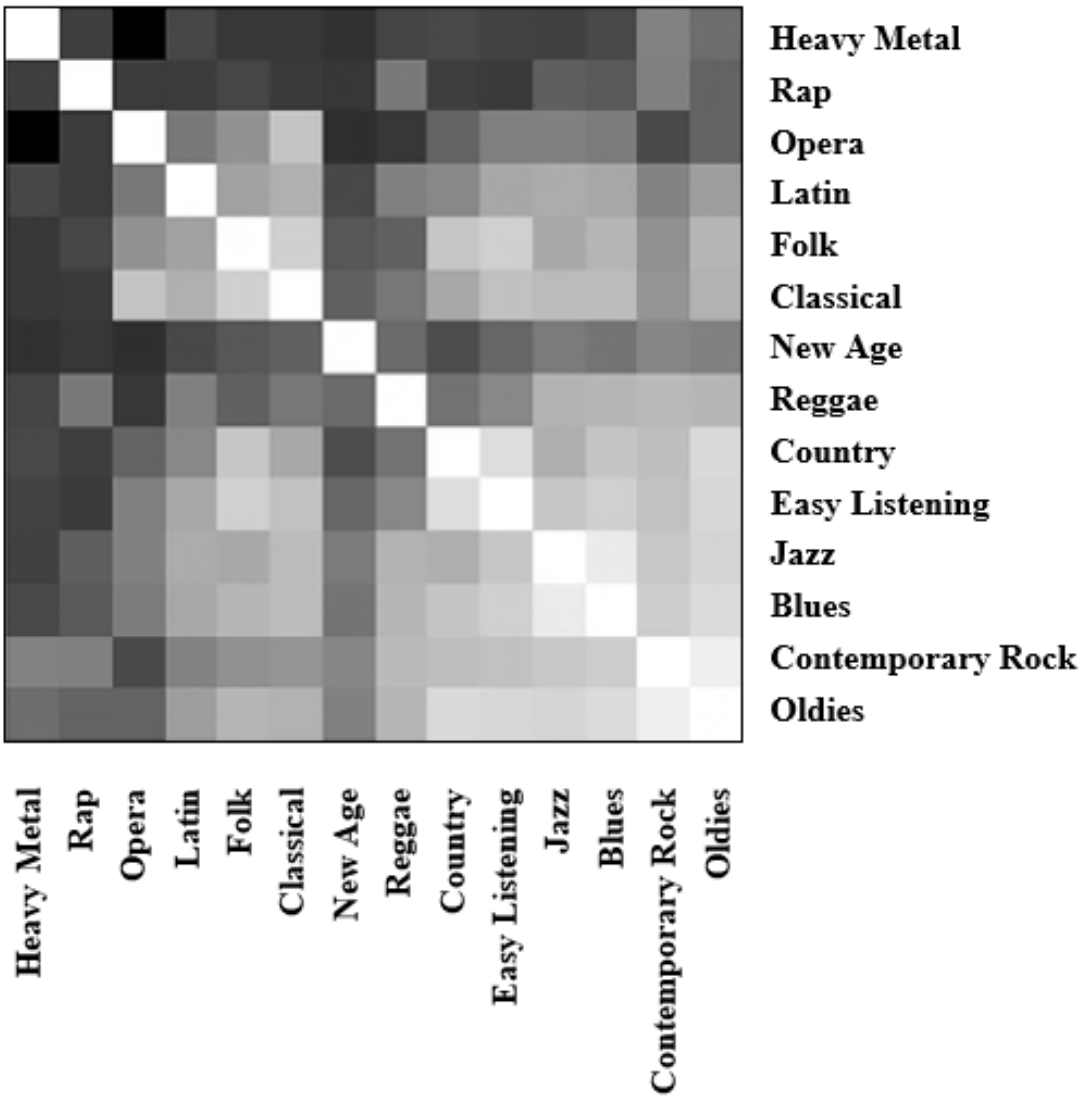
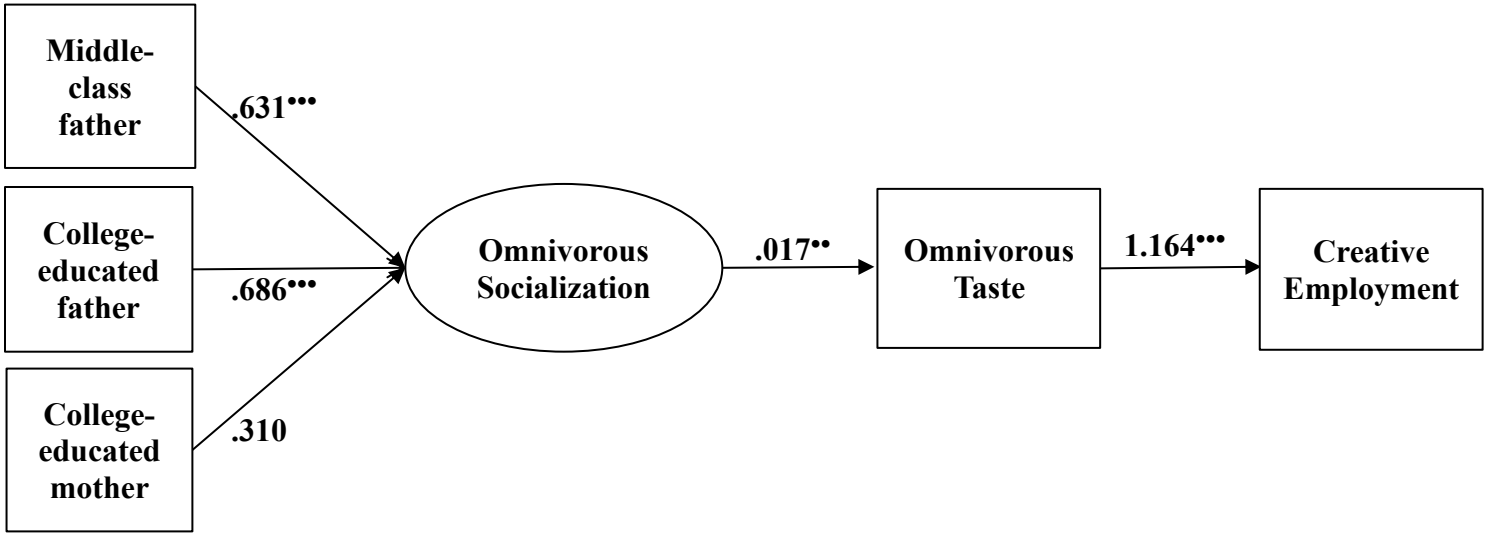


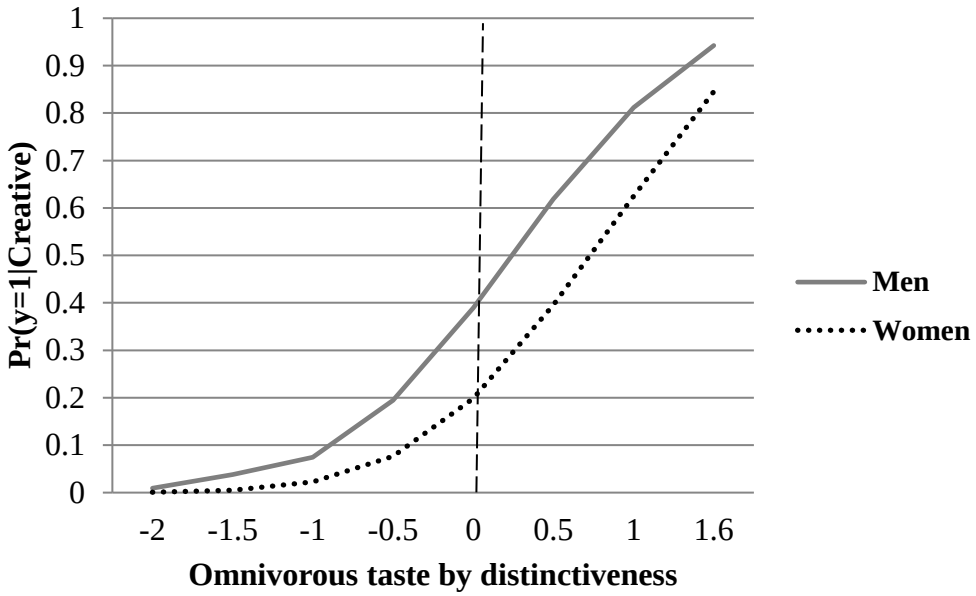
Figure 4. Structural model of class background on creative employment through omnivorous socialization and taste.*



•• $p < .01$; ••• $p < .001$; two-tailed tests.

* Model fit statistics: x^2 (df) = 27(23) $p = .261$; CFI = .989; TFI = .983; 1-RMSEA = .978. Unstandardized estimates are displayed.

Figure 5. Effects of omnivorous taste by distinctiveness (z-score) on the predicted probability of creative employment.*



*** Mean = 0, min. = –3.2 S.D., max. = 1.6 S.D. Computed from probit regression coefficients in table 5, model 3.**

Table 1. Informant Characteristics: Agency Size, Industry Tenure, and Type of College Degree

	Total (N = 54)	Hired creatives (N = 36)	Hired non-creatives (N = 37)	2012 (N = 36)	2014 (N = 18)	Survey (N = 41)	Agency Size			
							< 11	11–50	51–99	100+
Creative director	16	16	10	8	8	12	4	8	1	3
Designer/art director	7	3	1	4	3	4	1	1	1	4
Copywriter	4	2	0	3	1	1	1	1	0	2
President/owner/ vice president	14	14	14	9	5	14	6	7	1	0
Account services	7	0	6	6	1	5	0	1	1	5
Other (media, strategy, planning, admin.)	6	1	6	6	0	5	1	2	0	3

	Industry Tenure (years)			College Degree*				
	Mean	Min.	Max.	Art	Hum.	Soc. Sci.	Sci.	Biz.
Creative director	25.09	2.5	42	5	4	3	1	2
Designer/art director	4.42	1	8	3	1	0	1	0
Copywriter	2.87	0.1	4.5	0	0	2	1	1
President/owner/ vice president	24.86	13	40	2	3	5	1	2
Account services	7.36	2.5	22	0	1	1	0	5
Other (media, strategy, planning, admin.)	12.25	0.5	30	1	1	2	0	1

* Five informants did not have a college degree: a designer, an art director, a creative director, an owner, and a marketing consultant.

Table 2. Measurement Model: Omnivorous Socialization*

	Estimate	S.E.	R-squared
Events	1.000	0.00	0.538
Vacations	1.018•••	0.121	0.485
Activities	0.768•••	0.111	0.195
Degrees of freedom		0	

••• $p < .001$; two-tailed tests.
* Model is just identified; N = 351.

Table 3. Descriptive Statistics and Correlation Matrix*

Variable	Mean	S.D.	N	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. Creative employment	.444	.498	351														
2. Activities (0–11)	4.259	2.180	351	-.002													
3. Vacations (0–8)	3.079	1.795	340	-.004	.324												
4. Events (0–7)	3.076	1.660	340	-.053	.308	.511											
5. Omnivorous taste volume (1–15)	5.740	2.735	334	.077	.146	.230	.155										
6. Omnivorous taste distinct (0–1)	.483	.150	330	.124	.084	.119	.137	.758									
7. College-educated mother	.423	.495	324	-.062	.093	.162	.306	.045	.04								
8. College-educated father	.558	.497	321	.010	.137	.270	.293	.106	-.01	.438							
9. Middle-class father	.795	.404	312	.050	.134	.275	.219	.025	.024	.224	.421						
10. Cultural occupation father	.080	.272	313	.094	.119	.027	.02	.101	.094	.091	.109	.121					
11. Professional father	.265	.442	313	-.04	.099	.157	.088	.017	-.04	.228	.356	.306	-.18				
12. Female	.515	.501	326	-.342	.202	.105	.096	-.032	-.1	.057	-.055	-.063	-.09	.109			
13. Social capital	.469	.500	350	-.100	.056	.041	.067	.010	-.01	.086	.046	-.042	.035	-.02	-.01		
14. Private art school	.080	.272	349	.116	.003	-.075	-.075	.045	.026	-.062	-.024	-.063	-.04	.036	-.076	-.043	
15. Over 40	.559	.497	322	.152	-.164	-.248	-.121	.039	.072	-.275	-.136	.032	-.07	-.02	-.252	.099	.038

* Coefficients > .11 significant at .05 level; two-tailed tests.

Table 4. Comparisons of Key Constructs with Nationally Representative Data*

	This study (N = 351)	Lareau 2003 (N = 88)	NELS 1988 (N = 24,559)	GSS 1993 (N = 1,606)	SPPA 2008 (N = 5,371)
Omnivorous socialization	0.364	0.319	0.38	–	–
Omnivorous taste	0.383	–	–	0.418	0.254

* Standardized proportions are presented. The mean for omnivorous socialization was derived by summing the three indicators and z-scoring the sum.

Table 5. The Mediating Effects of Socialization and Taste on the Relationship between Class Background and Creative Employment (N = 351)*

	Model 1 Direct Effects		Model 2 Indirect Effects		Model 3 Indirect Effects		Model 4 With Controls		Model 5 With Controls	
Variable	**b**	**S.E.**	**b**	**S.E.**	**b**	**S.E.**	**b**	**S.E.**	**b**	**S.E.**
Effects on creative employment										
Middle-class father	0.186	0.177	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
College-educated father	0.056	0.12	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
College-educated mother	-0.215	0.17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Female	-0.813•••	0.093	-0.821•••	0.091	-0.818•••	0.093	-0.814•••	0.091	-0.812•••	0.092
Omnivorous taste	–	–	0.043••	0.015	1.164•••	0.331	0.045••	0.017	1.17•••	0.341
Social capital	–	–	–	–	–	–	-0.264•	0.108	-0.263••	0.108
Private art school	–	–	–	–	–	–	0.494••	0.165	0.494••	0.164
Age: over 40 years	–	–	–	–	–	–	0.354•••	0.101	0.335••	0.106
R-squared	0.178		0.178		0.194		0.203		0.256	
Effects on taste										
Omnivorous socialization	–	–	0.556•••	0.116	0.017••	0.007	0.597•••	0.109	0.021••	0.007
Age: over 40 years	–	–	–	–	–	–	0.549	0.331	0.033•	0.013
R-squared	–		0.069		0.022		0.082		0.036	
Effects on socialization (latent)										
Middle-class father	–	–	0.545••	0.185	0.631•••	0.215	0.592•••	0.17	0.684•••	0.202
College-educated father	–	–	0.721•••	0.153	0.686•••	0.167	0.721•••	0.142	0.672•••	0.155
College-educated mother	–	–	0.256	0.186	0.31	0.196	0.195	0.195	0.26	0.208
Female	–	–	0.396•	0.186	0.426•	0.21	0.344	0.189	0.364	0.222
Age: over 40 years	–	–	–	–			-0.489•••	0.109	-0.508•••	0.117
R-squared	–		0.210		0.219		0.244		0.247	
Chi-square (T)	112.265		24.996		26.89		51.843		53.955	
Degrees of freedom	26		23		23		36		36	
CFI (ideal=1)	0.775		0.995		0.989		0.955		0.947	
TLI (ideal=1)	0.688		0.992		0.983		0.917		0.904	
1-RMSEA (ideal=1)	0.903		0.984		0.978		0.965		0.962	

• $p < .05$; •• $p < .01$; ••• $p < .001$; two-tailed tests.
* Dashes signify path not included in the model. Coefficients are unstandardized linear regression except for paths with a dichotomous outcome (creative employment), which are unstandardized probit. Robust standard errors adjust for clustering by agency.

Table 6. Supplemental Analyses with Alternative Measures*

	Model 6		Model 7		Model 8		Model 9		Model 10		Model 11	
Variable	**b**	**S.E.**	**b**	**S.E.**	**b**	**S.E.**	**b**	**S.E.**	**b**	**S.E.**	**b**	**S.E.**
Effects on creative employment												
Female	–	–	-0.816•••	0.091	-0.820•••	0.093	-0.805•••	0.092	0.216	0.17	–	–
Omnivorous taste	0.027•	0.013	0.046••	0.016	0.038•	0.017	0.042•	0.02	0.040	0.024	0.061•	0.028
Social capital	-0.282•	0.134	-0.258•	0.109	0.082	0.158	-0.265•	0.105	-0.519••	0.164	-0.455••	0.164
Private art school	0.258	0.218	0.500••	0.166	-0.29	0.167	0.499••	0.167	0.058	0.212	–	–
Age: over 40 years	0.445••	0.153	0.339•••	0.097	0.568••	0.181	0.365••	0.119	-0.219	0.208	–	–
Effects on taste												
Omnivorous socialization	0.828•••	0.118	0.664•••	0.097	0.560•••	0.11	0.203••	0.065	0.535•••	0.152	0.488••	0.181
Age: over 40 years	0.806••	0.284	0.626•	0.318	0.512	0.362	0.207	0.35	0.29	0.442	–	–
Effects on socialization (latent)												
Middle-class father	0.538••	0.188	0.359•	0.204	0.967•••	0.162	0.588••	0.199	2.531••	0.895	1.007•••	0.268
College-educated father	0.489•••	0.146	0.900•••	0.137	0.143	0.122	0.374	0.198	-0.838	0.447	–	–
College-educated mother	0.169	0.183	0.204	0.197	0.258	0.182	0.081	0.28	1.123••	0.43	0.647•••	0.17
Female	–		0.338	0.185	0.400•	0.188	0.583	0.306	0.792••	0.275	0.782••	0.304
Age: over 40 years	-0.534•••	0.111	-0.444•••	0.106	0.039	0.183	-0.592•••	0.177	-0.652•••	0.197	–	–
Chi-square (T)	27.006		58.729		45.764		33.013		58.573		27.354	
Degrees of freedom	27		36		36		18		36		22	
CFI (ideal=1)	1		0.936		0.967		0.927		0.868		0.946	
TLI (ideal=1)	1		0.883		0.94		0.816		0.759		0.912	
1-RMSEA (ideal=1)	0.999		0.958		0.972		0.951		0.937		0.961	
N	351		351		351		351		156		156	

• $p < .05$; •• $p < .01$; ••• $p < .001$.

* All models presented were run with the more conservative measure of omnivorous taste (by volume). Model 6 is run without gender; models 7 and 8 measure father's occupation as cultural or professional, respectively; model 9 runs the model with only activities; and models 10 and 11 run the model for those in creative departments in high-status firms, with the respecified model 11 being the best-fitting model.

† Female is not included in this model.