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THE HAPPY CULTURAL OMNIVORE? EXPLORING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CULTURAL CONSUMPTION PATTERNS AND SUBJECTIVE WELL-BEING

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The happy cultural omnivore? Exploring the relationship between cultural consumption patterns and subjective well-being

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Abstract

This paper proposes a novel approach to explore the relationship between cultural participation and subjective well-being. While most empirical research has considered such a connection using cultural and leisure activities individually or in additive terms, drawing from the sociological literature, we adopt cultural consumption profiles emerging from the variety and intensity of engagement in different cultural activities simultaneously. Using data from the 2012 Italian Multipurpose survey on households “Aspects of daily life”, we first derive categories of cultural consumers through Latent Class Analysis and investigate how heterogeneity in cultural profiles is associated with overall life satisfaction and relevant domains (health, leisure, friendship relations, job and economic conditions). The results of our empirical analysis indicate a positive relationship between cultural participation and overall life satisfaction. Still, a more complex picture arises when considering all the statistically significant differences in life and domain satisfaction across cultural consumption patterns. These findings contribute to a better understanding of the role of cultural consumption habits on individual well-being and have implications for culture-led welfare policies.

Keywords Life Satisfaction, Subjective well-being, Cultural consumption, Cultural participation, Cultural activities

1. Introduction

Over the last decades, there has been a growing awareness that economic welfare only partially contributes to individual well-being's multidimensional nature. Subjective well-being and other related concepts, such as life satisfaction or happiness, have thus become the focus of an expanding range of research within the social sciences, with studies identifying beyond economic and material conditions other more intangible and less observable drivers (Felce and Perry, 1995; Diener et al., 1999; Frey, 2010).

An extensive body of scholarship from different disciplines has documented how both active and passive engagement in arts and cultural activities can enhance individual well-being through several dimensions, including improved cognitive skills, mental health, psychological well-being, sense of meaning in life, and pro-social attitudes (McCarthy et al., 2004; Francourt and Finn, 2020).

From an empirical viewpoint, many studies have relied on small-scale and highly situated evidence. However, more recent quantitative works, drawing on representative samples of population data, have investigated the effects on the subjective well-being of different types of engagement in arts and cultural activities (Blessi et al., 2014; Brown et al., 2015; Grossi et al., 2012; Hand, 2018; Lee and Heo, 2020; Michalos and Kahlke, 2010; Wheatley and Bickerton, 2017, 2019; Ateca-Amestoy et al., 20021).

In general, the findings indicate a positive relationship or impact. However, the adopted empirical approaches mainly consider the effect of cultural and leisure activities individually or, at most, in additive terms. Although some of these studies have considered the variety of arts and cultural practices, what is missing is a more comprehensive account of how subjective well-being is related to cultural consumption profiles emerging from the variety and intensity of engagement in different cultural activities simultaneously. As long recognized in the sociological literature (Katz-Gerro, 2004), cultural consumption profiles better grasp the complex and interactive patterns of cultural preferences and tastes shaping the individual leisure experience. As a result, subjective well-being is more likely to be linked to individuals' leisure experience through their consumption habits on different cultural products and services rather than single cultural activities. Moreover, with few exceptions (Wheatley and Bickerton, 2017, 2019), the evidence is mainly based on overall life satisfaction and subjective well-being measures without inquiring more deeply about the effect on satisfaction for distinct domains of life (i.e., health, leisure, social relations). While overall life satisfaction tends to be positively related to domain satisfaction (Rojas, 2006; Easterlin

and Sawangfa, 2009), a more systematic analysis on domain satisfaction could provide a better understanding of the channels through which cultural consumption is related to subjective well-being.

In this perspective, the paper aims to assess how distinct cultural consumption patterns are associated with life satisfaction and specific domains, which are not hierarchically organized but include fields such as health, leisure, friendship relations, economic and job condition. Using data from the 2012 Italian Multipurpose survey on households “Aspects of daily life”, we first derive six categories of cultural consumers through Latent Class Analysis based on the participation and frequency of attendance to various cultural and leisure activities. The spectrum of profiles ranges from culturally inactive individuals to subjects characterized by different consumption levels in highbrow/lowbrow activities and the diversity and intensity of attendance. In particular, consistent with evidence from other countries, we identify for a category that in the sociological literature is commonly labelled as cultural omnivores, individuals who enjoy and practice a variety of cultural forms, regardless of the highbrow/lowbrow distinction (Peterson, 2005).

After controlling for individual socio-demographic characteristics and context-specific conditions, we investigate how heterogeneity in cultural profiles is associated with overall life satisfaction and relevant domains. The results of our empirical analysis confirm a positive relationship between cultural participation and overall life satisfaction, which is generally increasing according to the diversity and intensity of practices as expressed in the profiles of cultural consumers. While cultural omnivores display the highest probability of being satisfied with life and some sub-domains, a more complex picture arises when considering all the statistical differences in life and domain satisfaction across cultural consumption patterns.

The paper is organized as follows: Section 2 reviews the literature connected to cultural consumption patterns and subjective well-being; Section 3 describes the data and the empirical methods; Section 4 presents the results; in Section 5 we conclude by discussing the main findings and policy implications.

2. Related Literature

This work lies at the crossroads of two different strands of scholarly research, namely the empirical studies addressing the effect of cultural and leisure activities on individual

well-being, and the literature investigating cultural consumption patterns and profiles. Within the broad academic and policy debate on the instrumental and intrinsic benefits of the arts, in the last decade, several quantitative works using population data have studied how engagement in cultural and leisure activities is associated with different dimensions of subjective well-being. Based on national and cross-country samples, the evidence generally points out a positive relationship (e.g., Becchetti et al., 2008; Brajša-Žganec et al., 2011, Ateca-Amestoy et al. 2016). Nevertheless, the findings suggest a complex and nuanced picture depending on several empirical factors. Measures of overall subjective well-being have been commonly used as a dependent variable. However, only a few works have more systematically analyzed how cultural and leisure consumption influence reported satisfaction in specific domains of life. Grossi et al. (2012) show through Italian population data that the joint action of health status and cultural access (measured broadly in terms of the number of times engaged in cultural practices per year) is a powerful determinant of psychological well-being. Low cultural access and a relatively higher number of diseases are strongly associated with distress. The extensive analysis conducted by Wheatley and Bickerton (2017, 2019) on two waves of the UK Understanding Society survey indicates that engagement in different arts and cultural practices is positively associated with leisure and health satisfaction. Conversely, benefits do not translate to job satisfaction, suggesting a separation of this domain of well-being from the leisure experience.

Crucially, the results vary depending on the activities considered or the indicators used to measure cultural and leisure consumption. For example, Brown et al. (2015) find a positive association of participation in sport, heritage and active-creative leisure activities with life satisfaction, but not for participation in popular entertainment, theatre hobbies and museum/galleries. Moreover, the effect on life satisfaction of reading hobbies and sedentary-creative activities was negative. This result is confirmed in other studies with UK data (Wheatley and Bickerton, 2017; 2019), where visiting libraries and archives has a negative effect. Most studies have focused on the frequency of attendance or participation as the primary indicator of cultural consumption, highlighting differences in effects across the activities examined. In this case, frequency is central to leisure activities that require more active engagement, e.g., arts and sport may generate more positive effects on subjective well-being.

In contrast, positive effects are associated with other more passive consumption activities, e.g., attendance to arts events, museums and historical sites (Wheatley and

Bickerton, 2017). Similarly, investigating the determinants of happiness for the Seoul population in Korea, Lee and Heos (2020) report differentiated impacts of the frequency of attendance across performing arts, movies, visual arts exhibitions and sport events. Interestingly, their empirical analysis suggests a consistent decreasing marginal effect of the frequency of attendance for all the cultural activities considered. Only a few studies have considered the breadth and variety of arts and cultural activities as an indicator, and the findings provide only mixed evidence concerning the effect on subjective well-being. Lee and Heos (2020) find that people are happier as the variety of their cultural activities increases. Hand (2018) shows that the breadth of arts attendance tends to be associated with higher levels of happiness for the UK population, but the most substantial effect is not necessarily found with the highest diversity of individual cultural consumption. Conversely, except for differences between participation and non-participation, no significant relationship is found by Grossi et al. (2012) between psychological well-being and the increasing variety of cultural practices individuals perform.

The second strand of literature related to our work refers to the scholarship on cultural consumption patterns. In the sociological literature, since the seminal work of Bourdieu (1984) theorizing on how social stratification reflected into a distinction between preferences toward consumption of highbrow and lowbrow culture by different social groups, a growing scholarship has emerged investigating patterns of cultural consumption and their determinants at the individual level.

Questioning Bourdieu's argument, Peterson (1992) introduced the notion of cultural omnivores and univores. The former are individuals who experience and appreciate various cultural products or genres within a cultural field (highbrow, middlebrow, and lowbrow) while the latter experience only one, or at least a much narrower group of products. The omnivore/univore thesis has been subsequently reconsidered to account for expanding range of cultural consumer profiles. Van Eijck and Leivens (2008) identify different types of omnivores, depending on how they combine highbrow, pop and folk genres. Similarly, Peterson (2005) notes that omnivorousness is coming to mean simply a wide variety in cultural taste, which does not have to include high culture. Moreover, Sullivan and Katz-Gerro (2007) investigate the "voracious" omnivore, where both the types and participation frequency of cultural leisure activities are considered. From an empirical viewpoint, research on the cultural omnivore/univore thesis has opened up the analysis of the segmentation of cultural consumers in different countries

using population data on participation and frequency of engagement in cultural and leisure activities (Sintas and Alvarez, 2002; Vander Stichele and Laermans, 2006; Alderson et al., 2007; Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007; Katz-Gerro et al., 2009; Warde and Gayo-Cal, 2009; Katz-Gerro and Jæger, 2013). In this case, latent class analysis has been the most widely adopted approach to classify cultural consumption patterns. Findings from these empirical works indicate that individuals can be classified through a wide variety of consumption categories depending on the context examined, such as cultural omnivores, semi-omnivores, paucivores, highbrow cultural consumers, and inactives. Notably, all these cultural consumption profiles are characterized by different choices and frequency to engage in distinct clusters of correlated cultural and leisure practices, implying different preferences and tastes across consumer groups.

With this perspective, the analysis of cultural consumption patterns can provide an alternative approach to investigate the association between subjective well-being with cultural and leisure participation. As previously described, existing studies have mainly focused on the effect of specific cultural and leisure activities or have used simple metrics on the variety of arts and cultural practices that loosely account for the nuanced variation of cultural omnivore behavior identified in the sociological literature. Arguably, subjective well-being is more likely to be linked to the individual leisure experience observed as a lifestyle pattern, ultimately determined through the heterogeneity in consumption choices over a set of different cultural activities (Ateca-Amestoy et al., 2008).

3 Data and empirical methodology

The data used in this study is the sample of about 36,000 individuals from the 2012 Italian Multipurpose survey on households “Aspects of daily life”, conducted by the Italian National Institute of Statistics (ISTAT). The survey explores several dimensions of individuals’ living conditions, including questions on cultural participation along with the individual level of satisfaction with life as well as subdomains concerning respondents’ economic, health, working condition, and friendships.

We use ordinal regression to initially assess the independent relationship between participation in each leisure groups of activities and life satisfaction score. However, to ease the interpretation of the role of cultural consumption patterns on individual well-

being, we use as main estimation strategy probit models with the following baseline specification:

$$Satisfaction_i^* = \beta_0 + \beta_1 Cultural\ Consumption_i + \beta_2 X_i + \beta_3 Z_i + u_i \quad (1)$$

$$Satisfaction_i = \begin{cases} 1 & \text{if } Satisfaction_i^* > 0 \\ 0 & \text{if } Satisfaction_i^* < 0 \end{cases} \quad (2)$$

where *Satisfaction** is the latent utility of well-being, *Satisfaction* is the observed binary counterpart, and *u* is the error term. The explanatory variable of primary interest is *Cultural Consumption*, while control variables *X* and *Z* refer to individual characteristics and location-specific factors, respectively. As for the dependent variable, we test different measures of overall and domain satisfaction. More specifically, life satisfaction is measured on an 11-point Likert scale (0 = not satisfied at all, 10 = completely satisfied) based on the question ‘Taking all things together, how satisfied would you say you are with your life?’. In binary choice regression models, we use a dummy variable taking the value of 1 in the top four categories (7–10). Satisfaction in subdomains of life (economic, health, work, friendships and leisure time) over the last twelve months is measured in the survey on a 4-point Likert scale (1 = very happy, 2 = quite happy; 3 = little happy; 4 = completely unhappy). Also, in this case, we use dummy variables taking the value of 1 if the individual is either “very happy” or “quite happy” and 0 otherwise.

Concerning cultural consumption, respondents were asked to report the frequency of participation in the last twelve months to a range of outdoor cultural and leisure activities, namely sports events, dancing venues, music concerts, classical music concerts, cinemas, theaters, museums and monuments. Answers’ possibilities were: never; 1–3 times; 4–6 times; 7–12 times and more than 12 times in the last twelve months. In order to detect the cultural consumption profiles emerging both from the participation and intensity of engagement in different activities simultaneously, we explore the effects of heterogeneity among responses using the Latent Class Analysis (LCA). LCA endogenously creates classes composed of relatively homogeneous responses such that each class is a weighted average of respondents and each respondent has a positive probability of membership in each class. Hence, LCA enables group respondents with similar preference structures in cultural consumption according to the diversity and intensity of attendance. Empirical works in cultural sociology have mainly

used this method to detect the socio-demographic composition of cultural consumption profiles identified by LCA clusters. Instead, we exploit the within-cluster heterogeneity of the socio-demographic characteristics and other individual covariates to isolate the effect of cultural consumption patterns on life satisfaction.

As for the individual socio-demographic characteristics, we consider those commonly identified in the literature as the most relevant factors affecting individual well-being. More specifically, we consider age groups (dummies for 30-64 and above 65 years old, with respondents under 30 as the reference group), marital status and number of children in the household. Educational attainment is captured by dummies referring to low, upper-secondary and tertiary levels (low educational is the reference group and includes up to the lower-secondary level). We further use dummies on labor status, partly capturing differences in household income (information not available due to restrictions to data access) and differences in availability of leisure time.¹ The choice of relatively large categories for age, education and labor status is justified as we use these groups in subsequent analysis to test the effects of cultural consumption patterns across different socio-demographic groups.²

In addition to individual characteristics, we control for specific conditions of respondents' area of residence. Firstly, for each cultural consumption activity considered at the individual level, we include an array of proxies capturing, directly or indirectly, the geographic variation in the local cultural supply at the regional level. In particular, we control for the density of cinemas, concert halls, classic music concerts, theaters, theatrical representations, monuments and museums as well as the household expenditures for sporting events and the percentage of individuals going to dancing venues. These covariates allow isolating the effect of individual current cultural consumption on subjective well-being from the potential effect arising from the opportunity to engage in cultural and leisure experiences available in the local context.

Secondly, to control for additional unobserved characteristics of the geographical area, we further include dummies for city size and the macro-region of residence. More specifically, based on the official national statistics categories, we include dummy variables taking the value of 1 in case of the individual lives in different types of municipality: the periphery of a metropolitan area, a municipality with less than

¹ The dummy variables refer to the following categories: unemployed (reference group), employed and out-of-labour force (including retired, housekeeper and students).

² The results for the relation between cultural consumption patterns and life or domain satisfaction hold even when controlling for alternative and more fine-grained specifications of individual socio-demographic characteristics.

2,000 inhabitants, between 2,001 and 10,000, between 10,001 and 50,000 and more than 50,000 inhabitants, while the reference group is respondents living in a Metropolitan area³. Geographical area of residence is defined with dummies for macro-regions, namely North-East, Centre, South and Islands (North-West is the reference group). Table 1 reports the descriptive statistics for all the variables.

[Table 1 around here]

4 Empirical Results

4.1 Cultural consumers profiles

We start the analysis by describing the heterogeneity in cultural consumption profiles emerging in Italy from participation data in the selected cultural and leisure activities. We consider participation and frequency of attendance in eight cultural and leisure activities, as reported in Table A1 in the appendix. The distribution of all cultural activities is, in general, very skewed, revealing significant non-participation rates. Going to the cinema is the most popular activity, followed by dancing venues, music concerts and sport events, whereas going to theatre is the least frequently attended activity.

To determine cultural consumption clusters measured through latent classes, we use three frequencies of attendance for each activity: no participation, low attendance (1-6 times), and high attendance (7 or more). LCA has been implemented on the sample of individuals being the number of classes identified according to the CAIC and BIC criteria⁴. Table A2 in Appendix summarizes the model selection process. Although the information parameters decrease with the number of classes, a considerable improvement of the fit is reached in correspondence of six classes ($\Delta\text{BIC} = -1482$ e $\Delta\text{CAIC} = -1465$, $\Delta\text{G}^2 = 1664$). As a result, we identify six classes of cultural consumer profiles.

³ In Italy the Metropolitan Areas are Roma, Torino, Milano, Venezia, Genova, Bologna, Firenze, Bari, Napoli, Reggio Calabria, Cagliari, Catania, Messina and Palermo.

⁴ L'analisi è stata implementata tramite l'LCA Stata Plugin, sviluppato per Stata dal "The Methodology Center". Tale strumento offre la possibilità, in fase di post estimation, di assegnare ciascun membro del campione alla classe latente alla quale ha maggiore probabilità di appartenere, sulla base dei valori riportati per ciascun indicatore (si ricorda che le classi sono autoesclusive, pertanto ciascun individuo viene assegnato ad una sola di queste). E' stato così possibile suddividere il campione indagato fra i sottogruppi individuati, e condurre su questi ultimi la successiva analisi empirica.

Table 2 gives information on the different profiles of the six clusters, their size in the sample, and the conditional probabilities of attending ‘never’, ‘1 to 6 times’ or ‘7 or more times’ in a year a specific activity. The first cluster refers to individuals who do not engage in any of the cultural and leisure activities. This cluster, labeled *culturally inactive*, accounts for more than 40% of respondents. Cluster 2 displays very high conditional probabilities of non-participation for all the activities considered except for cinema attendance (1-6 times). This group, named *Lowbrow univore* represents about 20 percent of individuals. *Lowbrow actives* (Cluster 3) is instead a relatively smaller group of cultural consumers (7.5 percent) corresponding to those individuals with a higher likelihood of participating (also with high frequency) in lowbrow activities (dancing venues, sports events, music concerts and cinema) and, simultaneously, with a higher probability of not engaging in highbrow activities such as theatre and classical music concerts. Cluster 4, accounting for 15% of the population, displays a distinct pattern of cultural consumption, possibly peculiar to the Italian context. Individuals in this group show a marked propensity to visit heritage sites (museum, monuments, archeological) but have a relatively lower probability of participating in highbrow and lowbrow cultural activities (except for cinema). As this group is distinct from the previous ones engaging in lowbrow activities, but at the same time, it does not fit traditional patterns of highbrow cultural consumption, we label it as *Heritage lovers*. The final two clusters (5 and 6) correspond to those individuals most active in the entire set of cultural and leisure activities. Cluster 5, accounting for 7% of individuals, captures *Cultural Omnivores*, namely individuals engaging in all the activities considered as previously identified in the sociological literature. Cluster 6, in line with findings by Sullivan and Katz-Gerro (2007), represents a relatively small but distinct subgroup (2.5 percent) of *Voracious omnivores*, that is, individuals who participate in all activities and also have a high frequency of engagement (7+ times).

[Table 2 around here]

Because geographical differences in cultural participation are often analyzed on individual activities, as a piece of additional evidence, we illustrate the geographic distribution of the cultural consumer profiles across Italian regions. As shown in Figure 1, the share of *culturally inactives* and *lowbrow univores* is higher in the southern part of Italy. At the same time, more active cultural consumers, namely *cultural omnivores*, *voracious and heritage lovers*, tend to be concentrated in the northern and central regions of the country. This evidence partly confirms the north-south divide characterizing social and cultural participation of Italian population (Campagna et al., 2020). More

interestingly, only the group of the *Lowbrow active* seem to be more homogeneously distributed in the country (with a higher concentration in the central and southern regions).

[Figure 1 around here]

4.2 Relationship between Life satisfaction and cultural consumption

As first set of results, we consider the relationship between cultural consumption patterns and overall life satisfaction. Table 3 reports the results of ordered probit and probit regressions for the key variables of interest.

[Table 3 around here]

All the coefficients and marginal effects are statistically significant (relatively to the reference group of cultural inactives). For the probit models, where the ordinal scale of life satisfaction is transformed in a dummy, marginal effects are generally robust and relatively stable to different specifications of the dependent variable, except when using high cut-off values (9 on a scale of 10) that capture only extremely satisfied people. As stated before, we opt for a probit model with a binary dependent variable expressing life satisfaction equal to or above eight as the main specification for the interpretation of the findings. We chose this cut-off as it is one standard deviation higher than the mean reported life satisfaction. Regression 1 in Table 4 reports the marginal effects of the variables for the probit estimation.

[Table 4 around here]

Starting from socio-demographic and context-specific covariates, the effects are generally in line with the empirical works on subjective well-being. In our analysis, gender does not seem to lead to significant differences in life satisfaction, consistent with the evidence found in other research (Meisenberg and Woodley, 2015). While a U-shaped relationship between age and subjective well-being is found in the literature (Graham and Pozuelo, 2017), our results indicate that young respondents (14-29 years group) display a 14% higher probability of being satisfied with life to both adult and old ones.⁵ Respondents who are married or in a civil relationship are more likely to be

⁵ This finding can be mainly explained by model and variables specifications. As information on the exact age of respondents is not available, regression with more fine-grained age classes indicates that the

satisfied with life than singles, while divorced and widows are less satisfied than singles. The probability of being satisfied also increases with education, suggesting a positive relationship between individual capabilities and enjoyment of life.

Conversely, the effect of the number of children is not statistically significant, consistent with previous works that considered the effect of parenthood using this variable (Angeles, 2010). Employed and out of labor force respondents display a higher probability of being satisfied with life than unemployed. While differences in life satisfaction between employed and unemployed people can stem from differences in economic and working conditions, the positive and statistically significant marginal effect for out of labor force category can be driven by retired people, whose life satisfaction is generally higher than other categories (see, e.g., Wheatley and Bickerton, 2017; Hand, 2018). Regional and city size variations reveal some other distinct patterns. Firstly, a declining satisfaction with life moving from North to South of Italy is generally consistent with geographic disparities in social conditions existing in Italy (Ferrara and Nisticò, 2019). Secondly, respondents living in smaller municipalities tend to display higher probabilities of life satisfaction relative to those residing in metropolitan areas. This result, consistent with previous findings (Okulicz-Kozaryn, 2011), suggests that the negative externalities of large cities on well-being (e.g., cost of living, pollution, stress) overcome the positive ones (e.g., job opportunities, amenities, services). To better illustrate how cultural consumption profiles are related to life satisfaction, we examine the effect of the covariates on predicted probabilities of being satisfied with life, keeping all others constant at their means. As shown in Fig. 2, we find that the effect of cultural consumption profiles leads in many cases to significant differences in predictive margins and a clear pattern.

[Figure 2 around here]

More in detail, the probability of being satisfied with life is constantly increasing from inactive to omnivore and voracious cultural consumers, respectively, 0.3 for the former and 0.46 for the latter type. A significant rise in probability occurs between inactive and lowbrow univore, suggesting that even the sporadic engagement in few cultural and leisure activities, such as cinema attendance, is positively associated with increased life satisfaction. While higher in the predictive probability, we do not find statistically significant differences between lowbrow active and heritage lover type of cultural

probability of being satisfied with life declines up to 50-55 years old group (14-19 age as reference group), then turn upward up to 69 years old and finally turns downward again for respondents in age groups over 70 years old.

consumers. This result points out that a more diversified engagement in lowbrow cultural and leisure activities (such as cinema, sports events, dancing venues and music concerts) or a more specialized one (visiting heritage sites) might positively affect life satisfaction. At the same time, the overlapping confidence intervals of the predictive margins for cultural omnivore and voracious indicate that, once an individual has already a habit for diversified cultural and leisure activities, greater intensity in engagement does not influence life satisfaction.

Overall, these results unveil how accounting for cultural consumption patterns can provide a complex but more comprehensive understanding of the relation between subjective well-being and cultural and leisure experiences than analyses taking single activities as the observation unit. To further clarify this point, for illustrative purpose, Table A3 in the Appendix presents regressions on the same data using the decision to engage in each activity as single cultural consumption covariates. The marginal effects confirm that the probability of being satisfied with life increases with participation in any cultural and leisure activities. Additionally, one could also infer which activity leads to the most substantial effect. However, the results and size of the effects provide little guidance insofar as the decision to engage simultaneously in specific sets of cultural and leisure activities is not considered.

To better assess the interactive effect of cultural consumption patterns with specific demographic features, we discuss additional findings running regressions over subsamples of the population by gender, education, age and labor status (Table A4 in the Appendix). While the results for gender and age group are generally in line with those found for the whole population, we find some distinct patterns across education and labor status. In particular, the effect of cultural consumption on the probability of being satisfied with life decreases at higher degrees of education. At low level of education, those engaging in more diverse and frequent cultural and leisure activities report higher probability of satisfaction with life. Conversely, at high level of education, except for voracious cultural consumers, there is no statistically significant difference in the effect between cultural inactives and all the other cultural consumption profiles. This finding underlines the potential beneficial effects of engagement in cultural and leisure activities for those less educated.

Looking at differences across labor conditions, the strongest effect of cultural consumption on life satisfaction (and in particular for being omnivores and voracious) occurs for respondents who are out of labor, followed by unemployed. This finding confirms the value of cultural consumption as an enriching activity contributing to the quality of life, as those that have more available time are also the ones that benefit the most from engaging in cultural and leisure activities.

4.3 Effects of cultural consumption patterns on domain satisfaction

In this section, we explore how cultural consumption patterns are associated with satisfaction over different domains of life, namely health condition, friendship, leisure time, work and economic condition. As before, as estimation strategy we use probit model with dichotomous dependent variable taking the value of 1 if the respondent is either “very happy” or “quite happy”, and 0 otherwise. While Regressions 2-6 in Table 4 present the marginal effects of all the variables on being satisfied in each subdomain of life, in Fig. 3a-3e we display the differences across cultural consumption profiles on predicted probabilities of being satisfied with life, keeping all others covariates constant at their means.

[Figure 3 around here]

A first clear pattern emerging from Figure 3 is that, like for the general life satisfaction, being culturally inactive is systematically associated with lower levels of satisfaction in all the domains considered (even relatively to the lowbrow univore).

We find a positive and robust association between cultural consumption and satisfaction with leisure time, with omnivore and voracious displaying the highest predictive margins. For example, being a cultural omnivore leads to a 0.75 probability of being satisfied with own leisure time in contrast with 0.55 probability for culturally inactive consumers. This result is in line with those of Wheatly and Bickerton. (2017, 2019) suggesting how engagement in cultural and leisure activities primarily and expectedly lead to leisure satisfaction benefits. However, since the question in the Italian survey does not disentangle between satisfaction on the amount of leisure time or its quality, such results can be explained by two, mutually reinforcing channels. Cultural consumption increases the quality of leisure experience and affects the reported satisfaction. Alternatively, more active cultural consumer profiles could be those with relatively more time to spend for leisure, thus reported answers might capture satisfaction with time availability, rather than the effect of the type of experience.

Relatively to culturally inactive group, being an active cultural consumer positively display a substantial difference (10% in probability) in satisfaction with health condition and friendship.

In these two cases, the difference in the probability of being satisfied across active cultural consumer groups is relatively narrow, moving in a range between 0.85 to

0.95. Notably, for these two dimensions, lowbrow active consumers are the ones with the highest predicted probability.

The type of activities performed by this cluster (attending sport events, cinema, dancing venues, music concerts) tend to be characterized by relatively high levels of social interaction and physical activity (especially for dancing venues). However, this finding is partially counterintuitive, as cultural omnivore and voracious engage also in the same activities, suggesting that expanding the engagement toward more refined and highbrow cultural activities is not necessarily associated with higher health benefits and satisfaction with friends' relationships.

As for the two last dimensions investigated, Figures 3d and 3e indicate that cultural omnivore or voracious displays the highest predictive probabilities with job and economic satisfaction. Unlike satisfaction with leisure experience or friendship, one explanation for these findings is the unobservable characteristics of household wealth, whereby consumption patterns are more likely to express social and economic stratification processes.

Finally, looking at the relationship between cultural consumption patterns and distinct domain satisfaction across different subsamples (Tables A5 – A9 in the Appendix), we obtain some particular trend regarding the previous finding on overall satisfaction. Firstly, older people display stronger effects for health satisfaction if they are active cultural consumers, confirming that engagement in cultural and leisure activities can be a critical factor or mediator of health conditions at a later stage of life. Secondly, female active cultural consumers (regardless of the typology) tend to display higher health, leisure, and friendship satisfaction than males. Thirdly, the effect of cultural consumption on friendship satisfaction is more robust at a low educational level, for non-adults (young and old) and people out of the labor force. Similarly, the effect of cultural consumption on leisure satisfaction is consistently higher for unemployed and respondents out of the labor force, underlying how the engagement of cultural and leisure activities is particularly beneficial for those having potentially more time to spend in those activities.

5 Discussion and conclusion

Individual well-being and the factors that influence life satisfaction in its different domains are at the center of policy and research priorities. In the last decades, engagement in arts and culture and its positive effects on well-being, health conditions, and satisfaction with specific aspects of life has become a point of reference of several empirical works based on small-scale and highly situated evidence, or mainly focusing on the effect of cultural and leisure activities individually.

However, findings and policy implications often overlooked the possibility that subjective well-being might be related to cultural consumption profiles emerging from the participation and intensity of engagement in different cultural activities simultaneously.

To address this lack of evidence, in this paper, we explore for Italy the relationship between life satisfaction and individuals with specific consumption profiles, constructed through Latent Class Analysis based on the participation and frequency of attendance to various cultural and leisure activities.

While the quantitative evidence supports the argument that participation in the arts and cultural activities is positively associated with life satisfaction and its subdomains, our results provide a novel perspective that can also inform the design of culture-led welfare policies.

In line with previous literature (Brown et al., 2015; Hand, 2018, Wheatly and Bickerton, 2017), satisfaction with life and with leisure time confirmed to be positively correlated with the variety and breadth of cultural activities in which one engages, with the profile of cultural omnivores expressing the highest satisfaction. However, once an individual has already a habit for diversified cultural and leisure activities, greater intensity in engagement does not influence life satisfaction. These results accord with findings that spending time in a variety of experiences is associated with increased subjective well-being, mainly by hindering satiation effects (Galak et al., 2011; Etkin and Mogilner 2016).

Our results also unveil that, compared to culturally inactives, smaller but still substantial gains in life satisfaction can be achieved by other types of cultural consumers. For example, differences between culturally inactives and lowbrow univores indicate that even developing the habit for sporadic engagement in one or few lowbrow cultural and leisure activities is crucial for improving the likelihood of being satisfied with life. Similarly, for Italy, we find that a specific category of cultural consumers mainly interested in visiting heritage institutions (heritage lovers) display a relatively high probability of being satisfied with life after controlling for other socio-demographic characteristics. This result is consistent with recent evidence at the European level on the potential of heritage engagement to enhance individual life satisfaction (Ateca-Amestoy et al., 2021). Moreover, we find that developing variety only in lowbrow cultural activities can be the most effective habit affecting satisfaction with health and friendship, while expanding the engagement toward more refined and highbrow cultural activities is not necessarily associated with higher benefits in these domains of life.

From a policy perspective, our findings support the view that more attention must be given to cultivating cultural consumption habits as a channel for improving subjective quality of life and suggest some directions and priorities for action.

Encouraging diverse consumption of cultural experiences is a priority. This can be achieved by fostering cultural institutions across different fields to develop bundling strategies of their products and services and can be especially effective if targeted at those who already fit into relatively active cultural consumer profiles.

However, considering that the process of habits formation of cultural consumption can be very slow, policies aimed at encouraging cultural omnivorous behavior that includes highbrow culture activities do not seem appropriate for the majority of culturally inactives. On the contrary, in these cases, inclusive actions to reduce barriers to access lowbrow cultural activities (i.e. transforming a culturally inactive into a lowbrow univore) are sufficient to improve quality of life, particularly in terms of perceived health and social relationships.

Our analysis also reveals that more marginalized socio-demographics categories, particularly those with a low level of education, out-of-labor or unemployed, would benefit the most from cultural consumption as a channel for improving life and domain satisfaction. As a result, policies should target these groups as a priority.

Although the findings underline the positive relationship between cultural consumption and different forms of individual well-being, a number of limitations should be considered. First, as for the majority of empirical studies on this subject using population data, cross-sectional data does not allow to explore causality, but only conveys correlations. In this respect, our findings must be read as a complement to experimental evidence, which, however, has the limitation of relying on small-scale and highly situated samples. Second, because our approach is based on the construction of cultural consumer profiles derived from Italian data, the results and policy implications may not necessarily apply to other contexts. Although it is desirable to test the validity of the results in other countries, it is, however, encouraging to note that other empirical works have found in other countries several cultural consumers profiles identified for Italy in our research (i.e., Cultural omnivores, voracious, univores, inactives). Despite these limitations, our analysis provides a novel methodological approach to disentangle the relationship between the complex nature of cultural consumption and the multifaceted dimensions of individual well-being.

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TABLES

Table 1 - Summary Statistics

Variable	Obs.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
<i>Satisfaction with life domains (dummies)</i>					
Life satisfaction	36,857	0,36	0,48	0	1
Work satisfaction	19,071	0,73	0,45	0	1
Health satisfaction	36.679	0,81	0,40	0	1
Friend satisfaction	36.633	0,83	0,37	0	1
Economic satisfaction	36.702	0,40	0,49	0	1
Leisure satisfaction	36.605	0,64	0,48	0	1
<i>Cultural consumption profiles</i>					
Cultural inactive	36,857	0,44	0,50	0	1
Lowbrow univore	36,857	0,26	0,44	0	1
Lowbrow active	36,857	0,07	0,25	0	1
Heritage lover	36,857	0,13	0,33	0	1
Omnivore	36,857	0,07	0,26	0	1
Voracious	36,857	0,03	0,16	0	1
<i>Socio-demographics</i>					
Gender	36,857	0,48	0,50	0	1
Age<30	36,857	0,17	0,37	0	1
Age 30-64	36,857	0,57	0,49	0	1
Age >=65	36,857	0,26	0,44	0	1
Single	36,857	0,29	0,46	0	1
Married	36,857	0,54	0,50	0	1
Separated	36,857	0,07	0,26	0	1
Widow	36,857	0,09	0,29	0	1
Child number	36,857	1,06	1,01	0	7
Low education	36,857	0,53	0,50	0	1
Medium education	36,857	0,35	0,48	0	1
High education	36,857	0,12	0,33	0	1
Employed	36,857	0,40	0,49	0	1
Out of Labor Force	36,857	0,38	0,48	0	1
Unemployed	36,857	0,23	0,42	0	1
<i>Regional cultural supply (per 100,000 inhabitants)</i>					
Sport ticket spending	36,857	486,31	345,92	42,87	1203,06
Club goers	36,857	19,28	1,71	15,80	22,20
Cinemas	36,857	8,66	2,51	3,80	14,80
Concert halls	36,857	17,11	9,01	4,78	44,46
Concerts	36,857	22,88	11,02	6,60	45,97
Theaters	36,857	25,96	8,87	12,34	44,61
Museums	36,857	8,46	8,03	2,79	54,44
Monuments	36,857	1,92	2,09	0,49	13,22
<i>Context-specific covariates</i>					

Central area	36,857	0,12	0,32	0	1
Peripheral area	36,857	0,09	0,29	0	1
Area <=2000 inhabitants	36,857	0,08	0,27	0	1
Area 2001-10000 inhabitants	36,857	0,27	0,44	0	1
Area 10001-50000 inhabitants	36,857	0,27	0,44	0	1
Area >50000 inhabitants	36,857	0,18	0,38	0	1
North-West	36,857	0,22	0,41	0	1
North-East	36,857	0,16	0,37	0	1
Center	36,857	0,19	0,39	0	1
South	36,857	0,32	0,47	0	1
Islands	36,857	0,11	0,31	0	1

Table 2 – Parameter estimates for the of 6 latent classes model, cluster size and conditional probabilities

Cluster		1	2	3	4	5	6
Profile label		Lowbrow univore	Lowbrow active	Highbrow culture	Omnivore	Voracious	Inactive
Size		44,9%	22,4%	7,5%	14,9%	7,6%	2,7%
Sport events	Never	0,96	0,68	0,34	0,66	0,35	0,54
	1-6 times	0,02	0,28	0,52	0,28	0,55	0,23
	7+times	0,01	0,04	0,14	0,06	0,11	0,22
Disco	Never	0,98	0,78	0,14	0,88	0,44	0,59
	1-6 times	0,01	0,19	0,53	0,10	0,43	0,18
	7+times	0,01	0,02	0,33	0,02	0,14	0,24
Cinema	Never	0,90	0,36	0,09	0,32	0,07	0,14
	1-6 times	0,09	0,60	0,66	0,60	0,68	0,35
	7+times	0,01	0,04	0,25	0,08	0,25	0,51
Music	Never	1,00	0,83	0,41	0,85	0,19	0,33
	1-6 times	0,00	0,16	0,56	0,15	0,79	0,41
	7+times	0,00	0,00	0,03	0,00	0,02	0,26
Classical music	Never	1,00	0,95	0,87	0,88	0,52	0,40
	1-6 times	0,00	0,04	0,13	0,12	0,48	0,33
	7+times	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,26
Theater	Never	1,00	0,82	0,86	0,63	0,28	0,25
	1-6 times	0,00	0,18	0,14	0,36	0,69	0,50
	7+times	0,00	0,01	0,00	0,02	0,03	0,25
Museums	Never	0,99	0,99	0,79	0,07	0,05	0,04
	1-6 times	0,01	0,01	0,21	0,92	0,92	0,43
	7+times	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,01	0,03	0,53
Monuments	Never	0,99	0,90	0,88	0,41	0,23	0,14
	1-6 times	0,01	0,09	0,12	0,58	0,75	0,47
	7+times	0,00	0,00	0,01	0,01	0,03	0,39

Table 3 – Determinants of Life Satisfaction – Ordered probit and probit estimations

	(1) Ordered Probit	(2) Cut off: 6	(3) Cut off: 7	(4) Cut off: 8	(5) Cut off: 9
Lowbrow univore	0.227*** (0.0145)	0.0958*** (0.00562)	0.105*** (0.00699)	0.0580*** (0.00671)	0.00871** (0.00441)
Lowbrow active	0.318*** (0.0250)	0.133*** (0.00831)	0.167*** (0.0115)	0.0912*** (0.0119)	0.00472 (0.00756)
Heritage Lover	0.337*** (0.0184)	0.132*** (0.00652)	0.175*** (0.00853)	0.106*** (0.00870)	0.0143** (0.00569)
Omnivore	0.386*** (0.0235)	0.145*** (0.00770)	0.200*** (0.0106)	0.133*** (0.0113)	0.0136 (0.00734)
Voracious	0.439*** (0.0359)	0.136*** (0.0117)	0.214*** (0.0157)	0.150*** (0.0174)	0.0508*** (0.0127)
Individual covariates	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Geographic covariates	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observations	36,857	36,857	36,857	36,857	36,857

Note: Coefficients displayed for ordered probit; Marginal effects displayed for probit models. The baseline category is culturally inactives. The cut-off shows the threshold of the Life Satisfaction scale (0-10) used to determine the dichotomous depvar.

Table 4 – Probit estimations of the determinants of Life and Domain Satisfaction

Dependent variable:	(1) Life satisfaction	(2) Health satisfaction	(3) Work satisfaction	(4) Economic Satisfaction	(5) Friend satisfaction	(6) Leisure satisfaction
Lowbrow univore	0.0580*** (0.00671)	0.0898*** (0.00538)	0.0343*** (0.00953)	0.0841*** (0.00695)	0.104*** (0.00522)	0.117*** (0.00683)
Lowbrow active	0.0912*** (0.0119)	0.125*** (0.00888)	0.0460*** (0.0153)	0.105*** (0.0123)	0.157*** (0.00713)	0.184*** (0.0110)
Highbrow culture	0.106*** (0.00870)	0.0980*** (0.00654)	0.0381*** (0.0120)	0.175*** (0.00894)	0.119*** (0.00613)	0.129*** (0.00856)
Omnivore	0.133*** (0.0113)	0.116*** (0.00826)	0.101*** (0.0132)	0.205*** (0.0115)	0.138*** (0.00719)	0.191*** (0.0102)
Voracious	0.150*** (0.0174)	0.0834*** (0.0132)	0.0858*** (0.0202)	0.200*** (0.0177)	0.135*** (0.0103)	0.213*** (0.0148)
Male	0.00775 (0.00533)	0.0241*** (0.00419)	-0.00262 (0.00745)	0.00526 (0.00553)	0.0187*** (0.00399)	0.0641*** (0.00540)
Age: 30-64	-0.140*** (0.0102)	-0.0874*** (0.00510)	-0.00505 (0.0129)	-0.0924*** (0.0103)	-0.0523*** (0.00609)	-0.0938*** (0.00908)
Age: >=65	-0.141*** (0.0135)	-0.233*** (0.00930)	0.0169 (0.0302)	-0.0169 (0.0139)	-0.0923*** (0.00902)	-0.0735*** (0.0125)
Married/Cohabitant	0.0994*** (0.00760)	0.00716 (0.00610)	0.0383*** (0.00958)	0.0470*** (0.00801)	0.00640 (0.00567)	-0.0392*** (0.00758)
Separated/divorced	0.00131 (0.0110)	-0.00359 (0.00909)	-0.0105 (0.0140)	-0.0659*** (0.0113)	-0.0396*** (0.00915)	-0.0581*** (0.0115)
Widow	-0.00200 (0.0114)	-0.0597*** (0.00946)	0.0225 (0.0288)	0.0229 (0.0121)	-0.0499*** (0.00907)	-0.0499*** (0.0118)
Child number	-0.00131 (0.00295)	0.0147*** (0.00239)	-0.00535 (0.00400)	-0.0208*** (0.00309)	-0.00158 (0.00221)	-0.0215*** (0.00294)
Medium education	0.0214*** (0.00608)	0.0421*** (0.00486)	0.0599*** (0.00881)	0.0748*** (0.00630)	0.0117** (0.00461)	0.0178*** (0.00617)
High education	0.0658*** (0.00914)	0.0546*** (0.00699)	0.109*** (0.0109)	0.164*** (0.00940)	0.0107 (0.00692)	0.0307*** (0.00898)
Employed	0.0837*** (0.00790)	0.0882*** (0.00630)		0.141*** (0.00827)	0.0366*** (0.00585)	-0.0816*** (0.00777)
Out of Labor Force	0.0924*** (0.00948)	0.0486*** (0.00680)		0.155*** (0.00984)	0.0323*** (0.00651)	0.0882*** (0.00918)
Peripheral area	0.0656*** (0.0108)	0.0159 (0.00946)	0.00357 (0.0165)	-0.000115 (0.0115)	0.0412*** (0.00973)	0.0145 (0.0118)
Area <=2000 inhabitants	0.140*** (0.0121)	0.0448*** (0.00965)	0.0548*** (0.0174)	0.109*** (0.0128)	0.115*** (0.00941)	0.0828*** (0.0125)
Area 2001-10000 inhabitants	0.126*** (0.00898)	0.0340*** (0.00789)	0.0279** (0.0138)	0.0627*** (0.00974)	0.103*** (0.00803)	0.0756*** (0.00983)
Area 10001-50000 inhabitants	0.0865*** (0.00885)	0.0344*** (0.00785)	0.0235 (0.0137)	0.0388*** (0.00964)	0.0872*** (0.00809)	0.0781*** (0.00976)
Area >50000 inhabitants	0.115*** (0.00958)	0.0374*** (0.00831)	0.0255 (0.0146)	0.0447*** (0.0103)	0.0728*** (0.00861)	0.0940*** (0.0103)
Sport ticket spending	-1.75e-05 (1.80e-05)	-1.57e-05 (1.43e-05)	-2.51e-05 (2.52e-05)	-2.91e-05 (1.86e-05)	7.68e-05*** (1.36e-05)	-1.43e-05 (1.84e-05)
North-East	-0.0599*** (0.0131)	-0.0318*** (0.00938)	-0.0185 (0.0164)	-0.0431*** (0.0135)	-0.00362 (0.0108)	-0.0576*** (0.0125)
Center	-0.0752*** (0.0119)	-0.0254*** (0.00843)	-0.0339** (0.0155)	-0.0887*** (0.0122)	0.00619 (0.00975)	-0.0483*** (0.0114)
South	-0.0805*** (0.0214)	-0.0512*** (0.0165)	-0.0524 (0.0293)	-0.0846*** (0.0221)	0.0617*** (0.0162)	-0.0595*** (0.0212)
Island	-0.0839*** (0.0266)	-0.0441** (0.0206)	-0.0920** (0.0391)	-0.186*** (0.0258)	0.0886*** (0.0177)	-0.104*** (0.0271)
Club goers	-0.0221*** (0.00397)	0.0124*** (0.00308)	0.00946 (0.00572)	0.00256 (0.00412)	-0.0252*** (0.00297)	-0.0248*** (0.00399)
Cinemas	0.0102***	-0.00275	-0.000824	0.00684**	0.00957***	0.0123***

	(0.00261)	(0.00205)	(0.00373)	(0.00270)	(0.00198)	(0.00265)
Concert halls	-0.00512***	-0.000431	0.000447	-0.00210**	0.00124	-0.00187**
	(0.000919)	(0.000717)	(0.00132)	(0.000954)	(0.000689)	(0.000934)
Concerts	0.00203***	0.000219	-0.000187	0.00111**	0.00197***	0.00142***
	(0.000508)	(0.000403)	(0.000716)	(0.000524)	(0.000384)	(0.000518)
Theaters	0.00498***	-0.00149**	-0.000641	0.00152	7.30e-05	0.00323***
	(0.000823)	(0.000645)	(0.00118)	(0.000860)	(0.000617)	(0.000832)
Museums	0.00601***	0.000317	-0.00188	-0.00233	0.00719***	0.00290
	(0.00162)	(0.00128)	(0.00232)	(0.00168)	(0.00122)	(0.00165)
Monuments	-0.0178***	0.00185	0.0124	0.0141**	-0.0257***	-0.0136**
	(0.00604)	(0.00474)	(0.00866)	(0.00624)	(0.00455)	(0.00614)
Observations	36,857	36,932	14,421	36,954	36,880	36,848

Note: Marginal effects displayed for probit models. The baseline category is culturally inactives.

APPENDIX

Table A1 - Frequency of attendance per cultural and leisure activity (percent per category)

	Frequency				
	Never	1-3 times	4-6 times	7-12 times	13+times
Sport events	69.50	14.16	4.40	1.92	2.57
Disco	74.79	9.22	3.67	2.26	2.79
Cinema	51.20	24.60	10.38	4.59	2.46
Music concerts	75.45	13.65	2.22	0.68	0.42
Classical music concerts	90.92	7.02	1.20	0.47	0.39
Theater	75.99	13.71	2.14	0.86	0.39
Museums	68.95	18.11	3.87	1.25	0.53
Monuments	79.59	15.64	3.26	0.88	0.63

Table A2 – Goodness of fit measures for model selection, Latent Class Analysis

Model	G2	df	Entropy	ΔBIC	$\Delta CAIC$
2-class	21669	6527	0,82	-54959	-54942
3-class	13999	6510	0,75	-7488	-7471
4-class	9823	6493	0,77	-3994	-3977
5-class	8684	6476	0,73	-958	-941
6-class	7020	6459	0,75	-1482	-1465
7-class	6547	6442	0,73	-291	-274
8-class	6000	6425	0,74	-366	-349

Table A3 – Probit estimation of the determinants of life satisfaction, single cultural and leisure activities considered individually and in additive terms.

Dependent variable: Life satisfaction	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Sport events	0.061*** (0.006)								0.036*** (0.007)
Disco		0.047*** (0.007)							0.011 (0.008)
Cinema			0.051*** (0.006)						0.017** (0.007)
Music concerts				0.050*** (0.007)					-0.005 (0.008)
Classical music concerts					0.074*** (0.009)				0.015 (0.010)
Theater						0.097*** (0.007)			0.056*** (0.008)
Museums							0.083*** (0.006)		0.032*** (0.009)
Monuments								0.078*** (0.006)	0.022** (0.009)
Male	-0.002 (0.005)	0.011** (0.005)	0.011** (0.005)	0.011** (0.005)	0.011** (0.005)	0.015*** (0.005)	0.012** (0.005)	0.012** (0.005)	0.007 (0.006)
Age: 30-64	-0.148*** (0.010)	-0.136*** (0.010)	-0.137*** (0.010)	-0.143*** (0.010)	-0.150*** (0.010)	-0.151*** (0.010)	-0.147*** (0.010)	-0.148*** (0.010)	-0.142*** (0.011)
Age: >=65	-0.156*** (0.013)	-0.139*** (0.013)	-0.137*** (0.013)	-0.147*** (0.013)	-0.158*** (0.013)	-0.157*** (0.013)	-0.150*** (0.013)	-0.151*** (0.013)	-0.147*** (0.014)
Married/Cohabitant	0.089*** (0.008)	0.093*** (0.007)	0.089*** (0.007)	0.089*** (0.007)	0.089*** (0.007)	0.087*** (0.007)	0.088*** (0.007)	0.084*** (0.007)	0.098*** (0.008)
Separated/divorced	-0.005 (0.011)	-0.005 (0.011)	-0.008 (0.011)	-0.007 (0.011)	-0.011 (0.011)	-0.009 (0.011)	-0.011 (0.011)	-0.012 (0.011)	-0.002 (0.011)
Widow	-0.015 (0.011)	-0.012 (0.011)	-0.014 (0.011)	-0.014 (0.011)	-0.017 (0.011)	-0.014 (0.011)	-0.015 (0.011)	-0.019* (0.011)	-0.004 (0.012)
Child number	-0.003 (0.003)	0.002 (0.003)	0.001 (0.003)	0.002 (0.003)	0.001 (0.003)	0.002 (0.003)	0.003 (0.003)	0.003 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.003)
Medium education	0.041*** (0.006)	0.044*** (0.006)	0.037*** (0.006)	0.041*** (0.006)	0.042*** (0.006)	0.035*** (0.006)	0.032*** (0.006)	0.036*** (0.006)	0.027*** (0.006)
High education	0.107*** (0.009)	0.107*** (0.009)	0.093*** (0.009)	0.099*** (0.009)	0.096*** (0.009)	0.081*** (0.009)	0.075*** (0.009)	0.082*** (0.009)	0.067*** (0.009)
Employed	0.086*** (0.008)	0.085*** (0.008)	0.084*** (0.008)	0.087*** (0.008)	0.087*** (0.008)	0.087*** (0.008)	0.091*** (0.008)	0.089*** (0.008)	0.086*** (0.008)
Out of Labor Force	0.088*** (0.009)	0.087*** (0.009)	0.088*** (0.009)	0.088*** (0.009)	0.085*** (0.009)	0.087*** (0.009)	0.090*** (0.009)	0.089*** (0.009)	0.093*** (0.010)
North-East	-0.043*** (0.010)	-0.012 (0.009)	0.005 (0.008)	-0.003 (0.008)	-0.053*** (0.010)	-0.018** (0.008)	0.009 (0.008)	0.013* (0.008)	-0.062*** (0.013)
Center	-0.059*** (0.009)	-0.056*** (0.008)	-0.056*** (0.008)	-0.056*** (0.008)	-0.097*** (0.010)	-0.068*** (0.008)	-0.043*** (0.008)	-0.049*** (0.008)	-0.077*** (0.012)
South	-0.122*** (0.010)	-0.081*** (0.008)	-0.066*** (0.009)	-0.077*** (0.008)	-0.077*** (0.008)	-0.072*** (0.008)	-0.077*** (0.008)	-0.087*** (0.007)	-0.079*** (0.022)
Island	-0.100*** (0.012)	-0.058*** (0.010)	-0.050*** (0.010)	-0.056*** (0.010)	-0.063*** (0.010)	-0.070*** (0.010)	-0.057*** (0.010)	-0.077*** (0.009)	-0.084*** (0.027)
Peripheral area	0.061*** (0.011)	0.057*** (0.011)	0.060*** (0.011)	0.057*** (0.011)	0.059*** (0.011)	0.060*** (0.011)	0.064*** (0.011)	0.059*** (0.011)	0.067*** (0.011)
Area <=2000 inhabitants	0.143*** (0.012)	0.139*** (0.011)	0.147*** (0.011)	0.129*** (0.011)	0.137*** (0.011)	0.137*** (0.012)	0.136*** (0.011)	0.137*** (0.011)	0.135*** (0.012)
Area 2001-10000 inhabitants	0.123*** (0.009)	0.131*** (0.009)	0.137*** (0.009)	0.125*** (0.009)	0.133*** (0.009)	0.132*** (0.009)	0.135*** (0.009)	0.133*** (0.009)	0.126*** (0.009)
Area 10001-50000 inhabitants	0.081*** (0.009)	0.084*** (0.008)	0.089*** (0.008)	0.079*** (0.009)	0.087*** (0.009)	0.085*** (0.009)	0.089*** (0.009)	0.088*** (0.008)	0.088*** (0.009)
Municipality >50000	0.112*** (0.009)	0.114*** (0.009)	0.117*** (0.009)	0.109*** (0.009)	0.114*** (0.009)	0.112*** (0.009)	0.117*** (0.009)	0.116*** (0.009)	0.115*** (0.010)
Sport ticket spending	-0.000*** (0.000)								-0.000 (0.000)
Club goers		0.009*** (0.002)							-0.020*** (0.004)
Cinemas			0.009*** (0.002)						0.009*** (0.003)
Concert halls				0.002*** (0.000)					-0.005*** (0.001)
Concerts					0.003*** (0.000)				0.002*** (0.001)
Theaters						0.003***			0.005***

						(0.000)			(0.001)
Museums							0.002***		0.006***
							(0.000)		(0.002)
Monuments								0.006***	-0.017***
								(0.001)	(0.006)
Observations	36,486	38,739	38,932	38,600	38,292	38,889	38,717	38,730	35,328

Table A4 – Probit estimation of satisfaction with life by cultural consumption profiles, heterogeneity across socio-demographics

Dependent Variable	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
	Gender		Education level			Age			Work condition		
Life satisfaction	Males	Females	Low	Medium	High	Young (<30)	Adult (30-64)	Old (>=65)	Employed	Unemployed	Retired
Lowbrow univore	0.0499*** (0.00953)	0.0649*** (0.00949)	0.0620*** (0.00908)	0.0360*** (0.0113)	0.0210 (0.0252)	0.0953*** (0.0199)	0.0371*** (0.00822)	0.0618*** (0.0161)	0.0479*** (0.0105)	0.0394*** (0.0116)	0.0779*** (0.0139)
Lowbrow active	0.100*** (0.0159)	0.0774*** (0.0183)	0.110*** (0.0191)	0.0764*** (0.0174)	0.0191 (0.0378)	0.120*** (0.0216)	0.0821*** (0.0179)	0.0756 (0.0828)	0.0682*** (0.0177)	0.150*** (0.0522)	0.118*** (0.0185)
Highbrow culture	0.103*** (0.0129)	0.106*** (0.0118)	0.120*** (0.0142)	0.0852*** (0.0137)	0.0368 (0.0241)	0.128*** (0.0265)	0.0733*** (0.0108)	0.124*** (0.0187)	0.0727*** (0.0132)	0.110*** (0.0149)	0.114*** (0.0198)
Omnivore	0.142*** (0.0163)	0.122*** (0.0157)	0.153*** (0.0224)	0.136*** (0.0170)	0.0449 (0.0267)	0.170*** (0.0246)	0.106*** (0.0143)	0.148*** (0.0404)	0.0956*** (0.0160)	0.127*** (0.0289)	0.170*** (0.0208)
Voracious	0.142*** (0.0254)	0.156*** (0.0240)	0.178*** (0.0388)	0.142*** (0.0280)	0.0838*** (0.0322)	0.191*** (0.0376)	0.132*** (0.0226)	0.126*** (0.0440)	0.109*** (0.0244)	0.113*** (0.0364)	0.231*** (0.0358)
Individual covariates	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Geographic covariates	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observations	17,600	19,257	19,607	12,728	4,522	6,197	21,078	9,581	14,671	13,827	8,359

Note: Marginal effects displayed for probit models. The baseline category is culturally inactives.

Table A5 – Probit estimation of satisfaction with Health conditions by cultural consumption profiles, heterogeneity across socio-demographics

Dependent Variable	(1) Gender		(3)	(4) Education level			(5)	(6)	(7) Age		(8)	(9)	(10) Work condition		(11)
	Males	Females	Low	Medium	High	Young (<30)	Adult (30-64)	Old (>=65)	Employed	Unemployed	Retired				
Health satisfaction															
Lowbrow univore	0.0880*** (0.00712)	0.0894*** (0.00810)	0.102*** (0.00820)	0.0689*** (0.00790)	0.0530*** (0.0157)	0.0422*** (0.0119)	0.0597*** (0.00586)	0.170*** (0.0159)	0.0427*** (0.00659)	0.117*** (0.0110)	0.109*** (0.0114)				
Lowbrowe active	0.122*** (0.0104)	0.122*** (0.0153)	0.154*** (0.0170)	0.0979*** (0.0104)	0.0567** (0.0224)	0.0539*** (0.0121)	0.0976*** (0.00997)	0.285*** (0.0727)	0.0720*** (0.00916)	0.120** (0.0486)	0.131*** (0.0141)				
Highbrow culture	0.0879*** (0.00904)	0.107*** (0.00942)	0.128*** (0.0115)	0.0746*** (0.00872)	0.0493*** (0.0151)	0.0391*** (0.0142)	0.0564*** (0.00765)	0.226*** (0.0171)	0.0420*** (0.00801)	0.153*** (0.0129)	0.107*** (0.0149)				
Omnivore	0.115*** (0.0106)	0.116*** (0.0126)	0.130*** (0.0192)	0.0843*** (0.0102)	0.0786*** (0.0156)	0.0468*** (0.0132)	0.0860*** (0.00887)	0.251*** (0.0347)	0.0658*** (0.00859)	0.149*** (0.0253)	0.121*** (0.0153)				
Voracious	0.0619*** (0.0188)	0.102*** (0.0186)	0.123*** (0.0312)	0.0859*** (0.0151)	0.0204 (0.0205)	0.00803 (0.0213)	0.0530*** (0.0153)	0.242*** (0.0387)	0.0310** (0.0146)	0.190*** (0.0283)	0.0507 (0.0291)				
Individual covariates	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES		
Geographic covariates	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES		
Observations	17,630	19,302	19,662	12,734	4,536	6,209	21,126	9,596	14,700	13,850	8,382				

Note: Marginal effects displayed for probit models. The baseline category is culturally inactives.

Table A6 - Probit estimation of satisfaction with job by cultural consumption profiles, heterogeneity across socio-demographics

Dependent Variable	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Gender		Education level			Age		
Job satisfaction	Males	Females	Low	Medium	High	Young (<30)	Adult (30-64)	Old (>=65)
Lowbrow univore	0.0391*** (0.0124)	0.0262 (0.0149)	0.0439*** (0.0155)	0.0268 (0.0142)	0.0144 (0.0260)	0.0716** (0.0357)	0.0304*** (0.0100)	0.0820 (0.0729)
Lowbrow active	0.0465** (0.0194)	0.0425 (0.0251)	0.0861*** (0.0289)	0.0389 (0.0208)	-0.0242 (0.0402)	0.0595 (0.0383)	0.0464** (0.0180)	
Highbrow culture	0.0500*** (0.0161)	0.0208 (0.0179)	0.0757*** (0.0251)	0.0424** (0.0168)	-0.0126 (0.0255)	0.0720 (0.0520)	0.0356*** (0.0125)	0.0671 (0.0727)
Omnivore	0.115*** (0.0176)	0.0813*** (0.0198)	0.125*** (0.0348)	0.0896*** (0.0187)	0.0625** (0.0256)	0.103** (0.0459)	0.101*** (0.0139)	0.180*** (0.0641)
Voracious	0.0770*** (0.0280)	0.0937*** (0.0288)	0.0734 (0.0684)	0.0644** (0.0315)	0.0657** (0.0297)	0.0547 (0.0675)	0.0937*** (0.0214)	0.142 (0.0762)
Individual covariates	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Geographic covariates	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observations	8,465	5,956	4,682	6,782	2,957	1,604	12,577	238

Note: Marginal effects displayed for probit models. The baseline category is culturally inactives.

Table A7 - Probit estimation of economic satisfaction by cultural consumption profiles, heterogeneity across socio-demographics

Dependent Variable	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
	Gender		Education level			Age			Work condition		
Economic satisfaction	Males	Females	Low	Medium	High	Young (<30)	Adult (30-64)	Old (>=65)	Employed	Unemployed	Retired
Lowbrow univore	0.0776*** (0.00986)	0.0892*** (0.00985)	0.0931*** (0.0172)	0.0710*** (0.00934)	0.0734*** (0.0116)	0.114*** (0.0188)	0.0684*** (0.00844)	0.0931*** (0.0172)	0.0748*** (0.0107)	0.0831*** (0.0123)	0.0738*** (0.0134)
Lowbrow active	0.109*** (0.0162)	0.0901*** (0.0190)	-0.0333 (0.0889)	0.0864*** (0.0194)	0.115*** (0.0179)	0.161*** (0.0206)	0.0768*** (0.0180)	-0.0333 (0.0889)	0.106*** (0.0180)	0.00500 (0.0529)	0.109*** (0.0178)
Highbrow culture	0.170*** (0.0132)	0.178*** (0.0122)	0.144*** (0.0194)	0.181*** (0.0146)	0.147*** (0.0141)	0.271*** (0.0261)	0.135*** (0.0111)	0.144*** (0.0194)	0.131*** (0.0135)	0.163*** (0.0153)	0.205*** (0.0203)
Omnivore	0.195*** (0.0165)	0.211*** (0.0161)	0.234*** (0.0409)	0.236*** (0.0227)	0.196*** (0.0171)	0.280*** (0.0239)	0.159*** (0.0146)	0.234*** (0.0409)	0.160*** (0.0162)	0.210*** (0.0294)	0.217*** (0.0208)
Voracious	0.185*** (0.0258)	0.211*** (0.0243)	0.134*** (0.0457)	0.204*** (0.0388)	0.221*** (0.0280)	0.282*** (0.0369)	0.166*** (0.0230)	0.134*** (0.0457)	0.165*** (0.0246)	0.169*** (0.0374)	0.223*** (0.0354)
Individual covariates	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Geographic covariates	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observations	17,654	19,300	9,598	19,667	12,748	6,209	21,146	9,598	14,711	13,854	8,389

Note: Marginal effects displayed for probit models. The baseline category is culturally inactives.

Table A8 - Probit estimation of satisfaction with friends by cultural consumption profiles, heterogeneity across socio-demographics

Dependent Variable	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
	Gender		Education level			Age			Work condition		
Friend satisfaction	Males	Females	Low	Medium	High	Young (<30)	Adult (30-64)	Old (>=65)	Employed	Unemployed	Retired
Lowbrow univore	0.0872*** (0.00715)	0.118*** (0.00756)	0.108*** (0.00707)	0.0910*** (0.00863)	0.0772*** (0.0186)	0.114*** (0.0156)	0.0867*** (0.00624)	0.118*** (0.0132)	0.0863*** (0.00772)	0.0901*** (0.00949)	0.127*** (0.0116)
Lowbrowe active	0.137*** (0.00916)	0.176*** (0.0111)	0.165*** (0.0116)	0.142*** (0.0103)	0.125*** (0.0227)	0.144*** (0.0157)	0.139*** (0.00960)	0.156** (0.0628)	0.136*** (0.00955)	0.121*** (0.0373)	0.164*** (0.0132)
Highbrow culture	0.101*** (0.00861)	0.134*** (0.00868)	0.145*** (0.00915)	0.102*** (0.00949)	0.0748*** (0.0180)	0.112*** (0.0183)	0.0899*** (0.00784)	0.187*** (0.0122)	0.0776*** (0.00939)	0.158*** (0.00959)	0.133*** (0.0145)
Omnivore	0.119*** (0.00981)	0.156*** (0.0104)	0.158*** (0.0133)	0.119*** (0.0107)	0.108*** (0.0187)	0.125*** (0.0172)	0.117*** (0.00896)	0.218*** (0.0209)	0.112*** (0.00982)	0.169*** (0.0168)	0.139*** (0.0150)
Voracious	0.104*** (0.0151)	0.163*** (0.0140)	0.134*** (0.0240)	0.0998*** (0.0170)	0.128*** (0.0196)	0.111*** (0.0229)	0.114*** (0.0132)	0.204*** (0.0237)	0.112*** (0.0135)	0.159*** (0.0212)	0.124*** (0.0237)
Individual covariates	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Geographic covariates	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observations	17,610	19,270	19,627	12,721	4,532	6,203	21,099	9,577	14,687	13,822	8,371

Note: Marginal effects displayed for probit models. The baseline category is culturally inactives.

Table A9 - Probit estimation of leisure satisfaction by cultural consumption profiles, heterogeneity across socio-demographics

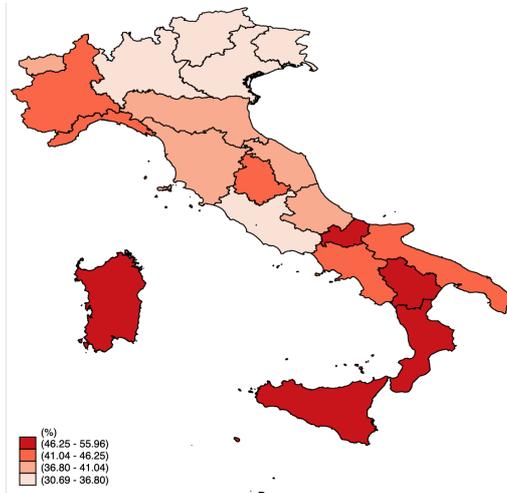
Dependent Variable	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
	Gender		Education level			Age			Work condition		
Friend satisfaction	Males	Females	Low	Medium	High	Young (<30)	Adult (30-64)	Old (>=65)	Employed	Unemployed	Retired
Lowbrow univore	0.112*** (0.00962)	0.121*** (0.00971)	0.118*** (0.00905)	0.113*** (0.0116)	0.0720*** (0.0251)	0.133*** (0.0200)	0.0978*** (0.00854)	0.124*** (0.0150)	0.0922*** (0.0108)	0.101*** (0.0111)	0.150*** (0.0148)
Lowbrow active	0.183*** (0.0141)	0.189*** (0.0172)	0.151*** (0.0179)	0.193*** (0.0164)	0.196*** (0.0339)	0.175*** (0.0209)	0.177*** (0.0168)	0.0219 (0.0882)	0.171*** (0.0172)	0.122*** (0.0452)	0.200*** (0.0183)
Highbrow culture	0.127*** (0.0125)	0.130*** (0.0118)	0.139*** (0.0136)	0.132*** (0.0137)	0.0767*** (0.0241)	0.0993*** (0.0258)	0.100*** (0.0111)	0.187*** (0.0153)	0.0885*** (0.0134)	0.162*** (0.0128)	0.120*** (0.0204)
Omnivore	0.190*** (0.0141)	0.191*** (0.0146)	0.174*** (0.0199)	0.189*** (0.0157)	0.175*** (0.0255)	0.157*** (0.0233)	0.181*** (0.0136)	0.275*** (0.0235)	0.167*** (0.0156)	0.224*** (0.0206)	0.192*** (0.0199)
Voracious	0.177*** (0.0217)	0.247*** (0.0200)	0.197*** (0.0327)	0.198*** (0.0249)	0.209*** (0.0291)	0.188*** (0.0314)	0.215*** (0.0202)	0.175*** (0.0345)	0.222*** (0.0223)	0.167*** (0.0296)	0.193*** (0.0317)
Individual covariates	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Geographic covariates	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observations	17,599	19,249	19,605	12,713	4,530	6,201	21,081	9,565	14,670	13,807	8,371

Note: Marginal effects displayed for probit models. The baseline category is culturally inactives.

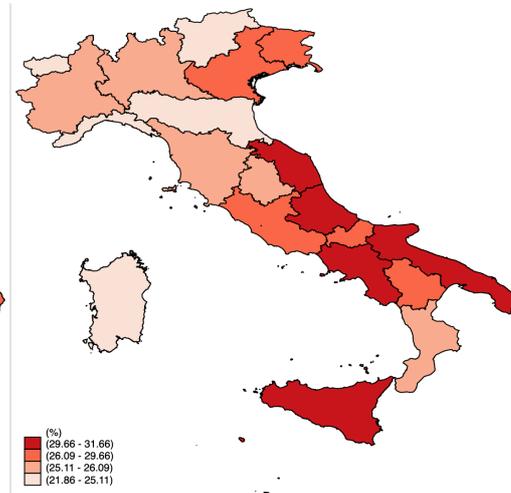
FIGURES

Figure 1 – Share of cultural consumer profiles over population, regional differences

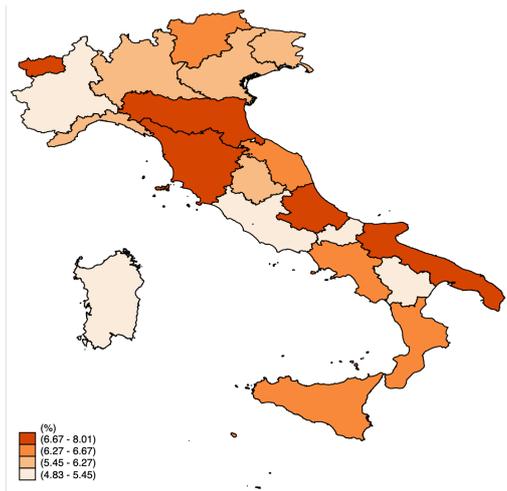
1a. Culturally Inactive



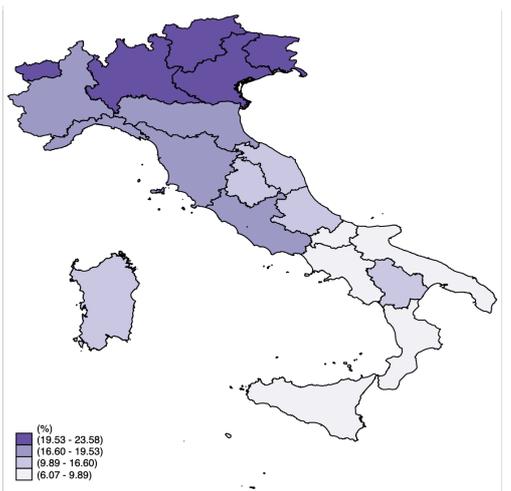
1b. Lowbrow univore



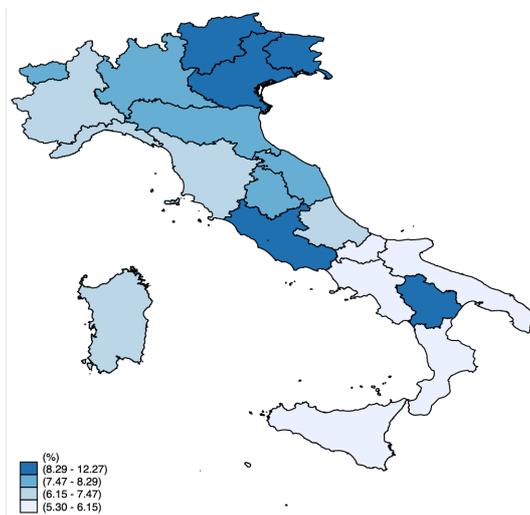
1c. Lowbrow Active



1d. Heritage Lover



1e. Omnivore



1f. Voracious

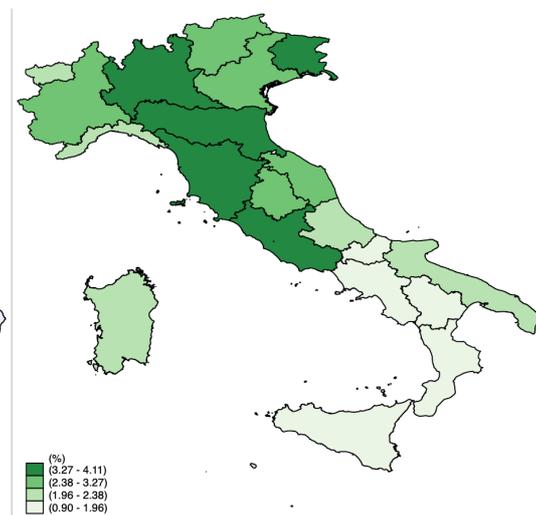


Figure 2 – Predictive Margins with 95% CI on the probability of being satisfied with life for cultural consumer profiles

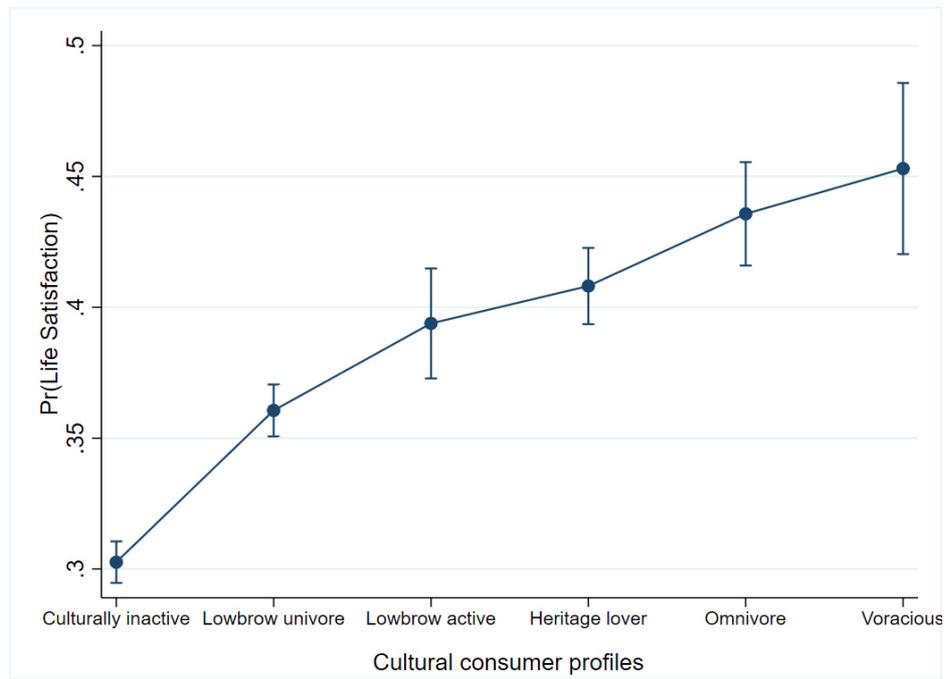
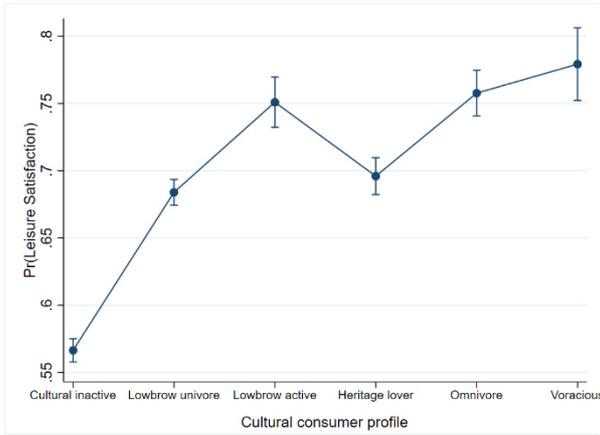
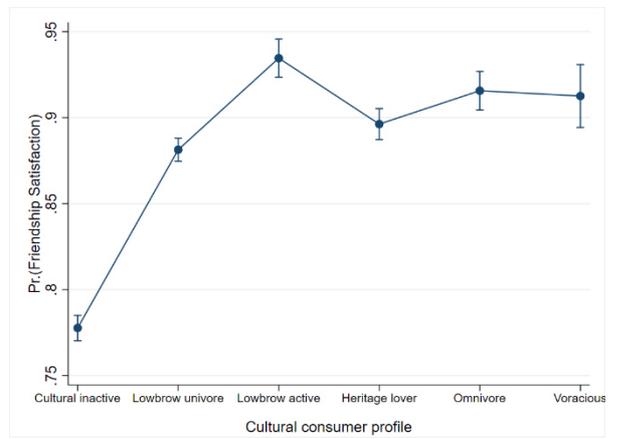


Figure 3 - Predictive Margins with 95% CI on the probability of being satisfied with life subdomains for cultural consumer profiles

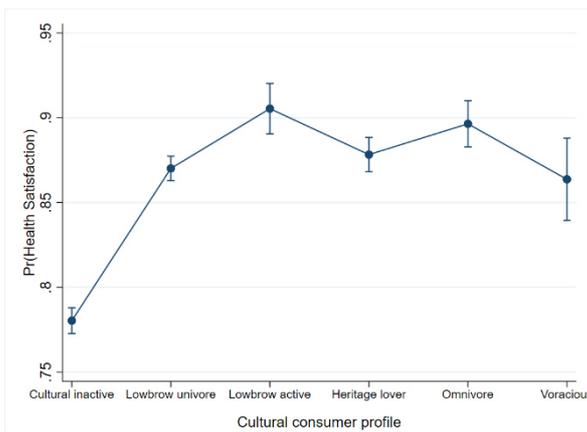
3a. Leisure



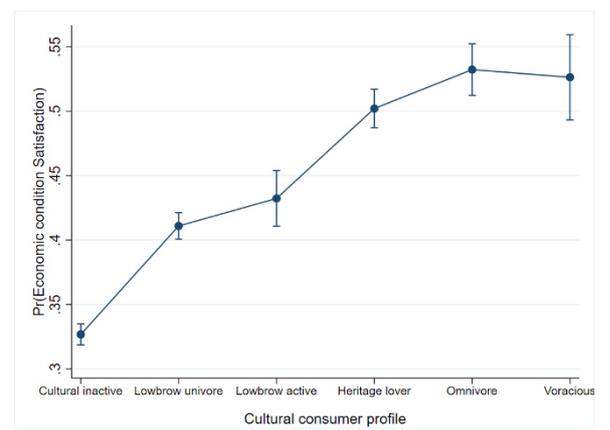
3b. Friendship



3c. Health



3d. Economic condition



3e. Job

