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**La distinction culturelle chez les adolescents : une étude sociologique et psychologique**

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*La soutenance s'est effectuée de manière à distance.*

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La distinction culturelle chez les adolescents : une étude sociologique et psychologique

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## **La distinction culturelle chez les adolescents : une étude sociologique et psychologique**

### RÉSUMÉ

La présente recherche poursuivait deux objectifs principaux. Elle visait en premier lieu à tester la validité de la thèse de l'homologie structurale auprès d'adolescents. Élaborée sur la base d'études réalisées auprès d'adultes, cette thèse soutient que les goûts et les pratiques culturelles sont fonction de la position sociale et s'enracinent dans la prime enfance. La présente recherche visait en second lieu à mesurer l'impact respectif de facteurs sociaux et de facteurs psychologiques sur la distribution des dispositions culturelles. Dans l'ensemble, les résultats suggèrent que les logiques sous-jacentes à la stratification des goûts et des pratiques culturelles généralement observées chez les adultes opèrent dès la prime adolescence. Les analyses menées indiquent également que le trait de personnalité « ouverture » constitue un meilleur prédicteur de la disposition esthétique et de l'éclectisme que le milieu social ou le sexe. Toutefois, ce trait s'est révélé fortement dépendant du milieu social, jetant ainsi les bases de futures recherches relatives à la genèse des traits de personnalité.

Mots clefs : capital culturel ; disposition esthétique ; goûts culturels ; homologie structurale ; ouverture ; pratiques culturelles ; traits de personnalité.

## **Cultural distinction in adolescents: A sociological and psychological study**

### ABSTRACT

This doctoral dissertation pursued two main research goals. First, it aimed to test the validity of the structural-homology thesis in adolescents. Based on studies in adults, this thesis posits that cultural tastes and practices depend on socioeconomic status and are rooted in early childhood. Second, this doctoral dissertation aimed to assess the respective influence of social and psychological factors on the distribution of cultural dispositions. Overall, results suggest that the underpinnings of the stratification of cultural tastes and practices generally observed in adults are already operative in early adolescence. In addition, the conducted analyses indicate that personality trait openness is a better predictor of aesthetic disposition and eclecticism than socioeconomic status and sex. However, openness was found to strongly vary with social milieu, thus paving the way for future research dedicated to the genesis of personality traits.

Keywords: aesthetic disposition; cultural capital; cultural practices; cultural tastes; openness; personality traits; structural homology.

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## INTRODUCTION GÉNÉRALE

Je me répète souvent. C'est pour contrebalancer mes contradictions.

Louis Scutenaire

### Objectifs de la présente recherche

Les études ici compilées poursuivent deux objectifs principaux. Elles visent, en premier lieu, à tester la thèse de l'homologie structurale (Bourdieu, 1979) auprès d'adolescents. Plus précisément, il s'agit d'établir si les logiques sous-jacentes à la distribution sociale des goûts et des pratiques culturelles observées chez les adultes opèrent déjà à l'adolescence, comme plusieurs chercheurs l'ont théoriquement inféré sans toutefois le vérifier empiriquement (Bourdieu, 1979 ; Lizardo & Skiles, 2012). La présente recherche entend, en second lieu, examiner le rôle de traits de personnalité dans cette même distribution des dispositions culturelles. Cela permettra non seulement d'évaluer et de comparer le pouvoir prédictif de variables explicatives sociologiques et psychologiques en matière de dispositions culturelles mais, en outre, d'investiguer les relations entre milieu social, capital culturel et personnalité.

Ces deux objectifs principaux procèdent d'un double constat initial. En effet, bien que l'enfance et l'adolescence constituent des périodes clefs de la socialisation et de la construction idiosyncrasique (c'est là un truisme), la question de la genèse et de la stratification sociale des dispositions esthétiques et culturelles chez les non-adultes demeure, à ce jour, sous-développée dans le champ sociologique (Octobre *et al.*, 2010). L'absence de section dédiée aux enfants et aux jeunes adolescents au sein des manuels de sociologie de l'art et de la culture illustre cette tendance (*e.g.*, voir Hanquinet & Savage, 2016). Par ailleurs, en dépit de la connexité de la sociologie et de la psychologie de l'art et de la culture, force est de constater que sociologues

et psychologues tendent à s'ignorer mutuellement. En témoigne la mise en évidence parallèle, au cours des trois dernières décennies, de résultats relativement convergents en sociologie et psychologie de la musique qui, dans l'ensemble, n'ont guère dépassé leurs frontières disciplinaires. Par exemple, tandis que certains psychologues (*e.g.*, Dollinger, 1993 ; Miranda & Claes, 2008) soulignaient l'influence du trait de personnalité « ouverture » sur l'éventail des goûts musicaux, certains sociologues (*e.g.*, Peterson & Kern, 1996 ; Ollivier, 2008) rattachaient l'omnivorité et/ou l'éclectisme des classes aisées à une forme d'« ouverture à la diversité ». Méconnus ou ignorés, ces résultats concordants n'ont pas donné lieu à des travaux dédiés à l'analyse approfondie des rapports entre position sociale, éclectisme et ouverture.

Aussi, en adjoignant au test de la thèse de l'homologie structurale auprès d'adolescents l'examen de potentiels ressorts psychologiques de la distribution sociale des goûts et des pratiques culturelles, la présente dissertation se propose-t-elle de contribuer à combler deux manques caractérisant l'état actuel de l'art : d'une part, le faible intérêt sociologique à l'endroit des dispositions esthétiques et culturelles des adolescents et, d'autre part, la rareté des études mobilisant des variables explicatives sociologiques et psychologiques.

### **La thèse de l'homologie structurale**

Étrennée dans « Anatomie du goût » (Bourdieu & de Saint Martin, 1976), étayée dans *La distinction* (Bourdieu, 1979), la thèse de l'homologie structurale soutient que « l'espace des positions sociales » et « l'espace des styles de vie » (goûts, disposition esthétique, pratiques culturelles, rapport à la culture, valeurs, opinions, etc.) s'organisent autour des mêmes principes matriciels. Ces derniers renvoient au *volume* de capital économique et culturel possédé et à la *structure* du capital, lesquels dépendent, pour une large part, de l'origine sociale – celle-ci faisant ainsi office de troisième principe structurant. Le volume du capital est défini par la

quantité de capitaux détenus. La structure du capital, quant à elle, reflète le poids respectif du capital économique et du capital culturel dans le volume global du capital. La variante économique du capital correspond au patrimoine et aux revenus ; sa variante culturelle, aux ressources informationnelles (connaissances, savoir-faire, culture générale, compétences spécifiques, etc.), biens culturels et titres scolaires.

Les variations selon la classe ou la fraction de classe des pratiques et des goûts (...) s'organisent selon une structure homologue à la structure des variations du capital économique, du capital scolaire et de la trajectoire sociale (...). Autrement dit, les unités que l'on peut découper en fonction de l'homogénéité des dispositions esthétiques (au sens le plus large du terme) correspondent à des unités sociales définies par la possession d'un patrimoine caractérisé tant dans son volume que dans sa structure (Bourdieu & de Saint Martin, 1976, p. 14).

Ainsi, d'après Bourdieu, les goûts et (le rapport aux) pratiques culturelles varient suivant la position sociale occupée, qui elle-même dépend de la position sociale des parents (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1964, 1970 ; Bourdieu, 1979). En particulier, les cartographies sociales des styles de vie des classes moyennes et supérieures reportées dans *La distinction* (cf. p. 392 et p. 296) rendent compte de diverses constellations dispositionnelles distribuant des fractions de classe définies par la structure de leur capital. L'un des apports centraux des travaux de Bourdieu fut en effet d'attester de l'hétérogénéité des inclinations esthétiques et éthiques au sein même des classes sociales. Par exemple, le plan de l'analyse des correspondances relatif aux classes supérieures (Bourdieu, 1979, p. 296) dévoile une série d'oppositions entre les dispositions culturelles des professeurs universitaires et des producteurs culturels (fraction à dominante culturelle) et celles des patrons du commerce et de l'industrie (fraction à dominante économique). Ces oppositions, variations et distinctions manifestent des différences en termes d'univers culturels engageant non seulement les pratiques culturelles elles-mêmes, mais, plus fondamentalement encore, le rapport à la pratique et à la culture (Bourdieu, 1979, p. 591 ; 1994, p. 23 ; voir aussi Coulangeon, 2011, p. 18).

Au fait des carences des techniques d'enquête, indicateurs et catégories d'analyse employés (Bourdieu, 1979, pp. 139-142, p. 591, p. 595) et devantant « les lectures qui réduisent les homologues entre des systèmes d'écarts différentiels à des relations directes et mécaniques entre des groupes et des propriétés » (p. 139), Bourdieu insista sur l'aspect *tendanciel* de ses observations. C'est dans ce cadre qu'il discrimina, sur la base de ses données et de sources complémentaires, trois archétypes de goûts.

Dans l'univers des goûts singuliers (...), on peut ainsi distinguer, en s'en tenant aux oppositions majeures, trois univers de goûts qui correspondent en gros à des niveaux scolaires et à des classes sociales : *le goût légitime*, c'est-à-dire le goût des œuvres légitimes (...) auxquelles les esthètes les plus assurés peuvent associer les plus légitimes parmi les œuvres des arts en voie de légitimation (...), croît avec le niveau scolaire pour atteindre sa fréquence la plus haute dans les fractions de la classe dominante les plus riches en capital scolaire ; *le goût « moyen »* qui réunit les œuvres mineures des arts majeurs (...) et les œuvres majeures des arts mineurs (...) est plus fréquent dans les classes moyennes que dans les classes populaires ou que dans les fractions « intellectuelles » de la classe dominante ; et enfin, *le goût « populaire »* (...) trouve sa fréquence maximum dans les classes populaires et varie en raison inverse du capital scolaire (Bourdieu, 1979, pp. 14-16).

Or, un large pan de la réception de *La distinction* a négligé tant l'aspect tendanciel des données et des interprétations bourdieusiennes que le caractère idéal-typique des catégories de « goût légitime », « moyen » et « populaire ». Ces lectures tronquées ont conduit à assimiler la thèse de l'homologie structurale à une théorie du snobisme des classes supérieures et, partant, à en contester la validité.

### **La validité contestée de la thèse de l'homologie structurale**

Plusieurs sociologues ont en effet perçu la thèse de l'homologie structurale comme une théorie de l'exclusivisme culturel (e.g., Bryson, 1996 ; Lahire, 2004). Par exemple, d'après

Vander Stichele et Laermans (2006, p. 46), la thèse de Bourdieu « implique nécessairement une aversion [de la part des membres des classes dominantes] à l'endroit des différentes formes de la culture populaire » (traduction de l'auteur). D'autres sociologues, quant à eux, ont soutenu que le snobisme des classes aisées (supposément) identifié par Bourdieu constituait un cas à part dans la littérature. Peterson (1997, p. 87) nota ainsi que les « études menées aux États-Unis depuis les années 1960 n'ont guère mis en évidence un snobisme aussi clairement établi que celui révélé par Bourdieu » (traduction de l'auteur).

Peu ou prou illustrée par des citations ou des exemples tangibles provenant des travaux de Bourdieu, la réduction de la thèse de l'homologie à une thèse du snobisme a particulièrement essaimé au cours des années 1990-2000 et demeure vivace aujourd'hui encore (Hanquinet, 2017), en dépit de contre-argumentaires détaillés puisant directement et explicitement dans *La distinction* (voir *inter alia* Holt, 1997 ; Bennett *et al.*, 2009 ; Jarness, 2015). Cette sorte de rémanence s'explique probablement, du moins en partie, par le *peccatum originale* de la thèse concurrente de l'omnivorité culturelle. Développée à l'orée des années 1990 (Peterson, 1992 ; Peterson & Simkus, 1992), cette thèse soutient que la distribution des goûts et pratiques culturelles connaît depuis peu une transformation majeure au sein des classes aisées. Cette mutation consiste en le passage d'une structuration régie par le snobisme culturel à une structuration régie par une ouverture à la diversité transgressant les frontières de la légitimité culturelle. Or, force est de constater que les pionniers de la thèse de l'omnivorité ne mentionnèrent aucune étude empirique attestant de la prégnance d'un snobisme conduisant les membres des classes supérieures à « éviter à tout prix toute pratique culturelle non légitime » (Peterson, 1992, p. 245 – traduction de l'auteur). Il semble ainsi que la thèse de l'homologie ait servi à remplir cet espace vacant, quitte à en distordre la teneur. C'est que la thèse de l'homologie ne saurait être, en effet, amalgamée à une théorie du snobisme des classes supérieures. Bourdieu a rapporté que le goût légitime était le plus fréquent dans les fractions

dominées de la classe dominante. Il n'a pas soutenu qu'un haut statut social impliquait mécaniquement des dispositions exclusivistes envers les œuvres légitimes. L'un des principaux apports de Bourdieu (1979, p. 137) fut en outre d'ébranler la représentation de l'homogénéité des classes sociales, au sein desquelles il identifia un niveau supplémentaire de différenciation culturelle, celui de la fraction de classe. Bourdieu (1979, p. 297) observa ainsi que certaines fractions des classes supérieures étaient « très proches (...) de la culture moyenne dans leurs préférences culturelles (...) et aussi dans les choix engageant le plus fortement des dispositions éthiques ». Malgré les réserves émises à son encontre, la vue selon laquelle la thèse de l'homologie relève d'une théorie du snobisme s'est cristallisée au sein de la thèse de l'omnivorité et, à suivre Hanquinet (2017, p. 166), au sein même du champ de la sociologie de la culture, en dépit des tentatives de conciliation des deux thèses (Coulangeon & Lemel, 2009 ; Coulangeon, 2010 ; Lizardo & Skiles, 2012).

Si la question du snobisme a joué un rôle majeur dans l'exégèse critique de *La distinction*, d'autres points ont été mis en avant par les détracteurs de Bourdieu au cours des dernières décennies. Ainsi, par exemple, Gartman (1991) reprocha au canevas bourdieusien son a-historicisme, son incapacité à rendre compte des mutations sociales, ainsi que sa conception, "passionnée", ambivalente et spéculaire, des classes populaires et de leur(s) esthétique(s) ; Born (2010), sa lecture économiciste du champ de production culturelle, sa dénégation de toute subjectivité et sa cécité à l'égard des propriétés proprement artistiques des œuvres. S'il ne s'agira pas, ici, de dresser l'inventaire complet des griefs adressés aux travaux que Bourdieu dédia à l'art et aux pratiques culturelles (cela pourrait constituer une recherche doctorale en soi), il sied de souligner que, parallèlement à un abondant corpus empirique critique (voir *inter alia* Halle, 1992 ; Lamont, 1992 ; Frow, 1995 ; Chan & Goldthorpe, 2005, 2007a, 2007b ; Glevarec & Pinet, 2013a, 2017), plusieurs études n'ont laissé de confirmer la validité de la thèse de l'homologie (voir *inter alia* Holt, 1998 ; Tomlinson, 2003 ; Bukodi, 2007 ; Bennett *et al.*,

2009 ; Atkinson, 2011 ; Heikkilä & Rahkonen, 2011 ; Purhonen & Wright, 2013 ; Deeming, 2014 ; Jarness, 2015 ; Flemmen, Hjellbrekke & Jarness, 2018 ; Flemmen, Jarness & Rosenlund, 2018). Au moins quatre facteurs sont à même de rendre compte de ces contradictions apparentes. Le premier facteur renvoie à la réduction, évoquée ci-dessus, de la thèse de l'homologie en une théorie de l'exclusivisme culturel. Considérer avec van Eijck (2001, p. 1164 – traduction de l'auteur) que Bourdieu soutînt qu'« un haut statut social implique un snobisme culturel et, partant, une aversion générale envers la culture populaire », autorise effectivement à réfuter sans ambages une telle proposition. Le second facteur est lié aux multiples ramifications de la thèse de l'homologie. En effet, *La distinction* ne consiste pas uniquement en une description de la distribution sociale des goûts et des pratiques culturelles. Dans cet ouvrage, Bourdieu intégra cette description au sein de sa théorie de la domination et de la reproduction sociales. Or, tant cette théorie générale que les concepts clefs sur lesquels elle repose (*e.g.*, habitus, légitimité, capital culturel, conversion des capitaux, classe) ont engendré une kyrielle de débats dépassant largement la question de la validité de la thèse de l'homologie (pour un aperçu, voir Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992 ; Holt, 1997 ; Prior, 2011, 2013 ; Coulangeon & Duval, 2013, 2015). Par exemple, les critiques de Lahire (2004) à l'endroit de l'approche de Bourdieu se déploient notamment sur la base d'une redéfinition des frontières de la légitimité et du concept d'habitus ; elles ne réfutent pas, en définitive, le cœur de la thèse de l'homologie. Il est ainsi crucial de noter que cette thèse constitue un fragment empirique de la théorie générale de la reproduction sociale et peut être mobilisée sans souscrire à cette dernière. Le troisième facteur renvoie à ce que les études censées invalider la thèse de l'homologie se sont majoritairement focalisées sur les goûts musicaux (Coulangeon, 2010, p. 98 ; Hazir & Warde, 2016), renonçant ce faisant à couvrir simultanément plusieurs domaines culturels (Wuggenig, 2007, pp. 311-312). Il apparaît difficile, dans ces conditions, de mettre adéquatement à l'épreuve une thèse ayant précisément investi un large spectre de domaines culturels (musique,

lecture, photographie, décoration, cinéma, peinture, loisirs, etc.). Le quatrième facteur est d'ordre méthodologique. La prolifération des opérationnalisations des phénomènes à expliquer et des facteurs explicatifs nuit à la comparabilité des études et entrave l'appréciation de la validité de théories générales (Peterson, 2005; Robette & Roueff, 2014). Par exemple, discerner des classes sociales en s'appuyant sur le « *class schema* » conçu par Erikson et Goldthorpe (1992) ou sur la « *National Statistics Socio-economic Classification* » (Rose & Pevalin, 2003), qui tous deux ne distinguent pas entre des fractions de classe différant par leur structure de capital, ou sur l'« *Oslo Register Data Class* », mis au point par Hansen, Flemmen et Andersen (2009) sur la base de telles distinctions, affecte de façon décisive la qualité de la discussion de la thèse de l'homologie. Considérés solidairement, ces quatre facteurs expliquent en partie les résultats contradictoires susmentionnés. Cela étant dit, la validité de la thèse de l'homologie reste sujette à caution. En effet, certaines études ont suggéré que l'âge était un meilleur prédicteur des dispositions culturelles que la composition du capital (*e.g.*, Glevarec & Pinet, 2013b ; Glevarec & Cibois, 2020) ou que le genre jouait un rôle majeur, non un rôle ancillaire, dans la distribution sociale de la consommation culturelle (*e.g.*, Katz-Gerro, 1999 ; Bihagen & Katz-Gerro, 2000). De tels résultats représentent une remise en cause certes partielle, mais relativement affranchie des quatre écueils à l'instant signalés, de la thèse de l'homologie. En outre, Bourdieu ayant recouru à des techniques statistiques descriptives, des doutes ont régulièrement été jetés quant à la significativité statistiques des différences qu'il observa dans *La distinction* (Lieberson, 1992 ; Lahire, 2004). Dans la mesure où (a) de multiples études s'inscrivant dans un cadre bourdieusien ou testant la validité de ce dernier ont elles aussi mobilisé des techniques descriptives (*e.g.*, l'analyse des correspondances multiples ; voir Flemmen, Jarness & Rosenlund, 2018 ; Glevarec & Cibois, 2020), et (b) une large part des recherches empiriques discutant la thèse de l'homologie structurale n'ont pas intégré le niveau d'analyse lié aux fractions de classe (*e.g.*, Chan & Goldthorpe, 2007a, 2007b), tant la présence

que la force des effets liés au volume de capital et à sa composition demeurent relativement indéterminées à ce jour.

### **La mobilisation de la thèse de l'homologie structurale**

Eu égard à l'absence de consensus concernant la validité de la thèse de l'homologie, d'aucuns pourraient s'interroger quant à la pertinence de son utilisation dans le cadre de la présente recherche. Cela, d'autant plus que la thèse de l'omnivorité semble réfuter ou actualiser (c'est selon) la thèse de l'homologie. En effet, les travaux pionniers de Peterson (1992 ; Peterson & Kern, 1996) ont inspiré une multitude de travaux dans divers pays (pour une revue, voir Peterson, 2005 ; Hazir & Warde, 2016). Dans l'ensemble, la plupart de ces études ont été présentées par leurs auteurs comme supportant la thèse de l'omnivorité. Nonobstant, Peterson (2005) lui-même souligna que ce support était extrêmement hétéroclite et mettait en exergue des patterns très divers, voire discordants, d'omnivorité culturelle – un constat dressé encore récemment par Gayo (2016). Sur cette base, Peterson (2005) formula l'hypothèse que ces résultats hétérogènes étaient la conséquence de l'emploi de mesures et d'opérationnalisations de l'omnivorité par trop différentes. Ces dernières années, quelques études ont identifié plusieurs biais méthodologiques affectant la recherche sur l'omnivorité, suggérant ainsi que les doutes de Peterson étaient justifiés (Rossman & Peterson, 2015 ; Robette & Roueff, 2014 ; Hazir & Warde, 2016). Il s'ensuit que la validité de la thèse de l'omnivorité reste, à l'instar de celle de la thèse de l'homologie, à asseoir.

Deux arguments principaux ont conduit à mobiliser, dans le cadre présent, la thèse de l'homologie structurale plutôt que la thèse de l'omnivorité. En premier lieu, contrairement à sa "concurrente", la thèse de l'homologie ne requiert pas de discriminer des degrés de légitimité. Comme l'a remarqué van Eijck (2001, p. 1166) :

L'homologie est un concept structuraliste qui ne saurait dicter le contenu exact de ce qui est prisé ou privilégié par tel ou tel groupe d'individus. L'association entre position sociale et goûts culturels peut évoluer, mais tant qu'il est possible de discerner des patterns de goût (même un pattern omnivore) au sein de groupes sociaux particuliers, l'homologie structurale est à l'œuvre, bien que les principes déterminant qui apprécie quoi puissent avoir subi des transformations [traduction de l'auteur].

Au contraire, la thèse de l'omnivorité nécessite, dans sa conception originelle (Peterson, 1992, 2005), de distinguer des degrés de légitimité culturelle. L'omnivorité consistant à apprécier des biens culturels issus des registres dits « savant » et « populaire », son étude ne saurait s'accomplir sans grille hiérarchique, sans distinction entre arts, genres ou produits « majeurs » et « mineurs » (Blau, 1986 ; Roque, 2000). Au passage, il est à noter qu'il en va de même de la thèse de la dissonance culturelle (Lahire, 2004), laquelle a parfois été considérée comme une alternative aux thèses de l'homologie et de l'omnivorité (Bellavance *et al.*, 2006 ; Hanquinet, 2017). En effet, la dissonance en question renvoie à l'inclusion dans un répertoire culturel de goûts et/ou de pratiques légitimes et non-légitimes. En raison (a) des sérieuses réserves émises quant à la pertinence de ces catégories hiérarchiques (*e.g.*, savant versus populaire, *highbrow* versus *lowbrow*) dans le contexte contemporain (Flemmen, Jarness & Rosenlund, 2018), (b) du possible affaissement de la légitimité culturelle au cours des dernières décennies (Purhonen *et al.*, 2018), et (c) de l'absence de méthode validée permettant de distinguer des degrés de légitimité de manière non-aprioristique et non-artefactuelle, s'adosser à la thèse de l'omnivorité aurait été particulièrement hasardeux. Aussi les études dédiées au test de la thèse de l'homologie rapportées ci-dessous ont-elles ignoré à dessein la question de la hiérarchie culturelle. Cette option, loin d'impliquer une négation de l'existence de la légitimité, découle des difficultés inhérentes à la distinction rigoureuse de degrés de légitimité.

Le second argument justifiant la mobilisation de la thèse de l'homologie dans le cadre de la présente recherche est également mentionné dans la citation rapportée ci-dessus. Comme le remarque van Eijck, la thèse de l'homologie englobe logiquement la thèse de l'omnivorité.

En d'autres termes, l'omnivorerie n'est, potentiellement, qu'un cas particulier de l'homologie, puisque l'omnivorerie, présentée comme l'apanage des classes aisées, est par définition stratifiée socialement. Toutefois, dans la mesure où la littérature liée à l'omnivorerie a mis l'accent, par extension, sur la question de la profondeur des répertoires culturels, la présente recherche accordera une attention particulière à cette disposition éclectique.

### **Homologie structurale et adolescence**

Formulée sur la base d'enquêtes réalisées auprès d'adultes, la thèse de l'homologie attribue cependant à l'enfance et à l'adolescence un rôle majeur dans la genèse du rapport à la culture et, plus largement, dans la constitution des schèmes de perception et d'appréciation caractérisant les styles de vie. L'importance de l'héritage familial et de l'entourage proche dans l'acquisition précoce d'une multitude de dispositions est soulignée régulièrement dans *La distinction* (voir *inter alia* pp. II-III, pp. 70-74, pp. 81-87, p. 232, p. 282, pp. 298-299). Qu'il s'agisse du rapport au corps ou à la peinture, de la pratique sportive ou musicale, Bourdieu insista sur la centralité des premières expériences dans la structuration des habitus. Loin de négliger l'influence des autres sources ou phases de socialisation, Bourdieu mit l'accent sur les modalités d'acquisition de la « compétence culturelle » (p. 70) : il distingua notamment entre l'apprentissage précoce, pratique, régulier, assuré au sein des familles et prévalent dans les fractions culturelles, et l'apprentissage tardif, "scolaire", plus intermittent, dispensé hors du giron familial et prévalent dans les autres milieux (pp. 70-74). Non étayées par des données spécifiques dans *La distinction*, ces inférences ont été depuis relayées théoriquement (Lizardo & Skiles, 2012, pp. 265-266) et corroborées empiriquement (Kraaykamp, 2003 ; Bellavance, 2008 ; Atkinson, 2011 ; Rimmer, 2012). Toutefois, la plupart de ces études reposant sur des techniques d'enquête qualitatives, elles ont impliqué un nombre relativement limité de

participants, adultes de surcroît. Ces recherches illustrent ainsi une tendance ancienne en sociologie, consistant à conférer à la socialisation dite primaire une dimension causale clef sans en examiner directement les tenants et les aboutissants auprès des agents concernés, au moment où ils sont concernés.

Dans l'ensemble, les sociologues des goûts et des pratiques culturelles ont accordé une attention limitée tant à la genèse des dispositions culturelles qu'à leur distribution sociale chez les enfants et les jeunes adolescents. Il s'ensuit que la thèse de l'homologie structurale n'a été testée qu'occasionnellement et partiellement auprès de non-adultes – il en va d'ailleurs de même des thèses alternatives. Elle ne l'a été qu'occasionnellement en raison, notamment, de la relative marginalité de la sociologie de l'enfance au sein du champ sociologique (Johnson, 2001 ; Lahire, 2019) et de la sociologie des goûts et des pratiques culturelles des enfants au sein de la sociologie de l'enfance (Cook, 2008 ; Octobre, 2010). Éclosion au milieu des années 1980, la dénommée « 'new' sociology of childhood » (Matthews, 2007) s'est en outre développée en opposition aux courants alors dominants qui réduisaient l'enfant à un élément passif du processus de socialisation (Knapp, 1999 ; Handel *et al.*, 2007). Il s'agissait donc, pour les tenants de cette nouvelle approche, de souligner la dimension active des enfants et jeunes adolescents au sein du spectre *structure/agency* (Robson *et al.*, 2007 ; Oswell, 2013 ; Hammersley, 2017 ; Sirota, 2017) – ce que cristallisa le concept d'*interpretive reproduction* forgé par Corsaro (1992 ; Corsaro & Fingerson, 2003). Il s'agissait également, pour ces chercheurs, de se saisir d'un objet « abandonné » aux psychologues du développement (Best, 1994, p. 4) et à leur (préssumé) universalisme naturalisant (Mayall, 1994 ; Matthews, 2007). Dans la mesure où elle a largement été perçue comme (a) accordant à l'*agency* un périmètre par trop limité (Jenkins, 1982 ; Sewell, 1992 ; King, 2000) et (b) véhiculant une vision de la socialisation caractérisée par la passivité des enfants (Lignier *et al.*, 2012 ; Garnier, 2014 ; Salgues, 2018), la théorie de l'agir de Bourdieu (1972 ; 1980) et sa thèse de l'homologie structurale n'ont guère essaimé aisément

dans un champ visant précisément à constituer l'enfant en tant qu'*acteur* (Bluebond-Langner, 1978 ; Mason & Hood, 2011 ; pour une perspective articulant le canevas bourdieusien aux *childhood studies*, voir Alanen *et al.*, 2015). Un autre élément, plus prosaïque, explique aussi en partie le nombre relativement faible d'études quantitatives consacrées aux non-adultes : la raréfaction des études de première main, où le sociologue conçoit, génère et interprète "ses" données. En effet, de nombreux sociologues des goûts et des pratiques culturelles ont puisé abondamment dans des bases de données (a) produites hors du champ académique (*e.g.*, *Survey of Public Participation in the Arts*) et (b) dont l'objectif initial visait davantage à dresser un panorama de l'investissement culturel qu'à tester des hypothèses sociologiques précises ou à résoudre des questions méthodologiques nodales (*e.g.*, la question de la mesure des degrés de légitimité). La quasi-totalité de ces bases de données provenant d'enquêtes administrées à des adultes, leurs multiples analyses secondaires ont concouru à la sous-représentation des travaux dédiés aux non-adultes.

La thèse de l'homologie structurale n'a été testée que partiellement auprès d'enfants et d'adolescents en raison, notamment, des facteurs précédemment évoqués afin de rendre compte des conclusions contradictoires quant à la validité de la thèse de l'homologie. En effet, réduire cette dernière à une théorie du snobisme culturel (*e.g.*, van Wel *et al.*, 2008) revient à employer « cette méthode qui, en permettant de construire arbitrairement les systèmes que l'on discute, permet aussi d'en triompher sans peine » (Durkheim, 1901, p. 11). Se focaliser sur un unique domaine culturel, la lecture (*e.g.*, De Singly, 1989) ou la danse (*e.g.*, Sanderson, 2001), empêche de mesurer l'étendue et la systématité des effets potentiels de l'origine sociale sur les répertoires culturels. La non-considération du niveau d'analyse de la fraction de classe (*e.g.*, Lagaert *et al.*, 2017) est à même d'entraver l'identification de nuances décisives en termes de dispositions culturelles. Similairement, l'emploi d'items peu discriminants en matière d'investissement culturel ne permet pas de dégager finement des types de consommateurs (*e.g.*,

voir Schmutz *et al.*, 2016, p. 32, dont l'étude repose sur la seule variable dépendante binaire suivante : « Do you participate in an arts club after school ? ». Or l'écrasante majorité des (rares) travaux sociologiques dits quantitatifs et dédiés aux goûts et aux pratiques culturelles des enfants et/ou des adolescents n'échappent pas à ces écueils. À ce jour, les recherches testant au plus près la thèse de l'homologie auprès de non-adultes proviennent d'un abondant corpus néerlandais proposant des analyses secondaires de données récoltées dans le cadre des programmes *Netherlands Family Survey* et *Family Survey Dutch Population* (e.g., voir van Eijck, 1997 ; Kraaykamp, 2001 ; Nagel & Ganzeboom, 2002 ; Kraaykamp & van Eijck, 2010 ; van Hek & Kraaykamp, 2015). Investissant simultanément plusieurs domaines culturels, ces enquêtes supportent globalement la thèse de l'homologie. En effet, elles mettent en évidence l'influence de la position sociale des parents, de leur rapport à la culture et de leurs pratiques culturelles, sur la consommation culturelle de leurs enfants. Ces investigations présentent toutefois un inconvénient majeur dans la mesure où elles reposent sur des questions rétrospectives, dont certaines relèvent de l'hétéroévaluation. Les participants à ces études étaient invités à indiquer, par exemple, à quelle fréquence (a) leurs parents se rendaient au théâtre lorsqu'ils (*i.e.* les participants) avaient entre 12 et 15 ans et (b) ils accompagnaient leurs parents (van Hek & Kraaykamp, 2015). Eu égard à la nature des questions et au découpage des modalités de réponse proposées (*i.e.* « jamais », « 1-3 fois », « 4-6 fois » et « au moins 6 fois »), la fiabilité des réponses et des conclusions de ces recherches restent sujettes à caution.

Le nombre restreint d'études (a) consacrées aux non-adultes, (b) non rétrospectives, (c) investissant un large éventail de domaines culturels et (d) attentives au niveau d'analyse de la fraction de classe, ne permet pas de déterminer si les logiques sous-jacentes à la distribution des dispositions culturelles des adultes sont à l'œuvre chez les enfants et les adolescents. En l'état, la littérature est du reste partagée. D'aucuns ont souligné la prégnance des effets liés au statut socio-économique sur les répertoires culturels (e.g., Dumais, 2002 ; Lahire, 2019).

D'autres ont observé que le genre constituait un meilleur prédicteur des goûts et des pratiques culturelles que le milieu social (Lagaert *et al.*, 2017), notamment à la prime adolescence où les effets liés au milieu social sont parfois apparus minimes (Octobre *et al.*, 2010).

### **Dispositions culturelles, personnalité et position sociale**

À l'instar de la sociologie (Guyau, 1889 ; Veblen, 1899), la psychologie a depuis plus d'un siècle investi le champ de l'art et de la culture (Fechner, 1871, 1876). De nombreux psychologues se sont ainsi intéressés aux ressorts du rapport à l'art et de la consommation culturelle. Des travaux pionniers de Burt (1933) et Eysenck (1940, 1941) sur les préférences esthétiques aux études récentes visant à discerner des dimensions générales des goûts musicaux (Rentfrow & Gosling, 2003 ; Zweigenhaft, 2008), l'examen du rôle des traits de personnalité dans l'expérience esthétique et les pratiques culturelles n'a cessé de se développer (Swami & Furnham, 2014) en même temps que se structurait le *five-factor model of personality* (FFM).

Fruit d'un long processus de formalisation *data-driven* initialement influencé par l'approche psycho-lexicale (Digman, 1990 ; McCrae & John, 1992 ; Caprara & Cervone, 2000), le FFM est considéré comme reflétant les aspects les plus prégnants de la personnalité (Costa & McCrae, 1985, 1988 ; Thomas *et al.*, 2013). Ces aspects renvoient aux cinq domaines ou traits suivants : l'agréabilité, la conscienciosité, l'extraversion, le névrosisme et l'ouverture à l'expérience. L'agréabilité réfère aux tendances prosociales, à l'évitement du conflit et au primat accordé à la coopération sur la compétition ; la conscienciosité, au contrôle, à l'auto-discipline, à l'organisation et à la planification ; l'extraversion, à la recherche de contacts sociaux et à l'inclination à éprouver des affects positifs ; le névrosisme, à l'instabilité émotionnelle et à la propension à ressentir des émotions négatives (*e.g.*, anxiété) ; l'ouverture à l'expérience, à l'intérêt pour la nouveauté et la variété, à la curiosité intellectuelle, à la

créativité. Dans ce cadre, la personnalité est classiquement définie en tant que complexe idiosyncrasique recouvrant des « *patterns of thoughts, feelings, and behaviors* » (Roberts *et al.*, 2014). Cette caractérisation fait écho, du moins en partie, à l'acceptation bourdieusienne du concept d'*habitus* (Bourdieu, 1972, 1980, 2003). À l'instar de ce dernier, la personnalité constitue une matrice de dispositions *durables* à agir, penser, ressentir : « *traits are generally viewed as broad dimensions of individual differences between people, accounting for interindividual consistency and continuity in behavior, thought, and feeling across situations and over time* (McAdams & Pals, 2007, p. 207). La littérature rend en effet compte de la stabilité des traits de personnalité au cours de l'âge adulte (Terraciano *et al.*, 2005) – bien qu'un effet « *dolce vita* », consistant en un accroissement de l'agréabilité et une réduction du névrosisme, semble intervenir aux alentours de la soixantaine (Marsh *et al.*, 2013). L'état de l'art suggère que la période de stabilisation des profils de personnalité intervient à la fin de l'adolescence ( $\approx 16$  ans) suite à des remous initiés lors de la prime adolescence ( $\approx 12$  ans) et dont la magnitude, relativement modeste, est fonction des traits considérés et du sexe (Klimstra *et al.*, 2009 ; Vecchione *et al.*, 2012 ; De Bolle *et al.*, 2015 ; Borghuis *et al.*, 2017). Le rôle de l'enfance dans la constitution et l'évolution des profils de personnalité, quant à lui, demeure plus délicat à estimer en raison, notamment, de l'emploi d'instruments de mesure différents, car adaptés aux classes d'âge examinées, et du recours à l'hétéroévaluation (Roberts & DelVecchio, 2000 ; Roberts *et al.*, 2006). Bien que leurs conclusions soient à considérer avec prudence, quelques études longitudinales ont néanmoins fait état d'une continuité (modérée) du tempérament et de la personnalité entre l'enfance et l'âge adulte (Caspi *et al.*, 2003 ; Edmonds *et al.*, 2013).

Dans leurs examens des associations entre personnalité et dispositions culturelles, les chercheurs ont largement utilisé le FFM et ses différentes échelles (*e.g.*, le *Big Five Inventory* [John & Srivastava, 1999] ; l'*International Personality Item Pool* [Goldberg, 1999], le *NEO Personality Inventory 3* (McCrae *et al.*, 2005) ; le *Ten-Item Personality Inventory* [Gosling *et*

*al.*, 2003]). Dans l'ensemble, les recherches conduites ont rendu compte de l'influence du trait « ouverture à l'expérience » en matière d'investissement culturel et de jugement esthétique, indépendamment du domaine concerné (*e.g.*, lecture, musique, peinture). Comparativement, l'impact des autres traits du FFM sur les dispositions culturelles s'est en général avéré moindre tant en termes d'intensité que de fréquence (pour une revue, voir Swami & Furnham, 2014).

La mise en évidence régulière du rôle de l'ouverture à l'expérience dans la distribution des goûts et des pratiques culturelles fait écho aux récents développements en sociologie de l'art et de la culture. L'effervescence engendrée par la thèse de l'omnivorité a conduit plusieurs chercheurs à considérer l'« ouverture culturelle » comme nouveau principe de la distribution sociale des dispositions culturelles, en sa qualité de « forme émergente de capital culturel (cosmopolite) » (Ollivier, 2008 ; Weenink, 2008 ; Bennett *et al.*, 2009 ; Savage *et al.*, 2010 ; Prieur & Savage, 2013 ; Igarashi & Saito, 2014 ; Coulangeon, 2017). La question du chevauchement potentiel de ces deux « ouvertures » (*i.e.* le trait de personnalité ouverture et l'« ouverture culturelle ») n'a toutefois pas été explorée, psychologues et sociologues de l'art et de la culture tendant à s'ignorer mutuellement. À ce jour, seule une poignée d'études ont mesuré conjointement les effets de facteurs sociaux et de facteurs psychologiques sur les dispositions culturelles. Par exemple, Kraaykamp et van Eijck (2005, p. 1684) ont observé que la fréquentation par les adultes de musées d'art était fonction du capital scolaire et, dans une moindre mesure, du genre, du trait ouverture et de l'âge. Sur la base d'un échantillon d'étudiants et d'un inventaire de personnalité comprenant 15 items, McManus et Furnham (2006) ont noté que la participation à des activités culturelles variait suivant le cursus académique (*i.e.* artistique *versus* scientifique), l'ouverture et le milieu social. Les attitudes à l'égard de l'art et de la culture, quant à elles, se sont révélées dépendantes de l'ouverture et indépendantes du milieu social. Les réponses rétrospectives analysées par Kraaykamp (2001, p. 27) ont indiqué que, chez les adolescents, la lecture d'ouvrage dit savants était principalement liée au capital scolaire

des participants et à la lecture du même type de livre par les parents, l'âge, le genre et l'ouverture jouant un rôle secondaire en la matière. Kaiser et Schneickert (2016), pour leur part, ont mesuré la fréquence à laquelle des élèves du primaire s'adonnaient à la musique, à la danse ou à la comédie via des questions posées à leurs parents. Il est apparu que ces pratiques étaient positivement associées au capital scolaire des parents et, quoique faiblement, à l'ouverture et à la conscienciosité des enfants. L'hétérogénéité de ces études en termes de population, de méthode et de résultats empêche toutefois de dégager des tendances générales relativement à l'influence respective des prédicteurs sociaux et psychologiques. En outre, parce que ces recherches ne se sont pas intéressées aux relations entre personnalité et milieu social, la nature du lien entre le trait ouverture et l'ouverture culturelle inférée par les sociologues susmentionnés reste à préciser.

La rareté des recherches dédiées aux dispositions culturelles et combinant des variables psychologiques et sociologiques a été vue comme un obstacle majeur à l'élaboration de théories générales des goûts et du rapport à la culture (Swami & Furnham, 2014). Nonobstant, de tels appels à l'interdisciplinarité sont restés jusqu'ici incantatoires. Cette situation est d'autant plus regrettable, scientifiquement parlant, que le champ des dispositions culturelles offre un terrain privilégié à l'investigation des rapports entre personnalité et statut socioéconomique, une problématique peu investie en dépit de la publication récente d'études notables (Shanahan *et al.*, 2014 ; Ayoub *et al.*, 2018). L'approfondissement des liens potentiels entre stratification sociale et personnalité permettrait de rééquilibrer l'examen des conditions de formation des traits de personnalité, actuellement plus orienté vers la mise en évidence de leur détermination génétique (Caspi *et al.*, 2005 ; Hill *et al.*, 2018). Il est à noter, cependant, qu'en dépit de la réactualisation apparente de l'antinomie nature/culture (McCrae *et al.*, 2000 ; Yamagata *et al.*, 2006 ; Schmitt *et al.*, 2007 ; Gurven *et al.*, 2013), la littérature théorique et empirique rend généralement compte d'un partage relativement équitable et d'interactions entre facteurs

génétiques et environnementaux (McAdams, 1996 ; McCrae *et al.*, 2000 ; Sanchez-Roige *et al.*, 2018). Par exemple, les analyses de Krueger *et al.* (2008) ont suggéré que l'héritabilité des traits de personnalité était médiée de façon importante par la nature plus ou moins conflictuelle des relations parents-enfants. Gurven *et al.* (2013), quant à eux, ont indiqué que la validité cross-culturelle du FFM était mise à mal dans les sociétés indigènes, non-lettrées et, pour reprendre les termes de la tradition sociologique, peu différenciées car à faible division du travail (Marx & Engels, 1968 [1846] ; Durkheim, 1893). L'état de l'art réalisé par Rolland (2002) a souligné la non-généralisabilité du trait ouverture dans la tradition de recherche émique (Pike, 1967 ; Berry, 1969). Considérés solidairement, ces résultats attestent de l'intérêt à examiner davantage les potentiels ressorts sociaux et culturels des traits de personnalité et notamment celui de l'ouverture à l'expérience, classiquement présenté comme le plus controversé des traits du FFM en raison des débats relatifs à la nature des liens entre ouverture, intellect et capacités cognitives générales (McCrae & John, 1992 ; McCrae & Costa, 1997 ; DeYoung *et al.*, 2007 ; Nusbaum & Silvia, 2011 ; Swami & Furnham, 2014 ; Douglas *et al.*, 2016).

### La présente recherche

La présente recherche se compose de six articles publiés ( $n = 3$ ), acceptés et sous presse ( $n = 2$ ), ou soumis ( $n = 1$ ). Le premier, intitulé *Distinction at the class-fraction level? A re-examination of Bourdieu's dataset*, revient sur l'une des principales critiques adressées aux études culturelles de Bourdieu, à savoir les doutes entourant la significativité statistique des différences que le sociologue observa et interpréta dans *La distinction*. Dans la mesure où ce grief, non indexé empiriquement par les auteurs le soulevant, remet potentiellement en cause la validité générale de la thèse de l'homologie structurale, il seyait de le traiter préalablement.

Le deuxième article, intitulé *Back to the original omnivore: On the artefactual nature of Peterson's thesis of omnivorousness*, examine minutieusement le point de vue selon lequel la thèse de l'omnivorerie culturelle, classiquement appréhendée comme concurrençant (voire réfutant) celle de l'homologie structurale, repose sur une série d'artefacts méthodologiques qui en relativisent la portée théorique.

Le troisième article, intitulé *On the relevance of music genre-based analysis in research on musical tastes*, cible les problèmes afférents au pan de la psychologie des goûts musicaux qui, sur la base d'échelles d'appréciation de genres musicaux, entend révéler des dimensions musicales générales et, sur cette base, mesurer les liens unissant personnalité et goûts, sans considération de la stratification sociale des goûts musicaux. Or, comme le montre cette étude, tant les goûts musicaux que la structure de ces goûts varient en fonction du capital culturel.

Le quatrième article, intitulé *Aesthetic disposition, educational capital, personality trait openness, and sex: A study of French high-school students*, teste la thèse de l'homologie structurale auprès de lycéens (16-18 ans) en examinant les liens entre capital scolaire, disposition esthétique et ouverture. Cet article rend compte de l'utilité d'intégrer des variables explicatives psychologiques dans les travaux investiguant les ressorts sociaux de la distribution des goûts et des pratiques culturelles.

Le cinquième article, intitulé *Cultural distinction in young adolescents: A test of Bourdieu's homology thesis*, présente les résultats d'une étude sur des collégiens (12-14 ans). Appréhendant plusieurs domaines culturels (musique, cinéma, littérature, loisirs, peinture, etc.) sur la base d'une centaine d'indicateurs, cette étude vise à estimer la systématisme et la force des effets du milieu social sur les dispositions culturelles de jeunes adolescents. Un pan de l'analyse est également dédié aux interrelations entre milieu social, sexe, ouverture et éclectisme.

Le sixième et dernier article, intitulé *On the overlap between aesthetic disposition, cultural eclecticism, and openness : An interdisciplinary study*, poursuit deux objectifs principaux : d'une part, mesurer l'influence du capital scolaire, du sexe et de traits de personnalité sur la disposition esthétique et l'éclectisme culturel (cinématographique et musical) ; d'autre part, clarifier les rapports entre disposition esthétique, ouverture et éclectisme, des concepts dont les contours ont été théoriquement confondus dans la littérature.

Les deux premiers articles permettent ainsi de justifier l'emploi de la thèse de l'homologie structurale dans la présente recherche ; les quatre autres, d'apporter des éléments de réponse relativement à l'influence respective de facteurs sociaux et psychologiques sur la distribution des goûts et des pratiques culturelles des adolescents.

## Article 1

Distinction at the class-fraction level? A re-examination of Bourdieu's dataset

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### Abstract

This study examines the consistency of Pierre Bourdieu's homology thesis by assessing, at a class-fraction level, the statistical significance of the differences in taste and lifestyle reported in *Distinction*. According to Bourdieu, taste and lifestyle vary not only from one social class to another, but also within social classes themselves, depending on the type of capital (notably, cultural or economic) that prevails among class fractions. In this article, we estimate the cultural distance separating eight fractions of the middle and upper classes by performing bilateral between-proportion comparison tests. Two levels of analysis are considered: the intra-class and the inter-class fraction levels. The first level only involves within-class comparisons. It aims to test the empirical basis of the concept of capital composition. The second level only involves comparisons between middle-class and upper-class fractions. It aims to test Bourdieu's representation of social space. Results indicate that 1) the composition of capital is associated with taste variability in both the middle and upper classes, and 2) taste similarities and dissimilarities between fractions belonging to different classes are linked to cultural capital. In sum, this study provides additional evidence for the consistency of Bourdieu's homology thesis.

Keywords: capital composition; class fractions; distinction; structural homology; tastes.

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## INTRODUCTION

The distortion between data and theory has been a recurrent argument in the exegesis of Pierre Bourdieu's oeuvre. *Distinction* (Bourdieu, 1979, 1984), in which the French sociologist defends the view of a *homology between the space of social positions and the space of lifestyles*, has often been presented as the paragon of the discrepancy between empirical evidence and theoretical assertions. For example, in his 1991 American Sociological Association presidential address, Stanley Lieberson mentioned a section of that book to illustrate 'the situation in which a theory remains unmodified even though the data contradict the theory' (Lieberson, 1992: 6).

He stated:

I have in mind the analysis of class differences in the disposition toward the paintings of Renoir, as discussed by Bourdieu (1984). Throughout his discussion, Bourdieu indicated there are such class differences. He compared the 'intellectual' or 'left-bank' tastes with 'right-bank' or bourgeois tastes in terms of preference for the works of contemporary vs. older painters (p. 292, also pp. 267, 304, 341). For Bourdieu, dispositions toward Renoir as opposed to Kandinsky epitomized class differences in tastes (p. 292). What is his evidence? Incomprehensible diagrams [...] showed the preferences for Renoir, but there is no simple information reported in this dense book that directly cross-tabulates these tastes with the left- and right-bank populations. Bourdieu's Table A.2 of Appendix 3 showed such tastes, albeit not in the subclass detail that he was writing about. [...] None of the working class selected Kandinsky, whereas 2 percent of the middle class and 4 percent of the upper class picked him. For every member of the French upper class who picked Kandinsky, there were 12 upper class members who picked Renoir. There is simply no evidence to indicate a substantial class gap in preferences for these two painters: Those in the professions were the most likely to select Kandinsky (10 percent), but they were also the most likely of any of the subclasses to pick Renoir (61 percent)! In short, although the data and theory did not mesh, the data were ignored. (Lieberson, 1992: 6–7.)

Unlike Lieberson, who underlined that Bourdieu's thesis might be globally valid despite the spurious Renoir/Kandinsky opposition (Lieberson, 1992: 7 and 9),<sup>1</sup> many sociologists and philosophers have been less finely-shaded. According to some of these scholars, Bourdieu was partial, 'provincial', and a novelist or a political activist rather than a social scientist (Caillé, 1994; Elster, 1982; Verdès-Leroux, 2001). For others, Bourdieu was not methodologically meticulous and problematically speculated on his results (Halle, 1992: 133–135; Lahire, 2006: 166–174). Paradoxically, such criticism has not been empirically addressed, since none of these authors has provided a systematic analysis of the issue. While those critics occasionally gave examples of the over-interpretation that they found in Bourdieu's studies of taste, they neglected the question of its precise scope. The case of Bernard Lahire is emblematic in this respect. Although he lamented that 'the inconsistency between [Bourdieu's] data and their interpretation [in *Distinction*] has never been [...] noticed by French researchers in scientific journals' (Lahire, 2006: 172), he did not quantify the magnitude of the distortions in question and limited himself to asserting that 'differences [registered in *Distinction*] are sometimes not that significant (or even not significant at all)' (Lahire, 2006: 169, our translation).

Thus, whereas Bourdieu's work (and *Distinction in primis*) has been extensively cited, scrutinized, and discussed over the last decades (Sallaz and Zavisca, 2007), very few studies have focused on the consistency of its empirical and theoretical articulation – a deficit that

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<sup>1</sup> Lieberson's argument is not totally convincing. It does not acknowledge that a) left- and right-bank populations partially refer, in the tables he evokes, to the 'secondary and higher-education teachers and artistic producers' and to the 'industrial and commercial employers' and, more generally, to 'intellectuals' and '*bourgeois*' (Bourdieu, 1984: 292); b) 'the antithesis Kandinsky/Renoir' (Bourdieu, 1984: 292) is primarily relevant in the upper classes – consequently, bringing back the working- and middle-class data into the discussion is supererogatory; c) this opposition has to be integrated into a more general pattern in which 'contemporary works' (and not only paintings or painters) are opposed to 'older, more consecrated works' (Bourdieu, 1984: 292); d) since Bourdieu usually dealt with systems of preferences and not with isolated preferences, the Kandinsky/Renoir opposition is extremely marginal in *Distinction* – therefore, it is inappropriate to assimilate it to 'theory'; e) some inconsistencies between data and interpretation may be due to the use of correspondence analysis (i.e. the 'incomprehensible diagrams' that disorientated Lieberson), a test which involves many traps, according to Philippe Cibois (1997). Nevertheless, it is clear that the data exposed in Appendix 3 (Bourdieu, 1984: 527) do not support the view of a (sub)class opposition between Kandinsky and Renoir devotees.

contrasts with the luxuriant literature dedicated to the Bourdieusian approach, its legacy or its conceptual critique (e.g. Bennett et al., 2009; Calhoun et al., 1993; Coulangeon and Duval, 2013; Fowler, 1997, 2000; Grenfell and Lebaron, 2014; Jenkins, 1992; Lahire, 1999; Robson and Sanders, 2009; Silva and Warde, 2010; Susen and Turner, 2011; Swartz, 1997). The core of the structural homology thesis has in fact been tested only very recently based on Bourdieu's dataset (Brisson and Bianchi, 2015). This thesis, sketched in 'Anatomie du goût' (Bourdieu and de Saint Martin, 1976) and systematized in *Distinction*, argues that lifestyles are closely linked to social positions: 'The structure that organizes the class and subclass [or class-fraction] variations in practices and tastes is homologous to the structure that organizes the variations in economic capital, cultural capital, and social trajectory' (Bourdieu and de Saint Martin, 1976: 14, our translation). In both cases, the structuring principles refer to the volume and the composition of capital. Volume is defined as the global amount of capital, all types (cultural, economic, social, etc.) of capital combined; composition is defined as the respective weight of the different types of capital in the total amount of capital. In *Distinction*, the most mobilized types of capital are the economic, measured by income level, and the cultural, measured by educational level (acquired cultural capital) and social origin (inherited cultural capital). Differences in volume of capital are associated with inter-class variations in tastes and practices; differences in composition of capital are associated with intra-class variations in tastes and practices. In support of the view that close connections exist between social positions, dispositions, position-takings, and lifestyles, we found that about two-thirds of the differences in taste that Bourdieu reported in *Distinction* between the working, middle and upper classes were statistically significant (Brisson and Bianchi 2015).<sup>2</sup> However, we did not consider the subclass (or class-fraction) level of analysis. Insofar as, according to Bourdieu, tastes

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<sup>2</sup> The proportion would have been higher than two thirds if Bourdieu and his colleagues had not excluded the farmers and farm workers from the final sample because of their colossal distance from 'legitimate culture' (Bourdieu, 1984: 505).

significantly vary from one class to another but also within a given class, it is worth determining whether Bourdieu accurately interpreted his data at both levels.

The purpose of this article is to further assess the coherence of Bourdieu's homology thesis by estimating, *at the class-fraction level*, the statistical significance of the taste differences reported in *Distinction*. Our aim here is only to evaluate the *original consistency* of the homology thesis based on Bourdieu's dataset. Accordingly, we will neither elaborate on the studies dedicated to the homology thesis in other temporal and/or geographical contexts (see for instance Coulangeon and Lemel, 2007, 2009; Holt, 1998; Tampubolon, 2008; Veenstra, 2010, 2015), nor discuss its presumed obsolescence (for a short review of the 'post-Bourdieu debate', see Vander Stichele and Laermans, 2006). We will exclusively focus on the congruence of Bourdieu's interpretations and data because this issue has not been systematically examined thus far, despite doubts regarding the significance of the differences reported in *Distinction* and Bourdieu's potential overestimation of the effect of capital composition (Coulangeon and Lemel, 2009: 59).

To accomplish our research goal, data related to eight fractions of the middle and upper classes – that Bourdieu considered sociologically distinct in terms of both capital volume and capital composition – were statistically compared with each other and, in order to have an external point of comparison, with data related to the working/lower class. These analyses aimed to examine whether the homology thesis is consistent with the empirical data supposed to support it at the between-fraction level. More precisely, the investigation of class homogeneity permitted a) to verify whether the *composition of capital* played a role in the *distribution of tastes* within the middle and the upper classes; and, most importantly, b) to estimate the *cultural distance* separating each single middle-class fraction from each single upper-class fraction – a nodal question that Bourdieu did not explore in detail.

## MATERIAL AND METHOD

*Distinction* is a mine of data. It contains dozens of tables and graphics with related orderly commentary in the text. This material comes from different sources: a) empirical studies conducted by Bourdieu and his colleagues; b) statistical and public opinion institutes (e.g. the *Institut National de la Statistique et des Études Économiques* [INSEE] and the *Institut Français d'Opinion Publique*); c) academic publications by other scholars (for an exhaustive list of these complementary sources, see Bourdieu, 1984: 519–524). Owing to the limitations of the second-hand corpus in terms of data exploitation (see Brisson and Bianchi, 2015: 451–452), we exploited only the first source – that is, the data directly produced by Bourdieu.

This data set chiefly stems from the double administration of a questionnaire ( $n = 1217$ ) reproduced in *Distinction* (pp. 512–517), the results of which are partly compiled in Appendix 3 (pp. 525–535) – as noted elsewhere (Brisson and Bianchi, 2015: 452), Bourdieu did not report his findings in full. Originally distributed in 1963 ( $n = 692$ ), the questionnaire was re-administered in 1967–1968 ( $n = 525$ ) in order to increase the size of the study sample. In addition to the survey, Bourdieu and his colleagues conducted some interviews and observations. However, while many interview excerpts are inserted throughout *Distinction*, their fragmented quality prevents any systematic examination. The same applies to the sociographic observations, which were not considered in the present study. In sum, only the available responses to the questionnaire were analysed here.<sup>3</sup> Because those data solely furnish information on sample sizes and response rates (original data still cannot be accessed), we used bilateral between-proportion comparison tests. When the frequencies dropped below five, a Fisher's exact test was carried out.<sup>4</sup> We acknowledge the limitations of these two tests, which

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<sup>3</sup> The only exception is the 'film directors' data, which were excluded because of the bias explained by Bourdieu (1984: 515).

<sup>4</sup> For more information about these tests, see Zar (2010).

are dependent on the *star system* (i.e. *p*-values) and do not provide information on effect size. This being said, those tests signal the presence or the absence of a given effect. Used as complements of the correspondence analyses performed by Bourdieu, these tests therefore are relevant to our objectives.

In order to assess the consistency between the homology thesis and the data on which it is based, we compared eight class fractions – defined by Bourdieu in *Distinction* – with each other, for a total of 28 batteries of tests. The first four fractions constitute the middle classes and refer to clerical and junior executives ( $n = 287$ ), craftsmen and small shopkeepers ( $n = 100$ ), new *petite bourgeoisie* ( $n = 119$ ), and technicians and primary teachers ( $n = 78$ ). The four last fractions constitute the upper classes and refer to executives and engineers ( $n = 232$ ), industrial and commercial employers ( $n = 102$ ), professions ( $n = 52$ ), and (secondary and higher-education) teachers and artistic producers ( $n = 81$ ). Each battery involved 100 bilateral tests comparing, for each available response option of the questionnaire, the corresponding rates of two class fractions. For instance, we compared the percentage of employers that picked Goya as being among their favourite painters with the percentage of executives and engineers that did the same. Appendix A reports the results pertaining to the eight class-fraction comparisons that present the highest number of significant differences. In order to benefit from a stable point of reference in our attempt to situate each fraction in relation to the others, we performed eight supplementary batteries of tests in which the data related to each single class fraction were compared with the data related to the working class (i.e. in *Distinction*, workers, foremen and domestic servants). Appendix B reports complete results pertaining to ‘middle- and upper-class fraction vs. working class’ comparisons. Table 1 displays some characteristics of the sample, which includes no working-class fraction, since ‘the data available [did] not enable one to grasp the differences in [capital composition for this group]’ (Bourdieu, 1984: 115).

**Table 1.** Some characteristics of the study sample (source: Bourdieu, 1984: 504).

	N	Diploma (in %)					Father's class		
		< Bac	Bac	Inc. higher ed.	Licence	> Licence	WC	MC	UP
Working class	166	99.4	0.6	-	-	-	61.8	37.4	0.8
Commercial employees	40	90	10	-	-	-	30.3	57.5	12.1
Junior admin. executives	47	69.6	30.4	-	-	-	23.8	66.7	9.5
Office workers	200	82	16	2	-	-	12.2	68.3	19.6
Craftsmen	56	94.7	5.3	-	-	-	44.2	53.5	2.3
Small shopkeepers	44	83.7	14	2.3	-	-	11.8	82.3	5.9
Art craftsmen	23	54.5	18.2	22.7	4.5	-	10.5	47.9	42.1
Cultural intermediaries	17	23.6	23.5	35.3	17.6	-	18.8	18.8	62.6
Junior com. executives	20	35	40	20	5	-	5	60	35
Medical & social services	45	30.3	46.5	16.3	7	-	10.8	40.5	48.6
Secretaries	14	35.7	57.1	7.1	-	-	14.3	50	35.7
Technicians	38	75	22.2	2.8	-	-	19.4	58.1	22.6
Primary teachers	40	5	75	20	-	-	17.6	70.6	11.8
Engineers	72	8.4	2.8	38.9	38.9	11.1	12.5	25.1	62.5
Private-sector executives	80	11.1	16.7	27.8	44.4	-	5.6	11.1	83.3
Public-sector executives	80	-	25	10	60	5	11.8	35.3	52.9
Commercial employers	72	41.7	36.1	11.1	2.8	8.3	5.9	47	47
Industrial employers	30	27.6	37.9	24.1	3.4	6.9	3.6	17.9	78.6
Professions	52	1.9	-	5.8	71.2	21.2	2.2	26.1	71.8
Secondary teachers	48	-	4.3	4.3	47.8	43.5	12.5	48	39.7
Higher-education teachers	19	-	-	-	-	100	-	26.3	78.7
Artistic producers	14	21.3	21.4	28.6	21.4	7.1	16.7	-	83.3

Note: 'Inc. higher ed.' stands for 'incomplete higher education'; WC = working class; MC = middle class; UP = upper class.

It is noteworthy that Bourdieu did not provide much detail about how he elaborated the class fractions under examination.<sup>5</sup> Bourdieu apparently tried to reconcile an a priori/official with an a posteriori/post-hoc procedure of categorization. In order to enable comparisons with previous studies, he kept INSEE's nomenclature, but, detecting some limitations with the official classification, he deviated from it on some occasions (Bourdieu, 1984: 505). The original construction of the 'new *petite bourgeoisie*', which includes social and medical services, cultural intermediaries, art craftsmen and dealers, secretaries and junior commercial executives, illustrates this tendency. Moreover, while *Distinction's* third appendix, which details the findings of the survey, mobilized the eight fractions mentioned above, the correspondence analysis planes presented in the book dissociated them (Bourdieu, 1984: 262 and 340). For example, technicians are separated from primary teachers, and commercial and industrial employers are divided. Thus, Bourdieu often assimilated a single occupation (or even a smaller entity, like the private- or the public-sector executives) into a class fraction (see, e.g. Bourdieu, 1984: 120 and 265), even at the cost of manipulating small subsamples. This being said, these difficulties – inherent to the constitution of classes and subclasses and acknowledged by Bourdieu (1984: 264, 339, 344, 346 and 476–477) – are not detrimental to our purpose. Indeed, the final eight fractions gather occupational groups that are globally homogenous in terms of education and social origin. Furthermore, those fractions differ with regard to *capital volume* and *capital composition*, which are the two key indicators that have shaped the two main dimensions of the social-position space as Bourdieu graphically represented it (1984: 128–129, 1998: 5). The first dimension (i.e. the vertical axis, linked to the volume of capital) discriminates the middle-class fractions from the upper-class fractions. The second dimension

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<sup>5</sup> 'To construct the classes and class fractions on which the subsequent analyses are based, systematic account was taken not only of occupation and educational level (which are the basis of INSEE's socio-occupational groups) but also, in each case, of the available indices of the volume of the different sorts of capital, as well as age, sex and place of residence' (Bourdieu, 1984: 571, note 8).

(i.e. the horizontal axis, linked to the composition of capital) reveals an opposition between ‘economic’ and ‘cultural’ fractions.

In the present work, we also distinguish economic from cultural fractions. Unlike Bourdieu, however, we integrate the three fractions presenting a well-balanced composition of capital in one or the other type as a function of their level of cultural capital. Clerical and junior executives, who associate low incomes with poor cultural assets, are considered in the following to be an economic fraction; by contrast, professionals, executives and engineers, who combine high incomes and high cultural assets, are considered cultural fractions. We do so for two main reasons: a) the absence, in *Distinction*, of precise data concerning incomes; b) the fact that Bourdieu stated that cultural capital allowed for a finer discrimination of taste differences than economic capital. Thus, the cultural fractions are composed of new *petite bourgeoisie*, technicians and primary teachers, executives and engineers, professions, and secondary and higher-education teachers and artistic producers; the economic fractions, of clerical and junior executives, craftsmen and small shopkeepers, and employers.

Because the homology thesis stipulates that preferences, practices, opinions, manners, etc., vary with social position and, especially, with acquired and inherited cultural capital, between-group differences in cultural capital are expected to be reflected in differences in taste. Since each battery of tests involved 100 comparisons, we used taste difference rates to estimate the distance between the target groups.

## RESULTS

Of the 3600 tests that we carried out, 1657 (46%) were statistically significant. More precisely, 1196 in 2800 (43%) between-fraction comparison tests and 461 in 800 (58%) ‘fraction vs. working class’ comparison tests turned out to be statistically significant.

Table 2 provides a detailed view of the findings regarding the between-class-fraction comparisons. It shows that the five batteries involving the highest number of significant differences (see last column of the table) are the ones that compare 1) the secondary and higher-education teachers and artistic producers with the clerical and junior executives and 2) with the craftsmen and small shopkeepers, 3) the executives and engineers with the clerical and junior executives, 4) the new *petite bourgeoisie* with the craftsmen and small shopkeepers and 5) with the clerical and junior executives. The five batteries involving the lowest number of significant differences are the ones that compare 1) the new *petite bourgeoisie* with the professions, 2) the executives and engineers with the professions, 3) the new *petite bourgeoisie* with the executives and engineers, 4) the professions with the technicians and primary teachers and 5) with the (secondary and higher-education) teachers and artistic producers.

**Table 2.** Between-fraction comparisons: Percentages of significant differences, battery by battery.

	Art questions	Non-art questions	All questions
CJE vs. TAP	87.67 (01)	59.26 (03)	80 (01)
CSS vs. TAP	82.19 (02)	40.74 (08)	71 (02)
CSS vs. NPB	69.86 (06)	74.07 (01)	71 (02)
CJE vs. EE	72.60 (05)	66.67 (02)	71 (02)
CJE vs. NPB	73.97 (03)	59.26 (03)	70 (05)
ICE vs. TAP	73.97 (03)	29.63 (17)	62 (06)
CSS vs. P	63.01 (07)	40.74 (08)	57 (07)
CSS vs. EE	57.53 (09)	51.85 (06)	56 (08)
CJE vs. P	58.90 (08)	40.74 (08)	54 (09)
CSS vs. ICE	47.95 (13)	51.85 (06)	49 (10)
CSS vs. TPT	54.79 (10)	33.33 (15)	49 (10)
CJE vs. ICE	43.84 (15)	55.56 (05)	47 (12)
CJE vs. TPT	52.05 (12)	29.63 (17)	46 (13)
TPT vs. TAP	47.95 (13)	29.63 (17)	43 (14)
EE vs. TAP	53.42 (11)	11.11 (24)	42 (15)
NPB vs. ICE	38.36 (17)	37.04 (11)	38 (16)
EE vs. ICE	36.99 (18)	37.04 (11)	37 (17)
ICE vs. P	39.73 (16)	14.81 (23)	33 (18)
TPT vs. ICE	28.77 (20)	33.33 (15)	30 (19)
NPB vs. TAP	31.51 (19)	11.11 (24)	26 (20)
NPB vs. TPT	20.55 (23)	37.04 (11)	25 (21)
TPT vs. EE	17.81 (27)	37.04 (11)	23 (22)
CJE vs. CSS	19.18 (24)	29.63 (17)	22 (23)
P vs. TAP	24.66 (21)	11.11 (24)	21 (24)
TPT vs. P	19.18 (24)	25.93 (21)	21 (24)
NPB vs. EE	19.18 (24)	25.93 (21)	21 (24)
EE vs. P	21.92 (22)	11.11 (24)	19 (27)
NPB vs. P	13.70 (28)	07.41 (28)	12 (28)

*Notes:* Numbers in brackets represent the battery position in the respective ranking. CJE = 'Clerical and Junior Executives' ( $n = 287$ ); CSS = 'Craftsmen and Small Shopkeepers' ( $n = 100$ ); EE = 'Executives and Engineers' ( $n = 232$ ); ICE = 'Industrial and Commercial Employers' ( $n = 102$ ); NPB = 'New *Petite Bourgeoisie*' ( $n = 119$ ); P = 'Professions' ( $n = 52$ ); TAP = '(Secondary and higher-education) Teachers and Artistic Producers' ( $n = 81$ ); TPT = 'Technicians and Primary Teachers' ( $n = 78$ ).

When ‘art questions’ are dissociated from ‘non-art questions’, the results are similar. A few exceptions are noteworthy. They concern the batteries confronting 1) the secondary and higher-education teachers and artistic producers with the employers and 2) with the executives and engineers, 3) the technicians and primary teachers with the new *petite bourgeoisie* and 4) with the executives and engineers, 5) the clerical and junior executives with the employers and 6) with the craftsmen and small shopkeepers.

Table 3 displays the results theme by theme. The first nine themes refer to art domains, the remaining five to non-art domains. Table 3 also distinguishes the results obtained by confronting the class fractions with each other from those obtained by confronting each fraction with the working class.

**Table 3.** Percentages of significant differences, theme by theme.

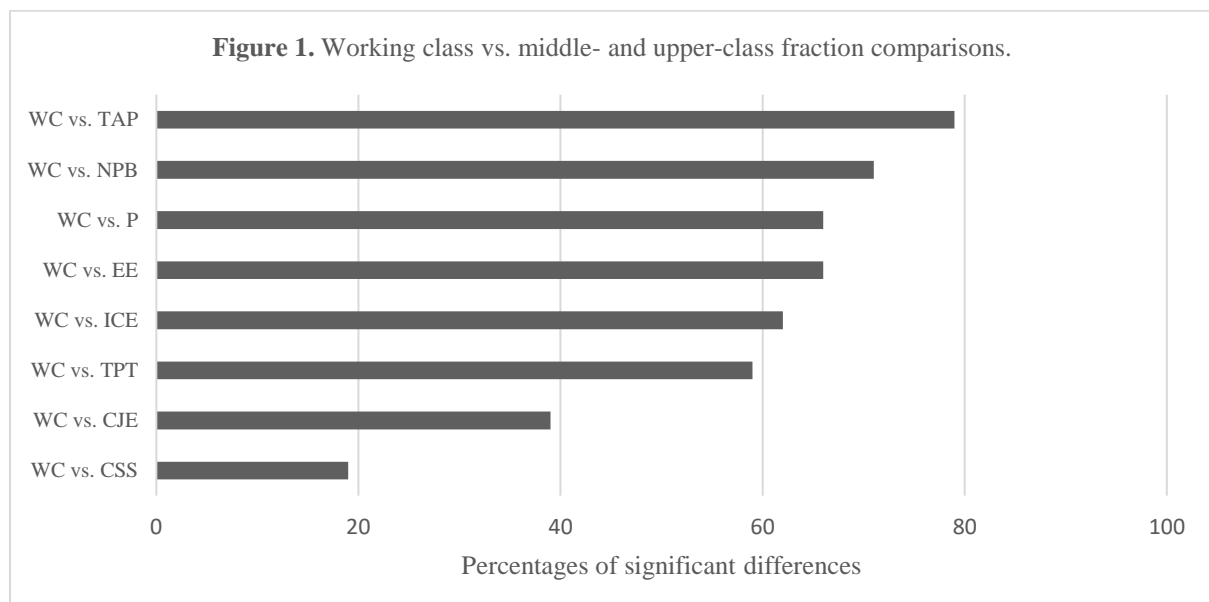
	Between-fraction comparisons	Fractions vs. working class
Aesthetic disposition	50.00	53.75
Preferred painters	33.63	36.46
Opinions on painting	51.79	60.42
Preferred musical works	45.92	58.04
Composers	58.04	71.88
Books	54.02	70.31
Activities	42.26	58.33
Radio	36.61	53.13
Preferred singers	43.65	70.83
Furniture	50.00	60.00
Interior	30.80	57.81
Clothes	35.71	75.00
Friend	40.31	62.50
Cooking	17.86	34.38

At the between-fraction level, it appears that 9 out of 14 themes involve more non-significant than significant differences. The mean rate of significant differences is 42%. The three highest rates refer to ‘composers’, ‘books’, and ‘opinions on painting’ – that is, three art domains. The three lowest rates regard the themes ‘cooking’, ‘interior’, and ‘preferred painters’. Here, art

domains manifest on average more dispositional variability than non-art domains (46% vs. 35% of significant differences).

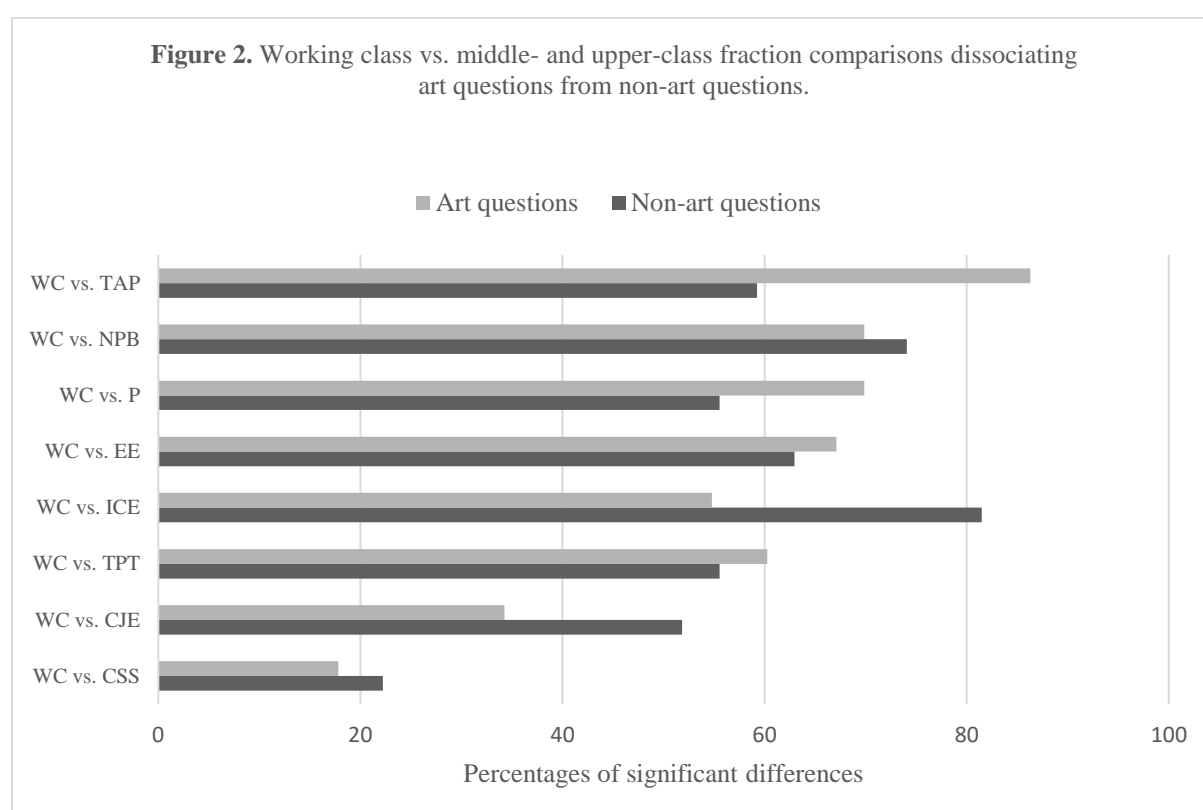
At the ‘fraction vs. working class’ level, only 2 out of 14 themes involve more non-significant than significant differences. The mean rate of significant differences is 59%. The three highest rates refer to ‘clothes’, ‘composers’, and ‘preferred singers’. The three lowest rates regard the themes ‘cooking’, ‘preferred painters’, and ‘radio’. Here, similar mean rates of significant differences are found in both art and non-art domains (59% vs. 58%).

Figure 1 presents the results obtained by confronting each middle- and upper-class fraction with the working class. It appears that the secondary and higher-education teachers and artistic producers and the new *petite bourgeoisie* are the two most distant fractions from the working class. The craftsmen and small shopkeepers and the clerical and junior executives are the two least distant fractions from the working class.



*Notes:* CJE = ‘Clerical and Junior Executives’ ( $n = 287$ ); CSS = ‘Craftsmen and Small Shopkeepers’ ( $n = 100$ ); EE = ‘Executives and Engineers’ ( $n = 232$ ); ICE = ‘Industrial and Commercial Employers’ ( $n = 102$ ); NPB = ‘New *Petite Bourgeoisie*’ ( $n = 119$ ); P = ‘Professions’ ( $n = 52$ ); TAP = ‘(Secondary and higher-education) Teachers and Artistic Producers’ ( $n = 81$ ); TPT = ‘Technicians and Primary Teachers’ ( $n = 78$ ); WC = ‘Working Class’ ( $n = 166$ ).

Figure 2 follows the same logic as Figure 1, but distinguishes ‘art questions’ (themes one to nine) from ‘non-art questions’ (themes 10 to 14). Within the 584 tests related to the former, 336 are significant (58%); within the 216 tests related to the latter, 125 are significant (58%).



*Notes:* CJE = ‘Clerical and Junior Executives’ ( $n = 287$ ); CSS = ‘Craftsmen and Small Shopkeepers’ ( $n = 100$ ); EE = ‘Executives and Engineers’ ( $n = 232$ ); ICE = ‘Industrial and Commercial Employers’ ( $n = 102$ ); NPB = ‘New *Petite Bourgeoisie*’ ( $n = 119$ ); P = ‘Professions’ ( $n = 52$ ); TAP = ‘(Secondary and higher-education) Teachers and Artistic Producers’ ( $n = 81$ ); TPT = ‘Technicians and Primary Teachers’ ( $n = 78$ ); WC = ‘Working Class’ ( $n = 166$ ).

Finally, Table 4 offers a synthetic view of the mean rates of significant differences and of the associated standard deviations pertaining to a) the between-middle-class-fraction comparisons, b) the between-upper-class-fraction comparisons, c) the middle-class vs. upper-class fraction comparisons, and d) the working class vs. middle- and upper-class fraction comparisons.

**Table 4.** Mean rates of significant differences and standard deviations for each type of taste comparison.

	Art questions		Non-art question		All questions	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Between-middle-class fractions	48.40	21.59	43.83	16.89	47.17	19.23
Between-upper-class fractions	41.78	17.73	19.14	10.35	35.67	14.35
MCF vs. UCF	45.63	22.63	38.43	15.87	43.69	19.81
MCF vs. UCF (dissimilar capital composition)	61.13	18.94	46.30	10.96	57.13	15.89
MCF vs. UCF (similar capital composition)	30.14	13.63	30.56	16.12	30.25	13.08
Middle-class fractions vs. Working class	45.55	20.64	50.93	18.59	47.00	19.80
Upper-class fractions vs. Working class	69.52	11.23	64.82	9.97	68.25	6.42

Note: ‘MCF’ and ‘UCF’ mean ‘Middle-class fractions’ and ‘Upper-class fractions’.

## DISCUSSION

The aim of this study was to test the coherence of the structural homology thesis defended in *Distinction* (Bourdieu, 1984) at a class-fraction level by assessing the statistical significance of the differences in taste reported in that book. More specifically, we examined a) whether the composition of capital accounted for taste distribution within the middle and upper classes, and b) the structure of the relations between the fractions belonging to these different classes. In other words, we estimated the distance between fractions both at the intra-class and the inter-class level.

Regarding the first point, our findings support the homology thesis in its very basis, since they highlight the relevance of the concept of capital composition. Indeed, Bourdieu was extremely sceptical of the mainstream linear representations of social space and social hierarchies, which often consisted in declinations of the ‘social ladder’ metaphor, and therefore emphasized the need for a supplementary dimension that would better take into account cultural and symbolic features at every stratum of the social organization. This call for more complexity and accuracy became concrete in ‘Anatomie du goût’ (Bourdieu and de Saint Martin, 1976) and *Distinction* (Bourdieu, 1984) thanks to the correspondence analysis technique, and through the concept of capital composition, the main function of which was to prevent from ‘measur[ing] with the

same yardstick the opposition between employers and professors [...] and the opposition between employers and machinists' (Bourdieu, 1979: 137, our translation).<sup>6</sup>

Our results underscore the pertinence of Bourdieu's initiative, since four of the ten highest rates of significant differences involve comparisons between fractions that belong to the same class (Table 2). These rates are reached when comparing cultural with economic fractions, namely a) the new *petite bourgeoisie* with the craftsmen and small shopkeepers (71% of significant differences) and b) with the clerical and junior executives (70%), c) the secondary and higher-education teachers and artistic producers with the employers (62%), and d) the technicians and primary teachers with the craftsmen and small shopkeepers (49%). Although, according to Bourdieu (1984: 254), 'the site par excellence of symbolic struggles is the dominant class itself', our findings suggest that the middle class may be more strongly structured by symbolic boundaries than the upper class, which may be in return slightly more homogenous (Table 4). Nevertheless, this difference between the middle and upper classes can be attributed to the global closeness of the upper-class fractions in non-art domains (Table 4), for which the mean rate of significant differences does not exceed 20% (versus 44% within the middle class). The mean rates of significant differences concerning art questions are similar from one class to another (48% within the middle class vs. 42% within the upper class). Consequently, the composition of capital is demonstrably a fruitful concept, empirically grounded both at the middle-class and the upper-class level. The influence of capital composition is further evidenced by the presence, among the ten lowest rates of significant differences (Table 2), of four comparisons involving fractions belonging to the same class and displaying an analogous capital composition – namely a) the professions and the executives and engineers (19%), b) the professions and the secondary and higher-education teachers and artistic producers (21%),

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<sup>6</sup> Authors' translation of an extract of *Distinction* that Richard Nice did not translate for the American edition.

c) the clerical and junior executives and the craftsmen and small shopkeepers (22%), and d) the new *petite bourgeoisie* and the technicians and primary teachers (25%).

Bourdieu was therefore congruent with his data when he stated, from a more theoretical perspective, that ‘the homology between the space of the dominant class and that of the middle classes is explained by the fact that their structure is the product of the same principles’ (Bourdieu, 1984: 123). Indeed, in both classes, the higher the cultural-capital gap, the more culturally distant the fractions. This trend is clearer within the art domains, where the dispositional distance varies in a linear way as a function of acquired cultural capital. Within the non-art domains, the situation is slightly different, especially within the upper class. While an impact of economic capital could be inferred here (given that the highest rates systematically involved the employers, the wealthiest fraction of the sample), it is also possible that the poor quality of the non-art questions masked dispositional variability. The fact that four of the five non-art domains present relatively low rates of significant differences (see Table 3),<sup>7</sup> coupled with the concession, made by Bourdieu (1984: 261), that some questions were inappropriately phrased, supports this view. Nonetheless, the absence of comprehensive data regarding individuals’ incomes does not allow us to further clarify this point.

Be that as it may, our findings are close to Bourdieu’s. The cultural distance reflected in our results corresponds to the cultural distance illustrated in the correspondence analysis diagrams displayed in *Distinction* (Bourdieu, 1984: 262 and 340). Within the upper class, ‘the most clear-cut opposition is set up between the [...] employers and the higher-education teachers and artistic producers’ (Bourdieu, 1984: 263), whereas the professions, the executives and engineers occupy intermediary positions. Within the middle class, the strongest opposition involves the new *petite bourgeoisie* and the craftsmen and small shopkeepers (Bourdieu, 1984: 341 and

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<sup>7</sup> The corresponding rate for the fifth non-art domain, dedicated to furniture and offering a viable indicator for testing the influence of economic capital on consumption, is 50% (see Table 3).

367). In a nutshell, even if we did not manipulate exactly the same class fractions as Bourdieu, Bourdieu's results and our results match.

Regarding the inter-class fraction comparisons, very cautious and nuanced conclusions are warranted. Indeed, Bourdieu did not display in *Distinction* a correspondence analysis (CA) plane encompassing his whole data set. Although the graphics published in *Distinction* on pages 128–129 resemble such a plane, 'the figures presented here are not plane diagrams of correspondence analyses' (Bourdieu, 1984: 126). In fact, these canonical graphics constitute a homemade amalgamation of different sources and CA planes, including those related to 'variants of dominant taste' (Bourdieu, 1984: 262) and to 'variants of *petit bourgeois* taste' (Bourdieu, 1984: 340). Because these graphics contain a multitude of items that are extraneous to the Bourdieusian survey, such as car models (e.g. '2CV'), papers (e.g. '*L'Humanité*'), sports (e.g. 'golf'), bands (e.g. the 'Beatles') or means of payment (e.g. 'credit card'), how Bourdieu produced this peculiar social-space representation remains unclear. In any case, the scientific value of these graphics is negligible.

In view of the importance that Bourdieu attached to the structural depiction of social reality and to the CA technique (Lebaron, 2009), the absence of a CA plane integrating all the collected data is unfortunate. First, this precludes the reader from precisely locating, on a sociological map of tastes, each class fraction in relation to the others. Second, this suggests that Bourdieu statistically investigated the fraction issue at the intra-class level, but not at the inter-class level. Some critics may argue, then, that in spite of his dissatisfaction with the classical, one-dimensional, representation of social space, Bourdieu eventually kept it and limited himself to aggregating a second – and logically secondary – dimension to it. By rooting the composition of capital at the intra-class level, those critics would insist, Bourdieu prevented himself from embracing the fraction issue in its entirety. In other words, it may be suggested that Bourdieu

did not sufficiently elaborate on the issue of the cultural distance separating fractions belonging to different classes. While such critiques may be valid, we note that the homology thesis is open and detailed enough to allow us to address that fraction issue here.

According to the bi-dimensional representation of social position and lifestyle spaces (Bourdieu, 1984: 128–129, 1998: 5), tastes and practices tend to vary as a function of social position. Within that framework, the *between-class variation*, which mainly depends on capital volume, is described as more discriminatory than the *between-class-fraction variation*, which globally neutralizes the volume effect and depends on capital composition (Bourdieu, 1984: 264, 1998: 7). Importantly, this does not mean that any intra-class-fraction comparison should, by definition, reveal less dispositional variability than any inter-class-fraction or class comparison. This means that dispositional heterogeneity is globally higher at the between-class comparison level than at the intra-class comparison level. Thus, by adjusting the Bourdieusian modelling to an inter-class-fraction framework, fractions are supposed, *on average*, to diverge a) substantially when they belong to different classes and their capital composition is clearly asymmetrical, and b) to a lesser extent when they belong to different classes but exhibit a similar composition of capital.

As shown in Table 4, our results are consistent with such expectations. The mean rate of significant differences associated with the former situation (different classes and dissimilar capital composition) is 27 points higher than the mean rate of significant differences associated with the latter situation (different classes and similar capital composition). The three highest rates of significant differences attain 80% and 71% (twice) on the one hand, versus 49%, 47% and 43% on the other (Table 2). The three lowest rates reach 54%, 38% and 30% in the first case, against 21% (twice) and 12% in the second (Table 2). When art domains are considered separately, this logic turns out to be strengthened. The gap between the mean rates attains 31

points (Tables 4). The three highest rates of significant differences reach 88%, 82% and 73% in the first condition, versus 48% (twice) and 44% in the second (Table 2); the three lowest achieve 58%, 38% and 29% on the one hand, against 19%, 18% and 14% on the other (Table 2). Focusing on the non-art domains does not overturn this trend, even if its strength decreases. Here, the difference between the mean rates drops to 16 points (Table 4). The three highest rates reach 67%, 59% and 52% in the first condition, versus 56%, 52% and 37% in the second; the three lowest attain 41%, 37% and 33% on the one hand, against 26%, 11% and 7% on the other (Table 2).

Our results also reveal some rare cases in which belonging to different classes and displaying an asymmetrical composition of capital is not associated with substantial dispositional variability. For example, technicians and primary teachers present taste affinities with employers, since the corresponding rate of significant differences reaches 30%. This rate is lower than the one that we obtained when confronting technicians and primary teachers with other teachers and artistic producers (43%). Such a case is instructive, because it corroborates one of the scarce indications that Bourdieu gave about the relations between fractions belonging to different classes, namely that ‘commercial employers are very close to middle-brow culture’ (Bourdieu, 1984: 263). Incidentally, it also dismisses the critiques (e.g. Bryson, 1996) that focused on the question of the exclusiveness of the dominant classes’ taste considering the latter as a homogenous whole, and ignoring the facets of some middle-class fractions’ ‘cultural good will’. Finally, the similarities in taste between employers and technicians and primary teachers provide additional support to Bourdieu’s theory, since they are associated with similarities in acquired cultural capital.

While the findings examined thus far tended to indicate that the homology thesis is coherent, some of our results reveal discrepancies between Bourdieu’s data and his interpretations. It is

noteworthy, however, that the vast majority of these dissonances involve the new *petite bourgeoisie* category. Table 2 shows that this cultural middle-class fraction exhibits numerous taste affinities with the cultural upper-class fractions, especially with the professionals (only 12% of significant differences). It also appears that the dispositional distance between the new *petite bourgeoisie* and the economic fractions is higher than the distance separating the economic fractions from the professions. Similarly, Figures 1 and 2 show that the dispositional gap between members of the new *petite bourgeoisie* and members of the working class is higher, both in art and non-art domains, than the dispositional gap between members of the working class and the professionals or the executives and engineers. This result is particularly salient, since those figures globally indicate that the higher the cultural capital, the higher the dispositional distance from the working class. Because the new *petite bourgeoisie* differs from the cultural upper-class fractions in terms of education level and social origin, the homology thesis seems to face a pitfall here. Nevertheless, given that a) the new *petite bourgeoisie* was created from scratch by Bourdieu, b) one third of its contingent works in the art business, c) its members frequently manifest an ‘intention of distinction’ (Bourdieu, 1984: 579, note 27), and d) the new *petite bourgeoisie* is the fraction in which ‘differences between Parisians and provincials are [the most] marked’ (Bourdieu, 1984: 363), it is likely that the nature of this unusual fraction accounts for the obtained results. It follows that these inconsistencies can be considered of minor importance.

Our findings also echo the results we obtained in a recent study that tested the homology thesis at a social-class level (Brisson and Bianchi, 2015). We found that about two-thirds of the inter-class differences in taste that Bourdieu reported in *Distinction* were statistically significant (see Brisson and Bianchi, 2015: 454). Taken together, those findings show that, *on average*, dispositional variability is at its maximum level when social classes are compared with each other. It decreases when fractions belonging to different classes, and exhibiting a dissimilar

capital composition, are compared with each other. Dispositional variability further declines within the middle class and the upper class, and reaches its minimum level when fractions belonging to different classes and displaying a similar capital composition are compared with each other. Thus, Bourdieu did not misinterpret his results when he stated that between-class comparisons are more relevant to dispositional variability than between-fraction comparisons (Bourdieu, 1998: 7).

These conclusions inform the long-term debates surrounding the concept of social class (see, inter alia, Bourdieu, 1987, 1989; Goldthorpe and Marshall, 1992; Kingston, 2000; Lenski, 1952; Mendieta y Núñez, 1946; Oesch, 2006; Pakulski and Waters, 1996). One of Bourdieu's central aims in *Distinction* was to account for the structure of the French space of social positions and lifestyles and to subsequently delineate classes and subclasses. Indeed, as he wrote later, 'social science should construct not classes, but rather the social spaces in which classes can be demarcated, but which only exist on paper' (Bourdieu, 1998: 32). Such a procedure allowed Bourdieu to overcome what he considered a major sociological opposition, namely, the opposition between class and status (Weber, 1978 [1922]). It also permitted him to cohere the so-called 'big social class' analyses (Grusky and Sørensen, 2001) with occupational (or class fraction) analyses – two levels that have been the fulcrum of recent controversies (e.g., see Goldthorpe, 2002; Grusky and Weeden, 2001, 2005). In so doing, Bourdieu avoided the risk of reifying a class schema or an occupational map destined to fluctuate through time, as a function of the emergence of new occupations and of the decline or evolution of others. Importantly, he thus bypassed the never-ending disputes about social classes.

All in all, our study highlights the coherence of the homology thesis. First, we observed that the concept of capital composition was operative both at the middle- and upper-class level. Second, our extension of Bourdieu's theory to an inter-class-fraction framework provides additional

evidence for the reliability of Bourdieusian studies, despite the difficulties related to the new *petite bourgeoisie* category. Our conclusions are in line with those drawn in previous research (Brisson and Bianchi, 2015). The homology thesis therefore appears to be consistent with the data it relies on, both at social-class and class-fraction levels.

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**APPENDIX A.** Class-fraction comparisons.

*Nota bene:* We report here the results pertaining to the eight batteries presenting the highest number of significant differences.

## List of abbreviations:

- ❖ CJE = ‘Clerical and Junior Executives’ ( $n = 287$ );
- ❖ CSS = ‘Craftsmen and Small Shopkeepers’ ( $n = 100$ );
- ❖ EE = ‘Executives and Engineers’ ( $n = 232$ );
- ❖ FET = ‘Fisher Exact Test’;
- ❖ ICE = ‘Industrial and Commercial Employers’ ( $n = 102$ );
- ❖ NPB = ‘New *Petite Bourgeoisie*’ ( $n = 119$ );
- ❖ P = ‘Professions’ ( $n = 52$ );
- ❖ TAP = ‘(Secondary and higher-education) Teachers and Artistic Producers’ ( $n = 81$ );
- ❖ TPT = ‘Technicians and Primary Teachers’ ( $n = 78$ ).

**Table A1.** ‘Aesthetic disposition (the following subjects would make a beautiful photo)’.

	<b>CJE vs. TAP</b>		<b>CSS vs. TAP</b>		<b>CSS vs. NPB</b>		<b>CJE vs. EE</b>		<b>CJE vs. NPB</b>		<b>ICE vs. TAP</b>		<b>CSS vs. P</b>		<b>CSS vs. EE</b>	
	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p
Sunset	6,32	< .001	5,78	< .001	3,63	< .001	6,96	< .001	3,38	< .001	3,94	< .001	2,93	< .01	5,82	< .001
First communion	2,26	< .05	2,94	< .01	3,80	< .001	6,01	< .001	3,22	< .01	0,81	.418	3,17	< .01	6,19	< .001
Folk dance	5,35	< .001	4,80	< .001	3,38	< .001	3,57	< .001	3,85	< .001	2,13	< .05	2,63	< .01	2,95	< .01
Little girl with cat	1,84	.066	1,32	.186	0,63	.531	2,18	< .05	1,08	.281	0,15	.883	0,42	.674	1,34	.181
Woman breast-feeding	1,07	.283	0,53	.599	0,53	.600	2,39	< .05	2,60	< .01	1,74	.082	0,08	.935	0,02	.986
Bark of the tree	5,07	< .001	4,34	< .001	3,45	< .001	6,53	< .001	4,10	< .001	3,27	< .01	3,82	< .001	4,99	< .001
Metal frame	9,69	< .001	6,08	< .001	2,58	< .01	5,09	< .001	4,90	< .001	5,97	< .001	2,39	< .05	2,51	< .05
Pregnant woman	6,86	< .001	4,08	< .001	1,78	.074	0,49	.622	3,91	< .001	3,98	< .001	2,71	< .01	0,96	.337
Cabbages	6,57	< .001	FET	.000	FET	.000	3,07	< .01	4,29	< .001	FET	.000	FET	.000	FET	.000
Car crash	5,58	< .001	FET	.000	FET	1	FET	.468	FET	1	FET	.000	FET	.116	FET	1

**Table A2.** ‘Preferred painters’.

	<b>CJE vs. TAP</b>		<b>CSS vs. TAP</b>		<b>CSS vs. NPB</b>		<b>CJE vs. EE</b>		<b>CJE vs. NPB</b>		<b>ICE vs. TAP</b>		<b>CSS vs. P</b>		<b>CSS vs. EE</b>	
	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p
Raphael	4,77	< .001	2,84	< .01	0,20	.839	2,79	< .01	2,51	< .05	2,20	< .05	1,71	.088	0,05	.956
Buffet	FET	.000	FET	.000	2,40	< .05	2,68	< .01	1,95	.051	FET	.002	FET	.007	3,03	< .01
Utrillo	1,71	.087	2,76	< .01	1,66	.096	1,78	.075	0,23	.816	1,97	< .05	1,49	.136	0,36	.718
Vlaminck	FET	.021	FET	1	1,10	.273	2,27	< .05	1,23	.219	FET	.018	2,81	< .01	0,69	.488
Watteau	2,55	< .05	2,48	< .05	2,20	< .05	2,57	< .05	2,32	< .05	2,42	< .05	1,24	.216	2,28	< .05
Renoir	4,26	< .001	3,16	< .01	1,62	.105	2,05	< .05	2,65	< .01	3,94	< .001	1,01	.314	0,93	.350
Van Gogh	0,76	.446	0,01	.991	0,50	.614	3,24	< .01	1,52	.127	2,15	< .05	1,25	.211	1,59	.113
Dali	2,35	< .05	FET	.003	FET	.004	1,18	.239	2,19	< .05	FET	.110	FET	.039	FET	.038
Braque	2,59	< .01	1,22	.223	0,92	.356	0,60	.548	2,33	< .05	0,37	.713	FET	1	0,51	.613
Goya	6,39	< .001	4,55	< .001	2,47	< .05	5,96	< .001	3,71	< .001	3,95	< .001	1,13	.259	3,80	< .001
Brueghel	7,18	< .001	4,61	< .001	3,35	< .001	6,56	< .001	5,53	< .001	2,62	< .01	3,65	< .001	3,84	< .001
Kandinsky	FET	.002	FET	.017	FET	.017	FET	.178	FET	.001	0,08	.935	FET	.004	FET	.320

**Table A3.** 'Opinions on painting'.

	CJE vs. TAP		CSS vs. TAP		CSS vs. NPB		CJE vs. EE		CJE vs. NPB		ICE vs. TAP		CSS vs. P		CSS vs. EE	
	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p
Does not interest me	FET	.002	FET	.007	2,95	< .01	2,98	< .01	3,48	< .001	FET	1	FET	.001	2,13	< .05
Nice but difficult	8,16	< .001	7,97	< .001	6,30	< .001	8,44	< .001	6,37	< .001	5,41	< .001	5,01	< .001	7,71	< .001
Like the Impressionists	5,84	< .001	5,72	< .001	5,00	< .001	7,27	< .001	4,93	< .001	1,73	.084	5,50	< .001	6,25	< .001
Like abstract painting	8,08	< .001	6,16	< .001	5,22	< .001	5,93	< .001	6,89	< .001	3,79	< .001	4,13	< .001	4,39	< .001
Modern paint. is not just slapped on	6,36	< .001	4,24	< .001	2,94	< .01	4,48	< .001	5,24	< .001	4,50	< .001	1,60	.109	1,87	.062
Do like to know who painted it	3,44	< .001	FET	.000	FET	.004	1,38	.166	1,57	.115	3,06	< .01	FET	.008	FET	.004

**Table A4.** 'Preferred musical works'.

	CJE vs. TAP		CSS vs. TAP		CSS vs. NPB		CJE vs. EE		CJE vs. NPB		ICE vs. TAP		CSS vs. P		CSS vs. EE	
	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p
L'Arlésienne	FET	.000	FET	.000	4,46	< .001	4,02	< .001	4,34	< .001	FET	.000	FET	.000	4,02	< .001
Blue Danube	FET	.000	FET	.000	5,62	< .001	7,80	< .001	5,65	< .001	FET	.000	5,02	< .001	7,20	< .001
La Traviata	2,86	< .01	3,54	< .001	3,73	< .001	3,64	< .001	3,01	< .01	3,34	< .01	FET	.000	4,32	< .001
Sabre Dance	FET	.000	FET	.000	2,88	< .01	2,80	< .01	2,38	< .05	FET	.516	FET	.000	3,24	< .01
Rhapsody in Blue	1,60	.110	1,76	.078	0,21	.836	0,91	.361	0,79	.429	2,41	< .05	0,40	.693	0,19	.846
Hungarian Rhapsody	3,11	< .01	1,93	.053	1,42	.154	0,58	.561	2,78	< .01	4,16	< .001	0,16	.871	1,41	.159
Twilight of Gods	2,57	< .05	2,05	< .05	1,23	.219	2,25	< .05	1,55	.121	2,54	< .05	0,10	.920	1,62	.105
Eine Kleine Nachtmusik	3,98	< .001	5,15	< .001	3,16	< .01	0,64	.519	1,30	.194	4,11	< .001	5,04	< .001	2,83	< .01
Four Seasons	5,06	< .001	5,15	< .001	5,05	< .001	4,18	< .001	5,06	< .001	2,78	< .01	5,26	< .001	4,28	< .001
Firebird Suite	3,99	< .001	2,45	< .05	1,30	.194	2,69	< .01	2,53	< .05	2,51	< .05	FET	.544	1,24	.214
L'Enfant et les Sortilèges	FET	.035	FET	.326	FET	.004	FET	.178	FET	.000	FET	1	FET	1	FET	1
Art of Fugue	7,42	< .001	FET	.000	FET	.000	4,15	< .001	3,98	< .001	2,63	< .01	FET	.002	FET	.000
Well-Tempered Clavier	8,25	< .001	FET	.000	FET	.007	4,21	< .001	3,86	< .001	FET	.000	FET	.001	FET	.003
Concerto for Left Hand	FET	.000	FET	.000	FET	.002	FET	.000	FET	.000	1,78	.075	FET	.000	FET	.000

**Table A5.** ‘Composers’.

	CJE vs. TAP		CSS vs. TAP		CSS vs. NPB		CJE vs. EE		CJE vs. NPB		ICE vs. TAP		CSS vs. P		CSS vs. EE	
	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p
0-2	FET	.000	FET	.000	6,73	< .001	7,73	< .001	5,35	< .001	FET	.000	6,27	< .001	8,79	< .001
3-6	3,58	< .001	2,66	< .01	0,89	.375	2,42	< .05	1,86	.062	2,87	< .01	1,90	.057	1,08	.281
7-11	3,19	< .01	4,51	< .001	5,56	< .001	6,14	< .001	4,84	< .001	1,01	.312	5,04	< .001	6,21	< .001
12+	11,21	< .001	FET	.000	FET	.000	6,36	< .001	5,30	< .001	5,39	< .001	FET	.000	FET	.000

**Table A6.** ‘Books’.

	CJE vs. TAP		CSS vs. TAP		CSS vs. NPB		CJE vs. EE		CJE vs. NPB		ICE vs. TAP		CSS vs. P		CSS vs. EE	
	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p
Love stories	3,84	< .001	4,65	< .001	4,76	< .001	1,62	.105	3,90	< .001	0,57	.569	FET	.000	0,44	.660
Travel	5,58	< .001	6,18	< .001	5,21	< .001	2,63	< .01	4,50	< .001	3,88	< .001	4,10	< .001	3,71	< .001
Thrillers	4,02	< .001	1,49	.135	2,33	< .05	3,57	< .001	5,40	< .001	2,06	< .05	0,62	.534	0,18	.854
Historical novels	3,75	< .001	3,78	< .001	2,60	< .01	1,61	.108	2,42	< .05	5,94	< .001	0,34	.732	1,92	.055
Modern authors	2,54	< .05	4,65	< .001	5,15	< .001	0,38	.702	3,06	< .01	2,61	< .01	1,92	.055	3,38	< .001
Classics	3,31	< .001	5,41	< .001	4,87	< .001	2,12	< .05	2,53	< .05	2,29	< .05	1,69	.091	4,66	< .001
Poetry	2,62	< .01	4,04	< .001	4,26	< .001	2,31	< .05	2,96	< .01	4,96	< .001	2,45	< .05	3,81	< .001
Philosophical essays	7,03	< .001	4,29	< .001	4,09	< .001	6,85	< .001	6,93	< .001	4,35	< .001	4,60	< .001	3,84	< .001

**Table A7.** ‘Activities’.

	CJE vs. TAP		CSS vs. TAP		CSS vs. NPB		CJE vs. EE		CJE vs. NPB		ICE vs. TAP		CSS vs. P		CSS vs. EE	
	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p
Do-it-yourself, often	2,06	< .05	5,58	< .001	4,14	< .001	3,02	< .01	0,16	.872	1,19	.233	4,33	< .001	6,87	< .001
Photography and/or cinema	0,34	.734	0,63	.527	0,10	.921	2,31	< .05	0,60	.551	0,61	.541	3,21	< .01	1,29	.198
Records, often	3,71	< .001	4,20	< .001	3,80	< .001	1,75	.081	3,24	< .01	2,53	< .05	2,87	< .01	2,63	< .01
Painting, sculpture, often	2,53	< .05	2,19	< .05	3,70	< .001	0,34	.731	4,90	< .001	FET	.003	1,56	.119	0,57	.570
Musical instrument, often	FET	.000	2,47	< .05	2,43	< .05	FET	.000	FET	.000	1,73	.084	1,48	.140	1,15	.251
Louvre and modern art gallery	7,09	< .001	7,14	< .001	5,96	< .000	5,55	< .001	5,67	< .001	2,70	< .01	6,22	< .001	5,70	< .001

**Table A8.** 'Radio'.

	CJE vs. TAP		CSS vs. TAP		CSS vs. NPB		CJE vs. EE		CJE vs. NPB		ICE vs. TAP		CSS vs. P		CSS vs. EE	
	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p
Light music	6,76	< .001	5,49	< .001	5,16	< .000	10,44	< .001	6,79	< .001	1,60	.110	3,99	< .001	8,10	< .001
News	0,11	.909	1,23	.218	0,18	.859	3,85	< .001	1,39	.166	3,76	< .001	0,68	.496	1,37	.169
Culture and classical music	8,63	< .001	6,96	< .001	5,96	< .001	8,54	< .001	7,61	< .001	4,25	< .001	4,72	< .001	6,30	< .001
Light music and cultural or classical	1,90	.057	1,59	.113	1,53	.126	2,42	< .05	1,95	.051	0,14	.887	0,06	.950	1,74	.082

**Table A9.** 'Preferred singers'.

	CJE vs. TAP		CSS vs. TAP		CSS vs. NPB		CJE vs. EE		CJE vs. NPB		ICE vs. TAP		CSS vs. P		CSS vs. EE	
	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p
Guétary	FET	.000	FET	.000	2,63	< .01	6,31	< .001	2,88	< .01	FET	.004	FET	.011	5,84	< .001
Mariano	FET	.001	FET	.000	1,87	.061	2,02	< .05	0,36	.718	FET	.024	FET	.007	3,52	< .001
P. Clark	FET	.000	FET	.000	2,48	< .05	0,50	.615	1,94	.053	FET	.000	1,97	< .05	1,38	.167
Aznavour	5,64	< .001	3,63	< .001	1,04	.299	4,43	< .001	3,28	< .01	3,30	< .01	0,07	.948	1,45	.147
Hallyday	FET	.035	FET	.658	FET	.295	2,55	< .05	2,01	< .05	FET	.733	FET	.547	FET	.243
Brel	0,99	.321	3,17	< .01	1,56	.119	1,33	.184	1,27	.204	4,43	< .001	2,30	< .05	1,93	.054
Brassens	7,12	< .001	7,16	< .001	2,63	< .01	6,78	< .001	1,70	.090	3,64	< .001	4,60	< .001	6,50	< .001
Ferré	3,05	< .01	4,02	< .001	3,60	< .001	1,61	.108	2,50	< .05	5,82	< .001	2,45	< .05	2,99	< .01
Douai	4,96	< .001	FET	.000	FET	.001	1,19	.235	4,13	< .001	3,87	< .001	FET	.001	FET	.169

**Table A10.** 'Furniture'.

	CJE vs. TAP		CSS vs. TAP		CSS vs. NPB		CJE vs. EE		CJE vs. NPB		ICE vs. TAP		CSS vs. P		CSS vs. EE	
	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p
Department store	3,02	< .01	0,09	.926	2,49	< .05	3,24	< .01	0,04	.971	3,43	< .01	FET	.002	5,72	< .001
Specialized shop	1,41	.159	0,02	.981	0,30	.764	1,72	.086	2,02	< .05	1,71	.087	0,49	.625	0,27	.787
Auction	0,15	.880	FET	.066	FET	.035	2,12	< .05	0,14	.888	3,37	< .01	FET	.063	FET	.000
Flea market	4,96	< .001	FET	.001	FET	.018	4,56	< .001	3,35	< .001	0,57	.568	FET	.005	FET	.002
Antique dealer	7,29	< .001	4,13	< .001	2,82	< .01	10,46	< .001	5,56	< .001	2,44	< .05	7,11	< .001	6,02	< .001

**Table A11.** 'Interior'.

	CJE vs. TAP		CSS vs. TAP		CSS vs. NPB		CJE vs. EE		CJE vs. NPB		ICE vs. TAP		CSS vs. P		CSS vs. EE	
	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p
Clean, tidy	4,82	<.001	5,13	<.001	4,97	<.001	5,22	<.001	4,71	<.001	0,78	.434	4,00	<.001	5,27	<.001
Easy to maintain	3,06	<.01	3,80	<.001	4,51	<.001	3,40	<.001	3,81	<.001	0,58	.565	2,99	<.01	4,17	<.001
Cosy	1,41	.157	1,25	.211	0,30	.761	0,74	.461	0,45	.650	1,66	.096	0,32	.751	0,48	.634
Warm	0,80	.424	0,36	.718	1,22	.221	1,27	.204	1,98	<.05	0,59	.553	0,13	.893	1,35	.178
Studied	4,22	<.001	FET	.016	FET	.001	3,25	<.01	5,50	<.001	2,29	<.05	FET	.011	FET	.118
Imaginative	3,75	<.001	1,78	.075	2,43	<.05	4,07	<.001	4,84	<.001	0,12	.904	2,17	<.05	1,78	.075
Sober, discreet	4,27	<.001	1,25	.211	0,84	.400	8,62	<.001	3,97	<.001	1,90	.058	0,93	.351	3,94	<.001
Harmonious	1,57	.117	3,38	<.01	3,69	<.001	3,49	<.001	1,83	.067	0,02	.984	2,93	<.01	4,99	<.001

**Table A12.** 'Clothes'.

	CJE vs. TAP		CSS vs. TAP		CSS vs. NPB		CJE vs. EE		CJE vs. NPB		ICE vs. TAP		CSS vs. P		CSS vs. EE	
	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p
Value for money	2,00	<.05	2,27	<.05	2,16	<.05	3,02	<.01	1,88	.060	1,77	.077	2,14	<.05	3,06	<.01
Suit personality	2,21	<.05	1,56	.118	2,32	<.05	3,40	<.001	1,80	.072	1,18	.239	1,15	.252	1,74	.081
Chic and stylish	2,44	<.05	0,32	.751	2,61	<.01	3,21	<.01	5,87	<.001	1,70	.089	1,49	.135	0,44	.658

**Table A13.** 'Friend'.

	CJE vs. TAP		CSS vs. TAP		CSS vs. NPB		CJE vs. EE		CJE vs. NPB		ICE vs. TAP		CSS vs. P		CSS vs. EE	
	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p
Bon vivant	1,03	.301	0,37	.712	2,84	<.01	0,96	.337	1,79	.073	0,61	.539	0,97	.331	2,32	<.05
Conscientious	2,98	<.01	5,46	<.001	5,83	<.001	3,39	<.001	3,19	<.001	2,49	<.05	1,94	.052	6,26	<.001
Well-bred	4,97	<.001	3,27	<.01	2,68	<.01	3,61	<.001	4,65	<.001	4,05	<.001	1,01	.314	1,39	.163
Pragmatic	0,82	.412	2,02	<.05	3,30	<.001	0,20	.840	0,65	.514	1,02	.306	1,84	.066	3,14	<.01
Stylish	2,57	<.05	1,50	.135	2,61	<.01	4,51	<.001	4,34	<.001	0,99	.322	FET	1	2,56	<.05
Refined	0,63	.531	0,98	.327	2,88	<.01	0,86	.390	3,39	<.001	1,60	.110	2,49	<.05	1,15	.251
Artistic	6,71	<.001	3,74	<.001	3,63	<.001	7,00	<.001	6,73	<.001	2,45	<.05	3,18	<.01	3,61	<.001

**Table A14.** 'Cooking'.

	<b>CJE vs. TAP</b>		<b>CSS vs. TAP</b>		<b>CSS vs. NPB</b>		<b>CJE vs. EE</b>		<b>CJE vs. NPB</b>		<b>ICE vs. TAP</b>		<b>CSS vs. P</b>		<b>CSS vs. EE</b>	
	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p
Potluck	0,95	.341	1,03	.301	1,35	.177	0,19	.847	1,39	.166	0,54	.590	0,54	.589	0,45	.652
Simple and well-presented	0,71	.481	0,20	.842	0,81	.418	1,96	.0503	1,53	.126	1,09	.276	0,52	.601	0,96	.336
Original, exotic	2,74	< .01	1,50	.135	1,99	< .05	2,43	< .05	3,60	< .001	0,46	.644	FET	.736	1,05	.295
Delicate, fine	0,43	.669	0,25	.806	0,62	.516	1,42	.155	0,01	.989	3,24	< .01	FET	.582	1,92	.055

**APPENDIX B.** ‘Middle- and upper-class fraction vs. working class’ comparisons.

## Complete results.

## List of abbreviations:

- ❖ CJE = ‘Clerical and Junior Executives’ ( $n = 287$ );
- ❖ CSS = ‘Craftsmen and Small Shopkeepers’ ( $n = 100$ );
- ❖ EE = ‘Executives and Engineers’ ( $n = 232$ );
- ❖ FET = ‘Fisher Exact Test’;
- ❖ ICE = ‘Industrial and Commercial Employers’ ( $n = 102$ );
- ❖ NPB = ‘New *Petite Bourgeoisie*’ ( $n = 119$ );
- ❖ P = ‘Professions’ ( $n = 52$ );
- ❖ TAP = ‘(Secondary and higher-education) Teachers and Artistic Producers’ ( $n = 81$ );
- ❖ TPT = ‘Technicians and Primary Teachers’ ( $n = 78$ );
- ❖ WC = ‘Working Class’ ( $n = 166$ ).

**Table B1.** ‘Aesthetic disposition (the following subjects would make a beautiful photo)’.

	WC vs. CJE		WC vs. CSS		WC vs. NPB		WC vs. TPT		WC vs. EE		WC vs. ICE		WC vs. P		WC vs. TAP	
	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p
Sunset	1,05	.294	0,48	.630	3,82	< .001	0,16	.872	10,72	< .001	2,00	< .05	2,86	< .01	6,36	< .001
First communion	3,02	< .01	1,11	.268	5,28	< .001	4,57	< .001	8,32	< .001	3,64	< .001	4,17	< .001	4,17	< .001
Folk dance	1,15	.251	0,59	.554	4,42	< .001	1,87	.061	9,40	< .001	3,89	< .001	3,31	< .001	5,78	< .001
Little girl with cat	0,74	.459	0,32	.753	0,38	.707	2,75	< .01	7,27	< .001	1,43	.154	0,70	.483	1,16	.244
Woman breast-feeding	0,49	.626	2,06	< .05	2,75	< .01	4,63	< .001	5,72	< .001	0,61	.543	1,73	.084	1,35	.178
Bark of the tree	1,95	.051	1,23	.218	5,24	< .001	5,41	< .001	0,97	.332	2,59	< .01	5,33	< .001	6,08	< .001
Metal frame	0,20	.843	0,91	.361	3,97	< .001	4,13	< .001	0,77	.440	1,14	.253	3,56	< .001	7,96	< .001
Pregnant woman	0,62	.537	0,77	.443	2,87	< .01	3,63	< .001	1,56	.118	0,93	.350	3,75	< .001	5,45	< .001
Cabbages	0,54	.589	FET	.140	4,09	< .001	1,61	.108	FET	.015	FET	.422	2,69	< .01	6,03	< .001
Car crash	FET	.163	FET	.376	FET	.173	FET	.032	FET	.513	FET	.144	FET	.013	FET	.000

**Table B2.** ‘Preferred painters’.

	WC vs. CJE		WC vs. CSS		WC vs. NPB		WC vs. TPT		WC vs. EE		WC vs. ICE		WC vs. P		WC vs. TAP	
	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p
Raphael	0,56	.577	1,56	.118	1,87	.061	2,73	< .01	6,07	< .001	2,38	< .05	FET	.004	4,24	< .001
Buffet	2,98	< .01	3,33	< .001	0,71	.479	1,64	.101	0,92	.356	1,38	.169	FET	.768	FET	.025
Utrillo	0,71	.476	1,04	.297	0,78	.435	0,46	.642	3,26	< .01	0,02	.983	0,81	.416	2,08	< .05
Vlaminck	2,55	< .05	0,20	.840	1,06	.291	1,61	.108	0,27	.787	2,61	< .01	3,03	< .01	FET	.779
Watteau	1,79	.074	1,69	.092	0,73	.468	0,58	.559	1,58	.114	1,61	.108	0,05	.962	1,24	.215
Renoir	1,45	.147	0,57	.569	1,23	.218	0,10	.921	4,83	< .001	1,50	.133	1,53	.126	2,95	< .01
Van Gogh	1,12	.262	0,09	.926	0,47	.637	1,29	.199	7,41	< .001	2,62	< .01	1,27	.204	0,10	.920
Dali	0,14	.890	FET	.160	1,75	.080	1,25	.212	FET	.286	FET	1	FET	.400	1,93	.053
Braque	0,09	.929	0,83	.405	1,94	.053	FET	.175	0,11	.913	1,88	.061	FET	.515	2,21	< .05
Goya	0,93	.352	0,37	.713	3,62	< .000	2,51	< .05	2,48	< .01	0,43	.670	0,92	.357	4,90	< .001
Brueghel	FET	.005	FET	.002	FET	.000	FET	.000	FET	.000	FET	.000	FET	.000	FET	.000
Kandinsky	FET	1	FET	1	FET	.002	FET	.101	FET	.043	FET	.003	FET	.001	FET	.003

**Table B3.** 'Opinions on painting'.

	WC vs. CJE		WC vs. CSS		WC vs. NPB		WC vs. TPT		WC vs. EE		WC vs. ICE		WC vs. P		WC vs. TAP	
	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p
Does not interest me	2,25	< .05	1,88	.060	4,83	< .001	FET	.000	FET	.000	FET	.000	FET	.000	FET	.000
Nice but difficult	0,59	.556	1,83	.067	5,30	< .001	1,78	.075	7,90	< .001	1,63	.104	3,95	< .001	7,17	< .001
Like the Impressionists	1,46	.143	0,72	.472	5,41	< .001	3,97	< .001	1,58	.113	4,51	< .001	5,82	< .001	6,22	< .001
Like abstract painting	1,19	.233	0,30	.766	6,59	< .001	4,30	< .001	1,44	.151	3,67	< .001	5,15	< .001	7,66	< .001
Modern paint. is not just slapped on	0,78	.435	1,98	< .05	5,34	< .001	3,09	< .01	3,08	< .01	1,70	.090	3,34	< .001	6,42	< .001
Do like to know who painted it	0,41	.682	FET	.140	1,73	.084	1,90	.057	1,97	< .05	0,24	.808	1,56	.118	3,34	< .001

**Table B4.** 'Preferred musical works'.

	WC vs. CJE		WC vs. CSS		WC vs. NPB		WC vs. TPT		WC vs. EE		WC vs. ICE		WC vs. P		WC vs. TAP	
	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p
L'Arlésienne	1,20	.230	0,09	.928	4,95	< .001	3,63	< .001	7,39	< .001	3,18	< .01	FET	.000	FET	.000
Blue Danube	2,57	< .01	0,93	.353	7,16	< .001	6,95	< .001	11,54	< .001	6,70	< .001	6,11	< .001	FET	.000
La Traviata	1,26	.208	0,29	.769	3,75	< .001	1,74	.081	3,96	< .001	0,02	.983	FET	.001	3,51	< .001
Sabre Dance	0,81	.416	0,31	.759	2,84	< .01	0,82	.413	6,67	< .001	3,79	< .001	FET	.000	FET	.000
Rhapsody in Blue	0,61	.540	0,02	.986	0,22	.829	1,11	.269	3,01	< .01	0,79	.431	0,44	.662	1,92	.055
Hungarian Rhapsody	1,40	.162	0,15	.885	1,44	.149	0,81	.415	2,38	< .05	2,90	< .01	0,06	.953	1,97	< .05
Twilight of Gods	2,53	< .05	2,13	< .05	3,58	< .001	3,82	< .001	0,17	.866	1,55	.122	1,95	.052	4,40	< .001
Eine Kleine Nachtmusik	4,10	< .001	1,00	.319	4,71	< .001	3,85	< .001	0,45	.656	2,39	< .05	6,63	< .001	6,88	< .001
Four Seasons	4,25	< .001	2,23	< .05	7,94	< .001	7,30	< .001	2,16	< .05	5,20	< .001	7,99	< .001	7,96	< .001
Firebird Suite	1,17	.240	1,63	.103	3,17	< .01	1,92	.055	0,24	.810	1,58	.113	FET	.726	4,41	< .001
L'Enfant et les Sortilèges	FET	1	FET	.376	FET	.000	FET	.320	FET	.269	FET	.054	FET	.239	FET	.034
Art of Fugue	FET	.390	FET	1	FET	.000	FET	.006	FET	.029	FET	.000	FET	.002	FET	.000
Well-Tempered Clavier	FET	.268	FET	.558	FET	.000	FET	.001	FET	.406	FET	.071	FET	.000	FET	.000
Concerto for Left Hand	FET	1	FET	1	FET	.000	FET	.001	FET	.043	FET	.003	FET	.000	FET	.000

**Table B5.** ‘Composers’.

	WC vs. CJE		WC vs. CSS		WC vs. NPB		WC vs. TPT		WC vs. EE		WC vs. ICE		WC vs. P		WC vs. TAP	
	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p
0-2	5,91	< .001	2,14	< .05	9,50	< .001	8,91	< .001	12,80	< .001	7,56	< .001	8,48	< .001	FET	.000
3-6	2,72	< .01	1,47	.142	0,53	.595	1,57	.117	1,85	.064	1,74	.083	0,95	.340	1,62	.105
7-11	4,23	< .001	1,24	.215	7,68	< .001	6,79	< .001	2,86	< .01	5,53	< .001	7,02	< .001	6,44	< .001
12+	FET	.030	FET	.376	FET	.000	FET	.000	FET	.000	FET	.000	FET	.000	FET	.000

**Table B6.** ‘Books’.

	WC vs. CJE		WC vs. CSS		WC vs. NPB		WC vs. TPT		WC vs. EE		WC vs. ICE		WC vs. P		WC vs. TAP	
	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p
Love stories	1,84	.066	0,14	.888	4,99	< .001	4,43	< .001	0,34	.732	4,77	< .001	FET	.000	4,79	< .001
Travel	2,46	< .01	0,23	.815	6,05	< .001	3,36	< .001	8,87	< .001	3,23	< .01	4,59	< .001	6,90	< .001
Thrillers	0,74	.462	2,88	< .01	5,52	< .001	2,74	< .01	7,90	< .001	2,24	< .05	1,64	.101	4,26	< .001
Historical novels	1,43	.152	1,79	.074	1,06	.290	1,32	.187	2,09	< .05	4,43	< .001	1,06	.289	2,53	< .05
Modern authors	4,63	< .001	0,66	.511	6,60	< .001	3,33	< .001	0,71	.476	3,21	< .01	2,67	< .01	5,90	< .001
Classics	4,51	< .001	0,36	.722	6,12	< .001	4,37	< .001	1,13	.256	4,83	< .001	2,20	< .05	6,65	< .001
Poetry	3,57	< .001	0,61	.542	5,66	< .001	2,09	< .05	2,42	< .05	0,60	.546	3,33	< .001	5,30	< .001
Philosophical essays	FET	.084	FET	.022	FET	.000	FET	.000	FET	.373	FET	.024	FET	.000	FET	.000

**Table B7.** ‘Activities’.

	WC vs. CJE		WC vs. CSS		WC vs. NPB		WC vs. TPT		WC vs. EE		WC vs. ICE		WC vs. P		WC vs. TAP	
	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p
Do-it-yourself, often	2,48	< .05	2,69	< .01	1,88	.059	0,26	.796	8,61	< .001	2,60	< .01	2,43	< .05	3,71	< .001
Photography and/or cinema	1,33	.185	1,43	.154	1,61	.106	2,82	< .01	4,95	< .001	1,41	.160	4,42	< .001	0,64	.524
Records, often	0,13	.893	1,18	.239	3,06	< .01	3,15	< .01	4,94	< .001	0,89	.375	2,15	< .05	3,55	< .001
Painting, sculpture, often	1,19	.233	0,65	.514	5,05	< .001	1,83	.067	FET	.101	FET	.746	2,37	< .05	3,20	< .01
Musical instrument, often	FET	.009	0,35	.726	2,55	< .05	0,12	.907	1,22	.223	0,58	.564	1,33	.183	2,55	< .05
Louvre and modern art gallery	4,59	< .001	1,96	< .01	8,71	< .001	6,57	< .001	3,81	< .001	7,50	< .001	8,86	< .001	9,90	< .001

**Table B8.** 'Radio'.

	WC vs. CJE		WC vs. CSS		WC vs. NPB		WC vs. TPT		WC vs. EE		WC vs. ICE		WC vs. P		WC vs. TAP	
	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p
Light music	0,26	.792	0,92	.359	6,50	< .001	5,81	< .001	9,99	< .001	5,74	< .001	4,88	< .001	6,57	< .001
News	2,75	< .01	0,72	.473	0,96	.339	0,70	.487	1,98	< .05	2,45	< .05	1,27	.204	1,97	< .05
Culture and classical music	2,52	< .01	1,76	.078	8,55	< .001	7,57	< .001	1,83	.068	5,32	< .001	6,93	< .001	9,50	< .001
Light music and cultural or classical	0,88	.379	0,54	.587	1,14	.256	0,25	.805	3,71	< .001	1,50	.133	0,51	.612	1,24	.215

**Table B9.** 'Preferred singers'.

	WC vs. CJE		WC vs. CSS		WC vs. NPB		WC vs. TPT		WC vs. EE		WC vs. ICE		WC vs. P		WC vs. TAP	
	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p
Guétary	2,39	< .05	1,64	.100	4,43	< .001	FET	.000	6,84	< .001	3,45	< .001	FET	.000	FET	.000
Mariano	1,88	.060	0,27	.790	1,79	.074	FET	.005	4,65	< .001	1,959	.0501	FET	.007	FET	.000
P. Clark	1,11	.267	0,08	.934	2,65	< .01	1,61	.107	4,47	< .001	0,54	.591	2,02	< .05	FET	.000
Aznavour	1,10	.271	2,60	< .01	3,87	< .001	4,90	< .001	8,07	< .001	3,99	< .001	2,00	< .05	6,05	< .001
Hallyday	1,78	.075	FET	.000	3,15	< .01	FET	.001	5,17	< .001	2,73	< .01	FET	.000	FET	.002
Brel	5,04	< .001	1,23	.218	3,07	< .01	4,77	< .001	3,82	< .001	0,29	.772	3,55	< .001	4,71	< .001
Brassens	0,24	.811	1,56	.119	1,34	.180	4,41	< .001	3,11	< .01	3,06	< .01	3,73	< .001	6,48	< .001
Ferré	2,35	< .05	0,02	.981	4,20	< .001	2,49	< .05	4,93	< .001	2,18	< .05	2,73	< .01	4,59	< .001
Douai	0,55	.584	FET	.425	3,07	< .01	1,71	.087	2,47	< .05	0,76	.448	2,85	< .01	3,84	< .001

**Table B10.** 'Furniture'.

	WC vs. CJE		WC vs. CSS		WC vs. NPB		WC vs. TPT		WC vs. EE		WC vs. ICE		WC vs. P		WC vs. TAP	
	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p
Department store	5,56	< .001	1,49	.137	4,21	< .001	2,30	< .05	8,55	< .001	5,03	< .001	FET	.000	1,29	.199
Specialized shop	2,67	< .01	0,64	.521	0,33	.739	3,00	< .01	1,54	.123	2,74	< .01	1,05	.292	0,63	.530
Auction	2,34	< .05	FET	.747	2,19	< .05	FET	.748	3,06	< .01	6,88	< .001	1,95	.052	1,75	.080
Flea market	FET	.094	FET	.202	FET	.000	FET	.331	FET	.002	FET	.000	FET	.000	FET	.000
Antique dealer	0,30	.766	1,55	.121	4,81	< .001	2,08	< .05	5,16	< .001	9,01	< .001	9,61	< .001	6,26	< .001

**Table B11.** 'Interior'.

	WC vs. CJE		WC vs. CSS		WC vs. NPB		WC vs. TPT		WC vs. EE		WC vs. ICE		WC vs. P		WC vs. TAP	
	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p
Clean, tidy	1,43	.154	0,09	.928	5,46	< .001	3,01	< .01	9,04	< .001	5,35	< .001	4,25	< .001	5,48	< .001
Easy to maintain	2,98	< .01	0,89	.373	5,74	< .001	4,87	< .001	8,73	< .001	4,68	< .001	3,79	< .001	4,81	< .001
Cosy	4,75	< .001	3,89	< .001	4,40	< .001	3,03	< .01	0,28	.780	4,38	< .001	2,84	< .01	2,25	< .05
Warm	0,30	.764	0,13	.899	1,53	.126	1,10	.271	3,82	< .001	0,15	.884	0,04	.965	0,52	.604
Studied	0,82	.413	FET	1	3,93	< .001	0,74	.460	1,19	.236	0,26	.792	3,16	< .01	2,93	< .01
Imaginative	0,37	.714	0,83	.409	3,70	< .001	2,35	< .05	1,05	.293	2,85	< .01	3,29	< .01	2,88	< .01
Sober, discreet	0,63	.526	1,85	.065	2,88	< .01	0,63	.529	1,08	.281	1,08	.282	0,41	.683	3,20	< .01
Harmonious	3,16	< .01	0,02	.984	4,28	< .001	4,06	< .001	0,53	.599	4,11	< .001	3,24	< .01	3,84	< .001

**Table B12.** 'Clothes'.

	WC vs. CJE		WC vs. CSS		WC vs. NPB		WC vs. TPT		WC vs. EE		WC vs. ICE		WC vs. P		WC vs. TAP	
	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p
Value for money	3,94	< .001	2,34	< .05	4,73	< .001	1,88	.060	7,34	< .001	2,95	< .01	3,92	< .001	4,45	< .001
Suit personality	4,32	< .001	0,67	.506	1,95	.051	2,08	< .05	2,06	< .05	2,60	< .01	0,69	.489	1,10	.269
Chic and stylish	1,25	.211	2,90	< .01	5,77	< .001	3,26	< .01	2,78	< .01	5,25	< .001	4,38	< .001	3,17	< .01

**Table B13.** 'Friend'.

	WC vs. CJE		WC vs. CSS		WC vs. NPB		WC vs. TPT		WC vs. EE		WC vs. ICE		WC vs. P		WC vs. TAP	
	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p
Bon vivant	5,94	< .001	2,98	< .01	5,90	< .001	3,18	< .01	6,92	< .001	2,73	< .01	3,24	< .01	3,13	< .01
Conscientious	3,61	< .001	0,79	.432	5,78	< .001	2,71	< .01	8,80	< .001	2,91	< .01	1,46	.145	5,33	< .001
Well-bred	6,20	< .001	3,74	< .001	0,89	.375	1,21	.228	0,33	.743	4,69	< .001	1,93	.054	0,21	.831
Pragmatic	2,07	< .05	1,50	.133	2,35	< .05	1,69	.092	2,53	< .05	0,38	.703	0,65	.517	0,78	.437
Stylish	0,43	.670	0,20	.843	3,32	< .001	1,38	.167	0,91	.361	3,23	< .01	FET	1	1,92	.055
Refined	FET	.000	FET	.007	FET	.000	FET	.003	FET	.000	FET	.000	FET	.000	FET	.000
Artistic	1,28	.201	0,34	.737	4,65	< .001	4,02	< .001	0,35	.724	2,01	< .05	3,95	< .001	4,71	< .001

**Table B14.** 'Cooking'.

	<b>WC vs. CJE</b>		<b>WC vs. CSS</b>		<b>WC vs. NPB</b>		<b>WC vs. TPT</b>		<b>WC vs. EE</b>		<b>WC vs. ICE</b>		<b>WC vs. P</b>		<b>WC vs. TAP</b>	
	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p	z	p
Potluck	2,16	< .05	1,88	.060	0,50	.620	1,45	.146	4,57	< .001	1,33	.182	0,94	.348	0,66	.507
Simple and well-presented	0,25	.805	0,66	.510	1,60	.110	1,49	.136	6,11	< .001	2,14	< .05	1,07	.283	0,83	.405
Original, exotic	TEF	.094	TEF	.056	TEF	.000	TEF	.001	TEF	.011	TEF	.000	TEF	.030	TEF	.000
Delicate, fine	0,03	.979	0,69	.487	0,01	.993	0,55	.582	1,41	.158	4,50	< .001	TEF	1	0,37	.709

## Article 2

Back to the original omnivore: On the artefactual nature of Peterson's thesis of omnivorousness

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### Abstract

Developed by Peterson in the early nineties, the thesis of omnivorousness involves a profound transformation of the principles thought to structure the distribution of cultural tastes and consumption. More specifically, this thesis posits that eclectic dispositions have replaced snobbish inclinations among high-status people. While the influence of this thesis has been important in the field over the past two decades, Peterson eventually questioned the reliability of the research literature dealing with omnivorousness. Notably, he raised the possibility that the thesis of omnivorousness may be grounded in a mere methodological artifact. In the present article, I examine such a possibility by focusing on potential flaws that may affect Peterson's studies. Based on theoretical analyzes as well as empirical investigations, I point out the inconsistencies of Peterson's operationalizations of omnivorousness, the poor association between taste and consumption in the data that the author mobilized, the arbitrariness of the musical hierarchies that he created, and the lack of validity of Peterson's main findings regarding the dynamics of omnivorousness over time. All in all, this study supports the "artefact hypothesis" formulated by Peterson and invites investigators to be cautious when theorizing and contextualizing omnivorousness.

Keywords: omnivorousness; cultural eclecticism; musical tastes; musical hierarchy; methodological artefact.

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## 1. Introduction

Introduced by Peterson in the nineties, the figure of the cultural omnivore has renewed the sociology of art and culture. Based on the observation that “high-status Americans [are] far more likely than others to consume the fine arts [and] to be involved in a wide range of low-status activities” (Peterson & Kern, 1996:900), the omnivorousness thesis posits that the principles underlying the distribution of cultural tastes *and* practices within the upper classes have mutated from snobbishness into omnivorousness. In Peterson’s view, high-status people are no longer cultural snobs: they are cultural omnivores now. They do not shun lowbrow cultural products anymore: they henceforth exhibit “an openness to appreciating everything” (Peterson & Kern, 1996:904). Reversely, low-status people display a relatively narrow cultural repertoire that generally excludes “highbrow” cultural goods and activities.

Over the past two decades, the omnivorousness thesis has become increasingly dominant in the field. It has inspired a multitude of studies in several countries and received putative empirical support. Beyond the USA (Peterson, 1992; Peterson & Simkus, 1992; see also Alderson, Junisbai, & Heacock, 2007; Bryson, 1996, 1997), omnivorousness has been found to structure the distribution of cultural tastes and practices in Australia (Emmison, 2003), Belgium (Vander Stichele & Laermans, 2006), Canada (Fisher & Preece, 2003), Chile (Torche, 2007), Denmark (Jæger & Katz-Gerro, 2010), Finland (Purhonen, Gronow, & Rahkonen, 2010), France (Coulangeon, 2005), Japan (Koyabu & Yamada, 2013), the Netherlands (Van Eijck, 2001), Russia (Zavisca, 2005), South Africa (Snowball, Jamal, & Willis, 2010), Spain (López-Sintas & García-Álvarez, 2002), or Taiwan (Marsh, 2012). Comparatively, the number of studies providing counter-evidence to Peterson’s thesis is low (e.g., Atkinson, 2011; Flemmen, Jarness, & Rosenlund, 2018; Friedman, 2012; Heikkilä & Rahkonen, 2011; Jarness & Friedman, 2017; Prieur, Rosenlund, & Skjott-Larsen, 2008; Tampubolon, 2008; Veenstra, 2015). However, while many social scientists have backed up Peterson’s thesis by reporting that high-status

people were not cultural snobs, these scholars identified diverse types of omnivorousness that “fall into no recurrent pattern” (Peterson, 2005:264; see also Gayo, 2016).

The profusion of conducted studies, whether they support or not the omnivorousness thesis, has raised two main sets of problems. The first one inheres in international comparisons and questions the comparability of different social organizations in terms of stratification, cultural market, public policies (state incentives, “cultural exception” program), ethnic composition, sample representativeness (e.g., studies on French population generally exclude key variables such as race and religious commitment), local traditions and hierarchies (e.g., bluegrass and barbershop are not common categories in Italy), etc. (for a review, see Katz-Gerro, 2004; Peterson, 2005). It should be noted that some of these issues appear not only when comparing different countries, but also when comparing, within a unique country, the evolution of tastes and consumption over time. For example, in their examinations of the temporal trajectory of omnivorousness in the US, Peterson and his colleagues compared distinct states of the musical field without controlling for the potential transformations of its inner dynamics, especially in terms of musical hierarchy and musical offer (Peterson & Kern, 1996; Rossman & Peterson, 2015). The second set of problems concerns the methodological heterogeneity of the studies carried out on cultural omnivorousness and eclecticism (for an overview, see Hazir & Warde, 2016; Peterson, 2005; Robette & Roueff, 2014). Sociologists have implemented numerous procedures of investigation and operationalizations of omnivorousness, the variety of which casts doubt upon their capacity to grasp the same object. For instance, whereas art hierarchy is pivotal in Peterson’s perspective, some scholars overshadowed or simply ignored this critical feature (e.g., see Ollivier & Gauthier, 2007). Moreover, it has been suggested that employing yes/no questions or ordinal scales (Rossman & Peterson, 2015), mobilizing an occupational map or a class scheme (Weeden & Grusky, 2005), examining tastes or practices (Coulangeon, 2005; Warde & Gayo-Cal, 2009), tastes or distastes (Robette & Roueff, 2014), focusing on

music, comedy or another cultural domain (Friedman, 2012), performing interviews or secondary analyses of survey data (Warde, Wright, & Gayo-Cal, 2007), investigating the “what,” the “why” or the “how” (Han, 2003; Jarness, 2015; Ollivier, 2008), constitute options that are likely to produce different (and, sometimes, even contradictory) results and to measure different phenomena. According to Robette and Roueff (2014:24), indeed, “when we speak exclusively of these results, we are often speaking of (...) incomparable objects.”

Thus, the absence of consensus on what omnivorousness is supposed to be and on how it should be measured impedes our ability to estimate the validity of Peterson’s thesis. In sum, it is not clear whether omnivorousness does or did structure the distribution of cultural tastes and practices. Peterson’s position was itself ambiguous in that respect. While his seminal writings defended the view of a “historic shift from snobbishness to omnivorousness” (Peterson & Kern, 1996: 905; see also Peterson, 1992, 1997; Peterson & Simkus, 1992), a posthumous publication co-authored with Rossman mentioned the decline of omnivorousness since the 2000s. In this latter paper, the authors recommended “considerable caution about ‘rise of the omnivore’ triumphalism” (Rossman & Peterson, 2015:149). Most importantly, Rossman and Peterson (2015:143 and 147-48) stressed the possibility that omnivorousness may be a methodological artefact. Based on an operationalization of omnivorousness that differs from those involved in Peterson’s former studies, such a warning further questions the validity of the omnivorousness thesis.

In this article, I seek to clarify the outlines of omnivorousness as Peterson conceptualized it. I focus exclusively on this author’s studies because of their pioneering status and because Peterson’s studies are representative of the methodological heterogeneity that characterizes the field of omnivorousness research. More specifically, I further examine the possibility, raised by Rossman and Peterson (2015), that the omnivorousness thesis may constitute an artefact. Owing to the large resonance of Peterson’s work within cultural sociology, addressing this issue is of

the utmost importance. To this end, I scrutinize the potential flaws of the methods used in Peterson's studies. These flaws concern the operationalization of omnivorousness, the links between taste and practice, the definition of musical hierarchies, and the assessment of the evolution of omnivorousness over time. Although some of these issues have been mentioned in the literature on omnivorousness (see, e.g., Bellavance, Valex, & Ratté, 2004; Bellavance, Valex, & de Verdalle, 2006; Hazir & Warde, 2016; Robette & Roueff, 2014; Savage & Gayo, 2011; Savage, 2006; Warde et al., 2007), they have not been comprehensively examined or empirically addressed in a study specifically dedicated to Peterson's methodology. The same applies to Peterson's questioning of his own thesis (Peterson, 2005; Rossman & Peterson, 2015), which has been only partial and did not receive empirical validation. Thus, depending on the case, I provide an analytical rationale or empirical evidence derived from the datasets mobilized in Peterson's studies, that is, the different waves of the Survey for Public Participation in the Arts (National Endowment for the Arts, 2014). Prior to entering these methodological discussions, however, I question the epistemological and historical status of Peterson's "discovery."

## 2. The discovery issue

From an epistemological and historical standpoint, the first problem that one faces when trying to assess the validity of the "serendipitous discovery" of omnivorousness (Peterson, 2005:257) concerns the very status of Peterson's findings. In fact, his "discovery" should be considered a *rediscovery*. Indeed, in their final report on the 1982 Survey for Public Participation in the Arts, Robinson, Keegan, Hanford, and Triplett (1985:451 and 465) remarked that higher-educated people tended to exhibit a wider repertoire of musical tastes than others. Such repertoire included both "highbrow" and "non-highbrow" musical genres. Furthermore, in an empirical

study published in 1948, Schuessler highlighted that a certain number of musical genres were appreciated by members of all status groups, hence refuting the theory of cultural snobbishness.

Schuessler (1948:333) noted:

Difference in socio-economic background (...) was associated with variation in taste on classical, light classical, jazz, and hill-billy music. Classical and light classical music had the greatest appeal for the upper classes, while jazz and hill-billy music had the greatest appeal for the lower classes. That some music may have considerable appeal for all social classes is indicated by the manner in which listeners responded to the old song, the old waltz, and popular music.

The sociological interest of Schuessler's findings, the reference of which is missing in Peterson's publications on omnivorousness (Peterson, 1992, 1997; 2004; 2005; Peterson & Simkus, 1992; Peterson & Kern, 1996; Rossman & Peterson, 2015), is twofold. First, it reveals that patterns of (what it is now called) omnivorousness were already structuring the distribution of musical tastes in the forties. Second, it indicates that the cultural snobbism mentioned by Peterson may refer to a speculatively inferred phenomenon rather than to an empirically observed phenomenon. The absence of states of the art and the lack of measures regarding the socio-genesis, the scope, and the evolution of cultural eclecticism and snobbishness, invite to contextualize the emergence of omnivorousness in time and space with great caution. Asserting in the nineties that "omnivorousness is replacing snobbishness among Americans of highbrow status" (Peterson & Kern, 1996:903-904) implies that snobbishness organized and was still organizing the distribution of tastes at that time. Unfortunately, Peterson did not provide evidence in that respect. Moreover, one can wonder if the (stereo)type of the snob was not defined in a way that facilitated its criticism. Holding that "the snob (...) does not participate in any lowbrow or middlebrow activity" (Peterson & Kern, 1996:901) may be exaggeratedly radical. When underlining this point, I do not mean that such snobs cannot exist. I suggest that their contingent was likely very low during the last century. Schuessler's findings also suggest that cultural snobbishness would be better defined as *unsystematic* disdain or abhorrence

towards manners, practices, and tastes that some people judge vulgar, unsophisticated, trivial, crude, effortless, etc.

Importantly, the conception of an unsystematic cultural snobbishness is in line with Bourdieu's. While several sociologists (e.g., Alderson et al., 2007; Bryson, 1996; Marsh, 2012; Van Eijck, 2001; Vander Stichele & Laermans, 2006) have principally interpreted the homology thesis (Bourdieu & de Saint Martin, 1976; Bourdieu, 1984a) in terms of cultural exclusiveness,<sup>1</sup> the weight of snobbishness in Bourdieu's theory has been strongly overstated. As noted by Holt (1997:100; see also Jarness, 2015; Robette & Roueff, 2014), this kind of interpretation is unwarranted because it alters and automatizes what refers, in Bourdieu's work, to general tendencies. Bourdieu reported that "legitimate taste (...) increases with educational level and is highest in those fractions of the dominant class that are richest in educational capital" (Bourdieu, 1984a:16). He did not claim that belonging to the upper classes was mechanically associated with the incorporation of legitimate taste and snobbish dispositions. Instead, he emphasized that "there is nothing mechanical about the relationship between the position occupied in the social space and practices" (Bourdieu, 1984b:14 [author's translation]; see also Bourdieu, 1984a:126).

Consequently, affirming with Peterson (1997:87) that many scholars "have not found as clear a pattern of highbrow snobbery as found by Bourdieu" entails a distortion of Bourdieu's findings and theory. Firstly, Peterson did not specify the nature of the pattern in question. Notably, he did not give any example relying on Bourdieu's results or analyses. It is worth recalling, however, that Bourdieu's data showed that members of the upper classes exhibited taste for non-elite activities (e.g., reading thrillers) or for singers and painters (e.g., Brel and

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<sup>1</sup> Van Eijck (2001:1164) provides an emblematic example of this line of interpretation. In his view, "Bourdieu's notion that a high status implies snobbery and, thereby, a consistent aversion to popular culture has been inadequate for decades, at least outside France."

Van Gogh) who were also appreciated by the members of the working and the middle classes (for an overview, see Bourdieu, 1984a:526–535). In other words, Bourdieu’s findings had already revealed what Peterson observed about fifteen years later, that is, that members of the upper classes are not “rigid snobs.” Secondly, Peterson did not take into account the fact that the scholars that he mentioned did not use the dependent variables as Bourdieu and focused on different aspects of cultural investment. It follows that comparing the results of the studies by Lamont (1992) or Bryson (1996; 1997) with the results presented in *Distinction* (Bourdieu, 1984a) is problematic. The three decades separating Bourdieu’s data collection from the studies conducted by Lamont and Bryson involves a temporal distance that further impairs the relevance of such comparisons. Finally, Peterson did not acknowledge that, according to Bourdieu, upper classes are heterogenous. Bourdieu highlighted that strong oppositions structured the space of tastes and lifestyles within the upper classes. His results showed, for instance, that the “cultural distance” separating university professors from commercial and industrial employers was higher than the “cultural distance” separating the same employers from members of middle-class fractions (see Brisson & Bianchi, 2017). Thus, Bourdieu (1984a:263) underlined that some members of the economic fraction of the upper classes were “very close to middle-brow culture (...) in their cultural preferences (...) and also in the choices most strongly involving ethical dispositions.” Again, it appears that Bourdieu’s results and interpretations did not contrast with those of Peterson, but preceded them.

Overall, those considerations lead to question the originality of Peterson’s thesis. Although Schuessler and Bourdieu did not directly investigate eclecticism and snobbery, some of their findings adumbrated and prefigured Peterson’s “discovery” by discrediting the theory of cultural snobbishness. The fact that sociologists have paid little (or no) attention to cultural eclecticism until recently does not imply that omnivorousness constitutes a recent phenomenon. A new sociological focus should not be confused with a new social phenomenon.

### 3. The measurement issue

One of the major methodological problems linked to Peterson's work lies in the use of highly heterogeneous measures of omnivorousness. Peterson initially described omnivorousness by showing that an important proportion of high-status people liked highbrow, middlebrow, and lowbrow musical genres. For example, the fact that, among "higher cultural" professionals, about 30% reported to like best classical music (Peterson & Simkus, 1992:158), 51% reported to like big band music, and 43%, country music (Peterson, 1992:250), was reflective of omnivorousness according to Peterson. Thus, in these two writings published over the same year (Peterson, 1992; Peterson & Simkus, 1992), omnivorousness was not assessed by calculating a number of genres liked. The situation changes in 1996. In a study comparing data pertaining to two waves (i.e. 1982 and 1992) of the Survey of Public Participation in the Arts (hereafter SPPA), Peterson and Kern (1996) approached omnivorousness dimensionally. They selected what they considered to be five lowbrow and three middlebrow musical genres and created two corresponding scales ranging from 0 to 5 and from 0 to 3 according to the number of genres liked. They also distinguished between "highbrows" (i.e. people who enjoy both classical music and opera and choose one of these two genres as their favorite) and "others" (i.e. all the non-highbrows). About twenty years later, Rossman and Peterson (2015) compared the data pertaining to four waves of the SPPA (i.e. 1982, 1992, 2002, and 2008). They developed for the occasion a new measure of omnivorousness. Owing to restrictions that they detailed in their article (see p. 141), the authors focused on the appreciation of the ten musical genres that were included in all waves. They created on that basis a scale ranging from 0 to 10 that did not take into account hierarchical features. Rossman and Peterson also adopted Peterson and Kern's distinction between highbrows and non-highbrows.

In sum, Peterson has operationalized omnivorousness in three different ways. Although they all relied on taste measures, those three procedures involved (a) different sets of musical genres

(see the appendix for a synthesis of the genres included in each SPPA wave), (b) a relatively limited repertoire of musical genres, (c) no measure of the importance of music in daily life, (d) no information on listening frequency and duration, and (e) no focus on musical knowledge and categorization. Those five points undermine Peterson's thesis and strongly support the "artefact hypothesis" (Rossman & Peterson, 2015).

The first point raises objections in terms of between-study comparability: using dissimilar sets of musical genres and different scales of omnivorousness undermines the examination of its evolution over time. The creation, in Rossman and Peterson's study, of a scale including the ten genres which were asked about in all SPPA waves constituted an attempt to overcome this difficulty. However, because this scale did not distinguish between lowbrow, middlebrow, and highbrow genres, because the selection of those ten genres was dictated by necessity and not by sociological considerations, and because potential changes regarding the hierarchical standing of each genre over time were not controlled for, the relevance of this scale of omnivorousness is questionable. The fact that Peterson had to deal with the heterogeneity of the musical genres involved in the different SPPA waves mostly explains the variability of his methods of measurement. Nonetheless, this does not solve the problems related to such a variability. It should also be noted that Peterson and his colleagues contributed to increase the heterogeneity in question. Indeed, in their study comparing the data pertaining to the 1982 and 1992 SPPA waves, Peterson and Kern (1996) excluded from their analyses the genres that were not common to both surveys. In addition, the authors excluded folk because its label differed from one wave to the other ("folk" in 1982 and "contemporary folk music" in 1992). However, Peterson and Kern did include blues in spite of a categorical problem: whereas blues and rhythm and blues formed with soul a single item in the 1982 wave, blues and rhythm and blues on the one hand, and soul on the other, constituted two distinct items in the 1992 wave. Why Peterson

and Kern excluded folk but not blues has not been explained by the authors. Likewise, why Rossman and Peterson (2015) reintegrated folk in their analyses has not been expounded.

The second critical point relates to the low number of musical genres under study. It is likely that a larger sample of genres, subgenres and subtypes would have generated different findings. Importantly, mobilizing a limited range of musical genres prevents one from analyzing the spectrum of tastes and distastes within a particular genre family. As shown in the appendix, the distinction made in the 2008 SPPA wave between “classic rock, oldies” and “contemporary rock” reveals that individuals are prone to both like the former and dislike the latter. Because the same could apply to different types of jazz, rap, electronic music, etc., and since musical genres are ill-defined, conventional and nebulous categories (Brisson & Bianchi, in press), the appreciation of a certain subgenre or subtype might be correlated with the depreciation of another subgenre or subtype belonging to the same genre, thereby manifesting additional taste oppositions (Ferrer, Eerola, & Vuoskoski, 2013; Sonnett, 2016; Vlegels & Lievens, 2017). As suggested by some scholars (Atkinson, 2011; Bellavance et al., 2004; Bourdieu, 1984a), it should not be excluded that (a) subtle taste oppositions within a given genre are associated with sociodemographic variability, and (b) different subgenres belonging to the same genre exhibit different degrees of cultural legitimacy. Be that as it may, Peterson’s measures of omnivorousness remain far from being exhaustive.

The last three points regard the neglect of affective attachment to music, listening frequency and duration, and musical knowledge. Because of those neglects, Peterson’s framework does not discriminate between music amateurs and occasional listeners. It does not allow one to investigate the potential overlap between connoisseurs and highbrows. For instance, Peterson’s framework does not differentiate an individual A, who reports to like jazz, folk, country and opera, knows a lot about their history, is able to identify a multitude of subgenres, has listened for years to hundreds of pieces belonging to these genres, from an individual B, who reports

the same tastes, but listens to country and folk one hour a week and likes opera and jazz because he/she appreciated Pavarotti and Davis that he/she has watched on TV twice. Thus, Peterson's framework does not seize the question of musical knowledge, especially in terms of labelling, although previous research "has clearly shown an unusually diffuse evaluation of what is called "jazz" by different people" (Peterson & Kern, 1996:901). Most importantly, what Peterson exactly measured remains unclear: his framework does not permit to settle whether omnivores are both "omnilovers" and "omnilisteners," and whether musical omnivorousness is an indicator of musical tastes and consumption or an indicator of cultural/political tolerance or social desirability. In order to partly clarify this latter point, I examined what liking and preferring a musical genre *practically* entails. This question is of the utmost importance because omnivorousness is supposed to be reflected *both* in tastes and in practices (Peterson & Kern, 1996; Peterson, 1992, 2005; Rossman & Peterson, 2015).

#### 4. The taste issue

Although SPPA included data on tastes ("liking" and "preferring") and practices ("listening" and "attending"), Peterson provided no information on their actual association. Thus, what omnivorousness covers in practice was not addressed in Peterson's studies on music. In order to plug this gap, I investigated the associations between liking and liking best a given genre and listening to at least a piece of it during the elapsed year.

SPPA comprises questions regarding the listening to classical, jazz, Latin music (only in 2008), musicals, and opera during the last twelve months. Three media were considered in 1982 and 1992 (radio, record or tape, and television), against five in 2002 (digital versatile disc and video cassette were added) and an indeterminate number in 2008 (all potential media were included). Although those questions were not asked to all participants (see Table 1), they can be considered

adequate indicators of the concrete implications of reporting to like and to prefer a musical genre *within Peterson's framework*.

**Table 1.** Percentages of people who reported liking and preferring a music genre without having listened to a piece of it during the previous year (four SPPA waves).

	Liking				Preferring			
	% of <i>n</i>	<i>n</i>	% of <i>n</i>	<i>n</i>	% of <i>n</i>	<i>n</i>	% of <i>n</i>	<i>n</i>
	1982		1992		1982		1992	
Classical	20.63	693	15.45	1922	11.32	159	10.29	350
Jazz	23.97	630	21.40	1874	17.86	84	6.15	260
Musicals	41.84	588	56.74	1625	37.10	62	40.23	87
Opera	20.40	250	30.32	709	13.04	23	20.59	34
	2002		2008		2002		2008	
Classical	23.93	4635	54.20	286	18.52	988	23.26	43
Jazz	25.63	4468	66.90	281	16.34	808	50.00	34
Latin music	-	-	50.62	162	-	-	16.67	12
Musicals	60.94	2834	77.40	208	44.97	149	64.29	14
Opera	49.85	1697	66.28	86	32.40	71	50.00	6

*Notes:* In 1982, about 2600 participants answered questions on tastes, preferences and consumption (frequencies slightly vary from one question to the other). They were about 5600 in 1992, 16600 in 2002, and 1000 in 2008. Questions regarding the listening to Latin music were included only in the 2008 wave.

As shown in Table 1, analyses reveal that liking a musical genre is quite independent from the listening to a corresponding piece during the elapsed year, regardless of the medium. All SPPA waves considered, it appears that about 40% of the respondents who reported to like to listen to one of the genres under study also declared not having listened to a corresponding piece during the past twelve months. Those rates strongly increase over time: they reach 25% in 1982, 31% in 1992, 40% in 2002, and 63% in 2008. While the major contribution to this gap is due to musicals, the listening of which is likely to involve different channels and media than the listening to jazz, a clear cut between liking and consumption is also found when considering the other genres alone.

A similar trend is found when focusing on musical preferences (see Table 1). All SPPA waves considered, results show that about 30% of the participants who reported to like best one of the genres under study also indicated not having listened to a corresponding piece during the elapsed year. Here again, the rates rise over time: they get at 20% in 1982, 19% in 1992, 28% in 2002, and 51% in 2008. Thus, for instance, 18% of the respondents who, in 1982, chose jazz as their favorite musical genre, had not listened to a single jazz song during the past twelve months. In 2008, this rate reached 50%.

These results suggest that a huge gap exists between tastes and consumption. This gap questions the practical dimension of omnivorouness. Such a questioning, however, principally stems from the weak association between preferences and consumption. While the partial overlap between liking and listening should not be neglected, it can be considered of minor importance. Indeed, one can listen to music than he/she does not enjoy and vice versa. In addition, this partial overlap between liking and listening might be a consequence of the use of yes/questions in SPPA (e.g., “Do you like to listen to opera?”). According to Rossman and Peterson (2015:141), this kind of questions may trigger more positive responses than questions based on 5- or 7-point rating scales. Contrariwise, the weak association between musical preferences and listening does not seem to be imputable to the nature of the questions involved in SPPA. It is worth noting, moreover, that all SPPA waves allowed respondents to report their absence of preference for a given genre. Thus, because of the temporal window under examination (a one-year period), the duration of a musical piece (on average, a few minutes), the consideration of several highly accessible media, and the importance of music to people, at both individual and collective levels, from adolescence to old age (Cohen, Bailey, & Nilsson, 2002; Coulangeon, 2005; Hays & Minichiello, 2005; North, Hargreaves, & O’Neill, 2000; North, Hargreaves, & Hargreaves, 2004), one might expect a stronger association between music preferences and consumption to be found. What does “liking best a given genre” precisely mean when the preference in question

is not strongly associated with the listening of at least one corresponding piece during the elapsed year? How to sociologically deal with such material, given the documented importance of music in daily life? These challenging interrogations are beyond the scope of the present article. In any case, data from SPPA suggest, despite some limitations in terms of sample size and number of examined genres, that the musical omnivore may not be an “omnilistener.” These findings question the reliability of Peterson’s thesis, since the omnivore is supposed to like *and* actually listen to lowbrow, middlebrow, and highbrow musical genres. Peterson (1992), Rossman & Peterson (2015) indeed emphasized the practical dimension of omnivorouness.

### 5. The musical-hierarchy issue

Sociologists and historians have long hierarchized cultural tastes and practices by differentiating between lowbrow, middlebrow, and highbrow tastes and activities (Levine, 1988; Rubin, 1992; Wilensky, 1964), or *goût populaire*, *goût moyen*, and *goût légitime* (Bourdieu, 1984a). Nevertheless, how such hierarchies are identifiable, measurable, configured and re-configured has been poorly documented (Robette & Roueff, 2014). Subsequently, it is not clear to what extent the “brow” categories reflect lines of cultural demarcation (Flemmen et al., 2018). In their examination of the links between status group and musical taste, Peterson and Simkus (1992:154) affirmed that “neither the relative rankings of the types of music nor the relative distances between ranks are self-evident.” That is why the authors sketched, via a log-multiplicative model that dialectically ranked status groups and musical preferences, the musical-genre hierarchy in the early eighties. Their inductive analyses generated two musical scales with classical at their top and country at their bottom (Peterson & Simkus:157). Their analyses also delineated three musical-genre subsets that can be viewed as proxies for highbrow, middlebrow, and lowbrow musical-genre categories. Classical, folk,

Broadway musicals, and jazz composed the “highbrow” subset; big band and mood/easy listening formed the “middlebrow” subset; blues/soul/rhythm and blues, country, gospel, and rock constituted the “lowbrow” subset. It is worth noticing that, “because too few persons chose [barbershop, bluegrass, ethnic music, and opera] as their favorite musical form, anyone choosing these categories was eliminated from the analysis” (Peterson & Simkus, 1992:179).

Owing to the absence, in the 1992 SPPA wave, of information regarding occupation, Peterson and Kern (1996) were unable to perform a similar log-multiplicative model. They instead distinguished between lowbrow, middlebrow, and highbrow musical genres without taking into account the findings of Peterson and Simkus (1992). Bluegrass, blues, country, gospel, and rock were ascribed to the category “lowbrow;” big band, Broadway musicals, and mood/easy listening, to the category “middlebrow;” classical and opera, to the category “highbrow.” The reasons that led Peterson and Kern to allocate these genres into one or the other category, however, are opaque. Regarding the highbrow genres, the authors put forward no argument, but took for granted that classical and opera fell within that taxon. Regarding the middlebrow genres, their argument was that those “forms have been in the mainstream of commercial music throughout the twentieth century” (Peterson & Kern, 1996:901). The rationale is not convincing yet, since “mainstream” and “commercial music” are equivocal and potentially catchall concepts. Based on sales figures, one could infer that blues, rock, country, or even the oeuvre of Mozart or Callas, have also been part of mainstream music. Regarding the lowbrow genres, Peterson and Kern’s argument was that “each of these genres is rooted in a specific “marginal” ethnic, regional, age, or religious experience” (p. 901). Aside from being very vague and applicable to any genre, this argument tends to stop the clock and to a priori ignores evolutions in musical reception. For instance, adopting this definition would result in considering jazz a lowbrow genre, since “its roots are clearly lowbrow” (p. 901). It is noteworthy, though, that Peterson and Kern did not follow their own definition. Given that jazz “is now taught in

conservatories of music as highbrow (...) and largely consumed as middlebrow” (p. 901), the authors abstained from attributing a place to jazz in their musical hierarchy—hence contradicting Peterson (1992:247–49) who conceived of jazz an elite genre, especially for Whites (Peterson & Simkus, 1992:159).

Thus, the way through which Peterson and Kern lined up musical genres contrasts with Peterson and Simkus’: while the latter tried to inductively outline a musical hierarchy, the former proposed a highly-speculative grid. Furthermore, none of those two classifications is retrieved in Rossman and Peterson’s article (2015). In that study, the authors focused on the ten musical genres that were asked about in all the SPPA waves under examination. Rossman and Peterson created a scale of omnivorousness that left aside hierarchical features: “because "musicals" is the only one of the "middlebrow" genres to be consistently asked from 1982 through 2008, we do not distinguish between lowbrow and middlebrow genres liked. Moreover, (...) we also include highbrow genres (classical and opera) in the count” (Rossman & Peterson, 2015:141). While the authors did not create, as Peterson and Kern did, specific scales for lowbrow and middlebrow genres, they still hierarchized musical genres. As posited in the previous quote, Rossman and Peterson considered Broadway musicals a middlebrow genre, classical and opera highbrow genres, and all the other genres (i.e. bluegrass, blues, country, folk, gospel, jazz, and rock) lowbrow genres. The case of jazz, however, is somewhat ambiguous. Whereas the reported quotation (p. 141) suggests that it is a lowbrow genre as well, the authors thereafter identified jazz as a highbrow genre (p. 148)—which is in accordance with Peterson’s seminal studies (1992; Peterson & Simkus, 1992) and with the literature dealing with the legitimization of jazz (see *inter alia* Nicholson, 1990; Walser, 1999; Sparti, 2007).<sup>2</sup> Unlike Peterson and Kern, then, Rossman and Peterson allocated jazz and folk into a hierarchical category. Unlike

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<sup>2</sup> The fact that Rossman and Peterson considered jazz to be a highbrow genre is further suggested by the fact that the authors omitted jazz from the scale of omnivorousness that they used in order to compare the corresponding scores of highbrows and non-highbrows (Rossman & Peterson, 2015:145).

Peterson and Simkus, who found that folk and Broadway musicals were highly-prized by high-status people but did not specify their hierarchical status, Rossman and Peterson considered folk a lowbrow genre and Broadway musicals a middlebrow genre.

Given the centrality of musical hierarchy within Peterson's work, this heterogeneity in terms of classification and method of classification is problematic. Indeed, omnivorousness implies that a person enjoys not only different musical genres, but different genres *associated with different status*. Studying musical omnivorousness *both synchronically and diachronically* therefore requires the status in question to be *precisely, strictly, and similarly measured over time*. Sometimes inductive, sometimes aprioristic, the classifications that Peterson created are at odds with each other and do not meet those basic methodological standards. Coupled with the absence, in Peterson's studies, of information regarding the diffusion and the internalization of musical hierarchy among participants, such discrepancies undermine the validity of the musical hierarchies that Peterson delineated and further support the "artefact hypothesis".<sup>3</sup> In particular, one cannot settle whether, in Peterson's view, elite arts and highbrow musical genres are considered so because of (a) the sociological profile of their audience, (b) tradition, (c) intrinsic properties, or (d) a *petitio principii*. Importantly, those inconsistencies also signal that Peterson did not empirically investigate the evolution of the musical hierarchies, although this point was crucial within his framework. For instance, Rossman and Peterson implicitly assumed that the standing of the ten genres under study has not evolved from 1982 to 2008. Because any musical genre is prone to aestheticization, intellectualization, popularization, or devaluation, such an assumption should have been put to the test. Finally, those disparities question the reliability of

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<sup>3</sup> Although the log-multiplicative model that Peterson and Simkus performed is empirically grounded, its underlying principles are arguable. Indeed, the examination of the links between status groups and musical tastes was based on musical preferences, an indicator that involved a unique item response in the SPPA.

the distinction between highbrows and non-highbrows, a distinction that was used as a key independent variable both in Peterson and Kern's and Rossman and Peterson's studies.

## 6. The “highbrows” issue

In order to test the view that high-status people are cultural snobs, Peterson and Kern (1996) discriminated between highbrows and non-highbrows and examined their respective degree of musical omnivorousness. As previously mentioned, Peterson portrayed highbrows as people who enjoy both classical and opera and like best one of these two genres. Although this characterization appeared too “demanding” to (and was modified by) some scholars (e.g., see García-Álvarez, Katz-Gerro, & López-Sintas, 2007:435), Rossman and Peterson (2015) relied on it as well. However, the definitional criteria underlying the distinction between highbrows and non-highbrows are problematic (Bellavance et al., 2004).

Firstly, Peterson and Kern characterized highbrows on the basis of musical tastes, not on the basis of socio-demographics. This contrasts with Peterson and Simkus' framework, the core of which was the association between status groups and musical tastes. The absence, in the 1992 SPPA wave, of information regarding occupation does not suffice to justify this change of focus, since in both 1982 and 1992 waves participants were interrogated about income and education. One could therefore argue that the test of the theory of snobbishness should have mobilized types based on socio-demographics. As a matter of fact, Peterson and Kern (1996) and Rossman and Peterson (2015) showed that enjoying both classical and opera did not prevent one to like lowbrow and middlebrow musical genres. They did not directly examine the relation between social position and omnivorousness. Importantly, the authors provided only limited information regarding age, education and income: Peterson and Kern (1996:902) reported means but not standard deviations, and Rossman and Peterson (2015) reported neither the ones

nor the others. It follows that very little is known about the highbrows. For example, the authors did not indicate how many highbrows were highly-educated and how many highly-educated respondents were not highbrows. In other words, the connections between “musical highbrows” and “educational highbrows” were not investigated in Peterson’s studies. Moreover, creating types based on socio-demographics would have allowed Peterson and Kern to analyze the evolution of omnivorousness among a higher number of highbrows. Indeed, the authors examined the data related to 175 highbrows identified within the 1982 SPPA wave and 179 highbrows identified within the 1992 SPPA wave. This total of 354 highbrows appears meagre, compared to the 10,967 non-highbrows under study. The same applies to Rossman and Peterson’s sample, which comprised 762 highbrows and 29,493 non-highbrows identified within four SPPA waves.

Secondly, exclusively relying on the appreciation of classical and opera in order to discriminate between highbrows and non-highbrows may be too restrictive. While giving little musical latitude to the potential snobs allowed Peterson and Kern to readily refute the theory of cultural snobbishness, such limitations were not in line with the literature. For instance, Schuessler (1948), Bourdieu (1984a), and Peterson himself (1992) already indicated that the musical repertoire of high-status people was not reducible to the taste for classical and opera. Peterson (1972) and Bourdieu (1984a) already witnessed the process of intellectualization and legitimization of different musical genres, including jazz. In addition, Peterson did not echo Bourdieu (1984a:14–16) by taking into account the different degrees of legitimacy and popularity pertaining to the different subgenres, periods, composers, performers, and musical pieces that structure the fields of classical music and opera and that crystallize subtle taste oppositions. In sum, the restrictions imposed by Peterson are problematic because they led him to exclude from the outset other types of highbrows. In particular, one could lament the absence of jazz appreciation as an alternative to opera appreciation within the definition of highbrows.

Such an extension would have permitted to increase the number of highbrows and not to exclude ab ovo those who reported to like both classical and jazz, to like best one of these two genres, and to dislike opera. The data related to the 1982, 1992, 2002, and 2008 SPPA waves reveal that, for each wave, about 60% of the participants who enjoyed both classical and jazz and selected one of these two genres as their favorite ( $n = 1342$ ), simultaneously disliked opera ( $n = 795$ ). Including these 795 respondents would have allowed Rossman and Peterson (2015) to double the size of their sample of highbrows.

Thirdly, why Peterson and Kern (1996) assigned a key role to the appreciation of opera in the definition of highbrows is arguable. Indeed, the number of respondents who reported to like and to prefer opera is relatively low in all SPPA waves (see the appendix). As mentioned above, this state of affairs spurred Peterson & Simkus (1992) to exclude opera from their log-multiplicative model. In passing, it is worth noting that, if opera had been included into that model, *it would not have been associated with high-status groups*. Indeed, among the 20 professionally-active participants who chose opera as their favorite musical genre in 1982, 9 belonged to low-status groups (i.e. laborers, unskilled service, semiskilled and skilled manual), 8 to middle-status groups (i.e. lower cultural, clerical, and skilled service), and 3 to high-status groups (i.e. higher sales and higher managerial). 5 opera fanciers were part of the “semiskilled manual” status group and 5 others, of the “lower cultural” status group. No opera devotee belonged to the “higher cultural,” “higher technical” or “artist” status groups, hence illustrating the absence of linearity within the distribution of the opera fans. Under these circumstances, it is difficult to understand why Peterson and Kern (1996) and Rossman and Peterson (2015) accorded so much importance to the appreciation of opera in their study, especially after that Peterson and Simkus had excluded it from their statistical model. As shown in the appendix, the rate of people who reported to like best opera was exactly the same in 1982 and 1992 (i.e. 0.6%), and did not massively increased then (0.5% in 2002 and 0.8% in 2008). Similarly, the

rate of people who reported to like opera is one of the lowest in all SPPA waves and did not significantly evolve over time.

In sum, the characterization of highbrows involves two key problems. On the one hand, it is not clear why Peterson created this type based on musical tastes and not on socio-demographics. On the other hand, why Peterson rendered the appreciation of opera a necessary feature of the definition of highbrows, while overlooking the taste for jazz, is problematic. Not only is appreciation of opera marginal, but it appears independent from social status. This questions, yet again, the tenets of Peterson's musical classifications. The definition of highbrows indeed presupposes that both classical and opera are highbrow musical genres. As reported in the previous section, Peterson exhibited no evidence supporting this assumption.

## 7. The rise-and-fall issue

This section examines Peterson's main conclusions regarding the evolution of omnivorousness in the US. More specifically, I discuss (a) the growth of highbrows' omnivorousness between 1982 and 1992 (Peterson & Kern, 1996), and (b) the decline of musical omnivorousness from 1982 to 2008 (Rossman & Peterson, 2015).

Regarding the first point, Peterson and Kern's findings (1996:902) "suggest that in 1992 highbrows, on average, are more omnivorous than they were in 1982 and have become more omnivorous than others." According to the authors, this evolution is evidenced by the fact that the mean of lowbrow and middlebrow music genres liked by highbrows respectively increased from 1.74 and 1.98 in 1982 to 2.23 (I found 2.19; see Table 2) and 2.12 in 1992. One could wonder, then, whether liking *slightly less than two* lowbrow and *two* middlebrow musical genres is so different than liking *slightly more than two* lowbrow and *two* middlebrow musical genres. In brief, is *slightly less than two* that different than *slightly more than two*? The response

of Peterson and Kern was positive. It was based on the statistical significance of the difference that they highlighted relatively to lowbrow musical genres: “highbrows chose 1.74 lowbrow genres of 5 possible in 1982 and 2.23 in 1992, a statistically significant increase of nearly half a genre per person in just one decade” (Peterson & Kern, 1996:901). However, this half-point increment has limited implications, since it refers to the appreciation by highbrows (i.e. 3% of the study sample) of only five lowbrow genres, two pairs of which involve musical and taste affinities. Indeed, data from 1982 and 1992 SPPA waves indicate that about two thirds of the respondents either like or dislike both bluegrass and country and both blues and rock. Owing to these strong associations, the ability of this scale of lowbrow genres to account for eclecticism is questionable. For instance, there is little doubt that the appreciation of bluegrass and country involves much less eclecticism than the appreciation of country and rap. This state of affairs may explain why Peterson and Kern found a mean score of lowbrow genres liked fluctuating around 2 and standard deviations close to the corresponding means (see Table 2). Most fundamentally, the difference highlighted by Peterson and Kern can be considered of minor importance because the authors did not control for potential counterbalances due to some antipathies towards other genres. Put differently, the significance of this half-point increment could have been cancelled if heavy metal, punk rock, rap, reggae or ska had been included in both 1982 and 1992 SPPA waves. For example, data from the 1992 wave reveal that including rap and reggae in the count results in a very small increase of the mean of genres liked ( $M = 2.45 [+ 0.26]$  for highbrows, and  $2.38 [+ 0.31]$  for others). While the 1982 SPPA wave did not include such musical genres, it cannot be excluded that their integration would have nullified the significance of the increment of omnivorousness that Peterson and Kern observed. Thus, the evolution underlined by the authors should have not led them to conclude that highbrows became more omnivorous between 1982 and 1992. This constitutes an overgeneralization of their findings, which were obtained on the basis of a narrow set of musical genres. Claiming

that “the increase (...) in the number of music genres liked (...) is a society-wide trend” (Peterson & Kern, 1996:904) suffers from the same limits. Such assertion could be even more problematic than the previous one, since the significance of the differences regarding non-highbrows (in 1982,  $n = 5422$ ; in 1992,  $n = 5525$ ) may be due to the fact that  $p$  values are dependent on sample size.<sup>4</sup>

**Table 2.** Evolution of omnivorousness mean scores and standard deviations among highbrows (1982-2008).

	1982 (n = 175)		1992 (n = 179)		2002 (n = 351)		2008 (n = 136)	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Lowbrow set (a)	1.74	1.50	2.19	1.51	2.32	1.78	2.43	1.65
Lowbrow set (b)	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.03	1.56
Middlebrow set	1.98	0.99	2.12	0.93	1.75	1.08	-	-
Stable set (a)	5.45	2.17	5.98	2.13	5.93	2.55	6.28	2.33
Stable set (b)	-	-	-	-	-	-	5.88	2.23

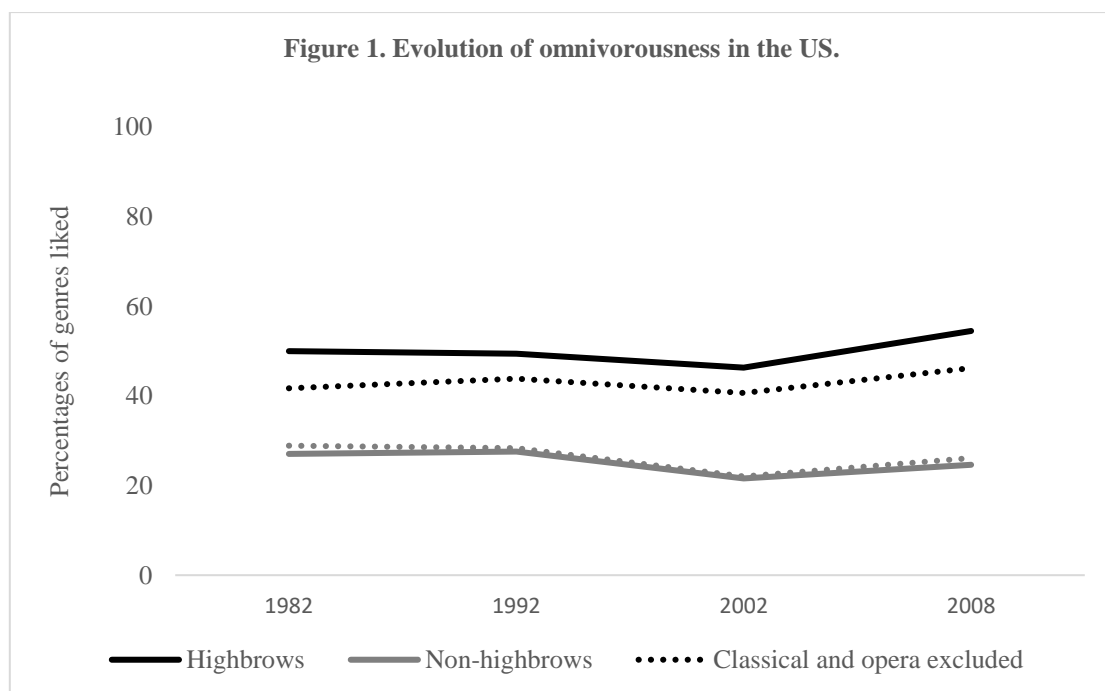
*Notes:* The table reports the average number of genres liked. The “lowbrow set” refers to bluegrass, blues, country, gospel, and rock; the “middlebrow set”, to big band, mood/easy listening, and musicals (Peterson and Kern 1996:901); the “stable set”, to bluegrass, blues, classical, country, folk, gospel, jazz, opera, musicals, and rock (Rossman and Peterson 2015:141). The letter “a” indicates that “classic rock, oldies” was including in the count; the letter b, that “contemporary rock” was including in the count. Because the 2008 SPPA wave did not involve the big band category, means and standard deviations pertaining to the middlebrow set of musical genres were not calculable.

Regarding the second point, that is, the evolution of omnivorousness in the US from 1982 to 2008, Rossman and Peterson (2015:147) found that “there was a substantial jump in omnivorousness from 1982 to 1992, but (...) by 2002 omnivorousness had fallen back to 1982 levels and remained low through 2008.” More precisely, the authors pointed out “that 1992 is a distinctive wave with respondents in that survey year tending to report about one more genre liked than did respondents in other waves (...). This up and down again temporal pattern

<sup>4</sup> It is worth notifying that the statistical procedure followed by Peterson and Kern (1996) remains obscure. The authors did not clearly specify the nature of the tests that they performed. Although it seems that they used proportion tests (see p. 901 and 904), the proportions in question are not reported in the study. This absence, coupled with the presence of means in Table 1 (p. 902), suggests that they performed t-tests, despite the non-normality of the distribution under examination and the dramatically high standard deviations. Moreover, the authors did not provide information on effect sizes, which are probably very small, whatever the nature of the presumed effect(s).

requires us to reconceive Peterson and Kern's (...) finding of an ascendant omnivore as either fleeting or illusory" (Rossman & Peterson, 2015:144). Based on negative binomial regressions involving the ten musical genres that were asked about in each single SPPA wave, Rossman and Peterson's insight is not immune to criticism. Indeed, their conclusion is determined by the quantity and the quality of the genres under examination. Here again, there is little doubt that mobilizing a different set of musical genres would have generated different tendencies. As shown in Table 2 and Fig. 1, subtle differences regarding the construction of the dependent variables can produce nodal changes on the outcomes. Table 2 indicates that selecting "classic rock, oldies" or "contemporary rock" modifies the trajectory of highbrows' omnivorousness—as a reminder, those two items replaced "rock" in the 2008 SPPA wave. Using the label "classic rock, oldies" results in finding a global increase of highbrows' omnivorousness which reaches its peak in 2008. Using the label "contemporary rock" results in finding a very small decrease of highbrows' omnivorousness, with a peak in 1992. Thus, mobilizing one or the other label entails a substantial 0.4 differential in the "stable set" mean score of omnivorousness among highbrows in 2008. The interest of this finding is twofold. First, it suggests that generalizing to other musical genres the distinction between oldies and contemporary pieces of music may produce very different results from those obtained with general labels. Second, this finding echoed a pattern of tastes analyzed in *Distinction* and consisting in an opposition between "contemporary work" and "older, more consecrated work" (Bourdieu, 1984a, 1984b:292; see also Bellavance, 2008). Such an opposition shows that analyzing tastes at a musical-genre level is likely to prevent sociologists to pinpoint finer symbolic boundaries. Fig. 1 also illustrates the sensitivity of temporal measures of omnivorousness to slight modifications in the operationalization of the dependent variable. It is inspired by a graphics from Rossman and Peterson's study (2015:142) that displays the *average number* of genres liked in each SPPA wave, regardless of hierarchical features. Fig. 1 follows a similar logic but indicates the *average*

rates of genres liked. Those rates therefore involve all the musical genres included in the corresponding wave. Notably, Fig. 1 delineates a trajectory of omnivorousness that differs from the one that Rossman and Peterson depicted. It reveals that, for highbrows, the proportion of genres liked slightly increased from 1982 (50%) to 2008 (54.5%). For non-highbrows, the corresponding rate slightly decreased from 27% to 24.6%. Overall, these tendencies outline a sort of *statu quo*. Interestingly, the “substantial jump” from 1982 to 1992 mentioned by Rossman and Peterson (2015:147) is not retrieved in Fig. 1. For highbrows, the percentage of genres liked decreased by 0.5 point from 1982 to 1992; for non-highbrows, it increases by 0.5 point during the same period. Thus, relying on rates of genres liked produces different results than those obtained by Rossman and Peterson. Whereas the latter found a decline of omnivorousness, I found a subdued increase for highbrows and a small decrease for non-highbrows. Whereas Rossman and Peterson identified 1992 as the climax of omnivorousness, I observed that 1992 is alike to 1982.



It is worth noting that my intention here is to emphasize the impact of the type of measurement on the outcomes, whether synchronic or diachronic. It is not to defend the operationalization of omnivorousness involved in Fig. 1. Such an operationalization presents limitations similar to those that I previously pointed out in Peterson's studies, especially regarding its arbitrariness and the neglect of hierarchical features, which are fundamental in Peterson's perspective. Indeed, there is no reason to assume that either the musical sets involved in SPPA and Fig. 1 or the "stable set" examined by Rossman and Peterson (2015) are representative of the space of musical tastes. The absence in SPPA of electronic music and its subgenres (disco, house, new wave, techno, trance, etc.) constitutes one important deficiency in that respect. In a nutshell, my point is that, given the limitations of the operationalizations of omnivorousness in Peterson's studies (and in the field as well), drawing conclusions on its prevalence and evolution can only be premature.

## 8. Conclusion

This article aimed to examine the possibility, raised by Rossman and Peterson (2015), that the thesis of omnivorousness may reflect a mere methodological artefact. I explored some potential methodological flaws involved in Peterson's studies on omnivorousness. Overall, the conducted analyses support the "artefact hypothesis" formulated by Peterson.

In Section 2, I underscored that omnivorousness refers to a relatively recent research question rather than to a relatively recent phenomenon. Based on Schuessler's and Bourdieu's work, I indicated that sociological evidence of what is now called omnivorousness has long been provided, at least as far as the refutation of the theory of cultural snobbishness is concerned. Conversely, sociological *measures* (not *essays*) indicating that snobbishness strongly structured the tastes and practices of the members of the upper classes are lacking. It follows that the

“historical shift from snobbishness to omnivorousness” mentioned by Peterson and resounded in the literature may be a fiction.

In Section 3, I examined the various operationalizations of omnivorousness structuring Peterson’s studies. I pointed out the problems of comparability resulting from such methodological heterogeneity. I also addressed the issues of the creation of *ad hoc* scales, of the narrowness of the sets of musical genres under study, and of the neglect of potential taste oppositions between subgenres. Perhaps most importantly, I underlined that Peterson’s framework does not allow one to clarify whether omnivorousness does deal with “genuine” musical tastes rather than with cultural tolerance or social desirability.

In Section 4, I investigated the relations between musical tastes and music consumption within SPPA data. I found that both “liking” and “liking best” a musical genre were poorly associated with the consumption of at least one corresponding piece during the elapsed year. This state of affairs muddies the waters regarding the reliability of the indicators of omnivorousness that Peterson used. Indeed, the omnivore is supposed to exhibit a large range of tastes *and* practices.

In Section 5, I underscored the inconsistencies and the arbitrariness of the musical hierarchies that Peterson created. The questions of (a) how elite or highbrow music genres are discriminated from other music genres, (b) who defines and redefines these hierarchical criteria, and (c) the extent to which musical hierarchies are diffused and incorporated by the population are left unanswered in Peterson’s studies. I also noticed that Peterson and his colleagues did not empirically address the question of the evolution of musical hierarchies, despite the importance of hierarchy within Peterson’s framework.

In Section 6, I questioned the relevance of the characterization of “highbrows.” The use of this type as a key independent variable reflects a nodal change in Peterson’s work. Indeed, the distinction between highbrows and non-highbrows led Peterson to (a) abandon the examination

of the connections between social position and taste, which was central in his seminal studies, and (b) compare subsamples of highly different sizes. The restrictiveness of the definition of highbrows and the ascription to opera of a decisive role in that definition were also found to be problematic.

In Section 7, I demonstrated limitations in Peterson's main conclusions regarding the dynamics of omnivorousness over time. In particular, I showed that a mere extension of the repertoire of music genres under study or a different manner, inspired by Rossman and Peterson, of computing omnivorousness indices, was sufficient to alter Peterson's conclusions regarding the evolution of omnivorousness in the US.

On the whole, the analyses conducted here tend to confirm the doubts raised by Peterson himself about the artefactual nature of the omnivorousness thesis. In particular, the present study highlighted that what Peterson and his colleagues measured (a) remains unclear, (b) involves problematic indicators of musical tastes and arbitrary inferences regarding hierarchy, and (c) does not permit us to draw firm general conclusions regarding the dynamics of omnivorousness. As mentioned in the introduction of this article and in some reviews (Hazir & Warde, 2016; Peterson, 2005; Robette & Roueff, 2014), the research conducted by other scholars further complicates the understanding of what omnivorousness is supposed to be and of how it should be measured. Given the absence of a consensus in the field regarding the definition and the operationalization of omnivorousness, I echo Rossman and Peterson's invitation to be cautious when theorizing and contextualizing cultural omnivorousness. Coupled with discordant results in both qualitative and quantitative research, the methodological heterogeneity affecting the field prevents us from estimating the validity of the omnivorousness thesis. In Peterson's words, we cannot reject "the possibility that the observed results, whether the same or different, are due to differences in conceptualization, measurement, or method, rather than to differences in the observable world" (Peterson, 2005:277).

Improving our understanding of the distribution of cultural tastes and practices requires us to develop thoroughly defined concepts, sound theories and robust investigation methods. To this end, we should first characterize the concepts of omnivorousness and snobbishness in a consensual manner. Accordingly, we should not let the operationalizations of these concepts proliferate. We should find an agreement on some basic research standards, especially regarding the assessment of cultural hierarchy (or legitimacy). Indeed, despite its pivotal character in the omnivorousness thesis, cultural hierarchy has seldom been empirically assessed (Robette & Roueff, 2014). While some researchers have delineated degrees of legitimacy, most of the suggested solutions relied on associations between tastes, practices and socio-demographics (Peterson & Simkus, 1992; Prieur et al., 2008; Warde & Gayo-Cal, 2009). However, these procedures are partly tautological and, unfortunately, entirely artefactual. For instance, considering as legitimate “those [items] which are more than twice as often preferred by graduates” and as “unauthorized” (i.e. illegitimate) those which “are less frequently liked by graduates than the unqualified” (Warde & Gayo-Cal, 2009:135) entails an association between education and taste for “legitimate” cultural goods that is likely to bias from the outset the “observed” positive relation between omnivorousness and social position. Furthermore, such procedures contrast with the traditional view according to which legitimacy is *socially defined by cultural authorities* (i.e. *not by sociologists*) and is imperfectly retraceable from the examination of the links between social position and tastes or practices (Bourdieu & Darbel, 1990, [1969]; DiMaggio & Mukhtar, 2004). In sum, such procedures are problematic in that they are artefactual in nature: they *assume* the existence of cultural legitimacy, they *make* cultural legitimacy exist instead of *accounting for* it. It is of note that the use of the concept of snobbery suffers from similar limitations within quantitative research. In Peterson’s studies, for example, snobbishness was not measured but was inferred based on a confusion between dislike and snobbery. While SPPA did ask participants to report whether they like a number of music

genres, these data do not allow us to identify snobbish dispositions (i.e. dispositions towards cultural products that involve a sense of superiority, a certain shade of arrogance and/or despise). Future sociological surveys on cultural tastes and practices may rely on qualitative studies (e.g., Jarness & Friedman, 2017) to create items that do measure snobbishness.

Thus, if research on omnivorousness is to progress, the *empirical* assessment of cultural hierarchy needs to be generalized, harmonized, and *socially grounded*. Otherwise, investigators will be unable to depart from the artefactual facet of the thesis of omnivorousness. Such a methodological harmonization should also be applied to the items under study. While pleading for a full methodological standardization would arguably be naive and even counter-productive (e.g., due to national specificities), the implementation of at least some methodological standards could help enhance between-study comparability. Research on omnivorousness may notably benefit from the inclusion of both taste and consumption indicators and from the consideration of several cultural domains (e.g., literature, cinema, music, etc.). Importantly, we should strengthen our efforts to design surveys that measure what we intend to measure, instead of exploiting datasets (e.g., SPPA) that were not planned to test specific hypotheses regarding omnivorousness.

More generally, because we do not know whether “the cultural landscape of today is reasonably described with these received [-brow] categories” (Flemmen et al., 2018:5), we should stop focusing on the sole hierarchical boundaries (e.g., lowbrow vs. highbrow) and concomitantly investigate other types of boundary (e.g., traditional vs. contemporary; consecrated vs. avant-gardist; mainstream vs. underground), including “technical” or “intrinsic” ones. For instance, there is little doubt that bluegrass and country (or blues and jazz) are musically closer to each other than, say, opera and rap. Overlooking such differences in the study of eclecticism and omnivorousness restrain our ability to understand the logic of the social distribution of tastes

and consumption. We should therefore attempt to develop integrative scales of eclecticism that do not reduce tastes and practices to their presumed degree of legitimacy.

From a theoretical standpoint, finally, we could conceive surveys that include sociological and psychological variables in order to specify the underlying dynamics of omnivorousness and eclecticism. Indeed, in parallel to the development of Peterson's thesis in the field of sociology of culture, psychologists have suggested over the past decades that cultural tastes and aesthetic activities in general, and musical tastes in particular, were linked to personality traits, notably personality trait openness (see *inter alia* Dollinger, 1993; Dunn, de Ruyter & Bouwhuis, 2012; McManus & Furnham, 2006). These findings echo the "openness to appreciating everything" (Peterson & Kern, 1996:904) and "to cultural diversity" (Ollivier, 2008; see also Warde & Gayo-Cal, 2009) that several sociologists linked to omnivorousness and eclecticism. Because of the relationships between openness (as a personality trait) and academic achievement (Poropat, 2009, 2014) and because education constitutes the canonical indicator of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984a, 1984b), future research on the distribution of cultural tastes and practices may benefit from an interdisciplinary approach. Such an approach would allow us to investigate, not only the distribution of cultural tastes and consumption in a more comprehensive manner, but also the relationships between social class, class fraction, personality, and cognitive style.

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**Appendix.** Musical tastes and preferences from 1982 to 2008 (in %). [Source: SPPA data.]

	1982		1992		2002		2008	
	Like	Prefer	Like	Prefer	Like	Prefer	Like	Prefer
Barbershop	14.7	<b>0.3</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-
Big band	32.5	5.9	36.4	4.5	24.4	2.8	-	-
Bluegrass	24.5	0.8	30.3	0.7	21.6	1	18.4	1.2
Blues, R&B	26.4	4.2	39.6	2.4	28.8	3.4	29.2	4.7
Choral, glee club	-	-	15.1	<b>0.2</b>	<b>9.7</b>	0.2	-	-
Classical music	27.7	6.9	34.2	6.3	27.2	6.3	27.7	8.2
Country	<b>58.3</b>	<b>23.7</b>	<b>52.5</b>	<b>21.7</b>	43.7	<b>17.4</b>	39.4	18.5
Dance music	-	-	-	-	16.9	1.2	-	-
Ethnic music	<b>1.6</b>	0.8	21.7	2.7	16.7	2.6	-	-
Folk	24.9	1.3	-	-	-	-	18.1	1.3
Folk (contemporary)	-	-	23.5	1	15.3	0.8	-	-
Gospel, hymns	36.1	10.9	39.8	9.9	27.8	8.1	26	8
Heavy metal	-	-	-	-	22.6	6.8	-	-
Jazz	26	3.4	33.1	4.7	26.9	5.2	25.9	5.7
Latin music	-	-	19.4	2.4	18.7	3.8	17	2.9
Mood, easy listening	48.1	13.9	50	9.5	30.5	4.6	-	-
Musicals, show tunes	23.2	2.5	28.8	1.6	17.1	1	21.8	2.6
New age	-	-	14.8	1.4	12.3	1	-	-
Opera	9.8	0.6	12.6	0.6	10.2	0.5	<b>9.3</b>	<b>0.8</b>
Parade, marching band	-	-	19.4	0.3	12.2	<b>0.1</b>	-	-
Rap, hip hop	-	-	<b>10.7</b>	1.1	15.4	3.2	16.1	5.1
Reggae	-	-	18.2	0.8	15.1	0.5	-	-
Rock	35	15	42	13.1	<b>49.5</b>	16	-	-
Rock (classic, oldies)	-	-	-	-	-	-	<b>50.1</b>	<b>26.6</b>
Rock (contemporary)	-	-	-	-	-	-	30.6	10.5
Soul	-	-	23.3	1.5	-	-	-	-
No favorite genre	-	9	-	13.6	-	13.7	-	0
Other	-	0.7	-	-	-	-	-	4
<i>n</i>	5617	5437	5704	5569	16724	15739	5371	3141

*Note:* In 1982, soul formed with blues and rhythm and blues a single item.

### Article 3

On the relevance of music genre-based analysis in research on musical tastes

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#### Abstract

The investigation of the link between personality and musical tastes has led certain psychology researchers to examine the latent dimensions of musical tastes. In this area of research, investigators have largely relied on genre-based analysis, the relevance of which remains unclear. In this study, we examined the impact of changes in the selection of musical items on the identification of musical taste dimensions. Indeed, investigators have employed heterogeneous sets of music genres in prior research. Such a heterogeneity may partly explain why no clearly reproducible structure of musical tastes has emerged in the literature. Based on principal component analysis, our results indicate that the apparent structure of musical tastes is highly affected by even subtle variations in the items selected. Our findings also suggest that the identified structure of musical tastes strongly depends on the social background and cultural capital of respondents. Finally, our results highlight the limitations of the models that interpret the dimensions of musical tastes in terms of intrinsic musical properties.

Keywords: cultural capital musical tastes; music genres; music dimensions; principal component analysis.

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## INTRODUCTION

To date, research on the link between musical tastes and personality has mainly relied on genre-based analysis. Stimulated by the creation of the Musical Preference Scale (Litle & Zuckerman, 1986) and the Short Test of Music Preferences (STOMP; Rentfrow & Gosling, 2003), the use of music genres in this research area has developed greatly since the early 2000s and has led psychology researchers to investigate the underlying dimensions of musical tastes (Brown, 2012; Colley, 2008; Delsing, ter Bogt, Engels, & Meeus, 2008; Gardikiotis & Alexandros Baltzis, 2012; George, Stickle, Rachid, & Wopnford, 2007; Gouveia, Pimentel, Santana, Chaves, & Rodrigues, 2008; Langmeyer, Guglhör-Rudan, & Tarnai, 2012; Schäfer & Sedlmeier, 2009; Zweigenhaft, 2008). Researchers have used dimension-reduction techniques such as principal component analysis (PCA) in order to compute correlations between the dimensions underlying musical tastes and personality scale scores. While some authors have suggested that the dimensions of musical preferences are rather inconsistent from one to study to another (e.g., Dunn, de Ruyter, & Bouwhuis, 2012), others perceived a “considerable degree of convergence between these studies” (Rentfrow, Goldberg, & Levitin 2011, p. 1141).

However, some investigators—including the creators of the STOMP themselves—have progressively pointed out methodological flaws in genre-based analysis. As a result, these investigators have recommended, or opted for, the use of other musical taste indicators, such as excerpts or artists (Rentfrow et al., 2011; Rentfrow et al., 2012; Ferrer, Eerola, & Vuoskoski, 2013; Greenberg, Baron-Cohen, Stillwell, Kosinski, & Rentfrow, 2015; Greenberg et al., 2016). It has been suggested, indeed, that (a) music genres constitute ill-defined categories; (b) the quantity and the quality of relevant music (sub)genres are difficult to specify; (c) music genres’ “ecological” validity is questionable, since artists and songs do not always fall within a unique genre; and (d) the artists and musical pieces ascribed to a given genre are likely to vary as a function of respondents. For instance, the STOMP and its revised form, the STOMP-r, include

problematic categories that contravene Rentfrow and Gosling's intention (2003, p. 1241) to circumscribe the analysis to music genres (i.e., to exclude both sub- and super-genres). As an illustration, the "alternative" category may be viewed by participants as a subtype of rock, as non-mainstream music, or even as a kind of music that transcends the notion of genre. In a similar vein, so-called "religious music" involves a large range of styles, including traditional and contemporary Christian, Hindu, or Islamic musical forms. The "oldies" category includes several music genres (e.g., folk, jazz, rockabilly). "Soundtracks and theme songs" gather pieces that greatly differ with each other: Nino Rota's "Godfather Waltz" has little in common with Cliff Martinez's compositions for Soderbergh's adaptation of *Solaris*. The "electronica/dance music" category is also questionable, since it associates a super-genre that encompasses a large array of music styles that are not necessarily geared for dancing (e.g., ambient, new wave, trip hop) with a music genre specifically made for dancing. Because of these methodological problems, certain researchers investigated the connections between personality and musical tastes by mobilizing music excerpts, artists, and musical or emotional attributes (e.g., "low tempo," "sad"; see Finnas, 1987; Schwartz & Fouts, 2003). For example, Rentfrow et al. (2011) chose to rely on excerpts, thereby renewing with the method of investigation employed in the seminal studies of the field (Cattell & Anderson, 1953; Cattell & Saunders, 1954). In these authors' view, excerpts have higher "ecological" validity than genres and do not require participants to possess label knowledge.

Despite the criticisms addressed to genre-based analysis and the availability of alternative musical taste indicators, the use of music genres has persisted in recent years (see, e.g., Franken, Keijsers, Dijkstra, & ter Bogt, 2017; Fricke & Herzberg, 2017; Vella & Mills, 2017). Such a methodological option is rarely justified, though. In fact, very few articles have empirically tackled the issue of the reliability of genre-based measures (Ferrer et al., 2013). Moreover, investigators have relied on heterogeneous sets of music (sub)genres (Schäfer & Mehlhorn,

2017), the variety of which impedes between-study comparisons. For example, mobilizing several religious music categories enables the identification of religious music dimension(s). By definition, mobilizing a unique religious music category does not. The studies by George and colleagues (2007) and Rentfrow and Gosling (2003) illustrate this point. Whereas the former used 30 (sub)genres, including four religious music categories, and identified two religious music dimensions, the latter employed 14 genres including one religious music category and found religious music to be associated with country, soundtracks, and pop. Furthermore, some researchers have modified the STOMP or the STOMP-r in order to adapt those tests to the specificities of their national context. For instance, Fricke and Herzberg (2017) excluded from the STOMP-r the bluegrass, new age, and reggae categories and added Musical and Volksmusik, two categories that cannot be considered equivalents to the excluded ones. Coupled with the use of different dimension-extraction techniques (e.g., Kaiser rule, parallel analysis), such differences in item selection may explain why no consistent structure of musical tastes emerged in past research.

In the present study, we examined the extent to which subtle changes in the selection of musical items affect the identification of musical taste dimensions. To this end, we carried out a series of PCAs involving various sets of musical (sub)genres from an original list of 40 items. We focused on PCA because it is the statistical test that has been the most frequently used by psychology researchers in their attempt to identify the dimensions underlying individuals' musical tastes. We relied on two different samples in order to increase the external validity of our study. Our first sample consisted of university students and our second sample of vocational secondary school students. Both samples involved teenagers and young adults to allow us to make comparisons with the existing literature, which has mainly focused on students (Schäfer and Mehlhorn, 2017).

## METHOD

### *Study sample and recruitment procedure*

The present study involved two samples. The first sample comprised 522 students from a Swiss university ( $M_{AGE} = 22.72$ ,  $SD_{AGE} = 4.05$ ; 68% female). We sent an email that contained a URL to an online survey to all students. Students participated on a voluntary basis. The response rate was 14%. The second sample involved 185 high schoolers from a vocational secondary school located in France ( $M_{AGE} = 17.20$ ,  $SD_{AGE} = 1.01$ ; 59% female). We surveyed all eleventh- and twelfth-grade classes. We administered our questionnaire in the classrooms. Both samples included French-speaking participants only.

### *Musical taste inventory*

Respondents reported their degree of appreciation of 40 music genres and subgenres (e.g., rock, alternative rock) using a five-point rating scale (from 1 for “I dislike very much” to 5 for “I like very much”). A supplementary response option allowed participants to indicate that they did not know the music (sub)genre in question. We selected those 40 (sub)genres based on a preliminary survey in which 15 French and 15 Swiss undergraduate students were asked to specify which music genres and subgenres they regularly listened and never listened to. We found that 47 categories were mentioned at least three times (i.e. by at least 10% of the pilot sample). Since some participants explicitly discriminated American from French rap, we used such a distinction and included those two categories in our music inventory. We amalgamated “black metal,” “death metal,” and “trash metal” into the category “extreme metal.” Because of its generality and its overlap with “dance,” “electropop,” “house,” and “techno,” we excluded the category “electro.” We neglected the categories “chill” and “minimal” (three occurrences for each) in order to not over-represent electronic music in our inventory. We also excluded the categories “indie” and “commercial” because they cover several music genres. The Appendix displays the list of items included in our inventory and the corresponding means and standard

deviations in both samples. It also reports, for each (sub)genre, the rate of participants that indicated that they were not familiar with the corresponding label. The same inventory was administered to both samples. We note that our pilot study did not involve high-schoolers. Because there is evidence that musical tastes remain consistent from adolescence to early adulthood (Delsing et al., 2008; Mulder, ter Bogt, Raaijmakers, Gabhainn, & Sikkema, 2010), we assumed that involving high-schoolers in our pilot study was not needed. Nevertheless, we asked high-schoolers to indicate which music genres and subgenres they regularly listened to and never listened to. A vast majority of the responses referred to music categories that were already included in our inventory. Although other categories appeared, they were mentioned by a very small proportion of respondents. For instance, “flamenco,” “Guggenmusik,” “traditional Turkish music,” and “tribe” were cited once, “dancehall” and “slam/spoken words” were cited twice, and “Afrotrap” was cited thrice.

### ***Music-genre sets***

In order to examine the extent to which applying subtle modifications in the item selection influences PCA results, we relied on six different music-genre sets.

The first set involved the genres included in the STOMP (Rentfrow & Gosling, 2003), with one exception: “soundtracks.” This category was not mentioned by the respondents to our pilot survey. Moreover, its vagueness was potentially problematic and led us to neglect it. In addition, we did not employ the “electronica/dance” category, which problematically combines non-dance-oriented music (e.g., ambient, post-punk) with dance. Instead, we created a score for electronic dance music (EDM) appreciation by calculating the mean level of appreciation of dance, house, and techno. We focused on EDM because our data indicate that non-dance-oriented electronic genres (e.g., new wave) were unknown to a large part of our two samples (see the Appendix). Finally, since our inventory mobilized the categories “American rap” and “French rap,” we created a global score for rap appreciation by computing the mean level of

appreciation of these two subtypes. We used the STOMP as point of comparison because this test has been abundantly mobilized in the literature.

The second set was similar to the first one but involved taste for dance instead of taste for EDM. This set is more consistent with Rentfrow and Gosling's goal to focus on musical genres rather than on musical sub-genres or musical super-genres. It allowed us to assess how a very subtle modification in the selection of music genres influenced the emerging structure of musical tastes.

In the third set, we excluded the "alternative rock" category, which is redundant with the "rock" category. We instead added the "R&B" category, which refers to a fashionable genre among teenagers and young adults.

The fourth set adapted the STOMP to local specificities and systematized the inclusion of pairs of (sub)genres involved in the STOMP with the "alternative" and "rock" categories. We thus replaced country and US folk by French *variété* and international *variété*, two popular genres that can be considered equivalent to soft adult contemporary music. The retained pairs of (sub)genres were alternative rock and rock, blues and jazz, classical and opera, conscious rap and rap, dance and house, extreme metal and metal, and the two subtypes of *variété*.

The fifth set gathered the (sub)genres ( $n = 30$ ) that were known by at least two-thirds of the participants of both samples. We created this set in order to observe whether (potentially) consistent between-item associations previously identified were retrieved when enlarging the item selection.

The sixth set of (sub)genres ( $n = 20$ ) was used only for the high-schooler sample. To reduce the number of items (compared to the previous set) and provide sufficient musical variety, this set included pairs of electronic, so-called "highbrow," Latin, metal, rap, rock, and *variété* (sub)genres. The corresponding items were selected on a twofold basis: the degree of label

knowledge and the degree of appreciation. For instance, we neglected opera because it was the most unknown “highbrow” genre. We included electropop and house because they were the most and the least appreciated electronic subgenres. Moreover, because a non-negligible part of the members of the high-schooler sample were French Arabs and Blacks, we also included African music, rai, and zouk in the count. The sociological literature indeed highlighted that ethnic features modulate musical tastes (Robinson et al., 1985). Finally, we added pop, reggae, and R&B, because these genres were among the most appreciated in our high-schooler sample. The reasons that led us to perform this supplementary PCA are described below, in the corresponding section.

### *Data analyses*

We carried out PCAs with promax rotation—a type of rotation used when between-component independence is not assumed. In order to estimate the number of components to be extracted, we performed parallel analyses (Horn, 1965). Parallel analysis enables investigators to avoid both under- and over-extraction and to optimize the reliability of the components (O’Connor, 2000; Zwick & Velicer, 1986). This technique is considered more reliable than the Kaiser criterion (Kaiser, 1960), which selects components based on eigenvalues higher than 1, and than the scree test (Cattell, 1966), which consists in graphing the eigenvalues and retaining those that appear to precede the point of inflexion (Costello & Osborne, 2005; O’Connor, 2000; Thompson & Daniel 1996). Because our survey allowed participants to respond “I do not know this (sub)genre,” we treated such cases with the pairwise-deletion technique (Van Ginkel, Kroonenberg, & Kiers, 2014). We used the Bartlett’s test of sphericity and the Kaiser–Meyer–Olkin (KMO) measure of sampling adequacy as indicators of suitability. All Bartlett’s test results were significant. All KMO measures indicated that our data were suitable for PCA (Hutcheson & Sofroniou, 1999; Kaiser, 1974). Those values are reported in the following section.

## RESULTS

Given the high number of analyses involved in our study, we limited ourselves to concisely reporting hereafter the main findings related to each performed PCA.

### *Sample 1: University students*

Table 1 displays the results pertaining to the PCA involving the genres included in the STOMP, soundtracks excluded and with electronic dance music (EDM) replacing electronica/dance. We found a five-component solution accounting for 69.73% of the variance. The first component (C1) accounted for 23.78% of the variance. One between-component correlation higher than .25 was found, between C2 and C4 ( $r = .264$ ). While all main loadings were positive and higher than .6, metal presented another high (negative) loading on C3 and rap showed problematic cross-loadings on C1 and C5. C1 clustered “classic” Afro-American genres, and C2, rock and metal styles. C3 is hardly interpretable, especially for a Swiss sample, since it gathers pop, country, and US folk music. C4 combined classical and religious music, which might suggest that respondents considered as “religious music” the sacred forms of European Christian music, not styles such as Gospel or Hindu music. Finally, C5 involved EDM and rap, two relatively recent and so-called “urban” genres.

Table 1. Musical taste component scores: first set, university student sample.

	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5
Blues	<b>.867</b>	.050	-.022	.019	-.064
Jazz	<b>.825</b>	-.014	-.061	.139	.071
Soul	<b>.817</b>	-.027	.107	-.089	.150
Rock	.016	<b>.897</b>	.150	-.121	.076
Alt rock	.059	<b>.868</b>	.115	-.175	.043
Metal	-.113	<b>.728</b>	-.403	.210	-.002
Pop	-.212	-.057	<b>.785</b>	-.134	.291
Country	.151	-.002	<b>.612</b>	.255	-.240
Folk	.210	.206	<b>.601</b>	.080	-.143
Religious	-.062	-.167	.034	<b>.880</b>	.155
Classical	.151	-.003	.025	<b>.724</b>	.054
EDM	-.129	.160	.156	.314	<b>.821</b>
Rap	.386	-.058	-.183	-.119	<b>.679</b>

Notes: Loadings > .5 are bolded; loadings between .4 and .5 are italicized. Bartlett's test of sphericity:  $\chi^2(78) = 1235.66, p < .001$ ; KMO = .663. EDM = Electronic Dance Music.

Table 2 reports the results pertaining to the PCA involving the genres included in the STOMP, soundtracks excluded and with dance replacing electronica/dance. We found a four-component solution accounting for 61.69% of the variance. C1 accounted for 23.8% of the variance. Two between-component correlations higher than .25 were found, between C1 and C4 ( $r = .258$ ) and between C2 and C4 ( $r = .332$ ). Thus, using dance instead of EDM resulted in finding a more synthetic component solution. Compared with Table 1, Table 2 involved two other main differences: contrary to EDM, dance clustered with pop and not with rap, which in turn appeared to be (weakly) associated with blues, soul, and jazz. In addition, two genres showed problematic cross-loadings. US folk did not load well, since all the corresponding loadings were lower than .4 and the loadings on C2 and C3 were very close. Country exhibited one loading slightly higher than .4 (C3) and one loading slightly lower than 0.4 (C4). In brief, C1 clustered the Afro-American trio and rap; C2, rock and metal styles; C3, pop and dance; C4, classical and religious music.

Table 2. Musical taste component scores; second set, university student sample.

	C1	C2	C3	C4
Blues	<b>.862</b>	.092	-.169	.045
Soul	<b>.844</b>	-.015	.056	-.093
Jazz	<b>.822</b>	-.026	-.141	.137
Rap	<i>.465</i>	-.264	.029	-.269
Rock	-.005	<b>.910</b>	.076	-.142
Alt rock	.045	<b>.886</b>	.015	-.191
Metal	-.163	<b>.632</b>	-.461	.146
Pop	-.154	.020	<b>.827</b>	-.104
Dance	-.090	-.061	<b>.704</b>	.052
Country	.123	.178	<i>.405</i>	.386
US folk	.201	.367	.390	.188
Religious music	-.103	-.252	-.003	<b>.883</b>
Classical	.101	-.048	-.060	<b>.745</b>

Notes: Loadings > .5 are bolded; loadings between .4 and .5 are italicized. Bartlett's test of sphericity:  $\chi^2(78) = 1255.15, p < .001$ . Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy = .671.

Table 3 reports the results pertaining to the PCA involving the genres included in the STOMP, soundtracks and alternative excluded, R&B added. We found a four-component solution

accounting for 61.25% of the variance. C1 accounted for 22.65% of the variance. One between-component correlation higher than .25 was found, between C3 and C4 ( $r = .285$ ). Table 3 reveals that removing the “alternative” category severed the rock-metal component that we found thus far. Here, rock was associated with folk and country, but not with metal, which negatively loaded on a component combining pop, R&B, and dance. In addition, rap (see C1 and C3) and pop (see C2 and C3) exhibited problematic cross-loadings. C1 associated, again, blues, jazz, and soul with rap, which did not load very well. C2 reflected taste for pop, R&B, dance, and distaste for metal. C3 clustered rock, US folk, and country; C4, classical and religious music.

Table 3. Musical taste component scores; third set, university student sample.

	C1	C2	C3	C4
Blues	<b>.848</b>	-.177	.222	-.026
Soul	<b>.805</b>	.133	.120	-.074
Jazz	<b>.796</b>	-.104	.062	.151
Rap	<i>.420</i>	.269	-.355	-.070
Pop	-.210	<b>.753</b>	.376	-.088
R&B	.218	<b>.699</b>	-.224	-.056
Dance	-.143	<b>.666</b>	.231	.131
Metal	-.036	<b>-.615</b>	.300	.051
Rock	.084	-.206	<b>.754</b>	-.225
US folk	.204	.167	<b>.693</b>	.026
Country	.129	.244	<b>.606</b>	.180
Religious music	-.073	.043	-.116	<b>.881</b>
Classical	.125	-.105	.036	<b>.752</b>

Notes: Loadings  $> .5$  are bolded; loadings between .4 and .5 are italicized. Bartlett's test of sphericity:  $\chi^2(78) = 1391.97, p < .001$ . Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy = .665.

Table 4 reports the results pertaining to the PCA adapting the STOMP to local specificities and including seven pairs of allegedly close (sub)genres. We found a five-component solution accounting for 70.15% of the variance. C1 accounted for 19.92% of the variance. One between-component correlation higher than .25 was found, between C1 and C3 ( $r = -.291$ ). Interestingly, the electronic genres were the only ones to load on different components. Dance loaded on the *variété* component and house on the metal component. Importantly, metal and rock loaded

separately, here. It should also be noted that blues, classical, jazz, and opera clustered into a single component, that could be considered to involve “highbrow” genres. Finally, metal (see C3 and C5) and house (see C4 and C5) exhibited problematic cross-loadings. In sum, we found a *variété* component including dance (C1), a “highbrow” component (C2), a rock component (C3), a rap component (C4), and a metal component including house (C5).

Table 4. Musical taste component scores: fourth set, university student sample.

	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5
Inter. <i>variété</i>	<b>.908</b>	-.036	.176	.001	-.205
French <i>variété</i>	<b>.894</b>	.015	.243	.006	-.156
Dance	<b>.565</b>	.035	-.056	.184	.112
Jazz	-.190	<b>.767</b>	.079	.180	-.225
Classical	.174	<b>.761</b>	-.076	-.194	.189
Opera	.193	<b>.731</b>	-.161	-.168	.297
Blues	-.190	<b>.650</b>	.223	.180	-.243
Rock	.230	.008	<b>.891</b>	-.007	.159
Alt rock	.146	.004	<b>.852</b>	-.002	.091
Rap	.108	-.026	-.107	<b>.884</b>	.057
Conscious rap	.029	-.014	.110	<b>.859</b>	.196
Extreme metal	-.247	-.010	.278	.001	<b>.758</b>
Metal	-.208	-.017	.425	.004	<b>.749</b>
House	.149	.036	-.229	.393	<b>.577</b>

Notes: Loadings > .5 are bolded; loadings between .4 and .5 are italicized. Bartlett's test of sphericity:  $\chi^2(91) = 1916.43, p < .001$ ; Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy = .600.

Table 5 reports the results pertaining to the PCA including 30 (sub)genres. We found a six-component solution accounting for 63.44% of the variance. C1 accounted for 19.17% of the variance. We found three between-component correlations higher than .25, between C1 and C3 ( $r = -.258$ ), C3 and C4 ( $r = .297$ ), and C3 and C5 ( $r = .254$ ). C1 exclusively clustered rock and metal (sub)genres. C2 underlined taste affinities between rap styles, African music, and reggae, which all constitute genres that have ethnic and social connotations. C3 gathered *variété*, pop, and Latin music, which can be considered soft, light forms of music. C4 involved the already encountered trio of blues, jazz, and soul. C5 comprised all the electronic genres included in the

count, with dance showing the lowest loading. Finally, C6 gathered classical, opera, and religious music. Importantly, enlarging the music-genre selection did not alter the associations between blues, jazz, and soul and between classical and religious music that we consistently found thus far. However, Table 5 involved some problematic cases. Country presented two loadings slightly lower than .4 on C3 and C4 and was not assignable to a specific component. R&B exhibited cross-loadings slightly higher and slightly lower than .4 (see C2 and C3). Latin music and reggaetón loaded on C3, but also presented a loading higher than .3 on C2. The same applied to African music (see C2 and C4) and dance (see C5 and C3).

Table 5. Musical taste component scores: fifth set, university student sample.

	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	C6
Hard rock	<b>.864</b>	.033	-.026	-.079	-.007	.029
Metal	<b>.830</b>	.117	-.119	-.209	-.026	.119
Rock	<b>.794</b>	-.081	.161	.209	.057	-.177
Symphonic metal	<b>.784</b>	.074	.069	-.269	-.070	.206
Punk	<b>.757</b>	.154	-.002	.014	.103	-.034
Alt rock	<b>.718</b>	-.065	.047	.272	.074	-.240
1960-70s rock	<b>.701</b>	-.036	.026	.370	.051	-.148
Extreme metal	<b>.694</b>	.147	-.108	-.231	-.060	.183
Conscious rap	.229	<b>.805</b>	-.062	.108	.025	-.145
French rap	-.058	<b>.789</b>	.039	.024	.144	-.059
American rap	-.056	<b>.733</b>	-.138	.154	.217	-.218
Reggae/ska	.247	<b>.664</b>	.200	.232	-.082	-.057
African music	.015	<b>.515</b>	.203	.377	-.133	.207
R&B	-.237	<i>.405</i>	.392	.042	.135	-.109
International <i>variété</i>	.055	-.014	<b>.843</b>	-.195	.020	.180
French <i>variété</i>	.129	-.018	<b>.759</b>	-.170	-.033	.242
Latin music	-.174	.318	<b>.665</b>	-.066	-.111	.043
Reggaetón	-.174	.345	<b>.631</b>	-.161	-.080	-.049
Pop	-.033	-.227	<b>.610</b>	-.027	.272	-.108
Country	.148	-.159	.398	.349	-.155	.236
Jazz	-.150	.109	-.291	<b>.886</b>	.019	.303
Blues	.023	.158	-.204	<b>.863</b>	-.129	.174
Soul	-.075	.287	-.047	<b>.794</b>	-.070	.050
Techno	.042	.227	-.169	-.045	<b>.805</b>	.180
House	.069	.166	-.125	-.140	<b>.785</b>	.231
Electropop	.029	-.057	.175	-.086	<b>.770</b>	-.059
Dance	-.023	-.034	.366	-.020	<b>.566</b>	.112
Opera	-.015	-.149	.116	.275	.134	<b>.813</b>
Religious music	.004	-.052	.236	.055	.076	<b>.794</b>
Classical	-.011	-.195	.064	.368	.132	<b>.738</b>

Notes: Loadings > .5 are bolded; loadings between .4 and .5 are italicized. Bartlett's test of sphericity:  $\chi^2(435) = 5529,80, p < .001$ . Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy = .813.

### Sample 2: Vocational high-school students

Table 6 displays the results pertaining to the three PCAs involving our first three sets of music categories. Those sets comprised the genres included in the STOMP: (a) soundtracks excluded and with EDM replacing electronica/dance; (b) soundtracks excluded, and with dance replacing electronica/dance; and (c) soundtracks and alternative excluded, R&B added. In each case, parallel analysis indicated that a one-component solution represented the optimal way to sum up the data. Table 6 reports the component matrix for each unrotated PCA. The only point of note, here, regards the negative, albeit low, loadings related to rap.

Table 6. Musical taste component scores: first, second, and third sets, high-schooler sample.

	1 <sup>st</sup> set		2 <sup>nd</sup> set		3 <sup>rd</sup> set
Alt rock	.815	Alt rock	.817	Blues	.772
Rock	.772	Rock	.776	Jazz	.712
Blues	.750	Blues	.749	US folk	.708
EDM	.722	Metal	.699	Rock	.691
Metal	.706	US folk	.694	Classical	.660
US folk	.706	Jazz	.676	Soul	.659
Jazz	.663	Classical	.643	Metal	.602
Classical	.625	Soul	.611	Country	.594
Soul	.615	Country	.572	Pop	.444
Country	.554	Pop	.380	Dance	.430
Pop	.377	Dance	.353	RNB	.241
Rap	-.173	Rap	-.154	Religious music	.085
Religious music	.026	Religious music	.036	Rap	-.059
% explained variance	38.70		35.90		31.68
KMO	.788		.764		.764

Notes: All Bartlett's tests were significant at  $p < .001$ . EDM = Electronic Dance Music.

Table 7 reports the results pertaining to two PCAs. The first PCA (see the three columns on the left) involved the set adapting the STOMP to local specificities and including seven pairs of allegedly close (sub)genres. We found a two-component solution accounting for 50.68% of the variance. C1 accounted for 34.77% of the variance. The between-component correlation was equal to .337. Results are hardly interpretable but highlight an opposition between rock and

metal (sub)genres and all the other categories, house excepted. Numerous problematic cross-loadings were found (e.g., see rap, blues, jazz, and classical). Compared with the previous sample, it is worth noting that involving pairs of allegedly close (sub)genres did not result in finding corresponding, specific components.

Table 7. Musical taste component scores: fourth and fifth sets, high-schooler sample.

	4 <sup>th</sup> set		5 <sup>th</sup> set		
	C1	C2	C1'	C2'	
Metal	<b>.941</b>	-.128	Metal	<b>.890</b>	-.196
Alt rock	<b>.926</b>	-.019	Hard rock	<b>.889</b>	-.194
Extreme metal	<b>.888</b>	-.166	Alt rock	<b>.864</b>	-.089
Rock	<b>.814</b>	.043	Extreme metal	<b>.825</b>	-.181
Rap	<i>-.485</i>	<i>.403</i>	Symphonic metal	<b>.813</b>	-.175
House	<i>.425</i>	<i>.300</i>	Rock	<b>.813</b>	-.003
French <i>variété</i>	-.203	<b>.770</b>	1960-70s rock	<b>.790</b>	.045
Inter. <i>variété</i>	-.180	<b>.750</b>	Punk	<b>.604</b>	.083
Conscious rap	-.036	<b>.523</b>	French rap	<b>-.520</b>	.389
Blues	<i>.414</i>	<b>.521</b>	House	<i>.483</i>	.218
Dance	-.092	<b>.518</b>	Blues	<i>.462</i>	.348
Jazz	<i>.335</i>	<i>.489</i>	Classical	<i>.452</i>	.206
Classical	<i>.353</i>	<i>.470</i>	Techno	<i>.424</i>	.283
Opera	<i>.259</i>	<i>.456</i>	Electropop	<i>.418</i>	.323
-	-	-	Opera	<i>.348</i>	.214
-	-	-	Country	<i>.346</i>	.244
-	-	-	Latin music	-.166	<b>.690</b>
-	-	-	Inter. <i>variété</i>	.041	<b>.626</b>
-	-	-	French <i>variété</i>	.034	<b>.572</b>
-	-	-	Reggaetón	.162	<b>.567</b>
-	-	-	African music	-.226	<b>.519</b>
-	-	-	Soul	.272	<b>.518</b>
-	-	-	R&B	-.090	<b>.516</b>
-	-	-	Reggae/ska	.228	<b>.509</b>
-	-	-	Pop	.126	<b>.508</b>
-	-	-	American rap	-.218	<i>.450</i>
-	-	-	Conscious rap	.059	<i>.436</i>
-	-	-	Dance	.082	<i>.409</i>
-	-	-	Jazz	.382	<i>.402</i>
-	-	-	Religious music	-.115	<i>.315</i>
Bartlett's test	$\chi^2 (91) = 902.13; p < .001$		Bartlett's test	$\chi^2 (435) = 1752.72, p < .001$	
KMO	.697		KMO	.810	

Notes: Loadings > .5 are bolded; loadings between .4 and .5 are italicized.

The second PCA (see the three columns on the right) involved the set including 30 (sub)genres.

We found a two-component solution accounting for 39.56% of the variance. C1' accounted for

26.65% of the variance. The between-component correlation was equal to .226. Interpreting this two-component solution is arduous. Opera, country, and religious music appeared to be component-free. Jazz exhibited loadings oscillating around 0.4. While French rap negatively loaded on C1' and presented a .39 loading on C2', American rap and conscious rap positively loaded on C2', albeit poorly. Several items loaded only weakly (e.g., blues, classical, dance, electropop). The only clear pattern here refers to the high loadings of rock and metal items on C1'. However, the loadings related to blues, classical, and electropop prevent C1' from being considered a proxy for a hardcore, rock, and metal dimension. Finally, contrary to the corresponding PCA among university students, electronic music genres did not load on the same component.

In order to assess whether the structure of high-schoolers' musical tastes was at best twofold, we performed a supplementary PCA involving a set of 20 (sub)genres, the selection principles of which are reported in the previous section. Table 8 displays a four-component solution accounting for 60.95% of the variance. C1 accounted for 25.50% of the variance. Two between-component correlations higher than .25 were found, between C2 and C3 ( $r = .314$ ) and between C2 and C4 ( $r = .325$ ). Table 8 reveals that a greater number of genres and subgenres does not automatically entail a better understanding of the structure of musical tastes. Contrary to Table 7, Table 8 highlights some clear patterns indeed. C2 gathers (sub)genres that have ethnic connotations and may be perceived by the respondents as more danceable than the others. C3 clustered "pop," "soft," and "unsophisticated" (sub)genres. C4 exclusively related to rap, which has ethnic connotations as well but may be considered as less danceable than the (sub)genres forming C2. C1, however, is hardly interpretable, since it associated rock and metal (sub)genres with house, jazz, and classical. In addition, R&B presented very poor loadings, and reggae and electropop exhibited problematic cross-loadings.

Table 8. Musical taste component scores: sixth set, high-schooler sample.

	C1	C2	C3	C4
Hard rock	<b>.898</b>	-.098	-.063	-.124
Metal	<b>.879</b>	-.054	-.104	-.122
Extreme metal	<b>.840</b>	-.022	-.172	-.048
Rock	<b>.783</b>	-.091	.111	.013
House	<b>.574</b>	.183	.142	-.174
Jazz	<b>.571</b>	.155	-.010	.370
Classical	<i>.487</i>	-.164	.156	.201
African music	-.165	<b>.880</b>	-.147	-.068
Zouk	-.028	<b>.723</b>	.183	-.112
Reggaetón	.380	<b>.704</b>	-.072	.098
Raï	-.269	<b>.689</b>	-.183	.069
Latin music	-.146	<b>.659</b>	.292	-.041
Reggae/ska	<i>.426</i>	<b>.555</b>	.015	.025
French <i>variété</i>	-.098	-.045	<b>.908</b>	-.075
International <i>variété</i>	-.068	.099	<b>.895</b>	-.126
Pop	.134	-.016	<b>.576</b>	.223
Electropop	<i>.413</i>	-.141	<b>.521</b>	-.005
R&B	-.047	.274	.302	.266
American rap	.072	.011	-.077	<b>.854</b>
French/francophone rap	-.304	-.093	.026	<b>.782</b>

Notes: Loadings > .5 are bolded; loadings between .4 and .5 are italicized. Bartlett's test of sphericity:  $\chi^2(190) = 1208.55, p < .001$ . Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy = .723.

## DISCUSSION

Our research goal was to assess the extent to which the structure of musical tastes in genre-based surveys is affected by modifications in the set of (sub)genres under study.

Our results indicate that applying even minor modifications in the selection of musical items produces important differences in the emerging latent structure of musical tastes. At least, this conclusion can be drawn from the analysis of the university student sample. As an illustration, the data pertaining to that sample showed that mobilizing the “EDM” or the “dance” category resulted in finding a different number of components (five vs. four) and different between-item associations. Given the overlap between EDM and dance, this result prompts us to interpret the obtained component solutions with great caution. In a similar vein, our data indicated that removing the “alternative rock” category—which can be considered redundant with the “rock”

category—severed the association between rock and metal and revealed unseen links between rock, folk, and country. Overall, while the number of components did not massively fluctuate from one PCA to the other, numerous between-item associations substantially varied. For example, depending on the cases, rap and/or its subtypes appeared to be associated with (a) EDM; (b) blues, jazz, and soul but not with dance; (c) reggae and African music but not with blues, jazz, and soul or with any electronic music genre; or (d) to form a single component. Such variations impede our ability to interpret the obtained components in terms of underlying music dimensions. Even apparently strong associations dislocated when applying subtle modifications in the item selection. The cases of the rock/metal and dance/pop connections are emblematic in that respect. Interestingly, our data also point out that using categories such as “electronic dance music” may be too vague and may not account for nodal distinctions within that taxon. We indeed observed that dance and house did not systematically load on the same component. Importantly, we found only two consistent associations throughout our analyses related to the university student sample. They refer to the connections between classical and religious music and between blues, jazz, and soul. Notably, none of these associations was found by Rentfrow and Gosling (2003), and we did not retrieve them within the high-schoolers’ distribution of musical tastes. Thus, our findings suggest that interpreting component solutions in terms of general, underlying music dimensions may be hazardous and speculative. This being said, the results related to high-schoolers may be perceived as providing counter-evidence to that conclusion. Data pertaining to that sample appeared to be impermeable to minor changes in the item selection, since we mainly found one- or two-component solutions when examining the structure of high-schoolers’ musical tastes. In our view, however, those component solutions may reflect an inadequacy between the selected items and the participants’ tastes rather than an immunity to modifications in the item selection. The fact that we found a four-component solution when mobilizing a specific set of music (sub)genres that combined

selection criteria such as main tastes and distastes, label knowledge, and ethnic features, advocates this view.

In sum, data related to both samples suggest, though in different ways, that applying even subtle modifications in the music-genre selection is likely to substantially alter PCA results. As a consequence, it may be counter-productive to consider the component-solutions found in the literature general, robust indicators of underlying music dimensions. The study of the links between musical tastes and personality should therefore involve more reliable taste indicators and/or methods of analysis than those employed thus far.

Interestingly, our analyses related to the high-schooler sample revealed unusual patterns of results. The various one- and two-component solutions pertaining to that sample strongly contrast with the four-, five- or six-component solutions obtained when examining the tastes of university students and with the component solutions generally found in the literature (Brown, 2012; Colley, 2008; Delsing et al., 2008; Franken et al., 2017; Gardikiotis & Alexandros Baltzis, 2012; George et al., 2007; Gouveia et al. 2008; Langmeyer et al., 2012; Rentfrow & Gosling, 2003; Schäfer & Sedlmeier, 2009; ter Bogt, Raaijmakers, Vollebergh, van Wel, & Sikkema, 2003; Vella & Mills, 2017; Zweigenhaft, 2008). Accounting for such differences is difficult because several factors, either sociodemographic or methodological, probably contribute to these atypical structures of musical tastes. In particular, one might assume that the mean age of the surveyed high-schoolers and the administration of our questionnaire in the classrooms partly explained our unusual results. However, because psychological researchers have pointed out that (a) the *structure* of musical tastes is relatively age-invariant (Rentfrow et al., 2011; Bonneville-Roussy, Rentfrow, Xu, & Potter, 2013), and (b) musical tastes are consistent during adolescence and from adolescence to early adulthood (Delsing et al., 2008; Mulder et al., 2010), effects of age are rather unlikely here. Similarly, it is unlikely that administering our questionnaire in the classrooms played a determinant role. Delsing and

colleagues (2008) did the same with Dutch teenagers and found a four-component solution in their study involving “only” 11 music genres. In our estimation, the singularity of our findings may be mainly due to two factors. First, the common use of the Kaiser criterion, coupled or not with other techniques, in the definition of the number of component(s) to be extracted. Although the Kaiser criterion has long been showed to involve over-extraction (O’Connor, 2000; Zwick & Velicer, 1986), a number of psychology researchers have continued to rely on it (e.g., Gouveia et al. 2008; Vella & Mills, 2017). This state of affairs may partly explain why one- or two-component solutions have not been found in the psychological literature dedicated to the structure of musical tastes. Second, the social background and the cultural capital of the respondents. Bourdieu (1984) distinguished between the acquired dimension of cultural capital (indexed by individuals’ own education) and its inherited dimension (indexed by parents’ occupation and/or education). Within this framework, vocational high-schoolers possess a smaller volume of acquired cultural capital than general high-schoolers and university students. Furthermore, sociologists have shown that differences in acquired cultural capital were associated with differences in cultural tastes and practices (Bourdieu, 1984), especially in terms of taste scope (Peterson, 1992). Our findings related to high-schoolers echo such dynamics. Indeed, our raw data indicates that vocational high-schoolers reported to like, on average, only nine of the 40 (sub)genres included in our music inventory. Five of these nine categories were associated with a mean degree of appreciation very close to the neutral score (i.e. 3 on a five-point rating scale). Those nine categories, moreover, do not cover a large array of music styles, since they refer, inter alia, to three rap subtypes and two *variété* subtypes. Comparatively, university students reported to like, on average, 27 of the same 40 (sub)genres. Thus, the singularity of our results may be the consequence of the sociological singularity of our high-schooler sample. The great number of genres disliked by vocational high-schoolers and the corresponding levels of distaste may explain why (a) we mainly found one- and two-component

solutions, and (b) subtle modifications in the item selection did not alter PCA results related to that sample. Because most studies in psychology of music have surveyed university students (Schäfer and Mehlhorn, 2017) or volunteers (i.e., mostly people interested in music), and because university students from the lower classes are likely to compensate their low inherited cultural capital with a relatively high acquired cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984), people endowed with low acquired cultural capital may have been under-represented in psychological research on music. This may explain why one- or two-component solutions have not been found in the literature. Although only complementary studies would enable us to comprehensively address these issues, our study suggests that variables such as cultural capital should not be neglected in the examination of the determinants of the structure of musical tastes—and in the creation of musical-taste inventories. Given the links between openness and academic performance (Poropat, 2009, 2014), integrating psychological (e.g., personality) and sociological (e.g., cultural capital) variables may improve our understanding of musical tastes. Importantly, results related to the university student sample (see the first two sets of music genres) do not corroborate the structure of musical preferences that Rentfrow and Gosling (2003) delineated when administering the STOMP. While we identified, as these authors did, a component including rock, alternative rock, and metal, this is the sole finding that both studies have in common. Rentfrow and Gosling (2003) found that blues, jazz, classical, and folk formed a component that they named “reflective and complex,” because those are “genres that seem to facilitate introspection and are structurally complex” (p. 1241). We found that blues and jazz consistently constituted a component with soul, but not with classical and folk, which loaded on different components. This finding suggests that the question of intrinsic “structural complexity” may be ancillary. Moreover, we do not see reasons to consider those genres as stronger facilitators to introspection than, for instance, religious music. Similarly, we did not retrieve the “upbeat and conventional” component found by Rentfrow and Gosling (2003). This

component comprised four genres that “emphasize positive emotions and are structurally simple” (p. 1241), namely country, soundtracks, religious music, and pop. Such mismatch cannot be solely imputed to the exclusion from our study of the “soundtracks” category—that we considered far too inaccurate and that refers to pieces that do not “emphasize positive emotions,” like in horror movies, and pieces that are not “structurally simple” (e.g., listen to Danny Elfman’s orchestral compositions). Indeed, we found religious music to form a two-item component with classical music. This result further questions the consistency of the authors’ rationale based on structural complexity, since this component gathers a “structurally complex” (i.e. classical) and a “structurally simple” genre (i.e. religious music). Furthermore, although our data accounted for connections between country and pop, the links in question were very weak. Notably, we found a stronger association between country and folk than between country and pop. Again, our findings cast doubts upon the validity of a rationale based on degrees of “structural complexity,” a concept that Rentfrow and Gosling (2003) did not define. Finally, our results showed that rap was associated with EDM but not with dance. Thus, we did not systematically retrieve the “energetic and rhythmic” component that Rentfrow and Gosling (2003, p. 1242) identified and that involves “genres that are lively and often emphasize the rhythm.” It should be noted, in passing, that genres such as hard rock or metal also emphasize the rhythm and that genres assignable to the “electronica” category (e.g., ambient) do not. Although the discrepancies between Rentfrow and Gosling’s results and ours are likely national-dependent, these discrepancies question the reliability of the authors’ line of interpretation. Again, our findings suggest that the component solutions obtained via PCAs should be interpreted with the utmost caution.

Analogous conclusions can be drawn from the comparison between our results and the results derived from the MUSIC model developed by Rentfrow and colleagues (Bonneville-Roussy et al., 2013; Rentfrow et al., 2011; Rentfrow et al., 2012). Used by its creators in both excerpt and

genre-based framework, the MUSIC model discriminates between five music dimensions: “mellow” (i.e. smooth, quiet, and slow; e.g., R&B and soft rock), “unpretentious” (i.e. not loud, distorted, nor fast; e.g., country and folk), “sophisticated” (instrumental, not electric, distorted, nor loud; e.g., classical and traditional jazz), “intense” (i.e. electric, distorted, loud, percussive; e.g., metal and rock), and “contemporary” (i.e. percussive, electric, not sad; e.g., electronica, Latin, and rap). Our results did not reflect the MUSIC model. In particular, we did not retrieve the “contemporary” dimension, since rap, Latin, and electronic (sub)genres loaded on distinct components. Because these (sub)genres were well known by the participants and may be more easily recognizable than soul, R&B, or alt rock, those are solid findings that question the general validity of the MUSIC model. Indeed, the sole loadings of rap, Latin, and electronic (sub)genres on different components almost totally reshape the structure that the MUSIC model delineates. In addition, depending on the cases, we found rock to be associated with country, R&B with dance, house with metal, or classical and jazz with rock. In other words, we did not retrieve the “mellow,” “unpretentious,” and “sophisticated” dimensions. Our results therefore suggest that the dimensions involved in the MUSIC model are not robust enough to be generalized.

## CONCLUSION

The present study examined the relevance of the genre-based analyses commonly used in psychological research on musical tastes. We found that even subtle modifications in the item selection sufficed to substantially alter PCA results and identify antithetic patterns in the structure of musical tastes. Given the inconsistency of the obtained components, interpreting them as reflecting general music dimensions is problematic. Moreover, our study suggests that social background in general, and cultural capital in particular, may markedly affect the structure of musical tastes. Such variables should not be neglected in research on musical tastes.

Finally, our findings indicate that interpreting the dimensions of music genres in terms of their intrinsic properties is probably misleading. All in all, the present study questions the relevance and the validity of the genre-based analyses ordinarily employed in psychological research on musical tastes. It also suggests that research on musical tastes may benefit from a concomitant examination of sociological and psychological variables.

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## APPENDIX

Appendix. Music inventory statistics: label knowledge and mean scores of appreciation (5-point rating scale).

	Sample 1 ( <i>n</i> = 522)			Sample 2 ( <i>n</i> = 185)		
	DK (%)	M	SD	DK (%)	M	SD
1960-70s progressive rock	17.05	3.89	1.13	22.70	1.77	1.31
African music	6.70	3.30	1.14	5.95	2.79	1.53
Alt rock	21.07	4.01	1.05	24.86	1.69	1.21
American rap/hip hop	1.34	3.48	1.28	1.62	4.27	1.14
Blues	1.15	3.65	1.02	25.41	1.97	1.07
Classical	0.00	3.77	1.02	4.32	1.80	1.13
Conscious rap	10.54	3.44	1.36	15.68	3.03	1.55
Country	0.38	3.07	1.19	10.81	1.81	1.06
Dance	0.19	3.33	1.14	4.32	2.84	1.35
Electropop	2.30	3.34	1.21	11.89	2.87	1.43
Experimental rock/art rock	39.08	3.46	1.19	24.32	1.66	1.20
Extreme metal	5.36	1.93	1.27	15.68	1.46	0.98
French/francophone <i>variété</i>	2.68	3.37	1.23	5.95	3.07	1.42
French/francophone rap/hip hop	1.72	3.07	1.36	1.08	4.44	1.09
Gypsy jazz	44.83	3.48	1.19	34.59	1.64	1.10
Hard rock	1.53	2.87	1.41	13.51	1.65	1.09
House	8.05	2.66	1.36	30.81	2.09	1.39
International <i>variété</i>	10.73	3.34	1.06	8.65	3.08	1.43
Jazz	0.38	3.55	1.16	7.57	1.89	1.15
Latin music	1.92	3.35	1.29	6.49	3.13	1.49
Metal	1.53	2.60	1.47	8.11	1.59	1.11
New age/atmospheric	46.93	3.12	1.20	56.76	1.74	1.17
New wave/goth/post-punk	43.68	2.87	1.31	54.59	1.60	1.04
Opera	0.96	2.89	1.21	8.11	1.48	1.01
Pop	0.00	3.95	1.00	3.78	3.44	1.37
Punk rock	8.81	3.04	1.23	17.30	1.80	1.13
R&B	3.07	3.05	1.25	9.73	3.62	1.46
Rai	61.88	2.58	1.10	18.92	3.04	1.56
Rap-metal	33.33	2.64	1.35	26.49	2.10	1.38
Reggae/ska	3.26	3.15	1.26	13.51	2.84	1.57
Reggaetón	7.09	2.76	1.32	24.86	2.76	1.56
Religious music	4.60	2.38	1.22	9.19	2.14	1.41
Rock	0.57	4.02	1.00	3.78	1.99	1.36
Soul	5.17	3.62	1.04	24.32	1.99	1.24
Symphonic metal	21.07	2.57	1.47	21.08	1.46	0.98
Techno	1.15	2.72	1.35	10.81	2.42	1.44
Text songs	7.09	3.90	0.98	42.16	2.75	1.40
Trip hop	60.34	3.10	1.40	47.03	2.01	1.42
US folk	18.77	3.30	1.10	41.62	1.93	1.20
Zouk	36.59	2.53	1.14	17.84	2.77	1.54

Note: "DK" refers to the percentage of participants who reported not to know the corresponding (sub)genre.

## Article 4

### Aesthetic disposition, educational capital, personality trait openness, and sex: A study of French high-school students

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#### Abstract

Aesthetic disposition has been defined as the propensity to prioritize form over function and to approach any object as potentially valuable from an aesthetic standpoint. In this study, we examined whether and how aesthetic disposition was predicted by educational capital, personality trait openness, and sex. In addition, we investigated the association of educational capital and sex with openness. We compared students from a general high school (“high” educational-capital group) with students from a vocational high school (“low” educational-capital group). We found that (a) aesthetic disposition was positively associated with educational capital and, to a lesser extent, with openness, (b) sex was of minor importance in the distribution of aesthetic disposition, and (c) openness was positively linked to educational capital and unrelated to sex. Our findings support the view that educational capital plays an important role in the social distribution of aesthetic disposition and highlight a link between education and openness.

Keywords: adolescents; aesthetic disposition; cultural capital; educational capital; openness; personality.

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## INTRODUCTION

In their investigation of the determinants of aesthetic preferences, psychology researchers have largely focused on the role of intrinsic properties of visual (art) objects (e.g., color, style, symmetry) and of personality traits (Jacobsen, 2010; Swami and Furnham, 2014). Psychology researchers have notably identified a link between personality trait openness and aesthetic preferences: the greater the openness, the higher the appreciation of visual arts in general, and of unconventional styles in particular (Rawlings, 2000; Furnham and Walker, 2001a; 2001b; Feist and Brady, 2004; Chamorro-Premuzic et al., 2009). However, Swami and Furnham (2014) noted that this link may mask more specific associations involving creativity (Rawlings et al., 1998), tolerance to ambiguity (Swami et al., 2010) and unconventionality (Chamorro-Premuzic et al., 2010). Importantly, Swami and Furnham (2014) also indicated that research on aesthetic preferences may benefit from a closer examination of the interrelations between personality traits (especially openness), socio-demographics, and cultural practices.

The present study aimed to assess whether and how educational capital—a social factor—and personality trait openness—a psychological factor—were associated with *aesthetic disposition*, taking into account a possible role of sex. Conceptualized by Bourdieu (1971; 1990 [1965]), aesthetic disposition refers to the propensity to (a) prioritize form over function and (b) aestheticize objects or topics that are commonly considered trivial (e.g., a rope) or are negatively connoted (e.g., a car crash). Participants to Bourdieu's surveys were asked to indicate whether, "with [different] subjects, a photographer [is] more likely to produce a beautiful, interesting, meaningless or ugly photo" (Bourdieu, 1984: 517). Bourdieu (1984: 35-41) found aesthetic disposition to vary as a function of educational capital, with people endowed with high educational capital tending to attribute a lower aesthetic value to the "corny," "easy," and "clichéd" themes (e.g., sunset) and to aesthetically prize the themes that members of the working class judged meaningless (e.g., tree bark). Reversely, people endowed with low

educational capital appeared to value the “clichéd” themes. In addition, Bourdieu found that women were prone to reject as ugly the so-called “repugnant, horrible or distasteful” themes more strongly than men (1984: 39).

To date, empirical studies have echoed Bourdieu’s findings regarding the predominance of form over function in people exhibiting higher levels of educational capital (e.g., Holt, 1998; Jarness, 2015). Contrariwise, the propensity to assign a positive aesthetic value to virtually any object or topic has received limited sociological attention—despite the recognition of its relevance to sociological theories of cultural consumption, in particular those based on eclecticism (Lizardo and Skiles, 2008; 2012). This state of affairs might notably be due to two factors. First, the diversity of the conceptualizations and operationalizations of aesthetic disposition used in sociological research (e.g., Csikszentmihalyi and Robinson, 1990; Roose, 2008; Daenekindt, 2017). For instance, Daenekindt and Roose (2013) applied a general definition of aesthetic disposition to the cinematographic domain. According to these authors, aesthetic disposition refers to “the deep underlying expectations people gave about the arts” (p. 49), and to the “ways in which individuals appropriate works of art, to the relative importance of certain aspects of the aesthetic judgement over other aspects.” Daenekindt and Roose (2013) operationalized aesthetic disposition as the importance attached to, *inter alia*, the presence in a movie of “action and adventure” or of “characters [one] can relate to” (p. 53). Such indicators relate only indirectly to the capacity and propensity to aestheticize. Second, the pervasiveness of the “what” (e.g., which cultural goods are consumed or liked) and the concomitant neglect of the “how” and the “why” (e.g., how and why cultural goods are consumed or liked) in research on the stratification of tastes and cultural practices (Hanquinet et al., 2014; Jarness, 2015).

While sociologists have conducted little research on the propensity to aestheticize common or negatively connoted objects, psychologists have addressed issues that are closely related to it. As an illustration, Zaleski (1984) and Rawlings (2003) showed that, compared to men, women

assigned a lower aesthetic value to unpleasant and violent visual stimuli. These findings are consistent with Bourdieu's. It should be noted that the research literature focusing on the role of openness in aesthetic preferences may be consistent with Bourdieu's findings as well. Owing to the links between openness and educational performance (Poropat, 2009), this literature may incidentally support Bourdieu's view of the social stratification of aesthetic disposition. However, integrative studies would be needed to clarify this point. Psychologists have not frequently included sociological variables in their studies of aesthetic preferences (Swami and Furnham, 2014), with the notable exception of the research on the role of expertise in aesthetic judgment (e.g., Hekkert and van Wieringen, 1996; Jankowski et al., 2020). In parallel, variables examined in psychology of aesthetics and cultural preferences have seldom been investigated by sociologists involved in the study of cultural tastes and practices (Brisson, 2019). Unfortunately, this state of affairs hinders the development of comprehensive theories in which aesthetic experience and cultural consumption could be approached at various levels of observation simultaneously.

Because Bourdieu's conception of aesthetic disposition as an *ability to aestheticize* creates a bridge between the psychology and sociology of aesthetics, we conducted our study within Bourdieu's framework. Within Bourdieu's framework, educational capital represents a key feature of cultural capital, defined as the skills, knowledge, and cultural resources that an individual owns (Bourdieu, 1984; 1986). More specifically, Bourdieu (1986) distinguished between embodied (e.g., the scope of one's lexicon, the command of multiple programming languages), objectified (e.g., owning encyclopedias, software packages), and institutionalized (e.g., diplomas, certificates) forms of cultural capital. Importantly, Bourdieu (1984) used this latter form as an indicator of cultural capital in his investigations of the determinants of aesthetic disposition (see also Bourdieu and Darbel, 1990).

We relied on educational capital in this study because of a lack of reliable and valid measures of the embodied and objectified forms of cultural capital. Over the past decades, the construct of cultural capital has been subject to a variety of ad hoc operationalizations (Vryonides, 2007; Draelants and Ballatore, 2014; Sieben and Lechner, 2019). Only a few researchers have created instruments assessing cultural capital (e.g., see Gossman, 2018). However, the tools and ad hoc operationalizations available (e.g., see DiMaggio, 1982; Dumais, 2002; Kraaykamp and van Eijck, 2010) are problematic for at least three reasons. First, they circumscribe cultural capital to “highbrow” artistic domains (e.g., attending an opera). Second, they rely on either misleading or speculative delineations of cultural hierarchy (see Brisson, 2019, 11). Third, they operationalize embodied cultural capital in terms of cultural participation or taste rather than in terms of general and specific knowledge. It should be recalled, however, that embodied cultural capital comprises, for instance, the “knowledge of Greek or of integral calculus” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, 98). Unfortunately, the neglect of domains unrelated to “classic culture” and to the so-called fine arts prevents these operationalizations from capturing the core of Bourdieu’s construct of cultural capital. It is of note, moreover, that the existing measures of the objectified form of cultural capital (Gossman, 2018; Sieben and Lechner, 2019) do not take into account the digitalization of the media industry (press, music, motion picture, etc.). Owing to the development of over-the-top platforms and to the availability of free online products and services (e.g., dictionaries, software packages, tutorials, etc.), an increasing number of cultural goods and resources are consumed without being owned by consumers (INSEE, 2020). Such (relatively) recent dynamics in the field of cultural production and consumption may erode current measurement of objectified cultural capital.

In this study, we assessed the respective influence of educational capital, openness, and sex on aesthetic disposition in French high-school students. We also compared the predictive power of educational capital and openness in terms of aesthetic disposition and examined the link

between these two predictors. The scarcity of studies on aesthetic disposition and cultural dispositions involving psychological *and* social factors makes it difficult to formulate specific hypotheses regarding the joint influence of the examined predictors on aesthetic disposition. As a result, our study is partly exploratory.

## METHOD

*Study samples.* The present study involved two convenience samples. The first sample comprised 119 students from a general secondary school ( $M_{AGE} = 16.46$ ,  $SD_{AGE} = 0.65$ ; 69% female). We recruited these participants from the three streams that French general high schools provide, namely, the “economics and social sciences,” “humanities,” and “natural science” streams. The higher prevalence of girls within this sample is consistent with the overrepresentation of girls within the streams “economics and social sciences” and “humanities” (Ministère de l’éducation nationale and Ministère de l’enseignement supérieur, de la recherche et de l’innovation, 2017). The second sample comprised 185 students from a vocational secondary school that provides sales and customer services trainings ( $M_{AGE} = 17.20$ ,  $SD_{AGE} = 1.01$ ; 59% female). Both high schools were located in medium-sized towns in the East of France. We surveyed only 11<sup>th</sup>- and 12<sup>th</sup>-graders.

*Educational capital, openness, and sex (independent variables).* Differences in educational capital were reflected in the samples themselves. We contrasted students from a general high school (sample 1; higher educational capital) with students from a vocational high school (sample 2; lower educational capital). In France, vocational high schools are perceived, and often operate, as instruments of social relegation (Palheta, 2012; Caille, 2014; OECD, 2016a). A large proportion of students attending vocational high schools exhibit lower learning abilities, difficulties in basic mathematics, and deficits in the comprehension of both oral and written

contents since primary school (Caille, 2014). Absenteeism and dropouts are more prevalent in vocational high schools than in general high schools (OECS, 2016b; 2016c). France is one of the OECD countries in which differences in PISA scientific-performance measures between general and vocational high-school students are the strongest (OECD, 2016b). Considered together, these points suggest that the distinction between general and vocational high schools is highly relevant to educational capital. Although our data included information about social origin (as indexed by parents' educational level and occupation), we did not create independent variables based on such information because of the under-representation of students from the upper classes in our study samples. It is of note, however, that about 50% of the parents of vocational high-school students had no diploma at all, and 93% possessed a relatively low educational capital (i.e.  $\leq$  "baccalauréat," the French high school diploma). Among general high-school students, these rates were about 19% and 50%, respectively. These discrepancies are in line with those reported in national studies (e.g., Caille, 2014).

Openness was assessed with the NEO Five-Factor Inventory (NEO-FFI; McCrae and Costa, 2004; Rolland et al., 1998). The NEO-FFI measures openness with a 12-item subscale (sample item: "I have a lot of intellectual curiosity."). Participants responded using a 5-point scale (from 0 for "strongly disagree" to 4 for "strongly agree"). Cronbach's alpha was .79 (composite reliability = .82).

Because Bourdieu (1984) found sex differences in the distribution of aesthetic disposition, we performed additional analyses with sex as an independent variable.

*Measurement of aesthetic disposition (dependent variable).* Bourdieu's original questionnaire asked respondents to indicate whether, "with [different] subjects, a photographer [is] more likely to produce a beautiful, interesting, meaningless or ugly photo" (Bourdieu, 1984: 517). Unlike Bourdieu, we did not use forced-choice questions involving an alternative between

beauty and interest. In our estimation, such questions are problematic because they treat beauty and interest as mutually exclusive factors. Relatedly, such measures prevent the investigator from assessing the link between beauty and interest. In this context, we initially aimed to use two distinct rating scales related to beauty and to interest. However, a pilot study involving 15 adolescents revealed that the expression “an interesting photograph” was equivocal for about 50% of the respondents. We therefore focused only on the assessment of beauty. We asked participants to indicate on a five-point rating scale whether, “with the following themes, a photographer is more likely to take a (1) very ugly, (2) ugly, (3) neither ugly nor beautiful, (4) beautiful, or (5) a very beautiful photograph.”

We relied on 20 themes, seven of which were used in Bourdieu’s inventory (1984: 604). Those seven items are: *bark of a tree*, *breast-feeding woman*, *car crash*, *famous monument*, *metal frame*, *quarreling tramps*, and *sunset*. We excluded the other items used in *Distinction* because of their “sophistication” and/or vagueness. Pretests involving 15 adolescents selected based on the educational level of their parents (i.e., no diploma or secondary-school degree; Bachelor degree; Master degree) revealed, for instance, that most participants whose parents had a low educational capital did not know the meaning of “still life;” the item “landscape” elicited reactions such as “It depends on the kind of landscape” from a majority of participants; most pre-testers expressed difficulties understanding the item “a weaver at his loom.” Based on (a) discussions with three sociologists specialized in the domain of culture and art and (b) the abovementioned pretests, we added the following 13 items: an *abandoned cat*, a *beetle*, a *deserted street at night*, a *luxury car*, a *naked old man*, a *pile of banknotes*, a *prison cell*, *religious people praying*, a *sad child*, a *starry sky*, a *surgical operation*, a *vegetable stall*, and a *wedding couple*. Our selection process was guided by the objective of including items that were positively (e.g., “starry sky”) and negatively (e.g., “surgical operation”) connoted as well as items having more “neutral” contents (e.g., “vegetable stall”). These features are in line with

Bourdieu's method of item selection (1984). We additionally note that a number of psychological studies of aesthetic preferences relied on unpleasant and unconventional items (for an overview, see Swami and Furnham, 2014). The reliability of our aesthetic disposition inventory, as indexed by Cronbach's alpha, was .83 (composite reliability = .89). We used the 20 items of this inventory as dependent variables.

In addition, we created for each participant two general scores: first, an aesthetic disposition mean score; second, a score indicating how many themes were considered likely to produce a beautiful photograph (dichotomized score). This latter score was computed via data recoding. The option responses "very ugly," "ugly," and "neither ugly nor beautiful" were recoded 0. The option responses "beautiful" and "very beautiful" were recoded 1. Both scores were used as additional dependent variables.

*Data analyses.* We relied on the Mann-Whitney U-test to compare our groups of students and investigate possible sex differences. We also computed, for each comparison, the corresponding Cohen's  $d$  and  $\eta^2$ . We distinguished between small, medium, and large effects based on the following benchmark values: 0.2, 0.5, and 0.8 for Cohen's  $d$  and 0.01, 0.06, and 0.14 for  $\eta^2$  (Cohen, 1988; 1992; Fritz, Morris, and Richler, 2012). We used a general linear model, t-tests, and correlational analyses to estimate the associations of educational capital, openness, and sex with aesthetic disposition. The link between openness and aesthetic disposition was assessed based on two types of analyses. First, we computed Kendall and Spearman correlations, the results of which are reported in the present manuscript. Second, we conducted Mann-Whitney U-tests, the results of which are displayed in Supplementary Material. We performed Mann-Whitney U-tests to harmonize the measures of effect size linked to the impact of our three predictors on aesthetic disposition. This required us to distinguish, based on the central point of the openness scale (i.e., a score of 2), between students with higher openness (i.e.,  $\geq 2$ ;  $n = 210$ ) and students with lower openness (i.e.,  $< 2$ ;  $n = 94$ ). We re-ran the analysis based on a median

split (median for openness = 2.25) in order to further examine the consistency and robustness of our findings.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

We found that aesthetic disposition was positively associated with educational capital. As shown in Table 1, general high-school students exhibited a higher aesthetic mean score (3.52,  $SD = 0.54$ ) than vocational high-school students (2.95,  $SD = 0.48$ ),  $p < 0.001$ . The effect size was large ( $d = 0.99$ ). Educational capital accounted for about 24% of the variance in aesthetic disposition in this scale-level analysis. Moreover, general high-school students indicated, on average, that 11 of the 20 items under examination were likely to produce a beautiful photograph, against 8 in vocational high-school students,  $p < 0.001$ . Again, the effect size was large ( $d = 0.85$ ). Educational capital accounted for about 19% of the variance in aesthetic disposition in this item-level analysis. Although general high-school students did not appear to be “pure aesthetes,” they attributed a positive aesthetic value (score  $> 3$ ) to 15 of the 20 items included in our study. In comparison, vocational high-school students ascribed a positive aesthetic value to only 9 of the 20 items. It is of note that the relative distance to “pure aesthetic” that we found in both samples might be partly due to the survey question itself. The phrasing of the survey question may have attenuated (or restrained) the manifestation of (“pure”) aesthetic disposition. Asking whether a photographer is more likely to take a more or less beautiful photograph as a function of the themes of interest may have implicitly led our participants to suppose that some of these themes were likely to produce ugly (or neither beautiful, nor ugly) photographs. Respondents may have considered that, if all themes were equally prone to produce a beautiful photograph, we would not have asked them to answer such a question.

Table 1. Aesthetic disposition and educational capital.

	High EC		Low EC		U	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$	<i>d</i>
	M	SD	M	SD				
Abandoned cat	3.22	1.24	2.25	1.20	6349	<b>.000</b>	<i>.136</i>	<i>0.75</i>
Bark of a tree	4.03	1.02	2.88	1.25	5285	<b>.000</b>	<b>.205</b>	<b>0.88</b>
Beetle	3.75	1.17	2.68	1.25	5906	<b>.000</b>	<b>.162</b>	<b>0.80</b>
Breast-feeding woman	4.06	0.91	3.21	1.28	6749.5	<b>.000</b>	<i>.115</i>	<i>0.70</i>
Car crash	2.43	1.25	1.62	0.95	6829	<b>.000</b>	<i>.122</i>	<i>0.71</i>
Deserted street at night	4.35	0.85	3.72	1.19	7543.5	<b>.000</b>	<i>.079</i>	<i>0.57</i>
Famous monument	4.05	0.88	4.08	0.99	10572	.537	.001	0.03
Luxury car	3.15	1.30	4.36	0.90	5089	<b>.000</b>	<b>.229</b>	<b>0.98</b>
Metal frame	3.12	1.19	2.09	1.14	6022	<b>.000</b>	<b>.157</b>	<b>0.81</b>
Naked old man	2.34	1.31	1.34	0.81	5969	<b>.000</b>	<b>.205</b>	<b>0.88</b>
Pile of banknotes	2.95	1.20	3.79	1.24	6782	<b>.000</b>	<i>.113</i>	<i>0.65</i>
Prison cell	3.11	1.26	2.18	1.23	6588	<b>.000</b>	<i>.122</i>	<i>0.70</i>
Quarreling tramps	2.75	1.32	1.61	1.00	5633.5	<b>.000</b>	<b>.200</b>	<b>0.90</b>
Religious people praying	3.57	1.19	3.26	1.44	9845	.107	.009	0.23
Sad child	3.66	1.15	2.35	1.37	5303.5	<b>.000</b>	<b>.202</b>	<b>0.91</b>
Starry sky	4.76	0.55	4.73	0.61	10815	.708	.000	0.06
Sunset	4.72	0.54	4.63	0.70	10601.5	.478	.002	0.14
Surgical operation	2.74	1.22	1.66	1.03	5530	<b>.000</b>	<b>.201</b>	<b>0.88</b>
Vegetable stall	3.50	1.06	2.46	1.25	6036.5	<b>.000</b>	<b>.155</b>	<b>0.81</b>
Wedding couple	4.21	0.87	4.19	1.05	10597	.552	.001	0.02
AD mean score	3.52	0.54	2.95	0.48	4650.5	<b>.000</b>	<b>.239</b>	<b>0.99</b>
AD dichotomized score	11.01	3.78	7.93	2.98	5438.5	<b>.000</b>	<b>.185</b>	<b>0.85</b>

Notes: "EC" = "Educational Capital;" "AD" = "Aesthetic Disposition;" *p* values < .01,  $\eta^2$  > 0.14, and Cohen's *d* > 0.8 are bolded; Cohen's *d*  $\geq$  0.5 and  $\leq$  0.8 and  $\eta^2 \geq$  0.6 and  $\leq$  0.14 are italicized.

Consistent with these general findings, we found that a large majority of the item-per-item differences between general high-school students and vocational high-school students were statistically significant (Table 1). Cohen's *d*'s mainly signaled medium to large effects, with educational capital accounting on average for about 13% of the variance in aesthetic disposition. General high-school students assigned a higher aesthetic value than their counterparts to 17 of the 20 items under examination; 13 of these 17 cases involved a significant difference, *ps* < .001. Remarkably, vocational high-school students ascribed a significantly higher aesthetic value than general high-school students only to the items "luxury car" and "pile of banknotes," two items that can be viewed as emblematic of economic success. This result may illustrate one of the major characteristics of the "popular taste," namely, the tendency to deduce the aesthetic value of an object or a subject from its social utility or social function (Bourdieu, 1984).

Interestingly, the five non-significant differences displayed in Table 1 involve four positively-connoted, clichéd items: “famous monument;” “starry sky;” “sunset;” and “wedding couple.” Unlike Bourdieu, we did not find such items to be less aesthetically valued by participants endowed with higher educational capital. However, only a finer examination of the characteristics of a larger sample, especially in terms of social origin and school achievement, would allow us to clarify this point. In any case, the observed between-sample differences primarily relate to the negatively connoted and to the “neutral” items. Thus, our findings partially reflect the detachment, mentioned by Bourdieu (1984: 34), “vis-à-vis ‘first-degree’ perception [that consists in] displacing the interest from the ‘content’, characters, plot etc., to the form, to the specifically artistic effects.”

The ability to distance oneself from “first-degree perception,” immediate emotional insight, seriousness, univocity, or literal interpretation is involved in socio-cognitive domains such as (dark) humor, irony, and metaphor, which have been suggested to be linked to socioeconomic status (Blasko, 1999; Kuipers, 2006; Chiappe and Chiappe 2007; Friedman 2011; Beaty and Silvia, 2013; Friedman and Kuipers, 2013; Hackman et al., 2015; Zaboski et al., 2018). Because educational capital entails linguistic and, more generally, cognitive resources and structures (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; Bourdieu, 1990 [1980]), and given the links between cognitive skills and social background (Bradley and Corwin, 2002; Noble et al., 2007; Hackman and Farah, 2009; Pakulak and Neville, 2010), our results may partly reflect differences in cognitive styles and abilities (e.g., divergent thinking). However, other factors, such as exposure to and interest in visual arts, may account for the observed between-sample differences. Further research on aesthetic disposition would certainly benefit from the mobilization of (a) indicators of exposure to visual arts, (b) respondents committed in photographic activities and endowed with different levels of educational capital, and (c) socio-cognitive measures (e.g., divergent thinking, creativity).

On a different note, our results may partly reflect differences in terms of norm conformity and social desirability. The perception of socially desirable responses may differ at both between- and within-sample levels, because of a different understanding of the nature of the exercise in participants (e.g., curricular vs. extracurricular; “serious” vs. “entertaining”) or of the status of the sociologist (e.g., “a cultured person” vs. “just a guy”). For instance, the fact of considering the social scientist a cultured person, coupled with the administration of the questionnaire in the classroom, might have strengthened the manifestation of “cultural goodwill” (Bourdieu, 1984: 318-319). Moreover, owing to the use of five-point rating scales in the present study, we cannot rule out a potential *extreme response style* effect (Berg, 1953; Greenleaf, 1992; Meisenberg and Williams, 2008). Indeed, on average, general high-school students selected 8.00 extreme response options, against 10.58 in vocational high-school students. While our dichotomized scores suggest that the effect of extreme response style is modest, future studies could attempt to better control this variable.

Our results were not suggestive of a marked link between aesthetic disposition and sex. As shown in Table 2, mean aesthetic disposition scores did not significantly vary as a function of sex. Although the difference between boys and girls regarding the number of items considered likely to generate a beautiful photograph was statistically significant, the corresponding Cohen’s *d* was small (0.22), and the explained variance relatively limited (1.5%). Within-sample analyses revealed that sex did not significantly affect the number of items aesthetically valued. In sum, sex effects appeared to be of relatively weak importance in this study.

Only four item-per-item comparisons between boys and girls were statistically significant (Table 2). Globally, effect sizes were small. Girls valued the items “breast-feeding woman” and “wedding couple” more compared to boys. Boys valued the items “luxury car” and “pile of banknotes” more compared to girls. Within-sample associations were rather inconsistent with the above-reported associations. We found only two significant differences in general high-

school students (“breast-feeding woman” and “naked old man”), against six in vocational high-school students (“car crash,” “luxury car,” “pile of banknotes,” “prison cell,” “quarreling tramps,” and “wedding couple”). However, because the corresponding effect sizes turned out to be very small, these significant differences can be considered of minor importance. Overall, our findings regarding sex partly corroborate Bourdieu’s: both studies indeed highlighted a minor sex effect. However, our results differ from those obtained by Bourdieu (1984), Zaleski (1984), and Rawlings (2003) in that we did not find girls to reject negatively connoted items as ugly more strongly than boys. Future studies may further investigate the role of sex in the aesthetic judgment of negatively-connoted items.

Table 2. Aesthetic disposition and sex.

	Boys		Girls		U	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$	<i>d</i>
	M	SD	M	SD				
Abandoned cat	2.52	1.23	2.69	1.34	9951	.264	.004	0.13
Bark of a tree	3.21	1.26	3.40	1.31	9831	.199	.005	0.14
Beetle	3.08	1.27	3.11	1.36	10520	.747	.000	0.02
Breast-feeding woman	3.27	1.17	3.70	1.23	8272	<b>.001</b>	.040	0.35
Car crash	2.08	1.19	1.85	1.11	9557.5	.078	.010	0.20
Deserted street at night	3.90	1.21	4.01	1.05	10479	.696	.001	0.10
Famous monument	4.13	0.93	4.04	0.96	10205	.432	.002	0.09
Luxury car	4.23	1.06	3.68	1.27	8008	<b>.000</b>	.050	0.45
Metal frame	2.48	1.17	2.49	1.32	10657	.894	.000	0.01
Naked old man	1.55	0.90	1.84	1.25	9922.5	.189	.006	0.25
Pile of banknotes	3.87	1.20	3.23	1.29	7746.5	<b>.000</b>	.059	0.49
Prison cell	2.55	1.21	2.54	1.38	10554	.783	.000	0.01
Quarreling tramps	2.06	1.26	2.05	1.27	10586.5	.809	.000	0.01
Religious people praying	3.23	1.26	3.47	1.41	9369.5	.053	.012	0.18
Sad child	2.68	1.35	2.97	1.48	9501.5	.083	.010	0.21
Starry sky	4.71	0.68	4.77	0.52	10623	.800	.000	0.10
Sunset	4.61	0.71	4.70	0.60	10110.5	.257	.004	0.15
Surgical operation	2.04	1.16	2.10	1.27	10638.5	.870	.000	0.05
Vegetable stall	2.94	1.22	2.83	1.32	10358.5	.583	.001	0.09
Wedding couple	4.01	0.97	4.31	0.97	8464	<b>.001</b>	.037	0.31
AD mean score	3.16	0.58	3.19	0.58	10593.5	.830	.000	0.05
AD dichotomized score	8.62	3.91	9.43	3.44	9185	<i>.033</i>	.015	0.22

Notes: “AD” = “Aesthetic Disposition;” *p* values < .01 are bolded; *p* values > .01 and < .05 are italicized.

Finally, personality trait openness was found to influence aesthetic disposition, but to a lesser extent than educational capital (Table 3). The results of our item-per-item comparisons (Table 4; Supplementary File 1) were consistent with this trend. They also revealed that the impact of educational capital and openness involved similar patterns of aesthetic evaluation. General high-school students as well as students with higher scores of openness assigned a higher aesthetic value to the “neutral” and negatively connoted items, compared to their counterparts. Moreover, neither educational capital nor openness influenced the evaluation of clichéd items. Importantly, openness was linked to educational capital: general high-school students ( $M = 32.62$ ;  $SD = 6.99$ ) were more open than vocational high-school students ( $M = 24.02$ ;  $SD = 7.20$ ). The effect of educational capital on openness was large ( $t = 10.35$ ;  $p < .001$ ;  $d = 1.04$ ;  $\eta^2 = .259$ ). A partial correlation showed that, when controlling for educational capital, openness correlated weakly with aesthetic disposition mean score (partial  $r = .174$  vs.  $r = .369$ ). Although girls ( $M = 28.06$ ;  $SD = 7.95$ ) were more open than boys ( $M = 26.22$ ;  $SD = 8.69$ ), a  $t$ -test revealed that the difference in question was only marginally significant ( $t = 1.88$ ;  $p = .061$ ).

Table 3. Influence of educational capital, openness, and sex on aesthetic disposition mean score (general linear model).

	F	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$	CI	
Educational capital	35.673	<b>.000</b>	<i>.131</i>	-13.743	7.522
Openness	10.406	<b>.001</b>	.034	0.102	0.420
Sex	0.054	.816	.000	-5.682	2.152
Educational capital*Sex	2.719	.100	.009	-0.796	9.017

Notes:  $p$  values  $< .01$  are bolded;  $\eta^2 > 0.06$  are italicized.

Our findings pertaining to the links between aesthetic disposition, educational capital, and openness are of interest for at least two reasons. First, they underline the relevance of using both sociological and psychological variables in research on aesthetic disposition and aesthetic experience. The conducted analyses indeed captured the unique contribution of educational capital and openness in accounting for aesthetic disposition. Future research on aesthetic

disposition may involve a larger array of personality traits, including those pertaining to the so-called “dark triad” (i.e., Machiavellianism, psychopathy, and narcissism; Paulhus and Williams, 2002). This may allow us to better understand the links between ethics and aesthetics. Second, the relationship between openness and educational capital questions the basis of personality traits and, more specifically, of the interactions between genetic and environmental factors (Briley and Tucker-Drob, 2014; Sanchez-Roige et al., 2018). Social background and socioeconomic status may substantially contribute to shaping openness. Further research on the genesis and development of personality traits may benefit from a more systematic inclusion of sociological variables.

Table 4. Aesthetic disposition and openness: correlational analyses (Kendall's  $\tau$  and Spearman's  $\rho$ ).

	$\tau$	$p$		$\tau$	$p$
Abandoned cat	.228	.000	Pile of banknotes	-.202	.000
Bark of a tree	.247	.000	Prison cell	.216	.000
Beetle	.244	.000	Quarreling tramps	.251	.000
Breast-feeding woman	.176	.000	Religious people praying	.094	.031
Car crash	.188	.000	Sad child	.240	.000
Deserted street at night	.205	.000	Starry sky	.001	.984
Famous monument	-.018	.690	Sunset	.039	.401
Luxury car	-.280	.000	Surgical operation	.207	.000
Metal frame	.280	.000	Vegetable stall	.212	.000
Naked old man	.295	.000	Wedding couple	-.032	.482
	$\rho$	$p$		$\rho$	$p$
AD mean score	.369	.000	AD dichotomized score	.346	.000

## CONCLUSION

This study addressed the issue of whether and how aesthetic disposition varied as a function of educational capital, openness, and sex in French high-school students. Our findings support Bourdieu's view that aesthetic disposition is dependent on educational capital. By contrast with Bourdieu, however, we found that the appreciation of clichéd items was relatively immune to

differences in educational capital. Moreover, we did not observe the sex effect pertaining to negatively-connoted items documented in past research. Our results suggest that openness and educational capital both contribute to explaining variance in aesthetic disposition, although the impact of educational capital appears to be stronger. All in all, our study suggests that educational capital and openness are both important for understanding differences in aesthetic disposition.

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**Supplementary Material 1.** Aesthetic disposition and openness—midpoint split procedure.

	High openness		Low openness		U	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$	<i>d</i>
	M	SD	M	SD				
Abandoned cat	2.80	1.327	2.26	1.163	7539	<b>.001</b>	.038	0.41
Bark of a tree	3.53	1.250	2.88	1.286	7061	<b>.000</b>	.055	<i>0.50</i>
Beetle	3.28	1.345	2.70	1.199	7355	<b>.000</b>	.044	0.43
Breast-feeding woman	3.65	1.222	3.30	1.199	8155.5	<i>.012</i>	.021	0.29
Car crash	2.12	1.214	1.52	0.839	7194.5	<b>.000</b>	.056	<i>0.52</i>
Deserted street at night	4.07	1.105	3.76	1.094	8014.5	<b>.006</b>	.025	0.28
Famous monument	4.08	0.937	4.04	0.972	9685	.782	.000	0.04
Luxury car	3.67	1.287	4.36	0.914	6789	<b>.000</b>	<i>.069</i>	<i>0.56</i>
Metal frame	2.69	1.289	2.05	1.101	7152	<b>.000</b>	.052	<i>0.50</i>
Naked old man	1.89	1.242	1.38	0.777	7761.5	<b>.000</b>	.040	0.44
Pile of banknotes	3.30	1.286	3.84	1.230	7388	<b>.000</b>	.043	0.42
Prison cell	2.74	1.332	2.12	1.190	7252.5	<b>.000</b>	.048	0.47
Quarreling tramps	2.23	1.326	1.65	1.013	7442	<b>.000</b>	.045	0.46
Religious people praying	3.50	1.299	3.14	1.456	8521	<i>.048</i>	.013	0.26
Sad child	3.09	1.442	2.37	1.303	7077.5	<b>.000</b>	.054	<i>0.50</i>
Starry sky	4.74	0.587	4.74	0.585	9744.5	.797	.000	0.00
Sunset	4.71	0.592	4.57	0.740	9088.5	.149	.007	0.21
Surgical operation	2.23	1.289	1.76	1.002	7942	<b>.004</b>	.028	0.39
Vegetable stall	3.02	1.290	2.53	1.216	7743	<b>.002</b>	.032	0.38
Wedding couple	4.19	0.997	4.23	0.944	9654	.741	.000	0.05
AD mean score	3.27	0.611	2.96	0.419	6566.5	<b>.000</b>	<i>.072</i>	<i>0.54</i>
AD dichotomized score	9.69	3.938	7.90	2.463	7015	<b>.000</b>	.054	0.49

Notes: *p* values < .01 are bolded; *p* values > .01 and < .05, Cohen's *d*  $\geq 0.5$  and  $\leq 0.8$ , as well as  $\eta^2 \geq .06$  and  $\leq .14$  are italicized.

**Supplementary Material 2.** Aesthetic disposition and openness—median split procedure.

	High openness		Low openness		U	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$	<i>d</i>
	M	SD	M	SD				
Abandoned cat	2.92	1.367	2.34	1.166	8700.5	.000	.049	0.44
Bark of a tree	3.67	1.245	2.98	1.252	7877.5	.000	.081	0.54
Beetle	3.46	1.293	2.74	1.263	7904	.000	.079	0.54
Breast-feeding woman	3.73	1.164	3.34	1.255	9509	.006	.025	0.32
Car crash	2.16	1.238	1.70	0.992	9153.5	.001	.038	0.40
Deserted street at night	4.18	1.041	3.75	1.137	8824.5	.000	.047	0.39
Famous monument	4.08	0.896	4.05	0.999	11535	.982	.000	0.03
Luxury car	3.52	1.318	4.26	0.996	7737.5	.000	.091	0.61
Metal frame	2.86	1.279	2.12	1.143	7839	.000	.083	0.58
Naked old man	2.09	1.335	1.37	0.754	8110.5	.000	.091	0.63
Pile of banknotes	3.14	1.269	3.79	1.236	8176.5	.000	.069	0.50
Prison cell	2.82	1.325	2.27	1.259	8836	.000	.044	0.41
Quarreling tramps	2.41	1.369	1.70	1.039	8197	.000	.074	0.56
Religious people praying	3.50	1.273	3.26	1.432	10575.5	.187	.006	0.18
Sad child	3.21	1.427	2.52	1.366	8390	.000	.059	0.48
Starry sky	4.76	0.526	4.73	0.642	11451	.849	.000	0.05
Sunset	4.73	0.513	4.60	0.749	10954.5	.309	.003	0.20
Surgical operation	2.37	1.297	1.79	1.075	8583	.000	.056	0.48
Vegetable stall	3.18	1.252	2.56	1.247	8436	.000	.058	0.48
Wedding couple	4.16	0.956	4.24	1.005	10765	.266	.004	0.08
AD mean score	3.35	0.630	3.01	0.460	7628	.000	.087	0.59
AD dichotomized score	10.10	4.002	8.16	2.910	8191.5	.000	.064	0.53

Notes: *p* values < .05, Cohen's *d*  $\geq 0.5$  and  $\leq 0.8$ , as well as  $\eta^2 \geq .06$  and  $\leq .14$  are italicized.

## Article 5

Cultural distinction in young adolescents: A test of Bourdieu's homology thesis

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### Abstract

Based on a survey covering several cultural areas (e.g., music, movies, reading, painting, photography, museum), the present study assessed the validity of Bourdieu's homology thesis in French young adolescents ( $n = 703$ ). More specifically, I examined the influence of cultural capital and sex on the distribution of cultural tastes and consumption. Results indicated that, in most cultural areas and in most cases, cultural capital played a decisive role in such distributions. Sex turned out to be a much weaker contributory factor to cultural distinction. Overall, these findings suggest that the principles underlying the social distribution of cultural tastes and consumption in adults may already operate in early adolescence. The discussion highlights the possible role of hysteresis in such a process and underscores the importance of further investigating the links between ethics and aesthetics.

Keywords: homology thesis; young adolescents; cultural capital; cultural tastes; cultural consumption; aesthetic disposition; hysteresis.

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## Introduction

Sociologists have long lamented a lack of studies dedicated to children and young adolescents within their own discipline (e.g., see Ritchie and Koller, 1964; Ambert, 1986; Brannen and O'Brien, 1995; Butler and Shaw, 1996; Octobre, 2004; Albanese, 2009; Lahire, 2019). Although sociology of childhood and adolescence has developed substantially over the past decades (Bass, 2010; Prout, 2011; Brady, Lowe, and Lauritzen, 2015; Corsaro, 2017 [1<sup>st</sup> ed., 1997]), this research area tends, according to some scholars (Sirota, 2006; Bühler-Niederberger, 2010; Moran-Ellis, 2010), to remain separated from the sociological literature on adults. Subsequently, with the exception of the agency issue, which is thought to constitute the seminal core of the emergence of childhood studies (James, 2009; Garnier, 2015), the sociological literature on childhood and adolescence has not been comprehensively integrated into general theory. This state of affairs applies to the sociology of cultural tastes and practices (Octobre et al., 2010; Waty, 2010). For instance, Hanquinet and Savage's handbook of sociology of art and culture (2016) comprises no section dealing with children and adolescents. In a similar vein, the two dominant theses accounting for the social distribution of cultural tastes and consumption—namely, the homology thesis (Bourdieu and de Saint Martin, 1976; Bourdieu, 1984) and the omnivorousness thesis (Peterson, 1992, 1997)—have seldom been tested in children and young adolescents (i.e.  $\leq 14$  years old). Indeed, most studies on adolescents have involved middle and/or late ones (e.g., van Wel et al., 2008; Nagel, 2010; Adriaens, Van Damme, and Courtois, 2011; Voisin, 2013; Pedersen, Jarness, and Flemmen, 2018). As an illustration, Willekens and Lievens (2014) analyzed data pertaining to 1150 “adolescents,” 48% of which were aged 19-25. Some other studies did investigate children's and/or young adolescents' cultural dispositions, but retrospectively (Kraaykamp, 2001, 2003; Nagel and Ganzeboom, 2002; Kraaykamp and van Eijck, 2010; van Hek and Kraaykamp, 2015; Dumais, 2019). Thus, the examination of children's and young adolescents' cultural repertoires has been

extremely limited, although the mention of early socialization has been regularly used as an explanatory key of adults' cultural profile (Bourdieu, 1984; van Eijck, 1999; Lizardo and Skiles, 2012). While a few exceptions are noticeable (e.g., van Wel et al., 1996, 2006; Lareau, 2000; Kaufman and Gabler, 2004; Dumais, 2006; Octobre et al., 2010; Lagaert, Van Houtte, and Roose, 2017), a large number of these studies focused on gender (e.g., Schmutz, Stearns, and Glennie, 2016), on a peculiar cultural domain, such as dance (Sanderson, 2001), museum (Lemerise, 1999), music (e.g., ter Bogt et al., 2011) or reading (e.g., Wollscheid, 2014), or relied on a very narrow set of indicators of cultural participation (e.g., Kaiser and Schneickert, 2016). In sum, studies involving multiple cultural fields and dedicated to the test of the homology thesis and/or the omnivorousness thesis in children and young adolescents are lacking.

The aim of the present study is to contribute to plugging this gap by testing Bourdieu's homology thesis in young adolescents. I note that I relied on the homology thesis rather than on the omnivorousness thesis because the former logically encompasses the latter and does not require degrees of cultural legitimacy to be delineated. Put differently, omnivorousness, as Peterson (1992) conceived it (i.e. as the opposite of snobbism), is a potential peculiar case of the homology thesis, since it is supposed to involve associations between cultural repertoires and social characteristics. Indeed, structural homology is operative "as long as we are able to discern specific taste patterns (even an omnivorous one) within specific social groups, (...) although the organizing principles determining what is appreciated by whom may have undergone a transformation" (van Eijck 2001, p. 1166). More specifically, the homology thesis posits that the principles that structure the space of cultural tastes and consumption are similar to those that organize the space of social positions. These principles are anchored in the volume and composition of capital. Volume relates to the total amount of cultural and economic capital; composition, to the respective weight of these two types of capital within the global volume of

capital. Bourdieu (1984) found cultural tastes and practices to vary as a function of the position occupied within the social space at both the between-class (volume effect) and the within-class (composition effect) level (see also the re-analyses of Bourdieu's data by Brisson and Bianchi, 2015, 2017). In particular, Bourdieu (1984) emphasized that educational capital and social origin accounted for more variability in cultural dispositions than age and sex.

While a large number of studies have continuously supported the main tenets of the homology thesis over the past few decades (Holt, 1997, 1998; Tomlinson, 2003; Tampubolon, 2008; Bennett et al., 2009; Atkinson, 2011; Heikkilä and Rahkonen, 2011; Purhonen and Wright, 2013; Deeming, 2014; Jarness, 2015; Veenstra, 2015; Jarness and Friedman, 2017; Flemmen, Jarness, and Rosenlund, 2018), some others have challenged its general validity. Notably, some scholars have supported the view that age accounted for more cultural variability than the composition of cultural capital (e.g., Glevarec and Pinet, 2013) or that gender did play a major role, not a minor one, in the distribution of cultural consumption (e.g., Bihagen and Katz-Gerro, 2000). Interestingly, several of the rare multi-domain investigations of young adolescents' cultural dispositions echoed these findings. For instance, Octobre et al. (2010) underlined the key role of sex in the distribution of cultural tastes and practices. They also indicated that the influence of social origin was limited to reading and television watching. Similarly, Lagaert et al. (2017) observed that gender was a stronger predictor of interest in the arts than social class. Such conclusions contradict the homology thesis as well as previous research, according to which socioeconomic status affects cultural participation to a greater extent than gender (e.g., Dumais, 2002). However, because these conclusions stemmed from methods differing from Bourdieu's, notably in the construction of social (sub-)classes and in the consideration of cultural capital, the capacity of the abovementioned studies to test the homology thesis, as Bourdieu framed it, is arguable. Sociologists of culture have indeed shown that subtle differences in the operationalization of independent and/or dependent variables suffice to

produce substantial differences in the outcomes (Peterson, 2005; Robette and Roueff, 2014; Brisson, 2019).

The goal of the present article therefore was to ascertain, based on a Bourdieusian framework, whether the principles underlying the distribution of cultural repertoires and dispositions observed in adults are already operative in early adolescence. To this end, I administered a questionnaire to 7<sup>th</sup>, 8<sup>th</sup>, and 9<sup>th</sup> graders involving a hundred items related to both cultural tastes and cultural practices and pertaining to several cultural areas. I used a relatively-high number of items covering a relatively-large array of areas to comprehensively (a) estimate the systematicity of cultural-capital effects and (b) compare the relative weight of cultural capital and sex in the structure of cultural dispositions.

### **Material and Method**

***Methodological and practical constraints.*** Owing to the age of the population under study, adapting Bourdieu's framework was imperative. The examination of young adolescents indeed imposes a special focus on social background and inherited cultural capital, which prevents one from using the entire array of independent variables generally used with adults. Moreover, due to practical constraints, it was not possible to ask parents to complete a sociodemographic questionnaire measuring education, home ownership, income, etc. Finally, I was not allowed to access school transcripts. This prevented me from discriminating between levels of educational capital (i.e. an indicator of the institutionalized form of cultural capital; see Bourdieu, 1986).

***Recruitment.*** All public and private lower secondary school principals from a middle-town located in the East of France were emailed and provided with a brief description of the present study. Four of the eleven contacted principals showed an interest in the project and allowed me to administrate the survey in their school. I also contacted the principals of three vocational

public high-schools in the same town because these schools included a “professional discovery” 9<sup>th</sup> grade class. One of the three principals responded favorably to my request. Because of class timetable issues, many classes were not surveyed. Thus, a recruitment criterion was the availability of the classes. However, because principals were interested in having a representative sample of their students, balanced subsamples in terms of grade, sex, social milieu, and optional courses were eventually constituted.

**Study sample.** 703 young adolescents ( $M_{AGE} = 13.37$ ,  $SD_{AGE} = 1.01$ ; 50.9% female) took part in the present study: 685 were recruited from four lower secondary schools; 18, from a vocational high-school that includes a “professional discovery” 9<sup>th</sup> grade class. The study sample involves 29.6% of 7<sup>th</sup> graders (49% female), 34.3% of 8<sup>th</sup> graders (52.7% female), and 36.1% of 9<sup>th</sup> graders (50.8% female).

**Administration of the study.** In order to (a) harmonize the conditions of administration of the questionnaire, (b) avoid participation or interferences from parents or siblings, and (c) allow students to ask me questions if needed, the questionnaire was administered online with Qualtrics (<https://www.qualtrics.com>), during study periods, in multimedia classrooms that comprised, on average, 15 computers. About 35-40 minutes were needed to complete the questionnaire. However, some students from the lower class, who exhibited reading and understanding difficulties, were given additional time.

**Social milieus/classes and cultural capital.** Because pretests unsurprisingly indicated that a majority of young adolescents were unable to report the highest degree obtained by their parents and to estimate household income, I relied on *both* (step-) parents’ occupations (or former occupations, in the case of current unemployment) to distinguish between lower, middle, and upper classes. First, (step-) parents’ (former) jobs were separately ascribed to an occupational category (coded from 1 for “low” to 3 for “high”) according to the educational level, income,

and hierarchical status generally associated with them in the French labor market. Second, a student's social class was assigned based on the category of his/her parent exhibiting the highest status. For example, a student whose father was an assembler (coded 1) and whose mother was a primary teacher (coded 2) was assigned to the middle class. A student whose father was a househusband (no code) and whose mother was a psychiatrist (coded 3) was assigned to the upper class.

Unlike Bourdieu and scholars using his framework (e.g., Flemmen, Hjellbrekke, and Jarness, 2018), I did not distinguish between economic, balanced, and cultural class fractions within the constructed classes. Implementing such distinctions would have required detailed information on income and education. Instead, I identified within both the middle and the upper class a subgroup of students endowed with higher cultural capital. The criterion of inclusion was the study of ancient Greek and/or the attendance of adjusted schedule classes with additional, practical music lessons (in French, *Classes à Horaires Aménagés Musicaux*—CHAM). While attending these optional courses may be considered reflective of *acquired* cultural capital rather than *inherited* cultural capital, the decision to attend these optional courses involves parents and partly accounts for their relation to culture. Most importantly, the integration in a CHAM constitutes a widespread strategy allowing parents to place their progeny in “the best classes” and/or to circumvent the French system of student assignment in secondary schools based on geographical vicinity (van Zanten, 2009, 2010; Tranchant, 2016). Such strategies are in themselves a manifestation of parents' cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 19). Thus, because the frontier between acquired and inherited cultural capital is vanishing here, the two supplementary subgroups extracted from the middle and upper classes can be considered indicative of class fractions exhibiting distinct levels of both acquired and inherited cultural capital. Because only five students of the lower class met the abovementioned criterion of inclusion, I was unable to create a similar fraction within the lower class. I therefore

distinguished within the latter a subgroup of students endowed with lower cultural capital. Based on Felouzis' findings (2003), I extracted from the lower class the students of non-Western European ethnic origins. Those students generally combine school and social disadvantages, and exhibit lower acquired and inherited cultural capital than the so-called "autochthones" (Felouzis 2003, p. 424). Within the lower class, non-Western European origins were represented by Arab (42%), Slav (26%), sub-Saharan African (18%), Armenian (4%), and Turkish (4%) ethnicities. The other origins referred to Persian, Southern- and Southeastern-Asian ethnicities. Ethnicity was assessed indirectly by asking students to indicate whether any language other than French was currently spoken at home and, if so, the language in question. The use of direct, explicit item pertaining to race is a highly sensitive case in France (Schnapper, 2008; Simon, 2008): it is limited to certain scientific domains and requires legal authorizations. Thus, the examined sample involved 15.1% of students from the lower-cultural-capital fraction of the lower class (LC-;  $n = 106$ ), 19.3% of students from the generic fraction of the lower class (LC;  $n = 136$ ), 29.7% of students from the generic fraction of the middle class (MC;  $n = 209$ ), 5.9% of students from the higher-cultural-capital fraction of the middle class (MC+;  $n = 41$ ), 21.5% of students from the generic fraction of the upper class (UC;  $n = 151$ ), 8.5% of students from the higher-cultural-capital fraction of the upper class (UC+;  $n = 60$ ). I acknowledge the small size of the MC+ and UC+ subgroups. Nevertheless, it should be noted that students from lower secondary schools attending ancient Greek courses and/or CHAM or CHAD were over-represented in the present study, since their prevalence in the French population is in both cases 0.8% (Ayoub and Maugis, 2019, p. 1; Ministère de l'éducation nationale and Ministère de l'enseignement supérieur, de la recherche et de l'innovation, 2019, p. 114).

***Additional independent variables.*** Sex and personality trait openness constitute the other independent variables involved in the present study. Openness was measured with a dedicated scale of the French version of the Big Five Inventory (Plaisant et al., 2010). This inventory

consists in ten propositions (e.g., “I see myself as someone who is curious about many things” and “who values artistic, aesthetic experiences”) and relies on five-point rating scales ranging from 1 (“I strongly disagree”) to 5 (“I strongly agree”). In the present study, openness was used as both a dependent and an independent variable. It was mobilized as an independent variable in order to compare the predictive power of social milieu and openness on cultural eclecticism and aesthetic disposition (see below). Indeed, while sociologists have defined omnivorousness and eclecticism as an “openness to appreciating everything” (Peterson and Kern, 1996, p. 904) and “to cultural diversity” (Ollivier, 2008; see also Warde and Gayo-Cal, 2009), and although psychologists have long highlighted the importance of openness in the distribution of cultural tastes (e.g., see Dollinger, 1993; McManus and Furnham, 2006; Dunn, de Ruyter, and Bouwhuis, 2012), the links between social milieu, eclecticism, and personality trait openness have been poorly examined, to date (Brisson, 2019). Importantly, I initially included grade as independent variable. However, the combined absence of medium and strong effects and of clear patterns of differences related to grade led me to eventually exclude this variable. Results from the analyses related to grade are reported in supplementary files, though.

***Dependent variables.*** The questionnaire included four sections. The first section was dedicated to music investment and musical tastes. Questions regarded the importance attributed to music listening ( $k = 3$ ), the frequency ( $k = 3$ ; e.g., “daily”) and the average daily duration of music listening, the past or current practice of at least one music instrument, the nomination of three favorite musical artists, and the appreciation of fifteen music styles (five-point rating scales). In order to assess musical eclecticism, I computed a mean score of appreciation of the music styles under study as well as a score involving the rate of music styles liked. Both scores omitted unknown labels. I also used the responses to the question asking students to report, on a five-point rating scale, the extent to which they agreed with the following proposition: “In all music styles, there are good and bad pieces.”

In the second section, participants were asked to report (a) how many times they had visited a museum with their family during their lifetime ( $k = 4$ , from “never” to “at least 10 times”), (b) whether they preferred to visit an art or a science museum, (c), their degree of interest in painting ( $k = 3$ ; e.g., “I am not interested”), and (d) whether they consider photography an art. This section also comprised two measures of aesthetic disposition as Bourdieu conceived of it, that is, as the ability to aestheticize even ordinary or negatively-connoted objects (Bourdieu, 1984, pp. 34–50). The first measure adapted Bourdieu’s original operationalization of such disposition (1984, p. 517): students were invited to indicate whether, with a list of themes, a photographer was likely to take a more or less beautiful photograph (five-point rating scales). The list involved twenty themes, seven of which were used in Bourdieu’s inventory (1984, p. 604), namely, *bark of a tree*, *breast-feeding woman*, *car crash*, *famous monument*, *metal frame*, *quarreling tramps*, and *sunset*. I excluded the other items mobilized in *Distinction* because of their “sophistication” (e.g., “still life”) or vagueness (e.g., “landscape”). I added the following thirteen items: *abandoned cat*, *beetle*, *deserted street at night*, *luxury car*, *naked old man*, *pile of banknotes*, *prison cell*, *religious people praying*, *sad child*, *starry sky*, *surgical operation*, *vegetable stall*, and *wedding couple*. The selection process was guided by the objective of including items that were positively (e.g., “starry sky”) and negatively (e.g., “surgical operation”) connoted as well as items having more “neutral” contents (e.g., “vegetable stall”). The second measure of aesthetic disposition consisted in asking participants to rate on eleven-point scales the aesthetic quality of ten master paintings. The selection criterion was to include oeuvres from diverse styles and with distinct degrees of realism. The ten selected paintings are the following: Cézanne’s *The card players* (1890/95), Dalí’s *Swans reflecting elephants* (1937), De Coster’s *A man singing by candlelight* (1625-1635), Derain’s *Big Ben* (1906), Duncan’s *The hunters* (2011), Gleizes’ *Woman with phlox* (1910), Kandinsky’s *Circles in a circle* (1923), Munch’s *The scream* (1893), Van Gogh’s *Still life with apples, pears, lemons*

*and grapes* (1887), and Von Klever's *Sunset* (1893). Items' order of presentation of both measures of aesthetic disposition was randomized.

In the third section, students were invited to indicate (a) how many movies they watched, on average, per week, (b) the importance attributed to movie watching ( $k = 3$ ), (c) their degree of appreciation of fifteen movie genres (five-point rating scales), (d) the importance attributed to reading ( $k = 3$ ), (e) the titles and the names of the authors of two of their favorite books, (f) their three favorite leisure activities (or hobbies or interests), and (g) their degree of agreement with six propositions related to attitudes toward the arts. Based on the responses themselves, I distinguished between six types of book that represented about 95% of the answers (min: 92% in the UC; max: 99% in the LC): manga, *bandes dessinées*, adult novels, adolescent novels (i.e. 12-18 years old), preadolescent novels (i.e. 9-12 years old), and books (e.g., tales) for children (< 9 years old). I also delineated six main categories of leisure activities/interests that accounted for about 85% of the responses (min: 80% in the LCs; max: 89% in the UC): arts, collective sports, individual sports, music listening, video-games, and watching films/series. The category "arts" comprised answers such as "dance" ("classical" or "urban"), "drawing/designing dresses," "photography," "playing the cello," "reading," "video editing" or "writing short stories." Inspired by Cortázar (1962-1963), Bourdieu (1984), and McManus and Furnham (2006), items related to attitudes toward the arts were: "For me, science and technology are far more important than art and classic culture;" "We should not allow artists that shock certain individuals to do what they do;" "It is very important that works of art (songs, movies, paintings, books, etc.) denounce social injustice, violence, and poverty;" "Arts make mentalities, ways of thinking and behaving, change;" "The talent of the greatest artists (singers, actors, dancers, painters, etc.) stems from a natural gift, something innate;" and "It is essential that works of arts be easily understood by everyone, including those who are unfamiliar with arts." Finally,

cinematographic eclecticism was measured based on indicators similar to those used to assess musical eclecticism.

In the fourth section, finally, participants were asked to rate fifteen musical excerpts selected based on their representativeness of a given music (sub)genre (five-point rating scales). The list comprised Audioslave's *Cochise* (2002; hard rock); Baker's *Almost blue* (1989; jazz); Chopin's *Waltz Opus 64 No. 2* (1847; waltz/romantic; performed by Rubinstein, 1964); Cypress hill's *Lowrider* (2002; hip hop/rap); Ferré's *Les poètes de sept ans* (1964; French art song, adaptation of the eponym poem by Rimbaud); Muse's *Sunburn* (1999; alt rock); Iglesias' *Duele el corazón*, featuring Wisin (2016, Latin pop); Le Castle Vania's *Shots fired*, from John Wick original soundtrack (2014; trance); Pavarotti's interpretation of the tenor aria *Vesti la giubba* from Leoncavallo's *Pagliacci* (1986; opera); Mighty Sam McClain's *When the hurt is over* (1996; blues); Rakim's *Guess who's back* (1997; hip hop/rap); Rammstein's *Ich will* (2001; industrial metal); Theatre of Tragedy's *Virago* (2001; gothic-doom metal); Union Station & Alison Krauss' *Man of constant sorrow* (2002 [live concert in Louisville, Kentucky]; US folk); and *El Tango de Roxanne* from *Moulin Rouge!* original soundtrack (2001; pop tango). Excerpts' duration was about 40 seconds and their order of presentation was randomized. Headphones were provided to the participants who did not bring/have their own device. A mean score of appreciation of these pieces as well as a rate of excerpts liked were created to provide supplementary indicators of musical eclecticism.

**Data analyses.** Depending on the nature of the examined variables and the properties of the corresponding distributions, I performed Kruskal-Wallis H tests with post-hoc pairwise comparisons, Mann-Whitney U tests, logistic regressions, Kendall's  $\tau$ , Pearson's  $r$ , and Spearman's  $\rho$  correlation coefficients, non-parametric partial correlations, proportion tests or Fisher's exact tests. Following Perneger's (1998), Cabin and Mitchell's (2000) and Armstrong's (2014) recommendations, I did not use Bonferroni correction when performing

post-hoc pairwise comparisons because of the prevalence attributed, in the present study, to effect size over statistical significance. Depending on the tests carried out, I used either eta-squared or odds ratio as measure of effect size. Given the relatively small size of the study sample in general and of the cultural fractions of the middle- and upper-classes in particular, I did not perform interaction analyses.

Despite its use by Bourdieu himself and the social scientists adopting his framework, (multiple) correspondence analysis was not used in the present study, because (a) this descriptive and exploratory technique is not directly suitable for inferential statistics (Di Franco, 2016), and (b) my research goal was precisely to test the homology thesis by assessing the respective influence of social milieu and sex on cultural dispositions, not to simplify the collected data or to identify underlying dimensions of their distribution. I acknowledge that such a methodological frame involves a large number of analyses and produces repetitiveness in the reported accounts. However, this frame represents an appropriate way to test Bourdieu's homology thesis because it permits to estimate the *systematicity* as well as the *size* of the effects related to the examined factors.

## RESULTS

Owing to the high number of analyses and to word-count limitations, full descriptive statistics are reported in supplementary files (SFs). SF1 relates to music; SF2, to visual arts; SF3, to reading, leisure activities, attitudes toward the arts, and personality trait openness. This section presents the study findings cultural domain per cultural domain. Based on the data reported in the following and on those reported in the SFs, I conclude this section with a recapitulation of the main findings of the present study, social milieu per social milieu.

**Music investment, music consumption, and musical tastes.** As shown in Tables 1 and 2, analyses revealed that social milieu affected dispositions toward music in a far larger extent than sex. Of the 40 music variables examined, only frequency of music listening and the appreciation of two musical excerpts showed no connection with social milieu. Moreover, social milieu exhibited medium or large effects in a majority of cases. By contrast, sex involved no large effects.

Table 1. Influence of social milieu and sex on dispositions toward music.

	Social milieu		Sex	
	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$
Importance assigned to music	.000	.057	.000	.040
Frequency of music listening	.191	-	.001	.016
Daily duration of music listening (school days)	.000	.077	.014	.011
Daily duration of music listening (other days)	.000	.076	.003	.017
Appreciation of blues, soul	.000	<b>.154</b>	.021	.013
Appreciation of classical	.000	<b>.180</b>	.107	-
Appreciation of country	.000	.089	.814	-
Appreciation of electro	.000	.138	.000	.036
Appreciation of jazz	.000	<b>.168</b>	.208	-
Appreciation of metal, hard rock	.000	.072	.000	.020
Appreciation of opera	.000	<b>.143</b>	.099	-
Appreciation of pop	.000	.085	.000	.086
Appreciation of punk	.000	.137	.267	-
Appreciation of rap (American)	.005	.018	.064	-
Appreciation of rap (French)	.000	.062	.948	-
Appreciation of reggae	.000	.072	.172	-
Appreciation of R&B	.016	.019	.000	.051
Appreciation of rock	.000	<b>.174</b>	.007	.011
Appreciation of variété	.000	.051	.000	.088
Number of unknown labels	.000	.095	.093	-
Mean score of appreciation of music styles	.000	<b>.155</b>	.704	-
Rate of music styles liked	.000	.111	.108	-
Musical-eclecticism item	.000	.096	.541	-

*Notes.* Results linked to social milieu and sex were obtained based on, respectively, Kruskal-Wallis H test and Mann-Whitney U test. The “musical eclecticism item” consisted in asking participants to indicate on a five-point rating scale their degree of agreement with the following view: “In all music styles, there are good and bad pieces.” Large effect sizes are bolded and medium ones are italicized.

Results showed that the higher the cultural capital, (a) the higher the importance of music listening, (b) the lower the daily duration of music listening, (c) the lower the number of unknown music-genre labels, and (d) the larger the repertoire of musical tastes (SF1). As an illustration, 72% of the UC+ students assigned a high importance to music listening, against 31% of the LC students. Whereas the latter disliked 12 of the 15 music genres as well as 12 of the 15 musical excerpts under study, UC+ students (moderately) rejected 4 music genres and 1 excerpt only. In a similar vein, the prevalence of rappers and both urban pop and contemporary R&B singers among the cited favorite musical artists reached about 91% in the LC-, 82% in the LC, 60% in the MC, 56% in the UC, 34% in the MC+, and 32% in the UC+.

Table 2. Influence of social milieu and sex on the appreciation of musical excerpts.

	Social milieu		Sex	
	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$
Audioslave (hard rock)	.000	<i>.118</i>	.000	.044
Baker (jazz)	.000	<b>.143</b>	.091	-
Chopin (waltz/romantic)	.000	<b>.151</b>	.383	-
Cypress hill (rap)	.163	-	.000	<i>.108</i>
Ferré (art song)	.000	<i>.093</i>	.230	-
Iglesias E. (Latin pop)	.007	.015	.000	<i>.089</i>
Le Castle Vania (trance)	.000	<i>.064</i>	.000	.040
McClain (blues)	.000	<i>.070</i>	.003	.012
Moulin Rouge! OST (pop tango)	.000	<i>.086</i>	.004	.012
Muse (alternative rock)	.000	<b>.145</b>	.966	-
Pavarotti (opera)	.000	<i>.121</i>	.230	-
Rakim (rap)	.180	-	.000	<i>.062</i>
Rammstein (industrial metal)	.000	.056	.001	.015
Theatre of tragedy (gothic-doom metal)	.000	<i>.091</i>	.000	.025
Union Station (American folk)	.000	<i>.108</i>	.230	-
Mean score of appreciation	.000	<b>.166</b>	.001	.015
Rate of musical excerpts liked	.000	<i>.107</i>	.000	.025

*Notes.* Results linked to social milieu and sex were obtained based on, respectively, Kruskal-Wallis H test and Mann-Whitney U test. Large effect sizes are bolded and medium ones are italicized.

Sex influenced dispositions toward music to a lesser extent than social milieu. Girls attached a higher importance to music listening and exhibited higher frequency and duration of music

consumption than boys. While sex did not affect musical eclecticism, item-per-item comparisons highlighted a general pattern of tastes. Girls rejected “forceful” music styles (e.g., rock, metal) more strongly than boys; girls also assessed mainstream “soft” music styles (e.g., pop, variété) more positively compared to boys.

As mentioned above, the effects of sex were weaker and less systematic than the effects of social milieu. Logistic regression analyses of the current or past practice of a music instrument reflected those trends. The prevalence of students who reported to (have) play(ed) domestically at least one music instrument was about 10% within the LC- and LC, 21% within the MC, and 36% within the UC—MC+ and UC+ were excluded from the count owing to the concentration of students attending CHAM programs in their ranks. The strongest odds ratio was obtained when comparing LC- students with UC students ( $p = .000$ ; OR = 5.50). Sex ( $p = .207$ ) was found to be uninfluential, here (see SF1 for complete details).

**Visual arts.** Analyses highlighted the importance of social milieu for cultural dispositions. Effects of sex were, again, rarer and weaker than effects of social milieu.

Results showed that the higher the inherited cultural capital, (a) the higher the number of art-museum visits, (b) the stronger the interest in museums and painting, (c) the higher the propensity to consider photography an art, and (d) the higher the aesthetic disposition (Table 3). However, while dispositions toward movies were affected by social milieu, the influence in question was not linear and the corresponding effects were rather small (Table 4).

It is noteworthy that social milieu accounted for as much as 51% of the variance in the number of art-museum attendances. This value even reached 73.7% when comparing LC- students with UC+ students. Thus, 76% of the LC- students reported to have never visited an art museum with their family. The corresponding prevalence was 60% in the LC, 17% in the MC, nil in the MC+, 1.7% in the UC, and 0.7% in the UC+. The percentage of students reporting at least ten

museum attendances fell in a symmetric range from 0 (LC-) to 68% (UC+). Sex was uninfluential, here.

Table 3. Influence of social milieu and sex on museal attendance, interest in painting, and aesthetic disposition.

	Social milieu		Sex	
	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$
Number of art-museum visits	.000	<b>.507</b>	.084	-
Interest in painting	.000	<i>.101</i>	.013	.009
Appreciation of Cézanne's painting	.000	.038	.002	.014
Appreciation of Dalí's painting	.000	.032	.456	-
Appreciation of De Coster's painting	.000	.054	.030	.007
Appreciation of Derain's painting	.000	<i>.097</i>	.348	-
Appreciation of Duncan's painting	.000	.025	.001	.016
Appreciation of Gleizes's painting	.000	.049	.024	.007
Appreciation of Kandinsky's painting	.000	<i>.073</i>	.091	-
Appreciation of Munch's painting	.000	<i>.079</i>	.001	.015
Appreciation of Van Gogh's painting	.002	.021	.200	-
Appreciation of Von Klever's painting	.003	.018	.046	.006
Mean score of appreciation of paintings	.000	<i>.109</i>	.047	.006
Abandoned cat	.000	<i>.085</i>	.380	-
Bare-chested old man	.000	<i>.121</i>	.438	-
Bark of a tree	.000	<i>.117</i>	.364	-
Beetle	.000	<i>.135</i>	.008	.010
Breast-feeding woman	.002	.021	.000	.026
Car crash	.000	<i>.063</i>	.213	-
Deserted street at night	.000	<i>.095</i>	.041	.006
Famous monument	.007	.016	.210	-
Luxury car	.000	<i>.115</i>	.000	.028
Metal frame	.000	<i>.081</i>	.528	-
Pile of banknotes	.000	<i>.077</i>	.000	.023
Prison cell	.000	<i>.088</i>	.431	-
Quarreling tramps	.000	<i>.072</i>	.201	-
Religious people praying	.000	.056	.000	.023
Sad child	.000	<i>.088</i>	.229	-
Starry sky	.018	.012	.144	-
Sunset	.155	-	.000	.018
Surgical operation	.000	.053	.841	.000
Vegetable stall	.000	<i>.073</i>	.303	.002
Wedding couple	.001	.024	.000	<i>.079</i>
Mean score of aesthetic disposition	.000	<i>.134</i>	.538	-

*Notes.* Results linked to social milieu and sex were obtained based on, respectively, Kruskal-Wallis H test and Mann-Whitney U test. Large effect sizes are bolded and medium ones are italicized.

Such trends were reflected in the responses to a question asking participants to indicate whether they (a) preferred to visit an art museum or (b) a science museum, (c) had no preference and were equally interested in both types of museum, or (d) had no preference because they were not interested in any type of museum. Results indicated that about 58% of the students from the LCs manifested no interest in both types of museum, against about 7% in the MC+ and UC+ (see SF2 for complete details). Interestingly, UC+ students were the only ones to massively report an equal interest in art and science museums. All the other subgroups exhibited a preference for science museums. Sex involved a unique significant difference, with girls preferring art museums and boys, science museums. Accordingly with these findings, analyses showed that interest in painting depended on social milieu in a linear manner. Although girls were more interested in this visual art than boys, the corresponding effect was marginal (Table 3).

Results pertaining to the aesthetic evaluation of 10 master paintings revealed a medium effect of social milieu and a marginal effect of sex (Table 3). Incidentally, it should be noted that social milieu's influence was not perfectly linear, because of aesthetic affinities between MC, MC+, and UC students. Item-per-item comparisons reflected these trends. UC+ students positively valued all the examined paintings, hence demonstrating an ability to aestheticize a diversity of styles and techniques (e.g., surrealism, still life, pointillism). Reversely, students from the LCs rejected a majority of works and prized only Duncan's and von Klever's paintings. Thus, these students exhibited a predilection for "realistic" paintings and tended to dismiss the other styles (e.g., cubism, expressionism). Sex did not involve clear oppositions in taste patterns.

Results pertaining to the aesthetic assessment of 20 suggested photographic themes mirrored the precedent findings. Analyses highlighted a medium effect of social milieu and no effect of sex on the distribution of aesthetic disposition. Again, MC, MC+, and UC students exhibited

rather homogenous aesthetic judgments. Item-per-item comparisons underscored that social milieu mainly modulates the capacity to aestheticize trivial and negatively-connoted themes. Thus, for instance, the themes “abandoned cat,” “bark of a tree,” and “prison cell” were rejected as ugly by LC students and positively valued by UC+ students. Students from the LCs, especially those from the LC-, assessed much more positively than others the themes “luxury car” and “piles of banknotes,” two themes linked to ostentatious economic wealth. The aesthetic assessment of positively-connoted, clichéd themes (e.g., “sunset”) was also found to be dependent on social milieu. However, the differences in question referred to nuances of appreciation or depreciation, not to opposite aesthetic judgments. Similarly, sex differences involved only two divergent aesthetic patterns: whereas the theme “breast-feeding woman” was positively valued by girls and neutrally valued by boys, the reverse applied to the theme “pile of banknotes.” Moreover, while “wedding couple” was the unique theme related to a medium effect of sex, this effect consisted in a difference of degree, not in an opposed aesthetic evaluation.

In addition, logistic regression analyses indicated that the attribution to photography of an artistic status was independent from sex ( $p = .153$ ) and varied strongly and linearly as a function of social milieu (all  $p < .05$ ;  $M_{OR} = 6.44$ ). Indeed, LC, MC, MC+, UC, and UC+ students were respectively 1.80, 3.80, 4.46, 4.82, and 17.33 times more likely to consider photography an art than LC- students (see SF2 for complete details).

As shown in Table 4, analysis of the dispositions toward movies further highlighted the systematicity of social milieu’s influence. Only three items did not involve a significant difference (e.g., the number of films watched per week). The effects in question were mostly small and, both at a between- and a within-class level, non-linear, though. As an illustration, the importance attached to movie watching did depend on social milieu: however, LC and MC+ students assigned a similar importance to this activity and MC students attributed a higher

importance to it than others, UC+ students excepted. Overall, dispositions toward movies were less distinctive and less stratified than dispositions toward music. Notably, students from each social milieu positively valued a large majority of movie genres. As a result, opposite taste patterns were rare. They involved the genres “anime/manga,” “documentary,” “love stories,” and “western.” Interestingly, science-fiction and fantasy were among the genres involving the highest taste differentials, with students from the LCs rejecting these categories more than others. These findings partly echoed those related to the assessment of the aesthetic value of paintings: they indeed highlight the tendency of the students from the LCs to dismiss works relying on imaginary worlds and, consequently, to prefer “more realistic” works and narrative environments—with the exception of documentaries, which may be rejected because “boring” and “too intellectual.”

Sex did not affect the importance attached to movie watching and the number of movies watched weekly, and marginally influenced label knowledge. Importantly, although effects of sex were less systematic than effects of social milieu, the largest effects linked to dispositions toward movies related to sex. The appreciation of love stories and war movies, for instance, strongly and stereotypically depended on sex, which explained about 25% of the corresponding variances. Anime/manga, gangster films, and westerns were associated with medium effects, with boys valuing more positively these genres than girls. Overall, results showed an opposition between genres involving “spectacular, externally-oriented, and physically-based action” (e.g., gangster and war movies), especially prized by boys, and genres involving “intimist plots,” “sentimentality,” “internally-oriented and psychically-based action” (e.g., drama, love stories), especially prized by girls. Such a gendered contrast echoes the one, previously underscored, between “forceful, aggressive” and “soft” music genres.

Table 4. Influence of social milieu and sex on dispositions toward cinematography.

	Social milieu		Sex	
	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$
Importance attached to movie watching	.004	.018	.839	-
Number of movies watched per week	.085	-	.099	-
Appreciation of action/super hero movies	.003	.019	.000	.045
Appreciation of adventure movies	.005	.017	.379	-
Appreciation of anime/manga	.009	.015	.000	.088
Appreciation of comedies	.003	.019	.023	.007
Appreciation of detective movies	.000	.032	.123	-
Appreciation of documentaries	.000	.068	.001	.016
Appreciation of dramas	.157	-	.000	.032
Appreciation of fantastic/fantasy movies	.000	.040	.951	-
Appreciation of gangster/mafia movies	.001	.024	.000	.125
Appreciation of horror movies	.000	.032	.129	-
Appreciation of love stories	.001	.022	.000	<b>.259</b>
Appreciation of science-fiction movies	.000	.095	.000	.026
Appreciation of thrillers	.000	.040	.033	.008
Appreciation of war movies	.237	-	.000	<b>.272</b>
Appreciation of westerns	.000	.104	.000	.069
Unknown labels	.000	.063	.030	.007
Mean score of appreciation	.000	.054	.000	.040
Rate of movie genres liked	.000	.033	.000	.047
Cinematographic-eclecticism item	.001	.024	.001	.015

*Notes.* Results linked to social milieu and sex were obtained based on, respectively, Kruskal-Wallis H test and Mann-Whitney U test. The “cinematographic-eclecticism item” consisted in asking participants to indicate on a five-point rating scale their degree of agreement with the following view: “In all movie genres, there are good and bad films.” Large effect sizes are bolded and medium ones are italicized.

***Reading, leisure activities, attitudes toward the arts, and personality trait openness.*** As shown in Table 5, the importance attributed to reading (novels, comics, etc.) as well as the number of favorite books cited strongly depended on social milieu. Sex was uninfluential, here. Thus, for instance, social milieu explained about 30% of the variance in the importance attributed to reading when comparing UC+ students with students from the LCs. The nomination of favorite books’ author(s) was also affected by social milieu and independent from sex. Almost nil in the LCs, such knowledge positively varied as a function of inherited cultural capital.

The type of the cited books depended on social milieu (see SF3). The higher the cultural capital, the higher the prevalence of both adult and adolescent novels, the lower the prevalence of manga books, preadolescent (i.e. 9-12 years old) novels, and books/tales for children (i.e. < 9

years old). As an illustration, LC- students cited 33% of manga books, 13% of adolescent novels, and 15% of books/tales for children; these rates reached, respectively, 13%, 45%, and 0% in UC students. Moreover, fantasy novels were very common in each milieu, with the exception of the LCs. Sex differences mainly involved girls' predilection for teen novels and boys' predilection for manga books (see SF3).

In addition, the reading of magazines or papers linearly varied as a function of social milieu. The rate of non-readers reached 68% in the LC-, 51.5% in the LC, 47% in the MC, 41.5% in the MC+, 44% in the UC, and 35% in the UC+. While the prevalence of non-readers was lower in boys (46% vs. 53%), the difference in question can be considered of minor importance.

Table 5. Influence of social milieu and sex on dispositions toward reading, the number of leisure activities, attitudes toward the arts, and openness.

	Social milieu		Sex	
	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$
Importance attached to reading	.000	<b>.163</b>	.182	-
Number of favorite books cited	.000	<b>.156</b>	.640	-
Rate of citation of the authors' cited books	.000	<i>.098</i>	.634	-
Number of reported leisure activities	.000	<i>.103</i>	.008	.010
Science and technology > arts	.000	.025	.000	.037
Advocacy of censorship	.000	.031	.466	-
Importance of artists' political engagement	.000	.030	.007	.010
Arts make mentalities change	.000	.031	.245	-
Artistic skills are innate	.000	.049	.077	-
Arts must be cognitively accessible to all	.000	.025	.059	-
Personality trait openness	.000	<b>.202</b>	.098	-

*Notes.* Results linked to social milieu and sex were obtained based on, respectively, Kruskal-Wallis H test and Mann-Whitney U test. Large effect sizes are bolded and medium ones are italicized.

The number of favorite leisure activities or interests cited was positively linked to social milieu. It ranged from about 2 in the LCs to about 2.85 in the MC+ and UC+. A marginal effect of sex was found as well, with boys reporting slightly more answers than girls (2.52 vs. 2.32).

Stratification analyses of students' leisure activities or interests highlighted two major points. First, the percentage of answers related to arts strongly varied as a function of social milieu. It ranged from about 15% in the LCs to about 40% in the MC+ and UC+. Second, the prevalence of answers related to collective sports was the lowest in the MC+ and UC+ and the highest in the LCs, with a majority of answers referring to "soccer." Interestingly, all answers considered, soccer alone represented 18% of the answers in the LC-, 14% in the LC, 7.5% in the MC, 1% in the MC+, 6% in the UC, and 1% in the UC+. The percentages pertaining to the other leisure categories were rather similar from one milieu to the other.

Sex strongly affected the distribution of leisure activities (see SF3). Large differences were found when comparing the prevalence of answers related to arts (15% in boys vs. 35% in girls), collective sports (23% vs. 8%), music listening (5.5% vs. 11%), and video-games (17% vs. 2%). Individual sports involved a small differential (24% vs. 19%) and watching movies or series, a marginal differential (4.5% vs. 6.5%). Importantly, the far higher prevalence in girls of answers linked to arts mainly related to two activities, namely "dancing" and "singing," with 96 occurrences in girls, against 4 in boys.

Regarding attitudes toward the arts, results primarily highlighted a high number of responses involving the neutral option response. The modal value of 5 of the 6 items under study referred, indeed, to the neutral option response. The item pertaining to censorship was the sole exception. Thus, about 34% of the answers were indicative of a neutral position-taking. However, such a rate significantly varied as a function of social milieu, with MC+ and UC+ students selecting non-neutral response options to a larger extent than their counterparts.

Overall, analyses revealed the presence of a small, albeit systematic, effect of social milieu on attitudes toward the arts. Moreover, most differences did not involve opposite viewpoints. It is of note, however, that MC+ and UC+ students were the most inclined to consider arts a way to

make mentalities evolve and to reject the prevalence of science over arts as well as the idea of the innate character of artistic skills—an idea that was rather accepted solely by LC- students. In addition, MC+ students were the only ones, on average, to clearly advocate artists' political engagement. MC+ students also rejected censorship to a similar extent than students from the LCs and to a lesser extent than UC+ students. Finally, UC+ students were the only students who slightly distanced themselves from the imperative of a “universal” cognitive accessibility of art works. Sex differences in attitudes toward the arts were rare and linked to small effects. Unlike boys who expressed a neutral view in that respect, girls rejected the prevalence of science over arts. They also expected artists to denounce injustice to a larger extent than boys. Finally, personality trait openness (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .85$ ) differed as a function of social milieu but was unaffected by sex. The higher the inherited cultural capital, the higher the openness. Social milieu explained about 20% of the variance in openness. Openness accounted for more variability in cultural eclecticism and aesthetic disposition than social milieu (all  $ps < .001$ ). The differential in question was the highest when analyzing cinematographic eclecticism ( $\rho = .347$  vs.  $\rho = .161$ ), which involved the lowest rank correlation coefficients, though. The differentials involved in musical eclecticism (musical styles:  $\rho = .400$  vs.  $\rho = .302$ ; musical excerpts:  $\rho = .422$  vs.  $\rho = .313$ ) and aesthetic disposition (paintings:  $\rho = .417$  vs.  $\rho = .318$ ; photography:  $\rho = .452$  vs.  $\rho = .331$ ) were rather similar with each other. Non-parametric partial correlations indicated that openness was associated with musical eclecticism (musical styles: .316; musical excerpts: .334), cinematographic eclecticism (.308), and aesthetic disposition (paintings: .326; photography: .365) controlling for social milieu (all  $ps < .001$ ). Thus, associations were reduced by about 20% in all cases, with the exception of cinematographic eclecticism (about 11%). It is of note that interchanging the ranks of the MC+ and UC subgroups (here, coded 4 and 5) in the social-milieu scale did not significantly alter the outcomes.

***Recapitulation of the study findings, social milieu per social milieu.*** Overall, results indicated that social milieu is a better predictor of cultural dispositions than sex. More specifically, the present study identified two recurrent lines of cultural demarcation. The first line separated the LCs from the others; the second line, the UC+ from the others. Regarding MC, UC, and MC+, increases in inherited cultural capital were generally associated with a greater interest in arts and culture. However, the multiple differences observed between those three subgroups and the intermittent affinities between MC+ and UC+ students impeded to delineate three consistent clusters. The best representation synthesizing the present data may consist in a pyramid with the LCs at the base, the MC at their top, the UC above the MC, the MC+ slightly above the UC, and the UC+ at the peak.

Differences in cultural tastes and practices within the lower class were rare, thus signaling a marginal effect of ethnicity on the distribution of cultural dispositions. While a few statistically significant differences were found between LC- and LC students, those differences reflected nuances in the degree of appreciation or depreciation of some items (e.g., rap, rock, gangster movies) rather than clearly opposite patterns of cultural dispositions. Thus, students from the LCs exhibited similar cultural dispositions. They shared a common distance to arts and culture, as reflected in (a) numerous distastes in terms of music styles and musical excerpts, (b) their relatively low scores of aesthetic disposition and openness, (c) their detachment toward reading, music listening, and movie watching, (d) the relatively small prevalence of students playing an instrument or practicing leisure activities linked to arts, and (e) by their disinterest in both art and science museums. Importantly, they reported to avoid the cultural goods carrying fiction and abstraction at their highest levels, thereby showing a cross-cultural-domain predilection for “realism.” Students from the LCs assessed the movie genres fantastic/fantasy and Sci-Fi less positively than others. Compared to their peers, they cited a marginal proportion of fantasy, post-apocalyptic or dystopian books. The only two paintings that they positively rated were the

most realistic ones (i.e. close to what a photograph would have produce): surrealist, conceptual, expressionist, fauvist, and cubist paintings were rejected as ugly. Moreover, students from the LCs reported to consume fashionable, highly accessible, and commercially successful cultural goods (e.g., rap, soccer). Put differently, their repertoires of tastes excluded classics, oldies, and rare, highly specialized cultural products. Their musical tastes exemplify such trends. Students from the LCs cited among their favorite musical artists a very large majority of current rappers occupying the highest positions in the French charts. Accordingly, those students positively assessed rap only, and were neutral toward pop music. All the other genres were rejected, highlighting some kind of *inverted snobbism*. The examination of the appreciation of musical excerpts led to similar conclusions, although the Latin pop piece was positively valued as well. Thus, students from the LCs appeared as *exclusivists by cultural desertion*.

On the opposite, UC+ students were the closest to the ideal-type of the “eclectic, pure aesthete.” They reported a strong interest in arts, positively assessed a majority of music styles and musical excerpts, and scored higher than others on the openness and aesthetic disposition scales. Notably, about 40% of their leisure activities were related to arts. Their repertoires of musical and literary tastes were relatively diversified and included classics and oldies (e.g., Bach, Clapton, Joy Division; novels by Calvino, Dickens, Shelley) as well as recent, fashionable products (e.g., Billie Eilish, Nekfeu, Twenty one pilots; 13 reasons why, Hunger games, The trials of Apollo). Furthermore, UC+ students were the most prone to express non-neutral attitudes toward arts and culture: for instance, they rejected censorship and disagreed with the view that artistic skills are innate more strongly than their counterparts. They were also the only ones to manifest, on average, a hint of elitism regarding artistic creation by dissenting from the ideal of a universal (cognitive) accessibility of art works. Thus, UC+ students were the most inclined to endorse the motto “art for art’s sake” and to advocate for the autonomy of arts from both the political field and the “politically correct.”

As mentioned above, MC, UC, and MC+ students constituted an in-between in which interest in arts and culture linearly depended on inherited cultural capital. The linearity in question was clearly manifest when examining the social distribution of openness, the appreciation of musical excerpts, the prevalence of leisure activities related to arts or the importance assigned to reading. In other cases, this linearity was (a) observable but unrelated to statistically significant differences (e.g., scores of aesthetic disposition), (b) altered, involving the inversion of the positions of the UC and MC+ subgroups (e.g., art-museum attendance), (c) deformed, resulting in an opposition between MC students on the one hand and MC+ and UC students on the other hand (e.g., appreciation of music styles, types of favorite books), or, more rarely, (d) reversed (e.g., importance attached to movie watching). While MC students were the closest to their pairs from the LCs, especially in terms of musical exclusivism, they reported to invest arts and culture to a larger extent than students from the LCs. Overall, UC and MC+ students exhibited similar aesthetic dispositions and patterns of tastes. However, MC+ students appeared more engaged in “classic” cultural activities (e.g., reading) than UC students. It is of note, furthermore, that despite their relatively high cultural investment, MC+ students often differed from UC+ students. For instance, MC+ students were less prone than UC+ students to aesthetically value negatively-connoted topics, discard censorship, appreciate marginalized music genres (e.g., metal) or to exempt arts from any political function.

## DISCUSSION

The present study aimed to test Bourdieu’s homology thesis in French young adolescents. Based on a stratification scaling at both the between- and the within-class level and on a questionnaire covering several cultural areas, results strongly suggest that the principles underlying the distribution of cultural tastes and practices established by Bourdieu are already operative in

young adolescents. First, social milieu and inherited cultural capital were found to play a key role in such a distribution. Second, their impact appeared to be stronger and more systematic than the influence of sex.

An effect of social milieu was found in almost every single performed measure. Of the 106 outcomes reported in Tables 1-5, 100 revealed a statistically significant impact of social milieu. Most importantly, a majority of the identified effects were medium or large. Given the relatively high number of analyses conducted in the present study, the systematicity and strength of social milieu's influence invite to consider cultural distinction in young adolescents a meaningful phenomenon.

Analyses also signaled a role of sex in the distribution of cultural dispositions. Sex was associated with a few medium and large effects (e.g., pop music, video games) and allowed for a finer discrimination than social milieu on a few occasions (e.g., artistic leisure activities). Consistent with the literature on late adolescents and adults' cultural repertoires, I found that (a) sex affected movie-genre preferences (Redfurn, 2012; Wühr, Lange, and Schwarz, 2017), (b) boys showed a stronger interest in video games than girls (Ogletree and Drake, 2007; Hartmann and Klimmt, 2017), and (c) girls invested in leisure activities related to arts to a stronger extent than boys, notably because of the higher prevalence of girls in activities such as dancing and singing (Bihagen and Katz-Gerro, 2000; Ingels et al., 2005; Lizardo, 2006; Schmutz, Stearns, and Glennie, 2016). Importantly, no strong sex differences were observed in the distribution of (a) aesthetic disposition, (b) attitudes toward arts, and (c) the importance attached to reading. There is little doubt, however, that the number and the strength of the sex effects observed here are linked to the nature of the items used. The use of more specific items (e.g., the sex of the main character(s) of students' favorite books, films, and series, the sex of their favorite actors and singers, their favorite literary topics, sports and video games) may have generated stronger sex effects. It is likely, for example, that male adolescents are more reluctant

than female adolescents to listen to singers of the opposite sex. Such a trend may also vary with social milieu, ethnic origin, and age. This being noted, the indicators of cultural tastes and consumption employed in the present study underscored that, overall, social milieu affected cultural dispositions to a larger extent than sex.

The present study thus suggests that Bourdieu's homology thesis applies, *at both the between- and the within-class level*, to young adolescents. Differences in inherited cultural capital were strongly associated with differences in cultural dispositions from one class to another (e.g., LCs vs. UCs) as well as within the MCs and the UCs. No major differences were detected within the LCs, however. These results are in keeping with the documented homogeneity of the lower classes and the difficulty distinguishing consistent fractions based on cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984; see Rupp, 1995, for a counterexample). Importantly, some of the patterns identified here mirror those highlighted by Bourdieu (1984). As an illustration, the cross-domain rejection of non-realistic works that I observed in students from the LCs is reminiscent of the "barbarous taste" that "only recognizes realist representation," the prevalence of which was the highest in the lower classes that Bourdieu surveyed (1984, p. 44). More generally, such a trend is consistent with the research literature dedicated to abstract art. Sociologists, psychologists, and neuroscientists have indeed found that taste for abstract art in adults was socially stratified (Halle, 1992) and dependent on expertise (Pihko et al., 2011) as well as on personality trait openness (Furnham and Walker, 2001; Feist and Brady, 2004). In addition, the present study showed that cultural eclecticism was dependent on social milieu and inherited cultural capital. As a result, the present study also supports the view that the eclecticism thesis applies to young adolescents. All in all, these findings suggest that the opposition, spotlighted by several sociologists (e.g., Vander Stichele and Laermans, 2006; Alderson, Heacock, and Junisbai, 2010), between Bourdieu's thesis and the theses dealing with "the rise of eclecticism" is artificial. Insofar as eclecticism is socially stratified, there is no point to repudiate the homology

thesis (van Eijck, 2001; Coulangeon and Lemel, 2007; Lizardo and Skiles, 2012). On the contrary, connections between social position and cultural eclecticism can be considered a confirmation of its validity. In any case, the present findings mirror those reported in a large number of investigations dedicated to the social distribution of cultural tastes and practices in late adolescents and adults, whether these studies were framed within the homology thesis or the eclecticism thesis.

The present study shows that the higher the inherited cultural capital, the higher the cultural investment and the larger the cultural (taste) repertoire. Although this observation might seem somewhat trivial at first sight, its application to young adolescents is not. Indeed, the present findings contradict Octobre et al.'s (2010) findings in a longitudinal study of French adolescents aged 11. These authors observed that the influence of social milieu was mainly circumscribed to reading and television watching during early adolescence and significantly increased and extended its spectrum to other cultural domains at later stages of adolescence. They also underscored that sex was the most discriminatory variable in terms of cultural repertoires in young adolescents. Although I found, as Octobre et al. (2010), that sex affected the distribution of a few dispositions to a stronger extent than social milieu (e.g., leisure activities linked to arts, video-games), my findings essentially showed an opposite pattern. This discrepancy is likely due to methodological factors, notably at the level of the measures used. For instance, Octobre et al.'s use of some loose indicators (e.g., a music category gathering "pop, funk, and disco") and items having a poor discriminatory power in terms of frequency of cultural participation (e.g., "Have you ever visited a museum or a monument?"), as well as a focus limited to descriptive statistics, may have concealed potential class differences. The presence of a high number of contradictions in students' responses over time (Mercklé and Octobre, 2015) may have further muddied the waters in that respect. Most fundamentally, dissimilarities between Octobre et al.'s findings and the present findings may stem from differences in the delineation

of social milieus. While Octobre et al. (2010) distinguished social milieus based on seven (relatively large) occupational categories (e.g., “craftsman, shopkeeper, company manager”) and used as highest educational achievement the category “post-high-school graduation” (see p. 347), I discriminated between social milieus by taking into account finer educational levels and, most fundamentally, by creating class fractions endowed with different levels of cultural capital. Such methodological differences may partly explain the differences observed in the results obtained.

The present study suggests that the stratification of cultural repertoires is already operative in young adolescents and that inherited cultural capital plays a key role in that distribution. From a theoretical standpoint, these similarities in the stratification of cultural dispositions in both young adolescents and adults can be interpreted in at least two manners. The first interpretation relies on the paradigm of cultural eclecticism. According to it, the findings of the present study could be thought to reflect the incorporation by young generations of the relatively recent rise of cultural eclecticism as a dominant norm of taste and consumption. Thus, the stratified internalization of this standard may be the cause of the patterns of tastes and consumption reported in the present study that partly echoed the opposition between the so-called univores and omnivores. Nevertheless, the doubts regarding the onset period and the effectiveness of the “historic shift from snobbishness to omnivorousness” (Peterson and Kern, 1996, p. 905) raised by several scholars (Rossman and Peterson, 2015; Hazir and Warde, 2016; Brisson, 2019), invite to discard this interpretation. As noted by Brisson (2019), cultural omnivorousness and eclecticism are unlikely to constitute recent social phenomena. Indeed, stratified patterns of (what is now called) musical omnivorousness were already reported in the late 1940s (Schuessler, 1948). Moreover, Jæger and Katz-Gerro (2010) identified omnivore and eclectic patterns in data collected in 1964. Thus, it is highly probable that the relation between social position and eclecticism is older than generally assumed (1970s and 1980s). In any case, the

uncertainty surrounding the sociogenesis of cultural eclecticism and the problems linked to the assessment of cultural hierarchy (Brisson, 2019) weaken the foundation of the theory. A gap of several decades in the estimation of the rise of eclecticism as a new cultural canon has serious implications for the validity of the accounts of its emergence, whether the accounts in question refer to the democratization and mass-mediatization of arts and culture, cultural abundance, the transvaluation of snobbishness, and/or to social mobility (Peterson, 1992, 1997; Peterson and Kern, 1996; van Eijck, 1999, 2000; Lahire, 2008; Wright, 2011; Coulangeon, 2015; Chan and Turner, 2017).

The second interpretation is anchored in Bourdieu's theories of action (1990, 2000) and culture (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1979; Bourdieu, 1984). It emphasizes the role of *hysteresis*, the "specific inertia" of habitus (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 130), in the correspondences between the distributions of cultural dispositions in young adolescents and adults. While *hysteresis* has been mainly understood as (or commented in the context of) a mismatch between the conditions of production of the habitus and its conditions of actualization (Mesny, 2002; Hardy, 2012; McDonough and Polzer, 2012; Strand and Lizardo, 2015), it should be recalled that this concept primarily refers to the *durability* of the dispositions embodied by habitus. In Bourdieu's terms (2000, p. 160), "there is an inertia (or *hysteresis*) of habitus which have a spontaneous tendency (based in biology) to perpetuate structures corresponding to their conditions of production." Thus, the findings of the present study may echo those obtained in adults because they refer to developing dispositions that are inherited, socially stratified, and, once developed, *durable*. Within that framework, eclecticism does not (need to) refer to a recent cultural standard but to a link within a chain effect: the higher the inherited cultural capital, (a) the higher the investment in arts and culture, (b) the larger the spectrum of cultural knowledge, activities, and experiences, (c) the higher the aesthetic disposition, and (d) the more eclectic the portfolio of tastes and practices. This "chain" implies that the underlying principles

of adults' cultural repertoires are strongly dependent on early environmental conditioning toward arts and culture. As suggested by Bourdieu (1984, p. 50) as well as both empirical (Atkinson, 2011) and theoretical (Lizardo and Skiles, 2012) studies, the early exposure to a variety of arts works, the early practice of an instrument or the early participation in artistic activities may be determinant in that regard. However, mere exposure or practice may not suffice to make these experiences stimulating, pleasant, and meaningful. This is where parental pedagogy may crucially intervene. It is likely that differences in parents' cultural capital involve differences in the selection, number, and variety of their progeny's cultural activities and in the ability to render those experiences *meaningful* and *rewarding* to their children. The absence of such engagement and initiation during childhood and adolescence may generate a distance toward arts and culture, the reduction of which may become less and less likely over time, especially in the milieus endowed with the lowest levels of linguistic and educational capital (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977, 1979). For instance, limited linguistic skills (e.g., in terms of lexicon) are likely to impede or discourage activities such as reading in the long run. Similarly, a (relatively) poor general knowledge or a lack of information regarding certain references is likely to hinder or even preclude the understanding and appreciation of some cultural products (e.g., comedy shows; see Claessens and Dhoest, 2010). Most fundamentally, inherited and acquired educational difficulties may generate negative attitudes toward activities related to arts and culture discovered in the school context. By contagion, such activities are indeed more likely to be perceived as "nerdy," "complicated," "boring," or "useless." Furthermore, social endogamy (Bourdieu, 1966) and residential, scholar, and ethnic segregations (Duru-Bellat, 2002; Felouzis, Liot, and Perroton, 2005; Givord et al., 2016) tend to create rather homogeneous social networks in which peer-related dynamics contribute to shaping and/or reinforcing cultural dispositions and attitudes toward arts and culture. While these dynamics concern both children (classmates, friends, siblings) and adults (colleagues, friends, folks), their influence

may be stronger during (early) adolescence than in adulthood (Steinberg and Monahan, 2007). Indeed, peer pressure may reach its peak at early adolescence because of the amplification, probably linked to puberty (Brown, 2011), of sensitivity and aspirations to popularity (Corsaro and Eder, 1990; de Bruyn and Cillessen, 2006), celebrity worship (Stiles et al., 1999; Ulhs and Greenfield, 2012), and the associated ideal representations of masculinity and femininity, which tend to discard “intellectual” properties, especially for boys (Adler, Kless, and Adler, 1992; Tolonen, 1998; Lehman, 2014). These stereotypical associations, including the widespread “nerd stigma” (Milner, 2004; Rentzsch, Schütz, and Schröder-Abé, 2011), may partly explain the higher prevalence of interest and participation in arts and cultural activities in girls and women (Bihagen and Katz-Gerro, 2000). However, there is little doubt that the status of intellectual skills and cultural practices differs according to adolescents’ social milieus and to the social mix of their neighborhoods, schools, classrooms, and networks, thus producing different configurations in terms of reinforcement of inherited cultural dispositions. Future studies may further investigate the extent to which the entanglements of the vertical (parents’ social position) and horizontal (classmates’ social milieu, social mix of the attended schools) socialization vectors modulate behaviors and attitudes toward arts and culture.

Importantly, within that Bourdieusian framework, young adolescents do not duplicate their parents’ tastes and practices. They inherit dispositions (to do, feel, judge, categorize, appreciate, verbalize impressions, etc.) structuring their current and forthcoming cultural repertoires—which are *generation-dependent* since they are rooted in a given state of the cultural field (Bourdieu, 1971, 1984; Donnat, 2011). The case of aesthetic disposition is emblematic in that respect. Indeed, students endowed with higher cultural capital manifested more than others the capacity to aestheticize both trivial and negatively-connoted themes of photography as well as non-realistic and non-academic paintings. Such a pattern is in line with the one that Bourdieu identified (1984, pp. 34–41, p. 526): in both studies, the higher the cultural capital, the more

pronounced the detachment “vis-à-vis ‘first-degree’ perception” (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 34), immediate emotional response, and univocity. Unlike Bourdieu, however, I did not find individuals endowed with higher cultural capital to consistently reject more than others clichéd, facile items (e.g., “sunset”). This difference may manifest an age-effect (i.e. an aesthetic disposition in development) or an evolution of the aesthetic disposition itself. In any case, the results pertaining to aesthetic disposition are fruitful in that they highlight the connections between aesthetics, ethics, and cognition.

In particular, the ability to aestheticize trivial and negatively-connoted themes (e.g., a car crash) entails a set of cognitive skills (e.g., inhibition, imagination, creativity, etc.) and a system of values that are likely to vary as a function of social milieu. For instance, distance from first-degree interpretation or literalism is involved when deciphering or producing (dark) humor, irony, and metaphor, which have been found to depend on socioeconomic status or to be linked to correlates of social position (Blasko, 1999; Kuipers, 2006; Chiappe and Chiappe, 2007; Friedman, 2011; Beaty and Silvia, 2013; Friedman and Kuipers, 2013; Hackman et al., 2015; Zaboski, Kranzler, and Gage, 2018). Since cultural capital relates to cognitive assets and structures (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; Bourdieu, 1990), and because social background affects cognitive skills (Bradley and Corwin, 2002; Noble, McCandliss, and Farah, 2007; Hackman and Farah, 2009; Pakulak and Neville, 2010; Fernald, Marchman, and Weisleder, 2013), the distribution of aesthetic disposition observed here may partly manifest a social stratification of cognitive abilities (e.g., in terms of divergent thinking). Thus, the integration in sociological studies of measures dedicated to cognitive skills may enhance the understanding of the social distribution of cultural tastes and practices. The same applies to the inclusion of variables related to ethics and values. Although only supplementary investigations would permit to test the following hypothesis, the differences that I observed between the two class fractions endowed with higher cultural capital (i.e. MC+ and UC+) may be the effect of a

different relationship between aesthetics and ethics (e.g., moralism, political correctness). As an illustration, UC+ students aesthetically valued to a higher extent every single negatively-connoted item, compared to MC+ students. This trend may manifest different inherited conventionalities and social desirabilities. In addition, while UC+ students were the most inclined to promote a certain shade of cultural elitism and to repudiate censorship, MC+ students were the most prone to endue arts with a political/moral function consisting in the denunciation of social injustice. Such a contrast may reflect differences in political proto-dispositions. Interestingly, Bourdieu (1984, p. 338) ironically stated that “the petit bourgeois is a proletarian who makes himself small to become bourgeois.” Making oneself “small” (i.e. *petit*, in French) may signify, here, discrete, harmless, conventional, “self-righteous.” MC+ students may therefore have exhibited a cultural goodwill involving a cultural goodness that excludes eccentric, kooky, profane, unconventional cultural goods. In order to test this hypothesis, future studies may mobilize variables pertaining to moral values, political affiliation, conformity, and the dark triad of personality traits (e.g., Machiavellianism). This would allow investigators to further examine the relations between cultural repertoires and (inherited) axiological systems, which have remained under-investigated to date, despite some notable exceptions (e.g., Bourdieu, 1984; Bryson, 1996; Jarness, 2015; Black et al., 2019).

Moreover, the development of research on the links between ethics and aesthetics would permit to enlarge the scope of the investigation of the transferability (also called transposability) of the schemes of the habitus, which have been mainly circumscribed to cultural areas (Daenekindt, 2017) and (restrictive and speculatively-delineated) degrees of legitimacy (Lahire, 2004). Prior to investigating the links between ethics and aesthetics in a comprehensive manner in *Distinction* (1984), Bourdieu himself focused on correlations between cultural practices in different areas (e.g., museum and theatre attendance; see Bourdieu and Darbel (1990, pp. 63–64). However, the investigation of the transferability of the perception and appreciation

schemes of the habitus should go beyond artistic and cultural domains and involve values and moral codes (as well as cognitive skills and personality traits). The latter may indeed modulate not only the interest in arts and culture, but also the tolerance and the appreciation of anti-establishment works (e.g., Fo's plays), "aggressive" rhythms or vocals (e.g., death metal), explicit lyrics (e.g., 6ix9ine's songs), brutal scenes or screenplays (e.g., Noé's films), erotism (e.g., von Stuck's paintings) or blaspheme (e.g., satirical cartoons). Although values and personality traits are likely to be influenced by social milieu, the examination of these variables would certainly result in a finer understanding of the social distribution of cultural dispositions, especially within class fractions. Indeed, while the present study reported a relatively high number of medium and strong effects of social milieu, most of the corresponding percentages of explained variance did not exceed 20%. This demonstrates that the distribution of cultural dispositions is strongly affected by other factors. Some of these factors may refer to "classic" sociological variables (e.g., siblings and peers' influence, values), that were not controlled for, here; some others, to "classic" psychological variables (e.g., personality traits, cognitive styles). If theory of taste is to progress, we should acknowledge the porosity of such disciplinary boundaries and therefore design transdisciplinary studies. As an illustration, the present study highlighted that openness accounted for more variability in aesthetic disposition, musical and cinematographic eclecticism than social milieu. However, openness was also found to depend on social milieu. Future (long-term longitudinal) studies may clarify the links between these variables by further investigating the "socio-ontogenesis" of personality traits (Caspi, Roberts, and Shiner, 2005). This would represent an important step in the development of a general, sociopsychological theory of taste.

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### Supplementary file 1. *Dispositions toward music*

The present document reports full descriptive statistics and complete results pertaining to the examination of dispositions toward music. For information purposes, it also displays data pertaining to grade, which were neither included nor interpreted in the article for the abovementioned reasons (see p. 168).

As a reminder,

- ❖ LC- = lower class fraction endowed with lower cultural capital;
- ❖ LC = generic fraction of the lower class;
- ❖ MC = generic fraction of the middle class;
- ❖ MC+ = middle class fraction endowed with higher cultural capital;
- ❖ UC = generic fraction of the upper class;
- ❖ UC+ = upper class fraction endowed with higher cultural capital;
- ❖ 7<sup>th</sup> G. = 7<sup>th</sup> graders;
- ❖ 8<sup>th</sup> G. = 8<sup>th</sup> graders;
- ❖ 9<sup>th</sup> G. = 9<sup>th</sup> graders.

Importantly, the tables displaying the results of non-parametric tests report means (not medians or mean ranks) for ease of interpretation. Because the present study involved a lot of ordinal scales involving a neutral value, means were more indicative of the nature of the corresponding distributions than medians or mean ranks.

Table SF1.1. Music investment and music consumption.

	LC-	LC	MC	MC+	UC	UC+	Boys	Girls	7 <sup>th</sup> G.	8 <sup>th</sup> G.	9 <sup>th</sup> G.	Sample
Importance of music listening: small (%)	18.9 <sub>a</sub>	22.1 <sub>a</sub>	8.6 <sub>b</sub>	9.8 <sub>b</sub>	4.6 <sub>b</sub>	1.7 <sub>b</sub>	17.7 <sub>a</sub>	5.3 <sub>b</sub>	12.5 <sub>ab</sub>	14.1 <sub>b</sub>	7.9 <sub>a</sub>	11.4
Importance of music listening: medium (%)	41.5 <sub>a</sub>	47.1 <sub>a</sub>	46.9 <sub>a</sub>	34.1 <sub>ab</sub>	43.7 <sub>a</sub>	26.7 <sub>b</sub>	44.9	41.1	46.6	42.7	40.2	43.0
Importance of music listening: high (%)	39.6 <sub>ab</sub>	30.9 <sub>b</sub>	44.5 <sub>a</sub>	56.1 <sub>ac</sub>	51.7 <sub>a</sub>	71.7 <sub>a</sub>	37.4 <sub>a</sub>	53.6 <sub>b</sub>	40.9 <sub>a</sub>	43.2 <sub>a</sub>	52.0 <sub>b</sub>	45.7
Listen to music daily (%)	83.0	73.5	74.2	87.8	78.8	81.7	72.5 <sub>a</sub>	83.0 <sub>b</sub>	65.9 <sub>a</sub>	78.0 <sub>b</sub>	87.4 <sub>c</sub>	77.8
Listen to music a few times a week (%)	13.2 <sub>a</sub>	22.1 <sub>ab</sub>	23.4 <sub>b</sub>	9.8 <sub>a</sub>	19.9 <sub>ab</sub>	16.7 <sub>ab</sub>	24.1 <sub>a</sub>	15.1 <sub>b</sub>	30.3 <sub>a</sub>	18.7 <sub>b</sub>	11.4 <sub>c</sub>	19.5
Listen to music less than once a week (%)	3.8	4.4	2.4	2.4	1.3	1.7	3.5	2.0	3.8	3.3	1.2	2.7
Mean duration of listening: schooldays (Standard deviation)	138' <sub>a</sub> (81')	132' <sub>a</sub> (87')	107' <sub>b</sub> (81')	95' <sub>bc</sub> (81')	81' <sub>c</sub> (56')	77' <sub>c</sub> (47')	99' <sub>a</sub> (75')	114' <sub>b</sub> (80')	96' <sub>a</sub> (74')	106' <sub>ab</sub> (79')	116' <sub>b</sub> (79')	108' (78')
Mean duration of listening: other days (Standard deviation)	251' <sub>a</sub> (151')	222' <sub>ab</sub> (156')	192' <sub>b</sub> (142')	179' <sub>bc</sub> (127')	144' <sub>c</sub> (109')	133' <sub>c</sub> (83')	174' <sub>a</sub> (137')	204' <sub>b</sub> (140')	158' <sub>a</sub> (124')	197' <sub>b</sub> (144')	205' <sub>b</sub> (142')	190' (139')
Practice of a music instrument (%)	9.4 <sub>a</sub>	10.3 <sub>a</sub>	20.6 <sub>b</sub>	82.9 <sub>c</sub>	36.4 <sub>d</sub>	76.7 <sub>c</sub>	25.5	31.8	28.8 <sub>ab</sub>	21.6 <sub>b</sub>	35.4 <sub>a</sub>	28.7

*Nota bene:* Correlation analyses indicated that the daily duration of music listening was positively, albeit weakly, associated with the importance attributed to music listening (schooldays:  $\tau = .186$ ; other days:  $\tau = .201$ ). Thus, students who listened the most to music were not necessarily the ones who attached the highest importance to music listening.

Table SF1.2. Determinants of the practice of a music instrument (logistic regression analysis).

	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>p</i>	OR
Social milieu (baseline: LC-)	-	-	.000	-
LC	0.080	0.438	.855	1.083
MC	0.923	0.375	.014	<b>2.518</b>
UC	1.719	0.374	.000	<b>5.578</b>
Sex (baseline: males)	0.221	0.211	.295	1.247
Grade (baseline: 7 <sup>th</sup> grade)	-	-	.448	-
8 <sup>th</sup> grade	0.275	0.268	.305	1.317
9 <sup>th</sup> grade	-0.009	2.264	.973	0.991

*Notes.* Because participation in CHAM programs was one of the two criteria for inclusion in the class fractions MC+ and UC+, the latter fractions were excluded from this analysis. Odds ratios < 0.5 and > 2 are bolded.

Table SF1.3. Social milieu, taste for 15 musical styles (5-point rating scales [1-5]), and musical eclecticism.

	LC-		LC		MC		MC+		UC		UC+		<i>H</i> (5)	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD			
Blues, soul	1.78 <sub>a</sub>	1.03	2.22 <sub>a</sub>	1.27	2.85 <sub>b</sub>	1.22	3.09 <sub>b</sub>	1.35	2.90 <sub>b</sub>	1.23	3.75 <sub>c</sub>	1.04	65.72	.000	<b>.154</b>
Classical	1.71 <sub>a</sub>	0.98	1.69 <sub>a</sub>	0.96	2.05 <sub>b</sub>	1.19	3.02 <sub>c</sub>	1.11	2.29 <sub>d</sub>	1.17	3.58 <sub>e</sub>	1.11	126.20	.000	<b>.180</b>
Country	1.61 <sub>a</sub>	1.05	1.70 <sub>a</sub>	1.00	2.07 <sub>b</sub>	1.10	2.36 <sub>bc</sub>	1.29	2.40 <sub>c</sub>	1.08	2.57 <sub>c</sub>	1.11	52.95	.000	<i>.089</i>
Electro	1.88 <sub>a</sub>	1.22	2.45 <sub>b</sub>	1.41	2.97 <sub>c</sub>	1.46	3.27 <sub>cd</sub>	1.43	3.50 <sub>d</sub>	1.22	3.65 <sub>d</sub>	1.32	91.68	.000	<i>.138</i>
Jazz	1.63 <sub>a</sub>	1.07	1.87 <sub>a</sub>	1.16	2.46 <sub>b</sub>	1.24	3.02 <sub>c</sub>	1.35	2.74 <sub>bc</sub>	1.37	3.64 <sub>d</sub>	1.34	114.10	.000	<b>.168</b>
Metal, hard rock	1.51 <sub>a</sub>	1.00	1.91 <sub>b</sub>	1.20	2.08 <sub>bc</sub>	1.32	2.53 <sub>cd</sub>	1.60	2.47 <sub>d</sub>	1.42	2.79 <sub>d</sub>	1.40	50.63	.000	<i>.072</i>
Opera	1.37 <sub>a</sub>	0.79	1.21 <sub>a</sub>	0.52	1.56 <sub>ab</sub>	0.97	1.78 <sub>bc</sub>	1.15	1.80 <sub>c</sub>	1.07	2.80 <sub>d</sub>	1.34	100.22	.000	<b>.143</b>
Pop	3.00 <sub>a</sub>	1.56	3.06 <sub>a</sub>	1.39	3.44 <sub>b</sub>	1.43	4.10 <sub>cd</sub>	1.08	3.89 <sub>c</sub>	1.11	4.32 <sub>d</sub>	0.93	60.95	.000	<i>.085</i>
Punk	1.37 <sub>a</sub>	0.78	1.71 <sub>b</sub>	1.12	1.95 <sub>b</sub>	1.13	2.77 <sub>cd</sub>	1.55	2.33 <sub>c</sub>	1.14	2.89 <sub>d</sub>	1.27	76.31	.000	<i>.137</i>
Rap (American)	4.37 <sub>a</sub>	1.10	3.94 <sub>b</sub>	1.19	3.86 <sub>b</sub>	1.37	3.84 <sub>b</sub>	1.37	4.11 <sub>b</sub>	1.19	3.91 <sub>b</sub>	1.35	16.90	.005	<i>.018</i>
Rap (French)	4.64 <sub>a</sub>	0.81	4.32 <sub>b</sub>	1.12	3.83 <sub>cd</sub>	1.49	3.54 <sub>cd</sub>	1.64	3.92 <sub>c</sub>	1.32	3.47 <sub>d</sub>	1.47	47.64	.000	<i>.062</i>
Reggae	1.81 <sub>a</sub>	1.20	2.44 <sub>b</sub>	1.44	2.61 <sub>bc</sub>	1.38	2.86 <sub>cd</sub>	1.31	2.84 <sub>cd</sub>	1.34	3.25 <sub>d</sub>	1.43	41.46	.000	<i>.072</i>
R&B	3.32 <sub>a</sub>	1.62	2.85 <sub>bc</sub>	1.47	2.69 <sub>c</sub>	1.32	3.24 <sub>ab</sub>	1.38	2.84 <sub>bc</sub>	1.21	3.15 <sub>ab</sub>	0.90	13.98	.016	<i>.019</i>
Rock	1.58 <sub>a</sub>	1.05	2.14 <sub>b</sub>	1.33	2.76 <sub>c</sub>	1.45	3.24 <sub>d</sub>	1.67	3.19 <sub>d</sub>	1.40	3.78 <sub>e</sub>	1.53	118.62	.000	<b>.174</b>
Variété	2.49 <sub>a</sub>	1.43	2.77 <sub>ab</sub>	1.34	2.99 <sub>b</sub>	1.32	3.50 <sub>c</sub>	1.40	3.20 <sub>bc</sub>	1.32	3.63 <sub>c</sub>	1.17	28.51	.000	<i>.051</i>
Unknown labels	3.11 <sub>ab</sub>	3.10	3.18 <sub>a</sub>	3.00	2.39 <sub>b</sub>	2.36	1.41 <sub>cd</sub>	1.92	1.73 <sub>c</sub>	1.87	0.92 <sub>d</sub>	1.62	71.15	.000	<i>.095</i>
Mean score	2.40 <sub>a</sub>	0.68	2.52 <sub>a</sub>	0.72	2.71 <sub>b</sub>	0.63	3.04 <sub>c</sub>	0.79	2.96 <sub>c</sub>	0.57	3.38 <sub>d</sub>	0.65	113.19	.000	<b>.155</b>
Rate of styles liked	29.45 <sub>a</sub>	16.45	30.38 <sub>a</sub>	19.18	32.88 <sub>a</sub>	18.30	43.48 <sub>b</sub>	23.03	38.13 <sub>b</sub>	17.18	52.66 <sub>c</sub>	18.88	82.45	.000	<i>.111</i>
Musical eclecticism item	3.25 <sub>a</sub>	1.47	3.49 <sub>a</sub>	1.19	3.91 <sub>b</sub>	1.09	4.37 <sub>cd</sub>	0.83	4.15 <sub>bc</sub>	0.92	4.50 <sub>d</sub>	0.68	71.75	.000	<i>.096</i>

*Notes.* The “musical eclecticism item” refers to the following statement: “In all music styles, there are good and bad pieces.” Students were asked to indicate their degree of agreement with such a view on a 5-point rating scale (1-5). Medium and large effect sizes are, respectively, italicized and bolded.

Table SF1.4. Sex, taste for 15 musical styles (5-point rating scales [1-5]), and musical eclecticism.

	Boys		Girls		<i>U</i>	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$
	M	SD	M	SD			
Blues, soul	2.96	1.30	2.67	1.29	17401	.021	.013
Classical	2.11	1.22	2.25	1.24	53668	.107	.004
Country	2.11	1.16	2.07	1.10	36712	.814	.000
Electro	3.22	1.45	2.67	1.42	39279	.000	.036
Jazz	2.51	1.41	2.37	1.33	50833.5	.208	.002
Metal, hard rock	2.35	1.43	1.95	1.25	42976	.000	.020
Opera	1.59	1.02	1.69	1.05	52871	.099	.004
Pop	3.13	1.37	3.89	1.30	37083.5	.000	.086
Punk	2.14	1.27	1.99	1.17	32830	.267	.002
Rap (American)	4.07	1.27	3.95	1.26	54048	.064	.005
Rap (French)	4.01	1.35	4.04	1.35	59520	.948	.000
Reggae	2.71	1.48	2.50	1.32	30178	.172	.004
R&B	2.63	1.31	3.24	1.36	22254.5	.000	.051
Rock	2.86	1.54	2.54	1.50	47760.5	.007	.011
Variété	2.61	1.34	3.41	1.28	17902	.000	.088
Unknown labels	2.20	2.52	2.45	2.58	57313	.093	.004
Mean score	2.75	0.75	2.76	0.66	60390.5	.704	.000
Rate of styles liked	34.70	20.78	35.91	17.99	57107.5	.108	.004
Musical eclecticism item	3.87	1.19	3.84	1.15	60193.5	.541	.000

*Notes.* The “musical eclecticism item” refers to the following statement: “In all music styles, there are good and bad pieces.” Students were asked to indicate their degree of agreement with such a view on a 5-point rating scale (1-5). Medium effect sizes are italicized.

Table SF1.5. Grade, taste for 15 musical styles (5-point rating scales [1-5]), and musical eclecticism.

	7 <sup>th</sup> graders		8 <sup>th</sup> graders		9 <sup>th</sup> graders		<i>H</i> (2)	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD			
Blues, soul	2.80 <sub>ab</sub>	1.26	2.59 <sub>a</sub>	1.27	2.99 <sub>b</sub>	1.33	7.50	.023	.014
Classical	2.07 <sub>a</sub>	1.26	1.99 <sub>a</sub>	1.07	2.45 <sub>b</sub>	1.30	16.61	.000	.022
Country	2.20	1.20	2.02	1.08	2.07	1.12	1.64	.439	.001
Electro	2.95	1.40	2.83	1.45	3.04	1.51	2.41	.300	.001
Jazz	2.41 <sub>ab</sub>	1.40	2.21 <sub>a</sub>	1.26	2.67 <sub>b</sub>	1.42	12.19	.002	.016
Metal, hard rock	2.23 <sub>a</sub>	1.38	1.93 <sub>b</sub>	1.20	2.28 <sub>a</sub>	1.45	6.75	.034	.007
Opera	1.62	1.02	1.52	0.88	1.78	1.16	5.34	.069	.005
Pop	3.60	1.36	3.39	1.45	3.58	1.34	2.43	.297	.001
Punk	2.20	1.29	1.88	1.13	2.13	1.24	5.62	.060	.007
Rap (American)	3.87	1.29	4.00	1.28	4.13	1.22	5.58	.061	.005
Rap (French)	3.92	1.39	4.07	1.33	4.06	1.34	1.46	.482	.001
Reggae	2.55 <sub>a</sub>	1.32	2.24 <sub>b</sub>	1.29	2.92 <sub>c</sub>	1.48	20.27	.000	.036
R&B	2.89	1.41	2.89	1.43	3.00	1.29	0.89	.641	.002
Rock	2.75 <sub>a</sub>	1.51	2.39 <sub>b</sub>	1.44	2.95 <sub>a</sub>	1.57	15.85	.000	.021
Variété	3.02	1.31	2.92	1.50	3.12	1.30	1.59	.452	.001
Unknown labels	2.91 <sub>a</sub>	2.55	2.73 <sub>a</sub>	2.77	1.46 <sub>b</sub>	2.08	72.55	.000	<i>.101</i>
Mean score	2.75 <sub>ab</sub>	0.67	2.65 <sub>a</sub>	0.69	2.87 <sub>b</sub>	0.74	11.57	.003	.014
Rate of styles liked	34.85 <sub>a</sub>	19.09	32.36 <sub>a</sub>	18.44	38.52 <sub>b</sub>	20.15	14.20	.001	.017
Musical eclecticism item	3.63 <sub>a</sub>	1.23	3.85 <sub>b</sub>	1.19	4.04 <sub>b</sub>	1.05	14.36	.001	.018

*Notes.* The “musical eclecticism item” refers to the following statement: “In all music styles, there are good and bad pieces.” Students were asked to indicate their degree of agreement with such a view on a 5-point rating scale (1-5). Medium effect sizes are italicized.

Table SF1.6. Social milieu and taste for 15 musical excerpts (5-point rating scales [1-5]).

	LC-		LC		MC		MC+		UC		UC+		<i>H</i> (5)	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD			
Audioslave	1.83 <sub>a</sub>	1.16	2.30 <sub>b</sub>	1.37	2.75 <sub>c</sub>	1.37	3.10 <sub>cd</sub>	1.53	3.26 <sub>d</sub>	1.37	3.40 <sub>d</sub>	1.54	87.07	.000	<i>.118</i>
Baker	2.00 <sub>a</sub>	1.23	2.13 <sub>a</sub>	1.18	2.65 <sub>b</sub>	1.25	3.61 <sub>c</sub>	1.16	2.74 <sub>b</sub>	1.26	3.78 <sub>c</sub>	1.29	104.55	.000	<b>.143</b>
Chopin	1.98 <sub>a</sub>	1.21	2.05 <sub>a</sub>	1.14	2.59 <sub>b</sub>	1.27	3.54 <sub>c</sub>	1.14	2.60 <sub>b</sub>	1.27	3.88 <sub>c</sub>	1.34	110.25	.000	<b>.151</b>
Cypress Hill	3.24	1.39	3.28	1.30	3.09	1.28	3.12	1.31	3.29	1.20	3.59	1.12	7.88	.163	.004
Ferré	1.69 <sub>a</sub>	1.03	1.82 <sub>a</sub>	1.05	2.13 <sub>b</sub>	1.16	2.90 <sub>c</sub>	1.26	2.31 <sub>b</sub>	1.11	2.85 <sub>c</sub>	1.26	69.59	.000	<i>.093</i>
Iglesias E.	3.89 <sub>a</sub>	1.33	3.61 <sub>ab</sub>	1.43	3.49 <sub>b</sub>	1.37	3.98 <sub>a</sub>	1.19	3.45 <sub>b</sub>	1.42	3.25 <sub>b</sub>	1.40	15.80	.007	.015
Le Castle Vania	2.12 <sub>a</sub>	1.24	2.56 <sub>b</sub>	1.37	2.92 <sub>c</sub>	1.37	2.93 <sub>c</sub>	1.35	3.09 <sub>c</sub>	1.25	3.28 <sub>c</sub>	1.18	49.31	.000	<i>.064</i>
McClain	2.18 <sub>a</sub>	1.31	2.27 <sub>a</sub>	1.20	2.71 <sub>b</sub>	1.32	3.44 <sub>c</sub>	1.27	2.81 <sub>b</sub>	1.29	3.28 <sub>c</sub>	1.39	53.48	.000	<i>.070</i>
Moulin Rouge! OST	2.01 <sub>a</sub>	1.26	2.26 <sub>a</sub>	1.25	2.55 <sub>b</sub>	1.24	3.29 <sub>c</sub>	1.29	2.71 <sub>b</sub>	1.22	3.34 <sub>c</sub>	1.19	64.78	.000	<i>.086</i>
Muse	2.05 <sub>a</sub>	1.25	2.54 <sub>b</sub>	1.23	2.89 <sub>c</sub>	1.22	3.85 <sub>d</sub>	1.11	3.06 <sub>c</sub>	1.16	3.83 <sub>d</sub>	1.23	105.82	.000	<b>.145</b>
Pavarotti	1.52 <sub>a</sub>	1.00	1.47 <sub>a</sub>	0.84	1.80 <sub>b</sub>	1.04	2.41 <sub>c</sub>	1.24	2.01 <sub>b</sub>	1.21	3.07 <sub>d</sub>	1.37	89.50	.000	<i>.121</i>
Rakim	3.76	1.27	3.83	1.30	3.54	1.28	3.68	1.44	3.69	1.21	3.80	1.25	7.60	.180	.004
Rammstein	1.88 <sub>a</sub>	1.27	2.36 <sub>b</sub>	1.37	2.47 <sub>bc</sub>	1.32	2.83 <sub>c</sub>	1.58	2.73 <sub>c</sub>	1.31	3.12 <sub>c</sub>	1.50	43.80	.000	.056
Theatre of Tragedy	1.73 <sub>a</sub>	1.12	2.20 <sub>b</sub>	1.32	2.44 <sub>b</sub>	1.27	2.59 <sub>bc</sub>	1.38	2.80 <sub>c</sub>	1.31	3.10 <sub>c</sub>	1.31	68.27	.000	<i>.091</i>
Union Station	1.96 <sub>a</sub>	1.25	2.35 <sub>b</sub>	1.24	2.75 <sub>c</sub>	1.26	3.12 <sub>cd</sub>	1.25	3.21 <sub>d</sub>	1.20	3.22 <sub>d</sub>	1.30	80.47	.000	<i>.108</i>
Mean score	2.26 <sub>a</sub>	0.70	2.46 <sub>a</sub>	0.68	2.72 <sub>b</sub>	0.68	3.23 <sub>d</sub>	0.76	2.92 <sub>c</sub>	0.59	3.38 <sub>d</sub>	0.86	120.58	.000	<b>.166</b>
Rate of excerpts liked	24.65 <sub>a</sub>	18.47	28.19 <sub>a</sub>	19.86	33.30 <sub>b</sub>	21.48	50.41 <sub>d</sub>	27.57	38.72 <sub>c</sub>	21.18	53.89 <sub>d</sub>	28.42	79.55	.000	<i>.107</i>

*Note.* Medium and large effect sizes are, respectively, italicized and bolded.

Table SF1.7. Sex and taste for 15 musical excerpts (5-point rating scales [1-5]).

	<b>Boys</b>		<b>Girls</b>		<i>U</i>	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$
	M	SD	M	SD			
Audioslave	3.03	1.49	2.40	1.35	45936.5	.000	.044
Baker	2.72	1.41	2.53	1.26	55654	.091	.004
Chopin	2.54	1.43	2.59	1.28	58269	.383	.001
Cypress Hill	3.65	1.22	2.84	1.20	38365	.000	.108
Ferré	2.19	1.19	2.09	1.16	57166	.230	.002
Iglesias E.	3.13	1.45	3.99	1.18	39738.5	.000	.089
Le Castle Vania	3.07	1.32	2.53	1.32	46613	.000	.040
McClain	2.80	1.36	2.51	1.32	53118	.003	.012
Moulin Rouge! OST	2.39	1.26	2.70	1.31	52496	.004	.012
Muse	2.87	1.37	2.87	1.26	60247.5	.966	.000
Pavarotti	1.86	1.20	1.91	1.13	57774.5	.230	.002
Rakim	4.01	1.17	3.39	1.30	43408.5	.000	.062
Rammstein	2.67	1.44	2.30	1.32	52102.5	.001	.015
Theatre of Tragedy	2.66	1.41	2.20	1.21	49707	.000	.025
Union Station	2.78	1.36	2.65	1.28	56408	.230	.002
Mean score	2.83	0.76	2.63	0.74	53158.5	.001	.015
Rate of excerpts liked	38.59	23.73	31.40	22.39	50405	.000	.025

*Note.* Medium effect sizes are italicized.

Table SF1.8. Grade and taste for 15 musical excerpts (5-point rating scales [1-5]).

	7 <sup>th</sup> graders		8 <sup>th</sup> graders		9 <sup>th</sup> graders		<i>H</i> (2)	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD			
Audioslave	2.76 <sub>a</sub>	1.39	2.49 <sub>b</sub>	1.40	2.87 <sub>a</sub>	1.54	8.45	.015	.009
Baker	2.62 <sub>ab</sub>	1.35	2.39 <sub>a</sub>	1.21	2.84 <sub>b</sub>	1.42	12.39	.002	.015
Chopin	2.54 <sub>a</sub>	1.36	2.32 <sub>a</sub>	1.21	2.82 <sub>b</sub>	1.42	14.81	.001	.018
Cypress Hill	3.29	1.19	3.20	1.36	3.22	1.27	0.19	.910	.000
Ferré	2.13 <sub>ab</sub>	1.23	1.98 <sub>a</sub>	1.07	2.30 <sub>b</sub>	1.21	8.23	.016	.009
Iglesias E.	3.75	1.27	3.50	1.40	3.49	1.46	4.03	.133	.003
Le Castle Vania	2.90	1.38	2.68	1.35	2.81	1.33	2.95	.229	.001
McClain	2.46 <sub>a</sub>	1.31	2.46 <sub>a</sub>	1.28	3.00 <sub>b</sub>	1.36	25.33	.000	.033
Moulin Rouge! OST	2.47 <sub>a</sub>	1.36	2.39 <sub>a</sub>	1.23	2.77 <sub>b</sub>	1.28	12.32	.002	.015
Muse	2.94 <sub>a</sub>	1.24	2.53 <sub>b</sub>	1.28	3.14 <sub>a</sub>	1.33	27.48	.000	.036
Pavarotti	1.92 <sub>a</sub>	1.13	1.70 <sub>b</sub>	1.05	2.05 <sub>a</sub>	1.27	11.36	.003	.013
Rakim	3.74 <sub>a</sub>	1.28	3.49 <sub>b</sub>	1.35	3.87 <sub>a</sub>	1.17	9.45	.009	.011
Rammstein	2.64 <sub>a</sub>	1.44	2.21 <sub>b</sub>	1.26	2.61 <sub>a</sub>	1.44	12.57	.002	.015
Theatre of Tragedy	2.51	1.32	2.29	1.34	2.48	1.32	5.02	.081	.004
Union Station	2.87 <sub>a</sub>	1.33	2.56 <sub>b</sub>	1.33	2.73 <sub>ab</sub>	1.29	6.09	.047	.006
Mean score	2.77 <sub>a</sub>	0.76	2.55 <sub>b</sub>	0.68	2.87 <sub>a</sub>	0.79	19.96	.000	.026
Rate of excerpts liked	35.45 <sub>a</sub>	23.27	29.79 <sub>b</sub>	20.03	39.37 <sub>a</sub>	25.31	16.55	.000	.021

Table SF1.9. Music genres to which preferred artists belong.

	LC-	LC	MC	MC+	UC	UC+	Boys	Girls	7 <sup>th</sup> G.	8 <sup>th</sup> G.	9 <sup>th</sup> G.	Sample
Asian pop (K-pop & J-pop)	2.5 <sub>a</sub>	2.3 <sub>a</sub>	3.0 <sub>a</sub>	2.8 <sub>ab</sub>	0 <sub>b</sub>	0 <sub>b</sub>	0.5 <sub>a</sub>	3.1 <sub>b</sub>	0.6 <sub>a</sub>	1.6 <sub>ab</sub>	3.1 <sub>b</sub>	1.9
Blues	0	0	0.6	0	0	0	0.5 <sub>a</sub>	0 <sub>b</sub>	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
Classical, “neoclassical,” and baroque	0 <sub>a</sub>	0 <sub>a</sub>	1.0 <sub>a</sub>	1.9 <sub>a</sub>	0.9 <sub>a</sub>	9.5 <sub>b</sub>	1.4	1.0	1.7	0.9	0.9	1.1
Contemporary R&B and urban pop	15.3 <sub>a</sub>	7.1 <sub>b</sub>	4.3 <sub>b</sub>	5.7 <sub>b</sub>	1.1 <sub>c</sub>	0 <sub>c</sub>	1.1 <sub>a</sub>	9.2 <sub>b</sub>	4.9	5.8	5.3	5.6
Doo wop	0	0	0	0	0.9	0	0	0.3	0	0.5	0	0.2
Electronic dance music	0.7 <sub>a</sub>	1.9 <sub>a</sub>	7.9 <sub>b</sub>	0.9 <sub>a</sub>	8.0 <sub>b</sub>	5.7 <sub>b</sub>	7.9 <sub>a</sub>	2.2 <sub>a</sub>	4.2	4.7	5.6	4.9
Folk music	0	0	1.0	0	0.3	1.2	0.6	0.4	0.6	0.9	0.3	0.5
Jazz	0	0	0.2	0.9	1.4	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.4
Metal, grunge, and hard rock	0.7 <sub>ab</sub>	0.6 <sub>a</sub>	2.0 <sub>ab</sub>	3.8 <sub>abc</sub>	5.7 <sub>c</sub>	3.8 <sub>abc</sub>	3.3	2.1	2.5 <sub>ab</sub>	1.0 <sub>a</sub>	4.0 <sub>b</sub>	2.6
New wave, post-punk, and goth	0	0	0.8	0	0	1.3	0.5	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.4
Pop music	3.3 <sub>a</sub>	9.1 <sub>b</sub>	12.6 <sub>b</sub>	27.4 <sub>c</sub>	11.5 <sub>b</sub>	13.9 <sub>b</sub>	3.0 <sub>a</sub>	19.8 <sub>b</sub>	16.1 <sub>a</sub>	9.4 <sub>b</sub>	10.9 <sub>b</sub>	11.7
Pop-rock	0.4 <sub>a</sub>	0.6 <sub>a</sub>	1.8 <sub>ab</sub>	2.8 <sub>ab</sub>	2.0 <sub>ab</sub>	4.4 <sub>b</sub>	1.6	1.8	1.7 <sub>a</sub>	0.2 <sub>b</sub>	3.1 <sub>a</sub>	1.7
Punk rock	0	0	0.4	0	0.6	0.6	0.4	0.1	0	0.3	0.3	0.3
Rap	76.0 <sub>a</sub>	74.7 <sub>a</sub>	55.2 <sub>b</sub>	28.3 <sub>c</sub>	55.0 <sub>b</sub>	31.6 <sub>c</sub>	67.5 <sub>a</sub>	50.3 <sub>b</sub>	54.9 <sub>a</sub>	66.8 <sub>b</sub>	53.5 <sub>a</sub>	58.4
Reggae	0	0	0.6	1.9	1.4	0	0.9	0.3	1.1	0.2	0.6	0.6
Rock (alt rock, indie rock)	0 <sub>a</sub>	1.0 <sub>a</sub>	6.3 <sub>b</sub>	16.0 <sub>c</sub>	7.7 <sub>b</sub>	23.4 <sub>c</sub>	8.0 <sub>a</sub>	5.2 <sub>b</sub>	6.6 <sub>a</sub>	3.5 <sub>b</sub>	9.5 <sub>z</sub>	6.7
Soul	0	0	0.2	0.9	0	0	0.1	0.1	0	0.2	0.2	0.1
Spoken word	0	0.3	0	0	0.3	0	0	0.4	0	0.2	0.5	0.2
Trap	0.4	0.3	0	0	0.6	0	0.8 <sub>a</sub>	0 <sub>b</sub>	0.4	0.7	0.2	0.4
Variété	0.7 <sub>a</sub>	1.9 <sub>a</sub>	2.0 <sub>a</sub>	6.6 <sub>b</sub>	2.6 <sub>ab</sub>	3.8 <sub>ab</sub>	1.6	2.9	3.8 <sub>a</sub>	2.1 <sub>ab</sub>	1.4 <sub>b</sub>	2.3

## Supplementary file 2. *Dispositions toward visual arts*

The present document reports full descriptive statistics and complete results pertaining to the examination of dispositions toward visual arts. For information purposes, it also displays data pertaining to grade, which were neither included nor interpreted in the article for the abovementioned reasons (see p. 168).

As a reminder,

- ❖ LC- = lower class fraction endowed with lower cultural capital;
- ❖ LC = generic fraction of the lower class;
- ❖ MC = generic fraction of the middle class;
- ❖ MC+ = middle class fraction endowed with higher cultural capital;
- ❖ UC = generic fraction of the upper class;
- ❖ UC+ = upper class fraction endowed with higher cultural capital;
- ❖ 7<sup>th</sup> G. = 7<sup>th</sup> graders;
- ❖ 8<sup>th</sup> G. = 8<sup>th</sup> graders;
- ❖ 9<sup>th</sup> G. = 9<sup>th</sup> graders.

Importantly, the tables displaying the results of non-parametric tests report means (not medians or mean ranks) for ease of interpretation. Because the present study involved a lot of ordinal scales involving a neutral value, means were more indicative of the nature of the corresponding distributions than medians or mean ranks.

Table SF2.1. Descriptive statistics related to art-museum attendance, museal preferences, and attitudes towards painting and photography (in %).

	LC-	LC	MC	MC+	UC	UC+	Boys	Girls	7 <sup>th</sup> G.	8 <sup>th</sup> G.	9 <sup>th</sup> G.	Sample
Art museum: 0 visit	75.5 <sub>a</sub>	60.3 <sub>b</sub>	17.2 <sub>c</sub>	0 <sub>d</sub>	0.7 <sub>d</sub>	1.7 <sub>d</sub>	26.7	30.2	29.3	30.3	26.0	28.4
Art museum: 1-4 visit(s)	22.6 <sub>a</sub>	35.3 <sub>b</sub>	40.2 <sub>b</sub>	31.7 <sub>ab</sub>	30.5 <sub>ab</sub>	5.0 <sub>c</sub>	30.7	31.3	30.8 <sub>ab</sub>	36.5 <sub>a</sub>	26.0 <sub>b</sub>	31.0
Art museum: 5-10 visits	1.9 <sub>a</sub>	2.2 <sub>a</sub>	24.9 <sub>b</sub>	29.3 <sub>b</sub>	21.2 <sub>b</sub>	25.0 <sub>b</sub>	14.5	18.4	17.8	13.7	18.1	16.5
Art museum: 10+ visits	0 <sub>a</sub>	2.2 <sub>a</sub>	17.7 <sub>b</sub>	39.0 <sub>c</sub>	47.7 <sub>c</sub>	68.3 <sub>d</sub>	28.1 <sub>a</sub>	20.1 <sub>b</sub>	22.1 <sub>ab</sub>	19.5 <sub>a</sub>	29.9 <sub>b</sub>	24.0
Preference for art museums	10.4 <sub>a</sub>	13.2 <sub>ab</sub>	16.7 <sub>abc</sub>	24.4 <sub>bc</sub>	22.5 <sub>c</sub>	15.0 <sub>abc</sub>	11.3 <sub>a</sub>	21.8 <sub>b</sub>	13.9	19.5	16.1	16.6
Preference for science museums	15.1 <sub>a</sub>	23.5 <sub>a</sub>	38.3 <sub>b</sub>	41.5 <sub>b</sub>	35.8 <sub>b</sub>	16.7 <sub>a</sub>	38.8 <sub>a</sub>	20.9 <sub>b</sub>	31.3	29.9	28.3	29.7
No preference, interest in both types	8.5 <sub>a</sub>	11.0 <sub>a</sub>	20.1 <sub>b</sub>	26.8 <sub>b</sub>	22.5 <sub>b</sub>	61.7 <sub>c</sub>	18.8	23.2	18.3	18.7	25.6	21.1
No preference, no interest in both types	66.0 <sub>a</sub>	52.2 <sub>b</sub>	24.9 <sub>c</sub>	7.3 <sub>d</sub>	19.2 <sub>c</sub>	6.7 <sub>d</sub>	31.0	34.1	36.5	32.0	29.9	32.6
“I have no interest in painting”	57.6 <sub>a</sub>	56.6 <sub>a</sub>	33.0 <sub>b</sub>	26.8 <sub>bc</sub>	37.8 <sub>b</sub>	13.3 <sub>c</sub>	45.8 <sub>a</sub>	34.9 <sub>b</sub>	43.7	41.9	35.8	40.3
“Painting is interesting but complicated”	33.0 <sub>a</sub>	33.1 <sub>a</sub>	48.3 <sub>b</sub>	51.2 <sub>b</sub>	37.7 <sub>a</sub>	30.0 <sub>a</sub>	35.1 <sub>a</sub>	43.6 <sub>b</sub>	37.5	42.7	37.8	39.4
“I enjoy looking at paintings”	9.4 <sub>a</sub>	10.3 <sub>a</sub>	18.7 <sub>b</sub>	22.0 <sub>b</sub>	24.5 <sub>b</sub>	56.7 <sub>c</sub>	19.1	21.5	18.8 <sub>ab</sub>	15.4 <sub>a</sub>	26.4 <sub>b</sub>	20.3
“Photography is an art”	30.4 <sub>a</sub>	47.8 <sub>b</sub>	65.6 <sub>c</sub>	70.7 <sub>c</sub>	70.9 <sub>c</sub>	90.0 <sub>d</sub>	58.6	63.1	60.1	57.7	64.6	60.9

*Note.* Correlation analyses indicated that interest in painting and museal attendance were positively linked ( $\tau = .322$ ).

Table SF2.2. Determinants of the propensity to consider photography an art (logistic regression analysis).

	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>p</i>	OR
Social milieu (baseline: LC-)	-	-	.000	-
LC	0.587	0.269	.029	1.799
MC	1.335	0.253	.000	<b>3.799</b>
MC+	1.495	0.406	.000	<b>4.458</b>
UC	1.573	0.273	.000	<b>4.822</b>
UC+	2.853	0.484	.000	<b>17.332</b>
Sex (baseline: males)	0.236	0.165	.153	1.267
Grade (baseline: 7 <sup>th</sup> grade)	-	-	.916	-
8 <sup>th</sup> grade	0.082	0.206	.691	1.085
9 <sup>th</sup> grade	0.020	0.205	.921	1.021

*Note.* Odds ratios < 0.5 and > 2 are bolded.

Table SF2.3. Social milieu and aesthetic assessment of 15 master paintings (11-point rating scales [0-10]).

	LC-		LC		MC		MC+		UC		UC+		<i>H</i> (5)	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD			
Cézanne	4.22 <sub>a</sub>	3.03	4.69 <sub>a</sub>	2.90	5.20 <sub>b</sub>	2.72	5.37 <sub>b</sub>	2.20	5.30 <sub>b</sub>	2.02	6.28 <sub>c</sub>	2.31	31.18	.000	.038
Dalí	5.19 <sub>a</sub>	3.23	5.47 <sub>ab</sub>	2.86	5.96 <sub>bc</sub>	3.06	6.00 <sub>bc</sub>	2.74	6.60 <sub>cd</sub>	2.44	7.12 <sub>d</sub>	2.38	27.09	.000	.032
De Coster	4.89 <sub>a</sub>	3.27	4.66 <sub>a</sub>	3.15	5.62 <sub>b</sub>	2.92	6.07 <sub>b</sub>	2.94	6.13 <sub>b</sub>	2.39	7.22 <sub>c</sub>	2.44	42.53	.000	.054
Derain	4.39 <sub>a</sub>	3.01	5.10 <sub>ab</sub>	3.14	5.64 <sub>b</sub>	2.80	7.27 <sub>cd</sub>	2.00	6.46 <sub>c</sub>	2.68	7.53 <sub>d</sub>	1.81	72.57	.000	.097
Duncan	8.84 <sub>a</sub>	1.66	8.79 <sub>a</sub>	1.86	8.70 <sub>a</sub>	1.88	8.63 <sub>a</sub>	1.43	8.88 <sub>a</sub>	1.47	7.78 <sub>b</sub>	1.98	22.74	.000	.025
Gleizes	3.73 <sub>a</sub>	2.95	4.15 <sub>a</sub>	3.02	5.01 <sub>b</sub>	2.93	4.98 <sub>b</sub>	2.82	4.97 <sub>b</sub>	2.51	6.10 <sub>c</sub>	2.05	38.91	.000	.049
Kandinsky	3.56 <sub>a</sub>	2.84	4.10 <sub>a</sub>	2.61	4.90 <sub>b</sub>	2.78	5.66 <sub>bc</sub>	2.82	4.85 <sub>b</sub>	2.66	6.40 <sub>c</sub>	2.07	55.92	.000	.073
Munch	3.39 <sub>a</sub>	2.66	3.68 <sub>a</sub>	3.11	4.83 <sub>b</sub>	3.25	5.02 <sub>b</sub>	2.80	4.48 <sub>b</sub>	3.12	6.82 <sub>c</sub>	2.63	60.21	.000	.079
Van Gogh	5.21 <sub>ab</sub>	3.13	4.62 <sub>a</sub>	2.90	5.45 <sub>bc</sub>	2.85	5.88 <sub>bc</sub>	2.29	5.60 <sub>bc</sub>	2.48	6.25 <sub>c</sub>	2.27	19.46	.002	.021
Von Klever	8.25 <sub>a</sub>	2.16	8.17 <sub>a</sub>	2.28	8.74 <sub>ab</sub>	1.86	8.85 <sub>ab</sub>	1.44	9.06 <sub>b</sub>	1.39	8.85 <sub>ab</sub>	1.34	17.60	.003	.018
Mean score	5.16 <sub>a</sub>	1.78	5.34 <sub>a</sub>	1.67	6.00 <sub>b</sub>	1.59	6.37 <sub>b</sub>	1.31	6.23 <sub>b</sub>	1.31	7.03 <sub>c</sub>	1.18	81.09	.000	.109

*Note.* Medium effect sizes are italicized.

Table SF2.4. Sex and aesthetic assessment of 15 master paintings (11-point rating scales [0-10]).

	<b>Boys</b>		<b>Girls</b>		<i>U</i>	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$
	M	SD	M	SD			
Cézanne	5.40	2.63	4.77	2.65	53522	.002	.014
Dalí	6.03	2.97	5.94	2.84	59760.5	.456	.001
De Coster	5.81	3.02	5.39	2.90	55951	.030	.007
Derain	5.68	2.91	5.88	2.92	59244	.348	.001
Duncan	8.91	1.59	8.49	1.90	53310.5	.001	.016
Gleizes	4.99	2.78	4.48	2.91	55706	.024	.007
Kandinsky	4.52	2.63	4.89	2.91	57238.5	.091	.004
Munch	4.87	3.10	4.13	3.18	53140.5	.001	.015
Van Gogh	5.52	2.69	5.24	2.87	58331	.200	.002
Von Klever	8.46	2.09	8.82	1.62	56660	.046	.006
Mean score	6.02	1.61	5.80	1.64	56419	.047	.006

Table SF2.5. Grade and aesthetic assessment of 15 master paintings (11-point rating scales [0-10]).

	7 <sup>th</sup> graders		8 <sup>th</sup> graders		9 <sup>th</sup> graders		<i>H</i> (2)	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD			
Cézanne	5.37 <sub>a</sub>	2.88	4.66 <sub>b</sub>	2.61	5.24 <sub>a</sub>	2.47	8.81	.012	.010
Dalí	6.18	2.81	5.82	3.14	5.98	2.74	0.96	.619	.000
De Coster	5.61	3.06	5.30	3.06	5.87	2.77	3.76	.153	.003
Derain	6.00	2.90	5.51	2.98	5.85	2.85	2.93	.231	.001
Duncan	8.91 <sub>a</sub>	1.68	8.85 <sub>a</sub>	1.71	8.38 <sub>b</sub>	1.84	17.23	.000	.022
Gleizes	5.00	2.89	4.41	2.84	4.82	2.84	5.26	.072	.005
Kandinsky	4.65	2.72	4.49	2.88	4.96	2.72	4.32	.115	.003
Munch	4.32 <sub>a</sub>	3.21	4.10 <sub>a</sub>	3.18	5.01 <sub>b</sub>	3.03	11.51	.003	.014
Van Gogh	5.57	2.90	5.26	2.83	5.34	2.64	1.02	.602	.000
Von Klever	8.53	1.89	8.73	1.97	8.65	1.77	3.91	.141	.003
Mean score	6.01	1.68	5.71	1.64	6.01	1.55	4.977	.083	.004

Table SF2.6. Social milieu and aesthetic disposition (5-point rating scales [1-5]).

	LC-		LC		MC		MC+		UC		UC+		<i>H</i> (5)	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD			
Abandoned cat	2.24 <sub>a</sub>	1.31	2.46 <sub>a</sub>	1.37	2.84 <sub>b</sub>	1.35	3.27 <sub>bc</sub>	1.40	2.93 <sub>b</sub>	1.27	3.78 <sub>c</sub>	1.17	63.92	.000	<i>.085</i>
Bare-chested old man	1.45 <sub>a</sub>	0.95	1.49 <sub>a</sub>	0.87	1.81 <sub>b</sub>	1.14	2.17 <sub>c</sub>	1.00	2.19 <sub>c</sub>	1.21	2.83 <sub>d</sub>	1.30	89.57	.000	<i>.121</i>
Bark of a tree	2.31 <sub>a</sub>	1.34	2.63 <sub>a</sub>	1.29	3.24 <sub>b</sub>	1.26	3.59 <sub>bc</sub>	1.24	3.32 <sub>b</sub>	1.23	3.90 <sub>c</sub>	1.05	86.71	.000	<i>.117</i>
Beetle	2.30 <sub>a</sub>	1.40	2.38 <sub>a</sub>	1.35	3.10 <sub>b</sub>	1.39	3.88 <sub>c</sub>	1.05	3.42 <sub>c</sub>	1.32	3.83 <sub>c</sub>	1.21	98.87	.000	<i>.135</i>
Breast-feeding woman	3.08 <sub>ab</sub>	1.50	2.82 <sub>a</sub>	1.31	3.18 <sub>b</sub>	1.25	3.51 <sub>bc</sub>	1.19	3.31 <sub>bc</sub>	1.14	3.58 <sub>c</sub>	1.15	19.32	.002	.021
Car crash	1.64 <sub>a</sub>	1.07	1.72 <sub>a</sub>	1.11	2.10 <sub>b</sub>	1.27	2.22 <sub>b</sub>	1.24	2.00 <sub>b</sub>	1.22	2.85 <sub>c</sub>	1.31	49.12	.000	<i>.063</i>
Deserted street at night	3.24 <sub>a</sub>	1.46	3.28 <sub>a</sub>	1.36	3.93 <sub>b</sub>	1.16	4.24 <sub>bc</sub>	0.92	4.01 <sub>b</sub>	1.06	4.52 <sub>c</sub>	0.91	71.47	.000	<i>.095</i>
Famous monument	4.23 <sub>a</sub>	0.92	4.13 <sub>a</sub>	1.08	4.25 <sub>a</sub>	0.94	4.29 <sub>a</sub>	0.87	4.17 <sub>a</sub>	0.92	3.77 <sub>b</sub>	0.96	15.98	.007	.016
Luxury car	4.49 <sub>a</sub>	0.85	4.13 <sub>b</sub>	1.17	3.78 <sub>c</sub>	1.17	3.17 <sub>d</sub>	1.41	3.55 <sub>cd</sub>	1.20	3.22 <sub>d</sub>	1.15	85.41	.000	<i>.115</i>
Metal frame	1.86 <sub>a</sub>	1.14	1.97 <sub>a</sub>	1.00	2.44 <sub>b</sub>	1.24	2.59 <sub>b</sub>	1.07	2.29 <sub>b</sub>	1.25	3.15 <sub>c</sub>	1.15	61.24	.000	<i>.081</i>
People praying	3.80 <sub>a</sub>	1.18	3.12 <sub>b</sub>	1.19	3.30 <sub>b</sub>	1.17	3.10 <sub>b</sub>	1.11	3.15 <sub>b</sub>	1.01	3.83 <sub>a</sub>	0.98	44.29	.000	<i>.056</i>
Pile of banknotes	3.88 <sub>a</sub>	1.29	3.29 <sub>bc</sub>	1.44	3.00 <sub>cd</sub>	1.41	2.39 <sub>e</sub>	1.26	2.77 <sub>de</sub>	1.20	2.90 <sub>cd</sub>	1.16	58.44	.000	<i>.077</i>
Prison cell	2.08 <sub>a</sub>	1.34	2.18 <sub>a</sub>	1.19	2.54 <sub>b</sub>	1.37	3.27 <sub>c</sub>	1.18	2.64 <sub>b</sub>	1.29	3.47 <sub>c</sub>	1.17	66.23	.000	<i>.088</i>
Quarreling tramps	1.62 <sub>a</sub>	0.94	1.76 <sub>a</sub>	1.02	2.20 <sub>b</sub>	1.23	2.20 <sub>b</sub>	1.29	2.26 <sub>b</sub>	1.21	2.92 <sub>c</sub>	1.38	54.96	.000	<i>.072</i>
Sad child	2.28 <sub>a</sub>	1.39	2.42 <sub>a</sub>	1.21	2.83 <sub>b</sub>	1.35	3.17 <sub>b</sub>	1.26	3.05 <sub>b</sub>	1.29	3.82 <sub>c</sub>	1.30	66.49	.000	<i>.088</i>
Starry sky	4.66 <sub>ab</sub>	0.66	4.55 <sub>a</sub>	0.84	4.68 <sub>ab</sub>	0.66	4.83 <sub>bc</sub>	0.44	4.74 <sub>ab</sub>	0.55	4.90 <sub>c</sub>	0.35	13.68	.018	.012
Sunset	4.63	0.75	4.58	0.81	4.74	0.59	4.71	0.64	4.78	0.59	4.72	0.74	8.02	.155	.004
Surgical operation	1.56 <sub>a</sub>	1.03	1.50 <sub>a</sub>	0.92	1.91 <sub>b</sub>	1.17	1.88 <sub>b</sub>	1.23	1.91 <sub>b</sub>	1.12	2.37 <sub>c</sub>	1.19	42.24	.000	<i>.053</i>
Vegetable stall	2.45 <sub>a</sub>	1.37	2.28 <sub>a</sub>	1.22	2.98 <sub>b</sub>	1.21	3.07 <sub>bc</sub>	1.27	2.85 <sub>b</sub>	1.06	3.45 <sub>c</sub>	1.16	55.92	.000	<i>.073</i>
Wedding couple	4.39 <sub>a</sub>	0.94	3.98 <sub>bc</sub>	1.12	4.09 <sub>b</sub>	0.99	4.27 <sub>ab</sub>	0.71	4.20 <sub>ab</sub>	0.99	3.85 <sub>cd</sub>	0.90	22.06	.001	<i>.024</i>
Mean score	2.91 <sub>a</sub>	0.56	2.83 <sub>a</sub>	0.48	3.15 <sub>b</sub>	0.59	3.29 <sub>b</sub>	0.57	3.18 <sub>b</sub>	0.52	3.58 <sub>c</sub>	0.52	98.22	.000	<i>.134</i>

*Note.* Medium effect sizes are italicized.

Table SF2.7. Sex and aesthetic disposition (5-point rating scales [1-5]).

	Boys		Girls		<i>U</i>	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$
	M	SD	M	SD			
Abandoned cat	2.75	1.38	2.84	1.37	59447	.380	.001
Bare-chested old man	1.92	1.20	1.84	1.12	59854	.438	.001
Bark of a tree	3.03	1.36	3.12	1.32	59368	.364	.001
Beetle	3.16	1.43	2.87	1.44	54753.5	.008	.010
Breast-feeding woman	2.97	1.29	3.38	1.25	50620	.000	.026
Car crash	2.06	1.25	1.96	1.23	58643	.213	.002
Deserted street at night	3.68	1.31	3.88	1.22	56499	.041	.006
Famous monument	4.11	1.02	4.22	0.91	58626	.210	.002
Luxury car	4.01	1.16	3.64	1.24	50426	.000	.028
Metal frame	2.34	1.26	2.26	1.17	60122	.528	.001
People praying	3.17	1.12	3.51	1.16	51357.5	.000	.023
Pile of banknotes	3.32	1.37	2.89	1.36	51063	.000	.023
Prison cell	2.59	1.37	2.50	1.32	59691.5	.431	.001
Quarreling tramps	2.18	1.28	2.03	1.15	58503	.201	.002
Sad child	2.76	1.42	2.87	1.32	58588	.229	.002
Starry sky	4.64	0.75	4.75	0.53	58856.5	.144	.003
Sunset	4.61	0.76	4.78	0.58	54757.5	.000	.018
Surgical operation	1.81	1.12	1.82	1.12	61268	.841	.000
Vegetable stall	2.74	1.26	2.83	1.25	59071	.303	.002
Wedding couple	3.84	1.09	4.40	0.81	42991	.000	.079
Mean score	3.08	0.60	3.12	0.55	60098.5	.538	.001

*Note.* Medium effect sizes are italicized.

Table SF2.8. Grade and aesthetic disposition (5-point rating scales [1-5]).

	7 <sup>th</sup> graders		8 <sup>th</sup> graders		9 <sup>th</sup> graders		<i>H</i> (2)	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD			
Abandoned cat	2.61 <sub>a</sub>	1.28	2.60 <sub>a</sub>	1.34	3.14 <sub>b</sub>	1.43	24.43	.000	.032
Bare-chested old man	1.77 <sub>a</sub>	1.06	1.71 <sub>a</sub>	1.07	2.14 <sub>b</sub>	1.27	18.28	.000	.023
Bark of a tree	3.00 <sub>a</sub>	1.32	2.94 <sub>a</sub>	1.39	3.27 <sub>b</sub>	1.29	8.05	.018	.009
Beetle	2.76 <sub>a</sub>	1.39	2.81 <sub>a</sub>	1.48	3.42 <sub>b</sub>	1.35	31.06	.000	.042
Breast-feeding woman	3.05 <sub>a</sub>	1.31	3.07 <sub>a</sub>	1.35	3.39 <sub>b</sub>	1.18	9.19	.010	.010
Car crash	1.80 <sub>a</sub>	1.17	1.91 <sub>a</sub>	1.25	2.26 <sub>b</sub>	1.25	22.72	.000	.030
Deserted street at night	3.42 <sub>a</sub>	1.38	3.78 <sub>b</sub>	1.26	4.09 <sub>c</sub>	1.09	29.45	.000	.039
Famous monument	4.26 <sub>a</sub>	0.88	4.24 <sub>a</sub>	0.99	4.02 <sub>b</sub>	1.00	10.66	.005	.012
Luxury car	3.87	1.18	3.86	1.26	3.75	1.20	2.21	.331	.000
Metal frame	2.18 <sub>a</sub>	1.11	2.14 <sub>a</sub>	1.20	2.55 <sub>b</sub>	1.27	16.28	.000	.020
People praying	3.09 <sub>a</sub>	1.16	3.33 <sub>b</sub>	1.13	3.56 <sub>c</sub>	1.13	19.32	.000	.025
Pile of banknotes	3.27	1.39	2.97	1.42	3.07	1.32	5.37	.068	.005
Prison cell	2.18 <sub>a</sub>	1.18	2.42 <sub>a</sub>	1.34	2.96 <sub>b</sub>	1.37	39.88	.000	.054
Quarreling tramps	1.91 <sub>a</sub>	1.09	1.94 <sub>a</sub>	1.14	2.41 <sub>b</sub>	1.32	22.43	.000	.029
Sad child	2.58 <sub>a</sub>	1.28	2.60 <sub>a</sub>	1.37	3.22 <sub>b</sub>	1.36	34.64	.000	.047
Starry sky	4.62	0.74	4.73	0.60	4.71	0.62	3.08	.214	.002
Sunset	4.67	0.74	4.70	0.71	4.72	0.60	0.54	.764	.000
Surgical operation	1.70 <sub>a</sub>	0.99	1.71 <sub>a</sub>	1.11	2.01 <sub>b</sub>	1.22	11.46	.003	.014
Vegetable stall	2.67 <sub>a</sub>	1.23	2.62 <sub>a</sub>	1.25	3.03 <sub>b</sub>	1.25	15.10	.001	.019
Wedding couple	4.17	0.95	4.15	1.06	4.06	0.97	3.45	.178	.002
Mean score	2.98 <sub>a</sub>	0.49	3.01 <sub>a</sub>	0.56	3.29 <sub>b</sub>	0.62	38.71	.000	.052

Table SF2.9. Descriptive statistics related to the importance attached to movie watching and to the number of movies watched per week (in %).

	<b>LC-</b>	<b>LC</b>	<b>MC</b>	<b>MC+</b>	<b>UC</b>	<b>UC+</b>	<b>Boys</b>	<b>Girls</b>	<b>7<sup>th</sup> G.</b>	<b>8<sup>th</sup> G.</b>	<b>9<sup>th</sup> G.</b>	<b>Sample</b>
Importance of movie watching: small	27.4 <sub>a</sub>	22.8 <sub>a</sub>	13.9 <sub>b</sub>	19.5 <sub>ab</sub>	18.5 <sub>ab</sub>	5.0 <sub>c</sub>	20.6	15.9	15.9	22.4	16.1	18.2
Importance of movie watching: medium	39.6	40.4	42.1	46.3	39.1	40.0	36.2 <sub>a</sub>	45.3 <sub>b</sub>	43.3 <sub>ab</sub>	35.3 <sub>b</sub>	44.1 <sub>a</sub>	40.8
Importance of movie watching: high	33.0 <sub>a</sub>	36.8 <sub>a</sub>	44.0 <sub>ab</sub>	34.1 <sub>a</sub>	42.4 <sub>ab</sub>	55.0 <sub>b</sub>	43.2	38.8	40.9	42.3	39.8	41.0
Watch less than 1 film per week	24.5 <sub>ab</sub>	25.0 <sub>ab</sub>	23.4 <sub>ab</sub>	14.6 <sub>b</sub>	32.5 <sub>a</sub>	30.0 <sub>ab</sub>	24.9	26.8	21.6 <sub>a</sub>	31.5 <sub>b</sub>	24.0 <sub>ab</sub>	25.9
Watch 1 film per week	22.6 <sub>abcd</sub>	15.4 <sub>d</sub>	28.2 <sub>c</sub>	31.7 <sub>bc</sub>	18.5 <sub>abd</sub>	11.7 <sub>ad</sub>	18.8	24.3	24.0	17.4	23.6	21.6
Watch 2 films per week	18.9	18.4	21.5	31.7	25.2	16.7	21.4	21.5	26.4 <sub>a</sub>	24.5 <sub>a</sub>	14.6 <sub>b</sub>	21.5
Watch 3 films per week	9.4 <sub>a</sub>	11.0 <sub>a</sub>	13.4 <sub>a</sub>	17.1 <sub>ab</sub>	9.9 <sub>a</sub>	31.7 <sub>b</sub>	16.5 <sub>a</sub>	10.3 <sub>b</sub>	9.6 <sub>a</sub>	7.1 <sub>a</sub>	22.4 <sub>b</sub>	13.4
Watch more than 3 films per week	24.5 <sub>a</sub>	30.1 <sub>a</sub>	13.4 <sub>b</sub>	4.9 <sub>c</sub>	13.9 <sub>b</sub>	10.0 <sub>b</sub>	18.3	17.0	18.3	19.5	15.4	17.6

Table SF2.10. Social milieu and appreciation of movie genres (five-point rating scales [1-5]).

	LC-		LC		MC		MC+		UC		UC+		<i>H</i> (5)	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD			
Action/Super hero	4.20 <sub>a</sub>	1.07	3.86 <sub>bc</sub>	1.23	3.70 <sub>c</sub>	1.24	4.10 <sub>ab</sub>	1.24	3.99 <sub>bc</sub>	1.01	3.83 <sub>bc</sub>	1.08	17.88	.003	.019
Adventure	4.23 <sub>ab</sub>	0.92	3.97 <sub>a</sub>	1.08	4.06 <sub>a</sub>	1.02	4.37 <sub>b</sub>	0.86	4.39 <sub>b</sub>	0.76	4.23 <sub>ab</sub>	0.72	16.66	.005	.017
Anime/Manga	2.71 <sub>a</sub>	1.66	3.00 <sub>ab</sub>	1.63	3.18 <sub>bc</sub>	1.50	3.44 <sub>bc</sub>	1.61	3.21 <sub>bc</sub>	1.51	3.64 <sub>c</sub>	1.37	15.42	.009	.015
Comedy	4.39 <sub>a</sub>	0.96	3.91 <sub>b</sub>	1.22	3.93 <sub>b</sub>	1.20	4.00 <sub>b</sub>	1.10	4.21 <sub>b</sub>	0.89	4.07 <sub>b</sub>	0.82	17.98	.003	.019
Detective movies	4.02 <sub>ab</sub>	1.13	3.84 <sub>a</sub>	1.20	3.97 <sub>a</sub>	1.13	4.51 <sub>c</sub>	0.98	4.26 <sub>bc</sub>	0.88	4.42 <sub>c</sub>	0.96	27.35	.000	.032
Documentary	2.26 <sub>a</sub>	1.31	2.32 <sub>a</sub>	1.33	2.78 <sub>b</sub>	1.30	3.12 <sub>bc</sub>	1.38	2.75 <sub>b</sub>	1.18	3.57 <sub>c</sub>	1.32	51.79	.000	.068
Drama	3.36	1.35	3.11	1.42	3.10	1.37	3.44	1.36	3.05	1.20	3.38	1.44	7.99	.157	.004
Fantastic/fantasy	3.52 <sub>ab</sub>	1.52	3.46 <sub>a</sub>	1.36	3.83 <sub>bc</sub>	1.37	4.32 <sub>d</sub>	1.15	4.17 <sub>d</sub>	1.11	4.02 <sub>cd</sub>	1.28	32.40	.000	.040
Gangster/Mafia	4.14 <sub>a</sub>	1.13	3.54 <sub>b</sub>	1.43	3.53 <sub>b</sub>	1.34	3.24 <sub>b</sub>	1.46	3.60 <sub>b</sub>	1.30	3.76 <sub>ab</sub>	1.26	21.25	.001	.024
Horror	4.16 <sub>a</sub>	1.20	3.86 <sub>ab</sub>	1.36	3.69 <sub>bc</sub>	1.38	3.41 <sub>cd</sub>	1.55	3.52 <sub>cd</sub>	1.48	3.27 <sub>d</sub>	1.34	26.97	.000	.032
Love story	2.93 <sub>ab</sub>	1.61	2.76 <sub>a</sub>	1.54	2.76 <sub>a</sub>	1.44	3.66 <sub>c</sub>	1.39	2.87 <sub>a</sub>	1.28	3.35 <sub>bc</sub>	1.20	20.20	.001	.022
Science-fiction	3.10 <sub>a</sub>	1.57	3.38 <sub>a</sub>	1.43	3.94 <sub>b</sub>	1.34	4.29 <sub>c</sub>	1.21	4.27 <sub>c</sub>	1.10	4.35 <sub>c</sub>	1.15	69.57	.000	.095
Thriller	3.41 <sub>a</sub>	1.55	3.46 <sub>a</sub>	1.44	3.78 <sub>a</sub>	1.26	4.23 <sub>c</sub>	1.13	4.09 <sub>bc</sub>	1.02	4.27 <sub>c</sub>	1.12	28.39	.000	.040
War movies	3.56	1.46	3.11	1.51	3.27	1.45	3.27	1.34	3.20	1.43	3.32	1.46	6.79	.237	.003
Western	2.07 <sub>a</sub>	1.42	2.24 <sub>a</sub>	1.34	2.63 <sub>b</sub>	1.41	2.58 <sub>b</sub>	1.41	3.36 <sub>c</sub>	1.33	3.29 <sub>c</sub>	1.39	71.19	.000	.104
Unknown labels	0.80 <sub>a</sub>	1.13	0.90 <sub>a</sub>	1.89	0.30 <sub>bc</sub>	0.80	0.19 <sub>bc</sub>	0.40	0.33 <sub>b</sub>	0.67	0.10 <sub>c</sub>	0.35	48.99	.000	.063
Mean score	3.48 <sub>a</sub>	0.63	3.32 <sub>a</sub>	0.67	3.48 <sub>a</sub>	0.63	3.74 <sub>b</sub>	0.56	3.66 <sub>b</sub>	0.54	3.78 <sub>b</sub>	0.68	42.44	.000	.054
Rate of movie genres liked	57.4 <sub>ab</sub>	18.96	52.5 <sub>a</sub>	19.42	56.7 <sub>ab</sub>	19.50	64.3 <sub>c</sub>	16.87	60.6 <sub>bc</sub>	19.12	65.8 <sub>c</sub>	24.01	27.90	.000	.033
Eclecticism item	3.43 <sub>ab</sub>	1.31	3.49 <sub>b</sub>	1.17	3.78 <sub>c</sub>	1.03	3.80 <sub>bcd</sub>	1.23	3.78 <sub>ac</sub>	1.02	4.18 <sub>d</sub>	0.91	21.70	.001	.024

*Notes.* The “eclecticism item” refers to the following statement: “In all movie genres, there are good and bad films.” Students were asked to indicate their degree of agreement with such a view. Medium effect sizes are italicized.

Table SF2.11. Sex and appreciation of movie genres (five-point rating scales [1-5]).

	Boys		Girls		<i>U</i>	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$
	M	SD	M	SD			
Action/Super hero	4.12	1.13	3.70	1.16	46916	.000	.045
Adventure	4.21	0.90	4.13	0.98	58202	.379	.001
Anime/Manga	3.61	1.48	2.68	1.50	39964	.000	.088
Comedy	3.98	1.12	4.16	1.04	55031	.023	.007
Detective movies	4.16	1.02	4.01	1.15	57205	.123	.003
Documentary	2.88	1.38	2.52	1.27	51310.5	.001	.016
Drama	2.93	1.39	3.41	1.27	45269.5	.000	.032
Fantastic/fantasy	3.84	1.33	3.82	1.36	58150.5	.951	.000
Gangster/Mafia	4.12	1.09	3.16	1.39	34086	.000	.125
Horror	3.79	1.36	3.62	1.44	56009	.129	.003
Love story	2.16	1.22	3.63	1.28	25444.5	.000	<b>.259</b>
Science-fiction	4.07	1.28	3.62	1.46	48743.5	.000	.026
Thriller	3.96	1.18	3.69	1.38	40106.5	.033	.008
War movies	4.04	1.14	2.53	1.34	25129	.000	<b>.272</b>
Western	3.07	1.48	2.29	1.31	36076	.000	.069
Unknown labels	0.43	1.19	0.52	1.06	57232	.030	.007
Mean score	3.65	0.64	3.40	0.61	47546	.000	.040
Rate of movie genres liked	62.38	20.30	53.87	18.66	46380	.000	.047
Eclecticism item	3.83	1.14	3.59	1.09	53466.5	.001	.015

*Notes.* The “eclecticism item” refers to the following statement: “In all movie genres, there are good and bad films.” Students were asked to indicate their degree of agreement with such a view. Medium and large effect sizes are, respectively, italicized and bolded.

Table SF2.12. Grade and appreciation of movie genres (five-point rating scales [1-5]).

	7 <sup>th</sup> graders		8 <sup>th</sup> graders		9 <sup>th</sup> graders		<i>H</i> (2)	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD			
Action/Super hero	3.88	1.13	3.92	1.18	3.91	1.18	0.42	.811	.000
Adventure	4.17	0.86	4.17	0.98	4.17	0.97	0.48	.785	.000
Anime/Manga	3.11	1.49	3.08	1.63	3.21	1.56	0.64	.728	.000
Comedy	4.22	0.97	3.99	1.20	4.03	1.04	5.40	.067	.005
Detective movies	4.10	1.09	4.00	1.15	4.15	1.03	1.48	.477	.000
Documentary	2.58 <sub>a</sub>	1.32	2.55 <sub>a</sub>	1.28	2.93 <sub>b</sub>	1.38	11.73	.003	.014
Drama	3.01 <sub>a</sub>	1.35	3.08 <sub>a</sub>	1.34	3.39 <sub>b</sub>	1.33	10.96	.004	.013
Fantastic/fantasy	3.86	1.28	3.79	1.41	3.86	1.34	0.13	.937	.000
Gangster/Mafia	3.48 <sub>a</sub>	1.36	3.77 <sub>b</sub>	1.36	3.66 <sub>ab</sub>	1.28	6.12	.047	.006
Horror	3.59	1.42	3.70	1.48	3.80	1.30	2.18	.336	.000
Love story	2.69 <sub>a</sub>	1.38	2.76 <sub>a</sub>	1.46	3.24 <sub>b</sub>	1.44	19.92	.000	.026
Science-fiction	3.77	1.39	3.88	1.44	3.87	1.35	1.37	.503	.000
Thriller	3.72 <sub>a</sub>	1.24	3.66 <sub>a</sub>	1.43	4.02 <sub>b</sub>	1.19	9.00	.011	.012
War movies	3.21	1.44	3.16	1.52	3.43	1.39	4.20	.122	.003
Western	2.78	1.44	2.59	1.45	2.71	1.47	2.04	.360	.000
Unknown labels	0.64 <sub>a</sub>	1.24	0.58 <sub>a</sub>	1.36	0.24 <sub>b</sub>	0.65	24.40	.000	.032
Mean score	3.48 <sub>a</sub>	0.57	3.46 <sub>a</sub>	0.66	3.62 <sub>b</sub>	0.65	8.30	.016	.009
Rate of movie genres liked	55.89 <sub>a</sub>	18.15	56.66 <sub>a</sub>	19.72	61.12 <sub>b</sub>	21.17	9.20	.010	.010
Eclecticism item	3.54 <sub>a</sub>	1.15	3.70 <sub>ab</sub>	1.12	3.85 <sub>b</sub>	1.08	9.36	.009	.010

*Notes.* The “eclecticism item” refers to the following statement: “In all movie genres, there are good and bad films.” Students were asked to indicate their degree of agreement with such a view.

### Supplementary file 3. *Dispositions toward reading, attitudes toward arts, and openness*

The present document reports full descriptive statistics and complete results pertaining to the examination of dispositions toward reading, leisure activities, attitudes toward arts, and personality trait openness. For information purposes, it also displays data pertaining to grade, which were neither included nor interpreted in the article for the abovementioned reasons (see p. 168).

As a reminder,

- ❖ LC- = lower class fraction endowed with lower cultural capital;
- ❖ LC = generic fraction of the lower class;
- ❖ MC = generic fraction of the middle class;
- ❖ MC+ = middle class fraction endowed with higher cultural capital;
- ❖ UC = generic fraction of the upper class;
- ❖ UC+ = upper class fraction endowed with higher cultural capital;
- ❖ 7<sup>th</sup> G. = 7<sup>th</sup> graders;
- ❖ 8<sup>th</sup> G. = 8<sup>th</sup> graders;
- ❖ 9<sup>th</sup> G. = 9<sup>th</sup> graders.

Importantly, the tables displaying the results of non-parametric tests report means (not medians or mean ranks) for ease of interpretation. Because the present study involved a lot of ordinal scales involving a neutral value, means were more indicative of the nature of the corresponding distributions than medians or mean ranks.

Table SF3.1. Descriptive statistics related to the importance attached to reading, the reading of magazines, the number of mentioned favorite books, and to the rate of citation of these books' author(s) (in %).

	LC-	LC	MC	MC+	UC	UC+	Boys	Girls	7 <sup>th</sup> G.	8 <sup>th</sup> G.	9 <sup>th</sup> G.	Sample
Importance of reading: small	73.6 <sub>a</sub>	68.4 <sub>a</sub>	43.5 <sub>b</sub>	17.1 <sub>c</sub>	32.0 <sub>d</sub>	18.3 <sub>c</sub>	44.6	48.7	46.6	47.9	45.7	46.7
Importance of reading: medium	14.2 <sub>a</sub>	24.3 <sub>ab</sub>	26.8 <sub>bc</sub>	29.3 <sub>bc</sub>	36.0 <sub>c</sub>	23.3 <sub>abc</sub>	25.8	26.6	23.6	28.8	26.0	26.2
Importance of reading: high	12.3 <sub>a</sub>	7.4 <sub>a</sub>	29.7 <sub>b</sub>	53.7 <sub>c</sub>	32.0 <sub>b</sub>	58.3 <sub>c</sub>	29.6	24.6	29.8	23.3	28.3	27.1
Do not read magazines	67.9 <sub>a</sub>	51.5 <sub>b</sub>	46.9 <sub>bc</sub>	41.5 <sub>bc</sub>	43.7 <sub>bc</sub>	35.0 <sub>c</sub>	44.6 <sub>a</sub>	53.1 <sub>b</sub>	49.0 <sub>ab</sub>	54.4 <sub>b</sub>	43.7 <sub>a</sub>	48.9
Favorite books: no citation	65.1 <sub>a</sub>	61.0 <sub>a</sub>	34.0 <sub>b</sub>	7.3 <sub>c</sub>	31.1 <sub>b</sub>	11.7 <sub>c</sub>	39.7	39.9	38.5	44.8	36.2	39.8
Favorite books: one citation	16.0	22.1	22.5	19.5	21.2	23.3	22.9	19.3	20.2	20.7	22.0	21.1
Favorite books: two citations	18.9 <sub>a</sub>	16.9 <sub>a</sub>	43.5 <sub>b</sub>	73.2 <sub>c</sub>	47.7 <sub>b</sub>	65.0 <sub>c</sub>	37.4	40.8	41.3	34.4	41.7	39.1
Citation of authors' cited book(s): 0%	94.6 <sub>a</sub>	90.6 <sub>a</sub>	73.2 <sub>b</sub>	63.2 <sub>b</sub>	73.1 <sub>b</sub>	41.5 <sub>c</sub>	72.1	72.6	78.9 <sub>a</sub>	78.9 <sub>a</sub>	61.7 <sub>b</sub>	72.3
Citation of authors' cited book(s): 50%	2.7 <sub>a</sub>	3.8 <sub>ab</sub>	8.7 <sub>abc</sub>	18.4 <sub>c</sub>	10.6 <sub>bc</sub>	15.1 <sub>c</sub>	6.7 <sub>a</sub>	12.6 <sub>b</sub>	8.6	9.8	10.5	9.7
Citation of authors' cited book(s): 100%	2.7 <sub>a</sub>	5.7 <sub>a</sub>	18.1 <sub>b</sub>	18.4 <sub>b</sub>	16.3 <sub>b</sub>	43.4 <sub>c</sub>	21.2	14.9	12.5 <sub>a</sub>	11.3 <sub>a</sub>	27.8 <sub>b</sub>	18.0
Cited favorite books: adult novels	3.7 <sub>a</sub>	0.0 <sub>a</sub>	14.4 <sub>b</sub>	20.6 <sub>bc</sub>	17.5 <sub>bc</sub>	26.3 <sub>c</sub>	22.1 <sub>a</sub>	11.6 <sub>b</sub>	7.0 <sub>a</sub>	9.6 <sub>a</sub>	30.0 <sub>b</sub>	16.6
Cited favorite books: adolescent novels	13.0 <sub>a</sub>	21.1 <sub>ab</sub>	25.7 <sub>b</sub>	50.0 <sub>c</sub>	37.3 <sub>c</sub>	48.4 <sub>c</sub>	21.5 <sub>a</sub>	39.7 <sub>b</sub>	25.7 <sub>a</sub>	32.9 <sub>ab</sub>	35.2 <sub>b</sub>	31.3
Cited favorite books: preadolescent novels	22.2 <sub>ab</sub>	22.4 <sub>ab</sub>	26.1 <sub>a</sub>	13.2 <sub>b</sub>	19.2 <sub>ab</sub>	15.8 <sub>b</sub>	16.8 <sub>a</sub>	27.3 <sub>b</sub>	25.7 <sub>a</sub>	29.2 <sub>a</sub>	12.6 <sub>b</sub>	19.3
Cited favorite books: stories/tales for children	20.4 <sub>a</sub>	17.1 <sub>a</sub>	3.9 <sub>b</sub>	1.5 <sub>bc</sub>	0.6 <sub>c</sub>	1.1 <sub>bc</sub>	3.5	6.8	8.9 <sub>a</sub>	5.9 <sub>a</sub>	1.8 <sub>b</sub>	5.3
Cited favorite books: manga	35.2 <sub>a</sub>	27.6 <sub>ab</sub>	18.0 <sub>bc</sub>	5.9 <sub>de</sub>	13.0 <sub>cd</sub>	1.1 <sub>e</sub>	26.7 <sub>a</sub>	4.5 <sub>b</sub>	21.0 <sub>a</sub>	15.5 <sub>ab</sub>	10.4 <sub>b</sub>	15.2
Cited favorite books: <i>bandes dessinées</i>	1.9 <sub>ac</sub>	10.5 <sub>b</sub>	8.3 <sub>b</sub>	2.9 <sub>abc</sub>	4.0 <sub>ab</sub>	0 <sub>c</sub>	5.0	5.1	8.9 <sub>a</sub>	4.6 <sub>ab</sub>	2.2 <sub>b</sub>	5.0

*Notes.* Correlation analyses signaled a medium association between the importance attached to reading and the number of mentioned favorite books ( $\tau = .473$ ) and a small association between the importance attached to reading and the rate of citation of the mentioned books' author(s) ( $\tau = .246$ ). The number of mentioned favorite books and the rate of citation of their authors were poorly linked with each other ( $\tau = .147$ ). In addition, the importance attached to reading was poorly associated with the importance attached to music listening ( $\tau = .078$ ) and to movie watching ( $\tau = .126$ ). The latter two variables were also poorly linked with each other ( $\tau = .174$ ).

Table SF3.2. Descriptive statistics related to students' favorite leisure activities and/or interests (in %).

	<b>LC-</b>	<b>LC</b>	<b>MC</b>	<b>MC+</b>	<b>UC</b>	<b>UC+</b>	<b>Boys</b>	<b>Girls</b>	<b>7<sup>th</sup> G.</b>	<b>8<sup>th</sup> G.</b>	<b>9<sup>th</sup> G.</b>	<b>Sample</b>
Arts	16.4 <sub>a</sub>	15.7 <sub>a</sub>	19.9 <sub>ab</sub>	41.4 <sub>c</sub>	25.3 <sub>b</sub>	40.4 <sub>c</sub>	14.8 <sub>a</sub>	35.1 <sub>b</sub>	24.7 <sub>ab</sub>	19.7 <sub>b</sub>	30.0 <sub>a</sub>	24.7
Collective sports	24.2 <sub>a</sub>	24.1 <sub>a</sub>	14.5 <sub>b</sub>	5.2 <sub>c</sub>	15.7 <sub>b</sub>	4.1 <sub>c</sub>	23.2 <sub>a</sub>	8.3 <sub>b</sub>	18.9 <sub>a</sub>	20.0 <sub>a</sub>	9.9 <sub>b</sub>	16.0
Individual sports	18.3 <sub>ac</sub>	19.7 <sub>abc</sub>	22.2 <sub>ab</sub>	24.1 <sub>abc</sub>	25.5 <sub>b</sub>	15.2 <sub>c</sub>	23.8 <sub>a</sub>	18.9 <sub>b</sub>	19.9	23.8	20.7	21.4
Music listening	8.2 <sub>abc</sub>	4.7 <sub>a</sub>	8.3 <sub>bc</sub>	7.7 <sub>abc</sub>	6.8 <sub>ab</sub>	13.5 <sub>c</sub>	5.5 <sub>a</sub>	10.7 <sub>b</sub>	7.7	7.8	8.7	8.1
Video-games	6.4 <sub>ad</sub>	10.2 <sub>ab</sub>	10.6 <sub>bc</sub>	3.5 <sub>d</sub>	12.5 <sub>b</sub>	7 <sub>acd</sub>	17.1 <sub>a</sub>	1.6 <sub>b</sub>	9.5	9.7	9.4	9.5
Watching movies/series	6.4 <sub>ab</sub>	6.6 <sub>ab</sub>	6.9 <sub>a</sub>	4.3 <sub>ab</sub>	3.2 <sub>b</sub>	4.7 <sub>ab</sub>	4.5	6.5	6.1	5.8	4.5	5.5

Table SF3.3. Social milieu, attitudes toward arts, and personality trait openness (5-point rating scales [1-5]).

	<b>Lower class -</b>		<b>Lower class</b>		<b>Middle class</b>		<b>Middle class +</b>		<b>Upper class</b>		<b>Upper class +</b>		<b>H(5)</b>	<b>p</b>	<b>η<sup>2</sup></b>
	<b>M</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>SD</b>			
Science > Art	3.02 <sub>a</sub>	1.26	2.88 <sub>a</sub>	1.21	2.86 <sub>a</sub>	1.27	2.46 <sub>bc</sub>	1.03	2.77 <sub>ab</sub>	1.31	2.20 <sub>c</sub>	0.97	22.12	.000	.025
Advocacy of censorship	2.47 <sub>ab</sub>	1.20	2.59 <sub>a</sub>	1.27	2.29 <sub>bc</sub>	1.27	2.34 <sub>abc</sub>	1.37	2.07 <sub>cd</sub>	1.06	1.80 <sub>d</sub>	1.15	26.36	.000	.031
Denunciation of injustice	2.95 <sub>a</sub>	1.22	3.32 <sub>b</sub>	1.15	3.51 <sub>bc</sub>	1.15	3.80 <sub>c</sub>	1.29	3.30 <sub>b</sub>	1.13	3.20 <sub>ab</sub>	1.25	25.59	.000	.030
Arts change mentalities	2.93 <sub>a</sub>	1.20	3.03 <sub>a</sub>	1.21	3.35 <sub>bc</sub>	1.18	3.71 <sub>cd</sub>	1.01	3.22 <sub>ab</sub>	1.14	3.67 <sub>cd</sub>	0.93	26.61	.000	.031
Artistic skills are innate	3.43 <sub>a</sub>	1.29	2.98 <sub>b</sub>	1.30	2.86 <sub>b</sub>	1.14	2.76 <sub>b</sub>	1.32	2.82 <sub>b</sub>	1.13	2.20 <sub>c</sub>	1.18	39.29	.000	.049
Accessibility to all	3.40 <sub>a</sub>	0.98	3.24 <sub>ab</sub>	1.16	3.11 <sub>b</sub>	1.18	3.10 <sub>b</sub>	1.09	3.12 <sub>b</sub>	1.05	2.63 <sub>c</sub>	1.10	22.32	.000	.025
Openness	2.94 <sub>a</sub>	0.88	3.00 <sub>a</sub>	0.74	3.45 <sub>b</sub>	0.73	3.98 <sub>d</sub>	0.47	3.64 <sub>c</sub>	0.63	4.04 <sub>d</sub>	0.58	145.98	.000	<b>.202</b>

*Note.* Large effect sizes are bolded.

Table SF3.4. Sex, attitudes toward arts, and personality trait openness (5-point rating scales [1-5]).

	<b>Boys</b>		<b>Girls</b>		<i>U</i>	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$
	M	SD	M	SD			
Science > Art	3.03	1.33	2.55	1.11	48540	.000	.037
Advocacy of censorship	2.26	1.23	2.32	1.23	59875.5	.466	.001
Denunciation of injustice	3.23	1.17	3.44	1.20	54761.5	.007	.010
Arts change mentalities	3.19	1.14	3.29	1.20	58738.5	.245	.002
Artistic skills are innate	2.82	1.29	2.97	1.18	57126	.077	.004
Accessibility to all	3.06	1.08	3.22	1.16	56880	.059	.005
Openness	3.35	0.81	3.46	0.81	57299.5	.098	.004

Table SF3.5. Grade, attitudes toward arts, and personality trait openness (5-point rating scales [1-5]).

	7 <sup>th</sup> graders		8 <sup>th</sup> graders		9 <sup>th</sup> graders		<i>H</i> (2)	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD			
Science > Art	3.02	1.21	2.74	1.26	2.64	1.23	10.89	.004	.013
Advocacy of censorship	2.64	1.25	2.24	1.22	2.04	1.16	28.56	.000	.038
Denunciation of injustice	3.25	1.17	3.41	1.17	3.33	1.21	1.87	.393	.000
Arts change mentalities	3.13	1.17	3.17	1.25	3.41	1.08	8.94	.011	.010
Artistic skills are innate	3.12	1.22	2.97	1.24	2.65	1.21	16.19	.000	.020
Accessibility to all	3.20	1.07	3.29	1.13	2.94	1.14	10.78	.005	.013
Openness	3.28	0.78	3.35	0.82	3.49	0.77	4.47	.107	.003

## Article 6

### On the overlap between aesthetic disposition, cultural eclecticism, and openness: An interdisciplinary study

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#### Abstract

Over the past decades, psychology and sociology researchers have independently identified similar patterns of cultural dispositions. These patterns notably involve differences in terms of eclecticism, openness, and aesthetic disposition. While some scholars have theoretically fused these constructs, the extent to which they empirically overlap is unclear. In addition, the extent to which personality traits vary with social factors has received insufficient attention to date. The present study had three main goals. First, we assessed the respective influence of social and psychological factors on aesthetic disposition and eclecticism. Second, we sought to clarify the contours of the constructs of aesthetic disposition, eclecticism, and openness. Third, we examined the social contingency of personality traits. Based on the assessment of aesthetic disposition and of both cinematographic and musical eclecticism in high-school students ( $n = 873$ ), the conducted analyses revealed that personality trait openness and socioeconomic status were the best psychological and social predictors of cultural dispositions. In addition, our results suggest that aesthetic disposition and eclecticism on the one hand, and “cultural openness” and personality trait openness on the other hand, cover distinct phenomena. Our findings also indicated that cinematographic and musical eclecticism correlated moderately. Thus, the view of a general or cross-area eclecticism might be misleading. Finally, a strong positive association between socioeconomic status and personality trait openness was found. All in all, these findings stress the importance of an interdisciplinary approach to cultural dispositions.

**Keywords:** aesthetic disposition; cultural eclecticism; openness; personality traits; socioeconomic status.

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## Introduction

In their examination of the determinants of cultural tastes and aesthetic appreciation, psychology and sociology investigators have generally followed separate avenues of research. The scarce number of studies investigating the joint influence of psychological and social factors on cultural dispositions illustrates this trend (for a few exceptions, see Kraaykamp & van Eijck, 2005; McManus & Furnham, 2006). Psychology researchers have extensively investigated the influence of personality traits and moods on cultural tastes and consumption; sociology researchers, the influence of social position, social origin, and cohort effects.

The lack of interdisciplinarity has been viewed as an obstacle to a comprehensive understanding of the foundations of cultural dispositions (Swami & Furnham, 2014; Brisson & Bianchi, 2020). The case of openness is emblematic in that respect. Though pivotal in both the psychology and the sociology of arts and culture, the concept of openness does not designate the same entity in these two areas of research. Moreover, the discussion of its radius of influence confronts researchers of each discipline with issues that researchers from the other discipline may help to address. In psychology, openness has become one of the Big Five personality traits (Digman, 1990; Costa & McCrae, 1992). It can be assessed with several standardized and validated inventories (e.g., NEO-FFI, BFI). However, the investigation of the interrelationships between personality traits, demographics, and socialization has only begun to burgeon (Swami & Furnham, 2014, p. 546). Sociologists may aid psychologists to develop this research area based on, for instance, stratification analyses that consider both class and sub-class levels (Brisson & Bianchi, 2017). In a similar vein, psychologists may contribute to specifying the contours of what sociologists described as openness. In sociology, openness is not directly measured; it is speculatively inferred. It refers to a rather vague notion massively used to characterize, or even cohere, cultural eclecticism, aesthetic cosmopolitanism, and anti-snobbism (Warde et al., 2008; Graham, 2009; Eriksson, 2011; Cicchielli & Octobre, 2017; Coulangeon, 2017). Within that

framework, mentions of personality trait openness have been rare. One notable exception was provided by Roose et al. (2012, p. 494), who claimed that the “openness” mentioned by “sociologists of culture” does “resemble the openness-closedness dimension identified in psychology.” However, the “resemblance” in question has not been investigated despite the availability of valid and reliable measures of openness. Sociologists may benefit from the use of such measures to clarify the nature of cultural openness, a concept that has been the fulcrum of several controversies, precisely because of its ambiguous uses (e.g., see Flemmen et al., 2019). In sum, the development of interdisciplinarity in the study of individual and social differences in cultural repertoires is likely to profit to both psychology and sociology researchers.

Two research fields may particularly benefit from an integrative approach. First, the distribution of musical tastes. While psychologists have found personality trait openness to predict eclecticism (Miranda & Claes, 2008) as well as taste for a large array of music styles (Rentfrow & Gosling, 2003), sociologists have highlighted the influence of social position on omnivorousness and eclecticism (Peterson, 1992, 2005)—two concepts that were explicitly linked to “an openness to appreciating everything” (Peterson & Kern, 1996, p. 904) and “to cultural diversity” (Ollivier, 2008). Unfortunately, because integrative studies are lacking, the extent to which openness as measured by psychologists overlaps with the openness mentioned by sociologists remains unclear. This state of affairs is problematic from a theoretical viewpoint. Indeed, although eclecticism is considered a key dimension of the structure of cultural dispositions (de Vries & Reeves, 2021) and of musical tastes (Coulangeon, 2015), its determinants are unclear and its ability to serve as new cultural boundary is highly debated (Wright, 2011; Robette & Roueff, 2014; Veenstra, 2015; Chan & Turner, 2017; Coulangeon, 2017). Such discussions, however, have generally excluded *ab ovo* the possibility that personality trait openness may explain musical eclecticism. The development of integrative

research assessing the respective influence of social and psychological factors on musical tastes and eclecticism may help clarify these nodal theoretical issues. Second, the distribution of aesthetic disposition. Defined as the ability to aestheticize and to prioritize form over function (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 3), aesthetic disposition has been shown to depend on social position and, to a lesser extent, on sex (Bourdieu, 1984, pp. 28-41). Despite the large resonance of Bourdieu's studies, sociology investigators have not relied on Bourdieu's conception *and* operationalization of aesthetic disposition. For instance, Daenekindt and Roose (2013) defined aesthetic disposition as "the deep underlying expectations people gave about the arts" (p. 49) and as the "ways in which individuals appropriate works of certain aspects of the aesthetic judgment over other aspects" (p. 50). These authors considered indicative of aesthetic disposition the importance attached to the presence in a movie of "action and adventure" or of "characters [one] can relate to" (p. 53). Such indicators refer only indirectly to the capacity and propensity to aestheticize. Interestingly, while sociology investigators have not used Bourdieu's operationalization of aesthetic disposition, psychological researchers have implemented procedures that are similar to Bourdieu's and observed similar aesthetic patterns. For instance, their findings showed, as Bourdieu's, that men assign a higher aesthetic value to emotionally negative pictures compared to women (Zaleski, 1984; Rawlings, 2003). Moreover, personality trait openness appeared linked to the appreciation of several art styles, including abstract and unconventional forms (Rawlings, 2000; Furnham & Walker, 2001a, 2001b; Feist & Brady, 2004; Chamorro-Premuzic et al., 2009). Because of the association between openness and educational performance (Poropat, 2009) and of the connection between education and social position (Bourdieu, 1984), the abovementioned studies tend to support Bourdieu's view of the stratification of aesthetic disposition. However, the interrelations between aesthetic disposition, openness, and education or socioeconomic status remain insufficiently investigated. Again, this state of affairs is likely due to a lack of integrative studies, which compromises a comprehensive

examination of the determinants of aesthetic experience (Swami & Furnham, 2014). The underdevelopment of integrative approaches is eventually detrimental to theory building. The separate assessment of social and psychological factors in research on aesthetic judgment prevents investigators from hierarchizing the respective contribution of the social and psychological determinants of aesthetic judgment. Research silos are well-identified obstacles to knowledge production (Fogarty & Perera, 2016).

In sum, in both the music and the aesthetic appreciation domain, psychologists and sociologists have largely ignored each other but have nonetheless observed rather similar patterns of cultural dispositions. These patterns involved, *inter alia*, differences in terms of eclecticism and openness. Interestingly, Lizardo and Skiles (2012, p. 272) proposed, based on the sociological state of the art, to reconceptualize omnivorousness (*i.e.* cultural eclecticism) as “a transposable variant of aesthetic disposition,” as Bourdieu conceived it. Although he did not refer to the concept of aesthetic disposition, Peterson (2005, p. 260) formulated an analogous idea when he described omnivorousness as “the ability to appreciate the distinctive aesthetic of a wide range of cultural forms.” Despite its heuristic potential, the reconceptualization of eclecticism as an avatar of aesthetic disposition has not been submitted to examination.

In the present study, we examined the influence of both psychological and social factors on the distribution of aesthetic disposition and cultural eclecticism and, on that basis, investigated the interrelationships between aesthetic disposition, eclecticism, and openness. Such an integrative approach, focusing on both psychological and social factors, has the potential to clarify (a) the theoretical outlines of the concepts of aesthetic disposition, eclecticism, and openness, and (b) assess the extent to which the “Big Five” personality traits are socially contingent. To accomplish our research goals, we assessed participants’ aesthetic disposition as well as cinematographic and musical eclecticism. We also estimated the extent to which socioeconomic status and sex are associated with personality. Because several studies suggest that age,

generation, and/or period influence individuals' cultural repertoire in general and cultural eclecticism in particular (van Eijck & Knulst, 2005; Scherger, 2009; Reeves, 2014, 2016), we decided to focus on a homogeneous age group. Relying on a homogenous age group enabled us to neutralize potential cohort effects. We gauged both musical and cinematographic eclecticism to study the transposability of the aesthetic disposition across two cultural domains.

## Method

**Ethics.** Ethical approval was obtained from the Institutional Review Board of the University of Neuchâtel. Permission to conduct the study was granted by local educational authorities. Students were provided with information on the study a few weeks before the study was launched. Both student consent and parental consent to participate in the study were requested and obtained. Complete anonymity was guaranteed.

**Recruitment.** Public and private high-school principals or “conseillers principaux d’éducation” from three middle-towns located in the East of France were emailed and provided with a brief description of the present study. Five of the contacted principals showed an interest in the project and allowed us to administrate the survey in their school. The main recruitment criteria were the availability of the classes and professors’ approval to administrate the survey during class time.

**Study sample.** 873 high-school students ( $M_{AGE} = 16.85$ ,  $SD_{AGE} = 0.85$ ; 59% female) took part in the present study: 688 were recruited from four general high schools; 185, from a vocational high school providing training programs in basic administration and commerce. The study sample involves 49.4% of 11<sup>th</sup> graders (54% female), and 50.6% of 12<sup>th</sup> graders (64% female).

**Socioeconomic status.** Based on students' reports of their (step-)parents' education and (former) occupation as well as on the type of the attended high school (i.e., general vs. vocational), we distinguished between seven socioeconomic statuses (hereinafter SES). Our classification was also guided by the work of Bourdieu (1984) and Hansen et al. (2009). These authors discriminated between a vertical and a horizontal level of analysis, namely the social-class and the class-fraction levels (see also Brisson & Bianchi, 2015, 2017). Within that framework, social class is defined by the volume of capital that an individual owns. Volume is assessed with measures of economic capital (e.g., income) and cultural capital (e.g., education). Class fraction is defined by the respective weight of these two types of capital within the volume of capital owned. Bourdieu (1984) and Hansen et al. (2009) identified within both the middle and the upper class a cultural fraction (cultural capital > economic capital), a balanced fraction (cultural capital  $\approx$  economic capital), and an economic fraction (cultural capital < economic capital) fractions. Thus, the vertical level of analysis allows researchers to differentiate, for instance, between a university professor (upper class) and a secondary teacher (middle class); the horizontal level of analysis, between a university professor (cultural fraction of the upper class) and a chief executive officer (economic fraction of the upper class), or between a secondary-school teacher (cultural fraction of the middle class) and a medical secretary (balanced fraction of the middle class). It is of note that Bourdieu (1984) as well as Hansen et al. (2009) did not demarcate fractions within the lower class. Bourdieu (1984, p. 115) was unable to do so owing to the characteristics of his study sample. Hansen et al. (2009, p. 10) opted for the creation of an additional class called "welfare transfers," a class that gathers individuals whose income mostly consists in payments from the social security system (e.g., child benefit allowances, guaranteed minimum income).

In the present study, we differentiated between seven SES corresponding to seven class fractions, two of which relate to the lower class. The first SES ( $n = 185$ ; 59% female) gathered

the students from the vocational high school because (a) their parents exhibited lower economic and cultural capital and (b) the type of high school (i.e., general vs. vocational) is in itself a status marker (Caille, 2014). Indeed, the high school in question exhibited one of the highest “indexes of social difficulties” and one of the lowest “indexes of social position” of the region. These indexes combine, *inter alia*, measures of dropout, learning difficulties, and parents’ income. As an illustration, about 93% of the parents of these students possessed no diploma or a low diploma (i.e.,  $\leq$  bac, the French high-school degree). Moreover, 38% of these students reported to live in a single-parent family. Such a rate is dramatically high, compared to the national average (i.e., 21%; see INSEE, 2020) and to the rest of our study sample (i.e., 14.7%). The second SES ( $n = 206$ ; 59% female) comprised students whose both parents held no or a low diploma and occupied unskilled and low-remunerated jobs (e.g., cashier, waiter). These two SES correspond to the lower class (Bourdieu, 1984; Hansen et al., 2009).

The third SES ( $n = 110$ ; 57% female) grouped students whose parents had a low but qualifying diploma and occupied semi-skilled jobs (i.e., craftsman, master mason). The fourth SES ( $n = 103$ ; 62% female) congregated students whose parents (a) held a post-bac diploma involving a 2-3 year of training, (b) had jobs unrelated to arts, education or teaching, and (c) occupied an intermediate rank in the occupational hierarchy (e.g., nurse, secretary). The fifth SES ( $n = 89$ ; 55% female) gathered students whose parents’ job (a) was directly related to arts, culture, education, and teaching, (b) required a post-bac diploma involving a 3-5 year of training, and (c) was associated with medium remuneration (e.g., educator, librarian, primary teacher). These three groups correspond, respectively, to the economic, balanced, and cultural fractions of the middle class (Bourdieu, 1984; Hansen et al., 2009).

The sixth SES ( $n = 91$ ; 66% female) comprised students whose parents’ jobs (a) required a post-bac diploma involving at least a 5-year of training, (b) were associated with the greatest incomes, (c) occupied the highest ranks in the occupational hierarchy, and (d) pertained to the

economic/finance sector (e.g., business executive, insurance top manager). The seventh SES ( $n = 89$ ; 54% female) grouped students whose parents exhibited a post-bac diploma involving at least a 5-year of training and occupied high-status positions unrelated to the finance sector (e.g., engineers, pediatrician, university teacher). Because of sample size issue, it was not possible to distinguish within the upper class between a balanced and a cultural fraction. Thus, the sixth SES corresponds to the economic fraction of the upper class; the seventh SES, to a mix of its balanced and cultural fractions (Bourdieu, 1984; Hansen et al., 2009). By convenience, we will refer to this “hybrid” fraction as the cultural fraction of the upper class.

We note that our study sample was highly affected by social endogamy. As an illustration, most parents exhibited a similar educational level. Based on six education categories (i.e., “no diploma,” “< bac,” “bac,” “2-3 year post-bac training,” “4-5 year post-bac training,” “doctorate, degree from a *haute école*”), we found a relatively high correlation between fathers’ and mothers’ level of education ( $\rho = .693$ ). This trend limited the number of discrepancies between parents’ educational level and occupational status. Such discrepancies were treated based on the consideration of the parent endowed with the highest SES.

**Personality traits.** The Big Five personality traits (i.e., agreeableness, conscientiousness, extraversion, neuroticism, and openness) were assessed with the NEO Five-Factor Inventory (NEO-FFI; Costa & McCrae, 1992; Rolland et al., 1998; McCrae & Costa, 2004). The NEO-FFI measures each trait with a 12-item subscale (sample neuroticism item: “I often feel tense and jittery.”). Participants responded using a 5-point scale (from 0 for “strongly disagree” to 4 for “strongly agree”). Cronbach’s  $\alpha$  were .712 (agreeableness), .733 (extraversion), .811 (conscientiousness), .841 (neuroticism), and .804 (openness).

**Aesthetic disposition.** Our operationalization of aesthetic disposition was inspired by Bourdieu’s (1984: p. 517). Students were asked to indicate whether, with a list of 20 items, a

photographer was likely to take a more or less beautiful photograph. Participants reported their aesthetic judgment on five-point rating scales (from 1 for “very ugly” to 5 for “very beautiful”). The list involved twenty items, seven of which were used in Bourdieu’s inventory (1984, p. 604). Because pretests highlighted that the other items from Bourdieu’s inventory were obscure to several adolescents (e.g., “still life,” “a weaver at his loom”), we replaced them. Given that aesthetic disposition deals with the ability to aestheticize common and emotionally negative objects, our selection process was guided by the objective of including items that were positively and negatively connoted as well as items having more “neutral” contents. Participants to pretests were asked to class a list of potential photographic themes into a category (i.e., “clichéd/positive,” “neutral,” or “negative”) based on the emotional connotation of each single theme. We selected the items involving a consensus rate greater than or equal to 90%. We therefore relied on the following 20 items (Bourdieu’s items are italicized): deserted street at night, *famous monument*, luxury car, starry sky, *sunset*, and wedding couple as “clichéd” items; *bark of a tree*, beetle, *breast-feeding woman*, *metal frame*, pile of banknotes, religious people praying, and vegetable stall as “neutral” items; abandoned cat, *car crash*, naked old man, prison cell, *quarreling tramps*, sad child, and surgical operation as “negatively-connoted” items. The reliability of the measure, as indexed by Cronbach’s alpha, was .866.

We computed four indices of aesthetic disposition. The first index corresponds to the mean score of appreciation of the clichéd items; the second, to the mean score of appreciation of the neutral items; the third, to the mean score of appreciation of the negatively-connoted items; the fourth, to the general score of aesthetic disposition, all types of items considered.

**Cultural tastes and eclecticism.** Musical and cinematographic tastes were assessed with 5-point rating scales (from 1 for “I dislike very much” to 5 for “I like very much”) measuring the appreciation of 40 music styles and 21 movie (sub)genres (see the appendix). Participants had the possibility to signal that they did know a particular item. Our item selection was based on

pretests involving 30 students who were asked to indicate which music styles they regularly listened and never listened to and which movie (sub)genres they regularly watched or never watched. 47 music categories were cited at least thrice (i.e. by at least 10% of the pilot sample). We grouped the answers “black metal,” “death metal,” and “trash metal” into the category “extreme metal.” We excluded the answer “electro” because of its generality and its overlap with “dance,” “electropop,” “house,” and “techno.” We also ignored the categories “chill” and “minimal” (three occurrences for each) to not over-represent electronic music, as well as the categories “commercial” and “indie” because they cover several music styles. 24 movie (sub)genres were cited at least thrice. We excluded the categories “Asian movies”, “independent movies” and “blockbusters” because they encompass numerous movie genres. Unlike most sociologists, who usually examine smaller sets, we include a relatively large spectrum of categories to better capture potential differences in terms of eclecticism.

Musical and cinematographic eclecticism were assessed with (a) the mean score of appreciation of the categories under study and (b) the rate of categories liked. Both scores omitted unknown labels. The two scores of musical eclecticism were highly correlated with each other ( $r = .914$ ). The same applied to the two scores of cinematographic eclecticism ( $r = .932$ ). We note that our indicators of cultural eclecticism neglect the question of cultural hierarchy or legitimacy and therefore relate to the so-called “omnivorousness by volume” (Warde et al., 2007). We ignored the hierarchy issue because, as noted by Brisson (2019, p. 11), the methods used by sociologists in that respect have been either tautological or highly speculative, to date.

**Data analyses.** Depending on the nature of our variables and of the properties of the corresponding distributions, we performed general linear modeling analyses together with Tukey’s post-hoc tests or correlational analyses. We note that the variance inflation factor (VIF) of each single predictor was systematically satisfactory (all VIFs < 1.8). We used Eta-squared and correlational coefficients as effect size estimates.

We assessed the distribution of aesthetic disposition, cinematographic eclecticism, and musical eclecticism with two models. The first model included the Big Five personality traits, SES, and sex as predictors. The second model involved additional predictors, namely, aesthetic disposition, cinematographic eclecticism, and musical eclecticism. We used mean score of appreciation of the categories examined as a measure of eclecticism. For instance, the supplementary predictors of our second model examining the determinants of musical eclecticism were aesthetic disposition and cinematographic eclecticism. This allowed us to further address the issue of the interrelationships between aesthetic disposition, cultural eclecticism, and openness without exclusively relying on correlational analyses.

## Results

### **Determinants of aesthetic disposition**

In our first model (Table 1), our general indicator of aesthetic disposition was found to vary, in descending order of importance, as a function of openness, SES, and conscientiousness. Agreeableness, extraversion, neuroticism, and sex did not affect aesthetic disposition. While a focus on the neutral items highlighted similar patterns, the examination of the sole negatively-connoted items showed an additional, albeit weak, influence of agreeableness and neuroticism. Results pertaining to the clichéd items revealed no impact of the retained factors, with the exception of a marginal effect of extraversion. Our second model affected those patterns of results only moderately. The only substantial difference was the mitigation of the effect of openness, due to the “interference” of cinematographic eclecticism. This interference equated the respective strength of the effects related to openness and SES. It is of note that musical eclecticism was uninfluential here.

Table 1. General linear modeling analyses of the determinants of aesthetic disposition.

	Aesthetic disposition															
	Clichéd items				Neutral items				Negatively-connoted items				All items			
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 1		Model 2		Model 1		Model 2		Model 1		Model 2	
	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$
SES	.214	.010	.128	.012	<b>.000</b>	.038	<b>.000</b>	.033	<b>.000</b>	<b>.097</b>	<b>.000</b>	<b>.089</b>	<b>.000</b>	<b>.068</b>	<b>.000</b>	<b>.063</b>
Sex	.098	.003	<b>.034</b>	.005	.512	.000	.276	.001	.214	.002	.123	.003	.151	.002	.052	.004
Agreeableness	.340	.001	.241	.002	.675	.000	.501	.001	<b>.000</b>	.018	<b>.000</b>	.017	.068	.004	.098	.003
Conscientiousness	.466	.001	.953	.000	<b>.005</b>	.009	<b>.044</b>	.005	<b>.002</b>	.011	<b>.013</b>	.007	<b>.002</b>	.011	<b>.022</b>	.006
Extraversion	<b>.006</b>	.009	<b>.023</b>	.006	.895	.000	.449	.001	.254	.002	.132	.003	.957	.000	.565	.000
Neuroticism	.624	.000	.413	.001	.685	.000	.578	.000	<b>.001</b>	.013	<b>.001</b>	.012	.117	.003	.150	.002
Openness	.620	.000	.152	.002	<b>.000</b>	<b>.118</b>	<b>.000</b>	.055	<b>.000</b>	<b>.128</b>	<b>.000</b>	<b>.077</b>	<b>.000</b>	<b>.125</b>	<b>.000</b>	<b>.063</b>
Movie eclecticism	-	-	<b>.000</b>	.060	-	-	<b>.000</b>	.049	-	-	<b>.000</b>	.018	-	-	<b>.000</b>	.057
Musical eclecticism	-	-	.539	.000	-	-	<b>.018</b>	.006	-	-	.175	.002	-	-	.103	.003
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	.013		.075		.230		.291		.290		.311		.258		.317	

Notes: *p* values < .05 and  $\eta^2$  > .06 are bolded.

## Determinants of cultural eclecticism

The investigation of the determinants of cultural eclecticism pointed out important differences depending on (a) the area examined (music vs. movie), (b) the type of indicator retained (mean score of appreciation vs. rate of items liked), and (c) the statistical model considered. We note that the effects, mentioned below, linked to personality traits are all positive, with the exception of conscientiousness. The direction of the effects linked to SES and sex are specified in the appendix.

As shown in Table 2, the examination of our first indicator of musical eclecticism, based on mean scores of music-style appreciation, revealed in Model 1 a large effect of openness and a small effect of SES. All the other predictors were uninfluential. Model 2 confirmed these trends and identified, in addition, a strong effect of cinematographic eclecticism and a marginal effect of neuroticism.

Table 2. General linear modeling analyses of the determinants of musical eclecticism.

	Mean score of music style ratings				Rate of music styles liked			
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 1		Model 2	
	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$
SES	<b>.000</b>	.050	<b>.000</b>	.042	<b>.008</b>	.020	.069	.014
Sex	.311	.001	.065	.004	<b>.000</b>	.017	<b>.000</b>	.026
Agreeableness	.361	.001	.140	.003	.652	.000	.374	.001
Conscientiousness	.093	.003	.804	.000	<b>.026</b>	.006	.287	.001
Extraversion	.407	.001	.987	.000	.227	.002	.608	.000
Neuroticism	.196	.002	<b>.047</b>	.005	.118	.003	<b>.033</b>	.005
Openness	<b>.000</b>	<b>.173</b>	<b>.000</b>	<b>.092</b>	<b>.000</b>	<b>.154</b>	<b>.000</b>	<b>.084</b>
Aesthetic disposition	-	-	.103	.003	-	-	.330	.001
Movie eclecticism	-	-	<b>.000</b>	<b>.151</b>	-	-	<b>.000</b>	<b>.117</b>
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	.323		.439		.276		.370	

Notes: *p* values < .05 and  $\eta^2$  > .06 are bolded.

The analysis of our second indicator of musical eclecticism, based on rates of music styles liked, highlighted in Model 1 a large effect of openness as well as marginal-to-small effects of

conscientiousness, SES, and sex. In Model 2, the effects of conscientiousness and SES lost their significance and, again, a strong effect of cinematographic eclecticism and a marginal effect of neuroticism were observed.

Regarding cinematographic eclecticism (Table 3), the examination of the mean scores of movie-(sub)genre appreciation revealed in Model 1 a large effect of openness and a small effect of conscientiousness. Importantly, this large effect of openness vanished in Model 2, in which additional effects of musical eclecticism, aesthetic disposition, SES, and sex appeared. The analysis of the rates of movie (sub)genres liked accounted for similar patterns, although an effect of sex was found in both models and the effect of conscientiousness lost its significance in Model 2.

Table 3. General linear modeling analyses of the determinants of cinematographic eclecticism.

	Mean score of movie (sub)genre ratings				Rate of movie (sub)genres liked			
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 1		Model 2	
	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$
SES	.383	.007	<b>.011</b>	.019	.230	.009	<b>.001</b>	.025
Sex	.053	.004	<b>.003</b>	.011	<b>.010</b>	.008	<b>.000</b>	.014
Agreeableness	.515	.000	.449	.001	.199	.002	.175	.002
Conscientiousness	<b>.001</b>	.013	<b>.026</b>	.006	<b>.004</b>	.010	.069	.004
Extraversion	.056	.004	.071	.004	.163	.002	.212	.002
Neuroticism	.281	.001	.162	.002	.815	.000	.733	.000
Openness	<b>.000</b>	<b>.085</b>	.147	.002	<b>.000</b>	<b>.072</b>	.104	.003
Aesthetic disposition	-	-	<b>.000</b>	.057	-	-	<b>.000</b>	.049
Musical eclecticism	-	-	<b>.000</b>	<b>.151</b>	-	-	<b>.000</b>	<b>.100</b>
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	.125		.316		.103		.247	

Notes: *p* values < .05 and  $\eta^2$  > .06 are bolded.

It should be noted, finally, that eclecticism varied as a function of the cultural domain examined (i.e. films or music). While students reported, on average, to like a majority of movie (sub)genres, irrespective of their sex and SES, most of them indicated to like, on average, a minority of music styles (see the appendix for descriptive statistics).

### Intercorrelations between aesthetic disposition, cultural eclecticism, and openness

The examination of the interrelationships between aesthetic disposition, cultural eclecticism, and openness highlighted only partial overlaps between those measures (Table 4). With the exceptions of the link between openness and musical eclecticism and of the coefficients related to our two indicators of musical and cinematographic eclecticisms, moderate levels of correlation (i.e.  $< .5$ ) were observed. Controlling for SES and sex affected only slightly the correlational coefficients.

Table 4. Correlation matrix: aesthetic disposition, cultural eclecticism, and openness.

	AD	CE-M	CE-R	ME-M	ME-R	OtE
[AD] Aesthetic Disposition	-	.387	.345	.396	.339	.450
[CE-M] Cinematographic Eclecticism (Mean)	.358	-	.923	.497	.443	.321
[CE-R] Cinematographic Eclecticism (Rate)	.325	.921	-	.421	.406	.284
[ME-M] Musical Eclecticism (Mean)	.306	.485	.414	-	.914	.536
[ME-R] Musical Eclecticism (Rate)	.266	.442	.413	.910	-	.494
[OtE] Openness-to-Experience	.364	.291	.264	.444	.419	-

Notes. Partial correlation coefficients controlling for SES and sex are italicized. All correlations were significant at  $p < .01$ .

### The social contingency of the Big Five personality traits

General linear models showed that SES largely affected openness ( $p = .000$ ;  $\eta^2 = .196$ ) and influenced to a far lesser extent agreeableness ( $p = .000$ ;  $\eta^2 = .055$ ), extraversion ( $p = .002$ ;  $\eta^2 = .024$ ), as well as neuroticism ( $p = .000$ ;  $\eta^2 = .031$ ). Conscientiousness did not depend on SES ( $p = .079$ ;  $\eta^2 = .013$ ). Notably, openness varied as a function of SES at both the between- and within-class levels (see Table 5). Contrariwise, the observed variations in agreeableness, extraversion, and neuroticism did not reflect clear patterns of stratification (Table 5).

The same general linear models indicated that sex significantly affected each personality trait. Females scored far much higher in neuroticism ( $p = .000$ ;  $\eta^2 = .184$ ) and slightly higher in

agreeableness ( $p = .000$ ;  $\eta^2 = .054$ ), openness ( $p = .000$ ;  $\eta^2 = .016$ ), and conscientiousness ( $p = .004$ ;  $\eta^2 = .009$ ). Males exhibited a higher degree of extraversion ( $p = .001$ ;  $\eta^2 = .012$ ). Neuroticism was the unique trait involving a relatively clear sexual pattern, with females exhibiting a mean score  $> 2$  and males, a mean score  $< 2$  on a 0-4 scale (see Table 5).

Table 5. SES, sex, and personality traits (five-point rating scales [0-4]).

	Agreeableness		Conscientious.		Extraversion		Neuroticism		Openness	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Vocational	2.24 <sub>a</sub>	0.60	2.54 <sub>a</sub>	0.59	2.34 <sub>ab</sub>	0.50	2.07 <sub>a</sub>	0.71	2.00 <sub>a</sub>	0.60
Lower class	2.29 <sub>ab</sub>	0.59	2.36 <sub>a</sub>	0.59	2.33 <sub>a</sub>	0.58	2.37 <sub>b</sub>	0.73	2.24 <sub>ab</sub>	0.66
Middle class-EF	2.59 <sub>d</sub>	0.55	2.48 <sub>a</sub>	0.70	2.51 <sub>ab</sub>	0.59	2.12 <sub>ab</sub>	0.80	2.42 <sub>bc</sub>	0.67
Middle class-BF	2.53 <sub>cd</sub>	0.57	2.53 <sub>a</sub>	0.61	2.48 <sub>ab</sub>	0.52	2.33 <sub>ab</sub>	0.77	2.52 <sub>c</sub>	0.60
Middle class-CF	2.53 <sub>cd</sub>	0.55	2.40 <sub>a</sub>	0.66	2.38 <sub>ab</sub>	0.62	2.35 <sub>b</sub>	0.78	2.77 <sub>de</sub>	0.57
Upper class-EF	2.36 <sub>abc</sub>	0.65	2.54 <sub>a</sub>	0.71	2.55 <sub>b</sub>	0.59	2.38 <sub>b</sub>	0.97	2.53 <sub>cd</sub>	0.60
Upper class-CF	2.47 <sub>bcd</sub>	0.50	2.42 <sub>a</sub>	0.62	2.46 <sub>ab</sub>	0.52	2.31 <sub>ab</sub>	0.72	2.96 <sub>e</sub>	0.55
Females	2.50 <sub>a</sub>	0.59	2.51 <sub>a</sub>	0.65	2.36 <sub>a</sub>	0.56	2.54 <sub>a</sub>	0.71	2.46 <sub>a</sub>	0.69
Males	2.24 <sub>b</sub>	0.56	2.39 <sub>b</sub>	0.60	2.48 <sub>b</sub>	0.56	1.87 <sub>b</sub>	0.70	2.32 <sub>b</sub>	0.67

Notes. "EF" = "Economic Fraction;" "BF" = "Balanced Fraction;" "CF" = "Cultural Fraction." When different from a *vertical* cell to the other, minuscules refers to a statistically significant difference.

## Discussion

This study aimed (a) to assess the influence of both psychological and social factors on the distribution of aesthetic disposition and cultural eclecticism and, on that basis, (b) to clarify the outlines of the concepts of eclecticism and openness. Such clarification indeed required consistency between our findings and the findings from sociological research and psychological research.

### The sociodemographic and personality determinants of cultural dispositions

Overall, our findings are in line with past research. As Bourdieu (1984), we found that the inclination to aestheticize common and negatively-connoted items positively varied with SES.

Unlike Bourdieu (1984), however, we did not observe a negative relationship between SES and the appeal of clichéd items. Our results also showed that the impact of the Big Five personality traits on aesthetic judgment was mainly circumscribed to openness (Swami & Furnham, 2014). The weight of the other traits was either nil or weak. Importantly, we did not find females to reject as ugly the emotionally-negative items to a stronger extent than males. This result contrasts with previous findings, which underlined that men were likely to assign a higher aesthetic value to negatively-connoted items than women. Differences in sampling and data treatment may partly explain such dissimilarities: indeed, Rawlings (2000, 2003) surveyed small samples of psychology students that comprised, on average, about 80% of females; Bourdieu (1984) focused on item-per-item comparisons and reported descriptive statistics only. Future studies may further specify the role of sex or gender in the aesthetic appreciation of negatively-connoted items. Be that as it may, our findings corroborated the view that SES and openness inflect the ability to aestheticize non-conventional items (Chamorro-Premuzic et al., 2010) and shape the distance “vis-à-vis ‘first-degree’ perception” (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 34).

Similarly, our results pertaining to musical eclecticism echoed past research (Dollinger, 1993; Miranda & Claes, 2008; Purhonen et al., 2010). We indeed found musical eclecticism to depend on openness and SES. On a different note, our findings also mirrored past research in that they underscored that the method of measurement of musical eclecticism significantly affected the outcomes. Indeed, relying on mean scores of appreciation of music styles or on rates of categories liked produced different results. Notably, we found sex and conscientiousness to influence musical eclecticism only when considering rates of categories liked. This finding illustrates the problems mentioned by several scholars regarding the proliferation of the operationalizations of cultural eclecticism (Robette & Roueff, 2014; Brisson, 2019).

The case of cinematographic eclecticism is difficult to appreciate based on the state of the art, since both sociologists and psychologists have paid little attention to this visual art (Duval,

2011; Rentfrow et al., 2011). Moreover, most investigators have either studied peculiar types of film (e.g., horror movies; see Martin, 2019) or relied on different sets of personality traits (e.g., the Dark Triad; see Bowes et al., 2018). Nonetheless, our findings pointed out an effect of openness on cinematographic eclecticism, a result that is consistent with Swami et al.'s (2010) study highlighting the role of this trait in the appreciation of unconventional, surrealist motion pictures. The absence of an effect of SES on cinematographic eclecticism that we observed is theoretically challenging, since eclecticism is supposed to be socially stratified irrespective of the examined cultural area. Two main factors may explain this apparently confounding result. First, the “identity badge” hypothesis (Frith, 1981; North & Hargreaves, 1999). According to this hypothesis, musical styles refer to subcultures, set of values, behaviors or attitudes, that are highly distinctive during adolescence. Unlike musical tastes, movie preferences may be less prone to constitute such a banner. The minor importance attached to movie compared to music supports this view (Lonsdale & North, 2011). Second, the signature of the labels of movie (sub)genres. The frontiers between movie genres may be more porous than the boundaries between music genres. For instance, Soderbergh's adaptation of *Solaris* may be simultaneously ascribed into several categories (e.g., Sci-Fi, drama, romance). This state of affairs may partly explain why a majority of movie (sub)genres was positively valued by students, irrespective of their SES. Be that as it may, our findings suggest that the determinants of cultural eclecticism are likely to vary as a function of the examined cultural area.

### **Aesthetic disposition, eclecticism, and personality trait openness**

Our findings suggest that aesthetic disposition, eclecticism, and personality trait openness refer to distinct entities and that they should not be conflated with each other. They also invite to be cautious in the conceptualization of a broad, cross-area cultural eclecticism.

Our results suggest that Lizardo and Skiles' (2012) reconceptualization of eclecticism as a variant of aesthetic disposition might be problematic. First, the correlations between eclecticism and aesthetic disposition appeared to be too small to assume that one merely reflects the other. Second, musical eclecticism was not associated with aesthetic disposition in our model. Third, while cinematographic eclecticism was linked to aesthetic disposition, it accounted for less variance than SES and openness. Fourth, while aesthetic disposition affected cinematographic eclecticism, it accounted for less variance than musical eclecticism. One could argue here that the inclusion of musical eclecticism as a predictor of cinematographic eclecticism was problematic. However, it should be noted that the correlations between cinematographic and musical eclecticism were only slightly higher than the correlations between aesthetic disposition and either cinematographic or musical eclecticism. In brief, our findings are indicative of modest associations between these variables. This therefore suggests that aesthetic disposition and eclecticism constitute distinct entities. This view is further supported by the observation that the best predictor of one type of eclecticism (i.e. cinematographic or musical) was the other type of eclecticism, not aesthetic disposition. In addition, our findings indicate, again, that the determinants of cultural eclecticism are likely to vary as a function of the domain under study. The inclusion of both types of eclecticism and aesthetic disposition in our predictive models indicated that aesthetic disposition was significantly linked to cinematographic eclecticism but not to musical eclecticism.

Our results also suggest that the sociological construct of "cultural openness" used to characterize eclecticism should not be confused with the psychological construct of openness. Correlations between our indicators of eclecticism and openness signaled small-to-medium associations. It is of note that openness was more strongly linked to musical eclecticism than to cinematographic eclecticism. As mentioned above, students with lower SES who exhibited relatively low scores of openness reported to like a majority of movie (sub)genres. This result

questions the transposability of the eclectic disposition from one cultural area to the other. It also underlines both the importance of studying different cultural areas and the hazard of generalizing findings related to a unique domain. Sociology investigators have indeed disproportionately examined dispositions towards music (Hazir & Warde, 2016), hence neglecting other cultural domains. The “rise of eclecticism” paradigm might have not emerged if sociologists had systematically assessed movie preferences in addition to music preferences. In any case, our findings indicate that the “resemblance,” noted by Roose et al. (2012, p. 494), between cultural openness, as reflected in eclecticism, and personality trait openness, involves weak-to-moderate overlaps. Although additional studies are required to confirm this trend, cultural openness and personality trait openness are likely to cover distinct phenomena.

### **The social contingency of the Big Five personality traits**

We found all personality traits to vary with sex. However, except for neuroticism, effect sizes were relatively weak. Overall, our results corroborate previous findings (Costa et al., 2001; De Bolle et al., 2015). Interestingly, we also observed that SES affected most personality traits. While most effect sizes were weak, SES turned out to largely influence openness. This finding partly erodes the view that “openness cannot be understood as the culture that is acquired through education or good breeding, nor as intellect or any cognitive ability” (McCrae & Costa, 1997, p. 826). Our results indeed suggest that high SES and, in particular, high inherited educational capital may constitute a fertile ground for the development of openness. Future research may further address the issue of the stratification of openness and, more generally, of personality. The extent to which personality traits are socially contingent has received insufficient attention to date (Chapman et al., 2010; Shanahan et al., 2014).

## Conclusion

The present study involves four main findings. First, while personality trait openness appeared, among the psychological and sociodemographic factors under study, as the best predictor of the examined cultural dispositions, SES accounted for a non-negligible part of the variance in aesthetic disposition and musical eclecticism. Second, openness is likely to be socially stratified. Third, the view of a general, cross-area cultural eclecticism (whether or not considered as a transposable avatar of aesthetic disposition) may be unwarranted. Fourth, personality trait openness and the “cultural openness” invoked by sociologists to characterize eclecticism are likely to cover distinct phenomena. In order to further address these issues, future research may develop integrative approaches based on the concomitant consideration of both psychological and social factors as well as of multiple cultural domains.

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## APPENDIX

## A1. List of music styles and movie (sub)genres.

<b>Music styles</b>		<b>Movie (sub)genres</b>
Blues	Metal	Action
African music	New Age/Atmospheric music	Adventure
Alternative, indie rock	New wave/PP	Animation
American rap	Opera	Auteur film
“Chanson à texte”	Pop	Biopic
Classical	Punk	Comedy
Conscious rap	R&B	Detective, crime
Country/Western	Rai	Disaster movies
Dance/Disco	Rap-metal	Documentary
Electro-pop	Reggae/Ska/Dub	Drama
Experimental, art rock	Reggaeton	Fantasy
Extreme metal	Religious music	Gangster, mafia
Folk (American)	Rock	Horror
French rap	Rock 60s, 70s	Musicals
French “variété”	Soul	Peplum
Gypsy jazz	Symphonic metal	Romantic comedy
Hard rock	Techno	Sci-Fi
House/Trance	Trip hop	Super-hero
International “variété”	Zouk	Thriller
Jazz		War
Latin music		Western

## A2. Aesthetic disposition, SES, and sex (descriptive statistics).

	Clichéd items		Neutral items		Negative items		All items	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Vocational	25.72	3.42	20.37	4.71	13.01	4.91	59.10	9.67
Lower class	26.12	2.69	23.23	5.20	16.80	6.64	66.15	12.24
Middle class-EF	26.26	3.09	23.90	5.74	19.20	7.94	69.36	14.38
Middle class-BF	26.17	2.84	24.49	4.73	19.73	7.44	70.38	12.10
Middle class-CF	26.12	2.45	25.38	4.58	20.84	6.39	72.35	10.54
Upper class-EF	26.04	2.79	24.00	4.96	19.23	6.25	69.27	10.41
Upper class-CF	25.26	2.89	25.83	4.13	22.51	6.79	73.60	10.41
Females	26.14	2.82	23.69	5.08	17.85	7.12	67.68	11.98
Males	25.71	3.10	23.04	5.41	17.95	7.32	66.70	13.06

## A3. Cultural eclecticism, SES, and sex (descriptive statistics).

	Cinematographic eclecticism				Musical eclecticism			
	Mean scores		% of items liked		Mean scores		% of items liked	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Vocational	3.34	0.71	54.41	21.11	2.47	0.67	30.76	17.44
Lower class	3.37	0.57	53.86	19.45	2.69	0.63	34.12	17.44
Middle class-EF	3.39	0.46	53.17	17.27	2.79	0.63	35.85	17.08
Middle class-BF	3.53	0.54	58.47	18.02	3.01	0.60	41.01	18.48
Middle class-CF	3.64	0.50	60.73	17.03	3.21	0.59	46.60	18.78
Upper class-EF	3.49	0.56	58.79	18.22	3.01	0.53	40.87	15.94
Upper class-CF	3.63	0.46	61.40	15.80	3.24	0.49	46.52	17.22
Females	3.41	0.61	55.00	19.15	2.89	0.66	40.50	17.81
Males	3.50	0.53	58.47	18.29	2.76	0.67	33.62	18.32

## DISCUSSION GÉNÉRALE

I know the pieces fit cuz I watched them tumble down.

Maynard James Keenan

La présente thèse poursuivait deux objectifs principaux : d'une part, tester la thèse de l'homologie structurale auprès d'adolescents ; d'autre part, mesurer l'impact conjoint de facteurs sociaux et psychologiques sur la distribution des dispositions culturelles. Considérées solidairement, les études menées suggèrent que les principes sous-jacents à la thèse de l'homologie opèrent dès la prime adolescence. Elles indiquent également que le trait de personnalité « ouverture » et le milieu social constituent des prédicteurs clefs des dispositions culturelles, rendant ainsi compte de la pertinence de réaliser des études interdisciplinaires sur les déterminants des goûts et des pratiques culturelles.

Les deux premières études ici compilées ont permis de justifier la mobilisation, dans le cadre de la présente recherche, de la thèse de l'homologie : l'une, en écartant les réserves émises quant à la significativité statistique des différences observées et interprétées par Bourdieu dans *La distinction* (Lieberson, 1992 ; Lahire, 2004) ; l'autre, en confirmant les doutes relatifs à l'artefactualité de la thèse de l'omnivorité soulevés par plusieurs chercheurs (*e.g.*, Peterson, 2005 ; Robette & Roueff, 2014). Les analyses produites ont notamment montré, d'une part, que les dispositions culturelles examinées par Bourdieu variaient effectivement d'une classe sociale à l'autre et d'une fraction de classe à l'autre et, d'autre part, que la thèse de l'omnivorité reposait sur des grilles hiérarchiques arbitraires et inférait l'évanescence d'un snobisme (présenté comme) autrefois dominant dont elle peinait, cependant, à identifier les traces empiriques.

La troisième étude a identifié les limites de l'approche proposée par certains psychologues (*e.g.*, Rentfrow & Gosling, 2003) consistant à dégager des dimensions générales des goûts musicaux sans considération de leur stratification sociale. Cette étude a ainsi mis en évidence que non seulement les goûts, mais aussi la structure même de ces goûts, variaient en fonction du capital culturel.

La quatrième étude a montré que la distribution de la disposition esthétique dépendait du capital culturel (lycée général versus lycée professionnel) et, dans une moindre mesure, du trait de personnalité « ouverture ». Le sexe était, ici, non influent. En outre, il est apparu que le capital culturel affectait largement l'ouverture.

La cinquième étude, dédiée au test de l'hypothèse de l'homologie auprès de jeunes adolescents, a révélé la systématisme et la force des effets du milieu social et du capital culturel sur les goûts et les pratiques culturelles. Couvrant plusieurs domaines (musique, films, lecture, musée, loisirs, etc.) et impliquant une centaine d'indicateurs, cette étude suggère que la stratification sociale des dispositions culturelles est déjà à l'œuvre à l'entrée dans l'adolescence. Il est à noter que l'ouverture affectait, ici, la disposition esthétique et l'éclectisme culturel dans une plus large mesure que le milieu social. Cela étant, l'ouverture est apparue derechef liée au milieu social.

La sixième et dernière étude a approfondi la question des rapports entre milieu social et traits de personnalité et a investi la question des équivalences conceptuelles, théoriquement inférées par ailleurs entre disposition esthétique et éclectisme (Lizardo & Skiles, 2012) et entre l'ouverture culturelle mentionnée par les sociologues des arts et de la culture et le trait de personnalité « ouverture » (Roose *et al.*, 2012). Cette étude a montré que, si quatre des "cinq grands" traits de personnalité variaient en fonction du milieu social, seule l'ouverture était

fortement dépendante de ce dernier. En outre, les analyses ont suggéré que disposition esthétique, éclectisme et ouverture réfèrent à des entités phénoménales distinctes.

### **L'efficience de l'homologie structurale chez les adolescents**

La présente recherche atteste de la stratification des dispositions culturelles chez les adolescents, ces dernières variant tant d'une classe sociale à l'autre qu'au sein même des classes moyennes et aisées – les classes populaires étant relativement homogènes en la matière, toutefois. En outre, le milieu social et le capital culturel ont expliqué, dans l'extrême majorité des cas, davantage de variabilité dispositionnelle que le sexe. Dans la mesure où les analyses ont couvert un spectre relativement large de domaines culturels et impliqué un nombre relativement élevé d'indicateurs (attitudes, goûts, pratiques), ces résultats corroborent ceux de *La distinction* et des travaux attentifs au niveau infra-classe (Jarness, 2015 ; Flemmen, Jarness & Rosenlund, 2018). Ils suggèrent en effet que les goûts et les pratiques culturelles constituent des marqueurs de (fraction de) classe. Ils rendent compte, en particulier, de la stratification de l'investissement dans les arts et la culture. Observable dès la prime adolescence, cet investissement se cristallise dans l'importance assignée à la lecture ou à la musique, l'intérêt pour les musées, la disposition esthétique, ou encore la pratique de loisirs associés aux arts et à la culture.

Les études menées permettent de distinguer trois types principaux de rapport à la culture. Le premier type, caractéristique des membres des classes populaires, est celui de l'étrangéité. Sorte de snobisme inversé, il se traduit tantôt par l'exclusion de certaines pratiques (*e.g.*, la lecture), tantôt par un exclusivisme culturel (*e.g.*, en matière musicale). Il procède probablement du rejet d'activités considérées comme intellectuelles ou scolaires parce que découvertes à l'école en situation, parfois, d'échec scolaire. Le second type est l'antithèse du premier. Il est

celui du rapport cultivé à la culture, voire de la voracité culturelle (Sullivan & Katz-Gerro, 2006). Il rassemble les individus des classes moyennes et supérieures les plus dotés en capital culturel, les plus engagés dans des activités liées aux arts et à la culture, et les plus éclectiques. Il est à noter, cependant, que ce second type rassemble, dans la prime adolescence, deux sous-populations se différenciant en termes de disposition esthétique et d'attitudes à l'égard de l'art. L'étude sur les collégiens a suggéré, en effet, que le profil culturel des membres de la fraction culturelle des classes moyennes exprimait une « bonne volonté culturelle » doublée d'une « bonté culturelle » absentes toutes deux chez les membres de la fraction culturelle des classes aisées. Le troisième profil, enfin, s'intercale entre les deux précédents. Apanage des fractions non-culturelles des classes moyennes et aisées, il est le plus répandu. Il reflète ainsi un goût "moyen" et un intérêt modéré, circonstancié, à l'endroit des arts et de la culture. Dans l'ensemble, ces trois modalités de l'investissement dans la sphère culturelle font écho aux observations bourdieusiennes rapportant que l'appétence culturelle est fonction du capital culturel hérité et acquis (Bourdieu & Darbel, 1969 ; Bourdieu, 1979). En particulier, les variations de « l'amour de l'art » se sont avérées solidaires de deux dispositions majeures : la disposition esthétique et la disposition à l'éclectisme. L'une comme l'autre témoignent d'une distanciation à l'égard des conventions et d'une appréciation des œuvres réalistes et non-réalistes, classiques et contemporaines, bref, d'une ouverture accrue au pluralisme esthétique et à la diversité des mises en forme culturelles.

En résumé, la présente recherche a décrit une stratification des goûts et des pratiques culturelles très proche de celle dépeinte dans les travaux dirigés par Bourdieu (1965, 1979). Dans les deux cas, deux niveaux de différenciation culturelle ont été identifiés : celui de la classe et celui de la fraction de classe. En outre, les écarts observés ont illustré des tendances fort similaires. Ainsi, par exemple, les études ici réunies ont montré, dans le sillon de *La distinction*, que la disposition esthétique variait positivement en fonction du capital culturel. Ces similarités

dans les résultats d'enquêtes distantes de plusieurs décennies et menées auprès de populations différentes (*i.e.* adolescents *versus* adultes) incitent à valider la grille explicative proposée par Bourdieu (1979 ; Bourdieu & Darbel, 1965).

### **Les mécanismes de la stratification des dispositions culturelles**

La théorie bourdieusienne de la stratification des dispositions culturelles énonce que les schèmes de perception et d'appréciation que présupposent le goût et le rapport à la culture se construisent précocement, notamment dans le giron familial, et tendent à persister en raison de l'hystérésis de l'habitus. Toutefois, cette force d'inertie que constitue l'hystérésis de l'habitus n'est pas absolue. « Les habitus changent sans cesse en fonction des nouvelles expériences. Les dispositions sont soumises à une sorte de révision permanente, mais qui n'est jamais radicale, du fait qu'elle s'opère à partir des prémisses instituées dans l'état antérieur » (Bourdieu, 2003, p. 231). Ainsi, par exemple, le maintien pérenne des schèmes dispositionnels du rapport cultivé à la culture dépend de l'inscription prolongée dans des cercles sociaux (*in primis*, familial, puis scolaire, amical, conjugal, professionnel, etc.) et/ou des activités (*e.g.*, jeu d'un instrument, pratique de la photographie) leur permettant de s'exprimer, se renforcer et, conséquemment, de perdurer. S'il est donc tout à fait envisageable que des dispositions culturelles se fragilisent et se reconfigurent, faute d'actualisation récompensante, ces processus requièrent une série de reconditionnements graduels, les schèmes de l'habitus étant *par définition* durablement ancrés dans les corps. À l'inertie de l'habitus s'adjoignent en outre des effets liés au mode d'acquisition des dispositions et des compétences culturelles. Bourdieu identifia à ce sujet deux formes idéaltypiques, qui rappellent, à certains égards, la distinction entre mémoire procédurale (*e.g.*, apprendre à manier un pinceau) et mémoire sémantique (*e.g.*, lire et relire un document sur les spécificités de différents styles picturaux) : l'apprentissage « total, précoce et insensible,

effectué dès la prime enfance au sein de la famille et prolongé par un apprentissage scolaire qui (...) l'accomplit » et l'« apprentissage tardif, méthodique et accéléré » (1979, p. 71). L'un repose sur « le contact répété avec des œuvres culturelles et des personnes cultivées » (*id.*) et suppose une maîtrise pratique par l'expérience pratique, une familiarité par le truchement de la famille ; l'autre, plus volatil, relève d'« un apprentissage institutionnalisé » (*id.*), cadencé par l'école, plus théorique que pratique – puisque médié par le discours et les typologies scolaires – et potentiellement acculturant. Or, ces deux formes d'apprentissage engagent des degrés différents d'automaticité et de "conscience". Elles inculquent un rapport différent à la culture, ici "naturel" et teinté d'une désinvolte aisance, là "formaté" et teinté d'une sérieuse application.

Dans ce cadre théorique, l'enfant n'hérite pas de goûts spécifiques mais de schèmes de perception et d'appréciation génériques constitutifs d'un rapport particulier à la culture. Les études ici compilées illustrent avec force ces tendances. Non seulement l'investissement culturel a varié d'un milieu social à l'autre, mais cet investissement s'est caractérisé par sa multisectorialité. De l'intérêt pour la lecture aux visites muséales, en passant par la pratique d'un instrument de musique, l'extrême majorité des domaines couverts par l'analyse ont révélé des différences liées au milieu social et au capital culturel. Ainsi, ce qu'il s'agit d'expliquer en matière de stratification des goûts et des pratiques culturelles semble bien relever en première instance de ce « besoin culturel » multisectoriel (*i.e.* non limité à l'écoute musicale et au visionnage de films ou de séries), dont l'un des principaux attributs réside dans sa rareté.

Étant donné que l'aspiration à la pratique culturelle varie comme la pratique culturelle et que le « besoin culturel » redouble à mesure qu'il s'assouvit, l'absence de pratique s'accompagnant de l'absence du sentiment de cette absence, étant donné aussi qu'en cette matière l'intention peut s'accomplir dès qu'elle existe, on est en droit de conclure qu'elle n'existe que si elle s'accomplit ; ce qui est rare, ce ne sont pas les objets, mais la propension à les consommer, ce « besoin culturel » qui, à la différence des « besoins primaires », est le produit de l'éducation (Bourdieu & Darbel, 1969, p. 69).

D'après Bourdieu, l'héritabilité sociale de l'attraction des arts et de la culture tient à trois ressorts majeurs, interconnectés et fonctionnant de conserve : l'exposition précoce et régulière à des objets culturels sous l'égide d'initiés (Bourdieu, 1979, pp. 70-83), l'acquisition de compétences culturelles (pp. II-III) et l'ancrage éthique, moral et politique (pp. 45-51). Or les résultats de la présente recherche ont mis en évidence, certes à des degrés divers, des dynamiques relevant de chacun de ces ressorts. Il est ainsi apparu, *inter alia*, que l'intérêt pour les musées dépendait du nombre de visites muséales, qu'un capital culturel limité décourageait les pratiques de lecture, ou encore que la capacité à esthétiser des thèmes connotés négativement était liée à une prise de distance à l'égard des conventions morales. Toutefois, l'influence respective de ces trois ressorts est susceptible de varier drastiquement en fonction du domaine considéré. Par exemple, si un lexique limité constitue un obstacle à la lecture de magazines culturels ou de romans historiques, il n'entrave pas, a priori, l'écoute de musique instrumentale, qu'elle soit classique ou électronique.

Ainsi, les études menées ici ont non seulement décrit une stratification sociale des dispositions culturelles des adolescents similaire à celle observée en son temps par Bourdieu chez les adultes, elles ont en outre conduit à identifier des principes explicatifs corroborant ceux avancés par Bourdieu dans sa théorie du goût. Dans les deux cas, l'analyse a suggéré que la stratification sociale des goûts et des pratiques culturelles résultait de différents degrés d'ouverture intellectuelle (capacités d'intelligibilité), éthique (capacités de suspension) et esthétique (capacités d'appréciation).

### **Ouverture à la culture, stratification sociale de l'ouverture et ouverture disciplinaire**

L'ouverture à la culture s'est reflétée dans les mesures du trait de personnalité éponyme, celui-ci s'avérant être un facteur clef de la disposition esthétique et de la disposition éclectique.

Seul des « cinq grands » traits à affecter largement leur distribution, l'ouverture a constitué, dans la majorité des cas examinés, un meilleur prédicteur de ces dispositions que le milieu social. Il est probable que ce résultat s'explique en partie par la présence, dans les échelles utilisées (BFI-FR et NEO-FFI), d'items mesurant plus directement l'attrait pour les arts, la culture et les activités intellectuelles, que les indicateurs de capital culturel ici mobilisés. Quoiqu'il en soit, la présente recherche a mis en relief le rôle majeur du trait « ouverture » dans la distribution de la disposition esthétique et de l'éclectisme. La dernière étude de ce travail ayant suggéré que ce trait ne saurait être assimilé à « l'ouverture culturelle », mentionnée par certains auteurs (*e.g.*, Peterson & Kern, 1996 ; Ollivier, 2008) dans l'optique de caractériser l'éclectisme et l'omnivorité, les sociologues de la culture gagneraient à inclure une échelle d'ouverture dans leurs études. Cela permettrait de contrôler plus strictement les effets imputables aux facteurs sociaux classiquement mesurés (*e.g.*, niveau de diplôme, revenu) et, en sus, de développer la recherche, encore balbutiante (Swami & Furnham, 2014), des ressorts sociaux de l'ouverture et, plus largement, des traits de personnalité. À ce jour, force est de constater que l'étude des ressorts des traits de personnalité s'orientent davantage du côté de la génétique (Bouchard & McGue, 2003 ; Power & Pluess, 2015) que des conditions sociales de leur genèse (Shanahan *et al.*, 2014). Or la présente recherche a fait état de la variabilité sociale de l'ouverture, laquelle est apparue la plus élevée dans les fractions culturelles des classes moyennes et aisées.

Les études ici compilées ont indiqué que le milieu social expliquait entre 20 et 25% de la variabilité de l'ouverture. Non seulement le milieu social y est apparu comme un meilleur prédicteur de l'ouverture que de maintes dispositions culturelles, mais cet effet du milieu social sur l'ouverture s'est révélé plus large que l'effet, généralement observé dans la littérature, de l'ouverture sur l'appréciation musicale (Schäfer & Mehlhorn, 2017) et sur les pratiques culturelles (McManus & Furnham, 2006). Ces différents éléments signalent que la spécification de la relation entre position sociale et ouverture constitue un enjeu nodal dans la modélisation

de la distribution des goûts et de la consommation culturelle. En effet, considérer avec McCrae et Costa (1997) que l'ouverture est indépendante de la socialisation, ou considérer l'inverse, implique une théorisation distincte, voire opposée, du goût et des pratiques culturelles, où le rôle hiérarchique (*e.g.*, prédicteur, médiateur, modérateur) du milieu social et de l'ouverture diffère sensiblement. Préalable nécessaire à la formulation de théories générales du goût et des dispositions culturelles, la clarification des rapports entre milieu social et personnalité demeure toutefois subordonnée au développement d'études intégratives. Elle suppose notamment la réalisation d'analyses de stratification des traits de personnalité (*e.g.*, aux niveaux de la classe *et* de la fraction de classe), d'investigations dédiées à leur "sociogenèse" et, surtout, d'études longitudinales examinant, à milieu d'origine similaire, l'influence de ces traits sur la (ou les) position(s) sociale(s) occupée(s) ultérieurement. À ce jour, ces dernières sont extrêmement rares, reposent sur des échantillons de taille modeste et mobilisent des indicateurs hétérogènes, souvent grossiers, du statut socioéconomique (Roberts *et al.*, 2007). Ainsi, la relation entre personnalité et position sociale demeure peu étudiée diachroniquement. Cheng et Furnham (2012) ont certes identifié un effet statistiquement significatif, quoique modeste, des traits de personnalité sur le statut socioprofessionnel atteint à l'âge adulte, une fois contrôlée l'influence respective de la classe sociale des parents, de la trajectoire scolaire et des capacités cognitives mesurées à 11 ans ; Shanahan *et al.* (2014), quant à eux, ont fait état d'un lien entre personnalité et statut socioéconomique – un lien lui-même socialement stratifié. Toutefois, ces travaux ayant impliqué une unique mesure des traits de personnalité et, qui plus est, cette mesure étant intervenue lors de l'ultime phase du recueil des données (*i.e.* à l'âge adulte), la faculté de ces études à examiner dynamiquement la bilatéralité des rapports entre personnalité et position ou trajectoire sociale est à relativiser.

Dans la mesure où la personnalité, dans sa définition psychologique usuelle, relève en partie de l'*habitus*, dans son acception bourdieusienne, la mise en œuvre de recherches

intégratives dédiées aux dispositions culturelles est susceptible de ne pas rencontrer d'aussi vives résistances que celles suscitées par les approches articulant biologie, psychologie évolutionniste et sociologie (Ruse, 1989 ; Horowitz *et al.*, 2014 ; Turner & Machalek, 2018). En effet, les traits de personnalité – ces manières d'être, d'appréhender et de sentir – s'inscrivent dans un cadre théorique dispositionnaliste, se caractérisent par leur durabilité et contribuent à définir les situations dans lesquelles les individus sont engagés (Rauthmann *et al.*, 2014 ; Parrigon *et al.*, 2017; Rauthmann & Sherman, 2018 ; Hong *et al.*, 2020). Ces trois éléments font écho à certains éléments clefs de l'*habitus* (Bourdieu, 1980, 2003) : système de dispositions durables à agir, penser, sentir, ensemble de structures structurées opérant comme structures structurantes, l'*habitus* est au principe de la définition des situations au sein desquelles il s'accomplit. Il apparaît ainsi que le développement d'études intégratives articulant personnalité et aspects sociodémographiques est loin de requérir un intense décloisonnement disciplinaire. Au demeurant, la personnalité ne consiste ni en un objet spécifiquement psychologique ni en un objet spécifiquement sociologique. En témoigne la production sociologique américaine des années 1940-1960, laquelle atteste d'un vif intérêt relatif aux liens entre personnalité et structure sociale (voir *inter alia* Davis, 1944 ; Davis & Havighurst, 1946 ; Sewell, 1961). Sans doute lié au « *Golden Age of interdisciplinary social psychology* » (Sewell, 1989), cet intérêt semble s'être tari au cours des deux décennies suivantes (Davis, 1994), c'est-à-dire à la période où se renouvelaient l'étude et la mesure des traits de la personnalité, via l'élaboration progressive d'un *Five-Factor Model* peu attentif à la question de la stratification sociale des traits de personnalité (McCrae & Costa, 1983 ; Costa & McCrae, 1985).

L'implémentation de programmes de recherche intégratifs dans l'étude des goûts et de la consommation culturelle semble à même de profiter et aux psychologues et aux sociologues. L'inclusion systématique de variables liées à la position et à l'origine sociales pourrait amener les psychologues des arts et de la culture à diversifier le profil socio-démographique des

participants à leurs études – lesquels sont fréquemment issus, dans leur intégralité, des rangs estudiantins, en dépit du caractère éminemment problématique de cette pratique (Bernstein *et al.*, 1975 ; Henry, 2008 ; Hanel & Vione, 2016). Pareille inclusion constituerait en outre une bride aux tendances généralisatrices visant à déceler des dimensions fondamentales de dispositions culturelles sur la base d'échantillons socialement homogènes. L'exploitation, par les sociologues des arts et de la culture, d'instruments psychométriques leur permettrait d'opérationnaliser un nombre non-négligeable de dispositions potentiellement pertinentes dans leur examen des déterminants des goûts et des pratiques culturelles. De la pensée divergente (Silvia *et al.*, 2009 ; Benedek *et al.*, 2013) à la régulation émotionnelle (Gross & John, 2003 ; Harmon-Jones *et al.*, 2011), en passant par les styles parentaux (Buri, 1991 ; Robinson *et al.*, 1995), pléthore d'outils sont en effet disponibles. L'utilisation de ces instruments de mesure, laquelle n'exclut pas leur potentielle révision, engendrerait de précieux gains en matière de comparabilité et de cumulativité dans un champ marqué par l'extrême hétérogénéité des méthodes usitées, la rareté des revues de la littérature et l'absence de méta-analyses – un état qui, à suivre plusieurs auteurs (Peterson, 2005 ; Robette & Roueff, 2014 ; Hazir & Warde, 2016), rappelle le bon mot de Poincaré (1908, p. 13), selon lequel « la sociologie est la science qui possède le plus de méthodes et le moins de résultats. » En somme, l'élargissement du spectre des prédicteurs considérés solidairement, l'examen de leurs interrelations et la prise en compte de plusieurs niveaux d'analyse (e.g., classe sociale, fraction de classe, famille, individu) sont susceptibles d'enrichir et d'affiner la théorisation des ressorts des dispositions culturelles.

### **Limites de la présente recherche**

Au moins sept limites à la présente recherche sont à mentionner. La première renvoie au primat accordé aux goûts et pratiques au détriment du rapport à la pratique. Comme l'ont

souligné Bourdieu (1979, p. 321, p. 591), Coulangeon (2011, p. 18) ou encore Jarness (2015, p. 66), la pratique d'une activité donnée, tout comme l'appréciation d'un objet ou d'un style particulier, ne renseignent que pauvrement sur la manière dont ceux-ci sont réalisés ou appréhendés. En raison de l'emploi de questionnaires fermés, les modalités de consommation n'ont été saisies, ici, qu'indirectement. La deuxième limite est liée aux caractéristiques des échantillons. De taille modeste, ces derniers ont rassemblé des adolescents provenant d'une unique région française, laquelle ne compte aucune grande métropole. Il n'a ainsi pas été possible de comparer le profil culturel de participants issus de villes moyennes et de leurs alentours avec celui d'habitants des grandes métropoles et, par là, de mesurer l'effet de l'offre culturelle sur la consommation en général et sur la disposition esthétique en particulier. La troisième limite tient à la considération du sexe, non du genre (« *gender identity* » et « *gender conformity* »). La question de la stratification sociale des liens entre masculinité, féminité et investissement culturel n'a donc pas été examinée. La quatrième limite concerne les modalités de construction du milieu social et les indicateurs de capital culturel utilisés. Disposer d'indicateurs supplémentaires (*e.g.*, relevés de notes des élèves, capital linguistique des parents, diplômes des grands-parents), aurait permis d'élargir l'éventail des catégories d'analyse et d'enrichir l'examen de la stratification sociale des dispositions culturelles. La cinquième limite résulte de l'emploi de la version courte d'échelles de personnalité et de la mobilisation d'un nombre limité de traits de personnalité. Dues à des contraintes pratiques (*e.g.*, en termes de temps nécessaire au remplissage des questionnaires), ces options ont exclu *ab ovo* l'examen des facettes subsumées sous les « cinq grands traits » et d'investiguer les associations entre, par exemple, les traits relevant de la « *Dark Triad* » et la disposition esthétique. La sixième limite dérive de l'absence de mesure relatives à l'homophilie (Lazarsfeld & Merton, 1954 ; McPherson *et al.*, 2001) et aux styles parentaux (Baumrind, 1971, 1991 ; Buri, 1991 ; Spera, 2005 ; Warrener *et al.*, 2020). Étudier l'association entre homophilie, styles parentaux, origine

sociale et dispositions culturelles aurait permis d'élargir le spectre d'analyse des tenants et aboutissants de ces mêmes dispositions. La septième limite, enfin, découle de la focale placée sur les goûts et les pratiques culturelles au détriment, notamment, du rapport au corps, de l'alimentation, de l'accoutrement ou des qualités morales valorisées, autant de thèmes occupant une place importante dans *La distinction*.

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