Working Paper Series

Princeton University
Center for Arts and Cultural Policy Studies

Omnivores Versus Snobs? Musical Tastes in the United States and France

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Working Paper #40, Summer 2010

A Program of the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs

OMNIVORES VERSUS SNOBS?

MUSICAL TASTES IN THE UNITED STATES AND FRANCE*

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Word Count: 10,859

Key words: aesthetic tastes, distinction, omnivorousness, France

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Omnivores versus Snobs?

Musical Tastes in the United States and France

Abstract

Two major theories structure debates on the relationship between socioeconomic status and aesthetic tastes. The distinction hypothesis, developed by French scholars with French data, claims that high-status people with highbrow tastes shun popular culture. The "omnivores" hypothesis, developed by U.S. sociologists with American data, states that highbrow respondents have on the contrary more tolerant and omnivorous musical attitudes than other respondents. Do these propositions reflect real differences between the United States and France with regard to socioeconomic variation in musical tastes, or differing theoretical traditions in the two countries?

This research provides some support for both views. An examination of data on musical tastes (Survey of Public Participation in the Arts 2002, Enquête sur les Pratiques Culturelles des Français 2008) reveals a very similar organization of aesthetic judgment in the U.S. and France: in both countries highbrow respondents are omnivorous. But significant differences between the two countries are also documented for older cohorts. Older cohorts follow a pattern of distinction in France, but not in the United States. This finding delineates how once-real differences between the two countries in the relationship between socioeconomic status and aesthetic tastes may have been blunted by historical change.

Omnivores versus Snobs? Musical Tastes in the United States and France

Introduction

In a seminal essay, Max Weber emphasized the importance of the "style of life" of "status groups," compared to "classes" defined by their position in particular markets (Weber 1958). Both tastes and cultural consumption play a central part in the definition of a common identity for elite groups. Socioeconomic status strongly influences aesthetic tastes and tastes in turn play a part in the reproduction of social inequalities through the creation of symbolic boundaries with real, material consequences, in a variety of social spheres such as education or in the workplace.

Students of cultural fields have taken the comparison of the American and French cultures as a focal point of inquiry to describe differing relationships between social status and aesthetic judgment. France is pictured as the country of highbrow culture, characterized by a population of distinguished connoisseurs and elitist cultural institutions backed up by the French State through a centralized "politique culturelle." The United States appears as the land of mass culture, a large cultural market driven by popular culture, where boundaries between highbrow and popular culture no longer exist for an eclectic and tolerant audience. These common discourses on the differences between culture in the United States and France are reflected in the current sociological debate on cultural participation across the Atlantic. The "omnivores" hypothesis in the United States (Peterson 1992, Peterson and Simkus 1992, Peterson and Kern 1996) contradicts the "distinction" hypothesis based on Bourdieu's (1984) analysis of the French case. A quantitative comparison of artistic tastes and cultural participation in the two countries has been called for but has yet to be undertaken. Such a test is critical because it can reveal whether the two countries do, in fact, present different

relationships between culture and class, or whether these propositions only reflect differences between the American and the French theoretical traditions.

My research fills this gap in the literature on cultural consumption. I explore the different dimensions of aesthetic judgment in the United States and France through a comparison of musical tastes (including likes and dislikes) in the two countries. I use two main data sets: the Survey of Public Participation in the Arts (SPPA 2002) for the United States and the Enquête sur les pratiques culturelles des Francais (EPCF 2008) for France. I rely on an additional data set, the General Social Survey (GSS 1993), to answer particular questions about American musical distastes.

I explore three interrelated questions. First, is the hierarchy of musical genres similar in the United States and France? In the two countries, I report a classification of musical genres into "highbrow" and "popular" categories, and a strong correlation between highbrow tastes and socioeconomic status. Second, do high-status people have more eclectic musical tastes in the United States than in France? On the one hand, using questions on musical likes found in both surveys, I document that respondents with highbrow tastes are omnivorous in both countries. On the other hand, a question on musical dislikes suggests that French respondents with highbrow tastes are more exclusive and dislike more popular genres than other respondents. Highbrows in France seem to like *and* dislike more popular musical genres than other respondents. This leads to my third research question. Does the relationship between musical likes and musical dislikes vary by cohort? The simultaneous tolerance and exclusiveness of highbrows in France is consistent with the following cohort effect: highbrow tastes increase musical tolerance for young cohorts but boost musical snobbishness for older cohorts. In the United States, by contrast, highbrow tastes are associated with omnivorousness for all cohorts.

The analysis is arranged in five parts. First, I present the literature on the topic and the hypotheses. I then describe the main data I use: the "Survey of Public Participation in the Arts" (SPPA, 2002) for the United States and the "Enquête sur les pratiques culturelles des Francais" (EPCF, 2008) for France. Finally, I turn to each of my three research questions.

1. Literature review and hypotheses

The hierarchy of musical genres in the United States and France

The two major theses tested here – omnivorousness and distinction – imply a hierarchical classification of musical genres as more or less "highbrow" or "popular."[1] Instead of presupposing that highbrow musical genres are the same in the United States and France, an assumption rightly criticized by scholars in cultural sociology (DeNora 1991; Weber 1986), it is important to make sure that musical genres are in fact similarly hierarchized in the two countries.

According to Bourdieu (1984), musical genres are organized in a hierarchical way: they are more or less "legitimate," or "highbrow". A cultural object is legitimate when it is generally perceived as difficult, i.e. demanding a specific training and capacities (an attention to form rather than content, a disinterested stance), and when it is insulated from the market and backed up by official institutions, such as universities or museums (Bourdieu 1996). Bourdieu stresses the homology between legitimate culture and high social status. He reports that during their primary education, children with a high-status family background acquire a taste for classical arts works. Through their habitus – a transferable system of cognitive and practical dispositions (Lizardo 2004) – they learn to respect and appreciate legitimate culture, whereas children from a popular background do not. Therefore, high-status individuals have a larger amount of cultural capital, a capital composed of, but not limited to, highbrow cultural attitudes, preferences and behaviors (Bourdieu 1979).

Bourdieu additionally emphasizes that within the dominant class (members of which have large amounts of economic and cultural capital), the dominated fraction of the class (individuals having relatively more cultural capital than economic capital) should have stronger tastes for legitimate musical genres.

In his analysis of France in the 1970s, Bourdieu considers the legitimate musical genres to be classical music, opera, and to a lesser extent jazz. Does this analysis hold for the United States?

Artistic classification systems, including cultural hierarchies, are indeed hypothesized to differ greatly according to structural elements like the role of the state and the heterogeneity of society (DiMaggio 1987). France and the United States present major differences with regard to these dimensions. The role of the state, both in the educational system (Meuret 2007) and in the production of culture (primarily through the "Ministère de la Culture"), is more visible and centralized in France than in the United States (Martel 2006; Dubois 1999). Because of immigration and geographic mobility, many scholars argue that American society is more diverse than French society (Lamont 1992; Lamont 2000; Alba 2005). The way the French classify cultural objects is often alleged to be more hierarchical than the "horizontal" classifications organizing culture in the United States (Zhao 2005).

Differences in the classification of musical genres between the United States and France could therefore be expected. However, previous research on cultural legitimacy in the United States indicates that the two countries actually have quite similar musical classifications. The importation of the European high-culture model to the United States at the end of the nineteenth century has been documented (DiMaggio 1982, 1992; Levine 1988). Highbrow cultural items such as classical music, opera, theatre or ballet were gradually insulated from the commercial sphere and presented by nonprofit organizations financed by the elite. A "legitimate" culture based on classical music and opera was thus successfully

created. The positive correlation between socioeconomic status and tastes for legitimate cultural items holds (DiMaggio and Useem 1978; Katz-Gerro 2002; Alderson, Junisbai, and Heacok 2007). Additionally, both in the United States and France, scholars report that jazz has been gradually included into the highbrow sphere (Lopes 2002; DiMaggio and Ostrower 1990; Coulangeon 1999).

To summarize, although the United States and France have differing structural features, the literature documents very similar musical hierarchies in the two countries. A direct comparison of the structure of musical tastes in the United States and France should find similar classifications of musical genres according to their degree of legitimacy. Classical music, opera, and jazz should be highbrow musical genres in the two countries.

Hypothesis 1. Tastes for classical music, opera, and jazz are positively correlated with socioeconomic status in the United States and France.

Distinction v. omnivorousness

After demonstrating that culture is organized in a similar hierarchical way in the United States and France, and that in both countries high-status people are more likely to appreciate highbrow musical genres, I turn to the central question of this paper: the attitudes of people with highbrow tastes toward popular musical genres.

On the one hand, using French data, Bourdieu contends that culture plays a central part in class competition. One of the main features of the tastes of high-status people is "distinction": the elite's tastes are not only affirmative tastes for high culture but also distastes of lower status groups' tastes (Bourdieu 1984). The dominant groups focus on legitimate cultural goods and avoid genres or activities related to low-status groups. On the contrary, middle-class cultural participation is characterized by "good will" and acceptance of the cultural hierarchy imposed by the elite. Lower status people make the "choice of the necessary": popular culture[2].

The "omnivores" analysis, on the other hand, uses American data and makes a quite different prediction. It is acknowledged that socioeconomic status influences musical tastes: upper-status people are more likely to appreciate highbrow musical genres than lower-status groups. But these highbrow respondents also appreciate more popular types of music than other respondents. They are "omnivores" characterized by their eclectic musical tastes (Peterson and Simkus 1992; Peterson and Kern 1996; Alderson et al. 2007)[3]. This trend has been documented in several countries (Peterson 2005), including France (Coulangeon and Lemel 2007; Coulangeon 2003; Lahire 2004; Donnat 1994).

A school in comparative research additionally argues that cultural symbolic boundaries are on the whole weaker in the United States than in France: the American upper-middle class is more tolerant than its French counterpart (Lamont 1992; Lamont and Thévenot 2000). It is documented that the French upper-middle class tends to draw stronger cultural boundaries in their discourse about the kind of people they appreciate, whereas the American upper-middle class is more concerned by moral and economic criteria of worth. The authors argue that the differences in the repertoires are caused both by structural and cultural factors in the two countries, and stress the differing roles of the state and levels of social diversity in the two countries. They also underline the importance of an aristocratic tradition in France and its absence in the United States.

Two main hypotheses are derived from this literature.

Hypothesis 2a. Omnivorousness everywhere. People with highbrow tastes also appreciate more popular musical genres than other respondents, both in the United States and France.

Hypothesis 2b. People with high socioeconomic status are more exclusive in their musical tastes in France than in the United States.

There is an ambiguity in the differing approaches presented above. What is the core of the analysis: the musical attitudes of high-status respondents, of respondents with highbrow tastes, or of high-status respondents with highbrow tastes? The population of interest to the early omnivorousness perspective presented here (hypothesis 2a) is fundamentally people with highbrow musical tastes, be they high or low status persons. In contrast, the comparative approach (hypothesis 2b) mostly focuses on high-status individuals, with highbrow or popular tastes. Bourdieu's distinction analyses the interaction between the two variables – high-status people with highbrow tastes. Because I am mostly interested in testing the omnivorousness hypothesis, the following analysis focuses on the influence of highbrow tastes on musical attitudes. However, the results for socioeconomic status and for the interaction between high status and highbrow tastes are also reported.

Likes and dislikes

A third theme in this investigation regards the relationship between likes and dislikes.

Scholars have argued that Bourdieu's theory of tastes has more to do with distastes than tastes (Bryson 1996). In *Distinction*, Bourdieu writes: "Tastes (i.e., manifested preferences) are the practical affirmation of an inevitable difference. (…) In matters of tastes more than anywhere else, all determination is negation, and tastes are perhaps first and foremost distastes." (Bourdieu 1984: 56-57). It might be more relevant to Bourdieu's approach to reframe the "distinction versus omnivorousness" debate in terms of dislikes.

Hypothesis 3. If people are omnivorous, respondents liking highbrow musical genres should dislike fewer popular musical genres than other respondents. If people follow a process of distinction, respondents liking highbrow musical genres should dislike more popular musical genres than other respondents.

2. Data

I use two main data sets in this research: the Survey of Public Participation in the Arts (SPPA) for the United States, and the Enquête sur les Pratiques Culturelles des Français (EPCF) for France. Both are nationally representative surveys. The SPPA was conducted by the Bureau of the Census as a supplement to the Current Population Survey in 2002, and 17,135 completed surveys were collected from a sample of U.S. households using a stratified, multi-stage, clustered design. The EPCF was conducted in 2008 under the supervision of the French Ministry of Culture, and 5,004 completed surveys were collected in 2008. Because the survey design of the EPCF is less familiar, I detail and discuss it in Appendix A.

Dependent variables

In each survey there is a question on musical likes. In the SPPA the question is: "The following is a list of some types of music. Which of these types of music do you like to listen to? Please select one or more of the following categories." People who completed the survey had the choice between twenty-one musical genres[4]. In EPCF, the question is: "Dans la liste suivante, quels sont les genres de musique que vous écoutez le plus souvent?" (In the following list, which are the types of music that you most often listen to?). Twenty-four types of music are included.

The two questions are slightly different. It could be argued that the question in the SPPA targets musical tastes, while the question in the EPCF is on actual consumption. However, the American question mentions consumption (i.e., like to *listen to*) and does not only focus on abstract tastes. And the formulation of the French question (on the types of music that you *most* often listen to) is about relatively frequent musical consumption and not about occasional consumption. This question supposes that people listen occasionally to a lot of different musical genres every day (with their friends and acquaintances, at their workplace, while running errands, to note but a few examples), but that within this space of

consumption there are only a few genres that respondents personally decide to listen to often. Such decisions to listen to a specific musical genre again and again would seem closely related to the expression of a musical taste.

This interpretation is supported by a triangulation of the American and French dependent variables with a third variable on the respondent's favorite type of music found in both surveys (see Appendix C). The analysis of correlation coefficients between, on the one hand, the American questions on the musical types one "likes to listen to" and one's favorite musical types, and on the other hand between the French questions on the musical types one "most often listens to" and one's favorite musical types is consistent with the contention that the French item measures tastes as effectively as the U.S. item: the pairs of variables under consideration are as correlated in the French data set as they are in the American data set (Table C-2). To summarize, both the American and the French questions try to get at the same hybrid between abstract tastes and actual practices: musical tastes that are supported by actual consumption.

Two strategies are possible for the comparison. A first approach consists in taking into account all the musical genres about which each survey asks (Katz-Gerro 2002). A main drawback of this strategy regards the different number of genres proposed and their differing content, making direct comparison problematic. A second approach focuses on the eight musical genres that are nominally the same in the two surveys: classical music, opera, jazz, reggae, rap, electronica/dance music, rock, and heavy metal[5]. This strategy misses a lot of information, but at least analyzes comparable items.

In this paper, I focus on these eight nominally similar musical genres[6]. This strategy raises the issue of the possible biases in the selection of the eight nominally similar musical genres. First, most of the more popular genres included (reggae, rap, electronica, rock, and heavy metal) are associated with "youth scenes" (Peterson and Bennett 2004; Bennett 2000).

Therefore, older respondents in the surveys might not know about these new musical genres, but they might have strong likes or dislikes for musical genres popular in previous decades, such as big band in the United States or "musette" in France. The analysis would then miss a whole dimension of older respondents' musical tastes. In order to address this issue, I replicated my models on all the musical genres in the American and French data sets, and found consistent results (available upon request). Second, most of the eight popular genres included are not gender neutral. Genres such as heavy metal and rap are usually thought to be more masculine. In fact, descriptive statistics indicate important gender differences in musical tastes in the United States and France. Gender is not central to the research questions explored in this paper. Therefore, I use gender as a control variable in my models but do not discuss it.

Independent and control variables

I rely on educational attainment (in years of education) to measure socioeconomic status, but I also control for occupational status and report this coefficient in my models. I use a comparable status scale based on homophily and homogamy data (Chan 2010, Chan and Goldthorpe 2004) for the United States (Alderson et al. 2007) and France (Coulangeon and Lemel 2007, Cousteau and Lemel 2004)[7]. Age, also an independent variable reported in the models, is continuous.

The control variables are income per year (a categorical variable), parental education (highest value between the father's and the mother's education; if the father's education is missing, the mother's education is used instead, and vice versa), gender, marital status, and location. Race and ethnicity (not included in EPCF) are excluded from the analysis. I also use several variables on cultural participation to build an index of participation in the arts, discussed in detail below.

3. The organization of musical tastes in the United States and France

The first step of the analysis is to compare how musical genres are organized and hierarchized in the United States and France. Descriptive statistics indicate the distributions for each musical genre in the two countries (Figure 1).

[Figure 1. Tastes for musical genres in the United States and France]

The distributions for classical music and opera are very similar in the United States and France. But for some of the more popular musical genres, there are discrepancies between the two countries. For instance, almost half the Americans like rock against only 25% of the French population, a difference significant at the 0.001 level (t-test).

Is the organization of musical genres similar in the United States and France? A factor analysis explores the issue of the respective hierarchies of musical genres in each country. Factor analysis describes variability among observed variables in terms of fewer unobserved variables called factors. The observed variables are modeled as linear combinations of the factors, plus error terms. A principal component method is used here. I follow the regular rule of thumb for factor analysis and select all the factors with an eigenvalue superior to 1 and all the variables with a loading superior to 0.5 (Table 1).

[Table 1. Factor analysis on musical tastes in the United States and France]

The factor loadings are very similar in the United States and France. In both countries, the first factor is heavily loaded by classical music (0.83 for the United States and 0.81 for France), opera (0.72 and 0.76) and jazz (0.64 and 0.62). This first “legitimate” factor explains 26% of the variance in the United States and 21% of the variance in France. In the United States, the second factor presents high loadings for reggae, rap, electronica and heavy metal.

In France, these musical genres are divided between two factors: a second factor relying on rock and heavy metal, and a third factor with high loadings for reggae, rap, and electronica.

Thus the legitimate end of the musical spectrum is organized in a very similar way in the United States and France. The factor explaining the greatest part of the variance is a "highbrow" dimension composed of classical music, opera, and jazz in the two countries. The discrepancies in Table 1 regarding the second and third factors indicate differences in the organization of popular musical genres between the United States and France, but these are not central to the argument developed here.

Additionally, both in the United States and in France, tastes for classical music, opera and jazz are positively correlated with socioeconomic status. I present logistic regression models where the dependent variables are dichotomous (likes classical music/opera/jazz or not). I report the odds ratios. Because of the differences in item wording noted earlier, the coefficients for the United States and France should not be precisely compared.

[Table 2. Socioeconomic predictors of tastes for classical music, opera, and jazz in the United States and France]

Again, the similarities between the two countries are striking. In the United States and France, education plays a positive and significant part in the tastes for the three genres. The odds ratios are also higher than one and significant when the educational attainment of the father increases in the two countries, except for opera in France where it is not significant. Overall, income has a positive effect on highbrow tastes in the two countries, but it is less significant than education. Occupational status has a positive and significant influence on highbrow musical tastes in the two countries, except for opera in France.

The first hypothesis is supported by these results. In the United States and France, the highbrow category is composed of the same three musical genres: classical music, opera, and

jazz. These highbrow musical genres are highly correlated with educational attainment, family background, occupational status, and with income to a lesser extent. This finding casts doubts on the argument describing the organization of musical tastes as markedly less hierarchical in the United States than in France.

4. Omnivorousness v. distinction?

Before turning to the analysis of highbrow respondents' attitudes towards popular music, it is necessary to define both what are the popular musical genres and who are the highbrow respondents. The analysis above has shown that classical music, opera and jazz are clearly associated with high socioeconomic status both in the United States and France. Therefore, following the literature, the popular genres are stated to be the five remaining musical genres: reggae, rap, electronica/dance, rock, heavy metal (Peterson and Kern 1996; Lizardo and Skiles 2008; Katz-Gerro 2002).

The operationalization of the highbrow respondents is more complex. Two definitions appear in the literature on omnivorousness: one based on tastes, the other based on participation in the arts (Peterson 2005). In this paper I use both, with a main emphasis on tastes.

Definitions of highbrow respondents based on their tastes follow Peterson and Kern's (1996) early method. The authors define highbrow respondents as respondents declaring that opera or classical music is their favorite music type, and create a "lowbrow genres" scale by adding the total number of popular musical genres (all musical genres except classical music and opera, in their analysis) liked. Peterson and Kern then count the average number of popular musical genres that highbrow respondents like, and compare it to the average number of popular musical genres that other respondents like.

I rely on this definition of highbrow individuals based on tastes, but several methodological nuances have to be reported. First, Peterson and Kern's definition of "highbrow tastes" is conservative in two ways: it does not take jazz into account and only focuses on respondents declaring that opera and classical music is their *favorite* music genre. In contrast, I include jazz as a highbrow musical genre and exclude it from the popular category. I also consider respondents to have highbrow tastes when they simply assert that they like classical music, opera, or jazz. Second, there is no problem of artifactual correlation in this approach: the highbrow musical genres used as independent variables are removed from the pool of musical genres considered in the construction of the dependent variable. Third, I only consider eight musical genres (three highbrow and five popular genres). Therefore the numbers and coefficients presented here are likely to be of small magnitude.

Preliminary descriptive statistics indicate that there are indeed omnivores in the United States: respondents with highbrow tastes like on average more than twice as many popular musical genres as other respondents (1.76 against 0.83) and this difference is significant at the 0.001 level (t-test). But highbrow omnivorousness is not detected in France: the difference between the average numbers of popular genres liked for highbrow and other respondents (0.61 against 0.59) is almost null and not significant.

A second definition of highbrow respondents focuses on their patterns of highbrow cultural activities. The theoretical motivation is that actual participation in the arts might reflect cultural attitudes better than abstract tastes. The main drawback of this definition is that cultural participation is constrained by structural features (cultural offering, family situation, etc.) that vary enormously between countries (Peterson 2005).

One solution is to use cultural participation conjointly with musical tastes. In my models, my main independent variable is highbrow tastes, but I also include a "fine arts" index (Lizardo and Skiles 2008) based on the respondent's participation in six fine arts

activities in the past twelve months: attending a ballet performance, attending a classical music performance, attending an opera performance, attending a live theatre or drama performance, visiting a museum, and reading a book. The "fine arts" indexes for the United States and France both have a Cronbach's alpha of 0.64 (see Appendix E on the construction of the index).

OLS regressions

I rely on ordinary least square regression in order to explore omnivorousness in the United States and France. The dependent variable is the number of popular musical genres liked (a count variable from 0 to 5). Taste for highbrow musical genres and the index of participation in fine arts activities are independent variables[8]. For education, I consider the highest level of school in years. I report coefficients for interaction terms between the following variables: highbrow tastes, higher education (college graduates and beyond), and age (dichotomized between being born before 1947 or after[9]).

I use OLS instead of negative binomial, usually recommended when using count data where the variance is important, for easier presentation. I find very similar results when I use a negative binomial model (available upon request).

[Table 3. OLS regression. Highbrow respondents and musical likes in the United States and France]

The results reported in Table 3 support the omnivorousness thesis for the United States and France. Model 1 shows that in the United States highbrow tastes and participation in the fine arts have a positive and significant influence on the number of popular musical genres liked, even when socioeconomic variables are controlled for. The highest coefficient of the model is the one for highbrow tastes. Age (a continuous variable) has a strong negative influence on omnivorousness. Education does not appear to have an effect on omnivorousness

in the United States, contrary to occupational status which increases omnivorous tastes. While highbrow tastes have a positive effect on omnivorousness and education is not significant, there is a significant negative coefficient for the interaction between education and highbrow musical tastes: the slope of the curve for educated respondents with highbrow tastes is lower than the slope for less educated highbrow respondents. In other words, education constrains the omnivorousness of respondents with highbrow tastes, which suggests a slight distinction effect (but does not support a full-fledged distinction argument, because highbrow respondents with a high educational attainment still like more popular musical genres than respondents without highbrow tastes, be they educated or not) in the United States. The interaction between having highbrow tastes and being born before 1947 additionally decreases the number of popular musical genres liked. This confirms Peterson and Kern's results based on earlier data: the younger highbrow respondents are, the more omnivorous they are (Peterson & Kern 1996). The interaction between education and age is negative but not significant.

The regression results shown in Table 3 also document the existence of a highbrow omnivorousness in France. Having highbrow tastes significantly increases the number of popular musical genres liked, even when the usual socioeconomic variables are controlled for (Model 2). As in the United States, the highest coefficient in the regression is the one for highbrow tastes, and age significantly decreases omnivorousness. Interestingly, when stepwise models were run to identify which variable was acting as a suppressor in the bivariate analysis, age was found to be responsible: having highbrow tastes has a positive effect on omnivorousness only when the model controls for age. The picture provided by the interaction terms is also very close to what was found for the United States. Highbrow respondents are more omnivorous when they are young, and a slight distinction effect appears for highly educated respondents with highbrow tastes.

To summarize, omnivorousness based on highbrow tastes is documented in both countries: Hypothesis 2a is supported by the data. What has sometimes been depicted as important differences in the relationship between class and aesthetic tastes in the two countries – omnivorousness versus distinction – might instead just reflect differing orientations in theoretical analyses across the Atlantic.

5. Likes and dislikes

The analysis reported above documents that highbrow respondents are omnivorous in the United States and France. According to the third hypothesis, if highbrow respondents are omnivorous, they should dislike fewer musical genres than other respondents. In this section I put this prediction to an empirical test, and find intriguing results for France only.

France

The French survey asks a question on dislikes just following the question on musical likes. The formulation of the question is: "In the list of musical genres we showed you, what are the genres you never listen to because you know you do not like them?" The same twenty-four musical genres are proposed. For the sake of consistency, I only focus here on the eight musical genres studied previously: classical music, opera, jazz, reggae, rap, electronica/dance, rock, heavy metal. I replicate the OLS model presented above in Table 4.

United States

Previous research indicates that high-status respondents in the United States dislike fewer musical genres than other respondents (Bryson 1996). But Bryson mostly relies on education as an independent variable. In contrast, I am interested in the influence of highbrow tastes and highbrow cultural consumption on musical tolerance. Therefore I rely on the only American survey where a question on musical distastes can be found: the culture module of

the General Social Survey (1993). The GSS presented the 1,606 respondents with a list of 18 musical genres and asked them to evaluate each of the genres on a five-point Likert scale ranging from "like very much" to "dislike very much." Seven of the musical genres proposed match the genres I have been using so far: classical music, opera, jazz, rap, reggae, contemporary rock, and heavy metal. Dance/electronica is missing. I run the model presented above on these seven musical genres, and classify classical music, opera, and jazz as highbrow musical genres; the other genres are considered popular.

How to code the scale of musical likes/dislikes in this specific survey has been an object of debate between scholars (Tampubolon 2008). In order to make the dependent variable as similar as possible to the French case, I created a dichotomous variable for musical dislikes (where "dislike" and "dislike very much" are coded as "1;" the rest, including "mixed feelings", is coded as "0").

I use the same independent variables as in the previous analyses: age, gender, marital status, educational attainment (number of years), income, father's education (number of years), location, occupational status (an occupational prestige scale). I created a fine art index using three variables: live ballet or dance performance, classical music or opera, visit to an art museum or gallery (see Appendix E for details on the construction of the index). The fine arts scale has a Cronbach's alpha of 0.6. I use an OLS model and report the unstandardized coefficients[10].

Table 4 reports the results on musical dislikes for the United States and France.

[Table 4. OLS regression. Highbrow respondents and popular dislikes in the United States and France]

In Table 4, Model 1 shows that, in the United States, highbrow tastes (and, to a lesser extent, participating in the arts) decrease the number of popular musical genres disliked. Age

has a positive and significant influence on musical intolerance: as respondents get older, they dislike more musical types. Occupational status has a tiny but positive and significant influence on musical dislikes. Highly educated respondents with highbrow tastes dislike more musical genres than other respondents: a slight distinction effect takes place again. Overall, these results for the United States are consistent with Hypothesis 3: when a pattern of omnivorousness is found in a population, respondents with highbrow tastes dislike fewer popular musical genres than other respondents.

Model 2 focuses on the French situation, and provides intriguing findings. In Model 2, even when I control for the usual socioeconomic variables, French highbrow respondents are found to be more exclusive than other respondents. Highbrow tastes significantly increase the number of popular genres disliked (participation in the fine arts has a positive, but not significant, coefficient). Like in the United States, age increases musical exclusiveness. Highbrow respondents belonging to older cohorts (born before 1947) dislike 0.81 more popular musical genres than other respondents, and this is the highest coefficient in the model.

This analysis on musical dislikes supports the omnivorousness perspective in the United States and the distinction hypothesis in France, as predicted by comparative research and H2b. Highbrow respondents are more tolerant than other respondents in the United States, but less tolerant than non-highbrows in France.

But the analysis on musical likes presented earlier also reports that highbrow respondents in France like more popular musical genres than others. In other words, they are at the same time more omnivorous *and* more exclusive than other respondents. These results contradict Hypothesis 3, because they both confirm the distinction hypothesis (H2b) *and* the omnivorousness hypothesis (H2a), which are supposed to be contradictory, in France.

Making sense of the French case

What is going on with the French highbrows? It is possible to make sense of these intriguing results in at least two ways.

First, it could be assumed that the same highbrow individuals both like and dislike a greater number of popular musical genres than other respondents. It could be argued indeed that musical likes and dislikes are both indicators of the level of awareness and involvement of the respondent with music. The results would then simply mean that French highbrow respondents know and care more about music than other respondents. The more one knows and cares about music, the more musical genres one both likes and dislikes.

Hypothesis 4a. The "musically involved respondent." The breadth of popular tastes and the breadth of popular dislikes are positively correlated for the French highbrow respondents.

Second, the "highbrow respondent" category could be composed of two populations with very different behaviors towards popular musical genres. From the analyses above, it is clear that, both in the United States and in France, age has a strong negative association with omnivorousness and a strong positive association with exclusiveness. The interaction between age and highbrow tastes also has a negative statistical effect on omnivorousness in both countries. But the analysis on dislikes indicates a French specificity in the determinants of dislikes: the interaction between age and highbrow taste significantly increases the number of popular genres disliked in France, but not in the United States where the coefficient is negative and not significant. Additionally, a stepwise model predicting musical likes indicated that age was the variable acting as a suppressor of omnivorousness in the bivariate analysis on France, and not in the United States.

These previous analyses suggest that, in France, a cohort effect could be operating. For the young respondents, being highbrow increases omnivorousness and the number of popular

musical genres liked. For the older respondents, being highbrow increases exclusiveness and the number of popular musical genres disliked.

Hypothesis 4b. Highbrow tastes increase exclusiveness for older cohorts and omnivorousness for younger cohorts.

Below I put these two hypotheses to an empirical test.

The "musically involved" highbrow respondents

In order to test the hypothesis that the same individuals could like and dislike a lot of musical genres at the same time, I compare the breadth of musical likes and dislikes (the average number of popular genres disliked given the number of popular musical genres liked) for respondents with highbrow tastes and other respondents. The results are obviously constrained and the correlation has to be negative because of the limited pool of musical genres available: if one likes six musical genres, there are only two genres remaining to be disliked. However, comparing highbrow respondents and other respondents provides relevant results.

[Figure 2. Breadth of musical likes and dislikes in France]

Figure 2 looks at the relationship between the number of popular musical genres liked and the average number of the same type of genres disliked for French highbrow and other respondents, and can be read like this: highbrow respondents who do not like any of the popular musical genres dislike on average 2.5 musical genres. The slope of the curve for highbrow respondents is steeper than the curve for non-highbrow respondents. This result is supported by the correlation coefficients between the two variables (the number of popular musical genres liked and the number of popular musical genres disliked). The negative correlation between the breadth of likes and dislikes is higher in absolute value for highbrow respondents (-0.498) than for other respondents (-0.212). This difference between the

correlation coefficients is significant at the 0.001 level (z-test). Hence, the breadth of popular likes and the breadth of popular dislikes is stronger for highbrow respondents than for non-highbrow respondents. This finding disconfirms the "musically involved respondent" hypothesis (H4a).

Highbrows: young omnivores v. old snobs?

Two cohorts might coexist in the highbrow respondents group: an old cohort for whom being highbrow is correlated with a pattern of distinction or exclusiveness towards popular musical genres, and a young cohort for whom highbrow tastes also mean more omnivorousness.

Descriptive statistics indicate a clear effect of age on the breadth of likes and dislikes. Older highbrow respondents (more than 75 years old) dislike on average 1.6 more popular musical genres than young highbrow respondents (less than 17 years old), and this difference is significant at the 0.001 level (t-test). Similarly, young highbrow respondents like on average 1.7 more popular musical genres than the oldest highbrow respondents, and the difference is also significant at the 0.001 level.

It might be that the old respondents of the sample do not know about the five popular genres I am focusing on – an issue that I already identified but that seems particularly problematic when focusing on cohorts. However, the oldest cohort knows enough about these genres to report that they do not like them. Moreover, when the analysis is replicated on all the musical genres proposed in the French survey (where "old" popular genres like "musette" are included), the results are similar.

In order to explore this age or cohort effect, I divide my sample in three groups: respondents born before 1947, respondents born between 1947 and 1973, and respondents born after 1973. 1947 and 1973 were chosen as cut-off points because they delineate three roughly equal cohorts in the two samples. In particular, the youngest and oldest age groups in

the smaller French sample are as equal as they can be. The dates are also historically justified. The three groups have lived through periods when the musical industry was largely transformed. 1947 is usually understood as the beginning of the baby boom in most Western countries, the United States and France included. The baby boom generation was the first one to benefit from a massive increase in the musical offerings and diversity beginning in the late 1950s (Peterson and Berger 1975). The cohort born after the early 1970s has most benefited from the digital revolution beginning in the second half of the 1980s with the compact disc, followed by the introduction of computers, the internet, and later CD burning and files sharing.

I replicate my previous OLS models on the youngest and oldest groups of respondents in the United States and in France (Table 5). The number of respondents in the youngest and oldest cohorts is broadly comparable within each country (1338 and 3318 respondents respectively in the United States; 1013 and 1064 respectively in France). I do not report results for the middle cohort, which is of less interest in this argument. The dependent variable in this model is the number of popular musical genres liked.

[Table 5. Oldest and youngest cohorts and omnivorousness
in the United States and France]

In the United States, highbrow tastes remain a positive and significant predictor of omnivorousness for the oldest cohort (born before 1947). The effect of highbrow tastes on omnivorousness is less than 1.5 higher for the youngest cohort than for the oldest cohort (1.04 against 0.75). There is a slight distinction effect (indicated by the negative coefficient for the interaction term between highbrow tastes and higher education) for the two cohorts. The gap between the adjusted R-squared for the youngest and the oldest cohort (respectively 0.17 and 0.13) is relatively small: the model is similarly adequate for the two cohorts.

In France, highbrow tastes are a weak although significant predictor of omnivorousness for the oldest cohort (0.11). The highbrow tastes coefficient is more than three times higher for the youngest cohort than for the oldest cohort (0.35 against 0.11). The interaction term is negative but only weakly significant for the oldest cohort. The gap between the adjusted R-squared for the two models is important (0.15 for the youngest cohort against 0.03 for the oldest cohort): the omnivorousness model explains much more variance for the youngest than for the oldest cohort.

I replicate the model predicting dislikes for the youngest and oldest cohorts in France and the United States (Table 6). The dependent variable in this model is the number of popular musical genres disliked.

[Table 6. Youngest and oldest cohorts and dislike of popular musical genres in France and the United States]

The oldest cohort in France follows a clear pattern of distinction: a taste for highbrow musical genres increases the number of popular musical genres disliked by 1.23 genres. This coefficient is highly significant. Conversely, the youngest cohort is notably less exclusive: the coefficient for highbrow tastes is lower (0.26) and less significant. Surprisingly, occupational status has a significant negative influence on musical exclusiveness for the oldest cohort. The difference between the respective adjusted R-squared for the youngest and the oldest cohorts is notable (0.05 against 0.15), indicating that the model fits the attitudes of the oldest cohort much better than those of the youngest cohort.

As a counterfactual, I replicate this analysis on the American case using the GSS 1993 analyzed previously. The sample is similarly divided in three cohorts – born before 1947, born between 1947 and 1973, and born after 1973. The youngest cohort (born after 1973) was at most twenty years old when the General Social Survey was administered in 1993. Because

of missing data, there were only 24 respondents left in the youngest cohort. Therefore in Model 3 I only report the results for the musical likes and dislikes of the oldest cohort and compare them to the French case.

As expected, the American findings emphasize a very different situation than in France: the oldest cohort in the United States is not exclusive. On the contrary, having highbrow tastes significantly decreases the number of popular genres disliked. Participation in the arts also has a negative and quite significant impact on exclusiveness. Occupational status slightly increases the number of genres disliked.

To summarize: the gist of the difference between the United States and France regarding the organization of musical tastes stems from the oldest respondents in the two countries. The respondents born before 1947 are exclusive in France and omnivorous in the United States. Similar findings were obtained when the analysis was replicated for all musical genres. These differences appear more clearly using data on musical dislikes than data on musical likes.

Conclusion

In this research on musical tastes in the United States and France I have tested two widely accepted theories of the relationship between socioeconomic status and aesthetic tastes. The first perspective is based on French data and claims that high-status people with highbrow tastes are exclusive and shun popular culture. The second perspective relies on American data and states that highbrow respondents are on the contrary more tolerant and "omnivorous" than other respondents.

Using a question on musical likes found in two data sets (SPPA 2002 for the United States, EPCF 2008 for France), I document omnivorousness both in the United States and in France. Omnivorousness is stronger in the United States than in France, as predicted by the

literature. The legitimate end of the musical spectrum is organized in a very similar way in the two countries. Using a question on musical dislikes asked in the French survey, I also provide support for the distinction framework in France: French highbrows dislike on average more popular musical genres than other French respondents. Surprisingly, highbrow respondents in France appear both to be more omnivorous *and* more exclusive than other respondents. This situation is specific to the French case. Replicating the analysis on the only American survey where a question on musical distastes can be found (GSS 1993), I find that highbrow tastes decrease exclusiveness in the United States. These surprising results on French highbrows reflect an age or cohort effect: in France, having highbrow tastes increases exclusiveness for the old respondents but increases omnivorousness for the young respondents.

These results have several important implications for research on the relationship between class and culture. First, the findings shed a new light on the debate between distinction and omnivorousness. My research rehabilitates the specifics of the Bourdieuian approach in two ways. As hypothesized, tastes for classical music, opera, and jazz are predicted by socioeconomic status in the United States and France. Furthermore, older cohorts in France have indeed very exclusive tastes: Bourdieu adequately analyzed the musical attitudes of the predominant cohorts in France in the 1970s. But the omnivorousness proposition is also supported: respondents with highbrow tastes are on the whole omnivorous in the United States and France, and younger cohorts are more omnivorous than older cohorts in the two countries.

Second, my research challenges the idea that the relationship between socioeconomic status and culture is very different nowadays in the United States and France. The two countries present very similar organizations of musical tastes into highbrow and popular categories. The results for oldest cohorts are consistent with the idea that the two countries were indeed different thirty years ago with regard to musical tastes, but that this is not the

case any more. Further research should investigate the precise manner in which these changes between cohorts took place in the past decades, using both quantitative and historical methods.

Third, these results provide additional insight into the context of the debate between distinction and omnivorousness. Are these theories conflicting because of real differences in the relationship between class and culture in the United States and France or because of differing theoretical traditions? The answer is: "both." It seems that the cohort Bourdieu studied in the 1970s was the last one in which French high-status respondents had extremely exclusive tastes, whereas their American counterparts report omnivorous tastes. Real differences between the two countries and their evolution over time explain part of the distinction/omnivorousness debate. However the classification of musical genres into extremely similar highbrow categories in the two countries also indicates that the opposition between a tolerant, democratic American audience and an exclusive, elitist French audience mostly reflects different trends in the sociological traditions of the two countries.

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Tables

Table 1. Factor analysis on musical tastes in the United States and France

	United States		**France**		
	Factor 1	*Factor 2*	*Factor 1*	*Factor 2*	*Factor 3*
Classical music	0.83	-0.02	0.81	-0.05	-0.07
Opera	0.72	0.18	0.76	-0.06	0.03
Jazz	0.64	0.27	0.62	0.29	-0.03
Reggae	0.42	0.62	0.02	-0.27	0.63
Rap	0.04	0.78	-0.07	0.17	0.69
Dance, Electronica	0.42	0.55	-0.03	0.37	0.59
Rock	0.37	0.34	0.00	0.78	0.00
Heavy Metal	0.02	0.74	0.01	0.66	0.18
Proportion of variance explained	0.262	0.258	0.205	0.169	0.158

Sources: Survey of Public Participation in the Arts 2002, Enquête sur les Pratiques Culturelles 2008. Weighted data.

Table 2. Socioeconomic predictors of tastes for classical music, opera and jazz in the United States and France (odds ratios)

United States (SPPA 2002)	Classical Music	Opera	Jazz	**France** (PC 2008)	Classical music	Opera	Jazz
Education (Reference: some high school, hs graduate)				**Education** (Reference: some high school, hs graduate)			
Less than high school	0.70***	0.74*	0.60***	Less than high school	0.54***	0.76	0.51***
	(0.07)	(0.11)	(0.06)		(0.06)	(0.12)	(0.07)
Some college, college graduate	2.02***	1.66***	1.69***	Some college, college graduate	1.42**	1.73**	1.57***
	(0.11)	(0.14)	(0.09)		(0.18)	(0.34)	(0.20)
Graduate education	3.25***	2.73***	2.01***	Graduate education	1.57**	2.51***	1.72***
	(0.28)	(0.32)	(0.17)		(0.22)	(0.49)	(0.25)
Income (Reference: from $20,000 to $34,999 per year)				**Income** (Reference: from 22,801euros to 36,000 euros per year)			
Less than $10,000	1.08	1.34*	1.00	Less than 7,000 euros	0.37***	0.43***	0.86
	(0.12)	(0.20)	(0.11)		(0.06)	(0.10)	(0.15)
$10,000 to $19,999	1.11	1.25	0.96	7,000 to 22,800 euros	0.67***	0.70*	0.95
	(0.10)	(0.15)	(0.08)		(0.07)	(0.11)	(0.11)
$35,000 to $59,999	1.09	1.04	0.98	36,601 to 73,200 euros	1.20	1.42*	1.03
	(0.07)	(0.10)	(0.07)		(0.13)	(0.24)	(0.12)
More than $60,000	1.13	0.93	1.29***	More than 73,200 euros	1.50	1.25	1.26
	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.09)		(0.36)	(0.45)	(0.31)
Father's education (Reference: some high school, hs graduate)				**Father's education** (Reference: some high school)			
Less than high school	0.90	0.88	0.89	Less than high school	1.03	1.04	1.06
	(0.06)	(0.09)	(0.06)		(0.10)	(0.15)	(0.11)
Some college, college graduate	1.45***	1.33**	1.27***	High school graduate	1.89***	1.61	1.46*
	(0.09)	(0.12)	(0.08)		(0.34)	(0.40)	(0.27)
Graduate education	1.80***	1.64***	1.41***	College or graduate education	1.45*	1.37	1.46*
	(0.16)	(0.20)	(0.13)		(0.23)	(0.32)	(0.24)
Occupational status	1.45***	1.37*	1.84***	**Occupational status**	3.28***	0.31*	3.61***
	(0.15)	(0.20)	(0.18)		(1.01)	(0.15)	(1.24)
Constant	0.05***	0.02***	0.19***	Constant	0.05***	0.00***	0.11***
	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.02)		(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.02)
Observations	11465	11465	11465	Observations	4104	4104	4104
Chi 2	1284	470	920	Chi 2	739	432	301
Pseudo R-squared	0.09	0.06	0.07	Pseudo R-squared	0.15	0.16	0.08

Source: Survey of Public Participation in the Arts 2002 ; Enquête sur les Pratiques Culturelles 2008. Standard errors in parentheses.*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, *p<0.05. *Note*. For easier presentation, the control variables are not reported in this table. The model controls for gender, age, location, family situation, and mother's education. Mother's education is not included in the table because of space constraints - the coefficients were extremely similar to the coefficients for father's education in the two countries.

Table 3. OLS regression. Highbrow respondents and musical likes in the United States and France

	United States	**France**
	(SPPA 2002)	(PC 2008)
	Model 1	Model 2
Taste for classical music, opera, or jazz	1.05***	0.26***
	(0.03)	(0.04)
Fine arts participation in the past 12 months	0.08***	0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Age	-0.02***	-0.03***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education in years	0.01	-0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Occupational status	0.15**	-0.12
	(0.05)	(0.09)
Highbrow taste*Old (Born before 1947)	-0.33***	-0.16**
	(0.05)	(0.06)
Highbrow taste*Higher education (BA and more)	-0.40***	-0.12*
	(0.04)	(0.06)
Higher education*Old (Born before 1947)	-0.05	-0.10
	(0.06)	(0.08)
Constant	1.55***	2.04***
	(0.09)	(0.09)
Observations	12543	3964
R-squared	0.22	0.27
Adj. R-squared	0.22	0.27

Source: Survey of Public Participation in the Arts 2002, Enquête sur les Pratiques Culturelles des Français 2008. Standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05.

Note. For easier presentation, the control variables are not reported in this table. The models control for income, geographical location, gender, family situation, parental education, and for the dichotomous variables "Old" (born before 1947) and "Higher education" (College graduate and more) used in the interaction terms.

Table 4. OLS regression: Highbrow respondents and popular dislikes in the United States and France

	United States	**France**
	(GSS 1993)	(PC 2008)
	Model 1	Model 2
Taste for classical music, opera, or jazz	-0.23*	0.36***
	(0.10)	(0.06)
Fine arts participation	-0.09*	0.03
	(0.04)	(0.02)
Age	0.02***	0.02***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education in years	-0.02	0.01
	(0.02)	(0.01)
Occupational status	0.01*	-0.15
	(0.00)	(0.16)
Highbrow taste*Old (Born before 1947)	-0.12	0.81***
	(0.13)	(0.10)
Highbrow taste*Higher education (BA and more)	0.42*	-0.18
	(0.18)	(0.10)
Higher education*Old (Born before 1947)	-0.13	-0.06
	(0.15)	(0.13)
Constant	1.17***	0.18
	(0.25)	(0.16)
Observations	1331	3964
R-squared	0.19	0.17
Adj. R-squared	0.18	0.16

Source: General Social Survey 1993 ; Enquête sur les Pratiques Culturelles des Français 2008. Standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05.

Note. For easier presentation, the control variables are not reported in this table. Models 1 and 2 control for income, geographical location, gender, family situation, parental education, and for the dichotomous variables "Old" and "Higher education" used in the interaction terms.

Table 5. Oldest and youngest cohorts and omnivorousness in the United States and France

	United States (SPPA 2002)		**France** (PC 2008)	
	Born after 1973	Born before 1947	Born after 1973	Born before 1947
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Taste for classical music, opera, or jazz	1.04***	0.75***	0.35***	0.11***
	(0.09)	(0.04)	(0.10)	(0.02)
Fine arts participation	0.15***	0.05**	0.00	-0.01
	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.01)
Education in years	0.08*	0.00	0.00	0.01
	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)
Occupational status	0.35	0.31**	0.01	-0.12
	(0.21)	(0.10)	(0.23)	(0.08)
Highbrow taste*Higher education (BA and more)	-0.53*	-0.37***	-0.08	-0.16*
	(0.22)	(0.06)	(0.15)	(0.08)
Constant	0.37	0.28*	1.41***	0.00
	(0.36)	(0.11)	(0.20)	(0.06)
Observations	1338	3318	1013	1064
R-squared	0.18	0.13	0.14	0.02
Adj. R-squared	0.17	0.13	0.15	0.03

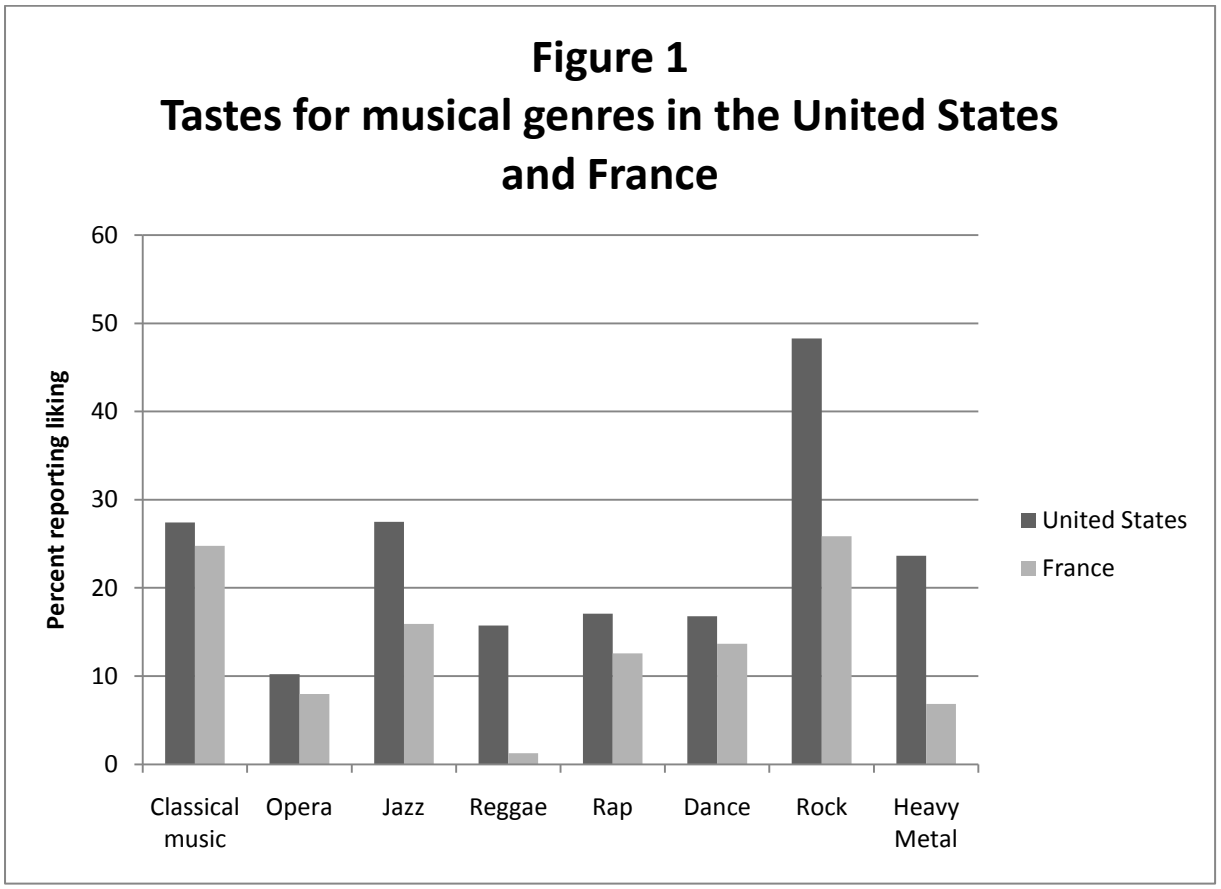
Sources: Survey of Public Participation in the Arts 2002; Enquête sur les Pratiques culturelles des Français 2008.
*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05. Standard errors in parentheses.
Note. For easier presentation, the control variables are not reported in this table. The models control for income, geographical location, gender, family situation, parental education, and the dichotomous variable "higher education".

Table 6. Youngest and oldest cohorts and dislike of popular musical genres in France and the United States

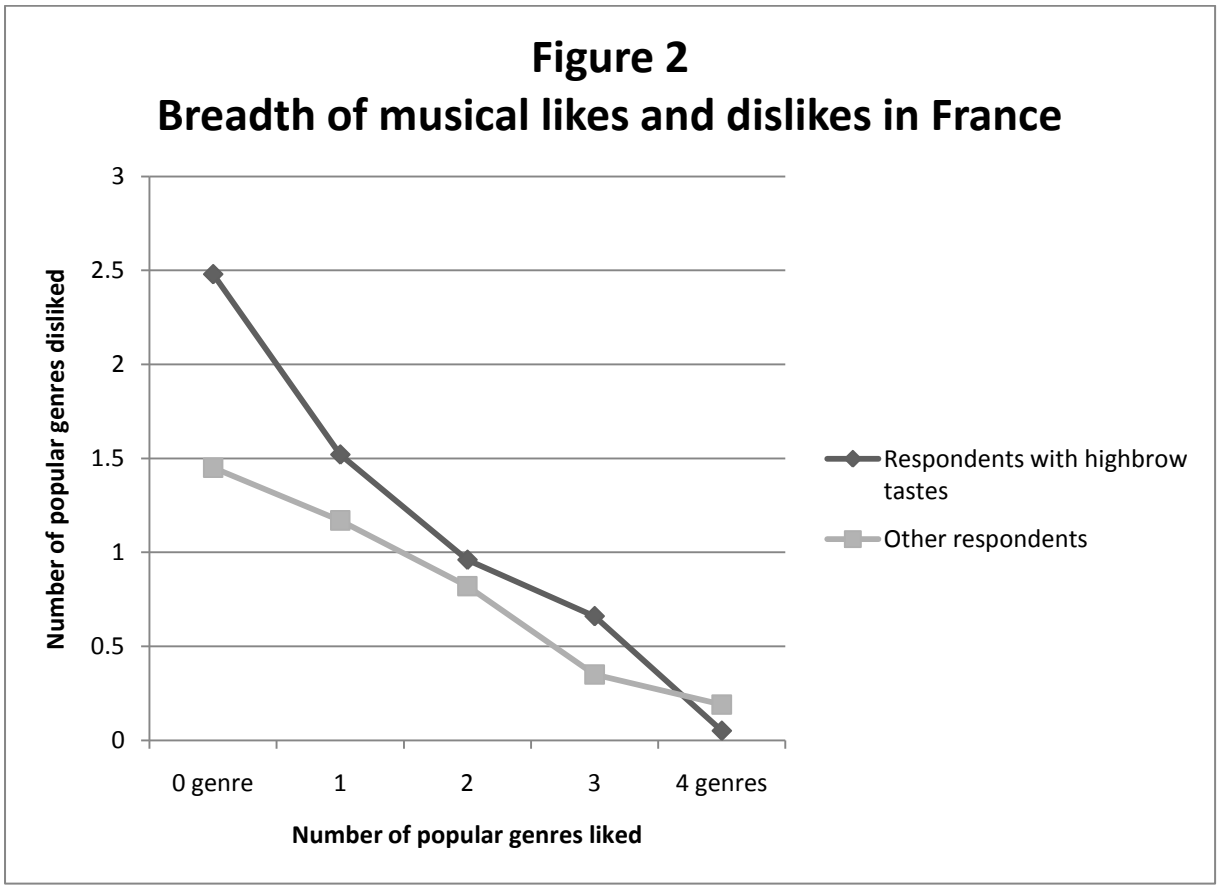
	France (PC 2008)		**United States** (GSS 1993)
	Born after 1973	Born before 1947	Born before 1947
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Taste for classical music, opera, or jazz	0.26*	1.23***	-0.28*
	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.12)
Fine arts participation	0.03	0.04	-0.16**
	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.06)
Education in years	-0.01	0.03	-0.05
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)
Occupational status	0.21	-0.98*	0.01*
	(0.24)	(0.39)	(0.00)
Highbrow taste*Higher education	-0.00	-0.57	0.59
	(0.15)	(0.35)	(0.37)
Constant	0.86***	2.25***	2.82***
	(0.20)	(0.30)	(0.26)
Observations	1013	1064	553
Adj. R-squared	0.04	0.15	0.08
R-squared	0.05	0.16	0.06

Sources: Enquête sur les Pratiques culturelles des Français 2008 ; General Social Survey 1993.
*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05. Standard errors in parentheses.
Note. For easier presentation, the control variables are not reported in this table. The model controls for income, geographical location, gender, family situation, and parental education, and for the dichotomous variable "higher education".

Figures



Source: Survey of Public Participation in the Arts 2002 ; Enquête sur les Pratiques Culturelles des Français 2008



Source : Enquête sur les Pratiques Culturelles des Français 2008

Appendix A. Sampling design of the EPCF 2008

The EPCF has been administered several times (in 1977, 1981, 1997, and 2008) under the supervision of the French Ministry of Culture. The sampling design follows an improved quota method. Quota sampling is usually implemented in order to minimize the cost of a survey by getting the maximum variation with a minimum number of observations, and it is still a fairly common procedure in Europe (Gschwend 2005, Schöbi and Joye 2001). The quota method is criticized because of the considerable latitude given to the interviewer, who is often free to fill his quotas in the way he or she thinks best. It is then reasonable to suspect that observations are non-random, because unobservable variables played a part in the selection process (Smith 1983).

However, the EPCF 2008 provides extremely strict procedural guidelines to verify that observations are geographically dispersed and randomly selected. First, a matrix "Region * Urban Category" is created and the number of interviews per cell is defined proportionally to the population density. Second, for each cell of the matrix and depending on the number of interviews allocated, towns (or districts for large cities) are randomly selected. Third, within each town or district, four blocks (plus two replacement blocks) are randomly drawn using the telephone list of France Telecom. The interviewer has the instruction to turn clockwise around the block from the departure address found in the telephone list. He cannot contact more than one individual every three houses or one individual per building, and must wait at least two minutes after ringing the bell. The interviewer has to make twelve interviews per block. When it is impossible (for instance when the block is entirely commercial) the interviewer should go to one of the replacement blocks. A similar procedure is designed for rural areas. Controls were made for 20% of the interviews (15% by mail, 5% by face to face interview).

This rigorous survey design allows the EPCF 2008 to bypass the main criticisms associated with quota sampling. It is indeed documented that, when quota variables are accurately specified and when there is a random selection of cluster and a random walk method for selecting individual units, statistical inference from a quota sample is perfectly acceptable (Smith 1983: 402).

I use one important additional precaution when manipulating my data. Following Gelman's insights (2009), I automatically include all the quota variables as control variables in the regressions and do not use the weights.

Appendix B. Models without the respondents who liked all 21 musical genres in 2002 SPPA

Table B-1. United States. OLS on musical likes without the "yes to all" respondents

	Model 1
Taste for classical music, opera or jazz	0.72***
	(0.03)
Fine arts participation in the past 12 months	0.08***
	(0.01)
Age	-0.02***
	(0.00)
Education in years	0.01
	(0.01)
Highbrow taste*Old (Born before 1947)	-0.28***
	(0.05)
Highbrow taste* Higher education	-0.30***
	(0.04)
Higher education*Old	-0.02
	(0.05)
Occupational Status	0.12*
	(0.05)
Constant	1.45***
	(0.08)
Observations	12141
R-squared	0.21
Adj. R-squared	0.21

Source: SPPA 2002

Table B-2. United States. OLS per cohort on musical likes without the "yes to all" respondents

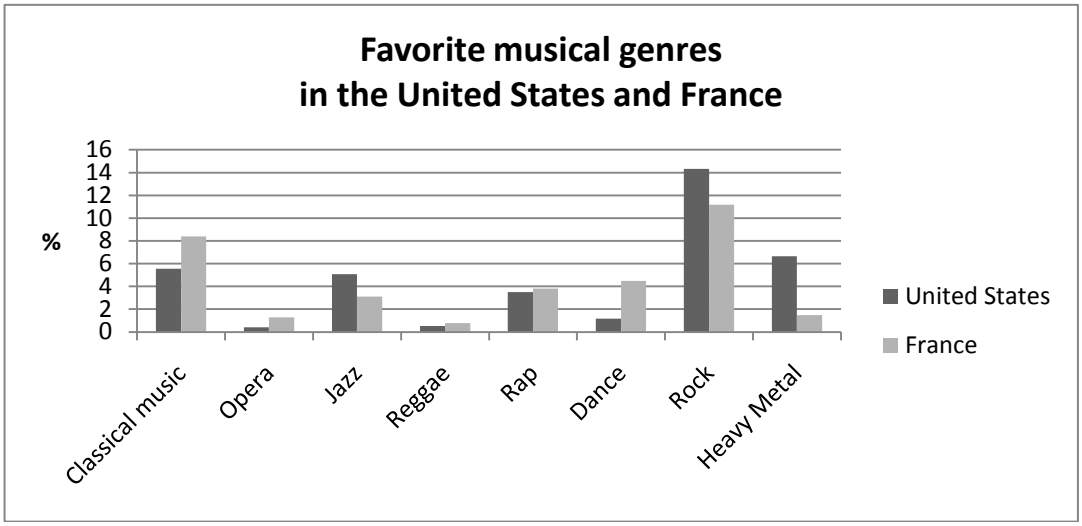
	Born after 1973	Born before 1947
	Model 1	Model 2
Taste for classical music, opera or jazz	0.63***	0.46***
	(0.09)	(0.03)
Fine arts participation in the past 12 months	0.14***	0.06***
	(0.03)	(0.01)
Education in years	0.02	0.01*
	(0.02)	(0.01)
Highbrow taste* Higher education	-0.28	-0.23***
	(0.21)	(0.05)
Occupational Status	0.39*	0.26**
	(0.20)	(0.08)
Constant	0.84**	0.10
	(0.30)	(0.08)
Observations	1288	3240
R-squared	0.12	0.12
Adj. R-squared	0.11	0.12

Source: SPPA 2002

Appendix C. Comparability of the dependent variable: triangulation with the favorite musical type

Both in the SPPA and in the EPCF there is a question on the respondent's favorite musical genre. In the SPPA, the question is "Of the music types you mentioned liking, which one do you like the best?" In the EPCF survey, the formulation is "Quel est votre genre de musique préféré, si vous en avez un?" or "What is your favorite type of music, if you have one?" Descriptive statistics can be found in Figure C-1.

Figure C-1. Favorite genres in the United States and France



Sources: SPPA 2002, EPCF 2008.

Table C-2. Phi correlation coefficients between musical genre liked (U.S.)/musical genre most often listened to (France) and favorite genre

	United States	France	Difference (%)
Classical music	0.404	0.481	19.08
Opera	0.194	0.324	67.01
Jazz	0.373	0.374	0.26
Reggae	0.167	0.405	142.51
Rap	0.414	0.437	5.56
Dance	0.241	0.438	81.66

Rock	0.425	0.518	21.89
Heavy Metal	0.482	0.375	-22.22

Sources: SPPA 2002, PC 2008.

Table C-2 reports the phi correlation coefficients (used for true dichotomous variables in 2x2 tables) between genre liked and favorite genre. In the United States, liking to listen to classical music is positively correlated (0.404) with asserting that classical music is one's favorite musical genre. In France, often listening to classical music is also correlated with stating that classical music is one's preferred genre. The correlation coefficient (0.481) between the two variables in the French survey is 19% higher than the corresponding coefficient in the American survey.

The correlation coefficients in the French survey are actually always higher than the coefficients in the American survey, except for heavy metal. Similar results were found when I compared the percentages of respondents liking (or listening most often to) one genre who also declared that this genre was their favorite in the American and French data (available upon request).

Hence, the analysis shows that the French variable "listens to most often" is at least as correlated to abstract tastes (operationalized here by the variable "favorite genre") than its American equivalent, for all musical genres under consideration except heavy metal. This triangulation with the variable "favorite musical genre" supports the idea that the American and the French dependent variables are indeed comparable.

Appendix D. Occupational status in France and the United States

In France, the status scale developed by Coulangeon and Lemel is based on the variable “professions et catégories socio-professionnelles” (PCS) which could be found in PC 2008. Table D-1 presents the occupational groupings and their status scores.

Table D-1. Status scale in France

EPCF 2008 occupational recode	N	%	Coulangeon and Lemel occupational recode	Status Score
Agriculteur exploitants	69	1.60	Farmers	-0.04
Artisan	85	1.96	Tradesmen	-0.06
Commerçant et assimilé	79	1.81	Shopkeepers and related	0.07
Chef d'entreprise 10 salarié et plus	7	0.17	Business owners with 10+ employees	0.18
Profession libérale	28	0.65	Liberal professions (self-employed)	0.36
Cadre fonction publique	39	0.89	Civil service officers	0.20
Professeur, profession scientifique	79	1.82	Second and third level teachers and scientists	0.34
Profession information, arts et spectacles	72	1.66	Media and entertainment	0.25
Cadre administratif /commercial d'entre	116	2.66	Sales and administrative managers	0.22
Ingénieur et cadre technique d'entreprise	80	1.84	Engineers and technical managers	0.23
Instituteur et assimilé	104	2.39	Elementary school teachers and related	0.17
Profession intermédiaire de la santé, travailleurs sociaux	147	3.38	Social and healthcare workers	0.12
Clergé, religieux	1	0.02	Clergy not included	.
Profession intermédiaire administrative de la fonction publique	40	0.94	Civil service middle managers	0.04
Profession intermédiaire administrative et commerciale d'entreprise	173	3.97	Middle managers in sales and administration	0.04
Technicien	82	1.90	Technicians	0.02
Contremaitre, agent de maitrise	114	2.61	Foremen and labor supervisors	-0.08
Employé civil et agent de service de la	253	5.80	Civil service workers	-0.08
Policier et militaire	67	1.54	Police and military	-0.10
Employé administratif entreprise	167	3.83	Office workers	0.00
Employé de commerce	180	4.12	Shop assistant	-0.07
Personnel des services directs aux particuliers	341	7.80	Household helpers	-0.15
Ouvrier qualifié de type industriel	177	4.07	Qualified factory worker	-0.21
Ouvrier qualifié de type artisanal	251	5.75	Qualified tradesmen	-0.21

Chauffeurs	85	1.97	Drivers	-0.22
Ouvrier qualifié de la manutention	40	0.93	Qualified transport, warehousing and maintenance workers	-0.20
Ouvrier non qualifié de type industriel	125	2.88	Unskilled factory workers	-0.26
Ouvrier non qualifié de type artisanal	111	2.56	Unskilled tradesmen	-0.31
Ouvrier agricole	47	1.09	Farm workers	-0.25
Ancien agriculteur exploitant	62	1.44	Farmers – retired	-0.04
Ancien artisan, commerçant, chef d'entreprise	94	2.16	Tradesmen – retired	-0.06
Ancien cadre	178	4.08	Managers – retired	0.22
Ancien profession intermédiaire	173	3.97	Middle managers – retired	0.04
Ancien employé	316	7.25	Office workers – retired	0.00
Ancien ouvrier	372	8.51	Factory workers – retired	-0.21
Sub-total (active in the labor force + retired respondents)	4,369			
Other respondents not active in the labor force	634			0
Total	5,004			

In the United States, the occupational groupings used by Alderson et al. do not perfectly match occupational recodes found in the SPPA 2002 (variable *PRDTOCC1*). Therefore, I built a crosswalk from SPPA categories to Census categories (available upon request). I had to delete 615 observations (3.6% of the sample) for which I could not find any equivalent category in Alderson et al.'s status scale: 68 "officials and administrators in the public administration;" 523 "other professional specialty occupations;" 24 "computer equipment operators." Table D-2 presents the crosswalk.

Table D-2. Crosswalk and status scale in the United States

SPPA occupational recode	**N**	**%**	**Alderson et al. Occupational recode**	**Status score**
Officials & administrators, pub. admin.	68	0.57	Deleted	.
Other executive, admin. & managerial & Management related occupations	1,722	14.35	Top executives	0.3012
Engineers	166	1.39	Engineers	0.3148
Mathematical and computer scientists	156	1.30	Computer specialists	0.3393
Natural scientists	48	0.41	Life scientists	0.483
Health diagnosing occupations.	76	0.63	Health diagnosing and treating	0.2944

			practitioners	
Health assessment and treatment occupations.	253	2.11	Health diagnosing and treating practitioners	0.2944
Teachers, college and university	105	0.88	Postsecondary teachers	0.558
Teachers, except college and university	524	4.37	Primary, secondary, and special education teachers	0.3949
Lawyers and judges	82	0.69	Lawyers, judges and related workers	0.5557
Other professional specialty occupations.	523	4.36	Deleted	.
Health technologists and technicians	142	1.19	Other healthcare practitioners and technical occupations	0.2781
Engineering and science technicians	129	1.07	Life, physical, and social science technicians	0.0486
Technicians, excluding health, engineering. & science	130	1.09	Life, physical, and social science technicians	0.0486
Supervisors and proprietors, sales occupations (excluding retail)	433	3.61	Advertising, marketing, promotions, public relations, and sales managers	0.3644
Sales reps, finance and business serv.	260	2.17	Sales representatives, services	0.25
Sales reps, commodities, excluding retail	146	1.22	Sales representatives, wholesale and manufacturing	0.2221
Sales workers, retail & personal services	586	4.88	Retail sales workers	-0.1704
Sales related occupations	9	0.08	Other sales and related workers	0.1872
Supervisors, administrative support	81	0.68	Supervisors, office and administrative support workers	0.0844
Computer equipment operators	24	0.20	Deleted	.
Secretaries, stenographers, and typists	30	2.57	Secretaries and administrative assistants	-0.006
Financial records processing	16	1.38	Financial clerks	-0.0767
Mail and message distributing	86	0.72	Other office and administrative support workers	-0.0612
Other admin. support, including clerical	93	7.80	Other office and administrative support workers	-0.0578
Private household service occupations	63	0.53	Other personal care and service workers	-0.1783
Protective service	255	2.13	Other protective service workers	-0.1276
Food service	562	4.69	Retail sales workers	-0.1704
Health service	232	1.94	Other healthcare support occupations	-0.1191
Cleaning and building service	263	2.19	Supervisors, building and ground cleaning and maintenance workers	-0.1434
Personal service	290	2.42	Other personal care and service workers	-0.1783
Mechanics and repairers	412	3.43	Other installation, maintenance, and repair occupations	-0.1791
Construction trades	504	4.20	Other construction and related workers	-0.1497

Other precision production, craft, & repair	364	3.04	Other installation, maintenance, and repair occupations	-0.1791
Machine operators and tenders, excluding precision	374	3.12	Other production occupation	-0.3588
Fabricators, assemblers, inspectors	217	1.82	Supervisors, production workers	-0.1783
Motor vehicle operators	377	3.14	Motor vehicle operators	-0.2924
Other transp. & material moving occupations	124	1.04	Material moving workers	-0.4050
Construction laborers	84	0.70	Other construction and related workers	-0.1497
Freight, stock & materials handlers	184	1.54	Material recording, scheduling, dispatching, and distributing workers	-0.2001
Other handlers, equipment cleaners, helpers	188	1.57	Material moving workers	-0.4050
Farm operators and managers	106	0.89	Supervisors, farming, fishing, and forestry workers	-0.1735
Farm workers and related occupations	209	1.75	Supervisors, farming, fishing, and forestry workers	-0.1735
Forestry and fishing occupations	13	0.11	Fishing and hunting workers	-0.1704
Armed forces	2	0.02	Armed forces (excluded from the analysis)	.
Total number of respondents active in the labor force	12,005			
Respondents not in the labor force	5,130		Not in the labor force	-0.1890
Total number of respondents	17,135			

For the second American data set under consideration, GSS 1993, which is of less importance in the analysis, too many observations would have been lost had I used Alderson et al.'s status scale. But there is a variable on occupational prestige (*PRESTG80*). Drawing on Chan's (2010: 22) results about the comparability of his status scales and Treiman's SIOPS, I simply added the variable on occupational prestige as a control in my models.

Appendix E. Construction of the "fine arts" scale

In the SPPA (2002), several questions have the following form: "With the exception of elementary, middle, or high school performances, did you go to ___ during the last 12 months?" This question was asked for classical music, opera, non-musical stage play, live ballet, and contemporary dance. A question on museum followed: "During the last twelve months, did you visit an art museum or gallery?" In the same section of the SPPA, there is a question on reading: "With the exception of books required for work or school, did you read any books in the last twelve months?" All the questions are dichotomous. I generated a unique variable including the two questions on dance (ballet and contemporary dance) to make it as similar as possible to the equivalent question in the French survey.

In the EPCF (2008), a list of activities was presented to the respondent with the question "Which of the following activities did you do in the last twelve months?" ("Parmi la liste d'activités suivantes, quelles sont celles qu'il vous est arrivé de faire au cours des douze derniers mois?"). The following activities were included in the list: a classical music performance ("concert de musique classique"), a live opera or operetta performance ("un spectacle d'opéra ou d'opérette"), a classical, modern or contemporary dance performance ("un spectacle de danse classique, moderne ou contemporaine"), visit to a museum ("visiter un musée"). All the questions are dichotomous. Earlier in the survey, a question on reading was asked: "In the last twelve months, how many books approximately have you read, including vacation readings? Books required for work and books for children are excluded" ("Au cours des douze derniers mois, combien de livres avez-vous lu environ, en tenant compte de vos lectures de vacances? On exclut les lectures professionnelles et les livres lus aux enfants"). I recoded this question (did not read any book in the past twelve months/read one book or more) to make it similar to the corresponding question in the SPPA.

In the GSS (1993), a list of activities was proposed to the respondents with the following question: “Next I'd like to ask about some leisure or recreational activities that people do during their free time. As I read each activity, can you tell me if it is something you have done in the past twelve months? Did you go to ___, not including school performances within the past twelve months?” In the list, three relevant fine arts items were found: live ballet or dance performance, classical music or opera, visit to an art museum or gallery.

Endnotes

[1] Throughout the paper, I use "popular" instead of "lowbrow," often used in the literature, to describe the non-highbrow musical genres. The adjective "popular" is indeed broader than "lowbrow" (it includes middlebrow musical genres) and responds more directly to Bourdieu's categories of musical legitimacy.

[2] It is unclear if Bourdieu himself thought that the specifics of his analysis in *Distinction* were limited to the French case (Bourdieu, Sapiro, and McHale 1991). Here, my argument on distinction only regards France.

[3] It should be noted here that I rely on the original definition of omnivorouness. This definition pays attention to the composition of musical attitudes (highbrow and popular) and not only to the volume of musical tastes (total number of genres liked, be they highbrow or popular). The definition based on volume has been increasingly used in the literature on omnivorousness, but the compositional approach is in fact a more fine-grained critique of Bourdieu's distinction (Warde, Wright, and Gayo-Cal 2007 but see Peterson and Rossman 2008 for an elaboration on the two definitions).

[4] There is one serious problem with the 2002 SPPA's data on musical tastes: 3.38% of the respondents stated that they like all the music types (21) they were asked about, which breaks from the otherwise smooth distribution of the number of genres liked. This anomaly is probably due to respondent's fatigue. I ran all my models excluding the "yes to all" respondents and found comparable results (Appendix B). Thanks to an anonymous reviewer for pointing out this important issue.

[5] I disregard "country" and "blues," found in both surveys, because these musical genres are liked by less than 0.5% of the French population: the absolute numbers are too small to get any robust finding for France.

[6] Because of this analytical strategy, I could not use the SPPA 2008, where reggae, dance/electronica, and heavy metal disappeared from the list of musical genres proposed. Only five musical genres with equivalents in the French questionnaire remained: classical music, opera, jazz, rap, and rock. I considered that this list was too limited to replicate the analyses presented in this paper and that the gap between the two surveys I use (six years) was small enough to get comparable findings. However, consistent results were found when the models were run on all the musical genres presented in the SPPA 2008 (available upon request).

[7] The French status scale developed by Coulangeon and Lemel are based on the "professions et catégories socio-professionnelles" (PCS) which could be found in PC 2008. In contrast, the occupational groupings used by Alderson et al. are based on the 2000 U.S. Census and do not perfectly match occupational recodes found in the SPPA 2002 (variable *PRDTOCC1*: a mix of occupational and industry groupings). Therefore, I constructed a crosswalk from SPPA categories to Census categories and I had to delete 615 observations (Appendix D).

[8] With the decision to include highbrow tastes and participations in the arts as independent variables, an issue of collinearity could emerge. However, I have theoretically justified above why tastes and practices do in fact measure different things. Additionally, a look at the Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) has given satisfactory results. The tolerance (1/VIF) for highbrow tastes and fine arts activities are respectively of 0.79 and 0.8 for the U.S., 0.78 and 0.66 for France, meaning that collinearity is low for the variables in the models in the two countries.

[9] I use the date of birth instead of age for two reasons. First, there is a gap of six years between the administrations of the two surveys (2002-2008). This obviously makes the date of birth of more relevant marker than age (otherwise I would compare different cohorts). Second, I argue below that cohort belonging is more relevant to explain musical tastes than age. I justify the date of 1947 in section 5. I also introduce the dichotomous variables "Born before 1947" and "Higher education" as controls in the models in order to make sure that the effect of the interaction term is not due only to the dummies.

[10] Highbrow tastes and participation in the arts are both used as independent variables. The tolerance (1/VIF) for highbrow tastes and fine arts activities is respectively 0.43 and 0.72, meaning that collinearity is low for the two models.