

Who is „high” and who is „low” in musical tastes? Stratification inside cultural „repertoires”

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Introduction

It is broadly accepted that **distinction into the ‘highbrow-lowbrow’ culture dimension and omnivorism are indeed compatible** (Tambubolon 2008; Lizardo & Skiles 2012). The same applies to the cosmopolitan lifestyle that is overrepresented among representatives of the upper-middle class. According to a number of studies class **inequalities in cultural consumption remain profound but they have changed their form** (Bennett et al. 2005; Prieur et al. 2008; Prieur & Savage 2013). They divert in important aspects from classical distinction between highbrow culture and popular culture in that it is more wide ranging and discerning in cultural practices.

It is less clear **to what extent the diversity between cultural fields extends to effect of the parent’s class and educational resources on cultural capital that are considered as key factors in shaping cultural activity** (Ganzeboom 1989; Ganzeboom & De Graaf 1991; Van Eijck 1996; De Haan & Knulst 2000; Nagel & Ganzeboom 2002; De Vries 2006). Generally, it shows that differences in cultural participation between the higher and lower educated have to be partly attributed to differences in the family of origin (De Graaf 1988; Aschaffenburg & Maas 1997; De Graaf et al. 2000; De Graaf & De Graaf 2002). According to some findings, impact of the latter on musical tastes appeared to be even stronger than effect of education itself (Yaish & Katz-Gero 2010; Katz-Gero et al. 2007; Nagel 2012).

Introduction

We will examine to what extent the ‘generative schemas’ of the cultural capital defined in these terms apply across different fields of consumption so as to produce a unified set of dispositions. In doing so we focus on musical tastes regarded as the most powerful area of the class culture.

The questions to be are the following: (1) Are there signs that effects of social origin, education, and class position on musical tastes adhere to the idea of homology of cultural activity and social space (2) Are there signs that a rampant variety of musical tastes has rendered the idea of a strong structuring of cultural consumption obsolete?

In order to determine these questions we distinguish between: (i) classical music, (ii) rock, considered as a new value attributed to cosmopolitanism, and (iii) disco polo music that is representative for popular culture.

Introduction

Our hypothesis is as follows:

Given rising diversity of musical genres, the structure of the space of musical preferences is not homologous to that of the space of social positions. We predict that distribution of musical tastes **is not systematically structured along class lines**. It displays **in various effects** of social origin, respondent's class, and educational level on preferences for classical music, rock, and disco polo.

Methodology

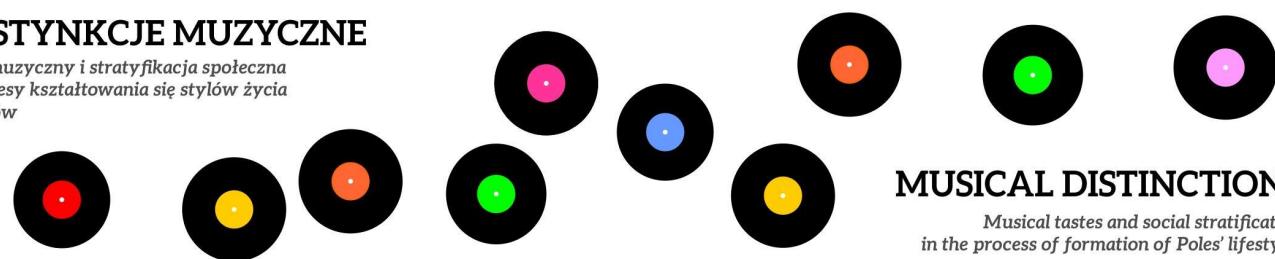
The presentation is based on the results of quantitative research (nationwide random sample) carried out as a part of the research project “*Musical distinctions. Musical tastes and social stratification in the process of formation of Poles' lifestyles*”.

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DYSTYNKCJE MUZYCZNE

Gust muzyczny i stratyfikacja społeczna
a procesy kształtowania się stylów życia
Polaków



MUSICAL DISTINCTIONS

*Musical tastes and social stratification
in the process of formation of Poles' lifestyles*

Methodology

- The research was pursued from February to June 2019 by the consortium of DANAЕ/REALIZACJA
- Nation-wide probabilistic sample of population aged 15+
- 2007 interviews were completed
- Overall response rate: 50.4% (calculated according ESS standards)

Methodology - musical taste indicators

- **Enjoying classical music**
 - The indicator is based on the following criteria:
 - Respondent indicates classical music in open-ended question.
 - Respondent indicates, they like (or like very much) 26,6% classical music (closed-ended question).
 - Respondent indicates, they like (or like very much) the music of Bach, Mozart and Wagner.
 - Respondent indicates, they like (or like very much) the music of Boulez, Bach, Beethoven, Puccini, Tchaikovsky (listening of fragments of selected music pieces).
 - Next we sum up how many of the criteria the respondent fulfills. Index may take the values from 0 to 10.
 - Cronbach's Alpha=0,88.

Methodology - musical taste indicators

- **Enjoying disco polo music***

- The indicator is based on the following criteria:
 - Respondent indicates disco polo music in open-ended question .
 - Respondent indicates they like (or like very much) disco polo music (closed-ended question).
 - Respondent indicates they like (or like very much) the music of Bayer Full and Sławomir.
 - Respondent indicates they like (or like very much) the piece „Ona tańczy dla mnie” („She dances for me” by Weekend)
- Next we sum up how many of the criteria the respondent fulfills. Index may take the values from 0 to 5.
- Cronbach's Alpha=0,745.

* Disco polo is form of electronic folk music, created in Poland in the late 1980s, characterized by simple music based on several chords and banal lyrics. Its counterparts are eg. the Portuguese Pimba and Serbian Turbo-folk.

Methodology - musical taste indicators

- **Enjoying rock music**
 - The indicator is based on the following criteria:
 - Respondent indicates they like (or like very much) the music of Metallica, Led Zeppelin, U2, Nirvana.
 - Respondent indicates they like (or like very much) the piece of Pink Floyd.
 - Next we sum up how many of the criteria the respondent fulfills. Index may take the values from 0 to 5.
 - Cronbach's Alpha=0,775
- **Three indicators (classical music, rock, disco polo) were rescaled to 0-10 scale.**

Independent variables

- Respondent's class position, Parents' class position (6 categories of EGP class scheme)
- Respondent's education (1. primary education, 2. Incomplete secondary or basic vocational education, 3. Secondary education, 4. Incomplete higher education/bachelor degree, 5. Higher education)
- Number of records in the house of respondent's family of origin
- Parents' musical preferences (Father/mother liked classical music, rock, schlager/disco polo music)
- If respondent learnt to play an instrument apart from the school
- Sex, age, place of residence

Means (0-10 scale)

Respondent's class position (EGP)	Classical music	Rock	Disco polo
Professionals and managers	4,6	4,0	2,2
Routine non-manual	3,1	3,1	3,8
Petty bourgeoisie	3,5	4,3	4,3
Skilled manual	2,3	2,9	4,8
Non-skilled manual	1,8	2,3	5,1
Farmers	1,6	1,4	5,4
Eta-square	9,1%	5,8%	6,9%

Coefficient of multiple correlation (R^2) and partial R^2 coefficient

Independent variables	Classical music	Rock	Disco polo
R^2 (all variables)	36,9%	32,6%	27,1%
Partial R^2 's:			
Sex	0,6%	1,6%	0,8%
Age	5,5%	8,4%	2,9%
Place of residence	0,8%	0,6%	1,5%
Parents' class position (EGP)	0,9%	1,2%	2,1%
Father	0,6%	0,1%	0,4%
Mother	0,3%	1,0%	1,6%
Parents' musical preferences	12,2%	2,0%	6,4%
Father	2,5%	0,9%	2,0%
Mother	4,4%	0,1%	1,0%
Number of records in the house of respondent's family of origin	0,6%	1,3%	0,4%
If learnt to play an instrument apart from the school	4,5%	2,0%	0,3%
Respondent's level of education	4,2%	3,4%	4,1%
Respondent's class position (EGP)	1,3%	2,3%	1,4%

OLS parameters

Independent variables	Classical music	Rock	Disco polo
Constant	-0,825**	2,418**	4,561**
Sex	0,398**	-0,832**	0,593**
Age (reference category: up to 34 yrs old)			
35-44	0,71**	0,521*	0,024
45-54	1,368**	-0,285	0,136
55-64	1,754**	-1,046**	0,140
65-67	1,652**	-1,743**	-0,059
75 or more	1,800**	-2,280**	-1,860**
Place of residence (reference category: village)			
Town up to 19 999	0,183	0,334	-0,428
Town from 20 000 to 99 999	-0,063	0,498*	-0,754**
Town from 100 000 to 499 999	0,347	0,557*	-1,055**
Town from 500 000	0,668**	0,743**	-0,997**

OLS parameters

Independent variables	Classical music	Rock	Disco polo
Father's class position (reference category: farmers)			
Professionals and managers	0,016	-0,192	-0,400
Routine non-manual	-0,429	0,326	-0,027
Petty bourgeoisie	0,250	0,169	-0,245
Skilled manual	-0,398*	-0,146	-0,136
Non-skilled manual	-0,401	0,027	0,345
Mother's class position (reference category: farmers)			
Professionals	-0,036	1,598**	-0,717
Routine non-manual	0,104	0,284	-0,374
Petty bourgeoisie	0,493	0,687	-0,562
Skilled manual	0,210	0,685**	-0,396
Non-skilled manual	0,426	0,228	1,245**

OLS parameters

Independent variables	Classical music	Rock	Disco polo
Father liked classical music	1,435**	0,057	-0,014
Mother liked classical music	1,647**	0,177	-0,244
Father liked rock music	-0,213	0,832**	-0,272
Mother liked rock music	0,388	0,378	-0,153
Father liked schlager\disco polo music	-0,170	-0,112	1,107**
Mother liked schlager\disco polo music	0,091	-0,079	0,729**
Number of records in the house of respondent's family of origin	0,006**	0,01**	-0,003
If learnt to play an instrument apart from the school	1,464**	0,763**	-0,352

OLS parameters

Independent variables	Classical music	Rock	Disco polo
Education (reference category: primary education)			
Incomplete secondary or basic vocational education	0,452	-0,252	0,135
Secondary education	1,031**	0,723*	-0,915**
Incomplete higher education / bachelor degree	1,592**	1,145**	-1,733**
Higher education	2,105**	1,205**	-2,13**
Respondent's class position (reference category: farmers)			
Professionals and managers	0,686*	-0,370	-0,491
Routine non-manual	0,242	-0,255	0,285
Petty bourgeoisie	0,816**	0,797*	0,273
Skilled manual	0,490*	0,338	0,270
Non-skilled manual	0,024	-0,247	0,383
R ²	0,369	0,326	0,271
Adjusted R ²	0,354	0,310	0,253

Conclusions

- This analysis has shown that the structure of the space of musical tastes in Poland **is not systematically homologous** to that of the space of social positions.
- More specifically, we have shown that the homologous model works quite well in case preferences for **classical music**, and preferences for **rock** in that these follow the lines of the **highbrow-lowbrow** division.
- According to expectations, preferences for **disco-polo** (referred mostly to popular, 'vulgar', primordial, or simple tastes), are shaped other way round - in that these are **less liked among upper middle class** (new intelligentsia) and are **liked mostly by 'lower classes'**.
- It turns us to more general issue of '**redefinition**' of **the prestigious art forms**. Our findings suggest that rock is one of musical genres that were upgraded to the dominant culture supplementing in this role classical music. Indeed, this might be attributable to the national Polish circumstances.