

Grundlagen von Diversität: Soziale Position,
Bildung, Geschmack und ästhetisches Urteil

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Tagung
Die Künste in der Bildung
in/out. Über ästhetische Urteile und ihre Bezugssysteme

I. THEORIE DER MASSENKULTUR

KRITIK VON MIDCULT, MIDDLE-BROW TASTE UND KITSCH

Dwight MacDonald

Clement Greenberg

Virginia Woolf

Kunst, Massenkultur, Kitsch für die „Elite“ sowie die Massen

Einige Beispiele für Kitsch und „midcult“ bei Clement Greenberg (1939) und Dwight Macdonald (1953)



Sandro Botticelli (1445-1510), La nascita di Venere (Die Geburt der Venus), ca. 1485/86



Raffael (1483.1529), Triumph der Galatea, Fresko in der Villa des Agostino Chigi (später Villa Farnesina), Rom, ca. 1513



Илья́ Ефи́мович Ре́пин (1844 - 1930), Запорожцы пишут письмо турецкому султану, 1891

Ilja Jefimowitsch Repin (1844 – 1930), Die Saporoger Kosaken schreiben dem türkischen Sultan einen Brief, 1891



Norman Rockwell (1894 - 1978), After the Prom, 1957

Cultural Divide: Theory of Mass Culture, Dwight Macdonald (1953)

“For about a century, Western culture has really been two cultures:

- the traditional kind - let us call it ‘High Culture’ - that is chronicled in the textbooks, and
- a ‘Mass Culture’ manufactured wholesale for the market.(...).“ (S. 1)

Popular Culture vs. Mass Culture, Macdonald (1953)

“Mass Culture has also developed new media of its own, into which the serious artist rarely ventures: radio, the movies, comic books, detective stories, science-fiction, television.

It is sometimes called ‘Popular Culture’.

But I think ‘Mass Culture’ is a more accurate term, since its distinctive mark is that it is solely and directly an article for mass consumption, like chewing gum. “ (S. 1)

Kitsch, a cancerous growth on High Culture

„It is true that Mass Culture began as, and to some extent still is, a parasitic, a cancerous growth on High Culture.

Kitsch ‘mines’ High Culture the way improvident frontiersmen mine the soil, extracting its riches and putting nothing back. Also, as kitsch develops, it begins to draw on its own past, and some of it evolves so far away from High Culture as to appear quite disconnected from it.“ (S. 2)

Clement Greenberg (1909 – 1994)
Avantgarde und Kitsch, 1997 [1939], S. 41ff.

„Kitsch gibt vor, von seinen Käufern nichts zu verlangen außer ihrem Geld - nicht einmal ihre Zeit.

Die unabdingbare Voraussetzung, ohne die Kitsch nicht möglich wäre, ist die einfache Verfügbarkeit einer vollständig ausgereiften kulturellen Tradition, deren Entdeckungen, Errungenschaften und hochentwickeltes Selbstbewußtsein der Kitsch für seine eigenen Zwecke nutzen kann.

Aus ihr entleiht er sich Mittel, Tricks, Strategien, Daumenregeln, Themen, wandelt sie um zu einem System und verwirft den Rest.“

Clement Greenberg (1909 – 1994)
Avantgarde und Kitsch, 1997 [1939], S. 41-47

„Er saugt sozusagen sein Lebensblut aus diesem Reservoir von angesammelter Erfahrung. Das ist es, was man wirklich meint, wenn man sagt, die populäre Kunst und Literatur von heute sei einst die kühne, esoterische Kunst und Literatur von gestern gewesen.

Natürlich ist nichts dergleichen wahr. Gemeint ist, daß das Neue, sobald genügend Zeit verstrichen ist, ausgeplündert wird auf der Suche nach neuen »Drehs«, welche dann verwässert und als Kitsch aufserviert werden.“

Destruction of High Culture as paradoxical effect

„The upper classes, who begin by using it to make money from the crude tastes of the masses and to dominate them politically, end by finding their own culture attacked and even threatened with destruction by the instrument they have thoughtlessly employed.”

(Macdonald, 1953 S. 4f.)

„Lords of kitsch“ exploiting the masses and imposing a taste culture

„Mass Culture is imposed from above.

It is fabricated by technicians hired by businessmen; its audiences are passive consumers, their participation limited to the choice between buying and not buying.

The Lords of kitsch, in short, exploit the cultural needs of the masses in order to make a profit and/or to maintain their class rule - in Communist countries, only the second purpose obtains.“ (S. 2)

Blurring boundaries between high and low culture

„If there were a clearly defined cultural elite, then the masses could have their kitsch and the elite could have its HighCulture, with everybody happy. But the boundary is blurred.

A statistically significant part of the population (...) is chronically confronted with a choice between going to the movies or to a concert, between reading Tolstoy or a detective story, between looking at old masters or at a TV show; i.e., the pattern of their cultural lives is 'open' to the point of being porous.

Good art competes with kitsch, serious ideas compete with commercialised formulae - and the advantage lies all on one side.“ (S. 4)

The homogenized culture

„Like nineteenth-century capitalism, Mass Culture is a dynamic, revolutionary force, breaking down the old barriers of class, tradition, **taste**, and dissolving all cultural distinctions.

It mixes and scrambles everything together, producing what might be called homogenized culture (...). It thus destroys all values, since value-judgments imply discrimination. Mass Culture is very, very democratic: it absolutely refuses to discriminate against, or between, anything or anybody.“ (S. 5)

Examples out of literature, music, art ...

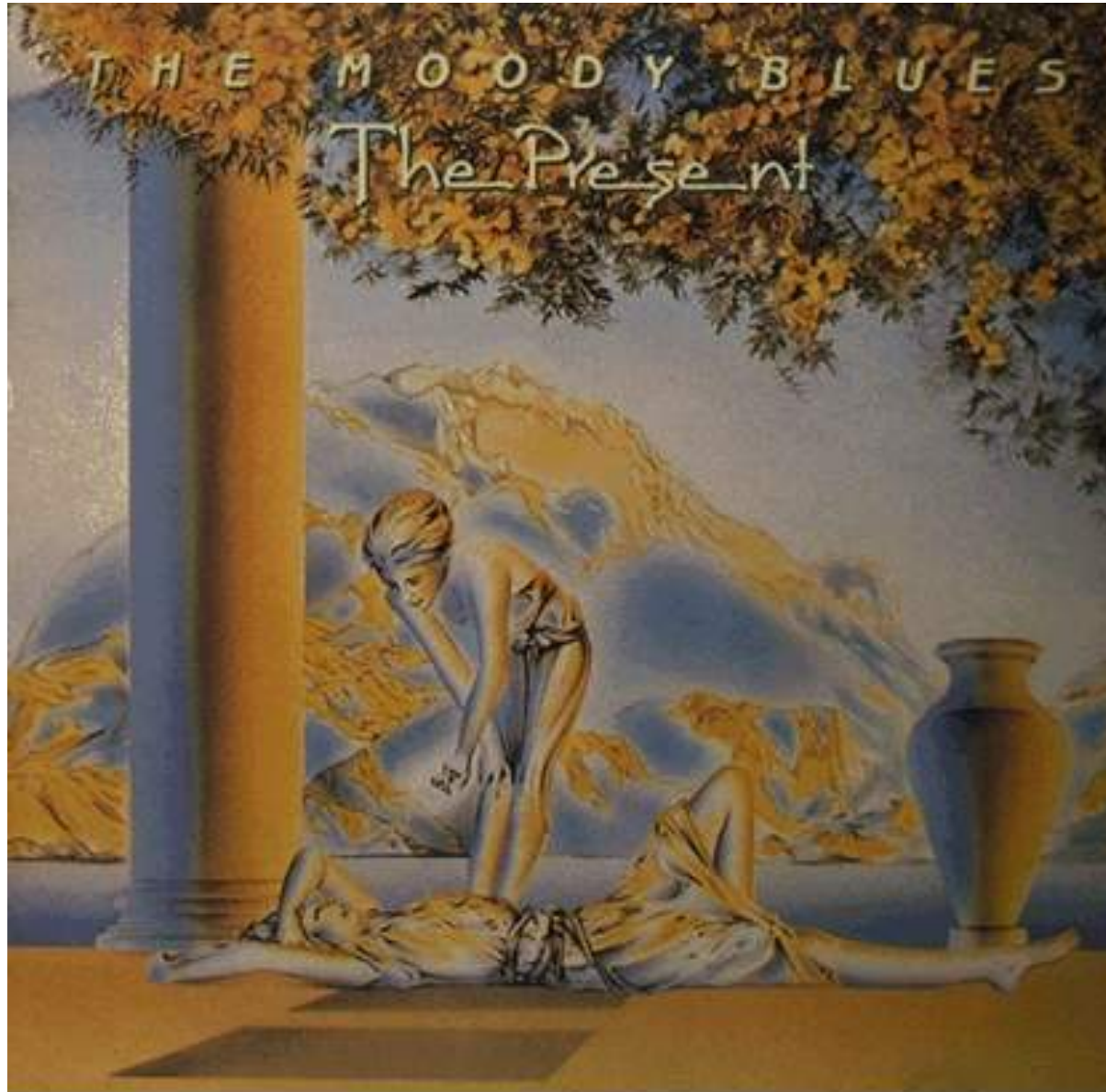
- Eddie Guest and the Indian Love Lyrics are more „poetic“ than T. S. Eliot and Shakespeare’
- “in music, from Offenbach to tin-pan alley” (S. 2)
- “in art, from the chromo to Maxfield Parrish and Norman Rockwell” (S. 2)
- “a pin-up girl smoothly airbrushed by Petty is more sexy than a real naked woman” (S. 4)



Maxfield Parrish (1878-1966), Day Break, 1922



Michael Jackson, Lisa Marie Presley, "You Are Not Alone", stills, music video by Wayne Isham, 1995



The Moody Blues, The Present, Studio Album, Cover, UK, 1983

George Petty (1894-1975)

Pin-Up, o. J.



Zigarettenwerbung 1939



Academic art - Kitsch for the elite

„Until about 1930, High Culture tried to defend itself against the encroachments of Mass Culture in two opposite ways: Academicism, or an attempt to compete by imitation; and Avantgardism, or a withdrawal from competition. (...)

Academicism is kitsch for the elite: spurious High Culture that is outwardly the real thing but actually as much a manufactured article as the cheaper cultural goods produced for the masses. (...)

Examples are painters like Bouguereau and Rosa Bonheur (...)“ (S. 6).



William-Adolphe Bouguereau (1825-1905), *La Naissance de Vénus* (1879)



Rosa Bonheur (1822 – 1899), *Marché aux chevaux (Pferdemarkt)*, 1855

Avantgardism as last barriere

„The significance of the Avantgarde movement (by which I mean poets like Rimbaud, novelists like Joyce, composers like Stravinsky, and painters like Picasso) is that it simply refused to compete.

Rejecting Academicism and thus, at a second remove, also Mass Culture it made a desperate attempt to fence off some area where the serious artist could still function.

The attempt was remarkably successful: to it we owe almost everything that is living in the art of the last fifty or so years. In fact, the High Culture of our times is pretty much identical with Avantgardism.“ (1953, S. 6)

Homogenization and overstimulation of children, infantilism of adults

„The homogenizing effects of kitsch also blurs age lines. We do know that comic books are by far the favourite reading-matter of our soldiers and sailors (...). We also know that movie Westerns and radio and TV programmes (...) are by no means enjoyed only by children.

This merging of the child and grown-up audience means

- (1) infantile regression of the latter, who, unable to cope with the strains and complexities of modern life, escape via kitsch (which in turn confirms and enhances their infantilism)
- (2) 'overstimulation' of the former, who grow up too fast.“ (S. 10).

Dark future

„Is there a reasonable prospect of raising the level of Mass Culture? Indeed, far from Mass Culture getting better, we will be lucky if it doesn't get worse. (...)

Since Mass Culture is not an art form but a manufactured commodity, it tends always downwards, towards cheapness and so standardisation of production. (...)

The only time Mass Culture is good is at the very beginning, before the 'formula' has hardened, before the money-boys and efficiency experts and audience-reaction analysts have moved in.“ (1953, S. 17)

Middlebrow - The Battle of The Brows, Virginia Woolfe (1942)

„But what, you may ask, is a middlebrow? (...) They are neither one thing nor the other. (...) Their brows are betwixt and between. (...)

The middlebrow is the man, or woman, (...) in pursuit of no single object, neither art itself nor life itself, but both mixed indistinguishably, and rather nastily, with money, fame, power, or prestige. (...)

And his book comes. And I read a page here, and I read a page there. (...) And it is not well written; nor is it badly written. It is not proper, nor is it improper — in short it is betwixt and between.“

Middlebrow - The Battle of The Brows, Virginia Woolfe (1942)

„The true battle in my opinion lies not between highbrow and lowbrow, but between highbrows and lowbrows joined together in blood brotherhood against the bloodless and pernicious pest who comes between.“ (...)

If any human being, man, woman, dog, cat or half-crushed worm dares call me “middlebrow” I will take my pen and stab him, dead. Yours etc.,

Virginia Woolf.“

Highbrow, Lowbrow, Middlebrow, Russell Lynes (1949)

In Form eines als Satire auf Virginia Woolf und Greenberg angelegten Essays widmet sich Lynes in Harper's Magazine, Geschmack und Lebensstil der „highbrows“, „middlebrows“ und „lowbrows“, anknüpfend an VanWyck Brooks.

Lynes erweiterte die trichotome Unterscheidung von Kulturen durch Abgrenzung von „niedrigen“ und „hohen middlebrows“. Diese Gruppen – im wesentlichen Bourgeois und Kleinbürger – bzw. deren Geschmack werden von Lynes gegen die Attacken von Woolfe und der Massenkulturtheoretiker verteidigt.

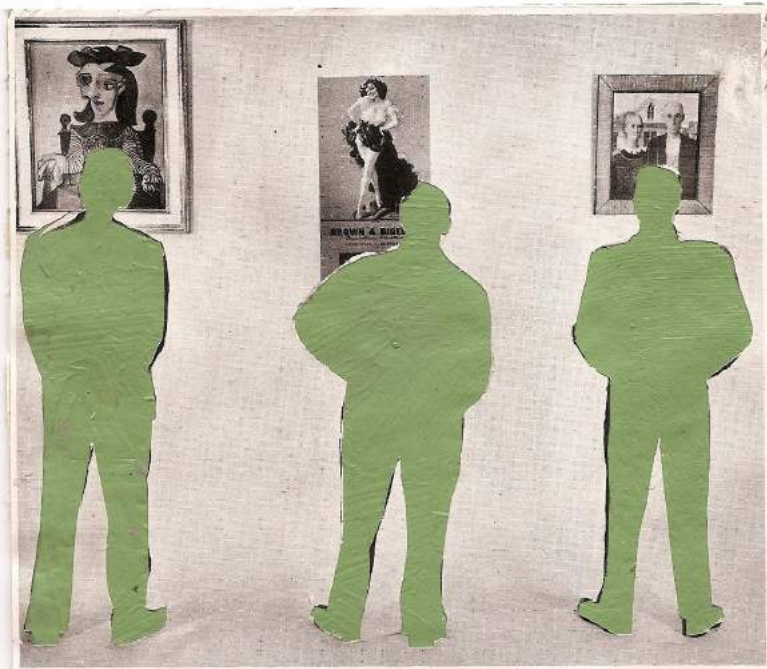
Masscult and midcult, Macdonald (1965)

Für den „middlebrow“ Geschmack bzw. dessen Kultur prägte Macdonald in seinem meistzitierten Essay den Begriff „midcult“.

Dabei handelte es sich um eine Verallgemeinerung des Kitschbegriffes, zeichnet sich „midcult“ doch Macdonald zufolge durch folgendes Merkmal aus:

"it pretends to respect the standards of high culture while in fact it waters them down and vulgarizes them." (1965, S. 37).

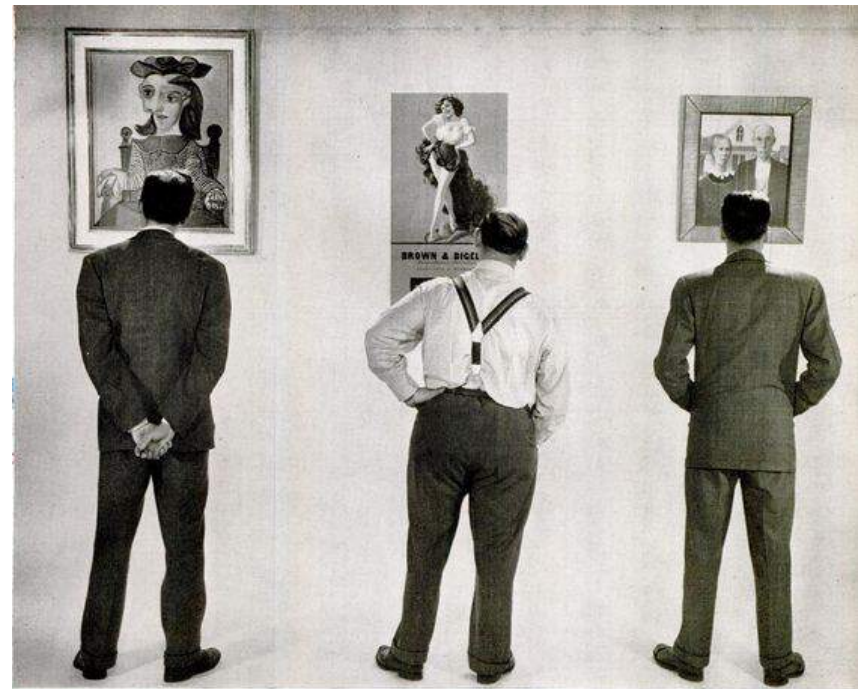
Russell Lynes



In 1949 Russell Lynes, editor of "Harper's Magazine," divided the nation into three intellectual categories: highbrow, lowbrow and middlebrow. "Life" magazine then posed three representatives of Lynes's thesis in char-

acteristic plumage and habitat (above). Each dressed in the clothes of his cultural station, a highbrow (left) contemplates a Picasso, a lowbrow looks at calendar art and a middlebrow studies a Grant Wood reproduction.

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IN CLOTHES CHARACTERISTIC OF THEIR CULTURAL STATIONS, A HIGH-BROW (LEFT), LOW-BROW AND MIDDLE-BROW (RIGHT) LOOK AT THE PICTURES THEY PREFER

HIGH-BROW, LOW-BROW, MIDDLE-BROW

Russell Lynes, "Highbrow, Lowbrow, Middlebrow," *Life*, 1949

EVERYDAY TASTES FROM HIGH-BROW TO

	CLOTHES	FURNITURE	USEFUL OBJECTS	ENTERTAINMENT	SALADS
HIGH-BROW 	 TOWN Fuzzy Harris tweed suit, no hat COUNTRY Fuzzy Harris tweed suit, no hat	 Eames chair, Kurt Verson lamp	 Decanter and ash tray from chemical supply company	 Ballet	 Greens, olive oil, wine vinegar, ground salt, ground pepper, garlic, unwashed salad bowl
UPPER MIDDLE-BROW 	 TOWN Brooks suit, regimental tie, felt hat COUNTRY Quiet tweed jacket, knitted tie	 Empire chair, converted sculpture lamp	 Silver cigarette box with wedding ushers' signatures	 Theater	 Same as high-brow but with tomatoes, avocado, Roquefort cheese added
LOWER MIDDLE-BROW 	 TOWN Splashy necktie, double-breasted suit COUNTRY Sport shirt, colored slacks	 Grand Rapids Chippendale chair, bridge lamp	 His and Hers towels	 Musical extravaganza films	 Quartered iceberg lettuce and store dressing
LOW-BROW 	 TOWN Loafer jacket, woven shoes COUNTRY Old Army clothes	 Mail order overstuffed chair, fringed lamp	 Balsam-stuffed pillow	 Western movies	 Coleslaw

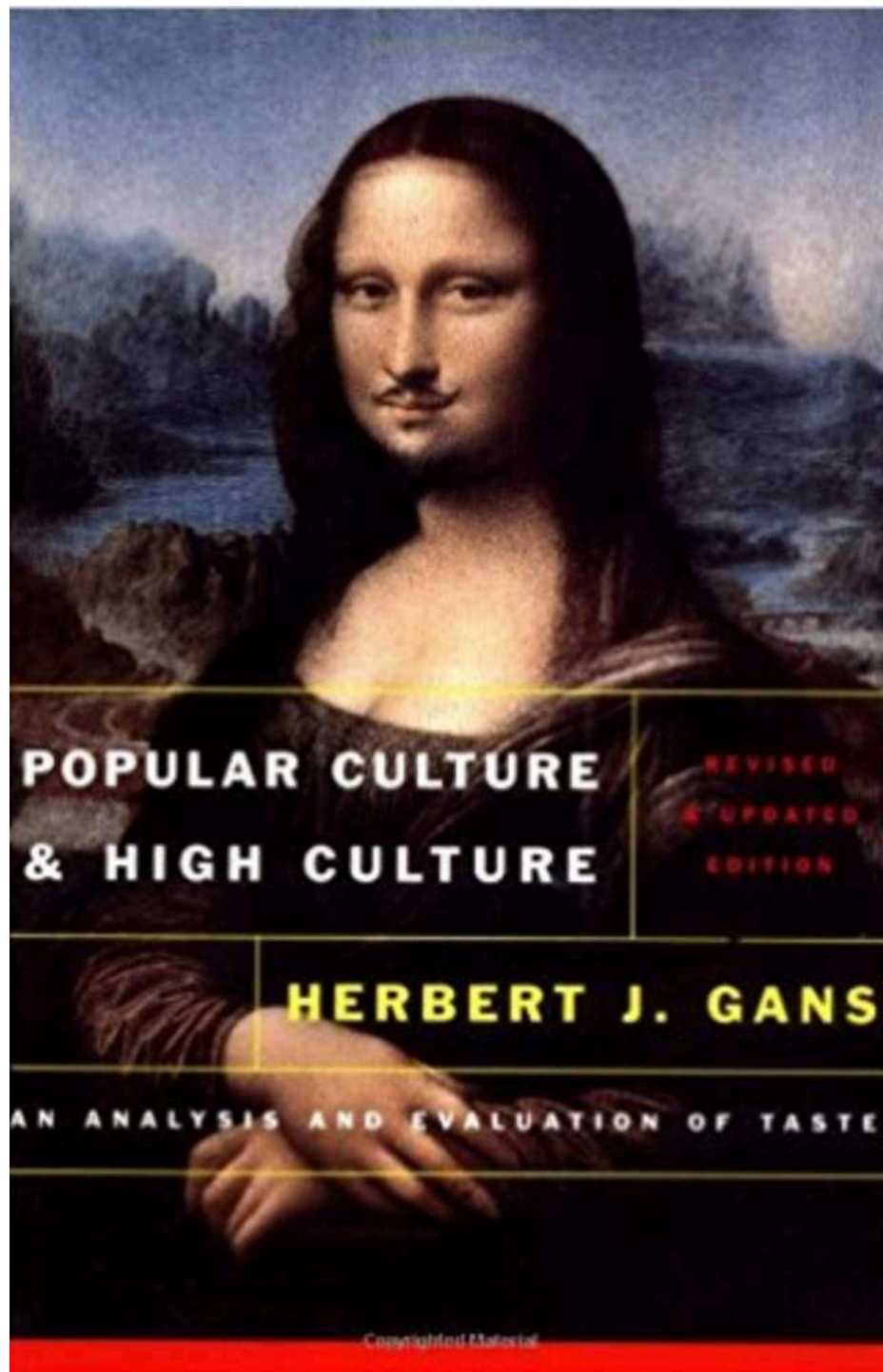
LOW-BROW ARE CLASSIFIED ON CHART

DRINKS	READING	SCULPTURE	RECORDS	GAMES	CAUSES
 A glass of "adequate little" red wine	 "Little magazines," criticism of criticism, avant garde literature	 Calder	 Bach and before, Ives and after	 Go	 Art
 A very dry Martini with lemon peel	 Solid nonfiction, the better novels, quality magazines	 Maillol	 Symphonies, concertos, operas	 The Game	 Planned parenthood
 Bourbon and ginger ale	 Book club selections, mass circulation magazines	 Front yard sculpture	 Light opera, popular favorites	 Bridge	 P. T. A.
 Beer	 Pulp, comic books	 Parlor sculpture	 Jukebox	 Craps	 The Lodge

Von Lynes zu Herbert J. Gans

Der 1949 im „Life“-magazine veröffentlichte Essay von Russell Lynes leitete ungeachtet seines satirischen und anti-intellektuellen Impetus die Problematisierung der kulturellen Homogenisierungstheorien der Massen- und Kulturindustrietheoretiker (Adorno, Horkheimer) ein und bereitet auch den Boden für eine Soziologie des Geschmacks und der Lebensstile, deren Hauptexponent zunächst der an der Columbia University tätige Soziologe Herbert J. Gans war.

II. IN DEFENSE OF ALL KINDS OF TASTE
CULTURES HERBERT J. GANS



Critique of Mass Culture Theory:
Herbert Gans 1974, new ed. 1999

Marcel Duchamp
Prise de position

***L.H.O.O.Q.*, 1919**

The name of the piece, *L.H.O.O.Q.*, is a pun; the letters pronounced in French sound like "*Elle a chaud au cul*"

Loose translation of *L.H.O.O.Q.* by Duchamp as "there is fire down below".

Postcard reproduction of *La Joconde* onto which Duchamp drew a moustache and beard in pencil and appended the title

A stroke of *épater le bourgeois*, against the bourgeois „Jocondisme“ of this time in Paris, the self image as patrons of the arts



Taste cultures and taste publics

Gans distinguishes between culture and the people who use or practice it, between

- taste cultures and
- taste publics.

Taste publics and cultures defined

Gans defines taste publics “as aggregates of people who make similar choices for similar reasons and therefore have roughly the same tastes and aesthetic standards.”

“Taste cultures” are “the array of arts, and forms of entertainment and information, as well as consumer goods available to the different taste publics.” Diversity is emphasized, which also implies the use of the notion of “subcultures” in contrast to the idea of a homogenized culture.

Tastes and choices are related

According to Gans the people's choices in

fiction and nonfiction books,
films,
music,
dance,
art, as well as

in television programs,
cars,
sports,
hobbies,

and so forth are related because both their choices and the cultural products they choose reflect and express the same tastes and aesthetic standards.

Reformulation of the typology of Lynes

The basic idea of Gans was to reformulate Russell Lynes' analysis.

Lynes took over the brow-level terms of VanWyck Brooks to describe creators and consumers of culture, and assumed them to exist "in a sort of stratification," albeit one that was replacing taste-strata based on wealth and education.

Lynes also cast an ironic eye at all four brow levels, and aligned himself with none.

Unlike Lynes, Gans assumed that culture is directly related to

- wealth and
- education,

and therefore related his categories, *sans* his value judgments, to ideas about class strata and symbolic behavior.

Five taste publics and cultures

He updated the Warnerian social stratification scheme, and outlined five taste publics and cultures, which he called

- *high culture,*
- *upper-middle culture,*
- *lower- middle culture,*
- *low culture* and
- *quasi-folk low culture.*

Quasi-folk low culture

Quasi-folk low culture is describing the arts, music, literature, and so forth of people both too poor to be served by the commercial mass media, and – in the US – too much involved still with the folk cultures they had brought with them from overseas or the American Deep South.

An analysis and evaluation of taste

In “Popular Culture and High Culture” Gans describes these five “taste publics” and “taste cultures” stratified by class. The aesthetic values and cultural choices of these publics in various media and arts are represented.

However, as the subtitle points out - “an analysis and evaluation of taste” - , Gans was concerned not only with the analysis of taste but also with its evaluation.

Normative position taking: Cultural democracy

Gans criticized the advocates of high culture – mass culture theoreticians like Greenberg and McDonald –, who claimed that only its avantgardist aesthetic values were acceptable.

He argued for “cultural democracy” on the grounds that people’s aesthetic values and cultural choices reflected their level of education and socioeconomic position.

Until people had access to the income and schooling of the professional cultural elite, they could not even be asked to choose high culture.

Diversity of taste cultures

Moreover, also a differentiation in 3, 4 or 5 cultures seemed inadequate.

Gans subdivides each of the five taste cultures into conservative, progressive, and other factions (-> $5 \times 3 = 15$ taste cultures)

And furthermore he introduces also the

youth,
black, and
other “racial” and ethnic cultures

that came into being or into visibility since the 1960s, others might be added like LGBTQ

Cultural equality

The underlying assumption of this analysis is that all taste cultures are of equal worth.

This from the point of view of G. is the case because taste cultures reflect

- the class and particularly
- the educational attributes

of their publics. According to Gans low culture is as valid for poorly educated as high culture is for well-educated ones, even if the higher cultures are, in the abstract, better or more comprehensive than the lower cultures.

Gans position in a Prezi of Elizabeth Medhurst (2015)

"'Higher' taste requires some formal training' (Gans, 1999)



The analytical and normative principles of Gans regarding taste suggest two policy alternatives

- (1) "cultural mobility," which would provide everyone with the economic and educational prerequisites for choosing high culture
- (2) "subcultural programming," which encourages all taste cultures, high or low.

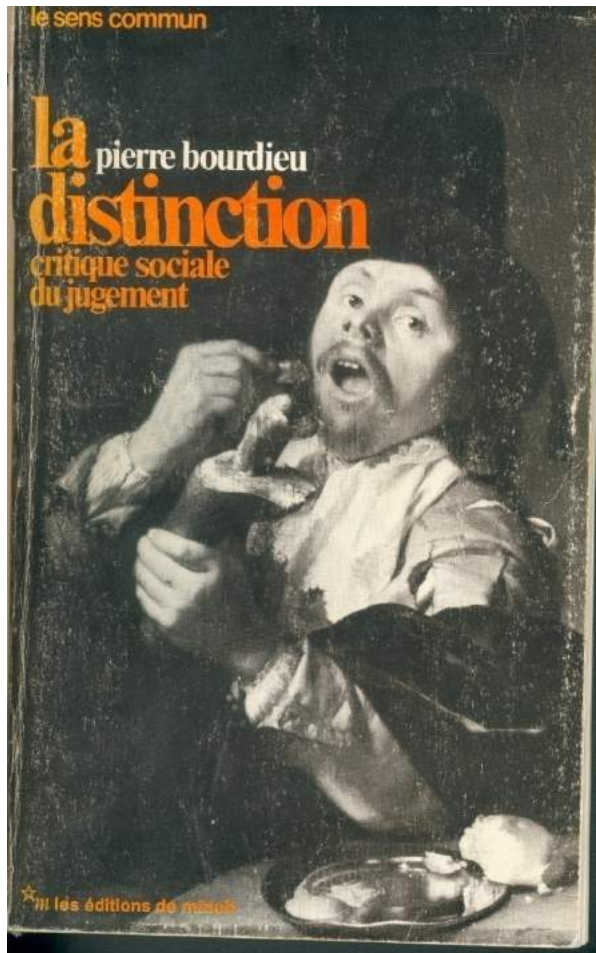
Gans being swamped by Bourdieu's Distinction

Looking back in the 1970ies and 1980ies 2009 Gans writes:

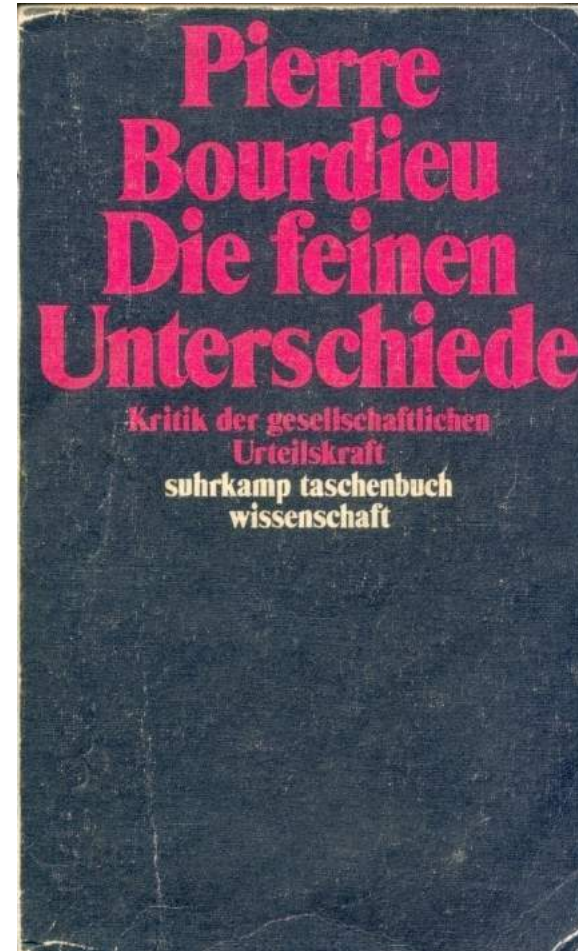
“A decade later, my book (first published in 1974) was literally swamped by Pierre Bourdieu's *Distinction* (1984), which came to roughly the same empirical conclusion but was based on a subtler and more wide-ranging analysis and ended up on the side of high culture.”

(Gans 2009: 13)

III. THE FIELD-CAPITAL-HABITUS SCIENCE OF TASTE: PIERRE BOURDIEU



Pierre Bourdieu, Paris 1979
Godfried Schalken
(1643-1706), Le Gourmet



Pierre Bourdieu, Frankfurt
1987

Bourdieu in a Prezi of Elizabeth Medhurst (2015)

'Taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier' - Pierre Bourdieu



'[...] the socially recognized hierarchy of the arts

[...] corresponds a social hierarchy of the consumers. This predisposes tastes to function as markers of "class". (1979)

We make taste choices every day without thinking – in the way we dress our body, our routine, what we buy and how we identify ourselves.

By so aggressively identifying ourselves as superior to another group, ‘what is really at stake is the imposition of the dominant principle of domination within the dominant class’ (Bourdieu, 1979, p. 310)

Geschmack und charismatische Ideologie

In *La Distinction* heißt es gegen Naturalisierungstendenzen des Geschmacks gerichtet:

„Wider die charismatische Ideologie, die **Geschmack** und Vorliebe für legitime Kultur zu **einer Naturgabe** stilisiert, belegt die wissenschaftliche Analyse den sozialisationsbedingten Charakter kultureller Bedürfnisse: ...“
(Bourdieu 1987a, 17f.)

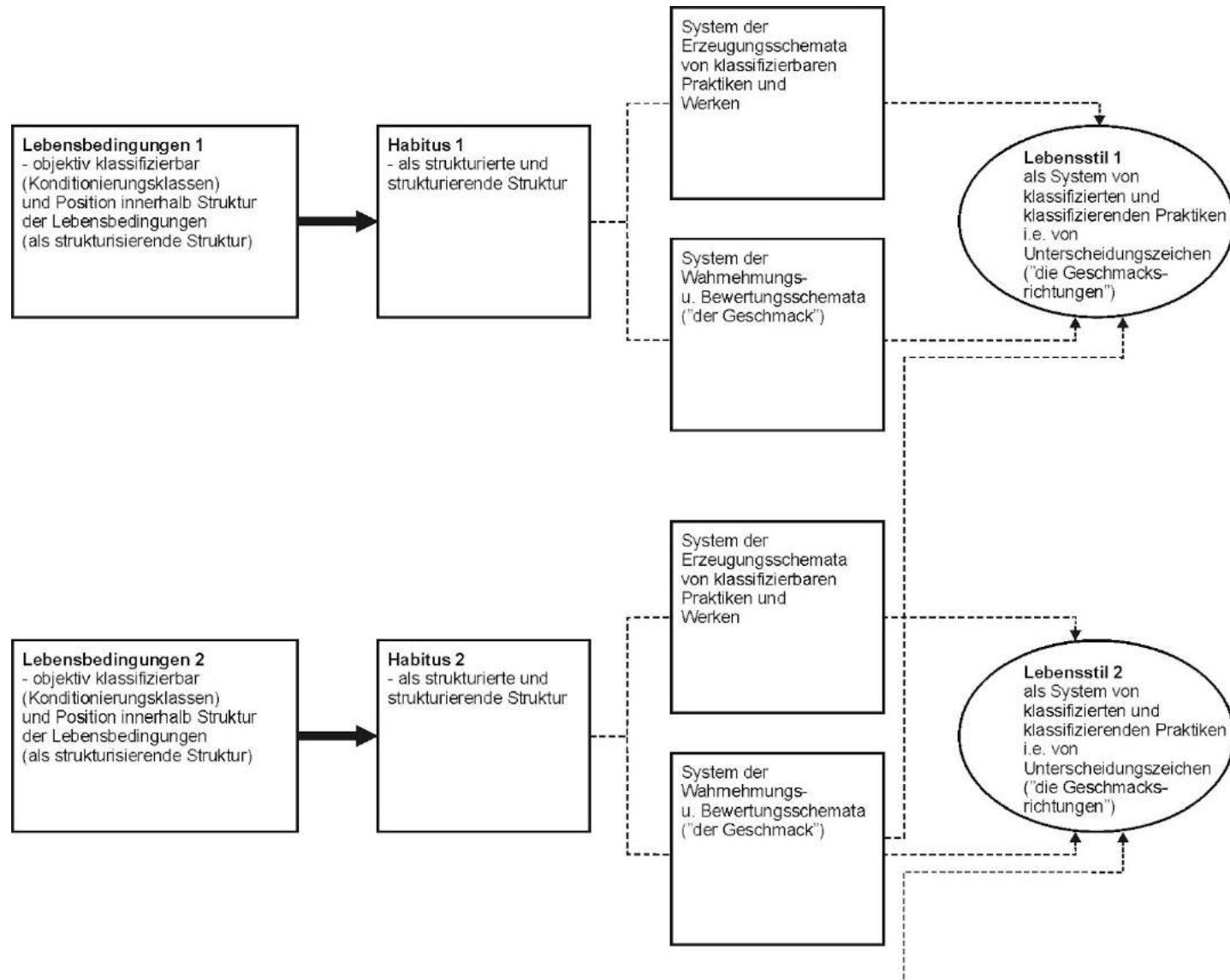
Soziale Grundlagen des Geschmack

„Nicht nur jede kulturelle Praxis (der Besuch von Museen, Ausstellungen, Konzerten, die Lektüre, usw.), auch die Präferenz für eine bestimmte Literatur, ein bestimmtes Theater, eine bestimmte Musik, erweisen ihren engen Zusammenhang

- primär mit dem Ausbildungsgrad,
- sekundär mit der sozialen Herkunft.“

(Bourdieu 1987a, 17f.)

Geschmack bei Bourdieu: Dimension des (unsichtbaren) Habitus – ein „System von Wahrnehmungs- und Bewertungsschemata“, Vermittler zwischen Lebensbedingungen und Lebensstil und dessen „Geschmacksrichtungen“



Taste as a „marker of class“

“To the socially recognised hierarchy of the arts, and within each of them, of genres, schools or periods, corresponds a social hierarchy of the consumers.

This predisposes taste to function as markers of ‘class’. The manner in which culture has been acquired lives on in the manner of using it.”

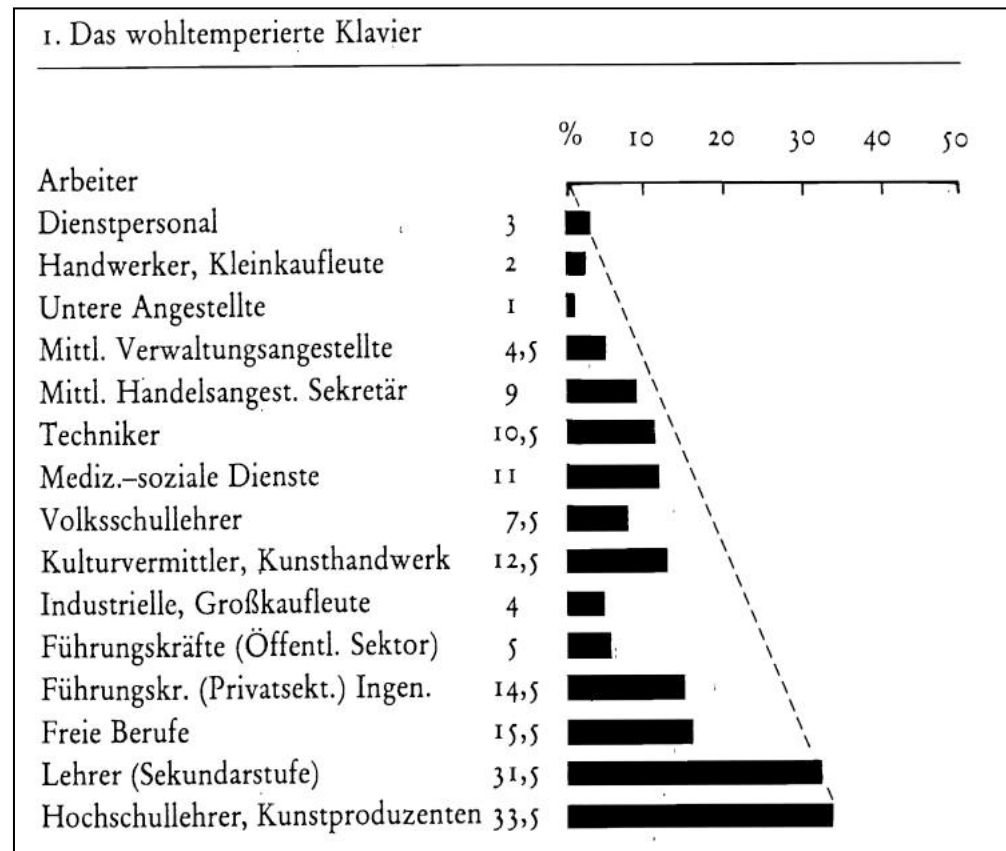
Präferenzen für Musikstücke sozialer Position bzw. nach Klassenfraktion

I. Geschmack für legitime Werke

Geschmack für legitime Werke

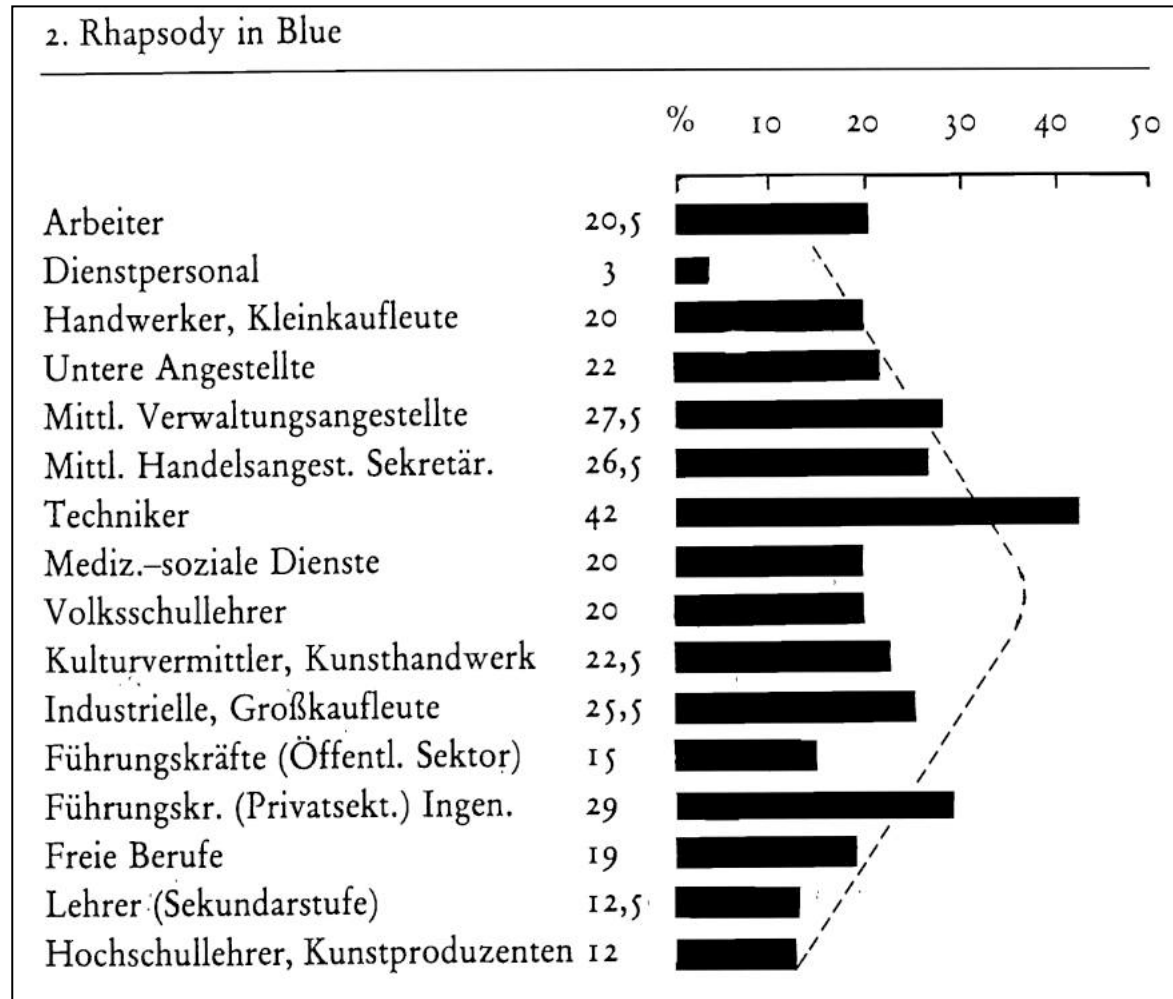
„Sein Auftreten wächst mit steigender Bildung, um bei den Kreisen der herrschenden Klasse mit den grössten schulischen Kapitalien zu kulminieren.“

(Bourdieu 1982: 38)



II. Geschmack für minder- bewertete Werke der legitimen Künste

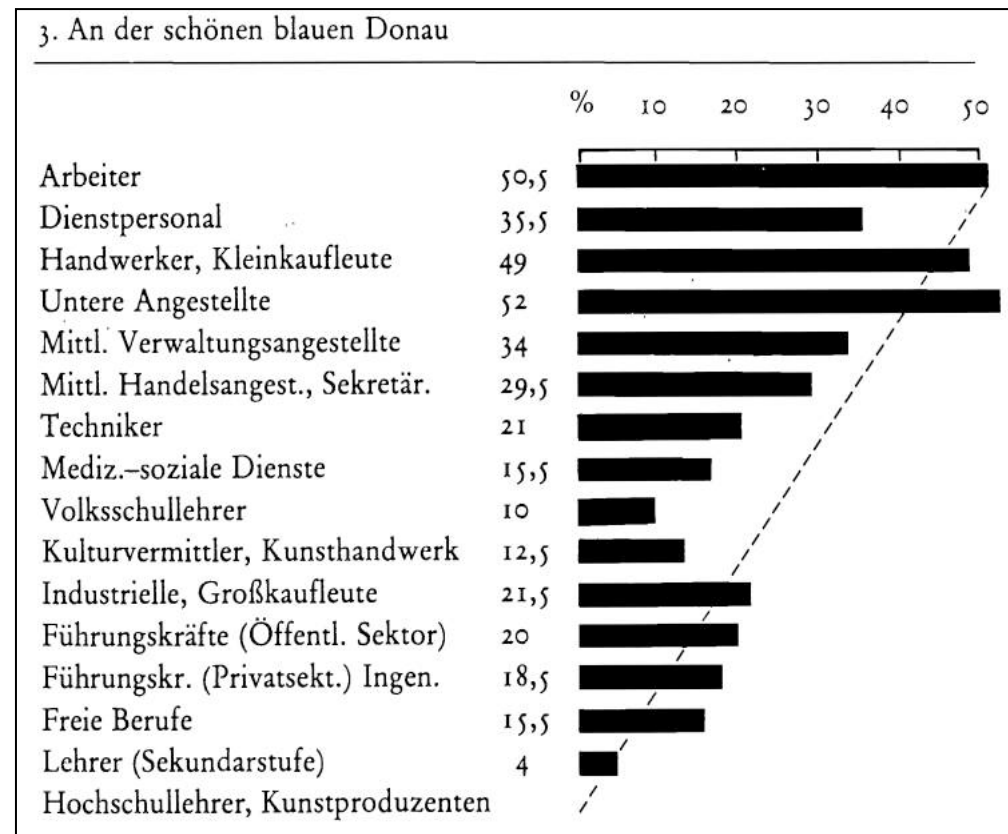
häufiger bei Angehörigen der Mittelklasse als in Arbeiterkreisen oder den „intellektuellen Fraktionen“ der herrschenden Klasse anzutreffen



III. Geschmack für Werke der „leichten“ oder aber durch Verarbeitung entwerteten „ernsten“ Musik

Am häufigsten in den unteren Klassen

umgekehrtes Verhältnis zum Bildungskapital



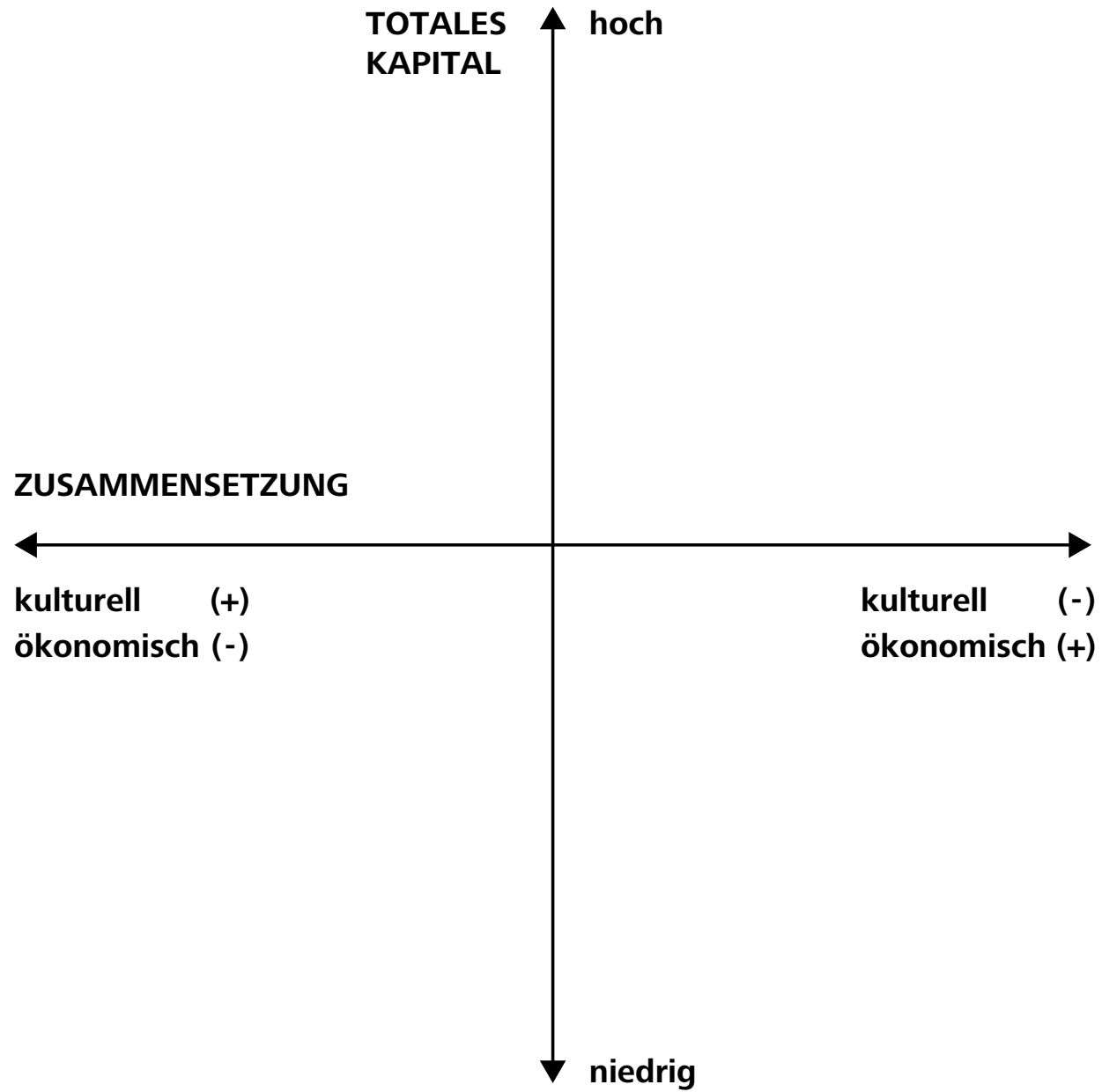
"Taste classifies and it classifies the classifier"

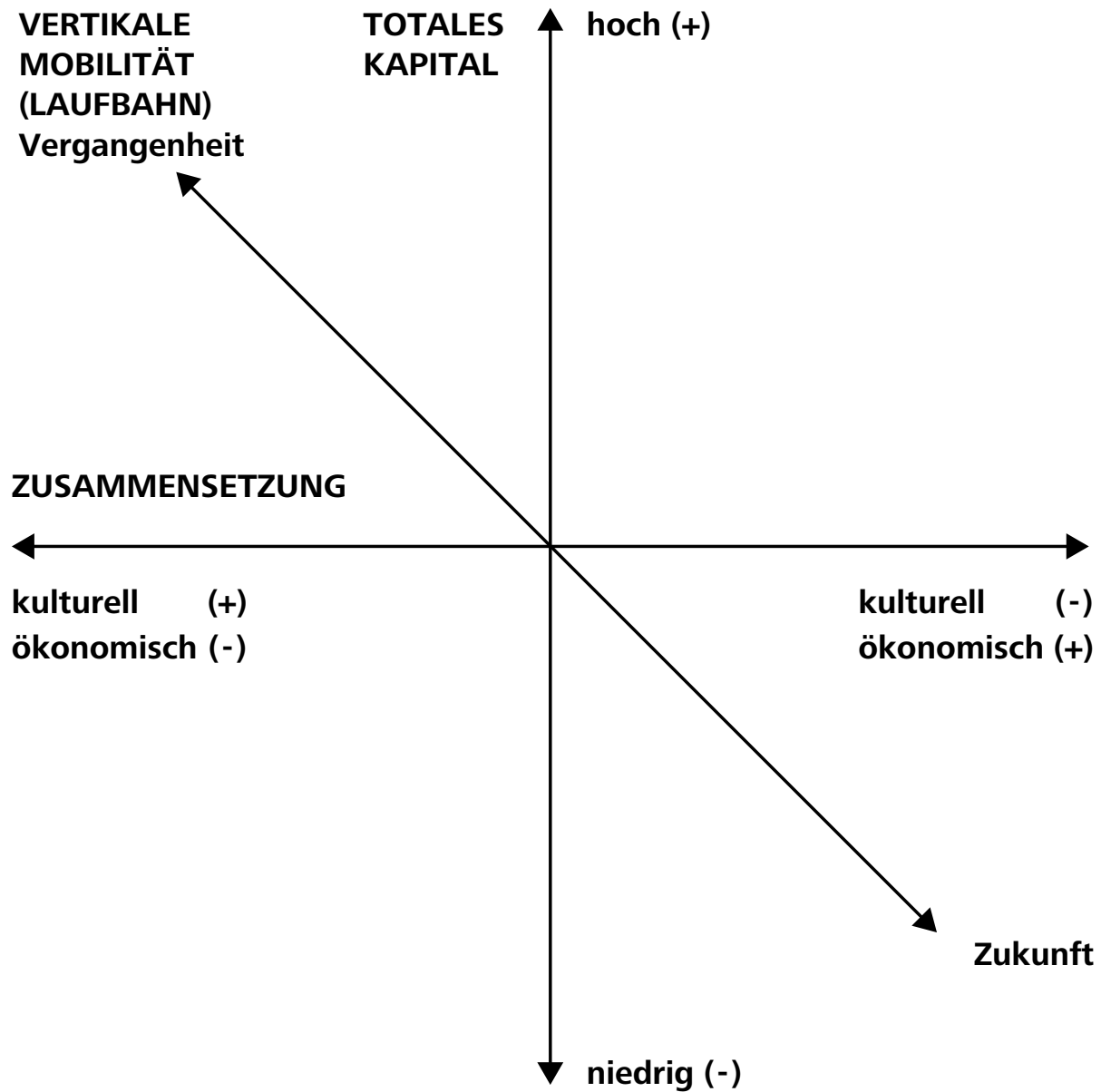
Social subjects, classified by their classifications, distinguish themselves by the distinctions they make, between the

→ beautiful and the ugly,

→ the distinguished and the vulgar,

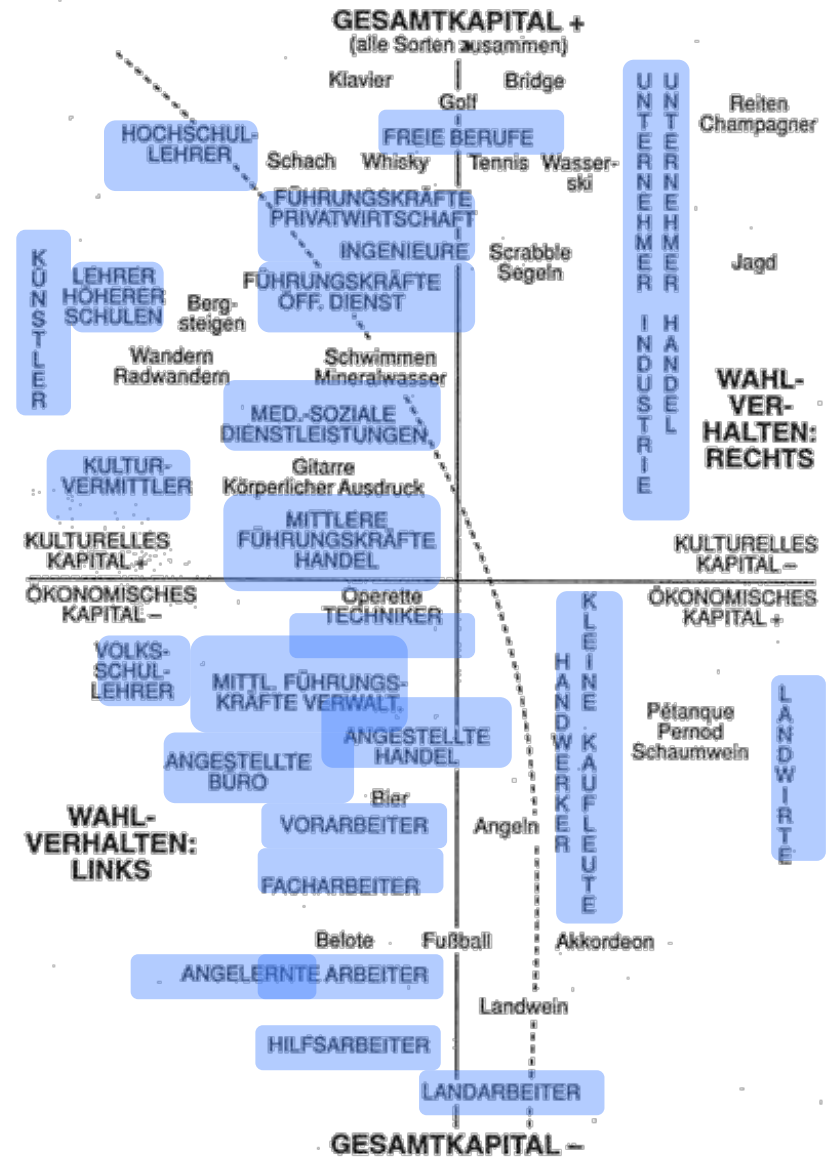
in which their position in the objective classifications is expressed or betrayed." (Bourdieu 1985: 724).





Modell des sozialen Raums von Bourdieu

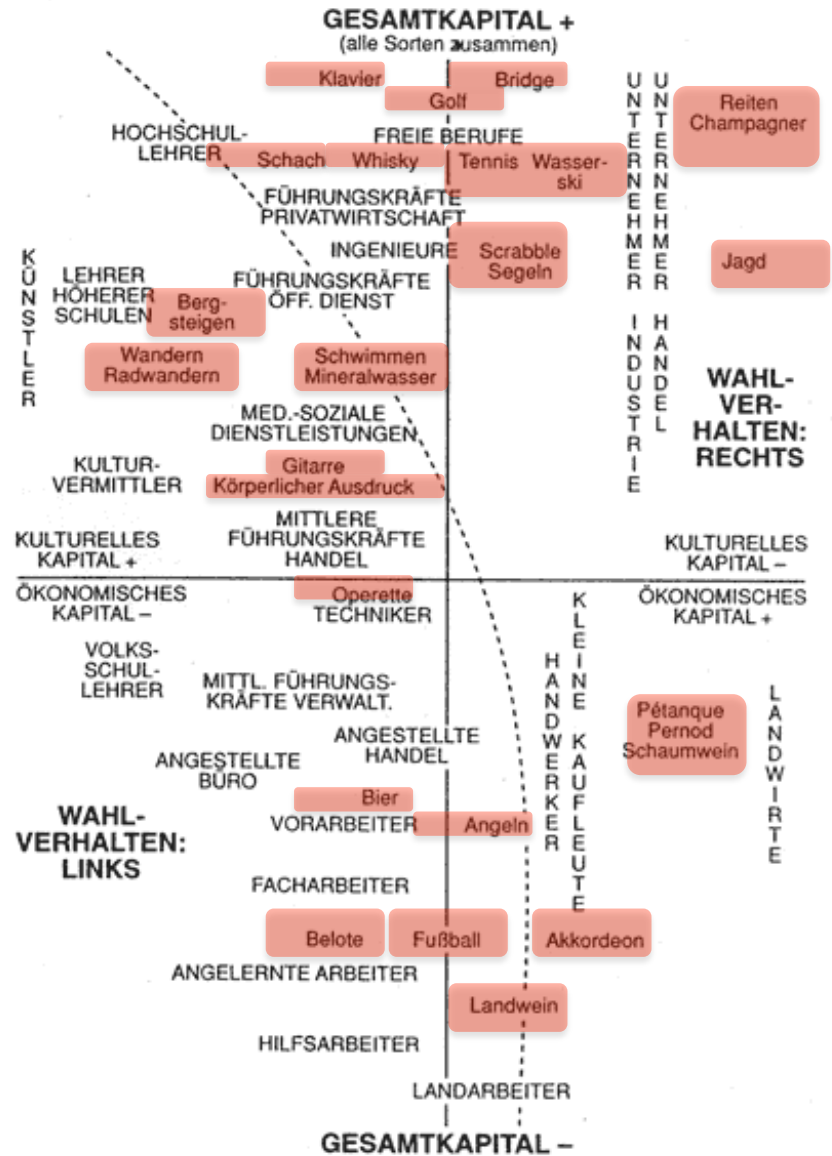
Raum der sozialen Positionen



Raum der sozialen Positionen und Raum der Lebensstile

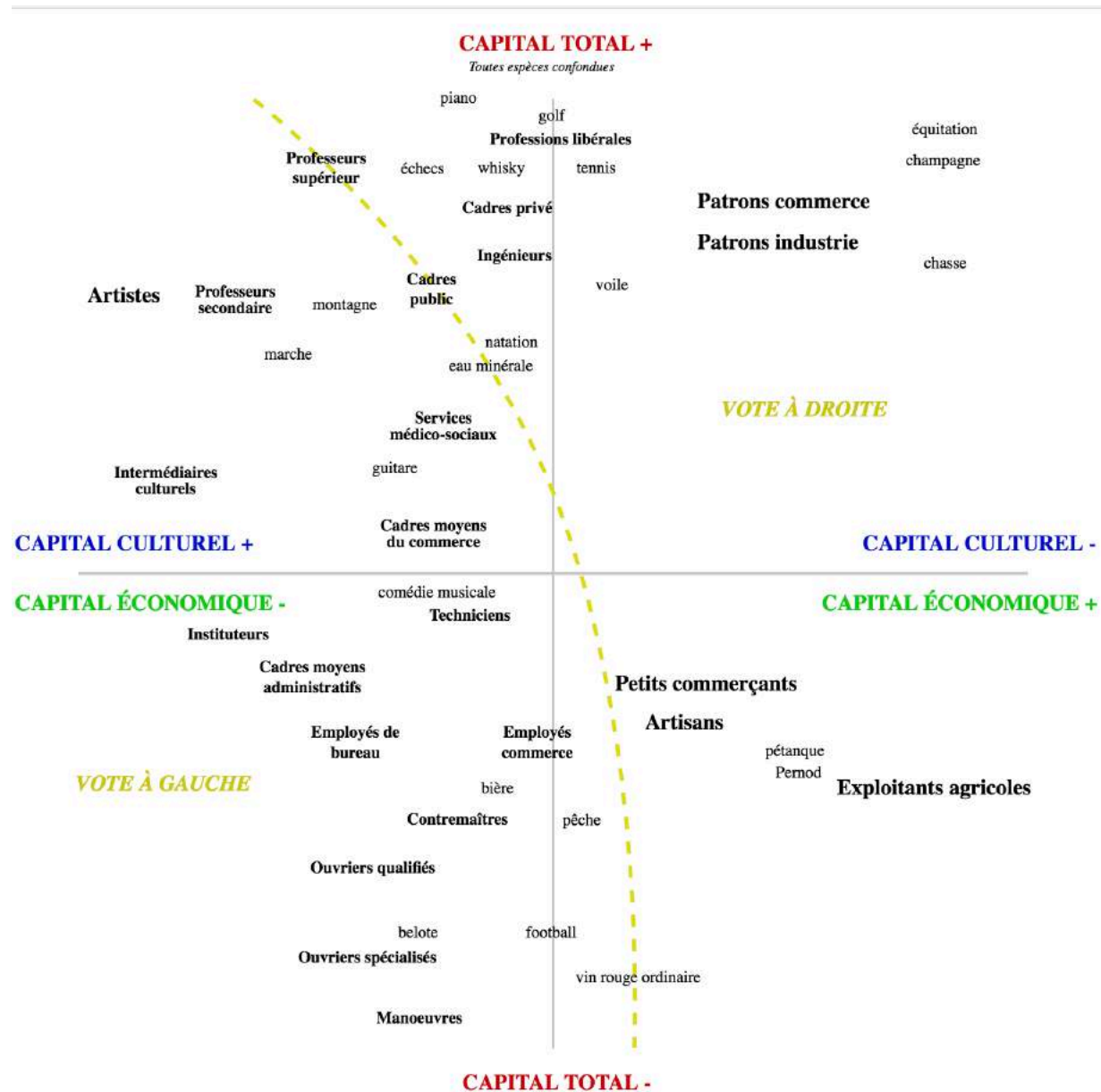
Sozialraum-Modell

Raum der Lebensstile
In den 1960er Jahren



Raum der sozialen Positionen und Raum der Lebensstile

Social Space and space of life styles with the intervening theoretical space of habitus and taste in between. Simplified model inspired by Bourdieu, 1996: 21 (Lardot 2005), illustrated with taste cultures of the 1960ies



Cultural Capital in Bourdieu's Distinction (Desan 2011: 324)

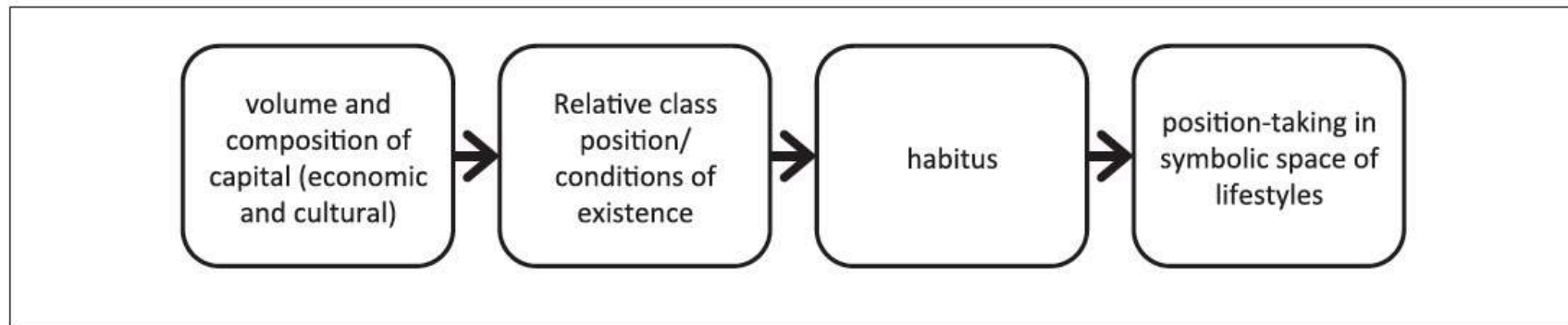


Figure 2. Explanatory sequence in *Distinction* (1979).

Drei Hauptspielarten des Geschmacks

Legitimer („reiner“) Geschmack (dominante Klassenfraktionen)

- zeichnet sich durch die Betonung der Form gegenüber dem Inhalt von kulturellen Gütern bzw. Praktiken jeglicher Art aus
- eine (ästhetische) Distanzierung meidet Involviertheit, auch die des Kunstwerks ins Lebens
- meidet jegliches affektive oder ethische Interesse am Dargestellten
- ist geprägt durch „Sinn für Distinktion“
- „Distanz zur Welt“ als „Fundament der bürgerlichen Welt-Erfahrung“, Distanz gegenüber Notwendigkeit als Grundlage

An important concept - the “aesthetic disposition”

Bourdieu defines the aesthetic disposition as “the *capacity* to consider in and for themselves, as *form* rather than *function*, not only the works designated for such apprehension, i.e., legitimate works of art, *but everything in the world, including cultural objects which are not yet consecrated.*”

(Bourdieu 1984: 3, italics added).

Mittlerer bzw. präventiöser Geschmack (Kleinbürgertum/Mittelklassen)

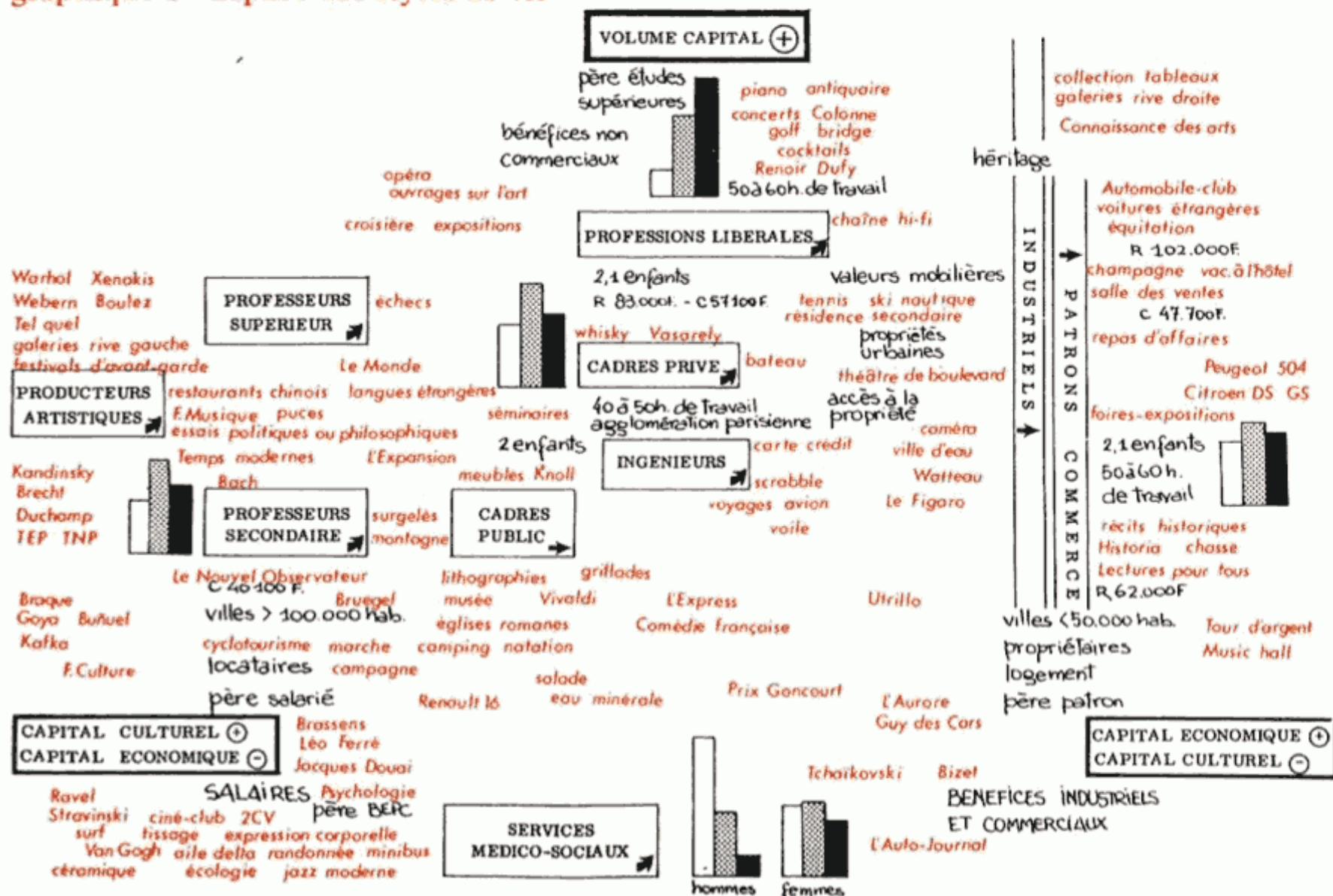
- eifert den Präferenzen und Praktiken des legitimen Geschmacks nach
- orientiert sich an den legitimen Objekten der herrschenden Klasse
- „dass die legitime Kultur nicht für ihn [den Kleinbürger] geschaffen ist, wenn nicht sogar gegen ihn, und er also auch nicht für sie geschaffen ist, und dass sie aufhört zu sein, was sie ist, wenn er sie sich aneignet“

Populärer Geschmack (beherrschte Klassen / Volksklassen)

- interessiert sich nicht für die Form, sondern hauptsächlich für den Inhalt
- „barbarischer Geschmack“, da er die Beimischung der Reize und Rührungen zum Wohlgefallen bedarf, diese gar zum Masstabe seines Beifalls macht
- ihre Lebensstile sind geprägt durch zeitliche und materielle Zwänge
- aber auch auf die Vorstellung von dem, „was zu einem passt“
- Charakteristisch für die Angehörigen der unteren Klassen ist, dass sie das bevorzugen, „wozu sie ohnehin verdammt sind“
- ihr Geschmack und Lebensstil dienen vor allem als Kontrastfolie

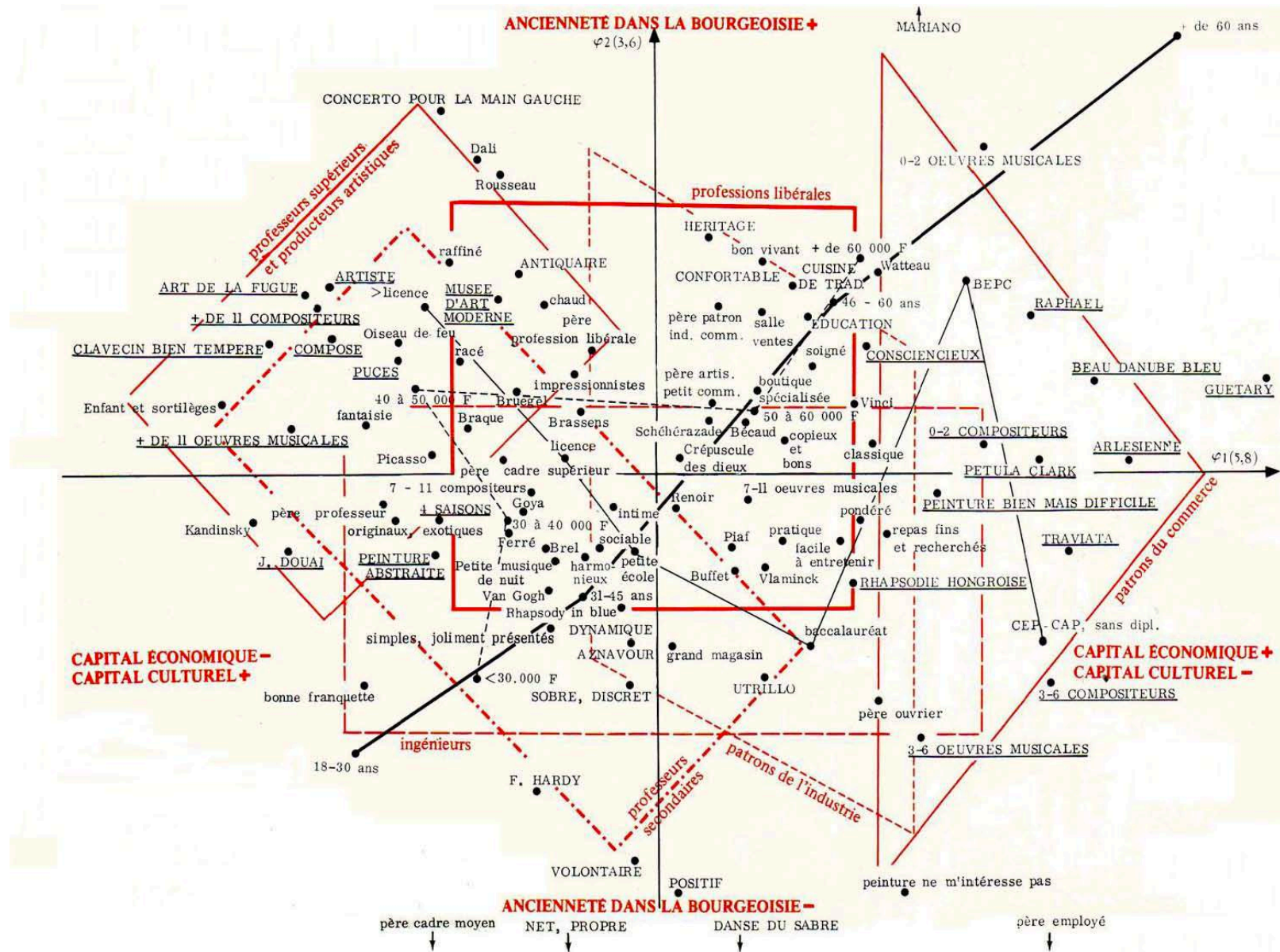
graphique 5 – Espace des positions sociales

graphique 6 – Espace des styles de vie



Tastet and lifestyles in the field of power with its dominant (center and right corner) and dominated (left corner) class fractions (MCA)

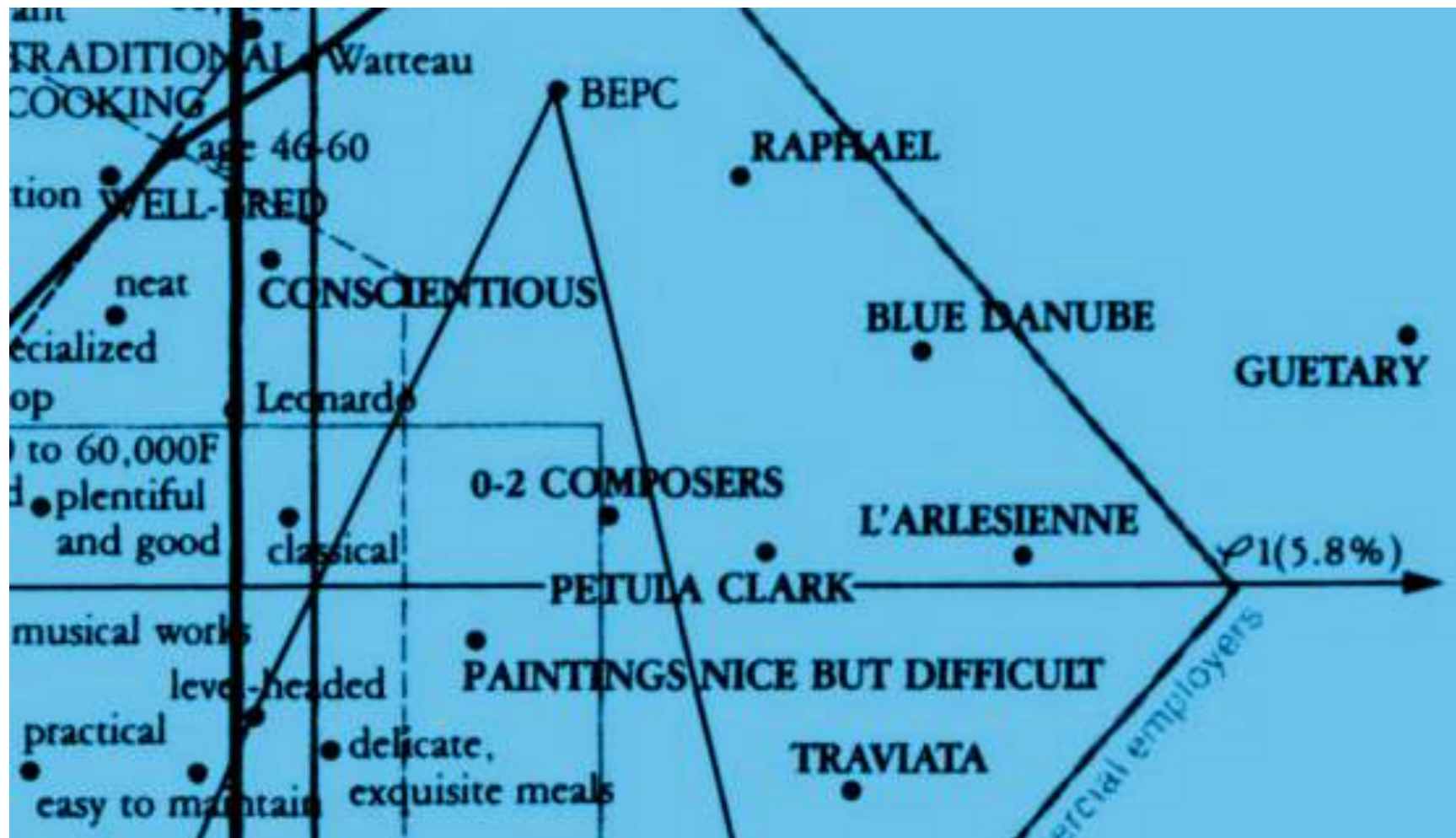
Figure 11,12: Scientific representation (based on correspondence analysis): Tastes for art and music in the field of power (upper class) in France in the 1960ies, application of Bourdieu's (1979) model in 'La Distinction'



Detail in **left part of the field of power** (cultural < economic capital) in figure 11

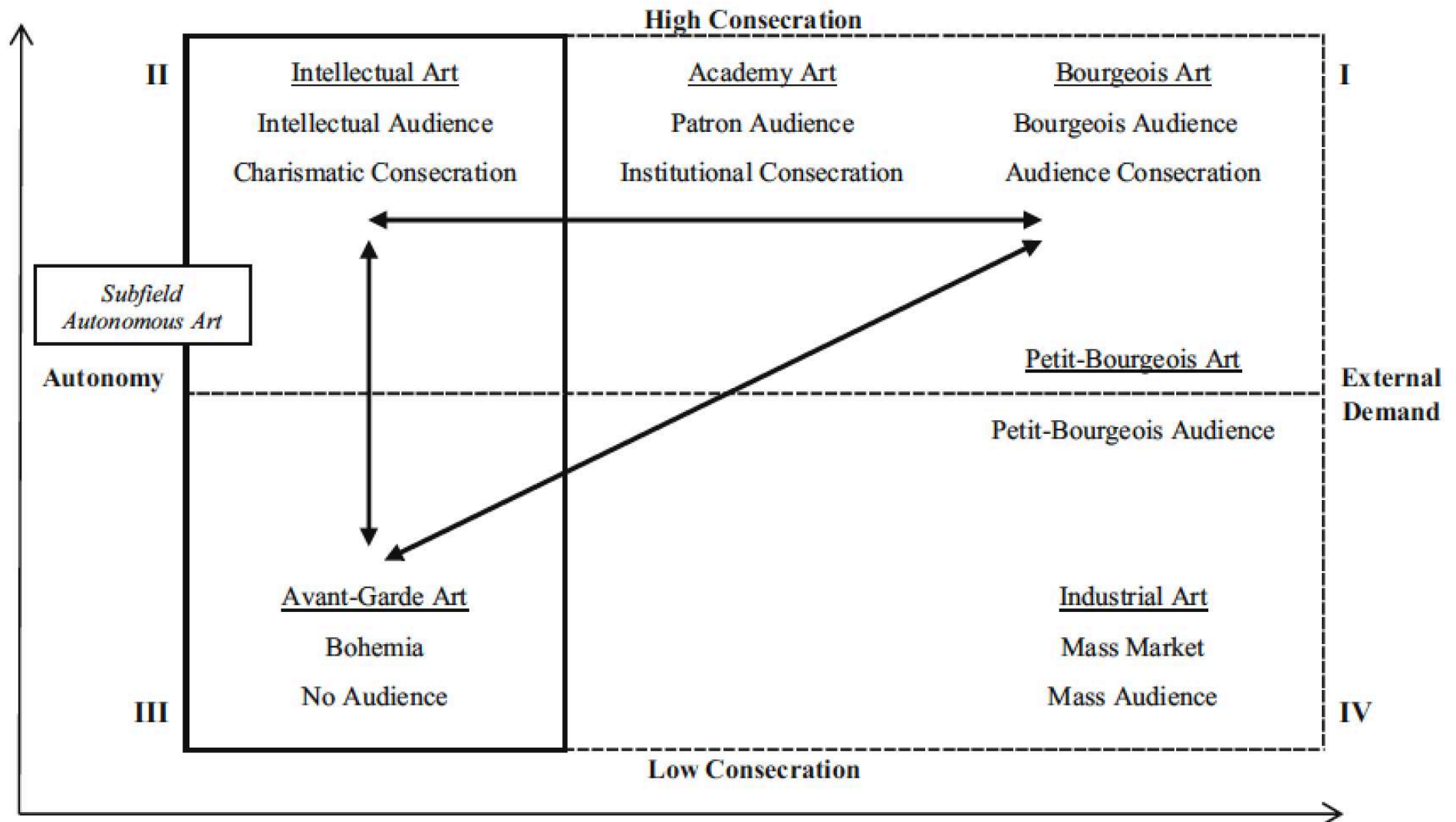


Detail in right part of the field of power (cultural < economic capital) in figures 11,12

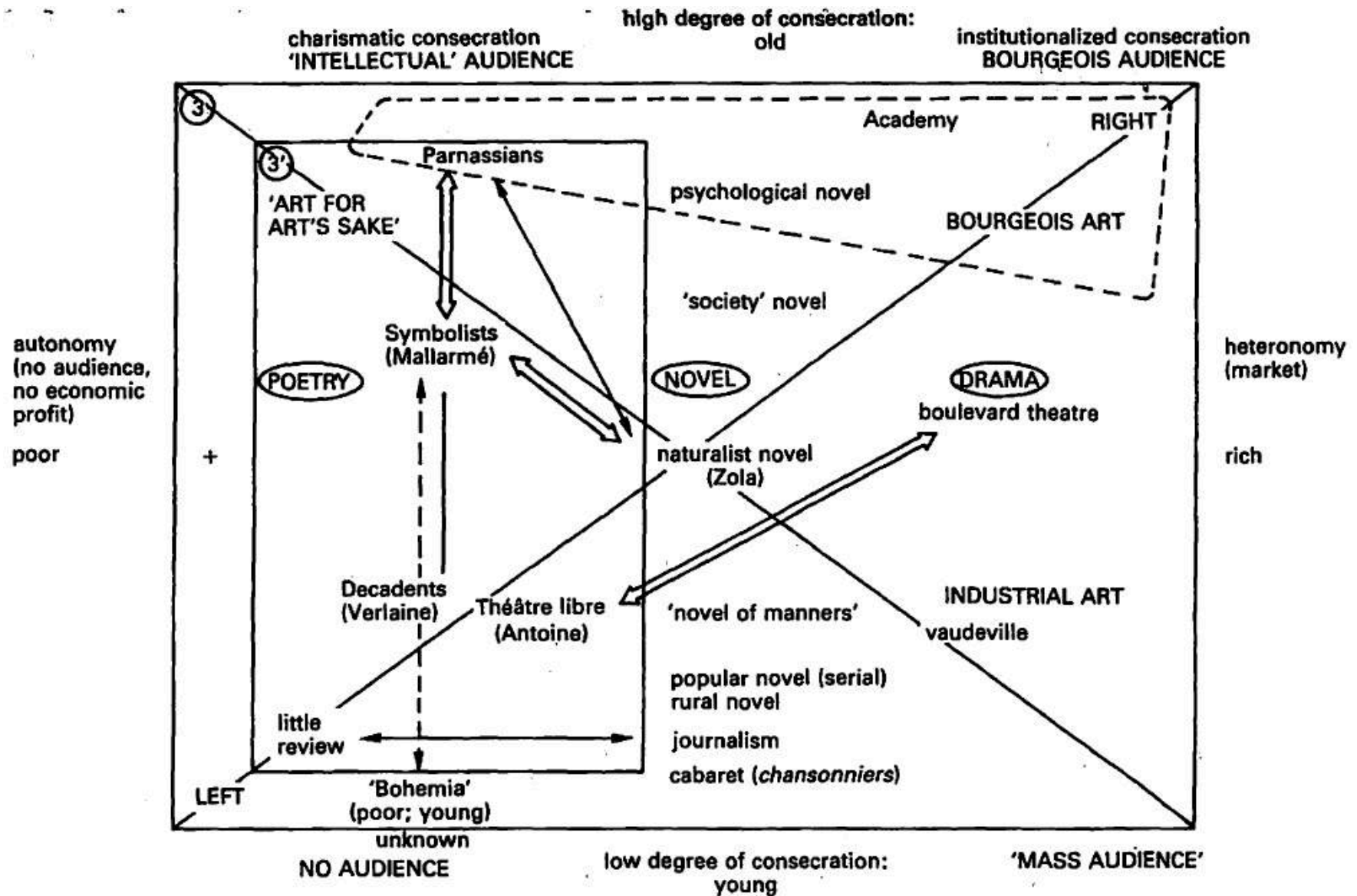


DIVERSITY IN THE THE FIELD OF CULTURAL PRODUCTION

Oppositions and struggles in the artistic field (general model of Bourdieu)



Historical example: The French literary field in the second half of the 19th century.
 Bourdieu (1993, 49)



CRITICISM

RECENT DISCUSSIONS IN SOCIOLOGY

A. THE 'CULTURAL OMNIVOROUSNESS' THESIS

B. MODERNIST VS. POSTMODERNIST AESTHETICS AND TASTE

The eclecticism or omnivore thesis

“Supported by ample empirical evidence, the omnivore thesis has unarguably become the dominant paradigm in the sociology of taste.

The omnivore/univore thesis has in many ways displaced or become a strong competitor to Bourdieu’s theory of taste as the central organizing framework for empirical work in the field.”

Lizardo and Slikes 2015

The notions of ‘the cultural omnivore’ and ‘cultural omnivorousness’

„The concepts of ‘the cultural omnivore’ and ‘cultural omnivorousness’, coined by Richard Peterson in 1992, have become central to sociological controversies about cultural dynamics.

The terms refer to repertoires of cultural practice, emerging in the late twentieth century, which are marked both by

- an increased breadth of cultural tastes and participation and by
- a willingness to transgress previously entrenched boundaries between hierarchically ranked cultural items or genres.“

Irmak Karademir Hazır and Alan Warde (2015)

‘Eclecticism’ is sometimes preferred as an alternative designation.



"People We Like", designed by Peter Blake (1932-) and Jann Haworth (1942-), Album Cover, The Beatles, Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band, 1967 (mit 2 „Petty Girls“)



Richard Peterson's argument

In Peterson's (1997: 87) influential formulation, often directed against Bourdieu's *Distinction*, being "high status" no longer requires being "snobbish," but "means having cosmopolitan 'omnivorous' tastes."

But was snobism a relevant argument of Bourdieu at all?

Omar Lizardo and Sara Skiles (2015) are arguing that Bourdieu's original findings and more recent theoretical proposals and empirical discoveries (Peterson 1992; Lamont 1992; Holt 1998) are *complementary* and capable of being integrated, once we get past the original misunderstandings.

Lizzardo's counter argument

The claim that Bourdieu's theory of taste is incapable of addressing this phenomenon loses most of its force, given the fact that the ability of the cultured classes to incorporate less legitimate cultural forms into their consumption repertoire is one of the core empirical findings that Bourdieu's theory taste is *designed* to explain (Bourdieu 1984: 63).

Hanquinet (2015): Another look at Bourdieu's theory: Modernist vs. postmodernist aesthetics

Cultural capital is based on the idea of accumulation of resources, which was, in Bourdieu's mind, led by different aesthetic principles

- **Highbrow aesthetic**: abstract (form over content), disinterestedness, distance, affective neutralisation
- **Popular aesthetic**: concrete, immediate, emotionally tinted
- **But** Bourdieu's definition of highbrow culture draws on an implicitly *modernist aesthetic*