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Article

Anything but Gugak* and Trot: Symbolic Exclusion and Musical Dislikes in South Korea

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Most empirical studies of cultural capital and omnivorousness have focused on the problem of inclusion, which appears in the form of "likes." However, the neglected matter of exclusion revealed in the form of "dislikes" is not simply the contrary of "likes" or inclusion, but has a distinctive meaning. This study examines how such symbolic exclusion through cultural (dis)tastes manifests in South Korean society by analyzing "dislikes" of 24 musical genres. It reviews the literature on cultural tastes and symbolic exclusion, and conducts a thorough review of the specificity and cultural topography of South Korean society, finding that tolerant South Korean omnivores show a unique pattern of excluding certain musical genres that are regarded as lowbrow and are preferred by lower-educated and older people. This study suggests that social hatred toward and exclusion of the elderly repeatedly appear in the musical genres that are deeply culturally associated with them.

Keywords: *symbolic exclusion, musical dislike, cultural taste, educated tolerance, omnivore*

*Korean traditional music

Introduction

This study aims to examine symbolic exclusion through cultural (dis)tastes in South Korea by analyzing dislikes of 24 musical genres. Compared with the extensive empirical studies related to cultural capital theory and cultural omnivorousness conducted around the world, there have been very few sociological studies focusing on symbolic exclusion. Most studies that have explored the relationship between symbolic and social boundaries through cultural tastes have concentrated only on the inclusive aspect of boundaries by focusing on cultural "likes," and have largely neglected the exclusionary aspect revealed in the form of cultural "dislikes" or "hatred." Behind this research trend lies a misconception of the relationship between likes and dislikes. People often misinterpret dislikes as simply the opposite of likes. Consequently, analyses of "preferences" in various cultural genres are considered to include the issue of dislikes, which has led to the thought that studies of symbolic inclusion are the same as studies of symbolic boundaries as a whole.

However, inclusion and exclusion are decidedly different. Shifting the research focus to dislikes or exclusion (from likes or inclusion) changes the scope of research even with similar findings, because the way we interpret the findings and the object of interpretation changes as well. For example, studies that concentrate on "likes" of musical tastes tend to interpret their findings with a focus on the respondents who prefer highbrow music or exhibit broader musical tastes and the musical genres that are more widely preferred. Respondents who prefer popular music or have limited musical tastes and musical genres outside these more common preferences are ruled out from researchers' active analysis and explanation. Given that a distinction is made that equates "inclusion" with in-group and "exclusion" with out-group, many more studies of symbolic exclusion are needed to address these distinct phenomena in a balanced manner.

This study is an attempt to fill this gap in scholarship. It is also an effort to maintain topographical balance in studies on cultural capital theory. It has been pointed out that there is a lack of studies that apply Bourdieu's cultural capital theory (1984) or Peterson and colleagues' discussion of cultural omnivorousness (Peterson 1992; Peterson and Simkus 1992; Peterson and Kern 1996) to Asian countries (Peterson 2005). This point remains valid even 15 years later. Studies of cases in Asia, especially in South Korea, are very rare. The task of applying any theoretical discussion or empirical analysis to other

historical and social contexts than those for which it was originally created and developed has the advantages of allowing us to view existing theories from fresh perspectives and to further deepen and expand related discussions. The idea of omnivorousness also arose from the application of Bourdieu's theory, which was conceived of in France in the 1960s, to the historically and socially different context of US society in the 1990s. In this context, we must ask what discussions there are to be had regarding South Korea in the 2010s.

This study examines the cultural landscape of South Korean society, a unique context for viewing the relationship between class and culture, with a focus on symbolic exclusion. To this end, this study uses data specially designed for cultural capital research in South Korea. Constructed with reference to the research data used by Bourdieu and several subsequent researchers, these data constitute the only large-scale body of quantitative data in South Korea that covers adult men and women across the nation. These survey data include respondents' demographic and socioeconomic information and responses to questions asking their preferences, participation experiences, knowledge, and attitudes toward various cultural genres, which were carefully selected in consideration of South Korea's cultural specificity. Among these questions, the current study analyzes preferences for 24 musical genres divided into Korean and foreign categories, with a focus on dislikes, to examine patterns and limitations of cultural tolerance, that is, strategies of symbolic exclusion, among South Korean omnivores.

Literature Review

Cultural Tastes and Symbolic Exclusion

Bourdieu, who analyzed the symbolic struggle over material and non-material power resources and the phenomenon of class reproduction based on cultural tastes, argued in *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (1984) that each social class has a corresponding cultural taste through which the upper classes in particular distinguish themselves from other classes. In other words, they use taste in high culture as a symbol of their class to include people with the same taste in their group and exclude those whose tastes differ from their own. This exclusion is symbolic in that it is exercised based on criteria such as tastes for a specific culture, preferences, and

lifestyles that cannot be easily detected with objective indicators, but not upon a set of objective criteria like gender, age, or educational attainment. However, if we look beneath the surface, symbolic exclusion is deeply connected to social exclusion in that managing a particular lifestyle and having a taste in high art are based on a certain higher level of education and financial ability.

The idea of cultural omnivorousness (Peterson 1992; Peterson and Simkus 1992; Peterson and Kern 1996) is ultimately not irrelevant to the issue of exclusion. The cultural omnivore hypothesis (or cultural omnivore theory) demonstrated that American ruling classes are not indifferent to distinction, but their principles and means of distinction, which once were Bourdieusian snobbish exclusiveness (Bourdieu 1984; Levine 1988; Murphy 1988; Beisel 1990), have only been "replaced with" tolerance. However, a number of follow-up studies have tended only to examine the phenomenon that the higher one's social status is, the more inclined one is to enjoy diverse cultures that are not limited to legitimate ones. At the same time, these studies have recognized that cultural omnivores do not like all cultures indiscriminately but rather evince the ability to embrace all cultures, constituting an openness to cultural diversity. This has led to a great lack of studies addressing the exclusionary aspect of cultural tastes, causing a serious imbalance skewed toward studies of inclusion based on "likes."

Thus, the insight of Bryson (1996), who returned the focus of discussion to "exclusion" in her study of musical "dislikes" as other omnivore studies of cultural "likes" were coming out, is all the more remarkable. Drawing on the finding that educational attainment and a degree of cultural exclusion are negatively correlated, Bryson rejected the "high-status exclusiveness" hypothesis of Bourdieu and supported the "omnivore" hypothesis of Peterson and his colleagues. At the same time, she also showed that omnivorous taste, which appears as a form of educated tolerance, does not mean unconditional acceptance of all musical genres but rather represents "patterned tolerance" with its own boundaries.

Several studies (Tampubolon 2008; Kwon and Kwon 2013; Lizardo and Skiles 2015, 2016a, 2016b) conducted after Bryson's (1996) pointed out that, apart from cultural tolerance becoming a universal phenomenon, cultural exclusion still remains strong and appears in more invisible and complicated forms. Tampubolon (2008) showed that the upper classes dislike the culture not only of the lower classes but also of other higher status groups, and that various axes of stratification and education are engaged in these complex yet clearly patterned American cultural tastes. Highlighting the "strategic" side of

cultural tolerance, Kwon and Kwon (2013), also noted that elites show a complicated form of exclusion that distinguishes themselves from others in a very strategic way, based on the finding that elite consumers are more likely to reveal their exotic tastes or to be open-minded toward other cultures while judging themselves to have superior tastes.

Meanwhile, Lizardo and Skiles (2015, 2016a, 2016b), who have likely researched this topic more deeply than any other scholars, paid attention to the role of age in addition to socioeconomic status (SES) in structuring cultural tastes. They also underlined the importance of race, pointing out that the level of dislike remains similar to what it was in the past among "college-educated whites" (the most privileged group in the US), where there is a high risk of engaging in symbolic exclusion (Lizardo and Skiles 2016a). Furthermore, they found that respondents' subjective perceptions of the sociodemographic characteristics of people who are considered to be typical fans of a particular musical genre adjust the probability of disliking each genre and that low-status labels attached to music are "universal generators of symbolic exclusion" (Lizardo and Skiles 2016b, p. 1). This led them to argue that the cultural genres subject to exclusion and the characteristics of people who prefer those genres should be considered when studying symbolic exclusion focusing on cultural tastes.

Common suggestions that can be drawn from the aforementioned studies are as follows. First, the upper classes' tolerance—that is, omnivorous tastes—does not signify unconditional inclusion but has its own patterns of symbolic exclusion. Second, in addition to the SES variables like class and education, demographic variables such as age and race as well as respondents' subjective attitudes toward cultural genres that are resources for symbolic exclusion can influence tolerance. Third, the social and historical background of the research object is also a critical factor in changes in exclusion strategies. The next step in the study of symbolic exclusion in South Korea will be to examine the specificity of South Korean society and its cultural topography through a review of literature specific to the country and selecting important variables accordingly.

The Specificity and Cultural Topography of South Korean Society

South Korea provides a particularly interesting context for applying cultural capital theory and cultural omnivore theory due to its historical specificity. In terms of social aspects, contemporary South Korea has characteristics of rapid industrialization and Westernization, which are summed up well by the

phrases "compressed modernization" and "the miracle on the Han River." South Korea had such a high possibility of social mobility that there was a debate denying the existence of cultural capital in the country until the early 2000s (Choi 2006), but at the same time, it is also a country where the social mobility ladder has broken down in the last decade. In terms of its cultural aspects, South Korea, which has a five-thousand-year history of ethnic Koreans, had lost its traditional upper classes and their unique high culture due to Japanese occupation and the Korean War, but instead this country now is home to a rapidly growing and globally influential developed pop culture (e.g., BTS, Bong Joon-ho). On the one hand, South Korea follows the cultural cognitive hierarchy of Western Europe, as its citizens have cultural goodwill oriented toward Western developed countries to the point that it has been called a rising petite bourgeoisie country (Choi 2013),[1] but on the other hand, it also shows a great preference for its own pop culture unlike its cognitive boundaries.

Under these circumstances, interest in Bourdieu's cultural capital theory in South Korea began in the early 1990s when books and papers introducing his theory and translations of his works began to be published. Starting in the late 1990s, studies of cultural capital and class reproduction (Cho 2001; Chang 2002; Choi 2002a) and of class and cultural taste differentiation (Cho 2005), and attempts to identify attributes of cultural capital in South Korea (Choi 2002b, 2003) began to appear. These studies confirmed that class divisions and reproduction are centered on or are mediated by culture; this was gradually revealed in South Korea, where the possibility of class mobility was considered high. However, there had not been many empirical studies applying the concept of cultural capital to South Korean society until the mid-2000s (Choi 2006).

It was only after the mid-2000s that studies of cultural capital began to increase remarkably in the South Korean social sciences (Lee and Lee 2016). Since then, in the field of sociology of education, empirical studies based on cultural capital theory have been actively conducted focusing on academic achievement and cultural reproduction (Baek and Kim 2007; Kim and Byun 2007; Kim and Lee 2007; Chang 2006; Park and Kim 2010; Baek 2012; Park, Lee, and Kim 2015; Kim, Shim, and Kim 2018; Park and Namkung 2019). In the field of sociology of culture, studies began to pay attention to individuals'

[1] Choi (2013) noted that what is regarded as contemporary Korean high culture is mostly drawn from Western societies and that only about a century has passed since it was introduced into South Korea.

cultural preferences or lifestyle as research on class and cultural tastes became more diverse (Nam 2010; Choi and Lee 2012; Choi 2013). Studies supporting the omnivore thesis (Han et al. 2007; Lee and Chang 2008; Kim and Suh 2011; Nam and Hong 2011; Lee and Lee 2014; Park 2014; Lee, Choi, and Lee 2015) also emerged, expanding the scope of research.

Meanwhile, a series of studies attempting to identify the cultural topography of South Korea have been carried out, all of which have shown that, besides class and educational attainment, the factor of age is crucial for understanding cultural capital (Han and Park 2007; Han et al. 2007; Yang 2009; Choi and Lee 2012a; Kim, Lee, and Choi 2012, 2014; Choi, Kim, and Lee 2017).[2] In addition, as studies continue to investigate properties of cultural capital in South Korea, such factors as degrees from US universities (Kim 2008) and English fluency (Choi and Choi 2011) have come to the fore as global cultural capital, and ethical consumption (Kim, Park, and Choi 2020) and dreams (future plans) (Kim, Cha, and Choi 2020) are pointed to as emergent cultural capital among women in their 20s and teenagers. Moreover, as studies of the cultural capital of certain social groups continue to increase, the number of studies of baby boomers (Kweon and Park 2008; Han, Kim, and Park 2013), elementary school teachers (Jun, Kim, and Choi 2013), and families of North/South Korean defectors (Cho 2011) are also rising.

However, there are no studies that focus on "dislikes" of cultural genres, that is, exclusion and hatred of other groups, even though the importance and necessity of such studies have risen with the emergence of "hate society" discourse.[3] In response, this study examines South Korean omnivores'[4] cultural tolerance patterns and symbolic exclusion strategies by analyzing

[2] It is difficult to explain any aspect of Korea without referencing the issue of age or generation. This is closely related to the fact that Korea went through distinct processes of rapid growth and development almost once every 10 years. Each generation experienced adolescence during distinct but similarly turbulent times and thus has its own unique generational experience and resulting generational culture.

[3] In South Korea, hatred toward others has emerged as a serious social problem today, and it is closely related to cultural attributes associated with groups that are ostracized. In this regard, the issue of symbolic exclusion based upon cultural tastes is extremely important in terms of both academic and social aspects, and there is an urgent need for research on this subject.

[4] This study uses the method of measuring 'omnivorousness by volume' (Warde, Wright and Gayo-Cal, 2008). This takes account of a phenomenon in which cultural diversity is gradually emphasized, namely, a situation in which it becomes difficult to establish symbolic boundaries between high and popular culture and the concepts of high culture and subculture themselves become increasingly uncertain (Warde et al., 2008: 149). More and more researchers are utilizing this approach to conceptualize and measure omnivores (Lee and Lee, 2014).

dislikes of 24 musical genres. Through this, it explores how symbolic exclusion through cultural tastes appears in South Korea. Considering the country's rapid modernization and Westernization, this study uses respondents' age, which is its most representative social boundary, and subjective perceptions of each genre's sophistication, which is a cognitive boundary,[5] as the major variables in analysis in addition to SES variables.

Data and Methods

Data and General Characteristics of Respondents

The data used in this study were collected through The Survey on the Cultural Capital of Korean Society conducted for a 2011 research project titled *The Social Landscape of Cultural Production and Consumption: An Approach of Economic Sociology for Cultural Capital*. Of the nationwide surveys conducted in South Korea, this is the only one designed in consideration of Bourdieu's cultural capital theory and subsequent academic trends, including cultural omnivore theory, and thus it has been widely used in studies depicting the cultural topography of South Korean society (Kim, Lee, and Choi. 2012, 2014; Choi 2013; Lee and Lee 2014; Lee et al. 2015; Choi et al. 2017). The survey sample was selected from research districts that were proportionally allocated according to the regional population ratio using multi-stage stratified sampling. The survey data were collected via face-to-face interviews by Hankook Research, a research firm in charge of the distribution and retrieval of survey questionnaires, from August 13 to September 23, 2011. Respondents in this study consisted of 1,900 adult males and females, and their general descriptive characteristics are shown in Table 1.

[5] This cognitive boundary represents the location of each genre in the topography of cognitive hierarchy. The extent to which the given genre is considered sophisticated is similar to the 'cognitive module' used in Lizardo and Skiles (2016b) in that it measures how close (or far) typical fans of the given genre are to the upper classes.

Table 1
General Characteristics of Respondents

	Category	Frequency	Percentage
Gender	Male	927	48.79
	Female	973	51.21
Age (mean age=43.66)	20s and under	407	21.42
	30s	420	22.11
	40s	424	22.32
	50s	355	18.68
	60s and above	294	15.47
Educational attainment (mean years of education received=12.99)	Elementary school	111	5.84
	Middle school	156	8.21
	High school	741	39.00
	Some college/Community college	279	14.68
	University	563	29.63
	Graduate school	50	2.63
Class	Upper-middle class	121	6.37
	New middle class	809	42.58
	Old middle class	520	27.37
	Working class	265	13.95
	Urban lower class	185	9.74
Household income (unit: mil.*won*/month)	~ 1.99	236	12.42
	2.00 ~ 2.99	265	13.95
	3.00 ~ 3.99	389	20.47
	4.00 ~ 4.99	380	20.00
	5.00 ~ 5.99	314	16.53
	6.00 ~ 6.99	126	6.63
	7.00 ~	190	10.00
City(town) size	Seoul/Metropolitan cities	906	47.68
	"Dong"	869	45.74
	"Eup"	125	6.58
Religion	Buddhist	388	20.42
	Protestant	386	25.58
	Catholic	172	9.05
	No religion	854	44.95
Total		1900	100.00

Variables and Analysis Methods

This study used the responses to a question asking the respondents' preferences for musical genres as dependent variables. Specifically, the respondents' level of preference for 24 musical genres presented below the question, "How much do you like each of the following musical genres?" were scored on a five-point scale (1 = *do not like very much* to 5 = *like very much*),

Table 2
Likes and Dislikes of 24 Musical Genres

Musical genres		Preferences[a]					
		N	% of dislikes	% of neutral	% of likes	mean (s.d.)	
Korean popular music	Ballad	1874	6.72	24.76	68.52	3.77	(.830)
	Dance	1875	25.44	36.16	38.40	3.15	(.972)
	Hip-hop/Rap	1753	47.80	33.37	18.82	2.64	(1.002)
	Rock	1716	50.12	30.77	19.11	2.58	(1.035)
	R&B/Soul	1541	42.83	32.77	24.40	2.73	(1.055)
	Metal/Hardcore	1416	67.16	25.56	7.27	2.19	(.903)
	Electronic/Techno	1431	59.61	29.56	10.83	2.34	(.947)
	Folk	1668	34.77	36.27	28.96	2.90	(1.000)
	Trot	1896	20.20	27.69	52.11	3.45	(1.101)
	Indie	1484	52.36	35.71	11.93	2.48	(.903)
	Protest songs	1697	53.39	34.06	12.55	2.47	(.933)
Foreign popular music	Pop	1835	21.20	36.51	42.29	3.24	(.984)
	Hip-hop/Rap	1725	51.01	31.71	17.28	2.56	(.986)
	Rock	1691	52.52	30.04	15.43	2.47	(.988)
	R&B/Soul	1508	50.27	30.90	18.83	2.57	(1.041)
	Metal/Hardcore	1408	68.75	24.72	6.53	2.14	(.896)
	Electronic/Techno	1413	64.90	27.03	8.07	2.22	(.930)
	Country/Folk	1561	48.56	32.93	18.51	2.58	(.989)
Jazz		1778	37.57	39.15	23.28	2.81	(.948)
New Age		1420	53.38	32.18	14.44	2.50	(.966)
Classical		1840	32.93	36.20	30.87	2.97	(1.000)
Gugak (Korean Traditional Music)		1886	46.55	35.90	17.55	2.64	(.960)
CCM/Gospel/Buddhist Hymn		1749	61.29	24.93	13.78	2.37	(1.031)
Popera/Crossover		1619	51.39	33.45	13.16	2.51	(.924)

a. Preferences for each genre were measured with following five-point rating scale: ① Do not like very much, ② Do not like, ③ Neutral, ④ Like, and ⑤ Like very much. "Percentage of dislikes" is the combined percentage of responses to ① and ②, and "percentage of likes" is the combined percentage of ④ and ⑤. Cases in which the respondent reported not to know the genre well were excluded.

and these responses were included in analysis after being operationalized to fit the research purpose and analytical techniques. A sixth option of *do not know the genre well* was provided along with the five-point scale, and responses to this option were treated as missing in our analysis.[6] Percentages of likes and dislikes and mean scores of preferences, along with the list of 24 musical genres, are displayed in Table 2.

1) OLS Regression Analysis

A series of ordinary least square (OLS) analyses was performed to identify the factors affecting the number of genres that respondents said they liked/disliked, that is, the level of tolerance in musical tastes. A total of four analyses were conducted, each with the following as dependent variables: (1) the number of genres liked; (2) the number of genres disliked; (3) the number of genres disliked out of the 3 genres associated with (that is, particularly liked by) the underprivileged; and (4) the number of genres disliked out of the remaining 21 genres. To interpret the five-point scale of musical preferences in accordance with the aims of this study, we combined 4 = *like* and 5 = *like very much* into the "likes" category, and 1 = *do not like very much* and 2 = *do not like* into the "dislikes" category. Subsequently, by adding up the number of responses for each category, we constructed the first two dependent variables, "the number of genres liked" and "the number of genres disliked."

To construct the third dependent variable, "the number of genres disliked out of 3 genres associated with the underprivileged," this study first selected musical styles particularly preferred by the respondents who were considered to belong to underprivileged groups. For each genre, we calculated the mean years of schooling and the mean age of respondents who reported liking the genre, and identified three common genres preferred by lower-educated respondents and older respondents: trot, gugak, and religious music (CCM/gospel/Buddhist hymns).[7] For these selected genres, we again

[6] In previous studies, options like "don't know the genre well," which have seldom been treated as separate, tended to be combined with the "neutral" option and incorporated in the "not dislike" category. This tendency, however, actually overlooked the fact that one who does not know the given genre is unable to report whether they like it or not. In this study, cases where one does not know the given genre are separated and excluded from the analysis to ensure more telling analyses.

[7] In the process of identifying genres particularly preferred by the underprivileged, we firstly considered educational attainment of respondents based on a comparison with Bryson's study (1996), and secondly took into account the age of respondents based on results from previous studies that have shown that the age of respondents plays a major role in drawing the boundaries of Korea's cultural topography.

Table 3
Summary of Dependent Variables of OLS Regression Analyses

Dependent variables	Nb	mean	s.d.	min.	max.
(1) The number of genres liked among all 24 genres	1218	5.41	4.080	0	24
(2) The number of genres disliked among all 24 genres	1218	11.03	6.229	0	24
(3) The number of genres disliked out of 3 genresa associated with the underprivileged	1741	1.31	1.008	0	3
(4) The number of genres disliked out of 21 remaining genres	1224	9.48	5.889	0	21

a. Trot, gugak (Korean traditional music), religious music (CCM/gospel/Buddhist hymns)
b. In each process of creating a dependent variable, only cases with valid preference responses are included. Cases that report to not know any of the genres that are covered in each dependent variable and other non-responses are treated as missing. The third dependent variable has a larger N value due to including fewer missing cases since it is constructed with responses to trot, gugak and CCM/gospel/Buddhist hymns (3 genres), compared to other dependent variables constructed with responses to 24 or 21 genres.

combined responses of 1 = *do not like* and 2 = *do not like very much* to obtain the third dependent variable. This procedure was repeated once more but with the remaining 21 genres, through which we established, "the number of genres disliked out of the remaining 21 genres," as the fourth dependent variable. Basic statistics of the dependent variables used in the OLS regressions are summarized in Table 3.

As predictor variables, SES variables, such as educational attainment (measured as years of education received), average monthly household income, and household socioeconomic class, as well as demographic variables including gender, age, size of city/town respondent resides in, and religion were used after conversion to ensure suitability for analysis. To confirm whether the major SES variables maintain their influence even when demographic variables are controlled, we built a demographic model and an SES model, and carried out hierarchical regression analyses.

2) Logistic Regression for Each Genre

After examining each variable's influence on respondents' levels of tolerance regarding their musical tastes, a series of logistic regression analyses were performed to explore a detailed topography of musical tolerance. Twenty-four individual analyses were carried out, each with the binary variable of whether respondents "dislike" a given genre (*dislike* = 1) as the dependent variable and "musical tolerance" as the main independent variable. This "musical tolerance" predictor was operationally defined as "the number of

Table 4
Summary of Newly Used Variables in Logistic Regression Analyses

Musical genres that correspond to the DV of each logit	Dependent variable (DV)	Mean and s.d. of independent variables added for logit			
	Percentage of dislike for the genre	Musical tolerance		Perceived sophistication	
Ballad (Korean)	6.72%	10.74	(6.026)	3.35	(.645)
Dance (Korean)	25.44%	10.93	(5.896)	2.78	(.703)
Hip-hop/Rap (Korean)	47.80%	11.58	(5.736)	2.57	(.779)
Rock (Korean)	50.12%	11.73	(5.695)	2.54	(.836)
R&B/Soul (Korean)	42.83%	12.01	(5.798)	2.77	(.945)
Metal/Hardcore (Korean)	67.16%	12.56	(5.836)	2.36	(.851)
Electronic/Techno (Korean)	59.61%	12.44	(5.808)	2.41	(.832)
Folk (Korean)	34.77%	11.56	(5.921)	2.74	(.799)
Trot (Korean)	20.20%	10.77	(6.164)	2.77	(.805)
Indie (Korean)	52.36%	12.28	(5.797)	2.48	(.787)
Protest songs (Korean)	53.39%	11.73	(5.860)	2.44	(.781)
Pop (foreign)	21.20%	11.04	(5.867)	3.15	(.805)
Hip-hop/Rap (foreign)	51.01%	11.72	(5.701)	2.57	(.821)
Rock (foreign)	52.52%	11.85	(5.685)	2.48	(.838)
R&B/Soul (foreign)	50.27%	12.17	(5.784)	2.63	(.920)
Metal/Hardcore (foreign)	68.75%	12.58	(5.828)	2.32	(.842)
Electronic/Techno (foreign)	64.90%	12.50	(5.809)	2.36	(.839)
Country/Folk (foreign)	48.56%	12.00	(5.813)	2.60	(.848)
Jazz	37.57%	11.40	(5.767)	3.24	(.943)
New Age	53.38%	12.33	(5.843)	2.88	(.948)
Classical	32.93%	11.12	(5.890)	3.85	(.937)
Gugak (Korean Traditional Music)	46.55%	11.07	(6.034)	3.06	(.947)
CCM/Gospel/Buddhist Hymn	61.29%	11.60	(5.919)	2.61	(.907)
Popera/Crossover	51.39%	11.95	(5.788)	2.93	(.981)
Range of variable values	0-1	0-23		1-5	

genres *not* disliked" out of the 23 genres (i.e., excluding the genre included as the dependent variable), and took values ranging from 0 to 23 indicating the number of genres scored 3 = *neutral*, 4 = *like*, or 5 = *like very much*. In addition to "musical tolerance" and the SES and demographic variables entered into previous OLS regressions as predictors, the "perceived sophistication score" of each genre was also used in the logit models as a supplementary independent variable. This variable was constructed using the question, "How would you rate each genre's sophistication?" in which

responses were scored on a five-point scale (1 = *not sophisticated at all* to 5 = *very sophisticated*) that was treated as a continuous variable with values ranging from 1 to 5. Basic statistics of the variables newly utilized in logistic regression analyses are summarized in Table 4.

The 24 regression coefficients for "musical tolerance" obtained from the individually performed logistic analyses were arranged and plotted on a graph in ascending order. For comparison, the mean years of schooling and the mean age of the respondents who reported liking the given genre were also plotted on the graph alongside the coefficient values. This process served to identify the unique patterns of cultural tolerance and exclusion of South Korean omnivores, which further reflect the importance of age, considered a historical specificity of South Korea and Bryson's (1996) original analysis.[8]

Results

Results of OLS Regressions of Musical Tolerance

1) Factors Affecting Musical Tolerance

To investigate factors affecting a respondent's overall level of musical tolerance, a set of OLS regression analyses were performed with "the number of genres liked" and "the number of genres disliked" as dependent variables. As the results of analysis in Table 5 show, the more educated a respondent was (measured in years of education received), the more genres they liked, which confirms the cultural omnivore hypothesis rather than Bourdieu's hypothesis of high-status exclusiveness (1984). Simultaneously, the number of genres disliked decreased as the respondents' years of schooling increased, which also supports Bryson's educated tolerance hypothesis (1996). Bryson's hypothesis is more firmly supported since the strength of the effect of education (i.e., the effect size) was greater in reducing the number of genres disliked than in heightening the number of genres liked.

Monthly household income was found to be an insignificant predictor of musical tolerance, while household class affected only the number of genres

[8] Bryson (1996), through her original method of visualizing these values, showed that beyond the point of education reducing musical dislikes, the educated tolerance observed in omnivores' musical tastes does not apply equally to all genres. She logistically regressed the probability of disliking each genre on education and musical tolerance and placed the resulting coefficients for musical tolerance in order. This sorted list informs us that the genres located at the end of the list are rejected even by tolerant respondents.

Table 5
Results of OLS Regression Analyses of the Number of Genres Liked and Disliked on Socioeconomic and Demographic Variables

	# of genres liked		# of genres disliked	
	SES model	SES+ Demographic model	SES model	SES+ Demographic model
Years of education received	.199(.053)***	.120(.054)*	-.441(.079)***	-.306(.079)***
Household income	.129(.074)	.084(.072)	-.149(.110)	-.084(.107)
Class (ref.=old middle)				
Upper-middle	.317(.508)	.506(.494)	.211(.756)	-.134(.731)
New middle	.459(.296)	.132(.292)	-.943(.441)*	-.519(.432)
Working	.437(.399)	.017(.389)	-.862(.593)	-.268(.576)
Urban lower	-.855(.538)	-.206(.526)	2.635(.801)**	1.609(.779)*
Male		-.031(.232)		-.074(.343)
Age		-.079(.010)***		.126(.014)***
City(town) size (ref="Dong")				
Seoul/Metropolitan cities		-.924(.234)***		1.305(.347)***
"Eup"		-.421(.492)		-.387(.729)
Religion (ref.=no religion)				
Buddhist		.088(.325)		-1.019(.481)*
Protestant		.607(.270)*		-1.112(.399)**
Catholic		-.207(.423)		-.888(.626)
(Constant)	1.962(.742)**	6.894(.927)***	18.016(1.105)***	10.600(1.373)***
R^2	.036	.105	.073	.147
Adjusted R^2	.031	.095	.068	.138
F	7.564***	10.818***	15.856***	15.953***
N	1218	1218	1218	1218

Note.—All coefficients are unstandardized.

disliked. More concretely, according to the SES model alone, the new middle class liked fewer genres and the urban lower class disliked more genres when each class was compared with the old middle class as the reference category. However, in the SES+demographic model, only the urban lower class disliked more genres than the reference category in a statistically significant way, suggesting that the urban lower class are less likely to be culturally tolerant than the others, all else being equal.

Among the demographic variables, age, city/town size, and religion but not gender had significant associations with the number of genres liked and disliked. Specifically, older respondents and residents of Seoul and other

metropolitan cities were found be more likely than residents of "dong"-sized areas (neighborhoods) to prefer fewer genres and hate more genres. This tendency of a negative association between age and cultural tolerance is consistent with the results of Bryson (1996) and Han et al. (2007). It was also confirmed that religion was associated with a certain amount of cultural tolerance in that Protestants liked more genres and disliked fewer, while Buddhism was associated with fewer genres disliked (the reference being those without a religious affiliation).

2) Genre-Specific Musical Tolerance

Following the analyses in which we identified basic factors affecting musical tolerance, another series of OLS regression analyses explored how the effects of these pre-identified factors vary across musical genres. The dependent variables used were "the number of genres disliked out of the 3 genres particularly liked by the underprivileged" (hereinafter referred to as "the underprivileged genres"), and "the number of genres disliked out of the 21 remaining genres except the genres particularly liked by the underprivileged" (hereinafter referred to as "the remaining genres"). The most noticeable result concerns the effect of education (as measured in years of schooling received). As highlighted in Bryson (1996), educated tolerance did not effectively reduce dislike for the underprivileged genres—that is, the significant effect of education that appeared in the SES model lost significance in the SES+demographic model. From this we may infer that in Korea as well, educated tolerance does not take the form of unconditional tolerance of all genres and has its own limitations.

The effect of household income on the dependent variable of the underprivileged genres was present only in the SES model, restrictively indicating that the higher one's household income, the more genres one disliked; this effect was not observed in the other models. Class was found to significantly influence the number of genres disliked among the remaining genres, but only in the SES model. That is, more specifically, members of the new middle class are more likely to dislike fewer of the remaining genres, while members of the urban lower class are more likely to dislike more of the remaining genres than the old middle class. Though the results seemingly suggest that symbolic exclusion of a greater number of genres serves as a signal distinguishing one's class from the lower classes, the effect of social class disappears with the introduction of demographic variables.

The demographic variables that affected the number of genres disliked among either the underprivileged genres or the remaining genres were

Table 6
Results of OLS Regression Analyses of the Number of Genres Disliked out of the 3 Genres Particularly Liked by the Underprivileged, and the Number of Genres Disliked out of the 21 Remaining Genres on Socioeconomic and Demographic Variables

	# of genres disliked out of the 3 underprivileged genres		# of genres disliked out of the 21 remaining genres	
	SES model	Demographic model	SES model	Demographic model
Years of education received	.049(.010)***	-.009(.010)	-.457(.074)***	-.280(.073)***
Household income	.033(.016)*	.007(.015)	-.181(.104)	-.095(.098)
Class (ref.=old middle)				
Upper-middle	-.014(.109)	.079(.102)	.207(.711)	-.251(.672)
New middle	-.023(.061)	-.108(.058)	-.958(.415)*	-.480(.397)
Working	.138(.080)	-.036(.075)	-1.020(.557)	-.285(.528)
Urban lower	-.020(.099)	.153(.093)	2.531(.754)***	1.311(.716)
Male		.117(.046)*		-.287(.315)
Age		-.030(.002)***		.156(.013)***
City(town) size (ref="Dong")				
Seoul/Metropolitan cities		.076(.046)		1.276(.318)***
"Eup"		-.030(.094)		-.307(.670)
Religion (ref.=no religion)				
Buddhist		-.130(.062)*		-.945(.442)*
Protestant		-.207(.055)***		-.928(.366)*
Catholic		-.157(.081)		-.785(.575)
(Constant)	.529***	2.713(.184)***		7.690(1.260)***
R^2	.026	.166	.085	.198
Adjusted R^2	.023	.160	.081	.189
F	7.701***	26.447***	18.881***	22.989***
N	1741	1741	1224	1224

Note.—All coefficients are unstandardized.

gender, age, city/town size, and religion; among these variables, age and religion were statistically significant in both analyses. In the case of gender, men disliked more underprivileged genres than women. The effect of age on musical tolerance, which varies by (groups of) genres, is the most noteworthy finding. Respondents' age, which previously had a negative statistical influence on overall musical tolerance, was shown to have the opposite impact in the regression analysis of the number of underprivileged genres disliked. Older respondents basically tend to dislike more musical genres but are more tolerant toward the underprivileged genres—trot, gugak, and

religious music. Regarding city/town size, Seoul/metropolitan residents disliked more of the remaining genres than did residents of "dong"-sized areas, while by religion, Buddhists and Protestants showed relatively more tolerant attitudes than the non-religious in both regressions of dislikes of the underprivileged genres and the remaining genres.

Patterns of Musical Tolerance Depicted from Logistic Regressions

Following the previous OLS regression analyses, in which this study examined the factors affecting musical tolerance, and especially what the "tolerance" effect of education on musical exclusion was like, we conducted a series of logistic regressions to investigate how a person's "musical tolerance" (which was more directly defined as the number of genres *not* disliked) influenced the probability of disliking each musical genre and how the effect size differs across genres. To this end, this study carried out logistic regression analyses 24 times (once for each genre) in which the dependent variable was whether respondents dislike each corresponding genre, then ordered the unstandardized coefficients for musical tolerance by size, and finally examined how the resulting patterns relate to the mean years of schooling

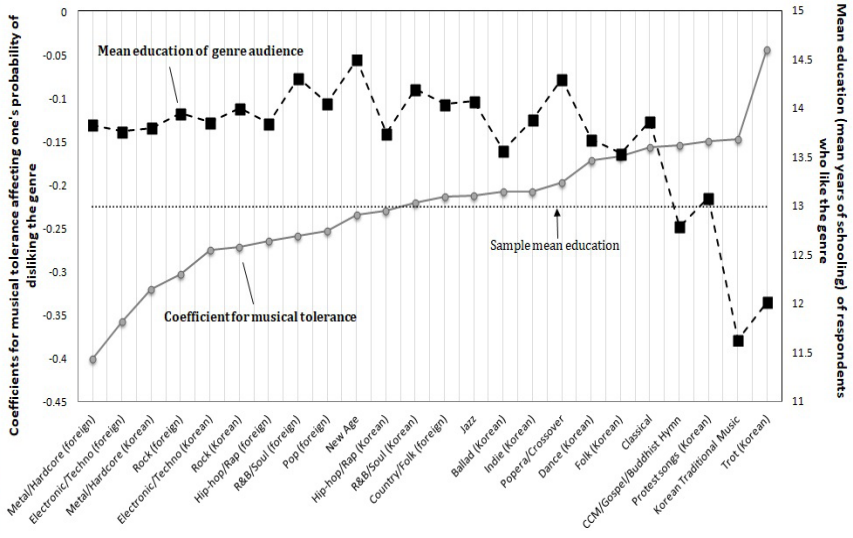

Figure 1.—The effect of being musically tolerant on disliking each genre compared to the mean years of schooling of the genre's main audience

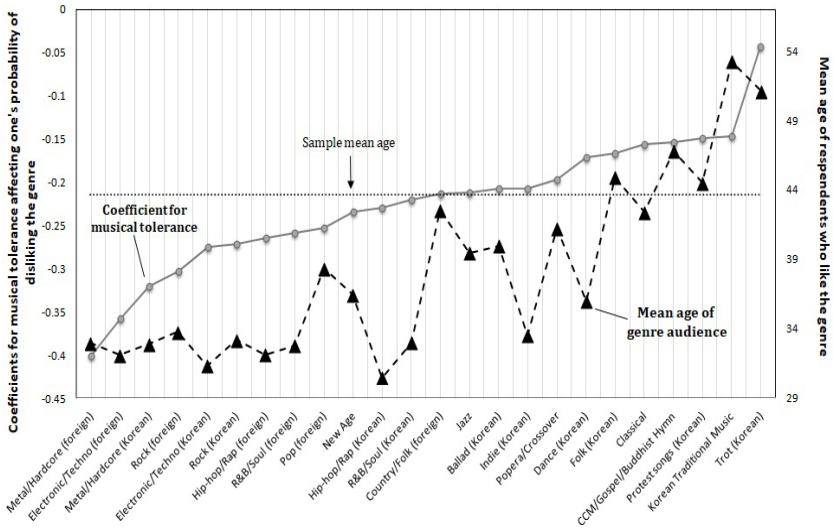

Figure 2.—The effect of being musically tolerant on disliking each genre compared to the mean age of the genre's main audience

and the mean age of respondents who reported liking the genre (see Figures 1 and 2).[9]

A regression coefficient here represents the influence of respondents' musical tolerance on whether or not they dislike the genre. The results show that all coefficients for musical tolerance obtained from the 24 logistic regression analyses are negative, indicating that the more the genres one does not dislike in general (that is, one's tolerance), the less likely one is to dislike any given genre. However, as the magnitude of the regression coefficient of each analysis varies across musical genres, there is a difference in the extent to which musical tolerance lowers the probability of disliking a given genre. Figures 1 and 2 show that the coefficients decrease as we move from left to right, which suggests that genres located on the right are those that remain excluded even by tolerant respondents. While gospel was the rightmost and country, heavy metal, and rap were next to it in the graph in the Bryson's study (1996, P. 892), trot was on the far right in this study, and next (left) to it were gugak, protest songs, and religious music. It is also interesting that, unlike Bryson's (1996, p. 895) study, where heavy metal was one of the genres

[9] In order to compare with other genres at a glance, relevant values for all 24 musical genres are plotted on a single graph with individual markers. Lines between markers are added for ease of reading.

that was "most likely to remain on [one's] list of musical dislikes," this study found that heavy metal was the first genre to escape symbolic exclusion in South Korea.

If so, what are the relationships between the excluded genres, those rejected even by tolerant respondents, and the mean years of schooling or the mean age of respondents who reported liking each genre? The dotted lines on Figures 1 and 2 indicate that the genres located further to the right, which are the genres highly excluded by tolerant respondents, tend to be preferred by lower-educated and older respondents. This finding is more or less consistent with Bryson's (1996) in that the genres disapproved by tolerant respondents were the very genres favored by lower-educated people. Moreover, analogous to country and gospel, which were the last to be accepted by tolerant respondents despite their general popularity in Bryson's study, trot also was the genre that tolerant respondents avoided despite its high preference score,[10] as shown in Table 2.

Discussion and Conclusion

Trot and gugak, which this study has pointed out as the least accepted genres (i.e., the genres excluded to the last) by South Korean omnivores, are the two musical genres that are highly heterogeneous and, simultaneously, mutually homogeneous. First, trot and gugak differ in popularity in South Korea. Trot music is a popular genre that has been long beloved throughout the history of Korean popular art (Lee 2008b), whereas gugak is the least popular genre and is less known to the public (Shin 2003). Further, gugak is regarded to have historical legitimacy as a traditional Korean music genre, but trot, partly influenced by Japanese enka, has always suffered from controversy over its "Japanese style" (*waeseak*). There have been continuous efforts within the gugak industry and public education system to (re)position it as a high-culture genre and to promote national pride in Korean traditional culture. Meanwhile, having survived the Japanese colonial period and the Korean War, trot has solidified its identity as a genre that relieves people's sorrow in times of tragedy.

Despite the differences between them, trot and gugak share one great similarity—both have older and lower-educated people as their main audience, as shown in the results of our analysis. Gugak has been strongly

[10] The preference score of trot is 3.45, which is the second highest after ballad (3.77).

characterized as a something old, as it is a "traditional" music genre, and after the 1990s when Western-styled Korean pop music began to gain popularity, trot gradually ended up becoming "an old-fashioned style sung by elders and a taste belonging to one's parents' generation" (Lee 2008a) or "music only for the middle-aged" (Noh 2020). The younger generations in South Korea, who were born in the 1970s and spent their teens and twenties in the 1990s, have now become anti-trot and/or anti-gugak, having passed through adolescence under totally different circumstances than did their parents' generation in terms of politics, economy, society, and culture.

Furthermore, trot and gugak hold similar positions in the cultural hierarchy of South Korea. These two genres—gugak, the so-called orthodox genre in South Korea, and trot, the oldest popular genre in South Korea—have always been in the position of losers when confronted with Western music and have increasingly been treated as lowbrow genres. Trot has never broken free from its labels of being "Japanese-colored" and "vulgar" music (Zhang 2003). As forces associated with Western music have dominated South Korean cultural-musical hegemony, gugak has also been increasingly downgraded as lowbrow music, like the low-quality play culture of *kisaeng* or superstitious rituals of shamans (Shin 2003).[11] Though there have been efforts to recognize gugak as high culture with great public and private support since the 2000s, the long-held image it has as one of those "old and outdated things" is still clearly imprinted in South Koreans' minds.

Based on our discussion thus far, this study's results may be summarized as follows: South Korean omnivores show a pattern of excluding musical genres whose main audiences are older and lower-educated listeners and that simultaneously are seen as lowbrow music. It should be noted that what functions as an important criterion of exclusion among South Korean omnivores is the age of a certain genre's main audience rather than the genre's classification as high- or lowbrow. This is supported by one of this study's findings that classical music, with the highest perceived sophistication score (3.85), was the fifth genre to be excluded by omnivores after trot, gugak, folk (Korean), and religious music, whereas metal/hardcore (foreign), found to be the least sophisticated genre (2.32), was the first to be accepted by omnivores.[12]

[11] According to each genre's perceived sophistication score in this study, the highest was for classical music (3.85) or Western traditional music. The score of gugak (3.06) was found to be lower than that of other Western-style genres such as ballads (3.35), jazz (3.24), and pop (3.15).

[12] The mean age of the main audience of metal/hardcore (foreign) is 32.9 years. There is an age gap of about 20 years between metal/hardcore fans and the main audiences of trot (52.1 years old) and gugak (53.2 years old).

In conclusion, omnivores, characterized by cultural inclusiveness and openness, do exclude genres that are favored by those who can be considered the most underprivileged in South Korea—the elderly.

What are the implications of this study? The current extent of generational disconnect and lack of communication between the young and old in South Korea is alarming. Youth often refer to the elderly as *noinchung* (old worms), perceiving them as being nothing more than ignorant and rough. On the other hand, the elderly label younger generations as rude and selfish. The fact that mutual exclusion and problems of disconnect surrounding these people repeatedly appear even in the musical genres culturally and deeply bounded to them, provides a clue to solving the problem. That is, efforts to resolve the said problems through the medium of cultural tastes can also help solve identical problems within the social dimension. South Korea's current "trot fever," which turned into a social phenomenon by virtue of television competition shows such as *Miss Trot* and *Mr. Trot* can be considered an example of the first step toward a solution. These shows attempt to fill the cultural gap between the young and the old by grafting the trot genre, which holds a deep-rooted image or cultural identity of underprivileged groups, such as the elderly, onto the so-called "mainstream format" of audition-based television programs. Owing to this, those who detested each other due to lack of familiarity and also made no attempts to familiarize themselves with each other because of this mutual aversion, are now at least sharing cultural trends through trot. Thus, this acts as a cultural bridge for connection and communication.

This type of cross-cultural grafting can help solve social problems more actively in future. To this end, more studies on cultural (symbolic) exclusion as well as studies on omnivores that dissect the matter of cultural inclusion must be conducted. Future studies must acknowledge the following points. First, a thorough examination of genre-specific characteristics is necessary. For example, it is quite possible that genres are hierarchical rather than exclusive or parallel. Hence, some highly distinctive genres might need to be considered separately. Since cultural genres exercise great influence on defining omnivores and measuring their attributes, it is necessary to concentrate more on the cultural characteristics. Second, social changes over time must be duly considered. This also relates to the limitations of data used in this study. Since data were collected in 2011, they may not accurately represent the current situation in 2020. As the new phenomenon of "trot fever" indicates, to understand the changing reality and clearly explain the situation, empirical data collection must be regularly conducted. Further,

elements such as the status of certain genres that changed over time must be evenly examined.

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Appendix

Mean years of education received	Musical genres sorted by mean years of education received	Mean age	Musical genres sorted by mean age
14.50	New Age	30.45	Hip-hop/Rap (Korean)
14.31	R&B/Soul (foreign)	31.31	Electronic/Techno (Korean)
14.30	Popera/Crossover	32.07	Electronic/Techno (foreign)
14.20	R&B/Soul (Korean)	32.09	Hip-hop/Rap (foreign)
14.07	Jazz	32.76	R&B/Soul (foreign)
14.05	Pop (foreign)	32.87	Metal/Hardcore (Korean)
14.04	Country/Folk (foreign)	32.94	Metal/Hardcore (foreign)
14.00	Rock (Korean)	32.97	R&B/Soul (Korean)
13.95	Rock (foreign)	33.15	Rock (Korean)
13.89	Indie (Korean)	33.50	Indie (Korean)
13.87	Classical	33.74	Rock (foreign)
13.86	Electronic/Techno (Korean)	35.98	Dance (Korean)
13.85	Hip-hop/Rap (foreign)	36.42	New Age
13.83	Metal/Hardcore (foreign)	38.31	Pop (foreign)
13.80	Metal/Hardcore (Korean)	39.44	Jazz
13.76	Electronic/Techno (foreign)	39.94	Ballad (Korean)
13.74	Hip-hop/Rap (Korean)	41.24	Popera/Crossover
13.68	Dance (Korean)	42.40	Classical
13.57	Ballad (Korean)	42.55	Country/Folk (foreign)
13.54	Folk (Korean)	44.51	Protest songs (Korean)
13.08	Protest songs (Korean)	44.90	Folk (Korean)
12.79	CCM/Gospel/Buddhist Hymn	46.78	CCM/Gospel/Buddhist Hymn
12.02	Trot (Korean)	51.12	Trot (Korean)
11.63	Gugak(Korean Traditional Music)	53.24	Gugak(Korean Traditional Music)
sample mean =12.99 years		sample mean =43.66 years	