

Beyond Taste Hierarchy?: Inclusionism vs. Cynicism in Korean Cultural Valuation Scheme

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This study examines the relationship between cultural valuation scheme and key variables in the omnivore theory—socioeconomic status and age—using 2022 survey data from Korea. It explores consumer and genre facets of cultural inclusionism and cultural cynicism. The results suggest that higher socioeconomic groups tend to embrace cultural inclusionism and display less cultural cynicism, whereas lower socioeconomic groups exhibit greater cultural cynicism. Whether the cultural inclusionism of the upper-status group is genuine or merely reflects socially desirable attitudes is debatable, possibly influenced by the effects of compressed modernity. The lower socioeconomic group's cultural cynicism indicates they view highbrow culture as hypocritical and feel liberated from cultural distinctions. These findings highlight a value gap between generations and socioeconomic classes, indicating potential societal polarization.

Keywords: *cultural valuation scheme, cultural inclusionism, cultural cynicism, omnivore, reverse distinction*

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Introduction

Hierarchical distinction between high and popular culture has been pervasive in modern society (Gans 1974) and has been accepted as a key aspect of classification of art (DiMaggio 1987). The *cultural* hierarchy of different genres has often been related to the social hierarchy of tastes among persons of different backgrounds (Bourdieu 1984). Despite the proliferation of sociological studies on symbolic inequality based on such hierarchy, not much has been investigated with regard to people's overall beliefs about and attitude toward cultural hierarchy, which we call a cultural valuation scheme. Cultural valuation of various cultural forms or genres and people's cultural tastes can be either hierarchical or horizontal. While distinction among cultural tastes and classification of cultural forms would be more hierarchical for the exclusionist position, they would be more horizontal for the inclusionist position.

People's cultural valuation scheme, i.e. their beliefs about and attitude toward cultural hierarchy, seems to have started to change starting in the late 20th century. In both 1993 and 1998, the General Social Survey (GSS) in the United States asked respondents to indicate their level of agreement with the following item: "Only a few people have the knowledge and ability to judge excellence in the art" (NORC 2021). This item measured respondents' views on whether the ability to judge and enjoy culture and art is limited to only some members of society. The gap between the two survey years was only about five years, but the distribution of response results was remarkably different, as shown in Table 1.

Compared to 1993, the proportion of people who responded negatively ("disagree" or "strongly disagree") to this item increased in 1998, and among them, the proportion of people who expressed strong opposition increased significantly. This suggests that the majority of people may place less

TABLE 1
DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES TO THE STATEMENT "ONLY A FEW PEOPLE HAVE THE KNOWLEDGE AND ABILITY TO JUDGE EXCELLENCE IN THE ART."

	1993	1998
Strongly agree	5.87%	7.68%
Agree	43.32%	34.40%
Disagree	41.43%	41.22%
Strongly disagree	9.38%	16.69%

emphasis on knowledge and ability as qualifications for engagement in the arts. However, by contrast, the proportion of individuals who strongly agreed also slightly increased. These results indicate two opposing movements: the breakdown of the notion that art is the exclusive property of a particular person, and, conversely, the reinforcement of this belief.

The changing cultural valuation scheme seen above is one of the key elements of the omnivore theory proposed by Peterson et al. (Peterson 1992; Peterson and Simkus 1992; Peterson and Kern 1996). The omnivore theory is one of the representative theories that explain differences in taste according to class, along with the theory of distinction based on Bourdieu's cultural capital concept (Bourdieu 1984; Peterson 1992; Peterson and Simkus 1992; Peterson and Kern 1996). Each theory defines the ranges of culture that each status prefers. In the context of Bourdieu's (1984) theory of cultural capital, each social class derives distinct cultural preferences aligning with the hierarchical structure inherent within that class. On the other hand, according to the omnivore theory, the higher an individual's social class, the broader the scope of culture they can enjoy beyond the culture of their own class values (Peterson 1992; Peterson and Simkus 1992; Peterson and Kern 1996). In the contemporary context where explicit social hierarchies have waned and respect for a diversity of preferences prevails, the omnivore theory is increasingly embraced as a more nuanced and elucidative paradigm, positioning itself as a viable alternative to the theory of cultural capital. Additionally, much research in Korean studies buttresses the omnivore theory (Han et al. 2007; Yang 2009; Nam and Hong 2011).

Indubitably, the GSS results mentioned above evidence that people's beliefs about and attitude toward cultural hierarchy have changed in the United States, which both reflects or influences the changes in distribution of cultural tastes among classes as suggested by the omnivore theory (Peterson 1992; Peterson and Simkus 1992; Peterson and Kern 1996). However, rigorous studies on the variance of cultural valuation schemes among people have not been conducted using the above-mentioned GSS data. In this study we would like to use data of responses to more expanded questions on people's beliefs about and attitude toward cultural hierarchy to investigate the patterns of cultural valuation schemes and their covariates. We particularly focus on two aspects of the cultural valuation scheme challenging cultural hierarchy: inclusionism and cynicism. While the former tends to hold egalitarian beliefs and an inclusive attitude toward genres and tastes, the latter tends to deny the entire system of distinction.

Korean society, which has recently undergone rapid changes in values, also requires an analysis of its value distribution, a topic that remains largely unexplored. Korea's experience of notably rapid and compressed modernization, economic development, and educational expansion surpasses that of many Western and even other Asian counterparts, making it a uniquely compelling country for study. This research aims to investigate the relationship between the distribution of values regarding culture and art and primary independent variables outlined in the omnivore theory, namely, socioeconomic status and age, utilizing data from a nationally representative survey conducted in Korea in 2022.

Literature Review

Differentiation of Tastes According to Hierarchy

The exploration of how individuals savor distinct cultures according to social strata commenced with Veblen ([1899] 1915) and subsequently flourished in the scholarly inquiries of Bourdieu (1984). Both Veblen and Bourdieu considered that the culture people consume and enjoy makes a social difference, as it distinguishes them from others. Veblen ([1899] 1915) analyzed the consumption patterns of the leisure class in the United States during the late 19th century, explaining that the goods they consumed were a means of pursuing their status beyond simple economic values and that this could reveal the hierarchy of classes and status in society. As the upper class participates in ostentatious consumption to emphasize their wealth and social status, the middle class, admiring the form of consumption but lacking the economic capacity to make showy expenditures, participates in vicarious consumption or pecuniary emulation imitating the affluent class's consumption and even overall lifestyles (ibid.). Bourdieu's (1984) concept of cultural capital posits that the cultural taste governing people's cultural consumption is socially structured according to their class of origin and level of education. Habitus, a cognitive framework for individual behavior and the core of cultural capital, differs by socioeconomic status. Enjoyment of culture can be a social expression of an individual's cultural capital or an attempt to make a distinction. Moreover, cultural capital is reproduced across generations through educational and cultural experiences; it functions as a principle of maintaining the power of a society's hierarchy and upper class (ibid.).

The distinction of taste and culture by socioeconomic status is accepted as one important criterion that divides Korean society's tastes across generations (Choi and Lee 2012; Choi 2013). To this point, a study by Choi and Lee (2012) confirmed that generation and class are important in distinguishing individuals' tastes in Korea. Regarding generations, they found that the youth generation and the older generation aged 40 or above are divided, and regarding class, the high-ranking and low-ranking groups—based on income level, educational background, and occupational group—are divided (p. 54). While the aforementioned research focuses on tastes in music, leisure activities, and TV programs, there are also studies examining movie tastes. For instance, Kwon and Choi (2011) explored distinctions in movie preferences and found that art films are regarded as highbrow culture compared to popular films, particularly for their artistic and didactic qualities.

Omnivore Theory

Omnivore theory is proposed as an alternative to Bourdieu's (1984) theory, which proposed a homology between cultural tastes and class. Peterson and Kern asserted that American society exhibits a taste differentiation between cultural omnivores and univores, departing from Bourdieu's (1984) conceptualization of taste differentiation (Peterson 1992; Peterson and Kern 1996). The term "omnivore" refers to the consumer who appreciates a wide range of cultures, from highbrow culture to popular culture. According to Peterson, the upper classes in American society lean toward diverse cultural preferences encompassing both high and popular culture. Conversely, the lower classes, who embrace types of culture other than high culture, exhibit an overall diminished number of preferred types (*ibid.*). Further research suggests that, among the three theories of homology, individualization, and omnivore–univore, the omnivore–univore argument best explains the relationship between status and preferences in the society of England (Chan and Goldthorpe 2007). Networks nowadays can increase contact and interplay with people from diverse groups, helping individuals become omnivores, while omnivores can use their cultural breadth to easily connect with others (DiMaggio 1987; Erickson 1996).

Analyzing data on individuals' most preferred music genres in 1982 and 1992, Peterson and Kern (1996) revealed an increasing omnivorous tendency among the upper class in 1992 compared to 1982. The preference for music genres outside the high-end category also grew, leading the researchers to

conclude that the snobbishness traditionally associated with the upper class in the United States gradually gave way to a more omnivorous inclination (p. 903). This is not merely due to the cohort substitution effect. In reality, at that time, an entire generation in the United States was undergoing a transformation, rather than a straightforward replacement of one cohort with another (ibid.). Bryson (1996) expanded on existing omnivore research, focusing predominantly on preferred music genres, and examined both beloved and disliked music genres. The results demonstrated that individuals with higher educational levels tended to dislike fewer music genres, reinforcing the notion of omnivorous cultural consumption within the upper echelons of American society. This finding broadened the existing concept of omnivores from those with “diverse preferences” to individuals who are “less averse to various tastes” (ibid.).

In Korean studies, Lee and Lee (2014) found that individuals with higher socioeconomic status are more likely to have omnivorous preferences and participation. Han et al. (2007) analyzed Korean data to examine the music tastes of members of Korean society and discovered that genre preferences are determined by class and generation. The highly educated group tends to have a higher number of preferred genres compared to the less-educated group, partially supporting both the theory of cultural capital and the omnivore theory. In a study by Yang (2009), individuals with significant cultural capital exhibited diverse musical tastes, embracing genres such as classical music, jazz/blues, hip-hop/rap/dance, and rock/heavy metal. However, their attitude of inclusion was limited, as they tended to exclude trot genres which were perceived as being lower class (ibid.). Nam and Hong (2011) highlighted that the emerging middle class displayed an omnivorous inclination, engaging with both highbrow and popular culture, resulting in a more enriched cultural capital. On the other hand, Kim, Lee, and Choi (2020) researched the effects of culture and art education, examining Korean omnivores who prefer various music genres. In particular, they investigated which genres are included as preferred or excluded as disliked by Korean omnivores to understand the scope of these individuals’ omnivorousness.

Cultural Inclusionism

While the culture has shifted from snobbery to omnivorism (Peterson and Kern 1996), the underlying value changes driving this significant transformation must be considered. Peterson and Kern (1996), who observed taste changes in American society evolving across generations, argued that

societal shifts in values may be the core reason for omnivorization. The idea is that people's cultural valuation schemes regarding cultural tastes are no longer tied strictly to their socioeconomic status but instead have become more horizontal, adapting to the changing social structure, and this is what we refer to in this study as "cultural inclusionism." Factors such as improvements in individual living standards, advancements in education, increased cultural accessibility through mass media proliferation, and the coexistence of diverse tastes resulting from class mobility within generations are suggested as contributing to these changes. Distinguishing popular culture as lowbrow, as in the past, is no longer an effective strategy for the upper class (*ibid.*). Additionally, the changing aesthetic values influenced by the avant-garde art trend are suggested to have played a crucial role (*ibid.*, p. 905). Social and historical values have also shifted to respect differences in gender, ethnicity, race, and religion, emphasizing an inclusive attitude that embraces various values for these tastes. This inclusive attitude can be a morally pursued stance, potentially leading to changes in individuals' values.

Notably, this culturally inclusive attitude is more apparent in individuals with high socioeconomic status (Bryson 1996; Peterson and Kern 1996, p. 904; Lizardo and Skiles 2015; Kim, Lee, and Choi 2022) and younger generations (Lizardo and Skiles 2015). However, this inclusive attitude may not signify an indiscriminate affinity for all cultural forms (Bryson 1996; Peterson and Kern 1996, p. 904; Lizardo and Skiles 2015). Some research even asserts that while culture and art education play pivotal roles in fostering inclusion for culture and art, they do not affect the decrease in the degree of non-preference for particular genres (Kim et al. 2020).

Moreover, this pursuit of cultural inclusionism may be merely a superficial attitude, rather than a value entirely driven from the heart (Vassenden and Jonvik 2019). In other words, people may actually subscribe to the hierarchy of culture and art, but in the process of conforming to socially required morality through action, they may be reluctant to express such thoughts (*ibid.*). Individuals with high socioeconomic status, particularly those with more education, may comfortably reveal their cultural capital when interacting with others of a similar class, but when engaging with those lacking cultural capital or expressing their opinions socially, they may define and hide these ideas as "unpleasant" (*ibid.*, p. 47). Also, while individuals with high socioeconomic status may sometimes enjoy lowbrow cultural products, they do so with an ironic stance, maintaining a critical distance and preserving their fundamental highbrow perspective (Ollivier 2008, p. 133). Therefore, it is debatable whether these culturally inclusive

values can be faithfully connected to omnivorous tastes or whether individuals' expressions truly reflect their genuine ideas without posturing.

However, previously, cultural inclusionism has largely been examined as a general and broad concept of inclusion, with little attention paid to its specific core dimensions. Understanding the specific aspects in which inclusion has developed holds academic potential, as it can shed light on the mechanisms by which omnivores have emerged socially and help explain the erosion of distinctions between hierarchies of individuals and genres within culture and art. In the artistic classification systems proposed by DiMaggio (1987), cultural and artistic consumers engage in boundary-making around specific genres based on their social group affiliations, while institutions also define the social positions and boundaries of these genres (p. 441). Therefore, it can be inferred that, to truly embody cultural inclusionism in the consumer dimension of culture and art, individuals must possess two distinct facets of cultural inclusionism: first, the belief that one can appreciate and enjoy culture and art even as an outsider to the presumed status of these forms, and second, the recognition that the boundaries between cultural and artistic genres are inherently fluid and indistinct. To be succinct, the former can be named the "consumer facet," representing the human dimension, while the latter can be termed the "genre facet," representing the material dimension. Generally, when individuals take on numerous social roles beyond their hierarchical status and continuously engage in "culture-switching," they may stop viewing culture and art as solely dependent on one's status origin (*ibid.*). Meanwhile, in a parallel process, genre distinctions simultaneously become increasingly blurred (DiMaggio 1987, p. 449). Therefore, the cultural inclusionism of both the consumer facet and the genre facet can be presumed to move in a comparable direction. This study aims to verify these specific directions, which have not yet been explored in previous research.

In line with Peterson and Kern (1996), DiMaggio (1987) notes that modern Western society is experiencing cultural declassification, with ritual distinctions between individuals having abated. This attitude of cultural declassification and enhanced inclusion is more commonly observed among the upper class, particularly those with higher economic, educational, and occupational status (*ibid.*). Additionally, the market plays a role in blurring and weakening genre classification boundaries in order to maximize profits by appealing to a broad audience, rather than targeting only a small group of dedicated enthusiasts (*ibid.*, p. 449-450). Similarly, South Korea, following a development track akin to the Western world, is believed to have also reduced its emphasis on making distinctions. This has been indirectly

supported by numerous studies analyzing explicit behaviors (Han et al. 2007; Yang 2009; Nam and Hong 2011; Lee and Lee 2014; Kim et al. 2020).

Cultural Cynicism

The term “cynicism” originally referred to a philosophical standpoint that rejects conventionally pursued values, such as material wealth and social status (Laërtius [1853] 2010; Desmond [2006] 2008). Diogenes, the renowned Greek philosopher, exemplified this philosophy through his pursuit of a simple and self-sufficient lifestyle, as well as his efforts to challenge social norms through the use of sarcasm (Laërtius [1853] 2010). In the modern context, Sloterdijk (1987) viewed cynicism as a dominant approach in contemporary culture. More specifically, modern cynicism can be described as “defiant hopes” and the “listlessness of egoisms,” leading individuals to exhibit disbelief and detachment (ibid., p. 6). Mazella (2007) highlights that cynicism, characterized by skepticism toward dominant and authoritative social structures, functions as a central and pervasive value in modern culture. This cynicism serves as a shield against emotional disappointment and disillusionment for individuals, Mazella writes. While the cynic’s perspective presents a future devoid of hope for change and improvement, Mazella (2007) argues that understanding cynicism can serve as a key to overcoming the stalemates in discussions aimed at positive change, potentially leading to real progress.

The contemporary art world and overall culture and arts can be viewed cynically due to their excessive intellectualization and commodification (Wolfe 2008). These factors contribute to art becoming an insular, elitist domain, disconnected from the general public, where intellectualism often overshadows artistic creativity (ibid.). Artists and those within the art world may become overly absorbed in intellectualism, to the point where even the artists themselves struggle to fully comprehend the meaning of their own work, lacking autonomy and becoming mired in abstruse, esoteric jargon (Barzun 1974). Furthermore, some artists, in pursuit of noble aesthetics and elitism, may align themselves with high-class interests, a tendency that can be observed even in artists from working-class backgrounds who become predisposed to the pursuits of the leisure class (Richardson 1984, p. 94).

Though modern society has experienced blurred boundaries between genres and increased accessibility for the public, a sense of being uninvited and alienated can still persist in some individuals. They may inherently view art and culture as hypocritical, and when this notion becomes overly

radicalized, they may perceive themselves as living lives entirely disconnected from culture and art. This perspective may stem from cynicism toward the art world, believing that even artists, burdened with pedantic predispositions, do not fully grasp the true meaning of art. Those of lower socioeconomic status are often more likely to adopt this cynical view. Limited financial resources can prevent them from engaging with art, while lower educational attainment may hinder their ability to fully understand the meanings behind it (Bourdieu 1984). Additionally, lower occupational status, which reduces networking opportunities with other players in diverse sectors, can contribute to their culturally cynical attitude (DiMaggio 1987). Moreover, cultural cynicism can be reinforced by the behavior of the upper class, who, in an effort to maintain social desirability, may avoid engaging in conversations with the lower class due to concerns about knowledge gaps (Vassenden and Jonvik 2019). Vassenden and Jonvik (2019) also highlight a cynical tendency among less-educated groups, who often show disregard for the significance of cultural capital and tend to self-identify as autonomous individuals.

Research Framework

Data

The data used in this study come from the National Perception Survey on the Fragmentation of Society and Regional Gap conducted by Gallup for the joint project “*eokkaedongmu*” between the BK21 FOUR project groups of the sociology departments at Yonsei University and Jeonbuk National University. The survey examines the extent of regional disparities and inequalities perceived by individuals in Korean society. The online survey covered adult males and females nationwide. Two waves of surveys were conducted, yielding 2,915 responses in the first survey and 2,177 in the second survey. For this study, data from the initial survey, encompassing 2,915 participants, were analyzed, as the questions related to cultural valuation schemes, our dependent variable, were included exclusively in the first wave.

Dependent variables: Cultural valuation scheme

In this study, cultural valuation schemes, which are dependent variables, are divided into two main categories: cultural inclusionism and cultural

cynicism. Cultural inclusionism is classified into two subcategories: the consumer facet and the genre facet. Each of the two facets of cultural inclusionism and the value of cultural cynicism is composed of two items. These items were measured using a four-point Likert scale (“strongly agree,” “agree,” “disagree,” and “strongly disagree”) in response to statements regarding views on culture and art. Values of 4 for “strongly agree,” 3 for “agree,” 2 for “disagree,” and 1 for “strongly disagree” were coded and used for analysis.

Cultural inclusionism refers to a mindset that embraces diverse cultural experiences without hierarchical distinctions. We consider these two facets when analyzing cultural inclusionism: the consumer facet, representing the human aspect, and the genre facet, representing the material aspect. The consumer facet denotes a flattened perspective of hierarchies among individuals who appreciate culture. The genre facet entails flattening hierarchies between different kinds of culture.

If someone embodies cultural inclusionism, we can expect that they acknowledge that high-end culture and popular culture are not exclusive to a specific class and reject the connection between the hierarchical categorization of culture and the hierarchy of social status. Therefore, to measure the consumer facet, we utilized respondents’ degree of agreement with the statements (1) “I believe one can enjoy and appreciate culture and art without much knowledge of culture and art,” and (2) “I think the distinction between high-end and popular culture has nothing to do with the cultural level of those who enjoy and appreciate it.”

Embodying cultural inclusionism in the genre facet refers to the recognition of artistic and cultural values across an extensive and inclusive range of culture and art. When culture and art are evaluated with standardized criteria and specialized expertise, inclusive values are low for this facet. When cultural and artistic expression are reduced to narrowly defined standards or subjected to specialized scrutiny, their inherent diversity and richness may be overlooked or undervalued. In this study, cultural inclusionism in the genre facet is measured by the level of agreement with the statements (1) “There is nothing inherently right or wrong about the meaning and value of literature, music, and art works,” and (2) “It is natural that each person has different ideas about which culture and art are great or outstanding.”

Cultural cynicism, an attitude of denial or distrust toward the enjoyment of culture and art and its values, may involve denying the inherent value of culture and art itself or rejecting the correlation between the appreciation of

culture and art and the worth of individuals. In this study, cultural cynicism is measured by the level of agreement with the statements (1) "I think people who enjoy culture and art are hypocritical rather than noble," and (2) "I think that the perspective and taste of culture and art do not significantly affect human values." In the case of (2), responses were reverse-coded and measured on a four-point scale.

Independent variables: Age and socioeconomic status

Age, a main independent variable, is measured as the age of the respondent at the time of the survey. This was used as a continuous variable. An individual's socioeconomic status, another major independent variable in this study, is broadly divided into three categories: economic status, educational status, and occupational status. Each variable is used as an independent variable.

Economic status is measured as the average monthly household income in Korean won. Because individuals in their late teens to early 20s, who are likely to be students, and the older population, who have retired with no labor income, are part of the sample, it was deemed most appropriate to utilize household income to fully reflect their economic status. The average monthly household income comprises 14 choices: "less than 990,000 won," "1 to 1.49 million won," "1.5 to 1.99 million won," "2 to 2.49 million won," "2.5 to 2.99 million won," "3 to 3.49 million won," "3.5 to 3.99 million won," "4 to 4.99 million won," "5 to 5.99 million won," "6 to 7.99 million won," "8 to 9.99 million won," "10 to 14.99 million won," "15 to 19.99 million won," and "more than 20 million won." Respondents were asked to select one of these options. The categorical choices were recoded with the median value and treated as continuous variables.

Educational status is measured as the highest educational institution the respondent has attended, including instances of graduation, current enrollment, or withdrawal. They chose one of eight options: "no school," "elementary school," "middle school," "high school," "two- or three-year college," "four-year college," "graduate master's program," and "graduate doctorate program." We categorized these options into two groups: "four-year college or more" and "less than four-year college." Dummy variable recoding was employed for educational status in the analysis, with "less than four-year college" used as the reference category throughout the analysis.

For occupational status, nine groups of jobs were provided to choose from: "managers/administrators, public officials, military personnel," "professionals, technicians, and related workers," "clerical workers," "service

workers,” “sales workers,” “agricultural and fishery workers,” “skilled workers and related technical workers,” “machine operators and assemblers,” and “unskilled laborers.” This study included occupational status as a set of dummy variables, including four groups: “management/administration, professional, clerical,” “service, sales,” “unskilled labor, agricultural/fishery, machine/technical,” and “unemployed.” “Management/administration, professional, clerical,” “service, sales,” and “unskilled labor, agricultural/fishery, machine/technical,” are groups ranked in order of highest to lowest occupational status. “Unemployed” refers to individuals who are currently jobless, students, housewives, or compulsory military officers. In the analysis, “unskilled labor, agricultural/fishery, machine/technical” served as a reference category.

Control variables

We controlled for demographic variables, including respondents’ gender and marital status. Gender was measured as a dichotomy between male and female. For the analysis, dummy variables with female as the reference were used. Marital status was measured using five options: “never married,” “currently married (including common-law marriage),” “separated,” “divorced,” and “widowed.” These were grouped into a set of three dummy variables: “never married,” “currently married (including common-law marriage),” and “once married.” The currently married group served as the reference dummy.

Additionally, we included cultural capital investment and culture and art consumption as control variables. Because this study aims to examine how an individual’s socioeconomic status and age are related to their cultural values, we controlled for two personal characteristics that could directly or indirectly influence cultural values. First, for cultural capital investment, respondents’ degree of agreement with the statement “I often seek information about culture and art through media reports, online sources, books, etc.” was utilized. For culture and art consumption, respondents’ agreement with the statement “I allocate a significant portion of my economic expenditures to culture and art consumption” was used. Both variables were measured on a four-point Likert scale (“strongly agree,” “agree,” “disagree,” and “strongly disagree”). For the analysis, the responses “strongly agree” and “agree” were coded as 1, and “disagree” and “strongly disagree” were coded as 0.

Descriptive statistics and methodology

Table 2 displays the descriptive statistics for all variables used in this study. Regarding cultural inclusionism, both the consumer facet and genre facet showed averages higher than 2.5 for all items. The first item of the consumer facet, “I believe one can enjoy and appreciate culture and art without much knowledge of culture and art,” has an average of 3.164. This indicates that respondents generally believe that culture and art are not exclusive to those with extensive knowledge of culture and art. The second item, “I think the distinction between high-end and popular culture has nothing to do with the cultural level of those who enjoy and appreciate it,” has an average of 2.697. This shows a similar proportion of agreement and disagreement among respondents. For the genre facet, the average agreement with the first item, “There is nothing inherently right or wrong about the meaning and value of literature, music, and art works,” is 3.081. The average agreement for the second item, “It is natural that each person has different ideas about which culture and art are great or outstanding,” is 3.434. This suggests that the respondents generally hold an inclusive and democratic attitude toward interpreting and evaluating the value of culture and art.

For cultural cynicism, i.e., the attitude of negativity or distrust regarding the enjoyment and value of culture and art, the average agreement with the first item, “I think people who enjoy culture and art are hypocritical rather than noble,” is 1.923. This suggests that the respondents are generally not culturally cynical and that those who hold culturally cynical beliefs constitute a relatively small minority. On the other hand, the average agreement with the second item, “I think that the perspective and taste of culture and art do not significantly affect human values,” is 2.269. These responses lean slightly in a positive direction, suggesting weak agreement regarding the relationship between one’s perspective and taste in culture and art and their values.

The average amount of monthly average household income (in 10,000 Korean won) is 601.798 with a standard deviation of 408.027. Regarding educational attainment, individuals with a four-year college education or more constitute 60.3% of the sample, indicating that the majority of the sample has attained a four-year college education or higher. Among the four occupational groups— “management/administration, professional, clerical,” “service, sales,” “unskilled labor, agricultural/fishery, machine/technical,” and “unemployed”—the group “management/administration, professional, clerical” accounts for 45.9% of the total. “service, sales” constitutes 17.2%, and “unskilled labor, agricultural/fishery, machine/technical” makes up 16.5%,

while “unemployed” accounts for 20.5%. In terms of gender, males comprised 50.8%, and females comprised 49.2%. In terms of marital status, 63.6% are currently married, followed by 27.6% who have never married, and 8.7% who were once married. For culture and art consumption, 18.7% of respondents allocate a significant portion of their economic expenditures to culture and art activities. Regarding cultural capital investment, 51.7% of respondents actively seek information about culture and art through media reports, online sources, books, etc.

We used ordinal logistic regression analysis to examine the relationship between the dependent and independent variables, as the distances between response categories cannot be assumed to be equal. All statistical analyses were conducted using Stata 17.

TABLE 2
DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS FOR THE SAMPLE OF 2,915 INDIVIDUALS.

Variable	Mean/Proportion	S.D.	Min	Max
Cultural Inclusionism: Consumer Facet 1.				
“I believe one can enjoy and appreciate culture and art without much knowledge of culture and art.”				
Strongly agree = 4		0.293		
Agree = 3	3.164	0.587		
Disagree = 2		0.110		
Strongly disagree = 1		0.010		
Cultural Inclusionism: Consumer Facet 2.				
“I think the distinction between high-end and popular culture has nothing to do with the cultural level of those who enjoy and appreciate it.”				
Strongly agree = 4		0.166		
Agree = 3	2.697	0.440		
Disagree = 2		0.320		
Strongly disagree = 1		0.074		
Cultural Inclusionism: Genre Facet 1.				
“There is nothing inherently right or wrong about the meaning and value of literature, music, and art works.”				
Strongly agree = 4		0.293		
Agree = 3	3.081	0.523		
Disagree = 2		0.156		
Strongly disagree = 1		0.028		
Cultural Inclusionism: Genre Facet 2.				
“It is natural that each person has different ideas about which culture and art are great or outstanding.”				
Strongly agree = 4		0.500		
Agree = 3	3.434	0.443		
Disagree = 2		0.050		
Strongly disagree = 1		0.008		

Variable	Mean/Proportion	S.D.	Min	Max
Cultural Cynicism 1.				
"I think people who enjoy culture and art are hypocritical rather than noble."				
Strongly agree = 4		0.019		
Agree = 3	1.923	0.136		
Disagree = 2		0.595		
Strongly disagree = 1		0.250		
Cultural Cynicism 2.				
"I think that the perspective and taste of culture and art do not significantly affect human values."				
Strongly agree = 4		0.061		
Agree = 3	2.269	0.282		
Disagree = 2		0.523		
Strongly disagree = 1		0.135		
Age	46.939	13.842	18	88
Economic status				
Household income (10000 Korean won)	601.798	408.027	99	2000
Educational status				
4-year college or more		0.603		
Less than 4-year college		0.397		
Occupational status				
Management/administration, professional, clerical		0.459		
Service, sales		0.172		
Unskilled labor, agricultural/ fishery, machine/technical		0.165		
Unemployed		0.205		
Gender				
Male		0.508		
Female		0.492		
Marital status				
Never married		0.276		
Currently married (including common-law marriage)		0.636		
Once married		0.087		
Culture and art consumption	O ×	0.187		
Cultural capital	O	0.517		
investment	×	0.483		

Analysis and Findings

The results of model estimation are presented for three models. The first model includes only control variables, the second model adds age, and the third model adds the individual's socioeconomic status. Because the three models are nested, they are estimated and presented hierarchically to show the added effects of each variable. This approach follows Choi and Lee (2012), which recognized both generation and class as factors that define the cultural preferences and consumption patterns of Korean society members.

Cultural inclusionism: Consumer facet

Table 3 presents the results of ordinal logistic regression for the two items of the consumer facet category. Models 1–3 analyze the degree of agreement with the first statement of the consumer facet “I believe one can enjoy and appreciate culture and art without much knowledge of culture and art.” Models 4–6, on the other hand, scrutinize the degree of agreement with the second statement of the consumer facet “I think the distinction between high-end and popular culture has nothing to do with the cultural level of those who enjoy and appreciate it.” Figure 1 visualizes the marginal probabilities of the statistically significant associations between the independent variables of the consumer facet.

For the first item, Model 1, with only control variables, showed that gender, marital status (never married), and cultural capital investment had significant associations with having culturally inclusive values in the consumer facet. In the case of gender and cultural capital investment, these associations persisted in Model 2 and Model 3 when age and socioeconomic status variables were added. Females and individuals with higher investments in cultural capital tend to exhibit a strong tendency to disregard hierarchical distinctions, recognizing that one can enjoy culture and art without extensive knowledge. Model 4, with only the control variables, marital status (never married), culture and art consumption, and cultural capital investment, showed significant associations on having culturally inclusive values of consumer facet. Model 4, with only control variables, showed significant associations between marital status (never married), culture and art consumption, and cultural capital investment with cultural inclusionism in the consumer facet. When age was added in Model 5, the association with marital status disappeared, and in the final Model 6, greater investment in culture and art consumption and cultural capital was associated with a

stronger inclination toward cultural inclusionism, rejecting the hypothesis of an association between the distinction of high and popular culture and the cultural level of the audience. Both cultural capital investment for the first item and culture and art consumption and cultural capital investment for the second item were significant. This implies that individuals actively engaging in cultural activities, either by gaining knowledge (cultural capital investment) or actively consuming culture and art, are likely to hold egalitarian views toward culture and art consumers.

In Model 2 and Model 3, age and socioeconomic status variables, specifically educational status and occupational status, were shown to be significant. The results indicate that with increasing age, there is a strengthening of hierarchical and conservative attitudes toward the appreciation of culture and art, which emphasizes the need for knowledge about those ($e^{-0.019} \approx 0.981$, $p < 0.001$). The detailed response distribution is depicted in Figure 1. As shown in Figure 1, with increasing age, there is a tendency to reject the idea that individuals with less knowledge about culture and art can enjoy and appreciate them, as evidenced by a higher probability of choosing “strongly disagree” and “disagree.” Conversely, for positive responses such as “agree” and “strongly agree,” while the probability of choosing “agree”—signifying mild agreement—increases with age, the likelihood of selecting “strongly agree” decreases significantly with age. The youth in contemporary Korean society tend to be more positive about the possibility of escaping cultural hierarchy than the older and middle-aged groups. This finding of cultural inclusion among the younger individuals aligns with the findings of Lizardo and Skiles (2015).

Educational achievement ($e^{0.244} \approx 1.276$, $p = 0.005$) and occupational status, particularly being in the “management/administrative, professional, clerical” group ($e^{0.385} \approx 1.470$, $p < 0.001$), showed a statistically significant relationship. In other words, having at least a four-year university education and belonging to the “management/administrative, professional, clerical” group are associated with the belief that one can enjoy culture and art even with limited knowledge. Figure 1 shows that while the probability of selecting “agree” decreases with an educational level below a four-year college, the probability of choosing “strongly agree” increases at a rate faster than the decrease in weak. Furthermore, the first item measuring the consumer facet of cultural inclusionism received responses in which the majority of individuals agreed. However, in accordance with this finding, it was observed that even within the low probability of disagreement, the likelihood of selecting “disagree” decreases with higher levels of education. This overall

TABLE 3
RESULTS OF ORDINAL LOGISTIC REGRESSION ANALYSIS FOR CONSUMER FACET OF CULTURAL INCLUSIONISM.

	Consumer Facet 1. “I believe one can enjoy and appreciate culture and art without much knowledge of culture and art.”			Consumer Facet 2. “I think the distinction between high-end and popular culture has nothing to do with the cultural level of those who enjoy and appreciate it.”		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Age		-0.026*** (0.004)	-0.019*** (0.004)		-0.008* (0.003)	-0.003 (0.004)
Economic status						
LN (Household income)			0.104 (0.059)			0.083 (0.055)
Educational status (vs. under 4-year college)						
4-year college or more = 1			0.244** (0.086)			0.061 (0.080)
Occupational status (vs. unskilled labor, agriculture/fishery, mechanical/technical)						
Management/administrative, professional, clerical = 1			0.385** (0.121)			0.298** (0.110)
Service, sales = 1			0.186 (0.133)			0.147 (0.120)
Unemployed = 1			0.139 (0.131)			0.195 (0.119)
Male = 1	-0.264*** (0.074)	-0.241** (0.075)	-0.260*** (0.077)	-0.035 (0.069)	-0.028 (0.069)	-0.024 (0.071)
Marital status (vs. currently married)						
Never married = 1	0.685*** (0.085)	0.187 (0.110)	0.294** (0.114)	0.283*** (0.080)	0.130 (0.104)	0.198 (0.107)
Once married = 1	-0.025 (0.135)	0.111 (0.137)	0.253 (0.141)	-0.225 (0.124)	-0.183 (0.126)	-0.093 (0.129)
Culture and art consumption = 1	0.003 (0.099)	-0.025 (0.100)	-0.039 (0.100)	0.245** (0.093)	0.237* (0.093)	0.237* (0.093)
Cultural capital investment = 1	0.503*** (0.078)	0.520*** (0.079)	0.468*** (0.079)	0.233** (0.072)	0.236** (0.072)	0.206** (0.073)
Cut1	-4.369*** (0.196)	-5.745*** (0.276)	-4.408*** (0.489)	-2.342*** (0.091)	-2.738*** (0.196)	-1.779*** (0.427)
Cut2	-1.750*** (0.083)	-3.117*** (0.209)	-1.767*** (0.457)	-0.233*** (0.069)	-0.629*** (0.187)	0.337 (0.424)
Cut3	1.223*** (0.078)	-0.099 (0.198)	1.287** (0.456)	1.833*** (0.079)	1.441*** (0.189)	2.415*** (0.427)
Observations	2915	2915	2915	2915	2915	2915

Standard errors in parentheses.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

trend is similarly confirmed in terms of occupational status. In summary, the prevalence of culturally inclusive tendencies in Korean society is associated with both the younger generation's values and the inclusive tendencies of the upper class.

In Model 6, age did not show statistically significant associations, while among the occupational groups, the “management/administrative, professional, and clerical” group had a significant association ($e^{0.298} \approx 1.347, p < 0.007$). Having a higher occupational status significantly reinforces the tendency toward cultural inclusionism. Figure 1 shows that the “management/administrative, professional, clerical” group is more likely to agree, compared to the “unskilled labor, agriculture/fishery, mechanical/technical” group. Individuals with high occupational status reject the notion that high culture is exclusive to the upper class with abundant cultural capital while popular culture is mainly for the lower class. This attitude can be interpreted as a challenge to the theory of cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984), contributing to cultural egalitarianism in Korean society.

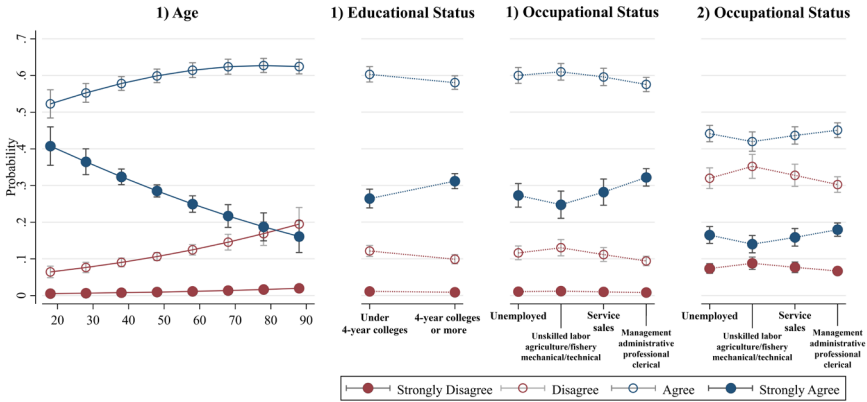


FIG. 1.—MARGINAL PROBABILITIES OF STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT CASES AMONG THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLES OF CONSUMER FACETS 1 AND 2, WITH A SHARED Y-AXIS (PROBABILITY) ACROSS ALL GRAPHS FOR CONSISTENT COMPARISON. [CONSUMER FACET 1: DEGREE OF AGREEMENT WITH THE STATEMENT “I BELIEVE ONE CAN ENJOY AND APPRECIATE CULTURE AND ART WITHOUT MUCH KNOWLEDGE OF CULTURE AND ART.” / CONSUMER FACET 2: DEGREE OF AGREEMENT WITH THE STATEMENT “I THINK THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN HIGH-END AND POPULAR CULTURE HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH THE CULTURAL LEVEL OF THOSE WHO ENJOY AND APPRECIATE IT.”]

Cultural inclusionism: Genre facet

Table 4 presents the results of ordinal logistic regression for the two items of the genre facet of cultural inclusionism. Models 7–9 analyze the degree of agreement with the first item, “There is nothing inherently right or wrong about the meaning and value of literature, music, and art works.” Models 10–12 focus on the second item, “It is natural that each person has different ideas about which culture and art are great or outstanding.” Additionally, Figure 2 illustrates in graphical form the marginal probabilities of statistically significant instances among the independent variables related to the genre facet.

For the first item, in Model 7 (with only control variables), gender, marital status (never married), and cultural capital investment show significant associations. However, when age and socioeconomic status variables are added in Model 9, only gender and cultural capital investment remain significant. Regarding the second item, in Model 10 (with only control variables), gender, marital status (never married), culture and art consumption, and cultural capital investment are significant. However, marital status loses its significance when age and socioeconomic status variables are added in Model 12. Cultural capital investment shows a positive association in Model 12, while culture and art consumption shows a negative association in the same model. This contrasts with the consumer facet, where both variables had positive associations. Individuals investing in cultural capital by acquiring knowledge and information about the art contribute to cultural inclusionism by embracing diverse opinions about culture and art. However, those engaging in culture and art consumption and actualizing their appreciation often exhibit a uniform definition of excellent culture and presume distinct boundaries between genres, which contradicts the trend toward cultural egalitarianism.

For both items of the genre facet, associations with age and class were observed. Model 9 and Model 12 reveal that as age increases, the likelihood of displaying cultural inclusionism about genres decreases (Model 9: ($e^{-0.021} \approx 0.979$, $p < 0.001$); Model 12: ($e^{-0.015} \approx 0.986$, $p < 0.001$). As shown in Figure 2, as age increases, the probability of choosing negative responses such as “strongly disagree” and “disagree” rises, indicating a proclivity for rigid and hierarchical genre distinctions. However, for positive responses like “agree” and “strongly agree,” the relationship with age varies. The probability of choosing “agree” actually increases with age, but the probability of choosing “strongly agree” decreases significantly with age. This suggests that even if

TABLE 4
RESULTS OF ORDINAL LOGISTIC REGRESSION ANALYSIS FOR GENRE FACET OF
CULTURAL INCLUSIONISM.

	Genre Facet 1. “There is nothing inherently right or wrong about the meaning and value of literature, music, and art works.”			Genre Facet 2. “It is natural that each person has different ideas about which culture and art are great or outstanding.”		
	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10	Model 11	Model 12
Age		-0.030*** (0.003)	-0.021*** (0.004)		-0.022*** (0.004)	-0.015*** (0.004)
Economic status						
LN (Household income)			0.130* (0.057)			0.087 (0.059)
Educational status (vs. under 4-year college)						
4-year college or more = 1			0.340*** (0.083)			0.321*** (0.085)
Occupational status (vs. unskilled labor, agriculture/fishery, mechanical/technical)						
Management/administrative, professional, clerical = 1			0.449*** (0.114)			0.403*** (0.119)
Service, sales = 1			0.236 (0.126)			0.330* (0.130)
Unemployed = 1			0.147 (0.124)			0.354** (0.129)
Male = 1	-0.214** (0.071)	-0.179* (0.072)	-0.205** (0.074)	-0.229** (0.074)	-0.204** (0.074)	-0.190* (0.076)
Marital status (vs. currently married)						
Never married = 1	0.554*** (0.082)	-0.025 (0.106)	0.102 (0.110)	0.538*** (0.085)	0.113 (0.110)	0.191 (0.114)
Once married = 1	-0.222 (0.129)	-0.061 (0.131)	0.118 (0.135)	-0.106 (0.131)	0.008 (0.133)	0.136 (0.137)
Culture and art consumption = 1	-0.044 (0.095)	-0.074 (0.096)	-0.089 (0.096)	-0.356*** (0.099)	-0.380*** (0.099)	-0.392*** (0.099)
Cultural capital investment = 1	0.318*** (0.075)	0.336*** (0.075)	0.258*** (0.076)	0.263*** (0.077)	0.276*** (0.078)	0.213** (0.078)
Cut1	-3.409*** (0.127)	-4.988*** (0.226)	-3.336*** (0.449)	-4.831*** (0.223)	-5.980*** (0.293)	-4.625*** (0.498)
Cut2	-1.339*** (0.076)	-2.901*** (0.199)	-1.232** (0.438)	-2.740*** (0.101)	-3.886*** (0.215)	-2.520*** (0.457)
Cut3	1.083*** (0.074)	-0.428* (0.190)	1.289** (0.437)	0.096 (0.073)	-1.025*** (0.198)	0.377 (0.453)
Observations	2915	2915	2915	2915	2915	2915
Standard errors in parentheses. * <i>p</i> < .05, ** <i>p</i> < .01, *** <i>p</i> < .001.						

positive, strong cultural inclusionism is less likely to be observed among older individuals. This finding, similar to the first category of the consumer facet, is consistent with Lizardo and Skiles (2015), who assert that the younger generation shows a more culturally inclusive attitude.

Regarding class associations, significant associations were noted for economic status in the case of the first item of the genre facet, and for educational attainment and occupational status in both items. In the first item of the genre facet, individuals with higher household income are likely to have cultural inclusionism in the genre facet, rejecting the notion of a

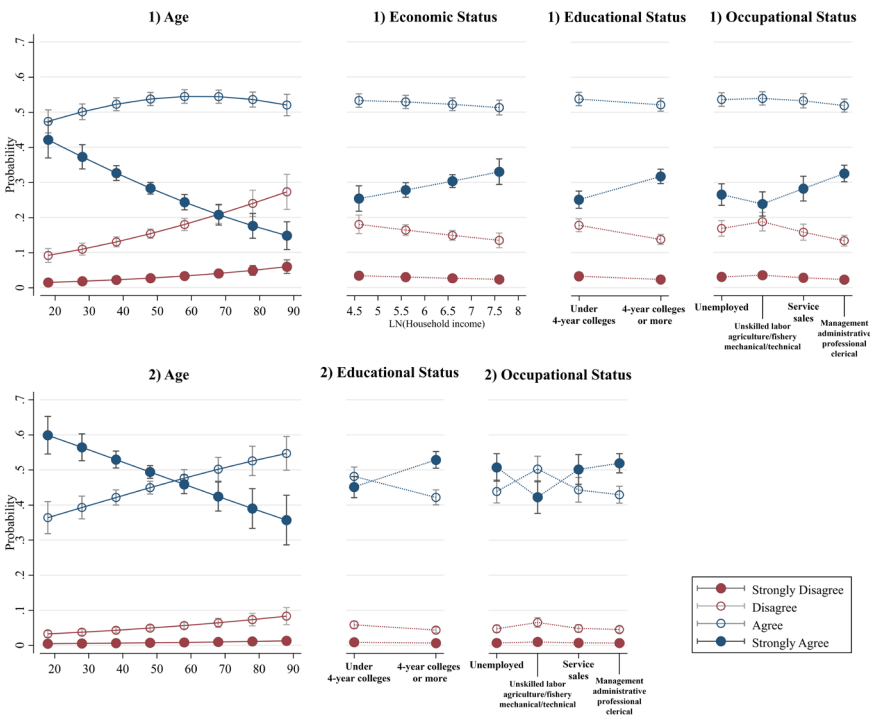


FIG. 2.—MARGINAL PROBABILITIES OF STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT CASES AMONG THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLES OF GENRE FACETS 1 AND 2, WITH A SHARED Y-AXIS (PROBABILITY) ACROSS ALL GRAPHS FOR CONSISTENT COMPARISON. [GENRE FACET 1: DEGREE OF AGREEMENT WITH THE STATEMENT “THERE IS NOTHING INHERENTLY RIGHT OR WRONG ABOUT THE MEANING AND VALUE OF LITERATURE, MUSIC, AND ART WORKS.” / GENRE FACET 2: DEGREE OF AGREEMENT WITH THE STATEMENT “IT IS NATURAL THAT EACH PERSON HAS DIFFERENT IDEAS ABOUT WHICH CULTURE AND ART ARE GREAT OR OUTSTANDING.”]

single noble meaning of art and culture. Individuals with an education level of a four-year college or higher are significantly more likely to report culturally inclusive values that blur the hierarchies and distinctions between genres (Model 9: $e^{0.340} \approx 1.405$, $p < 0.001$; Model 12: $e^{0.321} \approx 1.378$, $p < 0.001$). Furthermore, as occupational status progresses from “unskilled labor, agriculture/fishery, mechanical/technical” to “service, sales” (Model 12: $e^{0.330} \approx 1.391$, $p < 0.011$) and to “management/administrative, professional, clerical” (Model 9: $e^{0.449} \approx 1.567$, $p < 0.001$, Model 12: $e^{0.403} \approx 1.496$, $p = 0.001$), the likelihood of having culturally inclusive values increases sequentially. Figure 2 reveals that with higher economic, educational, and occupational status, the likelihood of choosing “agree” diminishes. This decline is offset by a corresponding increase in the probability of selecting “strongly agree.” This observation underscores the connection between an elevated socioeconomic position and a deeper commitment to cultural inclusionism. Overall, the results suggest that individuals with higher socioeconomic status are more likely to exhibit a proclivity for cultural inclusiveness in both the consumer and genre facets. This indicates that cultural inclusionism in the consumer and genre facets operate in similar directions.

Cultural cynicism among the lower classes

Table 5 presents the results from ordinal logistic regression analysis of cultural cynicism. Models 13–15 show the outcomes from estimating models regarding the degree of agreement with the statement “I think people who enjoy culture and art are hypocritical rather than noble,” while Models 16–18 display the results from analyzing agreement with the statement “I think that the perspective and taste of culture and art do not significantly affect human values.” Figure 3 graphically illustrates the marginal probabilities of the statistically significant associations of the independent variables pertaining to cultural cynicism.

For the first item of cultural cynicism, Model 13, which included only control variables, showed that gender, marital status, culture and art consumption, and cultural capital investment were significantly associated with culturally cynical attitudes. Except for some categories of marital status, these associations persisted in the final model after adding age and socioeconomic status variables. For the second item of cultural cynicism, Model 16, with only control variables, revealed that culture and art consumption and cultural capital investment showed a significant association, and this relationship also persisted after adding age and

socioeconomic status variables.

In the first item of cultural cynicism, in Model 15, cultural capital investment and culture and art consumption show opposing associations. Those who invest in cultural capital and accumulate information about culture and art tend to show an attitude that enjoying culture and art is not hypocritical ($e^{-0.196} \approx 0.822$, $p = 0.012$). In contrast, individuals who consume culture and art, despite investing time and money voluntarily, paradoxically exhibit a significantly culturally cynical attitude, considering their own enjoyment of culture and art as hypocritical ($e^{0.367} \approx 1.443$, $p < 0.001$). This contrasting relationship suggests that the groups investing in cultural capital and those consuming culture and art could be different. Cultural capital investment involves acquiring knowledge and information about the field, allowing people genuinely interested in culture and art to access it. On the other hand, culture and art consumption requires much more economic cost than simple cultural capital investment. This implies that among individuals in the culture and art consumption group, there may be a majority who, despite spending a significant amount of time and money on culture and art, paradoxically consider discussing it hypocritical. The second item of cultural cynicism in Model 18 shows that both cultural capital investment and culture and art consumption variables have negative influences (cultural capital investment: $e^{-0.614} \approx 0.541$, $p < 0.001$; culture and art consumption: $e^{-0.705} \approx 0.494$, $p < 0.001$). Two interpretations are possible: individuals investing in cultural capital and engaging in culture and art consumption believe that their values are significantly influenced by their insight and taste for culture and art, or, alternatively, individuals who lack cultural capital view cultural capital investment and consumption with indifference, establishing autonomy by believing that their preferred and enjoyed culture and art does not determine their values.

When age and socioeconomic status variables are added and presented in Model 15 and Model 18, age does not show significant associations. For the first item, Model 15 reveals that economic status, educational status, and occupational status are significantly associated with cultural cynicism. Higher household income is associated with a lower likelihood of being culturally cynical, as illustrated in Figure 3 ($e^{-0.240} \approx 0.787$, $p < 0.001$). The average response for the first item of cultural cynicism was 1.92 points, with a considerable proportion of respondents expressing disagreement. Figure 3 shows that individuals with low economic status are more likely to perceive people who enjoy culture and art as hypocritical. Additionally, having a job in unskilled labor, agriculture/fishery, or mechanical/technical fields, which

have lower occupational status than the management/administrative, professional, and clerical group ($e^{-0.258} \approx 0.773$, $p = 0.030$), and having less than a four-year college education ($e^{-0.392} \approx 0.676$, $p < 0.001$), increases the probability of displaying culturally cynical tendencies. As presented in Figure 3, when the education and occupational levels are lower, the probability of engaging in cultural cynicism is higher. In the final model of the second item, Model 18, only educational status has a significant association. Having less than a four-year college education is associated with a significantly higher probability of believing that one's values are not influenced by insight and taste for culture and art ($e^{-0.340} \approx 0.712$, $p < 0.001$). Figure 3 shows that when one's education level is less than a four-year college, the probability of agreement is higher, and the probability of disagreement is lower, compared to those with a four-year college education or higher. This indicates that individuals with lower educational attainment are more likely to hold the cynical belief that cultural perspectives and tastes are not strongly influential on human values and view themselves as independent from them.

Overall, individuals with lower levels of education and income often express a cynical attitude toward the societal value placed on culture and art, minimizing their relationship with the culture they enjoy. While this may initially seem like a reaction to the perceived arrogance of the upper class, when viewed in the context of the cultural inclusionism typically associated with the upper class, it can be interpreted differently. That is, their cynical and ignorant stance may have emerged as a response to the superficial cultural inclusion exhibited by the upper class. The working class is less likely to express feelings of inferiority in societies with weaker cultural boundaries and greater cultural inclusion (Lamont 2000, p. 220). This suggests that they do not attribute a sense of nobility to highbrow culture. Moreover, in a highly egalitarian society, individuals lacking cultural capital are less likely to experience feelings of jealousy toward those who enjoy high culture (Vassenden and Jonvik 2019). Furthermore, they may be completely unaware of cultural distinctions and their underprivileged status (*ibid.*). This attitude can be paradoxically termed "reverse distinction," as it ultimately leads to the creation of unconscious boundaries between the lower classes and other social groups. The "reverse distinction" of these lower classes, whether intentional or not, is clearly present in Korean society. This attitude may cause the self-seclusion of the lower class and even lead to the polarization of cultural values between the lower class and other socioeconomic groups, as is indirectly revealed in the GSS results shown in Table 1.

TABLE 5
RESULTS OF ORDINAL LOGISTIC REGRESSION ANALYSIS FOR CULTURAL CYNICISM.

	Cultural Cynicism 1. "I think people who enjoy culture and art are hypocritical rather than noble."			Cultural Cynicism 2. "I think that the perspective and taste of culture and art do not significantly affect human values."		
	Model 13	Model 14	Model 15	Model 16	Model 17	Model 18
Age		0.015*** (0.004)	0.005 (0.004)		0.007* (0.003)	0.001 (0.004)
Economic status						
LN (Household income)			-0.240*** (0.059)			-0.074 (0.057)
Educational status (vs. under 4-year college)						
4-year college or more = 1			-0.392*** (0.087)			-0.340*** (0.083)
Occupational status (vs. unskilled labor, agriculture/fishery, mechanical/technical)						
Management/administrative, professional, clerical = 1			-0.258* (0.119)			-0.182 (0.113)
Service, sales = 1			-0.140 (0.130)			-0.041 (0.124)
Unemployed = 1			-0.107 (0.129)			-0.028 (0.123)
Male = 1	0.247*** (0.074)	0.234** (0.074)	0.270*** (0.076)	-0.078 (0.071)	-0.085 (0.071)	-0.059 (0.073)
Marital status (vs. currently married)						
Never married = 1	-0.452*** (0.085)	-0.163 (0.110)	-0.309** (0.114)	-0.178* (0.082)	-0.036 (0.106)	-0.107 (0.110)
Once married = 1	0.344** (0.132)	0.265* (0.134)	0.061 (0.138)	-0.020 (0.127)	-0.061 (0.128)	-0.177 (0.132)
Culture and art consumption = 1	0.319** (0.102)	0.332** (0.102)	0.367*** (0.102)	-0.714*** (0.099)	-0.706*** (0.099)	-0.705*** (0.099)
Cultural capital investment = 1	-0.268*** (0.077)	-0.274*** (0.077)	-0.196* (0.078)	-0.660*** (0.076)	-0.663*** (0.076)	-0.614*** (0.076)
Cut1	-1.168*** (0.076)	-0.414* (0.198)	-2.760*** (0.455)	-2.512*** (0.088)	-2.137*** (0.195)	-3.207*** (0.444)
Cut2	1.681*** (0.081)	2.449*** (0.205)	0.161 (0.451)	0.137 (0.070)	0.515** (0.190)	-0.533 (0.439)
Cut3	3.946*** (0.150)	4.715*** (0.241)	2.446*** (0.467)	2.274*** (0.095)	2.653*** (0.201)	1.621*** (0.442)
Observations	2915	2915	2915	2915	2915	2915
Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.						

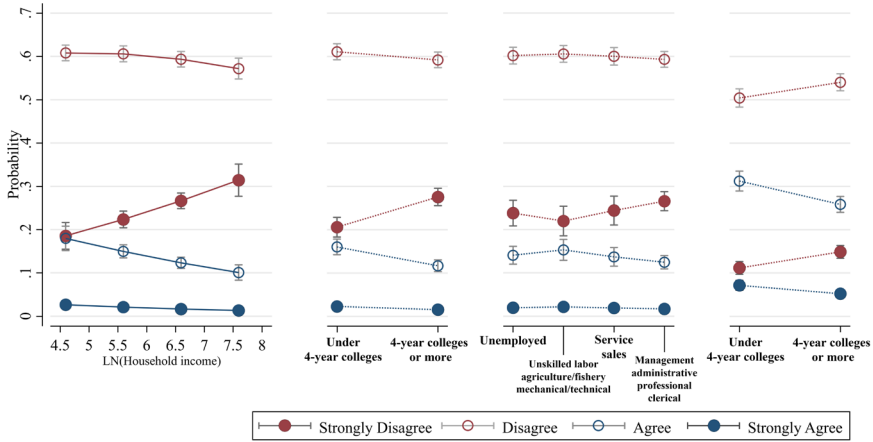


FIG. 3.—MARGINAL PROBABILITIES OF STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT CASES AMONG THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLES OF CULTURAL CYNICISM 1 AND 2, WITH A SHARED Y-AXIS (PROBABILITY) ACROSS ALL GRAPHS FOR CONSISTENT COMPARISON. [CULTURAL CYNICISM 1: DEGREE OF AGREEMENT WITH THE STATEMENT “I THINK PEOPLE WHO ENJOY CULTURE AND ART ARE HYPOCRITICAL RATHER THAN NOBLE.” / CULTURAL CYNICISM 2: DEGREE OF AGREEMENT WITH THE STATEMENT “I THINK THAT THE PERSPECTIVE AND TASTE OF CULTURE AND ART DO NOT SIGNIFICANTLY AFFECT HUMAN VALUES.”]

Discussion

We contribute to the literature on cultural tastes by conducting a data analysis on cultural valuation schemes. Overall, this study reveals that while inclusionist attitudes that encourage an omnivore taste are prevalent, they vary among different social classes. In particular, higher socioeconomic groups tend to have more egalitarian beliefs and inclusionist attitudes, whereas lower socioeconomic groups are more likely to show more cynical attitudes. Age differences also play a role, with younger generations exhibiting stronger tendencies toward cultural inclusionism, possibly stemming from the profound social changes in modern Korean history, marked by wars, democratization movements, and rapid societal shifts. Ultimately, the findings underscore the significant value gap between generations and socioeconomic classes, suggesting the risk of societal polarization.

It is observed that there is a higher probability of respondents from younger generations and socioeconomically privileged groups expressing an inclusive perspective in both the consumer facet and the genre facet. This can be interpreted in two main ways.

First, this can be interpreted as reflecting answers drawn from one's true heart. This inclusive inner core value can be developed as a result of societal value changes including morals, laws, and regulations (Lamont 1992; Peterson and Kern 1996). As Peterson and Kern (1996) have asserted, distinguishing popular culture as lowbrow, as in the past, is no longer an effective strategy for the upper class. Social and historical shifts may have transformed individuals' core values to prioritize inclusion. The transformation of these values is identified as a key element in omnivore theory, and this dispersion of values can be interpreted within a similar context.

On the other hand, these expressions may be a result of social desirability. In today's society, showing a strict distinction between consumers and genres may not be perceived as socially desirable; individuals' inner core values and their expressed values, obscured by personas, may not align. Moreover, these core values may be influenced by historical national cultural repertoires, which vary slightly between countries (Lamont 1992; Lamont and Molnár 2002; Vassenden and Jonvik 2019). In the case of the United States, these repertoires may include individualism, populism, pragmatism, democracy, and egalitarianism (Lamont 1992, pp. 136-137). In European countries such as the United Kingdom and Norway, the spirit of anti-snobbery and strict egalitarianism are national repertoires that led individuals to exhibit a respectful attitude toward various cultures while maintaining distinctions and cultural boundaries in reality (Jarness and Friedman 2017; Vassenden and Jonvik 2019).

In the context of Korea, the theory of compressed modernity can effectively explicate this potential discrepancy between inner core values and expressions. Korea has experienced modernization at an exceptionally aggressive pace, serving as a quintessential example of a society undergoing compressed modernity (Chang 2022). Due to this rapid modernization, traditional and modern values have interacted and coexisted, leading to an indistinct hybridity (*ibid.*). Traditional values rooted in a strict social hierarchy and cultural distinction have not vanished but remain deeply embedded beneath a modernized, culturally inclusive attitude. While the original theory of compressed modernity did not explicitly address cultural and artistic aspects, it can be extended to describe the impact of compressed

modernity on these facets as well.

Despite these findings, our inability to causally determine how this differentiation of values directly influences the enjoyment of culture and art remains a limitation. Furthermore, the values identified in this study are expressions revealed through surveys, which undoubtedly present one's values in response to unfamiliar situations. Therefore, the full depth of respondents' answers and their true nature may not have been fully captured through this process. While respondents may have indicated their culturally inclusive values in the questionnaire, it is challenging to ascertain whether they genuinely hold values that challenge the hierarchy of culture and art and viewers or whether these are empty words. Indeed, they may not have fully disclosed their position on this spectrum of values. Thus, future research should explore the relationship between individual values and cultural enjoyment, the gap between the values expressed to others and one's intimate inner values, and the research prompted by this discrepancy.

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