

# Rethinking cultural consumption through the lens of categorization

**Samuel Haddad-Bacry**<sup>1</sup>, Lecturer, School of Arts and Creative Technologies, University of York

**Géraldine Michel**, Professeure, IAE Paris-Sorbonne, Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne

The authors are members of the Brands & Values Chair

2023, Vol.10, No3

<https://carnetsdeconso.com/papier/rethinking-cultural-consumption-through-the-lens-of-categorization/>

DOI : <https://doi.org/10.48748/1YNV-7S39>

---

<sup>1</sup> Auteur contact : [samuel.haddad-bacry@york.ac.uk](mailto:samuel.haddad-bacry@york.ac.uk)

## Rethinking cultural consumption through the lens of categorization

We live in an era of cultural abundance in which cultural products and opportunities to consume them are more numerous than ever before (Glévarec, 2021). The profound changes in the cultural industries induced by the dematerialization of cultural goods have led to the emergence of gigantic cultural “platforms” that give easy access (Belk, 2014) to collections of cultural products of unprecedented size<sup>2, 3</sup>. In addition to that easy access, French society has a long history of cultural policies aimed at reducing social discrepancies in cultural participation (Bellon, 2016; Esclatine, 2013; Zask, 2016). Despite such abundance, such access and such political efforts, there is a lack of diversity consumed on these platforms<sup>4 & 5</sup> and on the physical markets (Donnat, 2018a, 2018b), and cultural participation in France still reveals social discrepancies (Lombardo & Wolff, 2020). The existing literature on cultural consumption doesn’t sufficiently account for these issues.

### The experiential paradigm

Since Holbrook and Hirschman’s (1982) seminal article, a considerable stream of research has studied the cultural product through the experiential lens (i.e., Bourgeon-Renault, 2000; Bourgeon-Renault et al., 2006; Bronner & de Hoog, 2019; Carù & Cova, 2005, 2011; Debenedetti, 2003; Debenedetti et al., 2009; Jarrier et al., 2019; Pulh & Mencarelli, 2015; Skandalis et al., 2019). The experiential paradigm posits that the value of experiential goods, which materializes during consumer’s interaction with them, is primarily subjective (Addis & Holbrook, 2001). Although “no common understanding exists regarding what consumer experience entails” (Becker & Jaakkola, 2020), this research will address the cultural

---

<sup>2</sup> *How Netflix, Disney+, HBO Max, and more major streamers compare on content and cost.* Travis Clark for Insider (2022). Accessed from: <https://www.businessinsider.com/major-streaming-services-compared-cost-number-of-movies-and-shows-2022-4>

<sup>3</sup> “Most of the services have music catalogs of over 60 million songs”. *Best Music Streaming services of 2023.* Ty Pendlebury for CNet (2022). Accessed from: <https://www.cnet.com/tech/services-and-software/best-music-streaming-service/>

<sup>4</sup> *Data Shows 90 Percent of Streams Go to the Top 1 Percent of Artists.* Emily Blake for Rolling Stone (2020). Accessed from: <https://www.rollingstone.com/pro/news/top-1-percent-streaming-1055005/>

<sup>5</sup> *Does Netflix have a 'long tail'?* VODClickstream.com (2019). Accessed from: <https://vodclickstream.com/does-netflix-have-a-long-tail/>

experience as a holistic process made of four stages that depict the consumer's interaction with the product/service (Arnould et al., 2002) from the anticipation of its use up until the remembrance of the experience:

1. The **anticipated consumption** relates to all the search behaviors and the projection of the consumer into the potential future experiences that “occur in response to the activation of a consumption problem or desire” (Arnould et al., 2002, p. 424). It comprises searching, planning future purchases, daydreaming, budgeting, and fantasizing.
2. The **purchase experience** refers to the “actual purchase of the good or service” (Arnould et al., 2002, p. 424) and all the elements surrounding it. It comprises the choice, the payment, the bundling, the service encounter, and the store's atmospherics.
3. The **consumption experience** refers to the direct interaction between the consumer and the product or service. This stage is multidimensional and encompasses the consumer's social and spatial actions and interactions, their sensations and emotions, the symbolic value of the experience, and its duration (Jarrier & Bourgeon-Renault, 2020; Roederer, 2012).
4. The **remembered consumption and nostalgia** occur after the consumption experiences and involve the consumer's memory. It spans the reliving of past experiences through collected memorabilia, telling stories about the experiences, comparing it to newer ones, telling friends about them, playing “what if”, daydreaming and sorting them. The recall of consumption experiences tend to be disproportionately positive as compared to the actual consumption experience (Gilovich & Gallo, 2020; Rynänen & Heinonen, 2018). Past experiences can also condition the response to new similar experiences (Arnould et al., 2002). Hence, we can consider the four stages of consumer experience as a cyclical process.

## The sociological lens to cultural consumption

Another stream of research envisions cultural consumption through a sociological lens, attempting to explain what makes consumers choose and how they apprehend particular or

sets of cultural products in relation to their social background (Bourdieu, 1979; Caldwell & Woodside, 2003; Daenekindt & Roose, 2017; Jarness, 2015; Michael, 2017; Peterson, 1992; Peterson & Kern, 1996).

As such, the sociological literature on cultural consumption adopts a deterministic stance in exploring the choice of cultural consumption since it tries to understand the factors that make consumers choose specific consumption options rather than others. For instance, Peterson (1992) explores the shift “from an elite-to-mass status hierarchy to an omnivore-to-univore status hierarchy” and notices that the *bourdieusian* distinction now resides in the degree to which people consume heterogeneous options rather than merely elite goods. He thus shows that social class can predict the variety of individuals’ consumption. Caldwell & Woodside (2003) showed how cultural capital can lead to different motivation to consume cultural goods. Their research thus provides clues to understand how social class can influence what they choose to consume.

Other sociological research explored how people apprehend and consume cultural goods. Peterson (Peterson & Kern, 1996) drew on his 1992 research to show that the omnivorousness of the elites actually depicted a shift in societal values. Elites abandoned snobbism for eclecticism. Later research identified that the distinction nowadays resides in the way people apprehend and interact with cultural goods rather than in which products they choose (Daenekindt & Roose, 2017; Jarness, 2015).

### **The need to understand the whole cultural experience cycle and its determinants**

Both the literatures in consumer experience and in sociology present sensible gaps. We notice that the literature addressing cultural experiences has mainly focused on the lived experience rather than on its whole cycle (i.e. Bourgeon-Renault, 2000; Bourgeon-Renault et al., 2006; Bronner & de Hoog, 2019; Carù & Cova, 2005, 2011; Debenedetti, 2003; Debenedetti et al., 2009; Jarrier et al., 2019; Pulh & Mencarelli, 2015; Skandalis et al., 2019). Further, it envisions cultural consumption as an exploratory process of seeking pleasurable experiences, which is primarily determined by psychological factors (Bourgeon-Renault, 2000). Such subjective (Addis & Holbrook, 2001) paradigm provides great insights on how consumers interact with cultural goods, but is arguably insufficient to understand the current social and diversity problems that cultural participation faces and cultural consumption choices.

Also, if the literature in sociology has on a few occurrences shifted from general social determination to an individual focus (Andreasen & Belk, 1980; Lahire, 2006; Michael, 2017), most of it aims at understanding the driving forces that explain *why* people choose specific consumption options. Little is known about how sociological factors can help understand *how*

consumers choose cultural products – their whole decision-making process instead of simply predicting the nature of their choice. Drawing on the cyclical nature of consumption experiences (Arnould et al., 2002), this research will explore how consumers anticipate, choose, live and remember cultural experiences.

## **Categorization as a lens to understand cultural consumption in an era of cultural abundance**

We posit that nowadays' cultural consumption can be better understood through the lens of categorization – the natural tendency people have to group objects based on their similarities to treat them as equivalent (Mervis & Rosch, 1981; Rosch, 1988). We propose the following supporting reasons:

1. Categorization allows consumers to simplify their experience of complex environments (Rosch, 1988) and take better decisions through the assignation of consumption objectives to sets of products sharing similar attributes (Barsalou, 1991; Loken et al., 2008) rather than evaluating them one at a time. The lens of categorization thus seems appropriate to study cultural consumption behaviors in an era of abundance.
2. Consumer categories' nature and structure can be conditioned by learning or expertise (Alba & Hutchinson, 1987; Chocarro Eguaras et al., 2012; Suján & Dekleva, 1987). They may therefore constitute a form of “knowledge” (Arnould et al., 2002, p. 428) that might help consumers anticipate the value of experiential goods, types of products or services that are difficultly appreciable in advance (Gilovich & Gallo, 2020).
3. Product categories are formed by a social interplay between consumers and the market (Durand et al., 2017). Their recognition by consumers and their attitude towards them could reflect their cultural capital and dispositions. Finally, categories assembled by consumers in regard to their consumption objectives (Barsalou, 1991) might help reveal their psychological traits and orientations. Studying cultural consumption through how consumers perceive cultural categories and categorize cultural goods might showcase the determinants to cultural consumption.

## Methodology

Although we must acknowledge that studying consumer categorization processes through qualitative methodologies is rather unorthodox in the literature in marketing and consumer psychology, a qualitative methodology would best suit our broad research endeavor: to understand the whole cultural experience cycle through the lens of categorization. We have thus conducted 12 semi-structured individual interviews among French consumers trying to understand – through the lens of categorization – how they apprehend the cultural offer and organize their cultural repertoires. Interviews used guided introspection (Wallendorf & Brucks, 1993) to explore our informants “internal states” and “past experience. After an introductory presentation, we went through their cultural preferences asking them what they like and dislike in terms of culture and art. We then asked them to reminisce a successful and an unsuccessful cultural experience asking them what made each of them satisfactory or unsatisfactory.

Data was collected through videoconference platforms during the first months of the COVID-19 pandemic. Interviews were then automatically transcribed using the services of Trint.com. Trint.com offers automatic audio or video speech-to-text transcription with sufficient accuracy to read data to select which parts need to be fully transcribed or corrected manually. Our material was then analyzed through multithemed coding (Ayache & Dumez, 2011) to highlight existing similarities and discrepancies between respondents. Multithemed coding also implies exploring how themes intersect, in such way that a similar verbatim can be studied through several different angles. We used semiotic elements (Mick & Oswald, 2006) such as signifiers, archetypes, or metonymies – ie. “rock music”, “beer cans piled up on top of each other” to illustrate modern art or “the Picasso” – that referred to groupings of similar products or experiences to consider consumer categories.

## Findings

Our data was rich enough to provide us with insights on the whole cultural consumption cycle. We also gathered evidence that categorization can be used as a lens to reveal all the determinants to cultural consumption.

### ***Category as a frame to the cultural experience***

First, our findings indicate that product categories recognized or assembled by informants themselves exert an influence on each stage of the consumer experience. In the next paragraphs, we shall go through each of the four stages identified by Arnould et al. (2002) and provide evidence of how categories shape them.

Our informants prospect and **anticipate** their future cultural experiences amongst their categorized cultural repertoires to identify what categories of products might best suit their experiential needs. They confront market offerings to their categorical knowledge to better appreciate their value.

*“If we want to go to the movies together, as a family, we'd rather choose mainstream movies because we won't necessarily all be interested in a more confidential film or one that will address a problematic that won't necessarily interest each other, while a mainstream movie will globally please all.” – Pierre, 55 years old*

*“In my opinion, there are rather contemporary museums in which you really indulge in appropriation, interactivity, sharing, and conviviality... And then there are classical museums, which don't get to me, such as the Louvre, the Prado. It's super classical, it's 'paintings on the wall', and that's it. [...] If I say 'let's go to the museum' [...] I need the exhibition to be modern, with what we can do in 2020, not just staring at paintings on walls.” – Solène, 52 years old*

Pierre knows by anticipation that a “mainstream” movie will be interesting to watch to his whole family while he imagines a “more confidential film” to be a more difficult viewing. To Solène, a “rather contemporary museum” is interactive and convivial, contrarily to “classical museums” – a category of which the Louvre and the Prado are two exemplars. Cultural categories are directly linked to features of the lived experience and help to determine its future value by anticipation.

The **purchase experience**, the choice of a particular product, also mobilizes categorization, as shown in Stan and Joseph's interviews:

*“I go see movies... Auteur films, social films, films that are real dramas, to cry. Sometimes I tell myself 'let's kill two birds with one stone', because I need it and it needs to come out.” – Stan, 27 years old*

*“I sometimes tell myself 'crap, I have a gap in my culture, I've never read – or just for French baccalaureate, so it's quite far and fuzzy – Le Rouge et le noir. So let's read it.' because I consider that it's a gap in my culture, one must read it. But apart from that, classical literature is really not what I prefer.” – Joseph, 48 years old*

Categories are there once again directly linked to the experiential objective(s) they allow to fulfill. Stan knows in advance that “auteur films” and “social films” are “dramas” that have the potential to make him unwind. He thus links a well-defined consumption objective to his choice, which is clearly guided by the film categories he mentions. Joseph's choice is also guided by a category – of novels, this time. However, his choice is not guided by his objective,

but rather by the social context in which he finds himself. “Classical literature” constitutes rather unpleasant experiences to him, but he still chooses to experience it to fill the “gap[s]” in his culture. The objective is not hedonistic, yet very well-defined and derived from the product category.

Our research shows that the **core consumption experience**, namely the actual interaction with the product and the immediate satisfaction/dissatisfaction the consumer might feel after it (Carù & Cova, 2003), is also shaped by categorization. For instance, Simon (27 years old) does not “perceive the same way an auteur movie, a cinema classic or an opera than a manga such as Naruto, or Harry Potter even”. His glance on the work of art is dictated by the category it belongs to. In a similar fashion, Cedric tells us that his enjoyment of “TV shows” is biased:

*“Entertainment in a TV show takes a way more important dimension since I have watched several TV shows in which you don't need to think. I mean, the synopsis will interest me more than all the artistry and direction work.” – Cedric, 43 years old*

His prior experience of TV shows makes him prioritize the entertaining dimension of a work falling under the TV show category to the point that the “artistry and direction work” are secondary. Armelle’s expectations and satisfaction after watching a Sci-Fi movie are also dependent on the category:

*“If it's a Sci-Fi movie, it must be well made, the special effects, the plot, the visuals and the actors. I need to be amazed.” – Armelle, 39 years old*

Finally, the **remembering experiences** of our informants are also infused by categories. Their category knowledge helps them to recollect specific aspects of their past experiences and provide supportive substance for their evaluation and narration. We can mention Robert’s recollections as an example:

*“Yes, Sci-Fi novels, I tried, but I've never really been hooked to them. [...] They're often politically correct. There might be a recent movie by Spielberg, with a rather complicated name, in which everyone lives with VR glasses that I found to be interesting. [...]. I thought it was interesting because it was a bit Orwellian, it saw tomorrow's world in a not so pretty fashion. Or the movie Brazil... Movies, more, but literature-wise, I never was hooked, although I tried.” – Robert, 63 years old*

Robert tells us of a category of novels he dislikes for their “politically correct” stance, Sci-Fi novels. This category – a genre that spans several artistic disciplines – helps him recall an experience of a Sci-Fi movie that he liked, Spielberg’s *Ready Player One*, precisely because it was not politically correct contrarily to what he expected based on his categorical knowledge. Liliane remembers an unpleasant experience at the Tate Modern Gallery:



*“It was interesting, and at the same time, I didn’t really understand what it meant. There... It was art. [...] Pretendedly art. To me it wasn’t art, but... [...] Sculptures... Well, not even sculptures, just things laid on the floor, things we could have laid there ourselves. So, I didn’t understand how one could be amazed by that” – Liliane, 55 ans*

The categories are here rather broad – “art” and “sculptures” – and are used by Liliane to express a tension. If these items were displayed in a major museum, they must have been “art” and “sculptures”. Yet, they do not fit in her categorical representation of these two categories, which are used to convey and to question realities about the experience, what it was in essence.

### ***Categorization as a lens revealing the determinants to cultural consumption***

Studying how consumers categorize cultural goods and how categories shape our informants’ cultural experiences reveals the multiple determinants to cultural consumption.

First, it highlighted the **role of the market** in shaping cultural categories. As suggested by Durand et al. (2017), categories are shaped by a social process involving an interplay of the market and its consumers. Therefore, studying cultural consumption through the lens of categorization allows for a better understanding of how the market can shape the overall consumption experience throughout all its stages.

*“So it can be on Spotify because sometimes they propose new playlists, etc... So I usually listen, and then, when there’s a music that I like, I put it on my list. So, Spotify. [...] and I also browse by types of music.” – Alice, 31 years old*

Alice navigates through the abundant catalogue of Spotify through the music categories that the platform aggregates. We can thus see how the content curation operated by the market in our era of cultural abundance can ease consumers’ experiences with categories. We also saw earlier – with Liliane – that the confrontation to market offerings can induce category-related questions that challenge our informant’s categorical knowledge.

Second, we saw that categorization can be a window to the **social determinants** to cultural consumption. Our informant’s rapport towards the cultural categories can reveal their social traits such as their competencies, their origins and their general disposition towards the arts and culture. As suggested by Trizzulla et al. (2016), such determinants are context-related. We could for instance argue that Liliane’s discourse about what art is and is not and the challenging confrontation of her views with a great cultural institution reveal her rather modest social background. Conversely, Darryl is a passionate amateur Hip-Hop artist and showcases his competencies in the field all along the interview:

*“There, at least it exists because there are millions of people that follow his music. So there is necessarily an interest for it, you see? But in any case, it does not create any sensibility in me. I told you about JUL, I could have told you instead about [...] 6ix9ine... What's his name? ‘Tekashi’, you know, the American. To me they're the same. [...] Yes, perhaps at 4:00 AM in a club, drunk, with, I don't know 8 grams of alcohol per liter of blood, perhaps I'd change my mind!” – Darryl, 34 years old*

We can clearly see a mark of Darryl's dispositions towards a category of music that he is fond of and that he seems to master. He belittles popular hip-hop artists that he regroups within a category of music that is not appealing to him in his full mental capacity. He seems to assert cultural dominance over them when imagining a context in which he could perhaps enjoy such music: late in a club, his mind clouded with alcohol<sup>6</sup>. His attitude towards this category of popular and successful artists reveals, beyond his personal tastes and through his snobbish behavior, his knowledge, and his social status as an amateur hip-hop artist.

Third, we can also argue that categorization exhibits the **psychological determinants** to cultural consumption. We for instance find Stan's curiosity and appreciation for organization and planning in the way that he apprehends his cultural repertoire in different personal categories:

*“Yes I partition in fact... Considering the level of affinity I have. There is a list of things that I will go see whatever the price. I would do anything to participate to these kinds of events featuring these artists, my personal favorites, or idols. [...] I also have the usual things [...], things I bracket, that is to say that I'd choose them only if I have no other choices. [...] There is a 'no list', niet. Already done, redone. Don't want to anymore.” – Stan, 27 years old*

Simon, who has “a tendency to preserve himself that can relate to egoism” also excludes some works from his cultural repertoire:

*“First, I only read fiction and I don't read books that will remind me of the hard realities of our world. It bores me” – Simon, 27 years old*

Robert defines himself as someone who “always try to make compromises and be empathetic rather than conflictual”. As such, he is less certain of his categorical exclusions than Stan and Simon:

---

<sup>6</sup> Darryl revealed after the interview that he didn't want to speak too harshly of these popular hip-hop artists and that he refrained from over-criticizing them out of solidarity with fellow rappers.

*“I rather like European movies, French movies. I tend to dislike American movies of which one knows the end before seeing the beginning. [...] Though there are obviously directors that you particularly like in of which you want to see the new productions. [...] Tarantino or the Coen brothers.” – Robert, 62 years old.*

## Discussion

First, this research suggests that categorization allows for a more holistic view of cultural consumption than both the experiential paradigm and the sociological lens. Although consumer experience spans the anticipation, the purchase, the interaction with the product or service and its remembrance, research on cultural experiences has greatly focused on the lived experience (i.e., Bourgeon-Renault, 2000; Bourgeon-Renault et al., 2006; Bronner & de Hoog, 2019; Carù & Cova, 2005, 2011; Debenedetti, 2003; Debenedetti et al., 2009; Jarrier et al., 2019; Pulh & Mencarelli, 2015; Skandalis et al., 2019), neglecting the other stages – arguably a natural inclination of this research stream. Our research showed that categorization can shape the overall cultural experience cycle (Appendix: Figure 1). Consumers’ categorized cultural repertoires allows them to simplify their apprehension of the numerous consumption options they have (Rosch, 1988) assigning experiential objectives or goals (Barsalou, 1991) to groups of cultural products. Product categories allow consumers to anticipate their interaction with cultural goods they have never consumed before, and to choose them in accordance to what they can expect from them. Categories of cultural products and the expectations they induce can also make consumers live and remember their cultural experiences through their most salient categorical attributes.

Second, drawing the focus on how consumers categorize their cultural repertoires and experience categorized cultural goods helps reveal the multiple determinants to cultural consumptions. Product categories resulting from a social interplay between consumers and the market (Durand et al., 2017), we saw how categories market categories influence consumers’ categorization processes. Consumers can directly use categories suggested by the market or rely on them to establish their own. Such categories can direct their cultural consumption. We also contribute to the sociological literature on cultural consumption since categorization allowed us to explore how sociological determinants can help understand not only the apprehension of cultural goods (Daenekindt & Roose, 2017; Jarness, 2015), but also how people categorize cultural experiences and anticipate, choose, live and remember them. Finally, we were also able to showcase psychological determinants to cultural consumption. Since categories of cultural experiences emanate from an interplay of social, psychological, and market-related factors, the lens of categorization enables a rich multi-determined view of the whole cultural consumption cycle.

Third, consumers make sense of the vast cultural offer with categories of products that indicate them what experiential outcome(s) they can expect from the products they gather, how to consume them and how to evaluate them. Consumers may experience cultural goods for pure pleasure but can also overcome unpleasant experiences if their categories indicate they can enrich them, please others, or if their general purpose is aimed at their global welfare. As such, cultural consumption is arguably not only exploratory and hedonistic – not a simple quest for pleasure and fun – as suggested by the experiential paradigm (Bourgeon-Renault, 2000; Holbrook et al., 1984), nor solely a quest for identity (Arnould & Thompson, 2005) social distinction (Bourdieu, 1979; Lahire, 2006; Peterson, 1992; Peterson & Kern, 1996)... Cultural consumption seems to be a *utilitarian eudemonistic* process in which consumers are precisely aware of what they need – emotionally, intellectually, and symbolically – and how their needs can be satisfied by the market. Consumers direct their cultural consumption towards their global welfare, which sometimes involves immediately unpleasant experiences. Categorization thus helps understand the value of cultural goods in the eye of consumers, as well as the general purpose of cultural consumption.

We thus posit with tangible evidence that categorization can be considered a rich and revealing theoretical lens to understand cultural consumption. It may also fill the gaps in the literature in consumer experience and in sociology.

**Table 1.** Comparing frameworks to understand cultural consumption

	<b>Experiential paradigm</b>	<b>Sociological lens</b>	<b>Categorization lens</b>
<b>Focus</b>	How consumers live cultural experiences (Holbrook & Hirschman, 1982)	What make consumers choose particular cultural goods (Trizzulla et al., 2016) and how they apprehend them (Jarness, 2015)	How categories frame each stage of the experience cycle.
<b>Determinants</b>	Principally psychological determinants to the lived cultural experience (Bourgeon-Renault, 2000)	Sociological and contextual determinants to the choice and the apprehension of cultural goods (Trizzulla et al., 2016)	Recognition and/or elaboration of experience categories in all stages of the consumption cycle
<b>Value resulting from consumption</b>	Subjective interaction between the consumer and the product (Addis & Holbrook, 2001)	Social significance and contextual resonance (Lahire, 2006)	Anticipated value through the product's category
<b>Consumption process</b>	Hedonistic exploration of pleasurable, emotional and symbolic experiences (Bourgeon-Renault, 2000; Holbrook et al., 1984)	Quest for identity and social distinction (Bourdieu, 1979; Lahire, 2006; Peterson, 1992; Peterson & Kern, 1996) through cultural consumption	Utilitarian eudemonistic search for experiences contributing to overall welfare

## Références

- Addis, M., & Holbrook, M. B. (2001). On the conceptual link between mass customisation and experiential consumption : An explosion of subjectivity. *Journal of Consumer Behaviour*, 1(1), 50-66. <https://doi.org/10.1002/cb.53>
- Alba, J. W., & Hutchinson, J. W. (1987). Dimensions of Consumer Expertise. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 13(4), 411-454. <https://doi.org/10.1086/209080>
- Andreasen, A. R., & Belk, R. W. (1980). Predictors of Attendance at the Performing Arts. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 7(2), 112. <https://doi.org/10.1086/208800>
- Arnould, E. J., Price, L., & Zinkhan, G. (2002). *Consumers*. McGraw-Hill.
- Arnould, E. J., & Thompson, C. J. (2005). Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) : Twenty Years of Research. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 31(4), 868-882. <https://doi.org/10.1086/426626>
- Ayache, M., & Dumez, H. (2011). Le codage dans la recherche qualitative une nouvelle perspective? *Le Libellio d'AEGIS*, 7(2), 33-46.
- Barsalou, L. W. (1991). Deriving categories to achieve goals. *Psychology of Learning and Motivation*, 27, 1-64.
- Becker, L., & Jaakkola, E. (2020). Customer experience : Fundamental premises and implications for research. *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, 48(4), 630-648. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11747-019-00718-x>
- Belk, R. W. (2014). You are what you can access : Sharing and collaborative consumption online. *Journal of Business Research*, 67(8), 1595-1600. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2013.10.001>
- Bellon, A. (2016). La politique de concurrence au secours de l'exception culturelle : L'arrivée de Netflix en France depuis le ministère de la Culture. *Gouvernement et action publique*, VOL. 5(4), 119-140. <https://doi.org/10.3917/gap.164.0119>
- Bourdieu, P. (1979). *La Distinction—Critique sociale du jugement* (Éditions de Minuit).
- Bourgeon-Renault, D. (2000). Evaluating Consumer Behaviour in the Field of Arts and Culture Marketing. *International Journal of Arts Management*, 3(1), Article 1.
- Bourgeon-Renault, D., Urbain, C., Petr, C., Gall-Ely, M. L., & Gombault, A. (2006). An Experiential Approach to the Consumption Value of Arts and Culture : The Case of Museums and Monuments. *International Journal of Arts Management*, 9(1), 35-47.
- Bronner, F., & de Hoog, R. (2019). Conspicuous leisure : The social visibility of cultural experiences. *International Journal of Market Research*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1470785319880715>
- Caldwell, M., & Woodside, A. G. (2003). The Role of Cultural Capital in Performing Arts Patronage. *International Journal of Arts Management*, 5(3), 34-50.
- Carù, A., & Cova, B. (2003). Revisiting Consumption Experience : A More Humble but Complete View of the Concept. *Marketing Theory*, 3(2), 267-286. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14705931030032004>

- Carù, A., & Cova, B. (2005). The Impact of Service Elements on the Artistic Experience : The Case of Classical Music Concerts. *International Journal of Arts Management*, 7(2), 39-54.
- Carù, A., & Cova, B. (2011). *Can the Generation Gap Impede Immersion in an Exhibition?* 13(2), 16-28.
- Chocarro Eguaras, R., Elorz Domezain, M., & Miguel Múgica Grijalba, J. (2012). Consumers' internal categorization structures : An additive tree analysis. *European Journal of Marketing*, 46(6), 760-789. <https://doi.org/10.1108/03090561211214591>
- Daenekindt, S., & Roose, H. (2017). Ways of preferring : Distinction through the 'what' and the 'how' of cultural consumption. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 17(1), Article 1. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1469540514553715>
- Debenedetti, S. (2003). Investigating the Role of Companions in the Art Museum Experience. *International Journal of Arts Management*, 5(3), 52-63.
- Debenedetti, S., Caro, F., & Krebs, A. (2009). « I'd Rather Play Than Look at Statues » : The Experiences of Children With Art Works and Interactive Devices at an Art Exhibition. *International Journal of Arts Management*, 11(3), 46-58.
- Donnat, O. (2018a). Évolution de la diversité consommée sur le marché de la musique enregistrée, 2007-2016. *Culture Etudes*, 4(4), 1. <https://doi.org/10.3917/cule.184.0001>
- Donnat, O. (2018b). Évolution de la diversité consommée sur le marché du livre, 2007-2016. *Culture Etudes*, 3(3), 1. <https://doi.org/10.3917/cule.183.0001>
- Durand, R., Granqvist, N., & Tyllström, A. (2017). From Categories to Categorization : A Social Perspective on Market Categorization. *Research in the Sociology of Organizations*, 3-30. <https://doi.org/10.1108/S0733-558X20170000051011>
- Esclatine, C. (2013). Exception culturelle française : Étatisme ou chance historique ? *Géoéconomie*, 65(2), 183. <https://doi.org/10.3917/geoec.065.0183>
- Gilovich, T., & Gallo, I. (2020). Consumers' pursuit of material and experiential purchases : A review. *Consumer Psychology Review*, 3(1), 20-33. <https://doi.org/10.1002/arcp.1053>
- Glévarec, H. (2021). *L'expérience culturelle ; catégories, caractéristiques et conditions des pratiques en régime d'abondance culturelle*. Bord de l'eau.
- Holbrook, M. B., Chestnut, R. W., Oliva, T. A., & Greenleaf, E. A. (1984). Play as a Consumption Experience : The Roles of Emotions, Performance, and Personality in the Enjoyment of Games. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 11(2), Article 2. <https://doi.org/10.1086/209009>
- Holbrook, M. B., & Hirschman, E. C. (1982). The Experiential Aspects of Consumption : Consumer Fantasies, Feelings, and Fun. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 9(2), Article 2. <https://doi.org/10.1086/208906>
- Jarness, V. (2015). Modes of consumption : From 'what' to 'how' in cultural stratification research. *Poetics*, 53, 65-79. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2015.08.002>

- Jarrier, E., & Bourgeon-Renault, D. (2020). L'enrichissement de l'expérience de visite muséale par l'utilisation d'outils interactifs de médiation. *Décisions Marketing*, 97, 87-101. <https://doi.org/10.7193/DM.097.87.101>
- Jarrier, E., Bourgeon-Renault, D., & Belvaux, B. (2019). Une mesure des effets de l'utilisation d'un outil numérique sur l'expérience de visite muséale. *Management & Avenir*, 2(108), 107-126. <https://doi.org/10.3917/mav.108.0107>
- Lahire, B. (2006). *La culture des individus*. La Découverte. <https://www.cairn.info/La-culture-des-individus--9782707149282.htm>
- Loken, B., Barsalou, L. B., & Joiner, C. (2008). Categorization Theory and Research in Consumer Psychology—Category Representation and Category-Based Inference. In *Handbook of Consumer Psychology* (p. 133-164). Taylor and Francis.
- Lombardo, P., & Wolff, L. (2020). Cinquante ans de pratiques culturelles en France. *Culture études*, n°2(2), 1. <https://doi.org/10.3917/cule.202.0001>
- Mervis, C. B., & Rosch, E. (1981). Categorization of Natural Objects. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 32(1), 89-115. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.ps.32.020181.000513>
- Michael, J. (2017). Highbrow culture for high-potentials? Cultural orientations of a business elite in the making. *Poetics*, 61, 39-52. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2017.01.002>
- Mick, D. G., & Oswald, L. R. (2006). 3. The semiotic paradigm on meaning in the marketplace. In R. W. Belk (Éd.), *Handbook of qualitative research methods in marketing*. Edward Elgar.
- Peterson, R. A. (1992). Understanding audience segmentation : From elite and mass to omnivore and univore. *Poetics*, 21(4), Article 4. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0304-422X\(92\)90008-Q](https://doi.org/10.1016/0304-422X(92)90008-Q)
- Peterson, R. A., & Kern, R. M. (1996). Changing Highbrow Taste : From Snob to Omnivore. *American Sociological Review*, 61(5), Article 5. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2096460>
- Pulh, M., & Mencarelli, R. (2015). Web 2.0 : Is the museum-visitor relationship being redefined? *International Journal of Arts Management*, 18(1), 43-51.
- Roederer, C. (2012). Contribution à la conceptualisation de l'expérience de consommation : Émergence des dimensions de l'expérience au travers de récits de vie. *Recherche et Applications en Marketing (French Edition)*, 27(3), 81-96. <https://doi.org/10.1177/076737011202700304>
- Rosch, E. (1988). Principles of Categorization. In *Readings in Cognitive Science* (p. 312-322). Elsevier. <https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-1-4832-1446-7.50028-5>
- Ryynänen, T., & Heinonen, V. (2018). From nostalgia for the recent past and beyond : The temporal frames of recalled consumption experiences. *International Journal of Consumer Studies*, 42(1), 186-194. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ijcs.12398>
- Skandalis, A., Byrom, J., & Banister, E. (2019). Experiential marketing and the changing nature of extraordinary experiences in post-postmodern consumer culture. *Journal of Business Research*, 97, 43-50. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2018.12.056>

- Sujan, M., & Dekleva, C. (1987). Product Categorization and Inference Making : Some Implications for Comparative Advertising. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 14(3), 372-378. <https://doi.org/10.1086/209120>
- Trizzulla, C., Garcia-Bardidia, R., & Remy, E. (2016). De Bourdieu a Lahire : Déterminismes sociaux et pratiques de consommation plurielles. *Recherche et Applications en Marketing*, 31(1), 87-105. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0767370115612050>
- Wallendorf, M., & Brucks, M. (1993). Introspection in Consumer Research : Implementation and Implications. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 20(3), 339. <https://doi.org/10.1086/209354>
- Zask, J. (2016). De la démocratisation à la démocratie culturelle. *Nectart*, 2(3), 40-47.



## Appendix

### *Appendix 1. Understanding cultural consumption through the categorization lens*

