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Understanding, Capturing and Fostering the Societal Value of Culture



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Introduction

This Topic on “grammars of valuation and evaluation in cultural practices of consumption” considers “grammars of valuation” in the sense of Lamont (2012) and Boltansky and Thevenot (2006), as logics of justification and classification, through “qualifications” and “differentiations” of (cultural) objects or experiences, referring to “orders of worth”, or in other words, to principles of value. How is this valuation *in practice* carried out by individuals? What grammars do they mobilise and how do these grammars differ according to types of practice, types of commitment, social trajectories? What kind of tensions does the valuation of cultural practices give rise to?

In the cultural policy literature, answers to this question are scarce and anything but unanimous (Bell & Oakley, 2014). The prevalence of the logic of supply over the determination of public action by demand undoubtedly betrays a spirit of implicit delegation: the values that citizens attach to culture are deduced from those conveyed by the legitimate supply produced by public institutions. The idea that cultural supply creates demand corresponds to the classic vision of democratisation. In this perspective, after defining the value for a given supply, the institution is granted responsibility for disseminating it to the largest audience. This responsibility is based on a perception of citizens' needs, whether they are consciously expressed or not.

While this model still justifies most cultural policies, it has been the subject of frontal criticisms based on two main arguments (Matarasso, 2019). First, some authors reject the idea that institutions have a monopoly in defining cultural values since ‘legitimate’ culture only encompasses a limited part of cultural goods and actors (Donnat, 2011). This argument seems particularly relevant if we focus on the relationship between cultural practices and generations: Younger generations do not add as much value to ‘legitimate’ culture as do elders (Ochotnik, 2009; Pasquier, 2020). Therefore, when looking at people’s cultural practices, we can observe a dissociation between the value defined during the institutional legitimization process and how recipients assess it.

Second, the model neglects the history of the relationship between culture and society, which emphasises that groups and communities develop their own conceptions of culture. These conceptions not only reflect a diversity of cultural horizons, as opposed to supposed homogeneity (social and aesthetic) of the legitimate offer (Evrard, 1997). Taking these visions into account implies a shift in perceiving how people value cultural practices: from a vertical conception of legitimization based on the concept of need to a horizontal approach highlighting processes of cultural recognition based on the notion of capacity (Collin, 2021).

The sociology of cultural practices adds two more arguments against the classic vision of cultural democratisation. On one hand, ‘legitimate’ culture values relate more to conventional forms of cultural participation than to activities in which citizens engage more actively. Regarding this, we can hypothesise that values and valuation processes change according to the intensity and context of practice. On the other hand, the sociology of culture has given more attention to the analysis of tastes than values (Bourdieu, 1979; Glévaec, 2019). As a result, the values attached to cultural practices have been, until now, dependent on the changing definition produced by dominant social categories and institutional actors.

This report aims to overthrow this perspective by focusing on how citizens value their cultural practices and how they deal with more or less institutionalised value hierarchies. To address this issue, we rely on case study analysis based on a qualitative, inductive, and contextual approach. As exploratory research, we consider quantitative analysis inappropriate. From this perspective, our strategy is to view cases as meaningful yet complex configurations of events and structures. Cases have been selected to reflect a unique sample of contrasting configurations where cultural practices refer to specific degrees of emotional and cultural engagement, to logics of reception or creative commitment, and to different types of amateur practices, such as musical listening, informal dance, or traditional craftwork.

Our fieldwork consists of semi-structured interviews. Based on results from Work Package 2, we found interviewing people about predefined values produces an injunction effect that can blind researchers to the

richness and the variety of forms of valuation. Semi-structured interviews were thus conducted without reference to predefined values.

Informed by these configurations, our research hypothesis is that valuation *in practice* is at the crossroad of three main factors:

- 1) The **habitus**, by which an individual, even unconsciously, actualizes all the cultural values that are part of his social identity through practice. By social identity, we mean the socio-economic and educational status of the individual, their gender, place of residence, ethnic identity, etc. This combination of variables can be a source of internal tensions but also contributes to identifying an initial pole of values.
- 2) The **context** in which the valuation takes place. The value given to practice can vary depending on whether this practice is made alone, with family, or with friends. The valuation process may also differ depending on whether it is regular or exceptional. Finally, it can be influenced by where it happens, especially the distance from the individual's household. The context's role must be appreciated in its spatial, social, and temporal dimensions.
- 3) The **content** of the cultural experience. We can distinguish between highbrow and popular cultural practices and, within the former, between the different kinds of aesthetics. We also can distinguish practices resulting from a creative commitment of individuals from those which do not imply such commitment, like listening, attending a show, an exhibition, etc. The making of value is also a function of the nature of the practice.

These three factors (habitus, context, and content) convey valuation dynamics that result from the tensions, dilemmas, or compromises experienced by individuals in the implementation of a practice.

Through the selected cases, we explore (1) the three valuation factors as distinct and complementary modes of granting value to cultural practice and (2) the tensions between these factors. Figure 1 illustrates the relations between these factors through a “valuation triangle.”

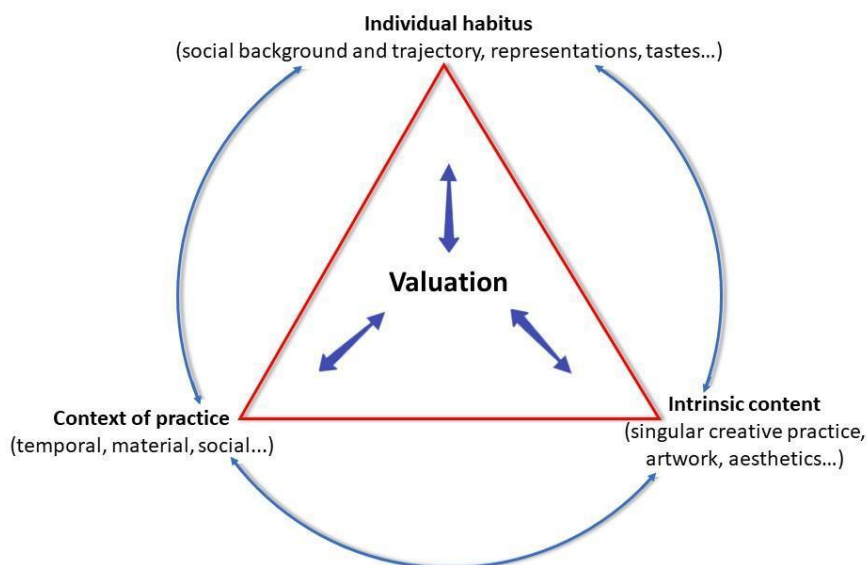


Figure 1 The Valuation Triangle

For each case, we present its background and the methodology used, then detail the valuation grammars identified and types of tensions in valuation and their dynamics: on one hand, valuations variations regarding

the three poles of the valuation triangle and, on the other hand, potential value tensions (i.e., conflicts between values, within the same value, or in valuation practices). A comparison of the valuations and their tensions is carried out at the level of each pair of cases and, in conclusion, at the level of the four cases. Finally, we critically discuss the 'valuation triangle' model, testing it against empirical analysis according to our fieldwork results.

First pair – Valuation of the traditional and the contemporary

The “Valuation of the traditional and the contemporary” pair of cases consists of two situations of cultural consumption and participation in which traditional and contemporary art forms co-exist and interact: (1) Loulé Criativo and (2) Jazz ao Centro Clube. Within this pair of cases, the first case relates to traditional and contemporary craft participation/consumption experiences; and the second case relates to wind bands (traditional) relating with jazz and urban jazz concerts (contemporary). An additional component, related to different types of participation/consumption, is also salient: different levels of engagement and degrees of participation/consumption. These approaches enable us to explore specific divergences regarding different types of participants/consumers, in matters such as interpretations of tradition, intertwined valuation processes, and representation/identity perspectives.

1. Loulé Criativo – uses and valuation of traditional knowledge and know-how (Case 1.1)

1.1 Case background

Both tangible and intangible cultural heritage comprise important elements of local identity and continuity, but traditional craft and making techniques, skills, and knowledges are often vulnerable to loss if not socially and economically validated, regularly practised, and passed on to others. Furthermore, these practices are cross-cut with gendered considerations, the economic and social valuations of this work and, by extension, public valuation of the traditional knowledge-keepers. In this context, Loulé Criativo was established by the Municipality of Loulé in the Algarve region of Portugal. Launched in 2015, it is the affirmation of a traditional arts and crafts identity, which was disappearing, operationalized in three main intervention areas:

- 1) *Creative Tourism*, offering a program of experiences of immersion in the local traditional culture;
- 2) a *Network of Workshops*, with five workshop places focused on palm weaving, clay, copper, a luthier studio, and a watchmaker studio; and
- 3) the *Loulé Design Lab*, supporting the incubation of creative entrepreneurs related to contemporary production and design and hosting artistic residencies.

The regional economy is essentially based on the tourism sector – most tourists visit Loulé for its beaches in the coastline area, during the summer. However, much of the municipality’s territory lies inland. Creative tourism provides an opportunity to offer new products and new activities that promote an immersion in the territory all year long. But Loulé Criativo is more than a tourism product – it is the affirmation of an identity operationalized in multiple ways. The municipality sees this project as its obligation vis-à-vis its residents to preserve the local heritage, enhance its territory, and reinforce local identity. The program fosters the continuance and revitalization of traditional craftsmanship, collaborations between contemporary designers and traditional crafters/makers, and the extension of these dynamics into the public sphere and particularly into building place-attractiveness for tourism, as workshops are held in restored buildings once used for these crafts, with an open-doors policy. Visitors can know, see, and learn from the craftspeople at work at all times.

Loulé Criativo operates as an open network of partners, managed by a permanent team of the municipality. Local partnerships involving a variety of local organisations include: local professionals with tourism animation companies or creative activity companies; cultural animation companies; accommodation units; retail shops; and photographers, artisans, artists, and gastronomes.

Today, creative tourism activities are integrated into four areas:

- *Handicrafts* - e.g., Work the Palm: Weave the Braid Creative Experiences; Shaping the Clay; Natural Handmade Soap with Local Aromas;
- *Art* - e.g., Lime Painting Mornings Creative Experience; Sensory Painting Workshop;
- *Heritage* - e.g., The Earth Colours: Courses in Search of Natural Pigments; Fresco Painting;
- *Gastronomy* - e.g., From the Market to the Kitchen.

In addition, tailor-made experiences can be organised (under the banner “*Rhythm*”).

With the pandemic, an effort was made to adapt through:

- Articulation and advice with the Rede de Parceiros [Network of Workshops];
- Customised adjustment of each partner/experience to respect COVID-19 guidelines (according to updates in effect at various moments);
- Dynamization of experiences campaign “em casa” [“at home”]; and
- Online workshops.

Both local residents and visitors purchase/consume creative tourism activities/experiences as well as the products created by both traditional and contemporary artisans. As artisanal creators are also volunteering in these actions, economically benefiting only when their products or services are purchased, their continuation is embedded in personally valued rationalisations spanning personal, collective, and broader societal/political rationales. This case enables us to more deeply understand relationships within valuation processes for different types of actors, and how different tensions are managed and possibly reconciled among different participants/consumers and other stakeholders involved.

1.2 Methodology

This case study was developed based on qualitative research techniques: observation, interviews and document analysis. Observations, made during workshops of the Rede de Oficinas and Loulé Design Lab, allowed us to understand the valuation of cultural participation by attachment, gestures, attitudes through narratives (informal conversations between the participants), and emotional manifestations (non-verbal expression). In addition, 14 individual interviews were conducted and analysed (see Table 1). Interviewees were selected to cross different categories to ensure maximum diversity: origins, age, gender, roles and positions, level of engagement, and type of activities. The data gathered was coded and categorised, bringing forward the value categorization developed in WP2 to feed a first level of analysis focused on participants' qualifications and classifying them into valuation dimensions. The second level focuses on variations and tensions that emerge from participant’s qualifications detected in their valuation narratives and how they articulate with the three factors of valuation *in practice* (habitus, context and content). These analyses are described further in the next section.

Type	No. of individuals
Artisans - traditional focus	4
Artisans - contemporary focus	3
Residents (PT and non-PT)	1 (PT) + 1 (non-PT) Note: all artisans were also residents (5 PT + 2 non-PT)
Tourists (PT and non-PT)	1 (PT) + 1 (non-PT)
Team Loulé Criativo (organization)	3
TOTAL	14

Table 1. Number of interviews, per general type

Note: Considering the richness of the data collected within WP2, 12 of these interviews were re-analyses from WP2 through the lens of WP3 goals. A transition of personnel within the Loulé Criativo coordination team and continued COVID-19 considerations led to delays of additional activities in 2023, limiting our ability to conduct further interviews.

1.3 Grammars of valuation and evaluation

At an initial stage, informed by the work developed within WP2 (“Emergence of values in cultural participation and engagement”), we used the three frames of *internal* (expressed for oneself), *external* (expressed by/for the group involved), and *contextual* (expressed for the society, at a larger scale) to organise the values identified by the participants during the interviews.

Internal	External	Contextual
Understanding the process of making, learning, curiosity, aesthetics, technique, creativity, sensorial connection to materials, emotional connection, creating memories that last/imprint in memory, revitalising/recovering memories and connection to the past, pride, recognition, empowerment, healing, well-being, being active, joy/pleasure, slowing down, relaxing, distraction/escape from everyday life, self-development, challenge oneself	Social interaction, relationships, conviviality, creating partnerships, passing on knowledge, influencing others, preserving traditions, revitalise (almost) lost know-how, reinforce collective identity, integration, benevolence/kindness, gratitude	Territorial development - economic and socio-cultural, strengthen territorial identity, help overcome seasonality of tourism economy, city vitality, attract more visitors, contribute to a decrease of local unemployment, provide space to younger artists/artisans to work/develop/network show, promote responsible and sustainable practices using natural materials and handmade products

Table 2. Values associated by the participants of Loulé Criativo, by level

Then, a second categorization phase took place, during which the interview data was organised according to participants’ “qualifications” (i.e., judgements, feelings, emotions, appreciations, assessments, virtues). Since the notion of a plurality of grammars of (e)valuation is based on Max Weber’s types of rationality (Lamont, 2012: 207), these grammars should be addressed as logics whose underlying principles of values manifest themselves through participants’ qualifications or evaluations of their own cultural practices. Since in this case study the individual evaluation processes are organic, fluid and dynamic – no formality or rational elaboration from the individuals making explicit their evaluation criteria – we are focused on valuation (rather than evaluation), analysing dynamics of valuation *in practice* through the three main variables of the valuation triangle (Figure 1): individual habitus (social trajectories of the artists/artisans, residents and tourists); intrinsic content (different uses of the of crafts, either more traditional or more contemporary). This second categorization phase aimed to highlight the dynamism of these qualifications.

The set of values expressed by interviewees (Table 2) resulting from the first level of analysis were grouped in 4 dimensions:

Aesthetic valuation. For the artists/artisans, with high levels of engagement, an aesthetic type of valuation has a higher focus, where making something proper and according to the techniques (“*as I was taught*”) is something important. Based on sensory and emotional connections, all participants (i.e., older, younger, artists/artisans and visitors) coincide in attributing aesthetic value to the process of *understanding the process of making* and *making with one’s own hands*, as they get involved in “*imprint in the memory*” aesthetic experiences – feeling the “*pain in the fingers*” and experiencing first-hand the joy of making things in the “*traditional*”, “*proper*”, “*right*” way, and, simultaneously, immersion in a creative process, allowing things “*just to happen*”.

Functional valuation. Beyond immediate sensory and emotional impacts associated with aesthetic valuation, an attribution of functional values takes place when cultural practice is regarded as a vehicle to achieve higher

self-satisfaction and accomplishment in making something beautiful and pleasant that engenders pride and recognition, honours memories, and gives joy (*“when people see something beautiful they feel happier”*), as well as a vehicle to meet new people (*“the very part of the relationship, of being there with people to see and get to know them”*). According to older artisans, their cultural practices also provide therapeutic outcomes as they become active in *“doing something”* that requires *“slowing down”* and gives them the opportunity for *“escaping from everyday life and routine”*. Altogether, these results are considered *“essential for my well-being, for my balance”*.

Political valuation. Evidence of women’s experiences of empowerment surfaced, with older artisans overcoming feelings of shame related to their craft and also, in part, confronting preconceptions (i.e., social roles limited by gender division). The practice of palm weaving was considered an activity associated with poverty and done exclusively by women, and a sentiment of shame is still reflected in some artisans and locals (shame interiorized by women and exteriorized by men). These culture-based experiences put into context and bring into discussion the social role of women, sharing their stories while, at the same time, creating and having a place to show themselves and their art and consequently feeling validated and proud: *“now people start to cling more to this tradition. This was very poorly paid work and women were ashamed and did it in secret!”*; *“she did it behind everyone’s back, it was a shame, and now she’s starting to change that.”*

In contrast, the activity of coppersmithing was traditionally developed by men; the artisans were and still are considered *“Masters”* and their activity as an *“art”*. These differences relate to the social roles of men and women in Portuguese society (*“the man was the one who had to provide for the family so if the woman was working, it meant that the man was not doing his role properly”*), as well as the type of materials used and their more or less common availability (*“palm is something we find in the bushes [everywhere]”*). Although these social divisions tend to be less evident today, old socio-political values marked by gender are still present in the discourses and behaviours of artists/artisans and visitors, as observed during the site-visits.

Institutional valuation. Focusing on participants’ relationship with discourses promoted by the Municipality of Loulé (i.e., when advocating that these creative tourism activities are associated with socio-cultural and economic *“territorial revitalization”* and *“environmental sustainability”*), a process of appropriation by the artists/artisans can be observed, giving rise to a particular set of institutional valuation narratives. The artist/artisans involved view their partnership with municipality as providing an elevated sense of validation and support. Artisans’ feeling of social responsibility is visible throughout their discourses; being involved and part of a municipality project, the artists/artisans (volunteers or professionals) express a sense of social responsibility, contributing to local development and to the preservation of local identity. They consider the activities to be an important aspect to address tourism seasonality, attracting visitors to the territory, giving the city renewed vitality, and creating employment and general development. Participants feel as if each one is representing the institution (*“We are Loulé Criativo”*). In addition, even though not mentioned as the primary focus, this incorporation of an institutionalised discourse, reflecting the public policy strategy, is also evident in statements made by visitor-participants and community members – through informal conversations during site-visit observations, local economic development was pointed to as an important value.

1.4 Tensions and their dynamics

Based on the interviews, this section focuses on two main analyses:

- **variations in valuations**, i.e., different valuation processes and dynamics according to different individual habitus, contexts, and activity contents; and
- **tensions**, i.e., different perspectives and perceptions within two categories (tensions between values and tensions between different interpretations of the same value).

Variations

Variations according to individual habitus and trajectories. For traditional artists/artisans (who tend to be older), the process of attributing value is more influenced by family background and practices (*"It's our essence, I don't know how to explain it. The first ones who did it, nobody taught them, it's something we already inherited"*), while for contemporary artists/artisans working at the Design Lab (who tend to be younger), their education and formal training have the most influence. Revealed through interviews and observations (visible through gestures, attitudes, and emotional manifestations), for traditional artists/artisans, the importance of family traditions led to a higher valuation of these practices as part of personal identity, entangled with healing from a difficult past; recovering memories; and becoming empowered (political valuation) – *"my stepmother when she was young did this for a living. Then later she married my father and came from a village to live in Loulé. And then she thought it was shameful to do a job. She did it in secret. She did and continued to sell, because she liked to be busy and also helped for the house income, but she thought it was a job that diminished the person and did not do it at ease. I started to do more at ease than she did."* For contemporary artists/artisans, the use of traditional knowledge and practices is valued as a vehicle for broader social responsibility with a focus on sustainability (*"recovering these materials and ancient techniques are important for the sustainability, to respect nature"*; *"a lot of natural products can be promoted for sustainability"*) and conscientious production and consumption (*"sometimes we need to stop and participate in these things and have this little bit of being at ease [...] both adults and kids live a lot on television, videos, the internet, games, and it's all very fast, everything happens in the moment, while when seeing a craftsman doing something, we have to wait, we have to observe, to be there to see it, and that is very interesting [...] I think it is important to show this to children, young people or adults"*).

Considering nationality nuances (visitors or residents) on aesthetic valuation, the possibility to be creative is essential for international participants/consumers (*"being creative and to express myself freely is what I look for"*), while Portuguese tend to highlight the connection with traditions and with a close local identity as key for participating in these activities. At the same time, two main ideas coexist with this difference: (1) when on vacation, people (Portuguese or foreigners) are more open to do new things, while locals look for additional expertise to complement their occupation: *"locals have their daily lives [...] when we go on vacation to a different place, maybe it awakens other desires and we are more willing to open our horizons. If they are local, maybe they already have a focus [...] of learning something to add to their work"*; (2) long-time local residents are more accustomed to these traditional craft practices so, in general, they have less curiosity about them and attribute less importance to learning these arts and crafts, compared to other professional occupations. Thus, foreigners [tourists or residents] *"show more interest and curiosity"*.

Variations according to contexts. The importance of *the place* is stressed by all participants as a way to have a deeper connection with the activities and the participants (artists/artisans and visitors). For all, this place attachment is directly influencing the valuation processes regarding functional valuation, either in a more traditional workshop place where memories, traditions, and stories are shared; or in a local natural landscape where sentiments and a sense of well-being facilitate memory-making. More broadly, the social context can also be an important aspect to shape the values that are attributed to an activity: *"this was a group where there were many women who are artists, but cannot be in their country, because it is forbidden. Coming to this workshop with me and all of us sharing our stories in this natural landscape, when the workshop finished those women thanked me because they received confidence and felt more strong because there was someone, in some place who believed"*.

Variations according to contents (traditional/contemporary). Based on the data collected, two main variations of aesthetic valuation occur when considering traditional and contemporary contents: making things in the *"traditional way"* implies learning traditional techniques and do things *"properly"* and in *"the right way"*; on the other hand, contemporary approaches allow for more *"freedom"*, to *"innovate"* and for things *"just to happen"*. Although seemingly opposite perspectives and with some tensions, they co-exist and are considered to have advantages for both artists/artisans and participants:

[referring to the place where it is a more contemporary workshop immediately next to the place where a traditional 'Mestre' *"does things as it was done 40 or 50 years ago"*]: *"I think it's*

interesting to have these two places next to each other where you can see this difference and they can both exist in partnership, and there are several audiences, some who identify themselves more with here or there. But in the same way that people who wanted to go there [Master's workshop] sometimes end up here [by mistake] and are admired, it's different, but they look; there are also people who come here, but then go there too, so there ends up being also a partnership of completely opposite things."

Tensions between values

Tradition/memory vs. creativity/innovation. Although some traditional artists/artisans are more open to contemporary and creative practices and recognize an important purpose in this dialogue ("*It is a more sophisticated work. It could help to attract young people, as the example of two young people who were looking for ideas and talking to mix palm and clay in a work*"), there are evident tensions from what is considered craftwork from a traditional point of view and from some orthodox/conventional practitioners that don't align with the creativity and innovation of others when trying to move "*outside of the box*": "*at the fairs I was sometimes a bit left out. [People asked] <what does she do?> because I invented different things [...] but it was not very well accepted [...] Even among our colleagues, what I do, they don't consider it to be handicraft*". The specific tension here is between traditional and innovative perceptions of what craftwork should be.

Tensions between different interpretations of the same value

Recognition. Both traditional and contemporary artists/artisans expressed a big gap between their view of their art and the view of the visitors, mainly nationals: for the artists/artisans, their activities have high importance, either for preserving traditions and know-how or for instigating creativity and innovation, and should be recognized as such. However they feel that those 'outside' (visitors), in general, perceive their activity as "*interesting, but it is a hobby*". This difference in perspectives is particularly visible when talking about economic compensation. To put a number/price on an artisanal piece/experience is something considered difficult for the artists/artisans. They remark that finding a balance among economic sustainability, reflection of the creative work, and purchasing power/recognition of value is a challenging task and a source of conflict tied to constantly "*having to prove our role, our place, our value*":

"many people say <oh, the palm is caught in the bushes> but I'm not just selling the palm, I'm selling the piece"

"there are people who see that it is very beautiful, but say that they never dedicated themselves to this work. And I hear this many times, as if I was doing something that is beautiful, yes, but I shouldn't waste time with it"

"I've been called a thief [referring to complaints heard about prices being too high, compared to other stores] [...], but this is all very different [than the stores], it's all handmade"

The tension here occurs during the process of attributing value to a piece of craft-art, where different participants (artists/artisans and visitors/consumers) use different criteria to attribute value to the piece, related to different cultural references, life experiences, and valuation grammar that guide their opinions and actions.

2. Jazz ao Centro Clube – uses and valuation of jazz and wind band music (Case 1.2)

2.1 Case background

JACC - Jazz ao Centro Clube, a non-profit cultural association founded in 2003, has paved the way for a wide range of activities to promote, disseminate, and teach musical culture, with a special emphasis on jazz. Since 2012, JACC has rented “Salão Brazil”, located in a centenary building in the historic centre of Coimbra, for programming and presenting concerts, educational service activities, and receiving visiting artists.

This research focuses on (1) JACC’s concerts in Salão Brazil, and (2) JACC’s “Fora dos Eixos” (“Off the Axes”) project. These two situations allow us to explore different forms of attachment/engagement with jazz, from amateur musicians and audiences less or unfamiliar with jazz, to jazz lovers, and interrelations between values on the traditional-contemporary crossroads. From the perspective of cultural consumers’ valuation processes, it explores the dynamics and grammars involved in expanding access to cultural activity and bridging urban and peri-urban/rural contexts through cultural participation/consumption.

The concerts in Salão Brazil seek to attract an urban audience of jazz “lovers” which, over time, has nurtured a growing community of jazz *aficionados*. JACC’s management of Salão Brazil is based on objectives of promoting access to works presenting very different approaches, especially those that do not find space for presentation in other cultural spaces in Coimbra; providing means of participation and direct contact with artists; developing a coherent socio-educational project, with activities relating to the local community(ies); and supporting creation through residencies and recordings.

In contrast, the “Fora dos Eixos” project is an initiative developed in peri-urban and rural communities around the city of Coimbra. In these territories, the program’s main goal is to promote opportunities for enjoyment and active participation in the arts, with a particular focus on jazz. In 2022, this project aims to take jazz, a more urban and contemporary musical expression, to a peripheral community of Coimbra (Taveiro) through partnership with a local wind band non-profit association: Filarmónica União Taveirense. “Fora dos Eixos” invites amateur musicians from this traditional wind band to experiment with new musical languages, techniques, and aesthetics (through rehearsals with jazz musicians), as they prepare a concert hall presentation with jazz pianist and composer Mário Laginha (Convento São Francisco, Coimbra).

The Filarmónica União Taveirense (FUT) was founded April 21, 1869, in what was then a small rural village in the outskirts of Coimbra. Since 1997, it has been recognized as a Public Utility Institution (Presidency of the Council of Ministers). Besides the main Band of 76 members (35 women and 41 men) with ages ranging from 10 to 50 years old, FUT also has a Music School and a Youth Band. The Music School’s main goals are to provide a cultural and educational service to the surrounding community as well as the continuous training of the Band's performers and new apprentices.

As all over Europe, wind bands have a long tradition in Portugal, dating back to the second half of the 19th century. After a long period of crisis (since World War II and until the 1980s), wind bands recovered their activity and their importance in the life of local communities. Involving new elements, like women and teenagers, by forming their own schools, they renewed their musical repertoires and incorporated new instruments. The 1990s represent a turn, not so much in the structure, but mainly in the technical and artistic quality of the Portuguese wind bands (Granjo, 2020). Wind band music is generally associated with the universe of lowbrow culture (rural and working class culture), holding a peripheral position in the cultural field and enjoying little legitimacy (Dubois, Meon & Pierru, 2016: 3).

2.2 Methodology

This data was collected based on qualitative techniques: observation, interviews, and document analysis. Direct observation allowed us to understand the valuation of cultural participation by attachment, gestures, attitudes through narratives (informal conversations between the participants) and emotional manifestations (non-verbal expression). Site-observations were made during concerts at Salão Brazil, jazz musicians and wind band rehearsals, and the final presentation of the Filarmónica União Taveirense with

Mário Laginha. Individual interviews were made with audience members at Salão Brazil (*jazz aficionados*) and Fora dos Eixos; and with FUT and jazz musicians (Fora dos Eixos). Interviewees were selected based on different categories to ensure a maximum diversity by origins, age, gender, roles and positions, level of engagement, and type of activities. Following the same analysis procedure of the Loulé Criativo case (explained previously), the data gathered was coded and categorised in two stages and levels of analysis, promoting articulations with the valuation triangle.

Type	Nº of individuals
<i>Audiences</i>	
Salão Brazil (<i>jazz aficionados</i>)	4
Fora dos Eixos	3
<i>Musicians (Fora dos Eixos)</i>	
Jazz	3
Wind bands (different instruments)	7
TOTAL	17

Table 3. Number of interviews, per general type

2.3 Grammars of valuation and evaluation

At an initial stage, informed by the work developed within WP2 (“Emergence of values in cultural participation and engagement”), we used the three frames of *internal* (expressed for oneself), *external* (expressed by/for the group involved), and *contextual* (expressed for the society, at a larger scale) to organise the values identified by the participants during the interviews.

Internal	External	Contextual
Openness, aesthetics, equality, pleasure, joy, escape, emotion, understanding the process of making, technique, creativity, innovation, healing, self-development, well-being.	Social interaction, relationships, conviviality, passing on knowledge, influencing others, preserving traditions, gratitude, identity, sense of belonging, differentiation, pride, recognition, community, intergenerational connections, meeting, collective experience, sharing, friendship, informal cultural training.	Aesthetic diversity, transgression, sharing, wonderment, criticism, sense of belonging, auto-organisation.

Table 4. Values associated by the participants, by level

Then, a second categorization phase took place, during which the interview data was organised according to participants' qualifications. As in the Loulé Criativo case, JACC case analysis is focused on a more dynamic valuation *in practice*, influenced by the three main variables of the valuation triangle (Figure 1): individual habitus (social trajectories of the audience participants, the amateur and professional musicians); intrinsic content (either more traditional or more contemporary; or enhancing more musicality/technicality); and the context of practice (the space and time of the activities). This second categorization phase aimed to highlight the dynamism of these qualifications.

The set of values expressed by interviewees (Table 4) resulting from the first level of analysis were grouped in 4 dimensions:

Aesthetic valuation. Audiences involved in cultural consumption provided detailed insights about the primacy of sensory/emotional dimension as a common basis for their qualifications, allowing us to understand how aesthetic values are attributed to specific music performances. Jazz *aficionados* seem to qualify cultural practices on pleasant ("*goosebumps*", "*wellbeing*", "*momentary happiness*", "*becoming weightless*", "*feeling high*") and unpleasant ("*aggression*", "*creeps*", "*oppression*") emotional bases. In fact, *aficionados* prefer jazz performances with an "extra" of musicality rather than technical perfection. This "extra" is perceived, mainly, in the musician's sensory/emotional relationship with the sounds produced (body movements, gestures, intention, and involvement). Interviewees manifest this kind of sensory/emotional preference as opposed to show-off technicality: "*cold vs. hot*" performances, "*Ana Moura vs. Carminho*" (i.e., representation of the opposition through fado singers), "*youthful vs. mature*", "*gymnastics competition*" and "*too many soccer body feints*".

Even though such a pre-eminent dimension is "*common to everyone*", a full immersion in jazz consumption depends upon openness "*in front of something that is not obvious*". Afterward, participants can also enjoy the attribution of sense/meanings and reflections provoked by sensory/emotional dimensions. This movement towards a sense/meanings dimension with more narrative-like grammar ("*follow the story*", "*lose the thread*", "*discourses*", "*plots*") was mostly observed among musicians (interviewed as part of Salão Brazil and Fora dos Eixos' audiences) to explain their musical perspectives and to justify their tastes and preferences.

Functional valuation. There are clear differences between audiences and musicians' qualifications when music complements other ends. When audiences refer to music consumption as a means, their main concern is getting rid of troubles and worries ("*music as an escape from something else*"; "*to clear my head of professional or familiar annoyances*"). In those cases, music can occupy a distracting role and operate as a background ("*turn on the music while doing something else*"). Music also complements healing ends, especially as a preventive health tool for FUT younger musicians ("*pushing kids away from other paths*"; "*microclimate of mental and spiritual health*").

Self-development also appears as a non-musical goal among jazz *aficionados* who proudly show their music preferences. In this sense, live music attendance is valued as a "*nurturing*", "*formative*", "*bringing out the best of ourselves*", and "*helping to be better people*" experience; when compared to more superficial uses and conceptions, referred as "*chewing gum culture*", "*chewing and discarding*", "*fashion*", "*trending*" phenomenon. *Aficionados* tend to argue that music quality allows listeners to develop, opposing their own distinctive consumption to others' rejectable commercial music consumption. In contrast, wind band professional musicians tend to embrace any kind of music exposure (while it is useful for improving their musical skills), valuing music diversity more openly ("*I play any kind of music with pleasure*"; "*I do everything, even Quim Barreiros [Portuguese popular singer and accordionist]*").

Relational valuation. Most of the time, Salão Brazil and Fora dos Eixos' audiences attend concerts accompanied by relatives or friends (and when they go alone, they usually find a friend without any pre-arrangement). Additionally, jazz intimate locations offer proximity to performing musicians, giving the possibility to talk directly with them ("*It is very interesting to know their personalities, it is so funny. Whenever there is a chance, I talk to musicians*"). Sometimes they even experience a sense of belonging ("*I stop being me and become part of a group*").

Despite an ever-increasing number of FUT Band members gaining access to formal/professional music training ("*every single instrument section has, at least, someone with a Bachelor's degree in Music*"), FUT's professionally trained musicians stay in the band strongly based on relational valuation ("*to give back to the house [FUT] what the house also gave you, which was an education, a group spirit, companionship, friends for life, which is really what you always get there*"). Even their decision to become professional musicians is not devoid of collective motivations. They feel their own values were shaped collectively in the band; thus, they see themselves as a result of their FUT relational experiences and intergenerational connections ("*to deal with people of different ages is super healthy*").

Institutional valuation. Interviewed FUT musicians manifest high respect for their wind band's history and traditions. They are very proud of being part of a 153-year-old institution ("*our knowledge is the result of 153 years of work*"), experiencing equality ("*within the band are all the same, all working for the same*"; "*the oldest do not have an above status*"; "*the money there doesn't matter*") and a strong sense of belonging ("*being part of that house is important for my professional path*"). As a result of being part of an associative cultural institution, none of the interviewed FUT musicians make great distinctions between their social and musical learning experiences within the band, considering that "*the musical part always grows when social interactions work well*". Because of the band's favourable conditions for relational experiences (e.g., a mix of non-hierarchical intergenerational connections, community work on a voluntary basis, friendship, "*inter-help spirit*" and caring for everyone's well-being), social and musical developments are perceived as concomitant (e.g., "*fast and effective Music School training helps us to be more adaptable and face obstacles in everyday life*"; "*before I was very nervous and now everything is calm, even with my college exams*").

Regarding FUT audiences, there is evidence of an interesting trend in Coimbra's cultural consumption due to audiences' previous involvement in cultural institutions ("*I knew half of the audience because they were musicians too, belonging to different institutions*"). As a result of being an amateur musician within academic cultural associations (such as Mixed Choir, Orpheon, and Academic Orchestra of University of Coimbra), some of the interviewed cultural consumers are already connected to the musical scene and eagerly keep up to date with music programming ("*those who are not connected to cultural associations like us do not have this impetus to actively seek out for cultural programming*").

2.4 Tensions and their dynamics

Based on the interviews, this section focuses on two main analyses:

- **variations in valuations**, i.e., different valuation processes and dynamics according to different individual habitus, contexts, and activity contents; and
- **tensions**, i.e., different perspectives and perceptions within one category (tensions between values).

Variations

Variations according to individual habitus and trajectories. FUT musicians' valuation grammar is linked to an enduring experience inside a music practitioner institution with high levels of engagement, with music training and performance becoming a crucial part of their social lives (regardless of their decision to follow amateur or professional trajectories in music). Most musicians currently playing in the Filarmónica União Taveirense were trained at the FUT Music School. Since music training processes start at an early age (6-8 years old), this decision was usually influenced by relatives close to wind bands (as music practitioners or as music lovers). In a small town like Taveiro, "*being part of the band was one of the goals of practically every child and family... today I have bandmates who have been my friends since school*". It is worth noting that even the two jazz soloists (vibraphone and marimba) who played with FUT and Mário Laginha started their trajectories as wind band students ("*I grew up playing in a wind band, but instead of being in the front, I was in the back playing the snare drum*").

Although interviewees in the audiences have different socio-cultural backgrounds, their music preference grammar is closer to social distinctiveness (Bourdieu, 1979). All interviewed jazz *aficionados* live in Coimbra and their cultural consumption is mainly based on personal taste. As part of urban jazz audiences, they are

used to a specific kind of cultural consumption, as their aesthetic valuation is focused on understanding the process of making and experiencing pleasure on a sensory/emotional basis. Since some of the audience interviewees are also music practitioners, there are grammar similarities between the two situations within this case study.

Variations according to contexts. Audiences show their concern about contextual difficulties for attentive listening on an everyday basis. Even though jazz *aficionados* interviewees are always looking for suitable conditions (i.e., indoors and nocturne concerts) that allow the kind of focused attention and immersion expected from jazz audiences, they do not neglect the importance of relational valuation related to jazz performances. Indeed, they value these contexts of practice aspects resulting from getting oneself involved in a collective process, i.e., understanding the process of making an intrinsic content also made of interactions ("*collecting emotions that musicians exchange with each other*", "*watching how people react over time*", "*open listening to what happens*", "*auditory freedom*").

FUT's potential local audiences (more used to religious contexts where functional and institutional valuations are prominent) were reluctant to participate in wind band concert hall activities where aesthetic valuation is more salient ("*today the band is above what the Taveiro population itself even deserves. The band has grown much more than their own population*"). External recognition and awards are changing this situation, as a broader part of the Taveiro community is beginning to appreciate FUT's accomplishments in urban performing contexts. On the other hand, some young musicians among Fora dos Eixos's audience articulate the counterpart of this rejection, expressing a desire for something different than the traditional repertoire ("*traditional wind band repertoire is not so interesting for me because I've heard it many times and usually it doesn't vary too much*").

Variations according to contents (traditional/contemporary). As traditional non-profit associations from rural and peri-urban contexts, wind bands like FUT continue to be limited by social misconceptions about what they are and what is expected of them to do. Interviewed jazz musicians are very aware that "*wind bands were created for religious activities, to hold processions accompanying the saints, and, after that, to perform some concerts to animate the local festivities. I believe that this was the first intention of the wind bands... but times have changed and there is also a need to do other types of activities besides religious ones, and this is the case*". In keeping with their traditions, FUT musicians still participate in religious processions and parades ("*there is a certain pride, when the procession is in Taveiro, FUT musicians prefer to participate as active members of the band... because you are playing in your hometown*"; "*to be taking that away would be a bit extreme*"), but they are eager to learn and play more than popular marches (described by themselves as "*autopilot playing*").

Although FUT's traditional community service has not been affected by their foray into other music projects and venues, their "*out of the box mentality*" and their "*predisposition to do more than what they're formatted for*" has not always been supported by the entire Taveiro community ("*a lot of people criticise us if we don't pass right at their door during religious festivities and, if there's a FUT concert nearby, they don't go to see us*"). Furthermore, there is much to be done in the field of urban audiences to overcome old prejudices in relation to wind band music and musicians ("*band thing is that poor thing*", "*lowbrow thing*", "*religious processions are not culture*", "*the stigma of bands' bad teaching*"). The "*music poor relative*" stereotype is neglecting an important cultural fact in Portugal: "*most brass and woodwind players started in traditional wind bands*".

Tensions between values

Preserving traditions vs. innovation. As a result of interactions between these main values, two types of traditional/contemporary tensions have been identified, centred in stereotypes, and in repertoire and technique.

Traditional vs. contemporary stereotypes. Nowadays, FUT is a versatile wind band that, besides maintaining its commitment with local traditional activities (e.g., religious processions, pilgrimages and local parades), has successfully explored a wide range of music genres and styles (classical, contemporary, commercial, marching band and jazz music), leading to their insertion in concert contexts to which formerly wind bands

had no access. This research revealed that, on one hand, *"it has been difficult to show Coimbra that we are at the level of anyone else"* because traditional wind band players may still be considered *"only for playing on the streets"* or *"not capable to play professional stuff"*, while on the other hand, if they do innovate, they are criticised for not doing what traditionally is expected.

Despite their intention to innovate without giving up traditional activities and repertoire, such an encounter between tradition and innovation reveals underlying tensions within wind bands (*"to play only traditional stuff is always to miss a bit, bringing out the best that these people [FUT professional musicians] can give to the music itself. A normal complaint of any musician is <I've played this a thousand times>"*). There is a tension between those who want to do things always in the same way, and those who like to innovate. Moreover, the tension is also present when reflections are made concerning the impact of external influences on the bands' possible transformation (*"I'm a little concerned about the band losing its characteristics and ceasing to be the essence it was, which was a little bit of a village band, because it happens that they performed there [concert with Mário Laginha] with plenty of elements [around 80 musicians], but when a contract is made with the wind band for street work [religious processions], it will have only around 40 musicians"*). The tension here is based on how musicians deal with the fact that, on one hand, they have an historic legacy of traditional music and, on the other hand, they cannot ignore their individual will to innovate.

Traditional vs. contemporary repertoire and technique. Within concert hall contexts, FUT has been involved in *"out of the box"* contemporary music projects (e.g., "Fora dos Eixos") that *"generate a wave of motivation and interest to do more and better"* among most musicians. These projects are contributing to a continuous technical development but, despite FUT's overall high level of professionalisation, some contemporary repertoire has put too much pressure on amateur members, especially on the younger and older ones (*"we want to do a professional work with amateurs, and we have to take them to that leap, but we risk losing them"*; *"we have already lost a lot of people because they can't make it"*). This tension reveals that contemporary and traditional repertoire involves different competencies and technical requirements; therefore, new music must be chosen carefully and should be challenging, *"but not to the point of making people give up"*. This is an example of the kind of "compromises" that, according to Boltanski and Thevenot, actors create *"to coordinate their actions"* (Lamont, 2012: 208), but not always successfully, as FUT's audiences recognize: *"older wind band musicians who brought a deficient musical training ended up feeling out of place and left the band"*; *"the older ones felt they couldn't keep up with the quality of these young people"*. This tension is evident between musicians of different generations: older ones, with less access to external influences, do need to be connected to a more traditional repertoire, while some of the younger generations are open and in need of contemporary repertoire and related technical challenges.

3. Pairwise comparison – cases 1.1 and 1.2

With traditional cultural practices as its basis, Loulé Criativo's original craft-making and Taveiro's local-based musical activity (the "Valuation of the traditional and the contemporary" pair of cases) reveal interrelations between perceived lowbrow expressions of cultural tradition and more contemporary approaches related to social distinctiveness (Bourdieu, 1979). We aimed to explore the grammars of (e)valuation (Lamont, 2012) that emerged from different forms of consumption (Lahire, 2004) and levels of engagement (Hennion *et al.*, 2000) in cultural participation, capturing variations and tensions of values regarding different interpretations of tradition, intertwined valuation processes, and representation/identity perspectives. Our approach considered the dynamic crossover of individual habitus, specific contexts of practice, and the intrinsic content of cultural participation. In both case studies, active dialogues between traditional and contemporary expressions make more visible the tensions between different values that were kept undercover when these dialogues did not occur.

Different interpretations of tradition. Collaborations between contemporary designers and traditional artists/artisans within Loulé Criativo have led to expanding the conception and role of traditional arts and crafts. Extending the uses of traditional materials and ways of doing allowed for new avenues of empowerment for the artists/artisans: challenging oneself to make different objects with traditional techniques and "*give free rein to your imagination*"; or to find new ways of using traditional materials "*connected to the place and the stories*". At the same time, the heightened visibility and local government endorsement of some arts and crafts traditionally considered as utilitarian minor practice, such as palm weaving, enabled a broader social transformation, including questioning and changing preconceptions of women's traditional roles.

Likewise, FUT's involvement in more contemporary music projects and non-traditional performing contexts has to deal with two different kinds of social preconceptions: (1) from urban cultural consumers who devalue religious processions and underestimate wind band players' musical ability; and (2) from peri-urban cultural consumers who have a more restricted conception of tradition and would prefer no change at all. Concerning cultural consumption in Salão Brazil, jazz *aficionados* are interested in contemporary experimental music, as they value some key aspects of jazz tradition such as improvisation and avant-garde influence on the development of new styles.

Intertwined valuation processes. Both cases show complex and organic relations between different valuation dimensions, revealing prominent connections and tensions between and within them. For example, aesthetic, relational and functional valuation are intertwined to such a degree that, in several cases, cultural participation become a means to sociability rather than an end in itself ("*People are there to learn, but they are not worried about whether they will do it properly or not, we are there and end up being relaxed and learning*" - national tourist in Loulé; "*FUT is not only a musical school, but also a social school*" - amateur musician at FUT). Since the activities in these cases provide suitable contexts of practice for sociability, participants become involved in passing this indivisible social/aesthetic knowledge.

Representation/identity perspectives. The valuation processes related to representation and identity provide another dimension that puts in dialogue different perspectives related to one's personal views and others' opposite views. In both cases, it is evident that participants with higher levels of engagement struggle to deal with different levels of recognition. This translates into tensions regarding the validity and legitimacy of the activity - traditional or contemporary - and the economic compensation attributed to it. For instance, in the Loulé Criativo case, the devaluation felt by both traditional and contemporary artists/artisans reveals active tensions between the price attributed from the outside (visitors/consumers) versus the one that artists/artisans believe they deserve, having the feeling to constantly "*having to prove our role, our place, our value*".

Meanwhile, FUT musicians also feel that social recognition is moving along at a slow pace ("*wind bands are relevant, but people still don't want to give them value*"). The absence of or low economic compensation is perceived as reinforcing the lack of recognition ("*what we earn with this JACC partnership is inviting Mário*

Laginha and play with him, because Mário Laginha doesn't come here for free”; “bands are poorly supported for all the work they do”).

Finally, since this pair of cases focused on cultural participation at an individual level, most interviewees highlighted the role of participants in influencing and changing the values promoted by their institutions. This research leads us to conclude that top-down approaches are not always applicable for understanding how values are created inside different types of institutions, especially in those cases in which institutions “sustain hierarchies by providing and diffusing alternative definitions of worth, such as those grounded in group identity, morality, religion, aesthetic performance, or self-actualization” (Lamont, 2012: 211). In this first pair of cases, there are alternative valuation processes informally shared among some members of the institution that, eventually, have changed formal institutional aspects, such as vision, objectives and partnership protocols. For instance, FUT’s “generational value turnover” is a result of a younger subgroup developing their own set of countercurrent values within a traditional institution (i.e., exploring more contemporary music and performing contexts) and thus is an example of a higher level of participants’ influence on their own institutions (e.g., current partnership with JACC and performances with jazz musicians). In the Loulé Criativo case study, the network of partners that promotes a horizontal participatory process with different actors (traditional and contemporary artists/artisans and within different types of arts and crafts) reflects the active role of the participants themselves in shaping and propelling institutional valuation narratives and trajectories.

Second pair – Valuation of informal creative and receptive practices

This pair of cases aim to investigate the valuation, by their practitioners, of two informal cultural practices inscribed in the 'ordinary', spontaneity and daily life of groups and individuals: a "cultural reception" practice (music listening); and a "creative expression" practice (informal dancing).

In both cases, we are interested in valuations by "lambda" individuals whose practice is autonomous, neither professional nor part of structured frameworks, but whose levels of emotional and intellectual commitment are variable. Thus, we will distinguish different levels, ranging from a detachment and non-knowledge, to the "fan" or "lover" posture, understood as "attachment to objects that matter" (Le Guern, 2009), but also as a "posture of reflexivity" (Hennion, Maisonneuve & Gomart, 2000; Hennion, 2007) in cultural practice and taste, involving a "specific competence within a cultural field" (Glevarec, 2021).

4. Music listening valuations (Case 1.3)

4.1 Case background

Music listening is one of the most widespread cultural practices, sometimes described as "ubiquitous listening" (Kassabian, 2013). Worldwide, the average amount of music listening is estimated to be more than 18 hours per week, and is constantly increasing (IFPI, 2021). In France, it is estimated that 80% of people over 15 years old listen to music, more than half of them daily (Lombardo & Wolff, 2020). Music listening is experiencing the most dynamic progress among cultural practices, particularly due to the development of digital technologies, reducing the consumption gaps between social classes, and between rural and urban areas (Lombardo & Wolff, 2020).

Parallel to this increase in music listening, the economic value of recorded popular music has "dramatically declined in the twenty-first century" (Marshall, 2016). Has this led to a systematic "devaluation" of music? Apart from certain cases of suffered "music as sound", we observe, on the contrary, very strong, positive and numerous values assigned to music listening: there is a "'value gap' between music's socio-cultural and economic values" (Marshall, 2016).

Inserted in collective and "exceptional" events, but also in "everyday life", with a very wide sociological distribution, music listening allows us to explore the valuation "from below", and its "ordinary" dynamics, outside of formal or institutional frameworks. With the expansion of musical production and listening means, this practice has become a "commonplace", more individualised, more autonomous – sometimes described as a "domestication" and an "individualisation" of musical listening practices (Glevarec, 2021).

Music listening occurs in multiple social and material contexts (solitary, collective, private, public, recorded, in concert, on the radio...) and lends itself to a wide variety of uses ("attentive", "distracted", "functional", "decorative"...), including different "use values" as "role-normative modes of listening" (Nowak, 2016), with different forms of adequacy sought by listeners between music contents, dedicated contexts and specific affects. This practice is emotionally and intellectually invested by individuals with different types and degrees of attachments and commitments, linked to specific types of aesthetics and "musical styles", arising from the "listeners' careers" built in the framework of social trajectories and habitus (Djakouane, 2005). Like any cultural practice, music listening is socially segmented, covering logics of "distinction" and cultural legitimacy (Bourdieu, 1979). If the fixed models of the sociology of tastes of the 1970s had change with the massification of production, access to the musical offer, diversification of cultural consumption and the "rise of the eclectism" (Coulangeon, 2010), the fact remains that aesthetic preferences vary according to social trajectories (Coulangeon, 2021); as do forms of valuation, as we will explore it below.

This high social, contextual, aesthetic and functional diversity of music listening allows us to compare different dimensions of valuation dynamics. In this research, we investigate individuals with various social positions and various degrees of intellectual and emotional commitment in the practice (see methodology); a wide range of musical aesthetics (classical electronics, jazz, African music, rock, hip hop, pop, experimental music...); and **four main contexts of music listening** (in private settings with careful listening – alone, or with

others; in private settings while doing an activity – cooking, driving, talking, working.... ; in parties, bars, nightclubs; and in concerts).

4.2 Methodology

This case study was carried out through a qualitative sociological survey, using semi-directive interviews with 12 individuals listening to music and living in the Montpellier area. Several criteria were used to ensure a minimum diversity of respondents in our sample:

- age (from 23 to 71 years old),
- gender (6 men, 6 women),
- degree of emotional and intellectual commitment in music listening (5+, 3=, 4-)
- contexts of practice (cf. case background)
- aesthetic tastes (cf. case background)
- cultural capital (level of education, intensity of cultural practices)
- place of living (village / city)
- origins

The interviews lasted between 1,30 and 3 hours, directed by an interview grid common to all Topic 1 cases (see Appendix A).

4.3 Grammars of valuation and evaluation

Music listeners assign different grammars of valuation to their practices of listening, through “qualifications” (judgements, feelings, emotions, appreciations, assessments, virtues...), referring to implicit or explicit principles of values. These values can be classified into **5 major categories: aesthetic, functional, identification, relational and political**. Most of these values are combined and interdependent, which makes it difficult to rank them.

Distinguishing between aesthetic and functional values. “Aesthetic” values include values linked to an experience lived as “an activity in its own right”, “for its own sake”: a “major mode” of cultural experience (Glevarec, 2021). In this “major mode”, the object is more important than the subject; whereas in the minor mode, the subject submits the object to the fulfilment of a goal or need. Aesthetic values are thus distinguished from “functional” values by the centrality of the music content in the practice and the exclusivity of this practice at a given moment. However, in this research, aesthetic values are mostly expressed through their emotional, sensory and imaginative *effects*, not through values that would be intrinsic to the artwork (such as virtuosity, excellence, technique): the artwork “for its own sake” is inseparable from the artwork’s effects. The aesthetic/functional value distinction is also corresponding to the difference between a “mood” (minor, functional mode) based on the grammar of “being” and “quality” (“I am in a bad mood”) and an “emotion” (major, aesthetic mode), based on the grammar of “having” and “intensity” (“I have an intense emotion”) (Glevarec, 2021).

Aesthetic values

Aesthetic values include the vocabulary of emotion, including affection, joy or “pleasant sadness” (“*It makes me smile inside, it touches my joy sensors...*”; “*It moves me to tears... it’s not sadness, it’s that I’m affected... I find beautiful the things that move me... it has to touch me*”). Other vocabularies relate to sensation: thrill, orgasm, inebriation, impairment... (“*I’m looking for the thrill (...) It’s a bit like a drug, it’s not a fizzy thing, it can be very strong, you know you’re going to reach a very crazy climax, there’s something like intoxication*”; “*there are precise moments that gives me a sensation, like a sort of orgasm*”; “*it’s a shiver that flows with great intensity, in the back of the neck*”).

The physical sensation sometimes extends to an embodiment involving an action (movement, singing, dancing...) which contributes to the valuation (“*You can embody all the music, with the singing, with the dancing... when it works, it gives me a feeling of perfection, an alignment music – body – feeling : I’m great, everything is great!*”; “*Nodding my head to the beat, tapping my feet, tapping the table... I want my whole*

body to be involved in what I'm listening to"). An experience of the "sublime" and the "absolute" also appears ("an absolute moment, a kind of ceremony, it overwhelms you, you could make it sacred, it's the sublime, the mixture between beauty and fear").

An other vocabulary of aesthetic values evoke the construction of narratives, images, imaginaries ("there is a kind of narration that you imagine in the music, a story that the track tells you, even without words, with its twists, its phases..."; "The thoughts it brings me to, it's not concrete... well, sometimes it suggests landscapes"; "The music produces an image of its own, there's a colour") but also the vocabulary of displacement, adventure, travel ("It produces an impression of arriving somewhere, it's a great adventure"; "a bit like a good journey... it makes you move, it makes me travel mentally"; "The sensation of rising, of culminating, of losing oneself and finding oneself again").

Functional values

Functional values correspond to "role-normative modes of listening" (Nowak, 2016), covering the uses of music as an "accompaniment" to "reconfigure reality" (Glevarec, 2021). The musical content is chosen according to the situation and to the effect sought (to calm down, mobilise, concentrate...). Listening is not exclusive but a secondary "means" to achieve particular ends, valued in adequacy with specific contexts and affects.

Some of these functional values relate to changes in mood, emotional state or atmosphere ("It takes my mind off things. It relaxes me"; "It brings cheerfulness into the house"; "It changes the atmosphere, it fills something, the music proposes something"), sometimes as a remedy for loneliness ("I'm not alone, the music evokes other characters (...) an echo of the outside world"), or as a way to forget mental or physical pain ("I forget about my back pain, about a lot of stuff that stresses me...").

Other use values concern relaxation, sleep aid ("when I can't sleep, I listen to Indian music... it relaxes me, it calms me") or conversely the stimulation, the activation of the body and the energy ("It gives me a form of excitement, it stimulates me, it activates my energy, my body"). Finally, music is also valued as an aid to concentration and motivation at work ("It helps me to concentrate, it gives me willpower, it helps me to focus, to maintain a thread, not to be distracted").

Identification values

Music is a marker of identity reference and delimitation of group boundaries, used as a tool in the auto-definition and "reflexive construction of the self" (Hennion, Maisonneuve & Gomart, 2000): a "technology of identity" (DeNora, 2000). Indeed, music can be a means of accomplishing "the work of producing oneself as a coherent being over time" (DeNora, 2000), reminding listeners of their past identities and allowing these identities to be projected into the future. We understand identity as a marker of a "secure personal home", but also of belonging to a social group: music participates in "drawing of boundaries between groups" (Hennion, Maisonneuve & Gomart, 2000).

Listening to music is sometimes valued through vocabularies that evoke memory, remembrance, landmark, familiarity ("It takes me back to a beautiful friendly time, happy memories"; "I feel at home, with a memory I felt good with, in my routine, in my world"; "It's reassuring, safe, a comfort zone. It takes me back to joyful moments of childhood").

At other times, valuation vocabularies are linked to an origin or a community of belonging ("I need to live with the atmosphere of my country of origin... this music is part of me"; "it's like a code that we share with my friends, it's like an invisible complicity that binds us in the love of her songs..."; "I was in a quest for identity (...) the discovery of this music was a shock for me, as if I found a part of myself that I didn't know").

Relational values

Music listening reveals many relational values when carried out collectively, but even if solitary: it can give rise to subsequent sharing and exchanges, and be valued as a practice *through* the social links it produces.

Some valuation vocabularies are linked to the pleasure of sharing tastes, emotions and judgements through the exchange of music or comments on music ("When I find a great track, I also think of others (...) I feel that

there is something to share, I want to send the track to a friend...”; “If you’re with friends at a concert, we talk about it afterwards, always, we see that we didn’t hear the same thing, or that we noticed the same crazy moments...”), or evocations of certain music as supports for intimate relational exchanges (love, sexual, friendship), and containing, over time, the symbolic and memorial value of a relationship (“the love of this track, it connects us both”).

Collective listening to music during events (concerts, festivals) gives rise to values related to socialisation, encounters and social links (“*Music creates a pretext, an event (...) You know that you’re going to spend a good evening together with your friends”; “I go in some festivals especially for the social side, to meet new people...”), and even more strongly, to values of communion and community through the ephemeral sharing of an experience (“A pleasure of communing, of belonging to that world, at that moment”; “There is the symbolic value of all this, of how we see ourselves to be there, to dance together, with different people, it makes it even stronger”). Collective attention can reinforce the value of musical appreciation, through the transfer or appropriation of affects (“It’s a kind of magic thanks to the communion”; “being with others, sharing it with others, it’s strong, everyone listens to the same thing at the same time (...) there’s a collective listening so I think I listen differently”; “you feel enthusiasm from the others, it also gives you some envy”).*

During concerts, relational values may concern interactions with musicians, producing specific attentions and valuations (“*you are completely present, you don’t cut, you live the whole experience...”; “I watch the musicians’ fingers all the time, I connect to the movements... I am fascinated by that”; “when musicians explain what they do, why they composed it... all this stuff, it gives you other elements, I understand things”).*

Political values

Music is also valued through vocabularies of political valuation; whether through adherence to the political meaning of a track (“*I feel almost political emotions too, like in this track by [X] with a poem about the repression of Algerians in Paris in 1967...”), to the political stance of musicians whose probity and political commitments can reinforce the valuation, or to the political representations and symbols associated with entire musical aesthetics or currents (“underground rap represents for me music that attacks the state, the bourgeoisie, that scares the system, and I like that”; “that we all dance on black music, for me it’s the revenge over racism...”).*

These valuations can also be linked to the claim of a “political identity” (“*we find ourselves in the anti-police discourse, the insurrection in the suburbs... we identify with this music*”) – political identification possibly being a key to aesthetic valuation (“*when you find an entrance key, you end up liking it, you can enter through dancing, but also through politics...”). Music has the capacity to structure political communities, whether national, regional, ethnic, or linked to specific political mobilisations (Darré, 1996). In this respect, it can be valued as an emotional or identity-based instrument of mobilisation (e.g., songs that are symbols of social mobilisations) or devalued as such (e.g., the rejection of national anthems).*

Broader political principles are also applied to music listening, such as cultural relativism opposed to hierarchical taste judgements (“*there is no such thing as good music per se, I don’t want to judge according to principles that are superior, all music has the right to respect*”) or the defence of “popular” cultures against “elitist” cultures.

4.4 Tensions and their dynamics

Tensions in valuation can be understood in two different ways: on the one hand, as conflicts between values or regarding the definition of the same value (tensions between values); on the other hand, as valuation divergences depending on individuals, contexts and contents (valuation variations). Indeed, individuals have a dynamic repertoire of values: valuations *in practice* are the result of a meeting between three central variables (individual habitus; intrinsic content and context of practice). A “valuation stabilisation” may temporarily exist at the level of an individual or a group, but it is always contingent on these three variables.

Variations according to individual habitus and trajectories

Valuations diverge between individuals according to their **social trajectories and life histories**, firstly through initial family socialisation – whose parental influence can either lead to “values by opposition”, “re-

appropriation”, or “continuity” – and in which the role of siblings can be decisive. The influence of peer groups in adolescence can give rise to forms of aesthetic self-censorship, strong rejections, or to the development of a “fan posture” (*“My first record was [X, pop singer]... I loved it... But then when I was a teenager, we thought that pop music was rubbish... we wanted big drums, violence, experimental music...”*). Determining changes or encounters (meeting, travel, couple, friendship, social environment...) may also happen (*“my girlfriend got me back into classical music... I was rejecting it as it was my parents’ music...”*; *“It was after meeting [X], at 20, that I discovered the “coupé-décalé”... and since then I’ve remained passionate about this music”*; *“I travelled to Guadeloupe and I fell in love with their music”*).

Valuations are strongly influenced by **relational transmission**, whether by empathy, affective mimicry, appropriation of reading keys (*“The judgement of others on the music can vary my mood, my sensation... there are things I wasn’t listening to, but the interest of someone else made me access the pleasure”*; *“I was taken by the hand by this friend, thanks to him, this piece became mine, I made it my own”*) or by the effects of a collective appreciation in presence (*“the joy felt by the group prevails, I’m taken away, I’m influenced by the others...”*).

The variation of individual **level of emotional and intellectual commitment** has also a strong influence on the valuation: the accumulation of knowledge and the passionate investment develop specific “attentions” and ways of savouring music. The intellectualisation of the relationship to music does not seem to undermine its emotional and sensitive values; on the contrary, it reinforces them (*“once I have the codes, I appropriate it, I enjoy it. It gives me possible affects, an attention to understanding such moments, an attention to elements that I would not have heard otherwise”*). A non-intellectual personal “practical knowledge” linked to the functional value of music can also be noticed; listeners act as “DJ to themselves (...) to enhance or alter aspects of themselves” (DeNora, 2000) through the choice of music dedicated to a mood, a relation or a moment.

Finally, valuation is also influenced by the **actors of music production, diffusion and mediation**: music industry, media (radio, TV, streaming, advertising, etc.), diffusion (concert venues and other programming places), public policies, mediation programs, teaching and amateur practices... impacts the construction of aesthetic tastes through their power on the access, discovery and knowledge of music (*“music industry makes you listen to the stuff of your generation... happily there are DJs and labels that help to bring out the old stuff, otherwise we are stuck”*; *“I started to like jazz thanks to a teacher at the conservatory”*).

Variations according to contexts

Valuations are constructed *in practice*: they can be specific to a moment, place or specific social configuration. Thus, several interviewees mention ideal “moments” or “moods” in the quest for aesthetic values involving an “active” listening (*“You can’t be preoccupied, you have to be in a certain mood to really open up...”*; *“I have to be quiet, I have time on my hands, no constraint, free zone, comfortable...”*).

The example of “imposed” or “suffered” music is interesting in this respect, as one of the only contexts in which valuation is often negative (*“There’s a time when I hate music, it’s when they put music in the streets at Christmas, it’s unbearable”*; *“when I’m hiking, I don’t like when someone turn on his speaker. It spoils something, it’s ruining my enjoyment of the nature”*).

Context effects also underline the value of listening during collective events; the concert, in particular, is a privileged space for the occurrence of many valuations (see relational values). However, several material and social elements may define the ideal conditions of a concert (*“Concerts where you can’t dance, it’s frustrating, I can’t connect enough to the music”*; *“some venues make you hate a band that you love... lousy sound, dumb people...”*).

Variations according to contents

“Music provides resources for imagination, awareness, consciousness, action, social information” (DeNora, 2000) – but these resources only become significant in relation to external conditions: “non-musical material, such as situations, biographical matters, patterns of attention, assumptions, are all implicated in the clarification of music’s semiotic forces” (DeNora, 2000). There is a “conditional performativity of the music”

(Hennion, Maisonneuve & Gomart, 2000), but a performativity nevertheless. Music tracks are not simply goods of consumption, they are “acting technologies” whose own impact must be considered: “music is not a static sign (...) music acts and makes acts” (DeNora, 2000).

Among music properties influencing valuation, we notably identify: lyrics, meaning, writing style (valuation of political and poetic meaning, identity links, intimate affects...: *“it’s a music that doesn’t mean anything”*); melodic lines and chord structures, minor and major tones, modal structures (valuation by sensation or emotion); degrees of harmonic and structural complexity (valuation by a cultural legitimacy judgement: *“it’s too simple, too repetitive”*), degrees of order and intelligibility (valuation by appropriation capacity: *“as long as I can’t sing a track, I don’t like it, I can’t understand it. That’s why I don’t like free jazz”*); types of sound textures (example of the rejection of the auto-tune or the synthesizer’s sounds); groove, rhythm and tempo (example of the difficulties of appropriating asymmetrical rhythms in the West; valuation of ternary rhythms by Afro-descendants; valuation through danceability)... Criteria for judging aesthetic “intrinsic” values of each of these elements are variable: technicality, virtuosity, complexity, beauty, emotion, innovation, imagination, sensation, meaning, style... and within each of these value criteria, competing value scales exist.

Tensions between values

Aesthetic values are sometimes opposed to functional values (e.g., music listening as a total, committed, or even sacred practice, can be opposed to “background music” with less aesthetic importance), or opposed to political values: aesthetic rejection of ‘text songs’ in favour of melodic contents; contradiction between aesthetic taste and political positions of a musician or offences he has committed (as illustrated by the debate on “separating the man from the artist” when artists are condemned for their acts of violence, driving to internal conflicts of valuation among certain individuals).

A same value principle can also include internal contradictions. Divergent interpretations of aesthetic values exist, through emotion, sensation and imagination on the one hand, and through virtuosity, technicality and complexity on the other. Within political values, relativism and openness to cultural diversity are opposed to an aesthetic hierarchy or the defence of a “standard of cultural quality” (*“not everything is worth it!”*), which gives rise to conflicts (rejection or acceptance of aesthetics that do not correspond to tastes; rejection of commercial music as a “mass product”, or conversely, appreciation of this same music by valuing its “popular” dimension, and by opposing its status of cultural illegitimacy).

5. Informal dancing valuations (Case 1.4)

5.1 Case background

Dance practice appears to be marginal in official statistics – it is estimated, for instance, that 7% of the French practice dance, with a significant increase since the 1970s (Lombardo & Wolff, 2020). However, these statistics do not consider the “ordinary” or “informal” practice of dance (as practised in private spaces, parties, nightclubs, concerts, ballrooms...), outside of organised settings (clubs, schools, associations, conservatories...). These “ordinary” contexts of dance are very diverse, whether solitary or collective, exceptional or included in everyday, codified or spontaneous, linked to specific musical or choreographic aesthetics, or totally free and improvised, and include the “three major dance families – solo, group and partner” (Aprill, 2018).

Most informal dances are distinguished from “dance” understood as “artistic creation” or “choreographic art”, even though their practitioners may sometimes identify with it. The legitimate institutional and normative definitions of dance consider the practice “from the point of view of aesthetics, the artwork, representation and art” (Aprill, 2018) – “dance” would belong to “culture as a corpus of valued artworks”, while informal dances would belong to “culture as a lifestyle” (Passeron, 1991). In fact, informal dance practices are more often “participation dances” than “performance dances” (Kaeppeler, 1998), and more often “popular” or “folk” dances than “scholarly” or “elitist” dances. However, their creative and artistic dimension is not non-existent; it simply suffers from a lack of legitimated aesthetic recognition as such.

The spectrum of dance’s aesthetics is very wide, and its practice is subject to a strong social segmentation, linked to gender (very large majority of women among dance practitioners; differentiated gender distribution according to types of dances [Lombardo & Wolff, 2020]), origins (relations to traditional or contemporary dances from other countries, relations to folklores belonging to specific regions), cultural capital (aesthetic judgements of “popular” or artistically “illegitimate” dances), or age (types of dances preferred by generations).

This high social, contextual and aesthetic diversity of informal dance practice allows us to compare different dimensions of valuation dynamics. In this research, we investigate 12 individuals with various degrees of intellectual and emotional commitment in dance practice; a wide range of aesthetics (contemporary dance; folk dances; Latin couple dances; hip-hop; and dances linked to musical styles such as house, afro-house or electronics); and three main contexts: at home, alone; in private parties, bars, concerts, nightclubs, with friends or unknown people; and in two dedicated settings (an informal amateur group; a folk ballroom), with friends or unknown people.

5.2 Methodology

This case study was carried out through a qualitative sociological survey, using semi-directive interviews with 12 individuals informally practicing dance and living in the Montpellier area. In order to analyse specific valuations, our sample included participants in an informal contemporary dance group, participants in folk dances, and people who often go to nightclubs. Some respondents have practised dance in clubs or schools in the past, allowing comparisons between informal dance practice and more codified, constrained or formalised settings.

Several criteria were used to ensure a minimum diversity of respondents in our sample:

- age (from 21 to 65 years old),
- gender (4 men, 8 women),
- degree of emotional and intellectual commitment in dance practice (5+, 4=, 3-)
- contexts of practice (cf. case background)
- aesthetic tastes (cf. case background)
- cultural capital (level of education, intensity of cultural practices)
- place of living (village/city)
- origins

The interviews lasted between 1.30 and 2.30 hours, directed by an interview grid common to all Topic 1 cases (see appendix).

5.3 Grammars of valuation and evaluation

Interviewees assign different grammars of valuation to their practices of dance, through “qualifications” (judgements, feelings, emotions, appreciations, assessments, virtues...), referring to implicit or explicit principles of values. These values can be classified into **four major principles of values: well-being, relational, aesthetic, and creative**. Most of these values are combined and interdependent, which makes it difficult to rank them.

Well-being values

Most informal dance vocabularies of valuation are related to physical and mental pleasures, hedonism and positive sensations. We thus observe a whole vocabulary of joy, happiness, change of emotional state (*“There is something in the brain, like dopamine, I can start laughing”; “It changes my mood, it makes me go from sadness to joy”; “It is jubilant, I can’t stop smiling in the dance... it is happiness”*). This “mental” pleasure is connected to the valuation through physical sensation, touch, muscle relaxation, breathing (*“it’s like the sun on your skin, bathing in water, like a massage”; “There’s something about relaxing the muscles, enjoying the body, it sends me endorphins”; “I feel I can breathe...”*), sometimes extended to a vocabulary of lightness, of releasing tension and pressure through the body expression (*“locked thing that opens up, the pressures, the accumulated tensions, there they unravel, cerebrally they evaporate”*).

Indeed, dance is experienced as a relationship with the body, including valuations of a “connection with the body” that involves not only physical sensation but also a conscious awareness of the body (*“as if your brain was going down into your body, saying “look at these sensations, how nice it is”; “a dialogue with my body”; “a sensation of being refocused in myself (...) I’m connecting with my body”; “it happens between the stomach and the ribcage, something that opens up, a weight that is lifted”*) or even a “liberation” of the body, the possibility of its own expression, especially through movements that are not usual in everyday social settings (*“the body has the right to express itself for once. There are few places where the body is free (...) While dancing, it has the right to be gangly, disarticulate, to take up space, to let go”*). The vocabulary of energy, motivation and dynamics also appears as a value (*“It gives me a lot of energy, I want to jump around, it gives me a dynamic.”; “It’s the opposite of lethargy, it gives me motivation”; “It can regenerate me”*).

These “body valuations” are coupled with an interest in intellectual disconnection, a way to momentarily release from self-control, forget stresses and problems, sometimes described as a state “close to meditation” (*“to disconnect while being in consciousness”; “It’s a kind of trance state, a bit meditative”; “I don’t think about the rest of my life: my problems are put at a distance”*). Dance represents a “parenthesis”, during which the dancers abandon their “posture of knowing subject”, creating a “low-intensity trance” during which a “detachment from the self occurs”, “outside of verbalization” (Apprill, 2018) (*“I feel a disconnection of the control, of the vigilance, a kind of disconnection of the brain”; “It is purely sensory moments, with a total absence of intellect”*).

Relational values

Dance reveals many social and relational values, whether they concern the diversity or the intensity of links, or the exchange and sharing. These values include local or contextual socialisation and encounter: “dancing at the ball, its making society” (Apprill, 2018) (*“at the village annual party, suddenly people who didn’t speak to each dance a rock together... it creates links, special encounters, which would not have taken place otherwise”*). These values also include seduction and love or sexual encounter; if the “ball” is no longer central as it may have been for the formation of couples (Bozon & Héran, 1988), dance venues are still spaces of “tension and exchange of bodies” in which the interest of the participants may be “linked to the possible development of a sexual relationship” (Apprill, 2018).

Beyond encounters, social values include the intensity of the links and the relational complicity, through the sharing of an ephemeral, unique, and coordinated moment. The pleasure is evaluated in its specificity of “common pleasure”, implied by the collective sharing of the practice (*“I love collective dances. It creates a*

link, there is an emulsion, everyone wants to be together, to share something”; “There is a whole game, a connivance on the gestures, there is a union... (...) I like this complicity, it is very strong, we are on the same rhythm”). This “dialogue without words” includes values of exchange and gift – a gift of oneself, one’s movements, one’s initiatives (“you fix your movements on other people in the crowd, our movements answer each other, it’s a dialogue”; “I feel like I’m offering something to the group”). This vocabulary of links can be extended to the values of “community” or “communion” (“you have the impression of a kind of communion through the body, and that weaves really strong links”; “There’s a community thing, we share a moment, everybody smiles at each other, everybody is happy to be there”).

Sharing dance produces values of trust and intimacy; it is a way of better knowing the other, or knowing them in a different way, through a bodily exchange that can make long-term effects in relationships (“there are collective emotions which remain after, a kind of joy to have trusted each other, to have shared something intense and intimate together”; “There aren’t many other places where we have physical relations like that, apart from sex... it’s an abandonment, a very strong complicity, but it’s placed elsewhere than desire, it’s a form of intimacy (...) You’re opening a door, you’re getting to know parts of the other, you’re capturing one of his energies”).

The dancefloor can also be an ephemeral space of collective suspension of certain social norms: allowing oneself to “let go”, to “get crazy”, without shame or fear of judgement, to show a “blurred” identity, mixed with the unbridled crowd – to be something else than its usual controlled image (“you free yourself from the anxious considerations of sociability”; “when I dance, I go beyond my barriers of shame”; “we can emancipate ourselves from our identities (...) you get out of the gaze, of the control of your image, you unplug the camera”).

Aesthetic values

Even if informal dance is not described by its practitioners as an artistic practice, aesthetic vocabulary is very present, through the values of beauty, harmony, or emotional reception. Within couple and group dances, “beauty” is described as a value that stems from coordination, harmony, and can be more intensively experienced “from within” (“it’s beautiful, when you see couples dancing together in the same movement (...) and when you are inside, you see it even more”; “it is a sensation of an agreement of the presences, as if we occupy the space in a harmonious way together”).

Aesthetic values are also described as an individual feeling of “producing images of beauty”, which are not only visual, but also sensitive, related to fluidity, grace or relevance of movements (“if I manage to do a pelvis roll, I find it beautiful, fluid”; “the pleasure of being able to do a complicated thing in fluidity, this impression of perfection, you are in your body in an adequate way... you are extremely tuned”). Aesthetic values are intertwined with the values of pleasure and well-being: being the actor of an aesthetic achievement is valued in itself (“aesthetics, it’s not the goal, but it’s the feeling, I feel like I’m being aesthetic when I dance...”; “the fact that it’s beautiful makes me feel good too”).

Being seen as beautiful in the eyes of others is also valued as pride from the production of a positive self-image through the external gaze, a form of legitimacy of one’s representation to others, aiming at their validation, their love or their appreciation (“I want people to find me stylish, sexy, that they like me”; “I am proud of my way of dancing too, it’s about social well-being”; “I address my movements to others and that sends me back a positive image... the idea that I dance well, that pleases me, even without their feedback...”; “to think that I am beautiful, I feel capable, legitimate”). Aesthetic values can also be experienced as a pleasure for oneself, beyond the gaze of others (“when I dance alone, I feel it as aesthetic, if I see myself in a mirror and it’s a pleasure of the look, it’s almost like watching a show”).

Finally, dance is also mentioned as a mean of maximizing the aesthetical enjoying of music, through its embodiment (“the music is entirely in me, it enters my body”; “I make body with the music, it is another thing that listening, you are closer to everything, notes, rhythm...”) testifying the intertwined valuations of dance and music.

Creative values

We distinguish “creative” and “aesthetic” values in order to highlight vocabularies of valuation that are specific to the expressive and inventive practitioners’ engagement, as “actors” of a “creative sharing” with an audience.

Dance is valued as a space for expressing and sharing emotions, as an open creative practice in which one can “dare to communicate things” in a legitimate way, without aesthetic considerations (“*expressing emotions, things that you want to let out, it’s not a question of beauty*”; “*I have things to say, to share... it’s the channel where I feel legitimate to express something, and it’s almost one of the only channels...*”; “*I also liberate myself from something, as if I wanted to say, to shout, to claim...*”).

The creative freedom linked to improvisation and to the ephemeral immediacy of expression is also valued, in opposition with dance types that are considered as too codified or too choreographed (“*there is freedom, immediacy, as it is in real time (...) The sensation is linked to improvisation*”; “*In dance classes, you come back to the intellect, the learning, the constraint... I never had access to the pleasure of dancing in these classes*”). However, some dancers find pleasure in collectively “constructing” a choreography, an artwork, a result, which can be seen and shared with an audience (“*the pleasure to see a collective work which is built little by little*”; “*we don’t do it only for us... we do it to present it (...) I like that people whom I like can see this pleasure, this work*”).

Creative values also include the vocabulary of improvement, capacity, surpassing oneself, from which derive values of pride and legitimacy (“*I want to surpass myself in it*”; “*I feel more creative, therefore more autonomous*”; “*to be better, it’s to be more legitimate too, maybe (...) when we did the show last year, I was so proud!*”).

5.4 Tensions and their dynamics

Tensions in valuation can be understood in two different ways: on the one hand, as conflicts between values or regarding the definition of a same value (tensions between values); on the other hand, as valuation divergences depending on individuals, contexts and contents (valuation variations). Indeed, individuals have a dynamic repertoire of values: valuations *in practice* are the result of a meeting between these three central variables (individual habitus; intrinsic content and context of practice). A “valuation stabilisation” may temporarily exist at the level of an individual or a group, but it is always contingent on these three variables.

Variations according to individual habitus and trajectories

Valuations evolve with **life trajectories**, as “the social order is inscribed in the body” (Bourdieu, 1997). Some interviewees were dancing spontaneously in their childhood, “without fearing the judgement of others”; beginning to be aware of their social image during pre-adolescence, they progressively self-censored their bodily expression, monitoring their movements and abandoning their “expressive freedom”. This “disciplining of bodies” takes different forms for men and women (Marquié, 2016) – some men totally stopping dance during their adolescence, and some women conforming their free movements to imposed codes of femininity. Thus, the valuation of dance practices can involve a “re-learning” or a “re-appropriation” in adulthood, in particular regarding values of freedom, creativity or spontaneity... to which some people still do not have access, feeling too constrained by social norms.

Dance valuations strongly vary **according to gender**. Women appear to have greater access to many forms of valuation; indeed, more women than men practice dance, and have learned dance in their childhood, so might have access to more technical knowledges (Lombardo & Wolff, 2020). Gendered socialisation has also enhanced the staging of their bodies (Marquié, 2016). However, women are exposed to stronger normativity related to acceptable expressions of femininity and to the staging of a “desirable body” (“*dancing has multiplied the diktats, not only do you have to be attractive to boys, with buttocks and breasts, and then you also have to be slim, with an open pelvis, with arched feet...*”), or an ‘acceptable gender role’ in the case of couple dances (leading or following) (Apprill, 2018). Social norms also impact men (“*a boy should not twerk*”) but in a way that seems less constraining within the framework of heteropatriarchy. Furthermore, women are exposed, in some dance spaces, to male flirtatious or harassing behaviour (men ‘clinging’ or touching

without consent): the dance space can also be a space of potential aggression, and affect the positive valuation of dance by women (Marlière, 2011).

Cultural, national, regional or social origins also imply socialisation to certain forms of dance (“traditional regional dances”, dances from other countries, certain couple dances...): participants who have been “immersed” in these dances since their young age then develop reinforced valuations, strongly linked to their family, social or cultural identity.

Variations according to contexts

Contexts of practice are determinant in the dynamics of valuation: time and temporality, space, atmosphere, social composition, music, material setting... Among these contextual elements, the “music that makes you dance” seems primordial; its rhythm, groove, tempo, dynamics, or capacity to create common ground in a group of dancers (“*the music that makes me dance is quite rhythmic, quite joyful, festive music*”). The moment and the personal mood are also important, especially to enter a collective dance; the individual must be in a disposition to exposure, to exchange (“*my body has to be ready to exchange. It’s still a form of exposure, you have to be ready to be seen*”).

In the case of collective dance settings, the presence of other dancers, their behaviour and degree of trust and inter-knowledge, or the potential seduction issues, produces an atmosphere and group dynamic that enables and/or reinforces individual valuations (“*It’s the social context that gives birth to dance (...) alone I can’t really dare*”; “*With strangers, I don’t let myself go as much, there are also seduction issues sometimes, so I’m a bit more reserved... I’m less at ease, it’s the look in other people’s eyes... the fear of lacking grace*”). Social environments and “party habits” of participants also affect their possibilities of valuation, so do their age (“*It’s sad that we dance less and less as we get older, at our parties there’s less of this spontaneity of dancing, we miss it*”).

Variations according to contents

Types of dance – their choreographic content, the set of codes they imply, the music to which they are practiced – obviously have an important influence in valuation occurrences. Several lines of divergence exist, such as the opposition between “free” and “codified” dances (couple dances, ballroom dances, etc.), or the opposition between solo, couple and collective dances. Certain values are contingent to individual freedom and improvisation (“*I don’t like dancing in pairs, the fact that I have to follow exact steps, to coordinate, it forces me to concentrate, so I don’t let go, I’m not free*”); others, to the experience of constructed, collective or coordinated choreographies (“*It’s so much pleasure, when you feel the perfect coordination of the movements within the group!*”). However, dependency links are not systematic: values of “letting go” and free expression can exist within codified dances, as values of communion and relationships exist in non-codified dances. Types of dances involving a gendered distribution of roles can also be devalued as such (see values tensions).

Within each type of dance, tensions also exist over the definition of common choreographic frameworks; for instance, participants to ‘folk dances’ may value particular ways of interpreting a dance, and have debates about the freedom to ‘redefine’ the heritage of traditional dances.

Tensions between values

Aesthetic values may be in conflict with values of freedom, expression, sensation or well-being. The will to be “beautiful” “graceful”, to please, or be “validated” aesthetically by others can imply self-censorship, and consequently affect physical and emotional valuations linked to the freedom of movement (“*when people see me dancing, I sometimes feel the gaze as a judgement (...) I see that I am holding back movements, so as not to be noticed too much, which would be socially inappropriate*”; “*Sometimes there is a seduction issue, the other person’s gaze, if you want to please him, I can have less abandonment, so the sensations are less strong*”). Specific roles and choreographic constraints implied by codified group or couple dances may sometimes be devalued for the same reason (see: variations according to contents); conversely, aesthetic constraints and awareness can be a source of valuation.

Within aesthetic values, we observe a conflict between **“aesthetics for oneself”** and **“aesthetics for others”** valuations; beyond social representation, aesthetics can be enjoyed “for its own sake”, as a pleasure of “being beautiful” as an individual or as a group, as an issue of self-representation – the criteria of beauty “for oneself” not necessarily being the same as the criteria of beauty “for others”.

Types of dances requiring a **strongly gendered distribution of roles** involve conflicts of values, especially when “the man has to lead, the woman to follow” (Apprill, 2018). These norms are denounced as they place men in a position of power, control and initiative, and thus participate in the reaffirmation of masculinity and male domination. This opposition is justified in the name of political values, but also in the name of well-being and creativity values, by women valuing expression, improvisation and invention in these dances. Thus, within certain “dance communities” (such as the tango, or ballroom dances), conflicts exist over the demand for the reconfiguration of gender roles, and produce tentative mutations (Apprill, 2018).

Conflicts of values also concern the **“eroticization of dance”** and the **“commodification of desire”**. Dances that feature the female body in explicit sexual codes are criticised in the name of political or well-being values (*“I don’t like it when dance only serves the erotic model of the commodification of bodies... I don’t want this type of movement to be imposed, not for pleasure, but just because it responds to men’s desire”*). However, other practitioners plead for a re-appropriation of these dances, in the name of the freedom for women to express themselves as they want – including erotically – without being reduced to this expression, neither being ashamed or considered as “available for men’s desire” for this reason. Other arguments denounce racism and class contempt in the defiance for certain practices, such as twerking.

6. Pairwise comparison – cases 1.3 and 1.4

The “passive/active” distinction does not allow us to summarise the distinctions between these two practices: listening to music can be active and, moreover, engage the body (dance, singing, movement, oral appreciation...) – and be evaluated as such. However, even if “active”, music listening is a practice of “reception” of an artwork, whereas dance is a “creative” act necessarily involving an engagement and staging of the body – and sometimes, its public representation. To what extent are grammars of valuation affected by the dynamics of cultural reception and those of creative expression?

First of all, aesthetic valuation does not take the same form in both cases. **Aesthetic valuation as “reception”** is found in both practices (emotional, sensory, imaginative effects), but **aesthetic valuation as “self-creation”** covers specific values, such as “self-realisation”, “expression”, or “inventiveness”, and give a particular value to “beauty”, “experienced from within”. Being an actor of an aesthetic practice also engages valuations that are more exposed to external judgements, a form of aesthetic “responsibility” (or “vulnerability”), which can affect other valuations negatively (letting go, freedom, sensation) or positively (pride, self-confidence). While music listening implies the aesthetic valuation of “artworks”, in informal dance practice, the creative result is not referred to as an “art” in the valuation grammars; this distinction is echoing the “art/culture” and “artwork/practice” distinctions. However, in this research, we identify more valuations using the aesthetic vocabulary of “beauty”, “harmony” and “technicality” in dance practices than in music listening.

Social values are present in both cases; practices of “reception” or “creation” are mediums for exchanges, transmissions, dialogue, and give rise to valuations implied by these exchanges (reinforcement of links, etc.) even when they are not performed collectively. However, exchange and relationship values take a different form in dance practices, as they are intertwined with aesthetic values, through the production of a common, orchestrated or spontaneous “creation” and through the subjects’ dual position as aesthetic producers/receivers.

Finally, in both cases, the **level of intellectual and emotional engagement** *in practice* clearly seems to favour a maximisation and broadening of values. Is this simply an expansion of the vocabulary of valuation implied by knowledge? It also seems that knowledge and affective investment are intensifying attention and sensations, allowing access to a wider range of valuations. Knowledge gives access to capacities in both cases; but when the participant is a “creative actor”, these capacities are not only comprehension, analysis and sensory, but also capacities of expression, and an enlargement of the panel of aesthetic or technical realisation.

7. Topic-level discussion

In WP1 of the UNCHARTED project, we suggested that the values carried by cultural policies could be reduced to five main categories: aesthetics, democracy, economy, identity, and well-being. In WP3, which focuses on the way individuals express the value(s) given to their cultural practices, we arrive at three poles – or factors – of valuation and three major sets of values.

The valuation triangle

Valuation grammars are not isolated, coherent or fixed principles, like a set of values applicable to qualify any cultural experience: valuation *in practice* is a spontaneous mobilisation of an heterogeneous mix of value principles by individuals within their evolving "dynamic valuation repertoires", determined, in each specific cultural experience, by the meeting of three central variables.

The three poles are those presented in the valuation triangle (Figure 1): the influence of habitus, the spatio-temporal context, and the actual content of the art piece or artistic practice. Through the two pairs of cases, we see how much these three poles constitute "factories of values," and that these factories are based on coherences as well as tensions. For example, the values constructed with reference to the habitus are among the most coherent since they are the translation of an incorporation of social, family, and cultural identity. But they are likely to come into conflict with the value placed on practices by a context, anticipated or unanticipated. In the same way, the values associated with a context can be called into question by the process of valuation associated with the content of a work. For example, if the context plays a role of social valorization, the cultural practice that takes place there can be devalued because of its aesthetic, moral, or even political content. Similarly, the content of a work, for example, a type of dance or music, can turn out to be totally contradictory with a habitus and yet, by the values attributed to it at the time, overturn the codes.

Tension within poles

The valuation triangle was initially based on an assumption that the poles themselves produced a coherent "block of values." We have found that this is not so. Take the appreciation of a work (as we listen to it, as we dance it, for example): the value given to it can be very high in terms of physical and emotional sensations, and very low in terms of aesthetic value (and vice versa). A context, likewise, can contribute to valuing an experience (friends) and devaluing it (overcrowding). The habitus can also be "split," either because of the complex social trajectory of an individual or because of the legacies that have constituted it within their family. We must therefore add to our triangle tensions that are not between poles but within each pole. Both kinds of tension are at the origin of the social dynamic of valuation. If the sociology of cultural practices, related to the institutional offers of democratisation, observes a great stability in the logics of exclusion and access to culture, the sociology of the values granted to the practices shows a diversity and a remarkably dynamic evaluation process.

Relationship, Expression, Aesthetics

What are the values produced by this three-pole factory? They can be grouped around three sets.

The first concerns *relationship*, that is, socialisation within a family, a group, and society. It is a value, and not just a means. This relational value is a distant echo of relational aesthetics (Bourriaud, 1998), which evoked a type of art forged around the theme of the relationship. Of course, this relational value is found within a context, a singular relationship to a work or an experience, but also in reference to a habitus. The relationship refers to conviviality, to the pleasure felt in forming "society" with others, in seeing a taste confirmed with others. Each of these valuations has its exact opposite: devaluation (if it is impossible to make society, to live a convivial moment, to share one's tastes).

The second pole concerns *expression*. Value is thus given to a practice when it is associated with recognition, identification with a group, a cause, or a community (territorial or not). As much as the "politics of recognition" by culture remain marginal in institutions, "recognition," political or not, can be considered as a value associated with cultural practice. This tension will be addressed in WP4.

The third set of values relates to *aesthetics*. Here, valuation does not take place directly, according to judgement criteria linked to professional expertise, for example, but through the intermediary of emotions, sensations that are incorporated, or not, in individuals. Consequently, the “grammars of valuation” (Lamont, 2012) is certainly the product of a certain social conditioning (where we notice the influence of habitus, of social and cultural capital), but also of a context, processes related to the content of the art in question. Moreover, these processes are in tension with each other, so that the notion of “grammar” must be inscribed in a dynamic of change rather than reproduction, social or cultural. If it is always an unstable result, it is because our relationship to culture is also, more generally.

Lastly, economic valuation seems to be missing, whereas it is incorporated inside all the social exchanges we have analysed here. While economic values such as price, budget, and fees are at the centre of many of the practices described, they do not appear to people as values. More precisely, they appear as means at the service of the values (relationship, expression, aesthetics) that we have studied. It is the multiplicity of valuations (social, aesthetic, identity, political, etc.) from the point of view of a practice that relegates the economic valuation to the background. The interest of analysing emotions is mainly to redefine aesthetic values by their effects rather than by intrinsic contents or technical criteria of judgement (virtuosity, etc.). The gaps between market valuations and social valuations will be one of our WP4 concerns.

In conclusion, we can say two things. The first is that the valuation triangle is made dynamic by the tensions that exist within each pole (habitus, context, content) and between these poles. The second is that multiple values are present in each of these poles (i.e., diversities of relation, expression, aesthetics), even if one can imagine that a value dominates within a pole. Expressive valuation readily articulates with habitus; relational valuation refers more obviously to the context; and aesthetic valuation to content. But no pole has a monopoly on any value. It is the dynamic of the triangle that is the motive force.

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Appendix A. General interview script

General coding/analysis category info

Context: participation in a selected activity, at a particular locale and time [context coding table]

Interviewee: key characteristics of participant (demographic etc. info) [participant coding table]

Practices: key characteristics of the nature of the cultural activity [practices coding table]

Interview/Discussion questions

Nature of consumption – Contexts of practice

- When do you do it, where, with whom, what? When did you start doing it?
- For what reasons? (ex. being with friends, group, personal pleasure, used to it...)
- How often do you participate in this activity?

Nature of consumption – Attached values

- Why do you do it? what does it mean to you?
- How do you feel? what is your pleasure / fulfilment / sensation?
- What do you like the most and the least in this practice?
- What impacts on ... the moment / after / your life in general? What changed since you started doing it? What impacts on... your co-practitioners / friends / other groups involved / the society?

Perception of external valuations

- Do you think that your vision/feeling is shared by other participants? Do they feel the same way as you do? If not, why not? What other interests/feelings do other participants claim?
- Do you see any contradictions or conflicts between the views of different participants?
- What type of impact do the values displayed by others have on you? Do some of the values displayed by others bother you? In what way(s)?
- How is this practice perceived by ...
 - ... your family, your friends? the media / the institutions ?
- What do you think of their perceptions?

Comparison with other practices

- Cultural activities and consumption in your life? In your opinion what is unique about your participation in this specific cultural activity?
- // similar practices in different contexts: what changes ?
- informal / formal - differences of aesthetics - moments - social compositions -individual / collective - practice VS attendance - passive VS active
- Why does it change your perception/values ? impacts of ...other practitioners? Of aesthetics, moments, places?

Anti-values : hated practices or aesthetics (practices or aesthetics in opposition)

- So you like it like that in this context, but would you like it in another context / other type of practice? Why? What changes negatively impact your experience? Are there any negative impacts of this cultural participation experience?
- Do you have disagreements / conflicts with others on the use of this practice, on the values?

Historical involvements and influences

- When did you begin doing this cultural activity? Why? What motivates you to do this, to continue with this? What would make you stop doing this activity?
 - Sub-questions/probes: Include questions related to different moments of life; influence of family, friends, institutions, professional activity ... on the practices/consumption (in different moments) key moment in life that justifies the participation in the activity?
- Is it an individual choice or you participate because your friends/family/etc. do it and you are “used” to it?
- Were you influenced by others? Who has influenced (or influences) you the most? (past and present) How did that person influence you? In which way(s)?
- Is there someone/some institution that you identify as particularly key or important in the way you value this cultural practice/consumption? who/what? how?
- Can you identify key moments of change in your valuation/perspective...? If so, in what way? Why? Impact and changes in life perceptions - valuation perspectives
 - Changes in peoples’ lifestyles and relation to changes in valuation processes
- Do you think that you have influenced others? If so, how? who? How can your practice influence others? Can you exemplify?

Sociological data

- Do you participate in other types of cultural activities?
- As a child, were you involved in the arts as well?
- And with your parents?
- Do you participate in other types of collective activities?
- Are you committed to a cause? What are your political values?
- Place of living:
- Sex:
- Age:
- Parents' profession:
- Education level:
- Professional activity:
- Monthly income:

Note: The interview script was designed jointly by CES and CNRS, to be applied in all four cases (with small adjustments to address some case study specificities).