

Changing Criteria, Persisting Inequalities?

**Remarks on Class Inequalities in access to
Culture in France from 1981 to 2008.**

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I. Defining cultural inequalities.

- **I.1. From cultural democratization to cultural democracy**

- Cultural democratization

- Malraux
- 'Elective shock'
- Universalistic conception of culture

→ broadening the access to the 'highbrow culture'

≠ cultural arbitrary (Bourdieu & Passeron)

≠ cultural paternalism (colonialism?) (Looseley)

- Cultural democracy

- Cultural flourishing
- Cultural diversity
- Lang (?)

- **I.2. Cultural legitimacy and cultural eclecticism**
 - **Highbrow/Lowbrow (Gans, Bourdieu)**

Vs.

- **Omnivore/ Univore (Peterson)**
- **Cultural dissonance (Lahire)**

// rethinking of inequalities in terms of 'social exclusion' rather than in terms of class

- **I.3. Towards a 'pragmatic' definition of cultural inequalities**
 - Cultural policies subjected to the dilemma of arbitrary cultural universalism *vs.* cultural populism
 - Any difference in the access to cultural goods and amenities perceived as desirable, whatever the reason, could be considered as an inequality
 - BUT, cultural "desirability" is itself a social construct.

II. A multidimensional looking at cultural inequalities

- **II.1. Data and methodology**
 - French Surveys on Cultural Practices (Ministry of Culture): 1973, **1981**, 1988, 1997, **2008**

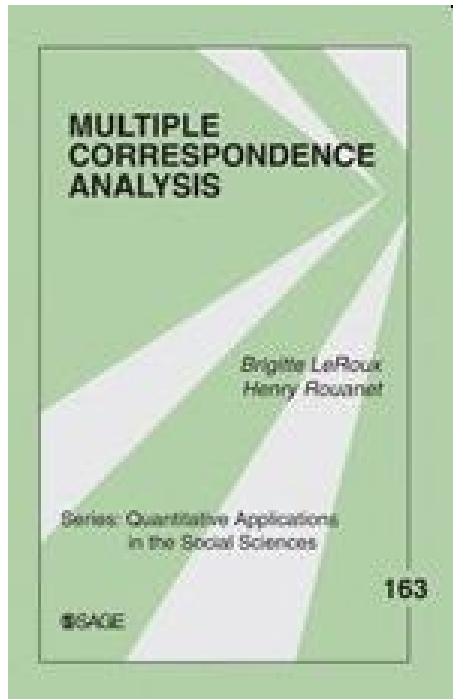
- A Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) of the French cultural habits and tastes in 1981 and 2008
- Jean-Paul Benzecri (1932- ...)



- Geometrical Analysis
- Influence of Benzecri on Bourdieu's break-up with Paul Lazarsfeld's tradition

- Main concepts of MCA
 - exploratory geometrical method that allows the analysis of the relationships among categorical variables
 - MCA extracts two multidimensional clouds of points:
 - cloud of categories (attractions and oppositions between categories)
 - cloud of individuals (similarities & dissimilarities between the response patterns)

- For methodological details, see:



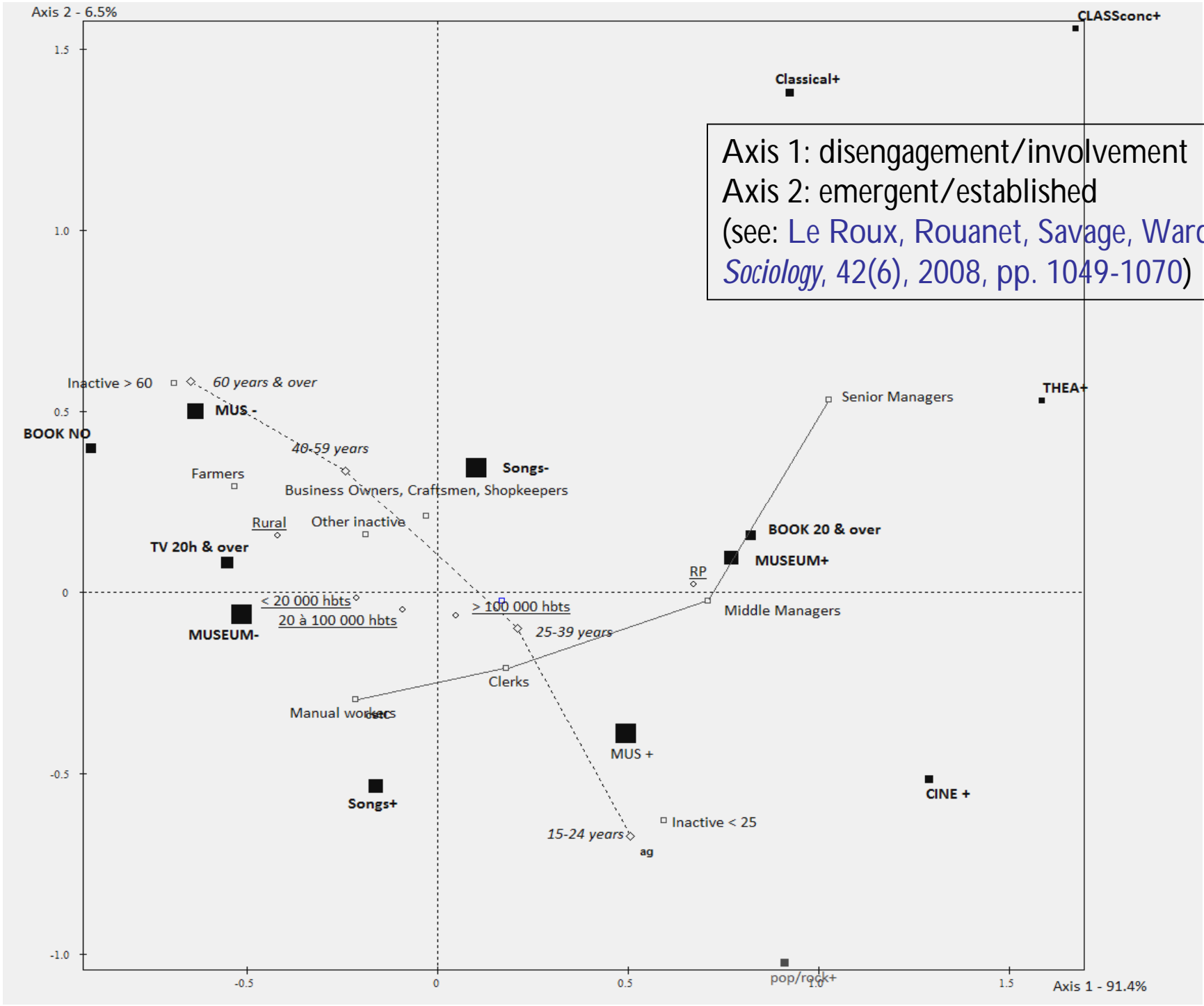
Brigitte Le Roux and Henry Rouanet, *Multiple Correspondence Analysis*, Quantitative applications in the Social sciences, n° 163, Thousand Oaks, CA, Sage, 2010.

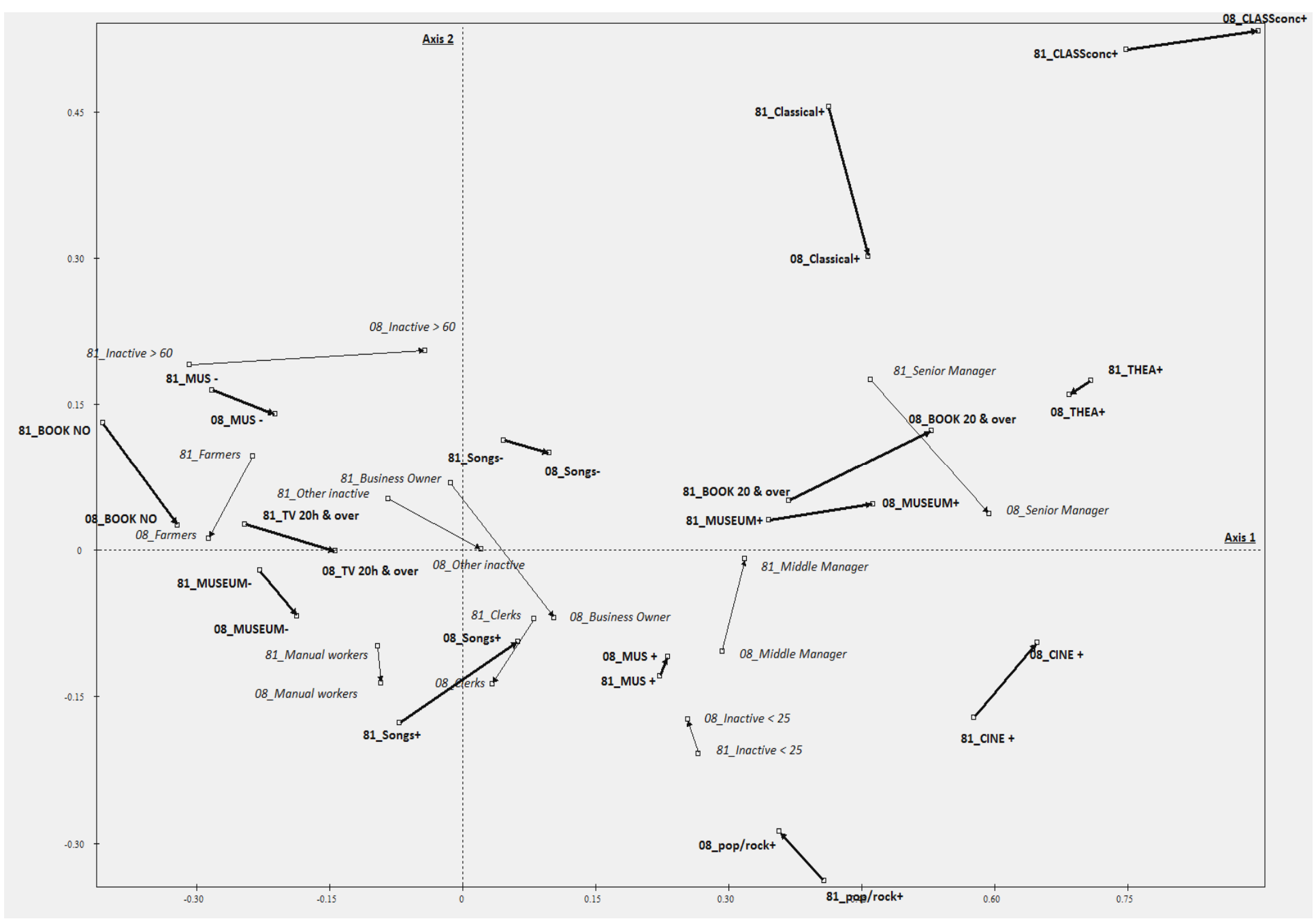
- First step: MCA on cultural habits and tastes (*active variables*) of 1981 respondents (*active individuals*)
- Second steps: inclusion of 2008 respondents (*supp. Individuals*) cultural habits and taste (*supp. Variables*)

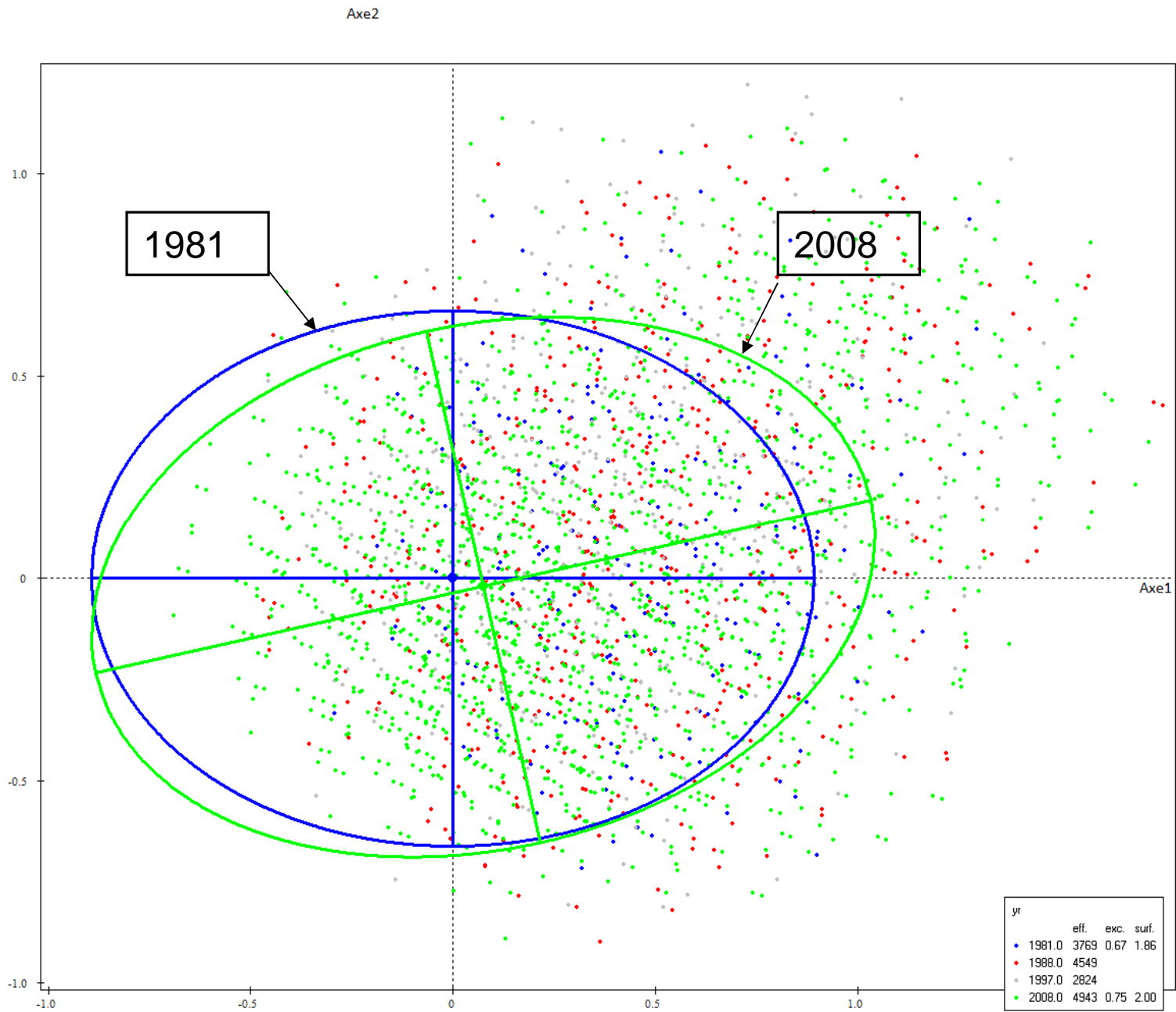
- Active variables (dummies, + & -):
 - Cultural practices Classical Concert
 - (CONCclass), (at least one time during the year preceding the survey)
 - Museum (MUSEUM), (*Ibid.*)
 - Theatre (THEA), (*Ibid.*)
 - Cinema (CINE), (11 times a year & more *vs.* < 11 times)
 - Television (TV), (20 hrs/week & over *vs.* < 20 hrs)
 - Books reading (BOOK), (20 books/yr & over *vs.* < 20 books)
 - Newspaper reading (NEWSP), (everyday *vs.* less than every day)
 - Music listening (MUSIC), (*Ibid.*)
 - Radio listening (RADIO),), (everyday *vs.* less than every day)
 - Musical tastes (musical genres mentioned as the most often listened to):
 - Classical Music (Classic)
 - Pop/rock
 - Jazz
 - Songs

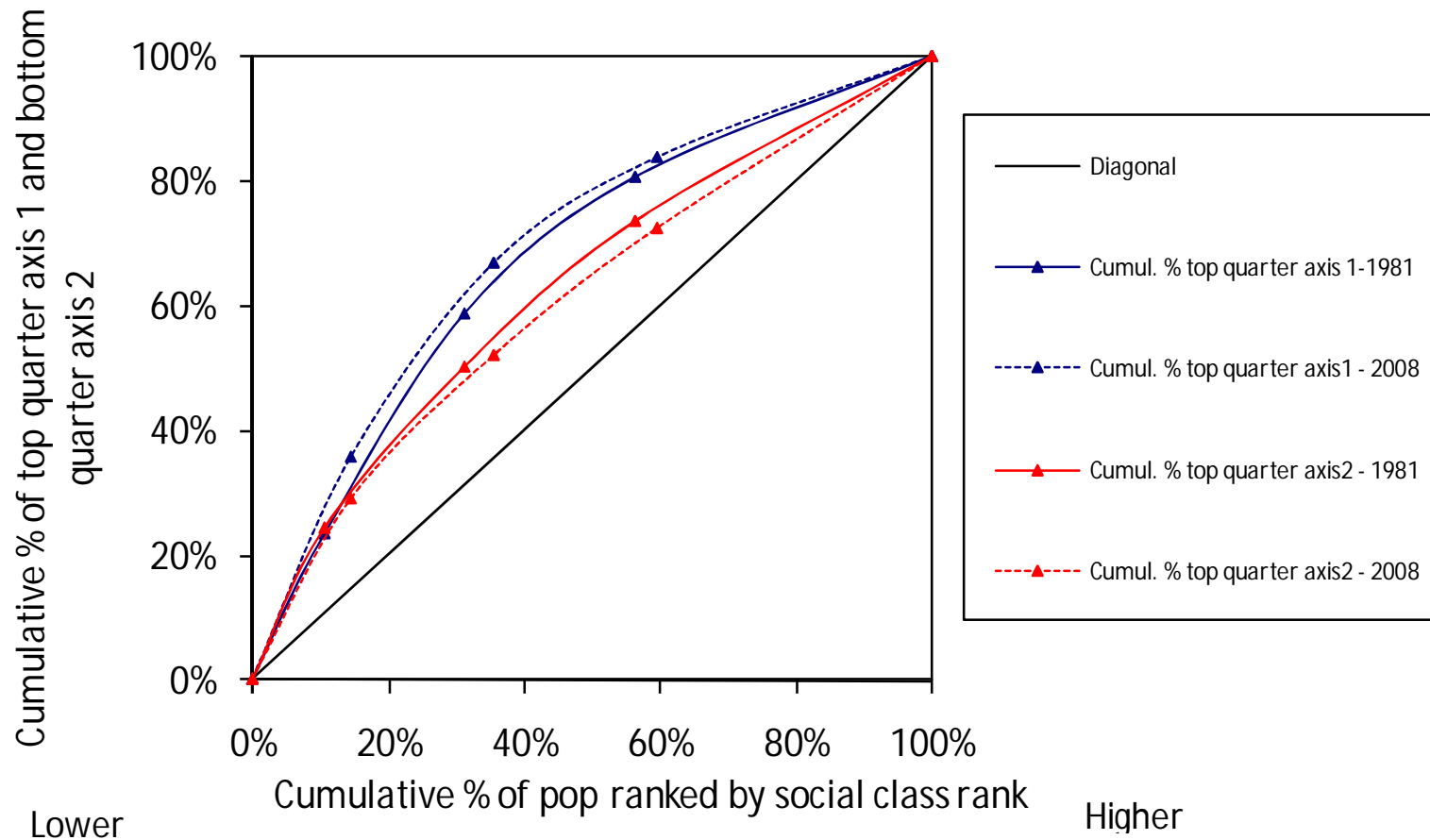
- Supp. (or passive) variables
 - The same variables **but** for 2008 respondents
 - Socio-demographics:
 - Gender
 - Age
 - Social Class
 - Size of living area

- **II. 2. Results**









	1981	2008
CII top quarter axis 1	-0.33	-0.37
CII top quarter axis 2	-0.25	-0.21

Scores on Axis 1		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Year	2008	0.119***	-0.008	-0.091**	-0.039
	1981				
Gender	Male	0.007	0.006	0.006	0.008
	Female				
Age		-0.268***	-0.087***	-0.083***	-0.234***
Education	No degree_CEP				
	Brevet_CAP		0.165***	0.165***	0.160***
Profession	Bac & over		0.360***	0.367***	0.366***
	Farmer		-0.071***	-0.073***	-0.062***
	Business owner, shopkeeper, craftsman		-0.033**	-0.065***	-0.053***
	Senior Manager		0.083***	0.016	0.022
	Middle Manager				
	Clerk		-0.087***	-0.078***	-0.081***
	Manual Worker		-0.147***	-0.154***	-0.154***
	Inactive < 25		0.019	0.029	-0.011
	Inactive > 60		-0.097***	-0.238***	-0.121***
	Other inactive		-0.086***	-0.137***	-0.112***
Father's profession	Farmer		-0.092***	-0.087***	-0.086***
	Business owner, shopkeeper, craftsman		-0.023	-0.021	-0.02
	Senior Manager		0.062***	0.064***	0.063***
	Middle Manager				
	Clerk		-0.048***	-0.046***	-0.044***
	Manual Worker		-0.128***	-0.126***	-0.127***
	Inactive		-0.059***	-0.054***	-0.052***
Size of living area	Rural		-0.021	-0.019	-0.019
	< 20 000				
	20 to 100 000		0.019	0.017	0.018
	100 000 & over		0.049***	0.046***	0.047***
Paris		0.149***	0.146***	0.146***	
Year × Profession	2008 × Farmer			-0.016	-0.027*
	2008 × Business owner, shopkeeper, craftsman			0.040**	0.027
	2008 × Senior Manager			0.084***	0.075***
	2008 × Middle Manager				
	2008 × Clerk			-0.012	-0.007
	2008 × Manual Worker			0.011	0.011
	2008 × Inactive < 25			-0.024	0.035
	2008 × Inactive > 60			0.183***	0.004
	2008 × Other inactive			0.067***	0.033
Year × Age	2008 × Age				0.213***
	N	8705	8705	8705	8705
	R-sq	0.0768	0.3488	0.362	0.3675

Standardized beta coefficients

*p<0.05

** p<0.01

*** p<0.001

Scores on Axis 2		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Year	2008	-0.100***	-0.121***	-0.221***	-0.238***
	1981	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Gender	Male	-0.01	-0.008	-0.008	-0.009
	Female	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Age		0.461***	0.493***	0.501***	0.550***
Education	No degree_CEP		Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
	Brevet_CAP		0.028*	0.024*	0.025*
	Bac & over		0.107***	0.103***	0.103***
Profession	Farmer		0.041***	0.025	0.021
	Business owner, shopkeeper, craftsman		0.02	0.02	0.016
	Senior Manager		0.071***	0.091***	0.089***
	Middle Manager		Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
	Clerk		-0.002	-0.022	-0.02
	Manual Worker		-0.002	-0.051*	-0.051*
	Inactive < 25		0.045**	-0.031	-0.018
	Inactive > 60		0.021	-0.095***	-0.133***
	Other inactive		0.054***	0.018	0.01
Father's profession	Farmer		0.029*	0.026	0.026
	Business owner, shopkeeper, craftsman		0.017	0.016	0.016
	Senior Manager		0.051***	0.050***	0.050***
	Middle Manager		Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
	Clerk		-0.01	-0.014	-0.015
	Manual Worker		-0.039*	-0.041*	-0.040*
	Inactive		0.015	0.009	0.009
Size of living area	Rural		0.007	0.01	0.01
	< 20 000		Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
	20 to 100 000		0.011	0.011	0.011
	100 000 & over		0.011	0.009	0.009
	Paris		0.051***	0.047***	0.047***
Year × Profession	2008 × Farmer			0.004	0.008
	2008 × Business owner, shopkeeper, craftsman			-0.006	-0.002
	2008 × Senior Manager			-0.021	-0.019
	2008 × Middle Manager			Ref.	Ref.
	2008 × Clerk			0.024	0.022
	2008 × Manual Worker			0.063**	0.063**
	2008 × Inactive < 25			0.104***	0.084***
	2008 × Inactive > 60			0.143***	0.201***
2008 × Other inactive			0.034	0.046*	
Year × Age	2008 × Age				-0.069**
	N	8705	8705	8705	8705
	R-sq	0.209	0.244	0.2513	0.2518

Standardized beta coefficients

*p<0.05

** p<0.01

*** p<0.001

Conclusions

- Persisting inequalities in cultural involvement, mainly interpretable in Class terms
 - *Cultural democratization failure?*
- Changing pattern on the Emergent/Established dimension
 - *Cultural democracy success?*