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## Cultural Domains and Class Structure: Assessing Homologies and Cultural Legitimacy

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Abstract	<p>It is well known that the figures representing the French social space in <i>Distinction</i> (Bourdieu 1979) are based on several partial analyses. This means that one of Pierre Bourdieu's central hypotheses – the structural homology between social and cultural spaces as wholes – was not empirically tested by way of correspondence analysis (although Bourdieu did perform such an analysis for the bourgeoisie and petite bourgeoisie). Furthermore, many of the sociological discussions of cultural practices which have appeared since the publishing of <i>Distinction</i> use data describing a single taste domain, often music. This is beginning to change, as large-scale surveys have been conducted for Australia (Bennett et al. 1999), Norway (Rosenlund 2000), Porto in Portugal (Borges Pereira 2005), Aalborg in Denmark (Prieur et al. 2008), Great Britain (Bennett et al. 2009) – but not for France. Furthermore, as it has never been empirically tested, it is not obvious that cultural tastes constitute a homogeneous universe of practices. They can be structured by domains, depending on the relative autonomy of their respective fields of production: taste in music is not necessarily distributed in the same way as taste in books, and their relation to the social space may also differ. The French survey on cultural practices <i>Pratiques culturelles des Français</i> (PCF 2008), enables new implementations and tests of these hypotheses through empirical analysis.</p>	

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# Chapter 8

## Cultural Domains and Class Structure: Assessing Homologies and Cultural Legitimacy

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### Introduction

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It is well known that the figures representing the French social space in *Distinction* (Bourdieu 1979) are based on several partial analyses. This means that one of Pierre Bourdieu's central hypotheses – the structural homology between social and cultural spaces as wholes – was not empirically tested by way of correspondence analysis (although Bourdieu did perform such an analysis for the bourgeoisie and petite bourgeoisie). Furthermore, many of the sociological discussions of cultural practices which have appeared since the publishing of *Distinction* use data describing a single taste domain, often music. This is beginning to change, as large-scale surveys have been conducted for Australia (Bennett et al. 1999), Norway (Rosenlund 2000), Porto in Portugal (Borges Pereira 2005), Aalborg in Denmark (Prieur et al. 2008), Great Britain (Bennett et al. 2009) – but not for France. Furthermore, as it has never been empirically tested, it is not obvious that cultural tastes constitute a homogeneous universe of practices. They can be structured by domains, depending on the relative autonomy of their respective fields of production: taste in music is not necessarily distributed in the same way as taste in books, and their relation to the social space may also differ. The French survey on cultural practices *Pratiques culturelles des Français* (PCF 2008)<sup>1</sup>, enables new implementations and tests of these hypotheses through empirical analysis.

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<sup>1</sup>See all details here: <http://www.pratiquesculturelles.culture.gouv.fr/doc/08methodologie.pdf>

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We first tested empirically the hypothesis of a homology between different domains of the most detailed tastes in the dataset – TV, reading, cinema and music. Multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) allows us to *compare* the four tastes' spaces, while multiple factor analysis (MFA) is employed as a method to *test* their homology.

Further analyses deal with the homology between these tastes' spaces and the whole space of social positions. Indeed, quantitative works often conclude that the cultural practices that are most associated with social class are also distributed by age and by sex (Coulangeon 2003; Bennett et al. 2009; Détrez 2011; Octobre 2011; Christin 2012; Roose et al. 2012). The assumption is sometimes made that, today, the distribution of tastes is structured equally by age and sex and by social class (Bennett et al. 2009), and even that we can observe the weakening of cultural class divisions in favour of generational cultural divisions (Glévarec and Pinet 2017). In order to shed some light on this question, we untangled the web of factors – e.g. education, gender and age – structuring lifestyles in France by using several geometric data analysis techniques (Le Roux and Rouanet 2004), including standardized factor analysis (Bry et al. 2015). The research questions we intend to answer include: has age supplanted class membership in importance? If this is the case, should it be interpreted in terms of each individual's actual age, or with regard to their membership of a generational group? Has the opposition between economic and cultural capital lost its relevance? And is the axis ordering volumes of capital a good proxy for the scale of cultural legitimacy, as is usually postulated by sociologists?

Finally, after exploring these issues at the scale of the whole social space, we ask whether the results apply to a smaller scale by 'zooming' in on different social classes using class specific analysis (CSA). Does the level of heterogeneity in social classes' tastes increase at the higher levels of the social space, due to a broader range of practices among the upper classes (Peterson and Kern 1996)? Does the opposition between legitimate and popular culture organise the symbolic antagonism between classes from opposite ends of the social space? If so, is it invariably the same tastes that transmit this opposition?

The present chapter offers a set of results, albeit without going into great detail. Our goal is merely to present a sociological approach comprising statistical tools taken from the geometrical data analysis family, and sometimes elsewhere. Statistical algorithms are chosen (or created) to answer a sociological question depending on what exactly they *do* with data. First, each question demands an exploration of the tools to be chosen or created; the best tools are rarely the most obvious, and the answer will not be preordained (a MCA for representing a social space, a hierarchical clustering analysis for quickly obtaining a typology, and so on). Second, most questions are better dealt with if several tools are used, as each tool offers a very specific and narrow view on data, and rarely corresponds exactly to the sociological question. Statistical tools – whether geometrical or inferential – only describe data by reducing and organising information (as do algorithms) in multiple ways, and offer only partial clues (and only sometimes convincing ones) to help develop a sociological explanation of the statistical observations.

## The Homology Between Domains of Practices

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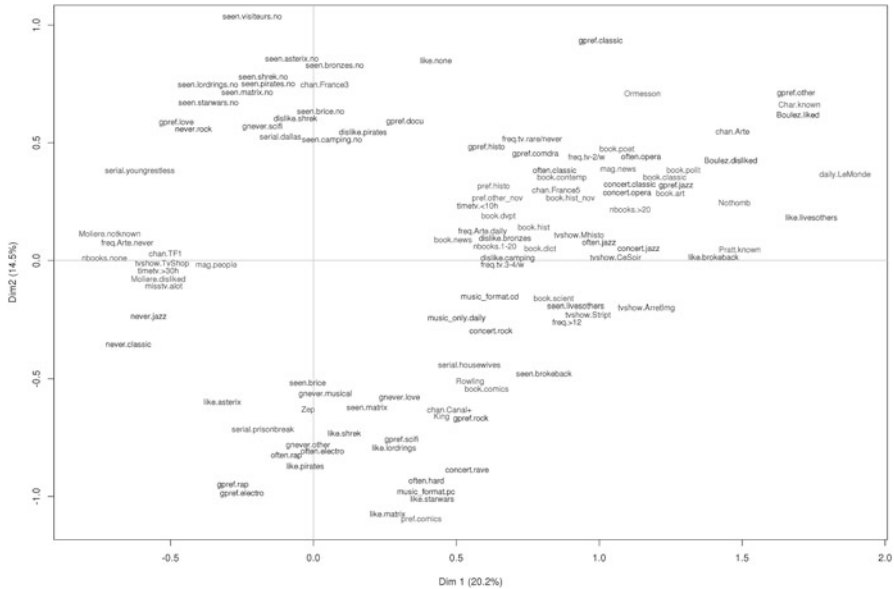
The fact that cultural tastes constitute a homogeneous universe of practices cannot be taken for granted. They are structured by cultural domains, depending on the relative autonomy of fields of production specialised in a particular type of symbolic good. Tastes in music are not necessarily organised in the same way as tastes in television, since the field of music operates in a quite different way from the field of television, and the social uses of music are different from the social uses of television. Thus the hypothesis of a structural homology between each of the fields in question, which would represent the main statistical proof of the relative homogeneity of consumption habitus, should be tested empirically.

Several methods are possible. The first is to perform four separate Multiple Correspondence Analyses (MCA) – that is to say, one for each domain of practices – and to compare their structuring factors and the distribution of categories. This method has the advantage of respecting the specific structuring principles in every domain: it accounts for these principles with no interference from the other domains. But it is really only appropriate for an initial investigation: the four domains are *roughly* similar. It is difficult to go beyond a superficial comparison – with the naked eye, so to speak – of the four series of plots (of individuals and/or categories) and any potential aids to interpretation; the coordinates of the taste variables and the correlations between the variables which determine social position are not strictly comparable from one domain to another, as they are produced by distinct processes of MCA.

The second method is to perform a single MCA combining the four groups of variables. This has the advantage of allowing a direct comparison: the categories are scattered on the same plot, and aids to interpretation rank the variables and categories of the four domains all together. However, there is no assurance that the domains will contribute to the results of the MCA in a balanced way. A domain can have more weight, dominating others – for example due to a greater number of variables – which is not justified from an analytical point of view: we want instead for all domains to contribute equally to the construction of the space of tastes.

We turn therefore to a third method, multiple factor analysis (MFA), which was developed by Brigitte Escoffier and Jerome Pagès in the 1980s (Escoffier and Pagès 1990, 2008; see also Baier & Schmitz in this volume). It fruitfully combines the benefits of the previous two approaches: from the same data set, it balances the contributions of several groups of variables (here the four domains of taste) to the construction of the space. In this way it accounts for the correlations *within* each domain and *between* whole domains, whereas MCA does not allow us to weigh up the influence of each group of variables; this is thus a way to superimpose the four spaces of tastes over one another. Technically, MFA involves performing a separate MCA for each domain, combining individuals' coordinates on the axes of the MCA, resulting in a principal component analysis (PCA) from these coordinates weighted by the variance of the first axis of the domain. We can then switch between

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**Fig. 8.1** MFA of the tastes in music, cinema, television, and reading

observing each isolated space (by ‘deleting’ the others) and the global space of the 112  
four domains all together (Fig. 8.1). 113

It is worth mentioning that all the correspondence analyses performed here are 114  
‘specific’. This will set some categories of variables as ‘passive’ so that they do not 115  
contribute to the construction of the space, especially in the case of ‘junk’ categories 116  
such as ‘other’ or ‘not specified’, or categories with low frequencies; these might 117  
weigh artificially on the construction of the space (Le Roux and Rouanet 2004). 118  
We used R software and the GDAtools package, which has all the geometric data 119  
analysis tools used here (MFA, specific MCA, CSA, ellipses, and so on. <http://cran.r-project.org/web/packages/GDAtools/index.html>). 120  
121

The comparison of the four ‘universes’ of tastes constructed by the MFA 122  
confirms the overall homology between the four spaces (Robette and Roueff 2017). 123  
This comparison relies less on the plots than on the selection of the most significant 124  
categories (by axis and by domain). For a given axis, the categories are considered 125  
‘notable’ if their coordinates are greater than 0.5 or less than  $-0.5$ , meaning that the 126  
category is at a remove of at least 0.5 relative to 0: this is a “rule of thumb” suggested 127  
by Le Roux and Rouanet (2010: 59) for categories projected as supplementary. Due 128  
to the two-stage process of the MFA (separate MCAs and then PCA), taste variables 129  
are considered as supplementary from a statistical point of view (even if they remain 130  
active from an interpretive point of view), hence the use of this rule of thumb rather 131  
than of the contributions to axes (valid with active variables only). Bolded categories 132  
are those whose coordinates on the axis are greater than 1 or less than  $-1$ : we 133  
consider these categories ‘highly notable’. 134

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**Table 8.1** Notable (and highly notable) categories for axis 1, by domain

Axis 1	Left	Right	
Reading	Nb books read = none, don't know Molière, don't like Molière, read people magazines	<b>Read Le Monde, know Char, read Pratt, read Nothomb, read politics, art and classic books, ever read d'Ormesson, nb books read &gt; 20, read news magazines, read poetry</b> , read historical, contemporary, science or history books, dictionaries, self-help books, other genres of novels, nb books read 11–20, prefer history books, ever read Rowling, read news books	13.1
Cinema	–	<b>Like The Lives of Others, preferred genre = other, like Brokeback Mountain</b> , have seen The Lives of Others, more than 12 times a year, have seen Brokeback Mountain, comedy-drama, dislike Camping, dislike Les Bronzés, like historical movies	13.2
Music	Never listen to classical music or jazz	<b>Like Boulez, don't like Boulez, preferred genre = jazz, often listen to opera, jazz concerts, classical concerts, opera concerts, preferred genre = classical</b> , often listen to jazz or classical, rock concerts, CD format, preferred genre = rock, rave parties, music only every day	13.3
Television	Never Arte, like The Young and the Restless, week time >30 h, teleshopping, miss TV a lot, TF1	<b>Arte, Arrêt sur Images, Ce Soir ou Jamais, Strip Tease</b> , 1–2 times a week, Mercredis de l'Histoire, France 5, rarely/never, 3–4 times a week, Arte every day, week time <10 h, Desperate Housewives	13.4

Axis 1 combines, for the four domains, categories of intensity of practice (high on the right side, low on the left side) and categories of taste that can be interpreted as bourgeois (to the right) or popular (to the left). This is confirmed by the projection of individual social characteristics as supplementary variables. The respondent's own educational level "explains" 31% of the variance of axis 1, their PCS (i.e. the French *profession et catégorie socioprofessionnelle*) 29%, the mother's educational level 16% and the PCS of the head of household 16%. Age explains 28% of the variance of axis 2, and **gender** 9%.

For the four domains, the most notable categories are often ones that denote singular works rather than cultural genres (Table 8.1) – which is probably due to their rarity, but is also an indication of the strength of the interpretation (Robette and Roueff 2014). They are also all grouped on the right, suggesting legitimate, bourgeois tastes, while the left side exhibits far fewer notable categories. Thus, the axis objectivizes proximity vs remoteness to culture in general, and to bourgeois culture in particular – on the left, the only notable positive categories are TF1 (the main commercial TV channel), the soap opera *Les Feux de l'Amour* (*The Young and the Restless*), teleshopping programmes and gossip magazines.

As for axis 2, it is not related to intensity of practice (Table 8.2), with the exception of the category *never or seldom television*. On the other hand, it is notably associated with taste categories, especially for singular works. The four domains

**Table 8.2** Notable (and highly notable) categories for axis 2, by domain

Axis 2	Bottom	Top	
Reading	<b>Preferred genre = comics</b> , ever read Stephen King, Zep, read comics, ever read Rowling	Like d'Ormesson, know Char	16.1
Cinema	<b>Like Matrix, like Star Wars</b> , like Pirates of the Caribbean, gims autre, like The Lord of the Rings, preferred genre = science-fiction, like Shrek, have seen Matrix, have seen Astérix et Obélix, never watch romance or musical movies, have seen Brice de Nice	<b>Haven't seen Les Visiteurs</b> , aime aucun, haven't seen Astérix et Obélix / Les Bronzés / Shrek / Pirates of the Caribbean / Matrix / The Lord of the Rings, preferred genre = other, haven't seen Star Wars / Brice de Nice, dislike Shrek, preferred genre = documentaries, preferred genre = romance, never watch science-fiction, dislike Pirates of the Caribbean, haven't seen Camping, preferred genre = historical movies	16.2
Music	Computer format, preferred genre = electronic or hip hop, often listen to heavy metal, rave parties, often listen to hip hop or electronic, preferred genre = rock	Preferred genre = classical, like Boulez, never listen to rock	16.3
Television	Prison Break, Canal+	France 3, Arte, Dallas, rarely/never	16.4

exhibit similar overall profiles: at the bottom of the Figure are emerging (new) tastes, 155  
at the top are established (old) tastes. 156

The advantage of MFA is not only its ability to confirm the homology between 157  
the four domains, but also that it allows us to study any potential small variations. 158  
Indeed, this approach ensures that these variations do not result from an imbalance 159  
of contributions of each domain, as they were standardized on the first axis: the 160  
comparison is based on a statistical foundation. 161

Thus, for axis 1, the differences between domains concern the presence, for 162  
movies only, of two categories of distaste on the left side (distaste for the lowbrow 163  
comedies *Camping* and *Les Bronzés font du ski*), the presence, for TV and reading 164  
only, of positive categories on the right side, and above all the absence of categories 165  
on the right side for movies only. Distaste for the music of the composer Pierre 166  
Boulez, on the left side, can be interpreted differently: this category is very close to 167  
the one of taste for Boulez, so it is the fact of knowing Boulez and thus being able to 168  
express a taste or distaste for his music which is distinctive. The same phenomenon 169  
is observed by Duval (2011) and Savage and Gayo (2011). For the category *cinema*, 170  
all movies' categories on the right side have coordinates lower than 0.5: individuals 171  
who are distant from bourgeois culture are more likely to express a taste for romance 172  
or action movies, *Titanic* or *Les Bronzés font du ski*; however, these categories are 173  
not notable, probably because they are common, in contrast to more distinctive 174  
expressions of tastes such as not reading books; disliking jazz; never watching Arte 175  
(the main cultural TV channel) but often TF1 (the main commercial TV channel); 176  
or enjoying gossip magazines or *Les Feux de l'Amour* (*The Young and the Restless*), 177  
where the distances are all much greater. Cultural tastes that stray from the bourgeois 178



legitimacy are more likely to be weakly held; cultural tastes which can be classified as 'legitimate' are also more likely to be strongly held.

For axis 2, the differences between domains are visible only in the predominance of the categories taste in movies. Notable here is the presence of many categories of *no activity*, particularly at the top of the axis: the fact of not having seen these films can be thought of as a form of classifying, even if we cannot consider these categories as expressions of distaste. However, axis 2 is not a replica of the axis 1 opposition between bourgeois and popular tastes. Television tastes at the bottom are not necessarily those with the largest audience, but are popular with young respondents. One can even determine details such as the fact that the commercial channel Canal+ and the American serial drama *Prison Break* are favoured in particular by relatively young graduates. Conversely, the established series *Dallas* is at the top of the space. Among other emerging tastes appear comics in the reading category, and for the genres electro, rap, hard and rock for music (while tastes for international varieties and French varieties are specifically popular, at the right of axis 1, and not distinctive on axis 2). Finally, movie tastes at the top of the axis can mostly be characterised by their remoteness to the movies and genres to be found at the bottom (action movies, science fiction, comedy); those at the top include the taste for documentary and historical films, but also for romance movies. It is especially evident in the cinema category that axis 2 opposes simultaneously emerging to established tastes, as well as male to female tastes. A gendered pattern of opposition can be established, for example, regarding a lack of interest in romance or musicals and a lack of interest in science fiction. Similarly, when one lowers the threshold for notability with this interpretation in mind, other gendered categories can also be found in the categories reading and television: the female taste for reading the romantic *Harlequin* paperback series vs. the male taste for the celebrity talkshow *La méthode Cauet*, for example.

## **The Homology Between Social Space and the Space of Tastes**

### ***The Homology Between Class Tastes***

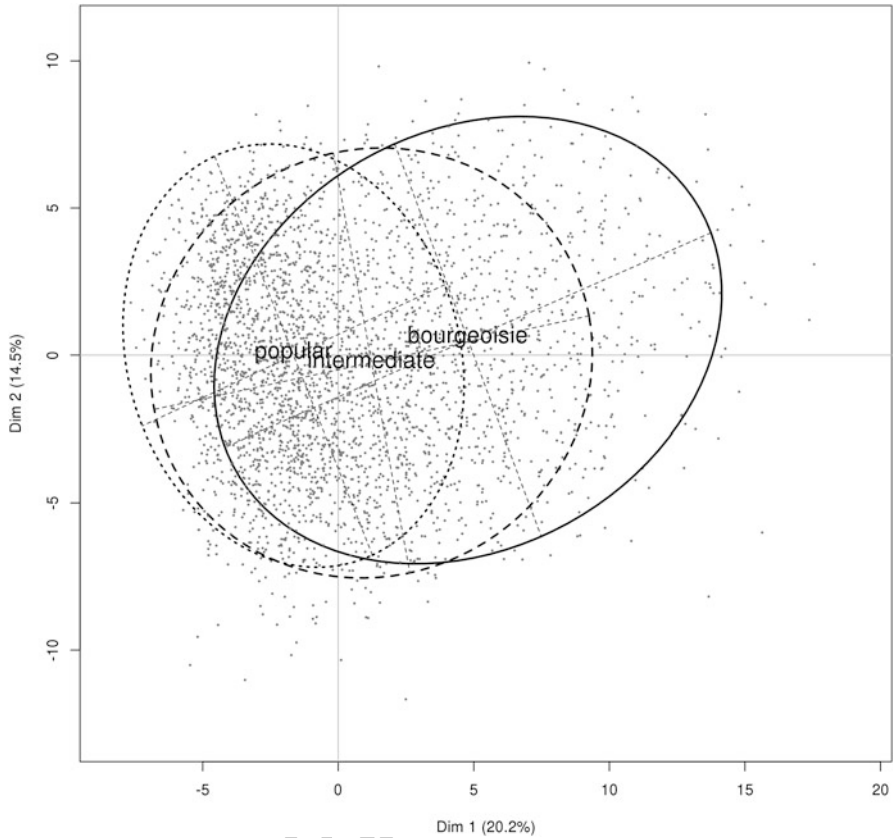
A level of structural homology has been established for tastes. What about social properties? We will not examine in detail here the homology between the space of tastes and the social space as a whole – instead, we will return to this overarching theme later, refining the basic verification of the presence of homology by adding supplementary variables correlated to the first two axes. We are first interested in the spaces of social classes: are the cultural universes of the bourgeois, intermediate and popular classes structured by the same principles? It may be the case that correspondence analyses, which give more weight to rare categories (thus, here, to the bourgeois classes), combined with a relatively 'legitimistic' questionnaire specifically detailing the practices which the dominant perspective defines as

cultural, lead to a space entirely defined by the properties of the bourgeois classes. 218  
 We intend to show that this is not the case, or rather that the undeniable bias 219  
 produced by the questionnaire and the technique must be interpreted differently. 220  
 On the one hand, it is essentially the distance to legitimate culture that is being 221  
 measured, even if one does not measure that exclusively. We will point out some 222  
 clues of the relative autonomy of popular tastes, organised according to other logics 223  
 than merely their relation to legitimate or intellectual culture (Grignon and Passeron 224  
 1989; Fabiani 1995). On the other, however, it is possible *by this very method* to 225  
 observe how the distribution of cultural tastes are similar from one social class 226  
 to another, even for the popular classes: legitimate culture produces a scale of 227  
 legitimacy that organises, at least in part, the tastes of all social classes, including 228  
 those social groups which are the most remote from the bourgeois centre of the 229  
 production of legitimacy. The benefit of such an analysis is therefore again to 230  
 observe both the overall replication of the same structure and local variations within 231  
 the overall structure. 232

In conducting such a comparison, the difficulty is similar to that encountered 233  
 in the case of homologies between cultural domains: how can we avoid both the 234  
 separate construction of specific spaces for each class – which would thus be statisti- 235  
 cally incommensurable – and the imbalance of respective weights of the classes? 236  
 With this in mind, as an initial approach we plot on the cloud of individuals of the 237  
 overall MFA the ellipses of concentration of the subpopulations corresponding to 238  
 each class (Fig. 8.2). For the convenience of this cursory review of results, social 239  
 classes are simply defined based on occupational categories (the French *catégories* 240  
*socio-professionnelles* (CSP), as defined by INSEE): the bourgeoisie category is 241  
*cadres* (executives), meaning intellectual professions, and managers of companies 242  
 with more than ten employees; for intermediate groups, the category is *profession* 243  
*intermédiaires* (middle employees), which includes craftsmen, and retail traders; the 244  
 category for the popular classes encompasses lower-level employees and labourers. 245

While the distribution of individuals on the axis 2 is relatively similar from one 246  
 class to another, the dispersion on axis 1 – which indicates both intensity of cultural 247  
 practices and proximity to legitimate culture – increases with the volume of capital. 248  
 This is unsurprising, but we must also consider that there is a non-insignificant 249  
 dispersion within the working classes themselves – and therein lies one of the 250  
 interesting facets of the ellipses. The popular classes are not only non-consumers 251  
 of bourgeois culture, with some class fractions exhibiting oppositions according 252  
 to their relationship to bourgeois culture – bourgeois culture really is the heart of 253  
 legitimacy, scaling taste in the overall social space even though it does not exhaust 254  
 all the dimensions. In other words, we observe here an index of the social authority 255  
 or the symbolic power of the bourgeoisie in cultural matters. 256

To go further, we turn to class specific analysis (CSA), because it helps to build 257  
 a space for a subpopulation taking into account the distribution of categories in 258  
 the subpopulation *and* in the total population (Le Roux and Rouanet 2004). It is 259  
 particularly important, when constructing the space of a social class, to bear in mind 260  
 the fact that this space does not exist in isolation, but is part of a broader space – that 261  
 is, defined in relation to the rest of the population. In our case, we construct the space 262



**Fig. 8.2** Ellipses of concentration of social classes (on MFA cloud of individuals)

of tastes of active individuals in a given social class according to the space of the 263  
 entire population in the survey. We build the CSA from the global MFA, to continue 264  
 to compare the four domains of taste and the social classes simultaneously. We can 265  
 then study – in addition to the plots – the contributions to the axes of each domain 266  
 according to social class, the coordinates of the supplementary variables describing 267  
 social properties (such as degree or income, again according to social class), and 268  
 finally the categories which contribute the most to the axes, both by domain of taste 269  
 and social class. These data enable us to describe in detail each class’s tastes, and 270  
 the way in which the different domains of tastes are structured for each social class. 271  
 However, their interpretation must be informed by both sets of previous results. For 272  
 lack of space, we only present the most interesting results. 273

First, we compare the contributions of the variables of each cultural domain to 274  
 the first two axes of the CSA of each social class, built from the global MFA (Table 275  
 8.3). 276

**Table 8.3** Contributions to social class specific MFA axes of the domains of tastes (%)

Classes	Axes	Music	Movies	Television	Reading	Total
bourgeois	1	21,6	<b>35,5</b>	22	20,9	100
	2	14,3	<b>54</b>	26,1	5,6	100
intermediary	1	<b>27,7</b>	23,8	18,3	<b>30,2</b>	100
	2	16,7	<b>69,4</b>	7,2	6,7	100
popular	1	28,7	<b>36,6</b>	11,8	22,9	100
	2	<b>42,1</b>	15,8	15,7	26,4	100

Reading: for popular classes, music contributes to 42,1% of the construction of axis 2

For the bourgeois classes, the contributions of the four domains are relatively 277  
balanced on axis 1: internal differentiations in the bourgeois classes involve all 278  
cultural tastes. The relative prominence of movies on both axes is, however, notable. It 279  
is probably related to the distinguishing effect of even going to the cinema: the most 280  
established part of the bourgeois classes distinguishes itself by its distance from the 281  
cinema. Moreover, axis 1 is essentially correlated with cultural capital indicators 282  
(table with  $\eta^2$  available from authors): the interviewee's PCS summarizes 10% of 283  
the variance, the mother's educational level 9.8%, the interviewee's own educational 284  
level 9%, and the father's PCS 6.8%. Income and assets are negligible. There is 285  
also a slight effect of the distinction between public and private sector (3% of the 286  
variance), which is absent (or almost) in the other social classes: it may be the result 287  
of the presence in this class of occupations dealing directly with information and 288  
entertainment, and the scientific and teaching professions (except for primary and 289  
secondary education). The second axis, meanwhile, is clearly associated with age 290  
(16.5% of the variance). 291

On axis 1 (Table 8.3), the intermediate classes are differentiated primarily by 292  
reading tastes and then, in descending order, by music, movies, and television tastes: 293  
it seems safe to say that there is a capital composition effect here, the volume of 294  
cultural capital having perhaps the strongest distinguishing effect in this central 295  
region of social space – where the boundaries between graduates and non-graduates 296  
and between durations in higher education are the most significant. Meanwhile, 297  
axis 2 is constructed mainly by cinema, movies thus being more associated with 298  
variations in sex and/or age than with variations in capital in the middle of the 299  
social space. Indeed, the correlations (i.e.  $\eta^2$ ) between variables which determine 300  
social position support these interpretations. The variance on axis 1 is can mainly be 301  
explained by the respondent's own educational level (17.8%), followed far behind 302  
by the mother's educational level (8.6%), the father's PCS (7.4%) and age (5.9%). 303  
The variance of axis 2 is summarized first by age (17.2%), then by **gender** (9.4%). 304

For the popular classes, they are separated, on axis 1, primarily by their 305  
relationship to movies, and then by music and reading (in that order); on the axis 306

2, they are distinguished mainly by taste in music and, secondarily, reading (Table 8.3). Cinema and reading are less accessible than television and music, for rather different reasons: visits to the cinema are determined by their economic cost and the respondents' leisure habits; reading is determined by one's ability to 'read codes'. In addition, music contributes here strongly to the axis associated with age: juvenile music and ancient music could constitute a significant division within the popular classes. In fact, again, the variance of the axis 1 is summarized not only by the respondents' educational level, but also (indeed primarily) by age – which dominates axis 2 as well.

Note also that television seems the least distinguishing practice on axis 1, and less and less when passing from the bourgeois to the popular classes, as if the distinctive consumption (and absence of consumption) of television only existed among those most endowed with cultural capital. Following the same logic, on axis 1, it is among the intermediate classes that reading contributes the most and that movies contribute the least: reading practices, highly correlated to school experience, seem to have a considerable distinctive influence in an area where variations in cultural capital are at their strongest (it is also the case, as we have seen, among the intermediate classes that education correlates most strongly with axis 1). Conversely, the relationship to cinema, less framed by educational institutions and more correlated with age (and gender) than with education, exhibits comparatively little variance.

Another noteworthy variation is the fact that the male/female balance of tastes differs from one class to another. Gender has little structural influence among the bourgeois classes (whatever the axis), but it is correlated with age on axis 2 for the intermediate classes and it is also present, albeit secondarily, on the first two axes for the popular classes. The popular classes are thus distinguished by a strong association of gender, age and cultural capital effects (via education on axis 1 and SES on axis 2) in the structuration of their tastes, while for the other classes cultural capital seems to be clearly distinct from age (and gender in the intermediary classes). We will return to this discussion using other methods.

## **The Scale of Cultural Legitimacy: A Truly Multidimensional Social Space**

### ***An Empirically Grounded Scale***

We now proceed to further analyse the homology between social space and the space of tastes. Our initial approach involves an exploration of the scale of cultural legitimacy. Usually, the first axis of factorial spaces of tastes is considered a satisfying representation of this scale, because this axis is correlated with indicators of economic and cultural capital. We will establish that this is a good proxy, but also that it is worth going into detail.

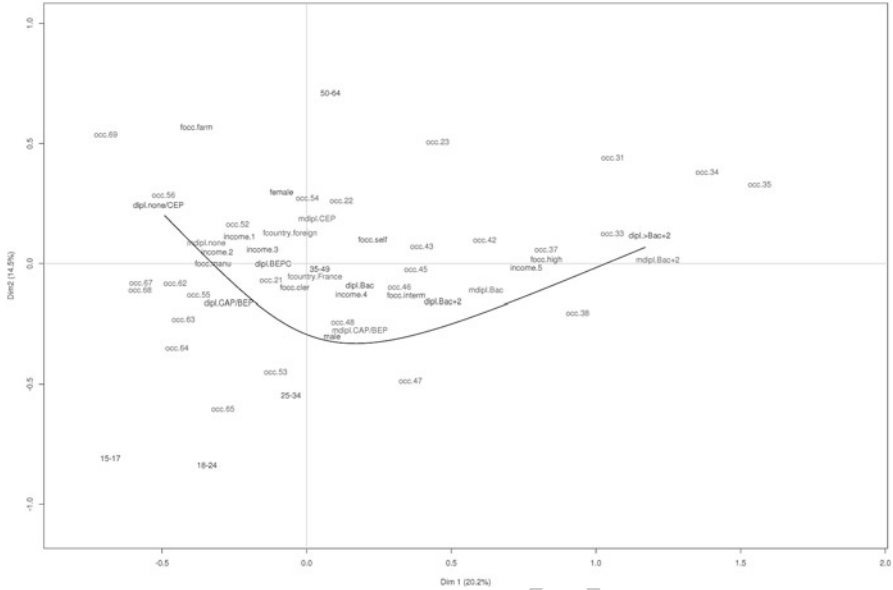
We have tested elsewhere several techniques for constructing scales of legitimacy empirically (Robette and Roueff 2014). One point must be retained here. The mutual ranking of tastes and social positions varies significantly according to their indicators: for tastes, indicators of participation, of abstract claims, of knowledge, all related to artistic genres or to individual artists or works; for social positions, indicators of income, of degree, of occupational category (and sometimes of age, and of racial or sexual self-identification). One of the main benefits of geometric data analysis (GDA) is that it enables the combination of these various indicators in order to study the structuring effects of their interactions. Rather than choosing only one, or considering them as competing and ranking their specific effects, GDA is able to better account for the artificiality of statistical variables: any indicator is only an approximation of reality, and techniques that calculate their interactions' effects offer to minimize this approximation.

### *A “U” Shape: A Multidimensional Scale*

On the MFA of tastes, cultural and economic capitals are highly correlated with the first axis, and age and sex with the second axis: the latter are of lesser weight, but still important (Fig. 8.3). Besides, it has been established that cultural and economic capitals are not completely independent from age and sex. One can then expect that indicators of social class will not be strictly aligned with axis 1, and that indicators of sex and age will not be strictly aligned with axis 2. This presents us with a simple question: which social space is the space of tastes homologous with? Is the social space the space of class relations only, or do class relations interact with other power relations such as those of age and sex? One way to translate this question into a statistical inquiry involves looking at the exact shape of the scale of cultural legitimacy, beyond the proxy of axis 1.

All class indicators form a curve, more precisely an elongated U, or bell curve, from north-east to north-west, through the south of the geometrical plane. In addition, the most elongated variables according to this U are those indicating cultural capital. The distribution of the occupational categories (CSP) is less obvious, because we used detailed categories (see legend under Fig. 8.3). Thus, more typically female categories are at the top of the figure (lower-level employees, personal services, mid-level social sector employees, primary school teachers, etc.); more typically male categories are at the bottom (engineers, labourers, trained manual workers . . .). Still, following the U, one finds workers and employees, then mid-level occupations, then higher-level professionals.

This observation in mind, the bell curve appears more clearly than before on the space of tastes (Fig. 8.1). In the upper right (or north west?) of the figure, we see the absence of participation and the most shared, established (old) and female tastes. In the upper left, we find the highest degrees of participation and legitimacy. The bottom of the curve (and thus the middle of the U) is neither lowbrow nor highbrow, but characterised by emerging and male tastes. In summary,



**Fig. 8.3** Projection of social characteristics on the MFA of tastes  
 Prefix “occ” stands for interviewee’s occupation, “dipl” for interviewee’s diploma, “mdipl” for mother’s diploma, “focc” for father’s occupation, “fcountry” for father’s country of origin. The categories for interviewee’s occupation are: 21 = craftsman, 22 = shopkeeper, 23 = business owner, 31 = professional, 33 = public sector executive, 34 = teacher, 35 = information, art and show business, 37 = administration or trade business executive, 38 = business engineer or technical executive, 42 = primary school teacher, 43 = health or social service intermediate occupation, 45 = public sector administrative intermediate occupation, 46 = business administrative and trade intermediary, 47 = technician, 48 = foreman, 52 = public sector clerk, 53 = policeman or serviceman, 54 = business administrative clerk, 55 = trade clerk, 56 = private service worker, 62 = industry skilled worker, 63 = craft skilled worker, 64 = driver, 65 = handling, storage and transport skilled worker, 67 = industry worker, 68 = craft worker, 69 = farm worker

the dominant scale of cultural legitimacy, defined through the homology between 386  
 the distribution of capitals and the distribution of tastes, forms a bell curve 387  
 corresponding simultaneously to the power relations of class and to the power 388  
 relations of sex and age. This does not challenge the usual approximation through 389  
 which the scale is identified with the first axis of factorial analyses, or with the 390  
 simple cross-tabulation of social positions and tastes. These remain good proxies. 391  
 But we demonstrate here that the scale of cultural legitimacy is structured not only 392  
 by social positions, but also by positions of sex and age, without any linear effect 393  
 of the interaction of these last two variables. This point might be explored further, 394  
 through the study of structural effects and then the study of interactions between the 395  
 variables class, sex and age. 396

## Studying Structural Effects

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However, a more precise and refined exploration is possible thanks to regression analyses, if well used. Regression modeling and GDA are usually considered to represent two opposing, incompatible statistical ‘philosophies’ (see introduction of this volume). Adherents of the one approach might claim that regression modelling is able to uncover causal relations beyond the observed correlations, while the GDA is only really useful for inductive description or exploration of data. Those on the other side would argue that the former method merely imitates experimental sciences, their protocols for purifying the contexts of observation, and their quest for the strongest causal effect, while the latter respects both the multidimensionality of sociological explanations, and the inexhaustibility and historicity of social contexts. However, from a statistical point of view, both sets of techniques are based on the same mathematical principles: correlations between variables (for PCA and linear regression) or simple cross-tabulations (for MCA and logistic regression). From an epistemological point of view, both approaches face the same possibilities and limitations: for instance, they may reveal correlations and hidden structures, which can only be interpreted as ‘clues for causality’, but never as ‘mathematical evidence’.

We then propose a method to use regression analysis in the framework of GDA in order to study structural effects. Another method already exists, enabling the visualisation of the results of a regression by projecting the multidimensional space constructed from the independent variables of the model, and then the dependent variable as a supplementary: the global and partial effects of the independent variables can thus be compared (Rouanet et al. 2002). We call our method *Standardized Factorial Analysis* (Bry et al. 2015). This name is derived from the standardization methods used in demography (Léridon and Toulemon 1997; Deauvieau 2011). It is able to standardize a factorial space by one or more variables whose effect is isolated (i.e. controlled) through a linear regression. More precisely:

- First, we start with a traditional correspondence analysis (MCA, PCA, MFA, etc.), designed to build a new data table (called C) with the coordinates of the individuals on each axis of this analysis (here MCA). This results in the table Individuals x Coordinates, with  $i$  rows and  $p$  columns ( $i$  is the number of individuals and  $p$  is the number of principal components of the MCA). At this stage, one can choose to retain only the first principal components, those that contain the most information.
- Then,  $p$  linear regressions are performed, i.e. one for each column of the previous table C. The coordinates of the individuals of the MCA (i.e. the variables of C) are used one after the other as the dependent variable, with (for example) sex and age as independent variables.
- The residuals are retained for each of the regressions; resulting in a new table (called R) with  $i$  rows and  $p$  columns. The quantitative variables of R correspond to the coordinates of individuals in the initial MCA, net the sex and age structure.



- A PCA is then performed on table R, which provides a new cloud of individuals, 439  
i.e. a new space. 440
- The variables that were used to build the original MCA are then projected onto 441  
this space as supplementary variables: what appears is the factorial space of 442  
originally active variables, net the sex and age structure of the population. To 443  
the extent that the PCA is not performed directly on the variables of the original 444  
MCA, one cannot obtain the contributions of these variables. However, all other 445  
tools for the interpretation of supplementary variables may be used ( $\cos^2$ , v-test, 446  
 $\eta^2$ ). 447

For a short illustration, Figs. 8.4 and 8.5 show the space of tastes for movies 448  
before and after the standardization of age and sex – knowing that the first axis, 449  
correlated with the volume of capitals, reflects the intensity of practice (high at 450  
left, low at right) and that the second axis, correlated with age and sex, reflects – 451  
apparently – the legitimacy of tastes (Bry et al.). The surprise with the traditional 452  
MCA (Fig. 8.4) is to see *auteur* movies in the centre of the first axis: legitimate taste 453



**Fig. 8.4** The movies « especially liked » in the space of tastes for cinema (axes 1–2; « classical » MCA)



**Fig. 8.5** The movies « especially liked » in the space of tastes for cinema (axes 1–2; Standardized Factor Analysis)

is related to a less intense practice than a taste for Hollywood action and science fiction movies. 454 455

However, after performing the SFA (Fig. 8.5), the result is clear. Both figures 456 present the three same groups of relatively similar films. Now, though, the French 457 comedies have slightly moved to the right of the first axis. Moreover, the two *auteur* 458 movies are now at the extreme left of the graph, at the same level of intensity as 459 the action and science fiction movies. The comparison of the two spaces, one with 460 structural effects and one without, thus shows that highbrow *cinéastes'* practices are 461 as intense as those of action-movie lovers when sex and age are equivalent. Or, to put 462 it differently, the observed association between the taste for art films and a relatively 463 limited level of practice is the result of the sex and age structure of the population, 464 as women and older people tend to watch fewer movies in general, while at the same 465 time having more legitimate tastes. 466

SFA also raises a more general set of questions. The many applications we have 467 attempted all point to the same phenomenon: when structural effects are neutralized, 468 the initial multidimensional space remains almost the same in its general pattern. 469

Some categories may move, such as *auteur* movies in the example shown here, 470  
 but the overall structure of the cloud of categories and the interpretation that 471  
 can be given of its different factors survive the neutralization, including when 472  
 controlling for several highly explanatory variables (such as social class, sex, age, 473  
 and educational level). This probably illustrates a more general epistemological 474  
 assumption: social determinisms observed through statistical variables, even when 475  
 well established, are probabilistic and not mechanical, and moreover they are partial 476  
 in the sense that they produce their effects only when associated with each other. 477

## Conclusion 478

In this chapter, we have tested several hypotheses related to the social differentiation 479  
 of lifestyles: whether there exists a structural homology between the entirety of the 480  
 social and cultural spaces as wholes, by categorising four cultural domains (TV, 481  
 reading, cinema and music); whether the same structural homology applies at the 482  
 scale of the different social classes; and the extent of the associations between the 483  
 factors structuring lifestyles (volume and composition of capital as well as **gender** 484  
 and age). 485

While the results are not analysed in full detail here (although they are in other 486  
 papers, see Robette and Roueff 2017, 2018), we have argued for the use of unusual 487  
 or innovative statistical tools – such as MFA, CSA and SFA – which could open 488  
 new avenues for future investigations in the field of lifestyles and cultural tastes and 489  
 practices. 490

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