

The Love of Art

European Art Museums and their Public

Pierre Bourdieu and Alain Darbel
with
Dominique Schnapper

Translated by Caroline Beattie and Nick Merriman

This English translation © Polity Press 1991

First published in France as *L'amour de l'art: les musées d'art européens et leur public* © Les Éditions de Minuit 1969

This translation first published 1991 by Polity Press in association with
Basil Blackwell

Editorial office:
Polity Press, 65 Bridge Street,
Cambridge CB2 1UR, UK

Marketing and production:
Basil Blackwell Ltd
108 Cowley Road, Oxford OX4 1JF, UK

All rights reserved. Except for the quotation of short passages for the purposes of criticism and review, no part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the publisher.

Except in the United States of America, this book is sold subject to the condition that it shall not, by way of trade or otherwise, be lent, resold, hired out, or otherwise circulated without the publisher's prior consent in any form of binding or cover other than that in which it is published and without a similar condition including this condition being imposed on the subsequent purchaser.

ISBN 0 7456 05982

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A CIP catalogue record for this book is available from the British
Library

Typeset in 10½/12pt Garamond by
Wearside Tradespools, Fulwell, Sunderland
Printed in Great Britain by
T.J. Press Ltd, Padstow, Cornwall

Contents

| | |
|---|------------|
| <i>Translators' Note</i> | vi |
| <i>Preface</i> | vii |
| 1 Signs of the Times | 1 |
| 2 The Research Process | 5 |
| 3 The Social Conditions of Cultural Practice | 14 |
| 4 Cultural Works and Cultivated Disposition | 37 |
| 5 The Rules of Cultural Diffusion | 71 |
| 6 Conclusion | 108 |
| Appendices | |
| 1 Timetable of Research | 117 |
| 2 The Questionnaires and the Sampling Method | 119 |
| 3 The Public of French Museums | 131 |
| 4 Verificatory Surveys | 142 |
| 5 Analysis of 250 Semi-directed Interviews | 148 |
| 6 The Public of European Museums | 153 |
| <i>Notes</i> | 162 |
| <i>Select Bibliography</i> | 174 |
| <i>Index</i> | 177 |

Translators' Note

References to educational levels within the text have not been translated to preserve the accuracy of the text.

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| CEP | <i>Certificat d'études primaires</i> (primary schooling certificate) |
| BEPC | <i>Brevet d'études du premier cycle du second degré</i> (certificate of completion of the first part of secondary schooling) |
| CAP | <i>Certificat d'aptitude professionnelle</i> (certificate of professional ability, the lowest trade certificate) |
| <i>baccalauréat</i> | Examination at the completion of secondary education |
| <i>licence</i> | University degree; <i>licencié ès lettres</i> , a Humanities degree |
| <i>concours</i> | annual competitive examinations for entry by the <i>lycéens</i> into the <i>grandes écoles</i> (e.g. ENA, the École Nationale d'Administration, which trains its graduates for the civil service) |

Preface

The surveys published here were only made possible through the work of a whole team of people. Consequently a full 'cast list' is the only way to do justice to those who made contributions, perhaps unequal quantitatively and qualitatively, but all equally indispensable.

Pierre Bourdieu directed the research in collaboration with Dominique Schnapper, and wrote up the text of this book; Alain Darbel formulated the sampling strategy and developed the mathematical model of museum visiting.

Francine Dreyfus took part in every stage of the research, from the implementation of the surveys in different museums and the training of interviewers in others, to the organization of the coding and sorting of the results. In addition, she organized the survey in Greece, with the assistance of the Centre for Social Sciences in Athens.

Yvette Delsaut and Madeleine Lemaire, helped by a team of Lille University students (F. Bonvin, D. Chave, M. Davaine, P. Dubois, M. El Bahi, J.-P. Hauteœur, M. Pinçon), organized the pilot surveys and the surveys carried out in the museums of Lille, Arras and Douai, and provided astute and precise observations on visitor behaviour. Pierre Rivière of the Institut Blaise-Pascal developed the data-processing program; Wenceslas Fernandez Della Vega of the Mathematics Centre of the Maison des sciences de l'homme implemented the factorial analysis program.

M. Eric Walter carried out the postal survey of the Society of Friends of the Louvre. Mlles Loubinoux and Vidal, and MM. Darmon and Grignon conducted the surveys on the teaching of art in secondary education establishments (Parisian and provincial *lycées*, general secondary schools (*collèges d'enseignement général*) and secondary technical schools (*collèges d'enseignement technique*)).

Mmes and Mlles Barrat, Bacabeille, Carrera, de Catheu, Chocat, Constans, Couland, Cron, Devaulx de Chambord, Hippula, Lefevre,

Marcadon, Maréchal, Massoutier, Rouquette, de Thézy, and MM. Fontaine, Sempere, and Van Loyen implemented one of the questionnaires in one of the museums in the sampling frame.

Mlles Moreno and Sastre, and MM. Abbas, Benyahia, Benyacoub, Bouhedja, Maillet, Mindja, Saghi and Settouti, technical colleagues at the Centre for European Sociology, carried out the often very complex coding of the results. Finally, M. Salah Bouhedja was responsible for the verification of the data processing.

M. Villaverde, under the direction of M. Aranguren, professor at the University of Madrid, organized the survey at the Prado Museum, and Mlles Sastre and Moreno those in the museums of Barcelona; Mlle Hélène Argyriades, of the Centre for Social Sciences in Athens, directed by Professor Peristiany, carried out the survey in Greece; Mme Angela Cacciari organized and implemented the survey in three Milan museums and in Bologna; M. Gilbert Kirscher organized the survey in Holland, and Mme Nina Lagneau-Markiewicz carried out the survey of Polish museums, with the support of the Polish Academy of Sciences.

The survey itself could not have been brought to a successful conclusion without the kind co-operation of the curators of the museums of Agen, Arles, Arras, Autun, Bourg-en-Bresse, Colmar, Dieppe, Douai, Dreux, Laon, Lille, Louviers, Lyon, Marseille, Pau, Rouen, Tours, the Musée des arts décoratifs, and the Jeu de Paume in Paris, or without the assistance some of them gave us. We would like to record our thanks to them here, and to the Director and administration of the Museums of France, who gave unstinting support to our undertaking, to the Inspector General of Provincial Museums and his colleagues, whose advice was most valuable to us, and to the curators of the Musée des arts décoratifs, who kindly let us use 4,000 questionnaires gathered during the exhibition 'Antagonismes'.

We would also like to thank the curators of the following museums, whose assistance made the rest of the European survey possible: the Prado Museum, the Museum of the Spanish People, the Museum of Modern Art and the Picasso Museum in Barcelona; the National Archaeological Museum and the Benaki Museum in Athens, the Delphi Museum and the Nauplion Museum; the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, the Gemeentemuseum in The Hague, the Groningen Museum and the Utrecht Museum; the Castello Sforzesco and the Pinacoteca della Brera in Milan; the museums of Poznań, Lublin, Warsaw, Kraków, and Łódź.

Signs of the Times

If works of art are allowed to express their natural eloquence, the majority of people will understand them; this will be far more effective than any guidebook, lecture or talk.

F. Schmidt-Degener, 'Musées', in *Les cahiers de la république des lettres, des sciences, et des arts*, XIII

What was essentially an aristocratic stronghold is nowadays a meeting place for ordinary people.

Le musée en tant que centre culturel, son rôle dans le développement de la collectivité, UNESCO

The religion of art also has its fundamentalists and its modernists, yet these factions unite in raising the question of cultural salvation in the language of grace. 'Broadly speaking', writes Pierre Francastel, 'it is an inescapable fact that, although the existence of tone-deaf people is generally recognized, everyone imagines they see shapes spontaneously and correctly. This is not at all the case, however, and the number of intelligent people who simply *do not see* shapes and colours is disconcerting, while other less cultivated individuals have true vision.'¹ Does this not sound like the mysticism of salvation? 'The heart has its own order; the intellect has its own order which operates by means of principle and demonstration.' This is the same logic which results in granting the evidence and the resources of salvation only to a chosen few and praising the saintly simplicity of children and of the ignorant: 'Wisdom transports us to childhood: *nisi efficiamini sicut parvuli*.' 'Do not be surprised at the sight of simple people who believe without argument.'² In the same way, the mystical representation of the aesthetic experience can lead some aristocratically to reserve this gift of artistic vision they call 'the eye' for the selected few and can lead others to grant it liberally to the 'poor in spirit'.

It follows that the contrast between the fundamentalists and the modernists is more apparent than real. The former ask nothing more of the place and the instruments of worship than that they render the

faithful into a state whereby they can receive grace. Bareness and lack of ornamentation encourage the asceticism which leads to the beatific vision: 'Although it is good for the visitor to be welcomed at the doors of the museum by a certain amount of aching and excitement, as soon as he crosses the threshold he should find the element without which he cannot have a profound encounter with the plastic arts: silence.'³ When it is all a matter of disposition and predispositions – since there is no rational teaching of that which cannot be learned – how else can the conditions favourable to the awakening of potentialities which lie dormant within some people be created? Surely enquiring about the social or cultural characteristics of visitors already implies that they can be separated by other differences than those created by the arbitrary distribution of gifts?

Discriminating between visitors by their social class and by their nationality appears, on the one hand, fairly complicated and on the other, seems to many not to be of much interest or use. Certain museums have even considered this question to be outmoded, in other words inconvenient. . . . Many museums acknowledge that they still have not made any efforts or carried out any experiments in this direction and argue that it is impossible to do so.⁴

As Erwin Panofsky tells us:

Where Saint Bernard . . . indignantly exclaims: 'What has gold to do in the sanctuary?', Suger requests that all the gorgeous vestments and altar vessels acquired under his administration be laid out in the church. . . . Nothing could be further from Suger's mind than to keep secular persons out of the House of God: he wished to accommodate as great a crowd as possible and wanted only to handle it without disturbances – therefore he needed a larger church. Nothing could seem less justified to him than not to admit the curious to the sacred objects: he wished to display his relics as 'nobly' and 'conspicuously' as he could and wanted only to avoid jostling and rioting.⁵

Thus, those who nowadays think that ritual asceticism and Cistercian starkness are not the only means of attaining communion with a work of art, and who would like to offer easier paths to the faithful, can invoke the patronage of one who, by his purchases of precious stones, rare vases, stained glass windows, enamels and fabrics 'anticipated the unselfish rapacity of the modern museum director'. But are they not inspired, as he was, with the conviction that the work of art contains

enough miraculous persuasion within itself to convert or retain souls of noble birth by its power alone? Are they not adherents of this *anagogicus mos*, of this method of elevation which confers on the harmony and radiance (*compactio et claritas*) of material works of art the power to lead to enlightenment, 'transporting one from material objects to immaterial matters' (*de materialibus ad immaterialia transferendo*)?

'When objects have a plastic value, they hold such a suggestive power that it is easier to make it perceptible than to divert attention from it. . . . In order to exist, the object must allow itself to be appreciated.'⁶ 'A museum should be a place where a drowsy visitor is thrilled by contact with sublime works of art.'⁷ 'The real magnet for tourism is historical and artistic curiosity.'⁸ 'Instead of taking advantage of this unique and incomparable opportunity of teaching through direct contact with objects, one loses one's way in the series of other educational processes which aim to transmit more or less superficial knowledge by means of purely intellectual concepts. Moreover, the lower social classes will never be reached by these didactic methods.'⁹ The most lyrical witnesses use the prestige which our civilization bestows on the visual image to convince themselves that the power of attraction of pictorial art has nowadays correspondingly increased: 'Art', writes René Huyghe, 'has never seemed so important, to the point of becoming an obsession, as in our own day. Never before has it been so widely accessible, so greatly appreciated. Never before has it been so intensively analysed and explained. In this it benefits (particularly as regards painting) from the major role visual images have come to play in our civilization.'¹⁰ Surely someone from this culture of the image is immediately endowed with the necessary culture to decipher the pictorial work of art, the image of all images? 'The museum has the privilege of speaking the language of the times, which is a language intelligible to all and the same in every country. . . . The museum has become part of our way of life. Soon it will be the necessary complement and parallel to all our activities.'¹¹ In any case, is it not possible to make the power of images serve the cult of the image? 'It is only intelligently organized publicity that can bring a new following, on a previously undreamt-of scale, to our art collections.'¹²

The time has come and the advent of the Kingdom of Art on earth can already be glimpsed: 'It seems immediately and seriously urgent to draw the attention of the authorities to this matter, so that they respond to the new needs and demands of modern populations, which are, as it were, gripped by a new, spiritual, hunger and which are

calling for a new terrestrial nourishment.¹³ Eschatological prophecy is the natural crowning of this mystical approach to salvation.

In short, the ancients and the moderns agree in entirely abandoning the fortunes of cultural salvation to the inexplicable vagaries of grace, or to the arbitrary distribution of 'gifts'. It is as if those who speak of culture, for themselves and for others, in other words cultivated people, could not think of cultural salvation in terms other than of the logic of predestination, as if their virtues would be devalued if they had been acquired, and as if all their representation of culture was aimed at authorizing them to convince themselves that, in the words of one highly cultivated elderly person, 'education is innate'.

The Research Process

Before entering into an analysis and interpretation of the results of the different surveys which provided the material for this book, the conditions under which they were obtained are described as precisely as possible.

As a body of hypotheses tested by previous research on the process of cultural diffusion was already available, it was possible to devise a systematic survey of the European museum-going public, its social and educational characteristics, its attitudes to museums and its artistic preferences, as a *process of verification* aimed at confronting a coherent system of theoretical propositions with a coherent system of facts produced by – and not for – the hypothesis which it was necessary to validate.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The use of a very simple questionnaire (cf. App. 2) was particularly necessary in an area where individuals are engaged with values and therefore want, even unconsciously, to show themselves in a good light by giving the answer they judge to be the most noble one. If, in the case of question III on the reasons for coming to the museum, 'noble' answers, such as 'because I love art' have deliberately not been allowed, this is not in the name of a sort of aesthetic agnosticism, but because the pilot survey carried out at Lille Museum and the semi-directed conversations had shown that these answers attracted individuals who, in reality, had come for other reasons. The same concerns governed the formulation of the opinion questions: the aim of the questionnaire was not to put the introduction of arrows and panels in museums to a popular vote (questions V and VI), but to measure *indirectly* the pedagogic expectations of the public revealed by the pilot surveys and the unstructured interviews. The conditions under which the questionnaire had to be administered also dictated

that it should be very clear, very brief (so as not to take more than a quarter of an hour), and above all, that it should not contain anything which might offend visitors from different backgrounds. This last condition was not easy to achieve since questions which could seem simplistic to some could seem difficult to others (cf. the analysis of non-responses below).

THE SAMPLE AND THE SURVEY

To make the chosen sampling method as efficient as possible, it was necessary to use what was already known of museums and their public. In fact, the statistics available for the various European countries presented a number of difficulties owing to the diversity of methods used for counting visitors in different countries and even in different museums (due, in particular, to the lack of separate counting of different kinds of visits, especially free visits), and because of the absence of monthly visiting statistics. Nevertheless, the calculation of daily visiting averages from the survey data has confirmed that the visiting levels given by the official statistics can be considered as valid.¹

Although visiting levels fluctuate within the same museum from year to year, depending on the attraction exerted by a local exhibition or event, and although this prevents the research from being extremely precise, the annual number of visits can nevertheless be considered as a satisfactory definition of the hierarchy of museums. Thus, in the case of France, the selection of a representative sample of 21 museums was based on a multivariate analysis of the relations between the different characteristics of the museums, including the annual number of visits. To this end, a panel composed of five curators and art specialists selected from amongst all French museums,² 123 art museums (containing paintings and sculptures). For each museum they evaluated the ease of access, the dynamism of the curator, the number of works on display, the number of works in total, the different categories of material (paintings, sculptures, historical objects, folk objects, and so on), the overall quality of the works (graded from 0 to 5), and the type of presentation. In addition, the touristic attraction of each museum was determined by taking the number of stars attributed by the Green Guide to the town, to the museum itself and to the works on display. The result was the following distribution:

1 star Arras, Douai, Dreux, Laon, Louviers, Moulins.

- 3 stars Agen, Dieppe, Lille, Lyon.
 4 stars Arles, Bourg-en-Bresse, Marseille, Pau, Tours.
 7 stars Autun.
 8 stars Dijon.
 10 stars Colmar, Rouen.

Finally the touristic attraction (rated by the same criteria as the museums), the economic situation, and the presence or absence of tertiary educational institutions in the town or region where the museum was located were all considered.

Analysis showed that the majority of the museums' characteristics were strongly interrelated: disregarding the museums that receive less than 2,000 visitors a year (six museums, which are hard to reach and exhibit a small number of poorly presented works), it is apparent that the number of works displayed is strongly related to the number of visits (except in the case of certain large museums showing relatively

Table 2.1 French museums by visitor figures, Green Guide stars and quality of works exhibited

| Category | Museums | Visits ^a | Stars | Quality |
|-----------|-----------------|---------------------|-------|---------|
| 30,000+ | Colmar | 180,000 | 2 | 4 |
| | Bourg-en-Bresse | 85,000 | 0 | 2 |
| | Dieppe | 70,000 | 0 | 2 |
| | Lyon | 35,000 | 2 | 5 |
| 20-30,000 | Toulouse | 25,000 | 2 | 5 |
| | Dijon | 30,000 | 2 | 5 |
| | Lille | 26,000 | 2 | 5 |
| | Rouen | 25,000 | 2 | 5 |
| 10-20,000 | Tours | 19,300 | 2 | 4 |
| | Autun | 11,700 | 0 | 3 |
| | Marseille | 11,000 | 1 | 4 |
| | Arles | 14,000 | 0 | 2 |
| 5-10,000 | Arras | 8,900 | 0 | 4 |
| | Moulins | 6,500 | 1 | 2 |
| | Douai | 7,800 | 0 | 3 |
| | Pau | 5,500 | 1 | 2 |
| 1-5,000 | Laon | 3,300 | 0 | 2 |
| | Agen | 2,500 | 1 | 3 |
| | Dreux | 1,650 | 0 | 1 |
| | Louviers | 3,000 | 0 | 1 |

^a Figures given by M. Delasalle of the Directorate of French Museums.

few works but ones which are very famous or of great quality). The same applies to the fame and quality of the works (evaluated by the panel of specialists), which tends to demonstrate that, as far as visiting rates are concerned, the 'official' hierarchy of museums given by tourist guidebooks coincides with the 'actual' hierarchy expressed by numbers of visits, and with the 'legitimate' hierarchy defined by the 'cultural authorities'.

Thus, owing to its correlation with the majority of the characteristics of museums, the annual number of visits can be considered as a criterion of stratification (thus guaranteeing the accuracy of the results). Taking the annual visitor figures as the criterion, it is then sufficient to construct several broad categories and, in order to ensure their comparability, to choose an equal number of museums at random in each stratum, except for the uppermost stratum which has the greatest number of visits and the smallest number of museums (which makes it possible to achieve the same precision with a slightly smaller sample).³ For Parisian museums, all of which are special cases in a city not comparable to the others, two different types of art museum were chosen outside the sampling frame: the *Jeu de Paume* and the *Musée des Arts décoratifs*.

The same sampling methods led to the choice of, for Greece, the National Archaeological Museum and the Benaki Museum in Athens, and the museums of Delphi and Nauplion; for Holland, the *Rijksmuseum* in Amsterdam, the *Gemeentemuseum* in The Hague, and the museums of Groningen and Utrecht; for Poland, the museums of Poznań, Lublin, Warsaw, Kraków and Łódź. For Spain, due to a lack of visiting statistics, it was not possible to use a systematic method, and the Prado Museum, the Picasso Museum, the Museum of the Spanish People and the Museum of Modern Art in Barcelona cannot be taken as representative of all Spanish museums, even though the visitors of these museums have exactly the same characteristics as those established for other countries.⁴

Having selected the museums, the next step was to draw a random sample of interviewees. It was important that every person entering the museum during the implementation of the survey should be part of the sample. To this end, the interviewers (some sent by the Centre for European Sociology, others recruited locally, most often with the help of the curator, and trained by researchers from the Centre) were given the responsibility of introducing the questionnaire to visitors according to precise instructions which had been perfected in the course of the pilot survey. The statistical unit chosen is the visit and

not the visitor so that the same individual could theoretically figure more than once in the sample (which only happened in exceptional circumstances given the length of the survey) and could also receive a weighting proportional to the average frequency of his or her museum visiting. Visits by school groups or tourist groups presented a problem: was it necessary to give each member of the group the same weight as an individual visitor? To a certain extent the same question applies to family visits. The least imperfect solution was to give the same weight to each adult individual, even if this meant that groups were isolated in the analysis. In this way, a response rate equal to or exceeding 75 per cent (including groups) was obtained in two-thirds of the museums.

There were some visitors who, having agreed to participate in the survey, did not reply to certain questions. The proportion of 'non-responses' varies significantly with the type of question and social category, or, more precisely, according to the meaning placed on the different questions by different social categories. Thus, the questions on the reasons for, and the circumstances of, the visit (III and IV) seemed to the very great majority of the public as questions of fact, but the upper fraction of the upper classes suspected a purpose behind this: there are noble reasons for visiting and there are less noble ones, and one shows oneself to be more committed by visiting a museum equipped with a guidebook or a catalogue. Members of the teaching profession and art experts tended to ignore the question more often than other social groups because in so doing they wished to demonstrate that they disputed the relevance of the questions and answers laid down in the questionnaire, 'noble' replies having been deliberately omitted (cf. table A3.3).

Likewise, the questions about museum visiting (VIII and IX) do not have the same meaning for every individual: 25 per cent of working-class visitors could not cite a single museum and, as the verificatory survey indicated, their abstention expresses nothing more than ignorance, whereas amongst the visitors belonging to the cultivated classes, it expresses irritation with a 'naïve' question. Likewise again, the question about favourite painters (XI) was perceived by working-class visitors as a question of erudition, while upper-class individuals saw it as simplistic.

Given the fluctuations in visitor numbers and in the profile of the public at different times, it was also necessary to choose the timings of the survey systematically. As the pilot survey carried out at Lille Museum showed that the social profile of the public varies with the

days of the week, it could be presumed that holidays would also bring about variations. In order to take account of seasonal fluctuations without increasing the length of the survey, the Easter holidays were included in the period of the survey. However, it is debatable whether the Easter holidays are representative of all holidays, as tourists at Easter are most likely to belong to the privileged classes. In order to test the validity of the results, a complementary survey was conducted in July in five French museums, some in regions little frequented by tourists (Arras, Laon, Lille), others in tourist regions (Arles, Atun) (cf. table A4.1). It became evident that, in the regions south of the Loire, the profile of the public in summer is identical to that at Easter, the effect of tourism being more or less the same during the two periods. In the north, which attracts few tourists, the profile of the public, approximately the same in summer as in the rest of the working year, is different at Easter owing to the fact that tourism at this time of year is more frequent amongst the privileged classes, who are therefore slightly underrepresented.

In order to establish the weighting to be given to the surveys conducted in each of the two periods, the relative number of visits corresponding to each period was determined. In the absence of accurate monthly statistics, it was necessary to produce, by mathematical means, the estimate that in France almost half (45 per cent) of the visits take place during the holiday periods (around four months in total).⁵

The two-stage survey (of museums, then visits) which was carried out can be compared to a single-stage survey, with the number of museums chosen being responsible for most of the sampling error. Moreover, a probabilistic sample generally refers to a well-defined source population of an established size, while the actual population of museums has no precise spatial or temporal limits, and a museum can theoretically draw visitors on a universal scale. This results in certain risks of distortion, albeit minimal, and a certain intrinsic limitation on the precision of any survey on the public of museums.

CODING AND ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

Realising that sheer refinement of the logical analysis of the replies and their possible combinations will not of itself reproduce the articulations of reality, we drew up each analytical grid after a partial analysis of the results and clarified them as and when a particular case

demanded it. The same concern for rigour led to the program of mechanical data-processing being developed only after a sample of 1,000 questionnaires had been analysed, and the program of factorial analysis being applied only after an understanding had been gained, through other methods, of the relations between the principal explanatory variables. In order to carry out this factorial analysis, the 9,226 questionnaires collected in French museums were divided into two sub-populations, one consisting of individuals of an educational level below that of the *baccalauréat* (M1), the other of individuals of a level equal to or above that of the *baccalauréat* (M2).⁶ In contrast to the procedure followed in the main study, each questionnaire received an equal weighting. Only 14 items, which emerged as being the most significant among the 53 comprising the questionnaire, were considered. The correlation matrices for M1 and M2 and the means and standard deviations for each of these variables in each of these sub-populations are presented in Appendix 3 (tables A3.22 and 23). Calculation of the 'specific values' and the 'specific vectors' relating to each of these sub-populations is not reproduced here as it does not add anything to what is already known.

The main survey established, with a very large sample, the fundamental profile of the museum-going public and the significant and meaningful relationships between the social characteristics of visitors and their attitudes or opinions. It then became possible and necessary to verify or qualify the information received on any particular point. For this reason, several successive surveys with relatively restricted sample sizes (between 300 and 1,000 visitors) of the public of one or a number of museums with known characteristics were carried out. These provided information on the relationship between the duration of the visits declared by visitors and the actual time of the visit, as measured by observers; on the frequency of museum visiting and its variation between visitors with different social characteristics; and on the relationship between museum visiting and other cultural practices. All these results were subjected to a final verification by means of a survey administered in 1965 to 2,000 visitors to different French museums. This *method of successive surveys* enabled us not only to fill in gaps in the information gleaned by the initial survey but also, and more importantly, to test at minimum cost the hypotheses arising from the analysis and interpretation of the data provided by the first survey.

THE FORMALIZATION EXERCISE

Faced with the mathematical pages of this book, our first reader said he felt like Christophe's character who, seeing a long demonstration by Professor Cosinus yielding the formula $U = O$, considered it to be a lot of trouble to take for a very small result. Others, more aware of the creative power of rigorous mathematical reasoning, will perhaps see in the 'comprehensive' analyses only impressionistic approximations. Must we, as so many others before us have done, undertake a methodological justification of the exercise of formalization, and risk giving the impression that the method of a science is an abstract and formal technique which need only be 'applied' to the empirical subject matter? 'The natural sciences', said Henri Poincaré, 'speak of their results; the social sciences speak of their methods'. To refute this witticism at once, we shall content ourselves with referring to the results, some of which could not have been obtained without strict adherence to two equally rigorous methods.⁷

THE COMPARATIVE STUDY

To ensure the comparability of the results, care was taken to use identical procedures at each stage of the research in the five countries studied, France, Greece, Holland, Poland and Spain. The same questionnaire (except for a few essential modifications to take account of particular national circumstances) was administered, under the same conditions, to the publics of the different countries. The same analytical grids were applied to the material gathered, particularly that concerning the visitors' social and educational characteristics. It was impossible to ignore the fact that to attempt a formal homogeneity of the codes was to run the risk, inherent in every comparison of abstract and falsely interchangeable evidence, of comparing facts which are formally comparable but actually incomparable and, conversely, of omitting to compare formally incomparable facts which are really comparable. However, if analytical categories better adjusted to the particularities of different national conditions had been adopted, for example those concerning level of education, any form of comparison would have been rendered impossible from the outset, whereas a structural interpretation can always reposition facts, deliberately produced by formally identical operations, in the complete system of

relationships from which they take their meaning and value.

In addition to the problems inherent in all comparative research, such as the comparison of facts or systems of facts constituting part of the systems of relationships from which they gain their specific properties, were all the difficulties resulting from inaccuracies or gaps in statistical sources. In fact it was only possible to avoid the danger posed by apparent resemblances or differences directly obtained by experimentation, by taking into account, in a systematic comparison, the systematic differences or, rather, the different systems of factors, exerting what can be called a structuring effect on each of the empirically gathered facts. A perfect execution of these methodological principles would have required, in addition to the data given by the survey on the social and educational characteristics of museum visitors, the availability of very precise statistical information, using identical categories, on the structure of different source populations according to gender, age, social class and level of education, on the number of tourists and visitors to the different museums, and on the number and quality of works on display in each of the museums, etc.

It is well-nigh impossible to obtain all the necessary data for all the countries studied, and the data that were obtained were not always directly comparable because of differences in the classification systems used in the different countries. As a result, the strictly structural comparison that was possible presents numerous problems. The prudent and more often negative than positive conclusions of these analyses may well disappoint those looking for simple and definite answers to questions such as the relative effectiveness of the cultural policies developed by different political systems. If this is the case, the method proposed here at least has the advantage, within the limitations of the data obtained, of allowing rigorous comparisons to be made and above all of warning against imprudent and ill-considered comparisons which, although not based on fanciful figures, are fallacious because they neglect the real object of the comparison, namely the system of relationships in which the facts under comparison are enmeshed.

The Social Conditions of Cultural Practice

Those who cultivate the exact sciences, whose independence and generality are so suitable for broadening the mind and raising it above the common level, have not given rational philosophy all the dues it has the right to expect and demand. If they dealt, in their clear, precise and reliable method, with certain delicate questions which they have not even dared to tackle . . . they would have avoided many disputes, resolved many serious difficulties and destroyed old and deeply rooted prejudices; and two or three pages of analysis or even a simple two-line formula would have proved with a rigour and with the sort of indisputable evidence that all the niceties and quibbles of the sophists have failed to weaken, all the truths that philosophers have also discovered with the help of less perfect instruments.

Naigeon, *Encyclopédie méthodique*, vol. III

Analysis of the relationships empirically established between museum visiting and the different economic, social and educational characteristics of visitors should enable the group of factors which determine or promote museum visiting to be isolated and the relative weight of each factor and of the structure of the relationships uniting them to be established (chapter 3). The effectiveness of these explanatory factors can then only be explained by understanding the genesis and structure of the disposition towards cultural works which is expressed by museum visiting (chapter 4). Finally, it is important to put the system of causes and reasons which permit an explanation and comprehension of museum visiting to the test of generalization, by examining the more general conditions of the adequate reception of a work of learned culture such as a play, novel, concert or painting (chapter 5).

Museum visiting increases very strongly with increasing level of education, and is almost exclusively the domain of the cultivated classes.¹ The proportion of the different socio-economic categories in

the French museum public is almost exactly the inverse of their proportion in the total population. As the modal visitor to French museums holds a *baccalauréat* (55 per cent having at least this qualification), it is not surprising that the profile of the public, according to socio-economic category, should be very close to the profile of the population of French university students according to their social origin: the proportion of farmers and farm labourers in the public of French art museums is 1 per cent; that of industrial manual workers 4 per cent; craftworkers and tradespeople 5 per cent; clerical staff and junior executives 23 per cent (of whom 5 per cent are primary school teachers), and upper classes 45 per cent. The distribution of visitors by level of education is even more revealing: only 9 per cent of visitors (three-quarters of whom are schoolchildren) do not have any form of qualification; 11 per cent hold a primary studies certificate (CEP), 17 per cent hold a technical education certificate or a certificate of general secondary education (BEPC), 31 per cent have the *baccalauréat* and 24 per cent have a diploma equivalent or superior to a degree. Consequently it is not surprising that the proportion of visitors who have studied Latin (a telling indication of a cultivated background) reaches a total of 40 per cent, and the proportion of the working, middle and upper classes is respectively 4 per cent, 24 per cent and 75 per cent.

If it is established that middle-class visitors distinguish themselves from the generality of their own class by a slightly higher level of education, this is to a certain extent (as the verificatory survey demonstrated) because they sometimes claim a higher cultural level than that which is indicated by their qualifications. In doing so they are expressing their cultural goodwill, as they do through much of their behaviour. However, it is also because qualifications are not always an infallible guide to cultural level in so far as they do not take into account certain experiences, for example in the case of individuals who have completed their education through self-instruction (particularly numerous amongst the middle classes), or of those who had several years of secondary education without obtaining any qualifications. Consequently, level of education, as measured by qualifications, is perhaps less meaningful (at least as far as cultural practices and attitudes are concerned) than the *cultural level of aspiration*. Would the visitor who ascribes to him or herself the level of the *baccalauréat* while only possessing the *brevet élémentaire*, or who has discontinued his or her studies in the last year of school, go to the museum if he or she did not claim the cultural level legitimating him or her to go to

museums? Given that the modal museum visitor holds the *baccalauréat*, are we not justified in supposing that pretension to this level of education contributes in part to the creation of a 'practice of *baccalauréat*-holders' amongst those who do not hold it?

The overall museum public is relatively young, since the proportion of visitors aged 15–24 years in France is 37 per cent, compared with 18 per cent in the total population. This overrepresentation is especially marked in the working and middle classes (13 per cent of working- and middle-class visitors claim to have discovered the museum during their adolescence in the company of friends). The average age of visitors increases continuously with higher social class, which seems to indicate that the effect of schooling is all the more durable the higher the educational level attained (and thus the longer schooling has been undergone), the greater the competence previously acquired by early and direct contact with works of art by those who have been subject to it (known to be more frequent with higher social class), and if its effectiveness is supported and relayed by a favourable cultural atmosphere.

Given, on the one hand, the fact that schoolchildren and students constitute 78 per cent of the visitors aged 15–24, whereas for the corresponding age groups, the proportion of individuals in education in the French population is only 24.5 per cent, and on the other hand, the fact that the visiting rate undergoes a sudden fall (from 37 to 16 per cent) outside the most highly educated group (15–24 years), thereafter decreasing regularly and all the more rapidly as the older groups are approached (15, 10, 8 and 4 per cent for the groups aged 33–44, 45–54, 55–64, and 65 and over), it is possible to question whether the relationship which unites age and visiting is not simply an effect of education. The relationships between visiting and socio-economic category or place of residence prompt the same question, so that it becomes necessary to determine by other methods the respective influence of different criteria which, at first sight, seem equally related to visiting.

To find an explanation it is therefore essential that the level of representation of different categories of visitor in the total museum public be substituted by the probability that each individual has of entering a museum, in a given period, according to his or her different characteristics. As the potential visiting population of a museum is poorly defined, or unlimited (at least to all intents and purposes), assessment of the total number of categories to which the total of visitors of each category should be related is necessarily imprecise, but

it is less so, the larger the spatial and temporal unit chosen: while it may be absurd to relate the number of visitors to Lille Museum to the population of Lille, it is reasonable to calculate the relationship between the annual number of visitors of each category and the overall population of that category, or even between the total number of a country's nationals who have visited some museum or other in their country and the total population of the country, which amounts to assuming that the movements of cultural tourism between different countries approximately cancel each other out.

As each visitor is defined by a group of criteria (age, educational qualifications and occupation, denoted by A, B, and C), it is possible to calculate the probabilities $P(A_i, B_j, C_k)$, in other words, the probability that a person of age A_i , of qualifications B_j and of occupation C_k , will visit an art museum. However, as the different variables are interrelated and constitute a complex which can be understood through a smaller number of variables, the classic problem of colinearity arises. Nevertheless, if $P(A_i, B_j) = P(A_i, B_j, C_k)$ or, in other words, if, when age and level of education are known, knowing the individual's occupation does not provide additional information, this criterion can be considered as independent of visiting (without the converse being true, because knowing the individual's occupation alone provides information about visiting, since it is related to level of education). It can therefore be concluded that occupation does not exert a specific influence of its own, as the relationship linking it with visiting is just another expression of the relationship between level of education and visiting.

The conditions of statistical experimentation impose limits on this method: because the different criteria are interrelated and the size of the sample is limited, it is inevitable that certain classes will be underrepresented and that only a small number of probabilities, $P_i, j, k \dots$ will be calculable in a significant way. While it is easy to isolate the effects of age, gender, education and occupation, it is more difficult to understand the simultaneous influence of educational qualifications and occupation or of education and environment because these criteria are very strongly interrelated.

In fact (table 3.1), once level of education is determined, knowing the gender or socio-economic category of visitors generally provides very little additional information. No doubt teachers and art specialists visit museums more frequently than members of other socio-economic categories at the same level of education; no doubt upper-class women go to museums more often than men.² No doubt, in

Table 3.1 Annual museum visiting rate in France by social category^a

| | Percentage probability of visit | | | | | Total |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----|------|-------------------|---------|-------|
| | No quals | CEP | BEPC | bacca- lauréat | degree+ | |
| Farmers and farm labourers | 0.2 | 0.4 | 20.4 | | | 0.5 |
| Industrial manual workers | 0.3 | 1.3 | 21.3 | | | 1.0 |
| Craftworkers, tradespeople | 1.9 | 2.8 | 30.7 | | 59.4 | 4.9 |
| Clerical staff, junior executives | | 2.8 | 19.9 | 73.6 | | 9.8 |
| Senior executives | | 2.0 | 12.3 | 64.4 | 77.6 | 43.3 |
| Teachers, art specialists | | | 68.1 | 153.7 | 163.8 | 151.5 |
| Totals | 1.0 | 2.3 | 24.0 | 70.1 | 80.1 | 6.2 |
| Males | 1.0 | 2.3 | 24.4 | 64.5 | 65.1 | 6.1 |
| Females | 1.1 | 2.3 | 23.2 | 87.9 | 122.8 | 6.3 |
| 15-24 | 7.5 | 5.8 | 60.0 | 286.0 | 258.0 | 21.3 |
| 25-44 | 1.0 | 1.1 | 14.7 | 40.6 | 70.5 | 5.7 |
| 45-64 | 0.7 | 1.5 | 15.3 | 42.5 | 69.8 | 3.8 |
| 65+ | 0.4 | 1.6 | 5.3 | 24.6 | 33.2 | 1.6 |

^a For the other countries, see Appendix 6.

order to understand the low representation of farmers and farm labourers (which is at the limit of statistical significance owing to the low number of this category of visitor), it is necessary to point out, in addition to geographical distance, the disadvantaging influence of the cultural atmosphere characteristic of the rural community. However, the fact that those among the senior executives with a level of education (CEP or BEPC) lower than the modal level of their category have a visiting rate lower than other social classes, once again prompts the conclusion that education has a specific and determining influence which cannot simply be made up for by belonging to the highest social classes or by the general influence of peer groups. If certain individuals classified as craftworkers and tradespeople have, at all levels of education, a higher visiting rate than other categories, this is because to a large extent they belong to a completely atypical sub-category, both by a higher than average level of education for the category,³ and by opinions closer to those of the upper classes than to those of the other middle classes (in particular on the affixing of arrows and the types of visit preferred, cf. table A3.2): in fact 15 per cent of them work in fashion, 8 per cent are either booksellers or

printers and 36 per cent (nearly all in Paris) work in the art field (antique dealer and interior decorator, ceramicist, potter, jewellery and poster designer).

Although the great majority of visitors agree in considering the entrance charges to be very good value (cf. table A4.3), it is possible to question whether, in spite of all this, family income exerts a specific influence on visiting patterns and whether a budgetary curb may still operate, even in the theory of free admission. This is because the cost of a visit involves other expenses, at least as large, such as expenditure on travel or the costs incurred in every family outing. Certainly, the distribution of income according to visitors' socio-economic category agrees with the distribution of income of these categories as they appear in the statistics of the INSEE (cf. tables A4.4 and 5), but no conclusions could be drawn as it was not possible to calculate visiting rates as a simultaneous function of income and level of education (the distribution of income according to level of education of the French population not yet being known). In any event, nothing would be more naïve than to expect that simply reducing admission charges would lead to an increase in visiting amongst the working classes. If the proportion of individuals visiting the museum with their family on a Sunday – most often to accompany their children even when admission is not free on that day – decreases regularly with higher social class, this is principally because the leisure of the working classes is more closely subject to collective patterns (cf. table A3.16).

The specific influence of the environment could not be isolated (except for rural dwellers) because of the very close links between this variable and socio-economic category and level of education. All the indications are that the cultural inequalities associated with place of residence are linked to inequalities in level of education and social position. If, apart from small museums given only one star by the Green Guide, museums almost exclusively receive visitors who live in university towns, this is because the probability of living in a city increases with higher social class, and also because small towns offer only a few cultural attractions and events.

The fact that the youngest age groups are most strongly represented in museums – the rate of visiting remaining constant up to the age of 65 after an initial decline around the age of 25 – is demonstrably explained by the influence of schooling. Of all the factors, level of education is in fact the chief determinant. At the CEP level only 2.3 per cent go to a museum in a year: without the visits directly organized by school, most individuals of this category will never go to

a museum. At BEPC level, 20 per cent will visit a museum, but beyond schooling age only about 15 per cent. For those with the *baccalauréat*, visits will be three a year during school age, and thereafter 50 per cent will regularly visit museums at least once a year. At higher educational levels the rate of visiting remains the same as it was during school age for the previous levels, which is logical since the influence of schooling is the same and the pattern stabilizes in the post-university period.

As school certificates are only a very rough indication of cultural level, it can be supposed that other differences further distinguish visitors of the same level of education, according to different secondary characteristics. In fact, at the same level of education, those who have received a classical education are always better represented in the museum public than those who did not study Latin, and they always visit (or claim to visit) museums more frequently. In order to avoid attributing, as is often done, a mysterious cultural effect, especially in individual cases, to classical studies, it is obviously necessary to see them not as a decisive factor but as a sign of a cultivated background, since it is known that a tendency towards a more classical education is always increasingly frequent, all other things being equal, the higher the social class. The kind of secondary studies undertaken is no doubt not the only or the most decisive of the secondary characteristics which explain that, amongst individuals with a given level of education – for example the level of the *baccalauréat*, which can be considered as the necessary but not sufficient condition for regular museum visiting – different degrees of cultural devotion can also be distinguished. Strong variations in cultural practice and artistic preferences have been established amongst individuals of the same educational or social level, according to the cultural level of their family of origin (measured by the level of education and occupation of their parents and grandparents). Owing to the slowness of the process of acculturation, especially in matters of artistic culture, subtle differences linked to the length of access to culture continue therefore to separate individuals apparently equal with regard to social position and even educational level. Cultural nobility also has its lineages.

In order to establish whether, as with the rate of visitors, the intensity of visiting (measured by frequency over time) increases as level of education increases, it is necessary to determine whether visitors visit more frequently if they represent a greater proportion of their category or whether the different categories divided according to their level of education are homogeneous with respect to the frequen-

cy of their visiting. The answer may be found in the fact that the social classes most strongly represented amongst the museum public are also those who claim to have visited the most frequently. This is true even in a country such as Poland where the public is younger and less competent in matters of painting than the French or Dutch public.⁴ Furthermore, a comparison between the theoretical rate of first museum visits (calculated on the assumption that each class is homogeneous with respect to visiting patterns) and the actual rate of first visits establishes that the rate of first visits is proportionately higher in any given class the lower its rate of visiting, and vice versa.

If it is supposed that the population is homogeneous and that the average annual rate of visiting is designated by p , the number of people between age t and age $t + dt$ visiting a museum for the first time is given by the expression $(1 - p)^{t-1} p dt$ and the total proportion of 'first visits' is written, as a first approximation, as:

$$P_1 = \frac{1}{pT} \int_0^T (1 - p)^{t-1} p dt$$

where T is the length of the life cycle during which visits may be made (taken as 50 or 60 years). It follows that:

$$P_1 = \frac{-1}{Tq \log q} (1 - q^T)$$

with $q = 1 - p$. For very small values of p ,

$$P_1 = 1 - \frac{Tp}{2}$$

(P_1 tending towards one when p tends towards zero).

In contrast, if p is fairly high, P_1 is close to zero. Note that it is sufficient for p to be near to 20 per cent for P_1 to be around 1. It can be seen that if the rate of visiting is very low, the proportion of first visits will be very high and, conversely, that if the rate of visiting is considerable, most visitors will be regular ones. To summarize, P_1 is a decreasing function of p .

Observation shows that, at the level of the CEP, $p = 2.3$ per cent with $T = 60$, and therefore $P_1 = 55$ per cent, which is the same as the experimental proportion, which permits the conclusion that the population of visitors of this educational level is homogeneous, because the same results can be obtained by noting that museum visits follow a Poisson distribution with the parameter $\lambda = Tp$, T and p having the same values as above.

By way of verification, let us assume heterogeneity and allow that p takes the form αp_1 , where p_1 is the rate of visiting of a relatively important sub-population (and one that is relatively small), while the complementary sub-population (with a weight of $1 - \alpha$) has a zero visiting rate of p_2 . It follows then that:

$$P_1 = \frac{1}{\alpha p_1} \frac{\alpha}{T} \int_0^T (1 - p_1)^{t-1} p_1 dt = \frac{-1}{q_1 T \log q_1} [1 - q_1^T]$$

The same relation as in the first equation is found, only this time it concerns the visiting rate, p_1 , of the sub-population of 'the devout'. P_1 works out at around zero, although p is similarly taken to be close to zero.

In more general terms it can be demonstrated that if p_2 is not strictly zero, the equation is

$$P_1 \neq -\frac{p_2}{p} \frac{1}{p_2 T \log q_2} [1 - T_p]$$

which is around zero if p_2 is negligible with respect to p , which was allowed for by the hypothesis.⁵ The divergence between the theoretical and experimental results is such that the hypothesis of heterogeneity can be rejected.

It is thus established as given that different categories of visitors distinguished by level of education are homogeneous in the intensity of their visiting, which varies with their characteristic visiting rate, such that visiting intensifies as level of education increases.

If the pattern of museum visiting is more or less independent of the regular rhythms of the social calendar, it is still very much part of it through the influence both of tourism, which promotes an intensification of cultural practice, and of the seasonal opposition between working periods and holiday periods. Is this to imply, as is often affirmed, that tourism itself exerts a determining influence on visiting? Although it is evident that the overall rate of French people taking holidays is increasing greatly, it can in no way be inferred that the visiting rate of the entire French population (and, consequently, the museum public) is currently increasing very noticeably, given that the rate of first museum visits demonstrated experimentally, even amongst the most privileged classes, never exceeds the theoretical rate of first visits calculated on the assumption that each of the classes

under consideration are perfectly homogeneous in their visiting patterns. This in itself would be sufficient to throw the specific effect of tourism into doubt even if it were not also known that the proportion of visitors who only visit museums in their holidays (primary school teachers excepted) is always very small, and that the proportion of first visits (an indicator of patterns of visiting) decreases, in each category, as the rate of visiting increases. This means that tourism can only have a differential effect according to social category, since, although it can prompt the least cultivated individuals to make their first museum visit, tourism cannot alone bring about long-lasting 'conversions' (cf. table A3.6).

In fact, it is already known that tourism is not independent of education since the scope, duration and frequency of tourist travel are very closely linked to occupation and income, and therefore to education: 23 per cent of families with a monthly income of 600F or less take an annual holiday, compared with 93 per cent of those who have an income of over 2,000F.⁶ Likewise, the proportion of holiday-makers varies very strongly with socio-economic category, namely 18.5 per cent amongst farm labourers, 55 per cent amongst industrial manual workers, 60 per cent amongst craftspeople and tradespeople, 81 per cent amongst junior executives, and 93 per cent amongst senior executives and members of the professions.⁷

The actual style of tourism and the place of cultural activities within it do not depend solely on the location or the duration of the holiday. As one opportunity among others of expressing a cultivated inclination, cultural tourism, that is, tourism in which museum visiting plays a part, depends on level of education even more than ordinary tourism (cf. table A3.11). The proportion of individuals who visit museums through tourism increases with higher social class, from 45 per cent amongst the working classes to 61 per cent amongst the middle classes and 63 per cent amongst the upper classes (cf. table A3.17).⁸ Conversely, 56 per cent of the disadvantaged classes visit their home town museum, compared with 52 per cent of the middle classes and 33 per cent of the upper classes (cf. table A3.10). Likewise, three-quarters of visitors living in districts with a population of less than 30,000 go to their local museum. This may indicate, amongst other things, that visitors from small towns or neighbouring villages feel less out of place in the often less solemn local museum than in a large touristic museum; or, for the least cultivated, it may indicate that they went into the museum by chance during one of their trips to the town, in order to pass the time. Indeed, visitors who explicitly say they went

into the museum by chance, rare amongst the museum public as a whole, come mainly from the least favoured classes (36 per cent of farm workers and 27 per cent of industrial manual workers) and, as with the chance visitors, the proportion of those saying they have come in order to accompany their children decreases continuously with higher social class, or as the touristic attraction of the museum increases (cf. table A3.17). From this it follows that, even if in theory the opportunities for tourism were to become equal, the different social categories would continue to commit themselves to cultural tourism in unequal proportions.

Again it is evident that the *specific* action of tourism is reduced to almost nothing. Thus the proportion of visitors who have been into a museum for the first time while on holiday is only 8 per cent (cf. tables A3.5 and 6). It may be true that more than a quarter of the respondents (28 per cent) who first entered a museum between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four did so while on holiday, but they barely constitute a quarter of the museum public. It may also be true that half of those who discovered museum visiting after the age of twenty-four were encouraged to do so by tourism, but they only represent 3 per cent of all visitors. In other words, the chances of discovering museums through tourism increase with age, i.e. as the chances of discovering them in other ways are decreasing. Thus, if it were simply a question of giving the initial impetus, tourism cannot compensate for the lack of an artistic or intellectual education.

As tourism is related to level of education through the medium of income, people who have the most frequent opportunities to visit also have the strongest inclination to do so. This conjunction means that in cultural matters both advantages and disadvantages are cumulative. Tourism thus exercises a limited influence on museum visiting, both in terms of its duration, as it is a seasonal phenomenon, and especially in its scope, since it seems to be a permissive condition rather than a necessitating cause: it can facilitate cultural practice in widening the field of opportunities for visiting, but it is not enough, in itself, to bring about more frequent visiting. In other words, if it is obvious that cultural tourism presupposes tourism (as a necessary condition) it is none the less true that it varies, within the limits already defined, with level of education and not with level of tourism.

As with special exhibitions, tourism reawakens the feelings of obligation which constitute the feeling of belonging to the cultivated world. While an ordinary visit to a museum readily accessible to all escapes the rhythms and controls of collective life and owes nothing to

the diffuse pressures imposed by participation in collective ceremonies (in terms of presence and representation), it nevertheless constitutes a whole programme of compulsory activities which, in the course of tourist travel, is recalled by those who have the strongest cultural ambitions, in other words by those who belong to, or who aspire to belong to, the cultivated world. This programme gains its coercive strength, at least in part, from the diffuse norms defined and recalled by peer groups, friends or work colleagues to whom the holidays will be recounted, and also by those manuals of the art of tourist living, the Blue Guide (used especially by the upper classes) and the Green Guide (more common in the middle classes), which dictate what must be done so that people can say, and say to themselves, that they have 'done' Greece or Italy. 'I was not going to leave Lille without seeing the museum', said a senior executive, 'I was told there were some beautiful paintings in it.' Therefore, the increased representation of socially and culturally favoured classes (a correlate of the increased overall volume of visitors) that can be seen in certain museums in holiday periods is all the more noticeable the greater the strength of their touristic attraction (defined by the fame of the town they are in and especially of the works of art therein) and, correspondingly, the higher the level of information that they present (cf. table A3.9).⁹

Thus, Autun museum, a great tourist attraction (because of its famous works of art and the exceptional quality of their presentation) has a public consisting almost exclusively of highly cultivated tourists (75 per cent of them hold a *baccalauréat*), in contrast to towns of equivalent importance such as Moulins (one star) or Agen (three stars), where the local public represents 21 per cent and 14 per cent respectively. Amongst all of those museums with between one and four stars, the relative proportion of industrial manual workers in their public is 14 per cent, while it is only 4 per cent for all the remaining museums, and negligible in the two Paris museums (Jeu de Paume and Arts décoratifs), which have a particularly aristocratic public. On the other hand, the proportion of senior executives ranges from 41.5 per cent in one-star museums to 71.3 per cent in the Jeu de Paume.

Cultural imperatives can only affect those who want to demonstrate their affiliation to the cultivated world by obeying the precise rules which define this affiliation. Consequently the intensification of visiting promoted by tourism is stronger the more cultivated the class, defined by a greater level of reception, and tourist travel can at most offer some additional chances of visiting to working-class individuals,

who are only chance visitors most of the time. While members of the cultivated classes feel themselves called to cultural obligations which impose themselves as an essential part of their social being, members of the working classes who in their practice break with the aesthetic and cultural tradition of their class (by decorating their interiors with reproductions of paintings rather than with chromo-lithographs or by listening to classical music rather than popular songs) would be called to order by their social group, who would be quick to perceive the effort to 'cultivate themselves' as an attempt to become bourgeois; and in fact, the cultural goodwill of the middle classes is an effect of social climbing at the same time as being an essential dimension of the aspiration to the rights (and duties) of the bourgeoisie. Because aspirations are always geared to objective chances, attainment of high culture, like the ambition to attain it, cannot be the product of a miraculous cultural conversion, but presupposes, in the real world, a change of social and economic condition.

Thus, the relationships observed between museum visiting and variables such as socio-economic category, age or environment are almost totally reduced to the relation between level of education and visiting. Additional proof can be found in a factor analysis applied separately to two sub-populations (which helps to neutralize the influence of level of education), one of visitors without the *baccalauréat*, and the other of those who have reached *baccalauréat* level or higher. This analysis does not reveal significant correlations between the different variables recorded (whether social and cultural characteristics, or attitudes and opinions), while, for the whole population, each of these variables is very strongly linked to level of education.¹⁰

The population of visitors without the *baccalauréat* is slightly less homogeneous, which leads to the appearance of correlations which are slightly stronger than in the other category but beneath the level of significance. This can be explained by the fact that, beneath the level defining the modal visitor, the 'return' on education increases dramatically, such that slight differences in cultural level bring about strong differences in behaviour. The reverse is true for the population with a higher educational level than the *baccalauréat* (cf. tables A3.22 and 23). As will be seen, it follows from this that one extra year of education can bring a higher number of extra visitors to a museum if it reaches the less educated classes than if it reaches the holders of a qualification equal to or higher than the *baccalauréat*.

The existence of such a strong relationship between level of

education and cultural practice must not hide the fact that, given the underlying presuppositions which govern it, the educational action of the traditional school system can only be fully effective as long as it is exercised on individuals already equipped by their family upbringing with a certain familiarity with the world of art. It follows that the action of schooling, which only reaches children of different social classes very unequally (if only in terms of its duration), and which only achieves a very unequal success amongst those whom it does reach, tends, at least in countries like France and Holland,¹¹ to strengthen and consecrate initial cultural inequalities by its sanctions. Thus, as can be seen from the fact that the proportion of those who have received an early cultural initiation from their family increases very greatly with level of education, what is expressed through level of education is merely the cumulative effects of training acquired through the family and schooling, which itself presupposed that training.

The different types of relationships between the different variables described below can be summarized in a logical form (table 3.2).

Table 3.2 Symbols and relationships

| Variables | | Operators | |
|-----------|--|----------------------------|--|
| S | School | $X \rightarrow Y$ | X is probably the cause of Y |
| A | Age | $X = Y$ | X and Y are related |
| G | Gender | | stochastically. $X \rightarrow Y$ |
| J | Occupation | | Obviously implies $X = Y$, but |
| I | Income | | not the contrary |
| E | Level of education (through family and school) | $X \neq Y$ | X and Y are stochastically independent, which implies that X does not cause Y or Y cause X |
| T | Tourism | | |
| R | Range of visiting opportunities | $X \times Y \rightarrow Z$ | X applied to Y gives Z; X is the cause of Z; Y is a permissive variable but not necessarily the cause of X |
| M | Museum visiting | $X - Y$ | If $X = Y$, the symbol $X - Y$ can be defined as the residual variable obtained by neutralizing in X the empirical connection demonstrated between X and Y; a different variable $Y - X$ could be defined |

The experimental data can thus be expressed:

- (1) $M = E$
- (2) $M = J$
- (3) $M = I$
- (4) $M = A$
- (5) $M \neq G$
- and (6) $M - E \neq J$ (as a first approximation)
- (7) $M - E \neq I$
- but (8) $M - E = A$

This last relationship (8) in fact expresses the causal relationship (9) $S \rightarrow M$ (direct effect of schooling). Thus, the fundamental causal relation (10) can now be inferred as (10) $E \rightarrow M$. It is simple then to account for all of the empirical relationships because $E \rightarrow I$ which implies $E = I$ and $E \rightarrow J$ which implies $E = J$.

If the relationships (1) to (7) had an absolute and non-empirical character, a genuine proof would be demonstrated. There is nothing therefore to prevent the definition $M - J$ or $M - I$ and the establishment of the relationships:

$$\begin{aligned} M - J &= E \text{ and } M - J \neq I \\ M - I &= E \text{ and } M - I = J \end{aligned}$$

The result is that E has the greatest explanatory value. On the other hand, the statistical process reaches its limit here and it is necessary to re-establish the logic of causal connections.

Tourism has yet to be reintroduced. The relationship (10) has to be completed by the obvious relationship:

$$(11) E \times R \rightarrow M$$

Level of education acts on a range of visiting opportunities R (corresponding to the third part of the sum $\Sigma \Omega(x)$).

If this range is empty (equal to zero),

$$E \times (R = 0) \rightarrow 0$$

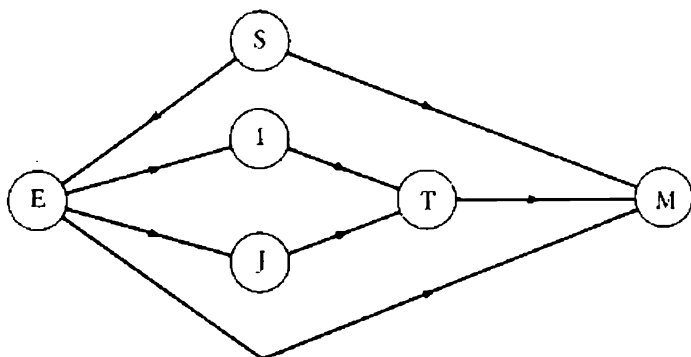
T is part of R , thus:

$$(12) E \times T \rightarrow M$$

On the other hand, if $T = 0$, there is always $E \times (T = 0) \rightarrow M$ and the relationship $T \rightarrow M$ is only true if E exists.

It can also be questioned whether the connection $M \rightarrow M$ is confirmed, in other words, whether visiting itself can bring about an intensification of visiting. In fact, amongst less cultivated individuals, the first visit has every chance of being the last, but nevertheless, above a certain number of visits, the familiarity resulting from repeated visiting must reinforce the disposition to visit.

Hence the diagram:



Now, if this diagram is accurate, E plays the role of a latent variable in the sense used by Lazarsfeld, in other words such that all the partial correlations such as $r(i, j, E)$ are zero, with i and j designating any desired variable, and in particular any one of the infinite number of attitudinal variables that can be imagined. On the other hand, each of these variables can be a function of E. The calculation of the matrix $[r_{ij}]$ for the sub-population of educational level below the *baccalauréat* and for the population above this level (see above, p. 26, and Appendix 3) also highlights the existence of 'latent classes', in other words of classes, each one of which clusters in practice around a specific point along the range of the latent variable, that is, a class above the level of the *baccalauréat* (which could correspond precisely to what is commonly referred to as the cultivated public) and at least two below the level of the *baccalauréat*.

The relationship between the explanatory variable and the explained variable exhibits a strong stability because of the fact that it is established through the medium of several variables, themselves independent. This stability is shown in the comparative analysis of the social profile of the museum public in countries as different, in differing respects, as France, Greece, Holland, Poland and Spain. All those differences which only focus on any one of the intermediary variables, such as tourism or distribution by socio-economic category, are not accompanied by any important change in visiting, as is shown in the case of Poland, which has a very small number of foreign tourists, or in the consistency of the profile of the museum publics of countries with quite different social structures. In fact everything seems to suggest that the effects of each of the secondary factors are subordinate to the total structure of the factors, so that a change in one

of them can always be accommodated, as long as the structure of the whole does not undergo the systematic transformation which, it seems, would alone be capable of affecting in a perceptible way the fundamental relationship between education and visiting.

Museum visitors, analysed according to the main socio-demographic variables, exhibit more or less comparable characteristics in the different countries studied. Thus the proportion of visitors who have had secondary or higher education is 89 per cent for Greece, 78 per cent for France, 63.3 per cent for Holland (90.4 per cent if the 'upper primary' is included), compared with only 60 per cent for Poland (cf. table A6.1). A large proportion of visitors is 15–25 years old: 41 per cent of Greek visitors, 39 per cent of French and Dutch visitors, and 47 per cent of Polish visitors (cf. table A6.2). In each country, visiting rates decrease with age, more or less following the same rule. The social profile of visitors differs little from one country to another: industrial manual workers make up 2 per cent of Greek and Dutch visitors, 4 per cent of French visitors and 10 per cent of Polish visitors, while the proportion of farm workers is always lower (between 1 and 3 per cent); the proportions of junior executives, senior executives and teachers and art specialists are amazingly constant since they respectively amount to around 17 per cent (13 per cent for Greece), 15 per cent and 8–10 per cent (cf. table A6.3). The proportion of the public whose visiting is the most closely linked to the direct or indirect influence of schooling is also very stable, as students and schoolchildren represent 31 to 32 per cent of the Dutch, French and Greek visitors, and 39 per cent of Polish visitors. Distribution by gender is also very similar in the different countries, men being consistently better represented than women: if, in contrast to the case in France, the proportion of women is lower than that of men, even at the highest educational levels, this is because the proportion of women who finish their higher education is smaller than that of men. Thus, at least at first sight, only Poland is noticeably different from other countries, in a number of ways which apparently result from a more intensive schooling.¹²

However, if the distribution of visitors to art museums in the different countries by the different variables is not related to the distribution of the overall population by the same variables, the risk arises of attributing disparities or similarities to institutional or cultural differences, when they could in fact be due to morphological differences. It is obvious, for example, that a direct comparison of two countries' visitors is only useful if the composition of each of the

corresponding national profiles is similar, at least in terms of age and level of education, and probably in terms of all the factors related to visiting as well. When these conditions are not met, only characteristics of the categories with identical properties can be compared, and this comparison can only be justified by supposing that the overall profile of the characteristics of the different categories or of the factors governing these characteristics cannot itself be regarded as a determining factor in the different types of practice: thus, a practice determined totally or partly by the pursuit of 'distinction', commonly referred to as snobbery, is a function of the relative numerical size of the group or social class which subscribes to it and especially of the group's position in the social structure, such that any modification of a part of the system of relationships between the groups concerned would entail a modification of the characteristics of all the groups. The question is a particularly important one, dealing as it does with cultural practices which are known in general terms to obey a dialectic of social exposure and distinction.

Strictly speaking, a methodologically perfect comparison of the characteristics of the different publics presupposes that it is possible to construct a system of co-variants by which the structure of the system of relationships between different variables defining the public of each country transforms itself into another such that it is possible to locate each of the systems studied in its position within the whole range of possible cases, amongst which would be the cases actually observed. Which is to say that, having established, through the survey, the structure of the publics of different European museums – in other words the system of direct or intermediate relationships between dependent or independent variables such as gender, age, level of education, socio-economic categories, preferences in painting, expectations concerning the organization of museums and the presentation of works etc. – it would have been desirable to take into account *the positional values* that each of these relationships owes to its participation in a particular system of relationships: but such a systematic comparison would have presupposed systematic information on all characteristics of the sub-systems of each nation, and in particular a profound knowledge of each of the educational systems with its own teaching traditions, and of the different cultural policies etc. In any case, to avoid comparing the incomparable and omitting to compare the comparable it was important to be aware of the systematic action exerted by the system of demographic and social characteristics of each country – that is, the profile of the population according

to gender, age, occupation and level of education – on each of the relationships, by determining the rules of transformation which, systematically applied to any of the systems of statistical relationships, or more exactly, to the principle of these relationships, reveal the structures of all the other systems of relationships apart from one or two independent variables, relatively few and secondary, whose variations are independent of the linked variables.

As a start, the distribution of the public according to age or level of education can be related to the distribution of the same characteristics of the national population, so as to ascertain whether the apparent differences in the structure of different publics are not the effect of differences in the demographic and educational structure of the overall population. It can then be observed, as is suggested by a direct examination of age distributions, that it is in Poland that the relative proportion of young people within the general public is higher. The relationship between the number of visitors aged between 15 and 25 in the public of art museums and the corresponding proportion in the national population is 3 in Poland, 2.8 in France, 2.15 in Greece, and 2 in Holland, and the decrease of visiting with age is sharper, the greater the proportion of young people in each country (cf. table A6.3). It is difficult to make a distinction between what should be attributed to age and what should be attributed to generation since, especially in the case of Poland, different generations have been subject to a profoundly different education, and everything points to the conclusion that a system of education which, in democratizing itself, reaches social classes with a smaller cultural capital, loses some of its effectiveness for these new categories.

It is very much more difficult to undertake a methodical comparison of the relationships between the proportion of visitors with different levels of education and the proportion of corresponding populations within the overall population. Indeed all of the systematic differences between the different educational systems are in some way written into each of the relationships under comparison: by the fact that schooling for the same number of years of study or which results in an 'equivalent' qualification can vary considerably according to the content and especially the teaching of culture; according to the teaching methods employed, and the values which implicitly or explicitly govern the transmission of culture and, in particular, of artistic culture; according to the social recruitment of both the teachers and the taught; according to the system of attribution of scholarly qualifications (*concours*, examinations, or a simple school

certificate) etc.. Categories defined by the possession of formally equivalent qualifications can differ profoundly in their aptitude for cultural practice and in their attitudes to culture. In spite of these reservations, it can be observed that the distribution of the visiting ratios obeys the same rules in each country: the ratios between the proportion of visitors with a higher level of education in the different museum publics and the corresponding proportion in the population are 17.3 for Holland, 12.5 for France, 11.7 for Poland and 11.5 for Greece compared with 20 for Holland, 10.5 for Greece, 10 for France and 1 for Poland, at the secondary level, and are around 0.5 in all countries apart from Poland (1.5) at the primary level (cf. table A6.4).¹³

To go beyond a simple comparison of the profile of the public or even of these profiles corrected by taking into account the weight in the global population of the categories under consideration, strictly speaking it would have been necessary to be able to calculate, as was done for France, the visiting expectations associated with each of the categories considered as homogeneous in their visiting. But in fact the different censuses do not always furnish the distributions of the population according to age and level of education, and the official estimates of the annual number of visitors, apart from the fact that they never separate indigenous visitors from overseas tourists, can only rely on statistics of visits to museums, which are drawn up with no attempt at ensuring comparability between different countries, or even between different museums in the same country. Free or collective visits are accounted for in different ways and sometimes ignored; visits to certain museums are not taken into account; the methods employed to count the visitors, whether reckoning by museum attendants, by turnstile or by photo-electric cell, all present different sorts of problems that could only be avoided by the counting of individual or collective tickets. Given these circumstances, an attempt can nevertheless be made to determine the theoretical number of visitors that the different countries studied would have if they were given the visiting expectations of the public of French museums, in other words hypothesizing that the behaviour of the different social categories of the foreign countries would be identical to that of homologous categories in the French population. A comparison of the theoretical numbers with the declared numbers should then permit an investigation of the explanatory factors which, having excluded the demographic factors, can explain discrepancies greater than the errors of measurement.

When, in the case of Greece, for example, the distribution of the population by gender, age and level of education is available, all that need be done is to apply the mathematical visiting expectations of the different categories of the French population (cf. table 3.1) in order to determine what the theoretical annual number of Greek visitors would be, hypothesizing that the different categories of the Greek population would be expected to make the same number of visits as the corresponding categories of the French population. As this theoretical number can be estimated at around 640,000 visitors, it can be seen that the Greeks have a visitor level which is clearly lower than that of the French since, as shown by the survey conducted on the public of Greek museums, of the 1,300,000 visits recorded in all Greek museums, only 10 per cent are made by Greek nationals. For Poland the theoretical number, calculated by the same method, reaches 1,850,000 visits, while the total number of visitors to the five largest Polish museums (Warsaw, Kraków, Łódź, Lublin and Wrocław) reached approximately 2,300,000 in 1963 (this figure includes free visits recorded by a photo-electric cell in the Warsaw Museum, which doubtless leads to an overestimation). It can therefore be concluded that the museum visiting of the Polish people is, all things being equal, slightly higher than that of the French. In the case of Holland, the absence of information on the distribution of the population by age and level of education makes it necessary to estimate from existing data, thus introducing an additional element of uncertainty. It was necessary, for example, to allow that the total number of those with certificates of secondary and higher education were proportional, in each age group, to the number of holders of certificates of each of these levels of education at the time when the category in question was of an age to obtain the certificates (that is to say, for example, that the number of individuals aged between 40 and 50 with a higher level of education was proportional to the number of certificates awarded between approximately 1940 and 1950). However approximate this calculation may be, it seems possible to state that the visiting of the Dutch is more or less equal to that of the French, since the theoretical number of 2,300,000 visitors is lower than the officially declared number for the public of Dutch museums (3,500,000) but equal to the number of indigenous visitors such as can be calculated by a subtraction of the figure for foreign visitors (which comprises, according to the survey of the public, 42 per cent of the visitors).

Thus, as far as visiting rates are concerned, France, Holland and Poland are completely different from Greece, where educational levels

are known to be much lower than those of the other three countries and where much less emphasis is placed on drawing and history of art in a teaching system devoted mainly to ancient language and literature. The high rate for Poland must, it seems, be ascribed much less to a direct action which is exerted on the adult public (as witnessed by the very low rate of visitors who claim to have visited a museum for the first time as an adult, as part of a visit organized by firms or by cultural organizations) than to a transformation of the social meaning of museums and above all to the direct and particularly intense action of schooling, whose effects can be seen in the very high proportion of schoolchildren and students amongst the visitors (and, correlatively, of the high proportion of young people), as well as in the high proportion of visitors who made their first visit with their school. In fact, all the indications are that the Polish public, which, in terms of visiting, is at the same level as the Dutch or French publics, is much more clearly distinguished from them in its attitudes and opinions, which seem to indicate a level of artistic competence closer to the Greek public than the Dutch and French publics.

In fact, when indicators of attitude or competence as different as the type of visit preferred (cf. table A6.5), opinions on desired aids to visiting (cf. figure A6.1), preferences in painting (cf. table A6.6), or artistic genre (cf. table A6.7), the type of first visit (cf. table A6.8), or the number of museums previously visited (cf. table A6.9), etc. are considered, it can be seen that Greece, Poland, France and Holland regularly line up in the same order. This is because, in a given country, the probability of the appearance of attitudes or opinions which are related to a high level of education (and thus to a high social position), is stronger for all the classes in the country, the higher this country is in the hierarchy of countries studied. The privileged mode of transmission of artistic culture (which is the principle of a privileged relationship with this culture), and, thus, the antiquity and strength of cultural tradition, is probably most clearly revealed in the distribution of the museum public of each different country according to the type of first museum visit. First visits occur more often with the family in Holland and France (and more often in Holland than in France), much more often with the school in Poland, and much more frequently by chance or on the recommendation of a friend in Greece (cf. table A6.8). Thus, as is also shown by a comparison of the average number of painters or schools of painters cited, at equivalent educational levels, by visitors of different countries (cf. table A6.6), Holland, and to a lesser degree, France, a country whose artistic

tradition is simultaneously ancient and living and thus profoundly ingrained into the privileged classes, contrast with countries such as Greece, where museum visiting and a taste for art are reserved for a minority of passionately interested amateurs, or Poland, which tends to compensate for the relative paucity of its cultural capital by a sort of cultural goodwill right across the social spectrum.¹⁴ All the indications are that the different structures of the distributions of attitudes by level of education or by social class can be obtained by translation from one to another, as if the principle of all the systematic differences in matters of artistic competence and particularly, perhaps, of attitude to culture, which distinguish visitors from different countries, were nothing more than what could be called *national cultural capital*, which could be measured by the degree of development of the educational system (and by the antiquity of this development), and by the extent of the artistic capital, itself a function of the antiquity and vitality of artistic traditions (indicated by the existence of schools of painting, private collections, etc.).¹⁵ The dual position of Poland could then be explained by the fact that the acceleration effect of the process of acculturation which is exerted by an intensification of the direct action of schooling is manifest in a more directly observable way in practices rather than in attitudes and aptitudes. The particularly rapid decrease in visiting rate with age amongst the Polish public shows in fact that a disposition towards visiting which is principally inculcated at school is bound to weaken faster than a disposition produced by a schooling exercised on individuals, such as the children of the privileged classes in countries with an 'ancient culture', who are endowed with a familiarity acquired through early experiences. Given the part that the family can play in the transmission of artistic culture, it is understandable that cultural practice and, to an even greater extent, artistic competence and attitudes to cultural works, should be closely linked to the national cultural capital. The whole cultural tradition of countries with an ancient tradition is expressed in a traditional relationship to culture which, with the complicity of the institutions responsible for the organization of the cult of culture, can only be constituted in its own modality where the principle of cultural devotion has been inculcated from earliest infancy by the encouragements and sanctions of family tradition.

Cultural Works and Cultivated Disposition

Statistics show that access to cultural works is the privilege of the cultivated class; however, this privilege has all the outward appearances of legitimacy. In fact, only those who exclude themselves are ever excluded. Given that there is nothing more accessible than museums and the economic obstacles that can be seen at work in other spheres count for little here, it seems quite justified to invoke the natural inequality of 'cultural needs'. However, the self-destructive nature of this ideology is obvious. If it is indisputable that our society offers to all the *pure possibility* of taking advantage of the works on display in museums, it remains the case that only some have the *real possibility* of doing so. Aspiration to cultural practice varies in the same way that cultural practice does and 'cultural need' increases the more it is satisfied, the absence of practice being accompanied by an absence of awareness of this absence. The wish to take advantage of museums can be fulfilled as soon as it exists, so it must be concluded that such a wish only exists if it is being fulfilled. Objects are not rare, but the propensity to consume them is, that 'cultural need' which, in contrast to 'primary needs', is the result of education. It follows that inequalities with regard to cultural works are only one aspect of inequalities in school, which creates the 'cultural need' at the same time as it provides the means of satisfying it.

In addition to visiting and its patterns, all visitors' behaviour, and all their attitudes to works on display, are directly and almost exclusively related to education, whether measured by qualifications obtained or by length of schooling. Thus the average time actually spent on a visit, which can be taken as a good index of the objective value given to the works on display, whatever the corresponding subjective experience might be (aesthetic pleasure, cultural goodwill, sense of duty or a mixture of all of these) increases in proportion to the amount of education received, from 22 minutes for working-class visitors, to 35

minutes for middle-class visitors and 47 minutes for upper-class visitors. As the length of time that visitors claim to have spent in a museum remains constant whatever their level of education, it can be supposed that overestimation of the real time spent in a museum (greater as the level of education of the visitor is lower) betrays, as do other clues, the efforts of the least cultivated individuals to conform to what they see as the norm of legitimate practice, a norm which remains more or less invariable, in a given museum, for visitors of the different classes.

The average times claimed by visitors to each museum can be taken to indicate the social norm of the visiting time that each museum is felt to deserve. A hierarchy of museums based on the proportion of visitors who claim to have spent more than an hour on a visit corresponds, roughly, to that which could be established using such indicators as the number of stars that guides allocate to museums: Rouen, 59.5 per cent; Jeu de Paume, 58.5 per cent; Lyon, 55.5 per cent; Dijon, 51 per cent; Lille, 47 per cent; Colmar, 46 per cent; Douai, 43 per cent; Tours, 42 per cent; Laon, 40 per cent; Bourg-en-Bresse, 37 per cent; Agen, 35 per cent.¹

The same logic explains why visitors are more likely to overestimate the frequency of their visits the less they visit and the lower their level of education, and why they tend as a group to claim a frequency of three or four visits a year, which seems to define the image that the vast majority has of normal practice (cf. table A4.2).

The time a visitor devotes to contemplating the works on display, in other words the time needed for him or her to 'exhaust' the meanings proposed to him or her, is without doubt a useful indication of his or her ability to decipher and appreciate these meanings:² the inexhaustibility of the 'message' means that the richness of 'reception' (measured, roughly, by its length) depends primarily on the competence of the 'receiver', in other words on the degree to which he or she can master the code of the 'message'. Each individual possesses a defined and limited capacity for apprehending the 'information' proposed by the work, this capacity being a function of his or her overall knowledge (itself a function of education and background) of the generic code of the type of message under consideration, be it painting as a whole, or the paintings of a certain period, school or painter. When the message exceeds the limits of the observer's apprehension, he or she does not grasp the 'intention' and loses interest in what he or she sees as a riot of colours without rhyme or reason, a play of useless

patches of colour. In other words, faced with a message which is too rich, or as information theory says, 'overwhelming', the visitor feels 'drowned' and does not linger.

Considered as symbolic goods, works of art only exist for those who have the means of appropriating them, that is, of deciphering them. An agent's degree of artistic competence is measured by the degree to which he or she can master all the means of appropriation of works of art available at a given time: in other words, the interpretative schemata which are the condition of appropriation of artistic capital, that is, the condition of deciphering the works of art supplied to a given society at a given time. Artistic competence can be defined, provisionally, as prior knowledge of the possible ways in which a universe of representations can be divided into complementary classes: mastery of this sort of classification system means that each element of the universe can be situated in a class which is necessarily defined in relation to another class composed of all the artistic representations, consciously or subconsciously taken into consideration, that do not belong to the class in question. The style appropriate to a period and a social group is nothing other than such a class defined in relation to the class of works of the same universe which it excludes and which constitutes its complement. Recognition (or, as art historians say in the vocabulary of logic, attribution) proceeds by successive elimination of the possibilities referred to (negatively) by the class to which the possibility actually realized by the work under consideration belongs. It is immediately obvious that uncertainty concerning the different characteristics which could be attributed to the work under consideration (artists, schools, periods, styles, themes etc.) can be removed if different codes, working as classification systems, are deployed, whether the code be a specifically artistic one, which in permitting the decipherment of specifically stylistic characteristics, allows the work in question to be classified in the corpus of works of a period, a society, a school, or an artist ('it's a Cézanne'), or whether it be the code of daily life which, considered as prior knowledge of the possible ways in which the universe of the signifiers and the universe of the signifieds can be divided into complementary categories and of the correlations between the divisions of one and the divisions of the other, allows a particular representation, treated as a sign, to be allocated to a category of signifiers and thereby, owing to correlation with the universe of the signifieds, enables us to know that the corresponding signified belongs to a particular group of signifieds ('it's a forest'). In the first case, the observer applies him- or herself to

the *manner of treating* the leaves or the clouds, in other words to its stylistic indices, situating the realized possibility, characteristic of a class of works, in contrast to the universe of stylistic possibilities; in the second case, he or she treats leaves or clouds as indices or signals, associated, according to the logic defined above, with meanings transcending the actual representation ('it's a poplar, it's a storm'), being completely unaware both of what defines the representation itself, and of what gives it its specificity, namely its style as a particular method of representation.

Artistic competence is thus defined as prior knowledge of the specifically artistic principles of division which allow a representation to be situated, by classification of the *stylistic* indices it encompasses, amongst the possibilities of representation which constitute the artistic universe. This method of classification can be contrasted with the one which would classify a work amongst the possibilities of representation constituting the universe of everyday objects (or, more precisely, utensils) or the universe of signs, which would amount to treating it as a simple monument – in other words, a simple means of communication responsible for transmitting a transcendent meaning. To perceive a work in a specifically aesthetic way, that is, as a signifier meaning nothing other than itself, consists not, as is sometimes suggested, of regarding it 'without relating it to anything other than itself, either emotionally or intellectually', in other words surrendering oneself to the work taken in its irreducible uniqueness, but in picking out its *distinctive stylistic characteristics* by relating it to the works constituting the class of which it is a part, and to these works alone. In complete contrast, the taste of the working classes is defined, in the way in which Kant defines 'barbarous taste' in *Critique of Judgement*, by the refusal or the impossibility (one should say the refusal-impossibility) to distinguish between 'that which pleases' and 'that which gratifies' and more generally, between 'disinterestedness', the sole guarantee of the aesthetic quality of contemplation, and 'the interest of the senses' which defines the 'agreeable' or 'the interest of Reason': it insists that each image fulfil a function, if only that of a sign. This 'functionalist' representation of a work of art may be based on a rejection of gratuitousness, on the cult of work or on the valorization of 'the instructive' (as opposed to 'the interesting') and also on the impossibility of situating each particular work in the universe of representations, owing to an absence of specifically stylistic classification principles.³ It thus follows that, for the most deprived, a work of art from which they expect an unequivocal

meaning, transcending the signifier, is all the more disconcerting the more completely it abolishes (as with non-figurative arts) the narrative and representational functions.

An individual's degree of artistic competence depends not only on the degree to which the available classification system has been mastered, but also on the degree of complexity or refinement of this classification system. It is thus measured by the ability to effect a larger or smaller number of successive divisions in the universe of representations, and thus to distinguish more or less refined classes. Someone who only knows how to divide art into Romanesque and Gothic, puts all Gothic cathedrals, undifferentiated, into the same class, where as someone with greater competence can discern stylistic differences between the 'primitive', 'classical' and 'late' periods, or even recognize the works of specific schools within each of these styles. Thus, an awareness of the characteristics which define the *originality* of the works of one period relative to those of another period, or, within this class, works of one school or group of artists relative to another, or again, the works of one artist relative to the works of his or her school and period, or even of an artist's particular work relative to the whole of his or her work, is inseparable from an awareness of the *redundancies*, that is, the typical treatments of the pictorial matter which define a style. In short, a grasp of the resemblances presupposes implicit or explicit reference to the differences and vice versa.

As a system of principles whereby the universe of representations supplied to a given society at a given moment in time can be classified into complementary categories, the artistic mode is like a social institution. A historically constituted system founded in social reality, this set of instruments of perception which makes up the means of appropriation of artistic goods (and of cultural goods in general) in a given society at a given moment in time, does not depend on individual will and consciousness. Instead, it imposes itself on individual people, more often than not without them knowing it, defining those distinctions that they can implement and those which elude them. Each era organizes the set of artistic representations according to its own institutional classification system by grouping works which other eras differentiated and by differentiating works which other eras grouped together, such that individuals have difficulty in thinking of differences other than those which the available classification system allows.

Just suppose that the French Naturalists and Impressionists between 1860 and 1880 had not signed their works, and critics and journalists of the intelligence of a Geffroy or a Duret were not around to act as their champions. Imagine them forgotten for a hundred or a hundred and fifty years because of a reversal of taste and a long decline of scholarly research. What would be the first thing to happen once attention refocused on them? It is easy to foresee that the first stage of study would begin by picking out several entities from these mute materials which are more symbolic than historical. The first would carry the symbol-name of Manet, which would encompass some of the juvenilia of Renoir, and even, I fear, some works of Gervex, not to mention all those by Gonzales, Morizot and the young Monet. The later Monet, also a symbol-name, would swallow up almost all of Sisley, a good part of Renoir, and worse, a few dozen Boudin, several Lebour and several Lépine. By the same token it is not impossible that a few Pissarro, and more than one Guillaumin (hardly a flattering reward) would be attributed to Cézanne.⁵

Even more convincing than these sorts of imaginary changes is Berne-Joffroy's historical study of the successive representations of the work of Caravaggio. This shows that the *public image* of a work held by people of a certain era is, strictly speaking, the product of the instruments of perception, historically constituted and therefore historically changing, which are provided by the society to which they belong.

I know what is said on the subject of disputes about attribution; that they have nothing to do with art, that they are petty and that art is great. . . . Our conception of an artist depends on the works attributed to him, and, whether we like it or not, this overall conception colours our view of each of his works.⁶

Thus, the history of the instruments of perception of a work of art is the essential complement of the history of the instruments of production of the work, inasmuch as the work of art is in a way created twice over, by the artist and by the spectator, or, rather, by the society to which the spectator belongs.

The modal legibility of a work of art (for a given society at a particular time) is a function of the distance between the code objectively demanded by the work under consideration and the code as a historically constituted institution. The legibility of a work of art for a particular individual is a function of the distance between the more or less complex and sophisticated code demanded by the work,

and the individual's competence, defined by the degree to which the social code, itself more or less complex and sophisticated, is mastered. As the works comprising the artistic capital of a given society at a given moment in time demand codes of varying complexity and sophistication which are therefore learnt with varying degrees of ease and speed of institutionalized or self-directed learning, they are characterized by different levels of emission, such that the legibility of a work of art for a particular individual is a function of the *distance between the level of emission*,⁷ defined as the degree of complexity and intrinsic sophistication of the code demanded by the work, and the *level of reception*, defined as the degree to which this individual has mastered the social code, which can be more or less appropriate for the code demanded by the work. When the code of the work exceeds the code of the spectator in its sophistication and complexity, the latter cannot master a message which seems to him or her devoid of all necessity.

In each era the rules defining the legibility of contemporary art are simply a particular application of the general rules of legibility. The legibility of a contemporary work of art varies in the first instance according to the relationship maintained by the artists, in a given era in a given society, with the code of the previous era. It is thus possible to discern, very roughly, *classical periods* during which a style reaches its real perfection and artists exploit the possibilities provided by an inherited art of creation to the point of fulfilling and perhaps exhausting them; and *periods of rupture*, during which a new art of creation is devised and a new generative grammar of forms is created, breaking with the aesthetic traditions of a particular period and environment. The discrepancy between the social code and the code demanded by the works of art is obviously much more likely to be reduced during the classical periods than during the periods of rupture, and in particular, infinitely more reduced than during *periods of continuous rupture* such as we are in today. The transformation of the instruments of artistic production necessarily precedes the transformation of the instruments of artistic perception; and the transformation of the modes of perception can only be effected slowly since it involves uprooting a kind of artistic competence (a product of the internalization of a social code which is so deeply ingrained into habits and memories that it operates at the subconscious level) in order to replace it, by a long and necessarily difficult process of internalization.⁸ The intrinsic inertia of artistic competences (or of *habitus*) means that, in periods of rupture, works produced by means

of instruments of artistic production of a new kind are bound to be perceived, for a certain time, by means of the old instruments of perception, themselves contrary to those from which they were formed.

Nevertheless, a lack of all artistic competence is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for the appropriate perception of innovatory works of art, or, especially, for the production of such works. In this case a naïve gaze would only be the supreme form of the sophistication of the eye. Being deprived of the keys in no way predisposes someone to understand works which only demand that all old keys are rejected in the expectation that it will itself deliver the key to its own decipherment. This, it can be seen, is the attitude least likely to be taken by those most dispossessed with regard to high art. The ideology according to which the most modern forms of non-figurative art would be more directly accessible to the innocence of childhood or ignorance than to the competence acquired by a so-called corrupting education such as that given at school is not only refuted by the facts: if the most innovative forms of art are only initially available to a few masters (whose avant-garde positions are always partly explained by their position in the intellectual field and more generally in the social structure) this is because they demand the ability to break with all codes (starting of course with the code of daily life) and because this aptitude is acquired through familiarity with works which demand different codes and through experiencing the history of art as a succession of ruptures with the established codes. In short the ability to suspend all the available codes so as to concentrate on the work itself, in the first case looking at its most unusual characteristics, presupposes successful mastery of the code of codes, which governs the appropriate application of the different social codes objectively demanded by the totality of works of art available at a given moment in time.⁹

Those who did not receive the instruments which imply familiarity with art from their family or from their schooling are condemned to a perception of a work of art which takes its categories from the experience of everyday life and which results in the basic recognition of the object depicted. The unprepared viewer cannot in fact see anything other than the primary meanings which are in no way characteristic of the style of the work of art and is condemned, at best, to resort to 'demonstrative concepts' which, as Panofsky notes, only grasp and indicate the sensible properties of the work (for example when a skin is described as velvety or a piece of lace as delicate) or the

emotional resonances aroused by these properties (as when colours are described as austere or cheerful).¹⁰

When I describe this group of pale colours in the centre of Grunewald's Resurrection as 'a man with pierced hands and feet who is rising in the air', I am exceeding . . . the limits of a purely formal description, but I still remain in an area of representations of meaning which are familiar and accessible to the viewer on the basis of his optical intuition and his tactile and dynamic perception, in other words, on the basis of his immediate *existential experience*. If on the other hand I considered this group of pale colours as 'Christ rising', I am presupposing something which is culturally acquired.¹¹

In short, in order to pass from 'the primary stratum of the meaning we can grasp on the basis of our ordinary experience', or in other words, from 'the phenomenal meaning which can be subdivided into the meaning of things and the meaning of expressions', to 'the secondary stratum of meaning which can only be deciphered by means of knowledge transmitted in a literary manner' and which can be called 'the level of meaning of what is signified',¹² it is necessary to be able to use 'truly descriptive concepts' (as opposed to 'demonstrative concepts') which go beyond simply denoting sensible properties and, in capturing the specifically stylistic characteristics of the work of art (such as 'pictorial' or 'plastic'), constitute a real interpretation of the work.¹³ 'The principle of interpretation . . . is always constituted by the learning ability and by the inherited learning of the individual who makes the interpretation, in other words by our existential experience when it is a case of discovering the meaning of the phenomenal and by our literary knowledge when it concerns the meaning of what is signified.'¹⁴ 'The knowledge of style' and the 'theory of types' are the only things capable of correcting, respectively, our decipherment of the phenomenal meaning and the meaning of what is signified, and, deprived of these, the least cultivated individuals are condemned to see works of art in their purely phenomenal state, in other words as simple objects. If they seem so strongly disposed to seek out and insist on realism in the picture, this is among other things because, deprived of specific categories of perception, they can only apply to works in another 'code', the code that allows them to perceive the objects belonging to their everyday environment as meaningful.

As with all cultural objects, a work of art can reveal different levels of meanings according to the interpretative framework applied to it.

The lower level of meanings, that is, the more superficial ones, remain partial and fragmentary, and thus erroneous, as long as the higher level of meanings, which incorporate and transform them, are overlooked. 'Comprehension' of the 'expressive', and, if the word is permitted, 'physiognomic' qualities of the work is simply an inferior form of the aesthetic experience because, not being sustained, controlled or corrected by a truly iconological knowledge, it is equipped with a code which is neither appropriate nor specific. No doubt inner experience such as the capacity for emotional response to the connotations of the work of art constitutes one of the keys to the artistic experience. However, the sensation or affection aroused by the work has a different value depending on whether it constitutes the total experience of the work of art reduced to the perception of what can be called its *expressivity*, or whether it is integrated into the unity of an appropriate experience.

Sociological observation thus permits the discovery, in practice, of the forms of perception corresponding to the different levels that theoretical analysis distinguishes logically. Every cultural good, from cooking to serial music by way of the western, can be apprehended in any number of ways, from its simple immediate sensation, to the delight of the connoisseur familiar with the traditions and rules of the genre. It is possible to isolate two extreme and opposing forms of aesthetic pleasure, separated by a whole range of intermediate gradations, namely the joy which accompanies aesthetic perception reduced to simple *aisthesis*, and the delight brought by informed appreciation, which presupposes, as a necessary but not sufficient condition, an appropriate decipherment. However, the perception of those who are most dispossessed always tends to go beyond the level of sensations and affections, that is, of simple *aisthesis*: this is because an assimilative interpretation emerges as a means of restoring the unity of an integrated perception, whereby the available interpretative schemata, in other words those that enable the familiar universe to be seen as meaningful, are applied to an unknown and strange universe. Linguists are familiar with the phenomena of false recognition or false appraisal which result from the application of inappropriate categories and from what may be called 'cultural blindness', by analogy with what they call 'cultural deafness':

Russian metrics, observes N. S. Trubetzkoy, are based on the regular alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables, stressed syllables ... being long, unstressed syllables short. Word boundaries can occur

anywhere in the verse and the continuous irregular rearrangement of word boundaries serves to animate and vary the verse structure. Czech verse is based on a regular distribution of word boundaries. . . . The beginning of each word is emphasized by an increased loudness of voice. Long and short syllables, on the other hand, are irregularly distributed in the verse and their free arrangement serves to animate the verse. A Czech who hears a Russian poem will regard its meter as quantitative and the entire poem as rather monotonous. A Russian, on the other hand, who hears a Czech poem for the first time will be completely disorientated and will not be able at all to indicate in which meter it was composed.¹⁵

Those to whom the works of high culture speak a foreign language are condemned to bring to their perception and appreciation of works of art extrinsic categories and values, those which organize their everyday perception and guide their practical judgements. As they cannot apprehend the representation in a truly aesthetic manner they do not see the colour of a face as one element in a system of relationships between the colours (those of the jacket, the hat, or the wall in the background), but, 'placing themselves immediately in its meaning' (to evoke Husserl), they directly read into it a psychological or physiological meaning, as they do in everyday experience. Conception of the picture as a system of opposing and complementary relationships between the colours presupposes not only a break with the primary perception which is the condition and constitution of the work of art as work of art – that is to say, of the conception of this work according to an intention consonant with its objective intention (irreducible to the intention of the artist) – but also presupposes possession of the analytical framework essential for understanding the subtle differences which separate, for example, a range of colours organized according to the rules of a sophisticated modulation in a painting by Turner or Bonnard.¹⁶

This is why, therefore, aesthetics can only be, except in certain cases, a dimension of the ethics (or, better, the ethos) of class. In order to 'taste', that is 'to differentiate and appreciate'¹⁷ the works on display and in order to understand them and give them value, the uncultivated visitor can only invoke the quality and quantity of the work put into them, with moral respect taking the place of aesthetic admiration:

It's important to show the value of everything here, because it's the work of centuries. . . . If they've preserved all this, it's to show the work

done over hundreds of years, and that everything you do isn't a waste of time.

I really appreciate the skill of the work.

To appreciate a painting, I always read everything on the label, such as the date, and I'm amazed when it was a long time ago and they did such good work then.

One of the surest and most infallible reasons given for bestowing positive admiration on a painting is without doubt its age:

It's very good . . . it's really old. Maybe there should be museums with modern stuff in them, but it wouldn't be a proper museum. Here, there's really old things, isn't there?

After all, is not the value of old things demonstrated by the sole fact that they have been preserved, and is not the antiquity of the things preserved sufficient to justify their preservation? Here the comment serves no other function than to provide the individual who makes it with the reasons for an unconditional support for a work whose meaning escapes him or her. Is it not significant that, when the least cultivated visitors are invited to offer their opinion on the works and their presentation, they give them their total and wholehearted approval, which is only another way of expressing a confusion commensurate with their reverence.

It's very good. You couldn't present them any better than they are now.

I thought everything was very nice.

In the same way, the less cultivated the visitors, the more likely they are to feel the entrance fee is good value, as if by doing this they wanted to show that they know how to appreciate what the museum offers them at its true worth (cf. table A4.3).

How can a perception so lacking in organizing principles apprehend the organized meanings comprising a body of cumulative knowledge?

Trying to remember is something else. I didn't understand Picasso; I can never remember names. (shopkeeper, Lens)

I like all pictures with Christ in them. (industrial manual worker, Lille)

Two-thirds of the working-class visitors cannot cite, at the end of their visit, the name of one work or one artist which they liked, any

more than they retain from a previous visit knowledge which could help them in their present visit. It is also clear that a visit, often made by chance, is not enough to induce or prepare them to undertake another visit. Totally reliant on the museum and the aids it provides, they are particularly out of their depth in museums which deliberately address themselves to the cultivated public. 77 per cent of them would like the help of a guide or a friend (cf. table A3.2), 67 per cent would like the visit to be signposted with arrows, and 89 per cent would like the works to be supplemented by explanatory panels (cf. table A3.3). More than half of the opinions they expressed voiced this wish:

It's hard for someone who wants to take an interest. You only see paintings and dates. To be able to see the differences between things, you need a guidebook. Otherwise, everything looks the same. (manual worker, Lille)

I prefer to visit the museum with a guide who explains and helps ordinary mortals understand the obscure points. (office worker, Pau)

Working-class visitors occasionally see, in the absence of any information which might make their visit easier, evidence of a desire to exclude through esotericism, or if not, as the more cultivated visitors are more willing to suggest, a commercial intent (in other words to promote the sale of catalogues). In fact, arrows, notices, guidebooks, guides or receptionists would not really make up for a lack of education, but they would proclaim, simply by existing, the right to be uninformed, the right to be there and uninformed, and the right of uninformed people to be there: they would help to minimize the apparent inaccessibility of the works and of the visitors' feeling of unworthiness which is well expressed by this comment heard at the château of Versailles: 'This château wasn't built for ordinary people, and nothing has changed.'

All aspects of the behaviour of working-class visitors bear witness to the effect of reverential distancing exerted by the museum. It is the respectful confusion of all chance visitors, driven by the excitement of a day off or by the idleness of a rainy Sunday, and destined in the course of their visit to prompt malicious remarks from the regulars, laughter from the sketchers and calls to order from the warders that Zola evokes when he describes the progress of Gervaise and Coupeau's wedding party through the halls of the Louvre:

The severe bareness of the staircase sobered them, and their feeling of

awe was intensified by a haughty attendant in a red waistcoat and a gold-braided uniform who was apparently waiting for them on the landing. So they entered the French gallery respectfully, walking as quietly as they could.¹⁸

There is no better indication of the objective meaning of the traditional museum than the change in behaviour evident amongst visitors to the Lille Museum in moving from the Danish exhibition to the main halls of the museum:

A fairly elderly couple has gone into the Danish exhibition. The woman is wearing a rather shapeless coat hanging down at the front and a pair of crude ankle boots; the man is still shivering in an overcoat which is too long for him and flaps around his calves. They wander about aimlessly, pointing out from a distance what they want to look at, talking loudly. They quickly walk past some stands without stopping. By chance in the course of their perambulations they arrive at the ceramics gallery of the museum, which they go into. They slowly run their eyes over it and go round it scrupulously, inspecting each case one after the other. The man now has his hands in his pockets and they have both lowered their voices, even though they are alone.

The atmosphere of the two parts of the museum is also very different:

Here, there is contemplative silence and the peaceful orderliness of people moving slowly round the room; there, amongst the afternoon crowds, one is rather deafened by the loud conversations, the objects being moved and scraping on the tiles, and the children running about while their parents sharply call them to order. There are lots of children as well, to the surprise of the warder: 'What a lot of large families there are!' The visitors are touching everything, trying out the armchairs, lifting up the cushions on the sofas, bending down to look under the tables. They are tapping against wood or metal with their fingers to see what things are made of and feeling the weight of the cutlery. A couple leans over the silver cutlery: 'Look,' says the woman, 'if I was going to build up a canteen again, I'd buy these.' She takes a knife and fork, pretends to cut something on an imaginary plate, and raises the fork to her mouth.

The behaviour of the visitors differs so greatly that the observer, forced initially to spontaneous sociology, attributes the differences to a difference in the social origin of the public (an interpretation

contradicted by the statistical analysis), differences which in fact stem primarily from the social meanings of the museum and of an exhibition which introduces, exceptionally, the atmosphere of the department store, the poor man's museum, and not without arousing a certain amount of indignation amongst the most conservative visitors to traditional museums. The total attitude change evident amongst visitors can be reduced to the following oppositions, which are those which distinguish the universe of the sacred from the universe of the profane: untouchable – touchable; noise – contemplative silence; swift and haphazard exploration – slow and orderly procession; involved appreciation of venal works – pure appreciation of 'priceless' works.

Confronted with the test (in an academic sense of the word) which the museum represents for them, the least cultivated visitors are in fact little inclined to turn to a guidebook or a guide (if available), for fear of revealing their lack of knowledge.

In my opinion, someone coming for the first time feels a bit lost. . . .
Yes, arrows, for a start, would help to guide you; you don't like to ask very much. (housewife, Lille)

Unaware of the correct behaviour and above all concerned not to give themselves away by behaviour contrary to what they perceive to be the accepted decorum, they content themselves with reading the labels as discreetly as possible – if there are any. In short, they feel 'out of place' and they keep a check on themselves, for fear of drawing attention to themselves by some unseemly remark.

You're afraid of coming across a connoisseur. . . . To swot up beforehand, you have to be in that line of work, a specialist. No, blokes like me come quietly and leave quietly. (manual worker, Lille)

Farmers, farm labourers and industrial manual workers are perhaps slightly more in favour of arrows than of information panels, because, lacking a certain minimum of culture, they feel the need for clarification less urgently; it may also be an expression of the feeling of distraction (sometimes in the original sense of the word) which the museum space provokes within them; no doubt it is also fundamentally because they would find in this 'correct procedure' the first response to their desire to pass unnoticed by behaving correctly.

Yes, you've got to have arrows; the first time you go, you're all at sea.
(industrial manual worker, Lille)

That's what you need: arrows! To show you which parts to go to. . . .
At one point you can see all the rooms, and you don't know where to go. (industrial manual worker, Lille)

The fact that working-class visitors prefer to come to the museum either with relatives or friends no doubt shows that they find in the group a means of warding off their feeling of unease, and on the other hand the wish to visit the museum alone is expressed increasingly often with higher social class (in France it is expressed by 16 per cent of farmers, farm workers and industrial manual workers, by 30 per cent of middle-class individuals and by 40 per cent of those belonging to the upper classes, cf. table A3.1).

The proportion of visitors who claim to prefer visiting museums alone increases, in all the countries studied, with higher level of education or position in the social hierarchy. In Greece it ranges from 17 per cent amongst the working classes to 20 per cent amongst the upper classes (with a rate of 13 per cent for the middle classes), in Poland it ranges from 28 per cent amongst the working classes to 42 per cent and 44 per cent for the middle and upper classes, and in Holland for the corresponding classes it is 33 per cent, 51 per cent and 59 per cent. The hierarchy which is established between the different countries thus seems to indicate that the rate of visitors wishing to visit alone is higher, the higher the level of national cultural capital (cf. table A6.5).

While members of the cultivated classes are loath to use the more academic aids, preferring a knowledgeable friend to a guide and a guide to a guidebook, which is scoffed at with a refined irony, working-class visitors are not put off by the clearly scholarly aspect of a possible course of training.

As far as explanations go, the more the better. . . . It's always good to have explanations for everything. . . . The most important thing is the guidebook, which guides us and explains things. (manual worker, Lille)

I don't like to be completely alone, but with someone who's qualified. Otherwise you go through and you don't see anything. (manual worker, Lille)

Unable to define clearly the means of filling the gaps in their information, they invoke, almost in a magical sense, the intervention

of the most hallowed intercessors and mediators capable of making inaccessible works more accessible. In France, the proportion of visitors wanting the help of a guide (rather than a knowledgeable friend) ranges from 57.5 per cent for the working classes, to 36.5 per cent for the middle classes and 29 per cent for the upper classes (cf. table A3.2).¹⁹ 'Yes, a guide teaches you something. . . . The guides are nearly always Academicians who have all the facts at their fingertips. They're teachers, which is useful.' It is clear that those who refer to the loathing of the working classes for scholarly action are just attributing to them, according to the ethnocentricity of class which characterizes the populist ideology, their own attitude to culture and schooling.²⁰

The question is not so much whether all the clarifications will give 'the eye' to those who do not 'see', nor even whether the explanatory panels will be read and correctly read. If they were not read, or, as is probably the case, if they were only read by those who have the least need of them, they would nevertheless continue to fulfil their symbolic function.

It is probably not excessive to suggest that the profound feeling of unworthiness (and of incompetence) which haunts the least cultivated visitors as if they were overcome with respect when confronted with the sacred universe of legitimate culture, contributes in no small way towards keeping them away from museums. Is it not significant that the proportion of visitors who exhibit the most reverential attitude to museums decreases very sharply with higher social position (79 per cent of members of the working classes associate the museum with a church compared with 49 per cent of the middle classes and 35 per cent of the upper classes), while the proportion of individuals wishing that there were fewer visitors increases (39 per cent of the working classes, 67 per cent of the middle classes, and 70 per cent of the upper classes), preferring the intimacy of the chapel to the bustle of the church? (cf. tables A5.7 and 8).

Is it not also significant that hostility towards efforts to make works of art more accessible is mostly encountered amongst members of the cultivated class? Paradoxically, it is the classes most equipped with personal aids to visiting such as guidebooks and catalogues (because knowledge of these instruments and of the art of using them is a matter of culture) who most often reject the institutional and collective aids:

I think it's pointless to want to impose a fixed direction to a museum

visit. Personally, I like being free, alone in my choice and inspiration. Without wishing to go too far, I'd compare a visit to a museum to a journey, a journey Montaigne-style, going along the by-roads wherever the wind takes me, enjoying the present moment, away from the crowds, without a guidebook, dreaming of the past. (student, Louviers)

I remember with nostalgia the old Salon Carré in the Louvre, where there were so many things to discover. Now, they deprive us of the intense pleasure of discovery and compartmentalize all the paintings. We're forced to look at just one thing. Visiting is no longer a celebration but like going to primary school. With this pedantic trinity, see all, understand all, know all, all enjoyment disappears. (teacher, Lille)

The attitudes of the different national publics to pedagogic aids to visiting once again demonstrate the hierarchy of different countries arranged according to the size of their cultural capital, so that the argument put forward to explain the differences expressed in the attitudes of the different social classes in a particular country also applies to the differences between the different countries. In fact, Dutch visitors express a much more marked hostility towards arrows and panels than the French. The Polish, whose visiting is more immediately dependent on the direct action of schooling, occupy a position between France and Greece, with the exception of students and teachers, who demonstrate their reservations about all forms of aid even more clearly than French students and teachers, perhaps because they are better placed to gauge the cost that these disciplines could involve them in. Greek visitors, with a low level of competence, can do little but feel particularly strongly the need for some sort of help when visiting museums which exhibit mainly archaeological remains (cf. table A6.1).

Is it surprising that the ideology of the natural gift and of the fresh eye should be equally widespread amongst the most cultivated visitors and most curators, or that experts in the academic analysis of art are so often reluctant to provide for the non-initiated the equivalent of, or a substitute for, the programme of informed perception which they carry with them and which constitutes their culture?²¹ If the charismatic ideology, which makes an encounter with a work of art the occasion of a descent of grace (*charisma*), provides the privileged with the most 'indisputable' justification for their cultural privilege, while making them forget that the perception of the work of art is necessarily informed and therefore learnt, working-class visitors are well placed to appreciate that the love of art is not love at first sight but is born of long familiarity:

Yes, love at first sight does exist, but for that you've got to have read stuff before, especially for modern painting. (industrial manual worker, Lille)

The feeling of confusion when confronted with works of art decreases as soon as perception is equipped with a certain amount of pertinent knowledge, no matter how vague. The first stage of truly aesthetic competence is defined by mastery of a stock of words which permit differences to be named and to be constituted by naming: there are the names of famous painters, da Vinci, Picasso, Van Gogh, which act as generic categories since it is possible to say of any painting (or any object) of non-realist inspiration, 'It's a Picasso', or of any work evoking to some degree the Florentine manner of painting, 'It looks like a da Vinci'. There are also the large categories such as the 'Impressionists' (the definition of which, like that adopted by the Jeu de Paume, commonly extends to Gauguin, Cézanne and Degas) or 'the Dutch' or even 'Renaissance'. Thus, just to take an extremely rough indicator, the proportion of individuals who cite one or more schools in response to a question about their artistic preferences, increases very significantly as cultural level increases (5 per cent for holders of the CEP, 13 per cent for BEPC holders, 25 per cent for those with the *baccalauréat*, 27 per cent for degree holders and 37 per cent for those with a post-graduate diploma). Similarly, 55 per cent of working-class visitors cannot cite the name of a single painter, and those who can nearly always name the same artists, Leonardo da Vinci or Rembrandt, who are traditionally consecrated in schools and by the reproductions in history books and encyclopaedias.

The proportion of visitors who cite schools of painting increases, in all the countries, with increased level of education. In Poland the proportion is always very low, at 2 per cent for the middle classes and 5 per cent for the upper classes, while the proportion of visitors who exclusively cite very famous painters ranges from 39 per cent for the working classes to 24 per cent for the middle classes and 15.5 per cent for the upper classes. In Greece, the percentage of visitors who cite at least one school of painting is zero for those who have not passed beyond the level of primary education, 6 per cent for those with a technical education, 24 per cent for those who have reached *baccalauréat* level, and 19 per cent for those who have reached university level. The hierarchy is the same for the Dutch public, although the percentages of citations are higher overall, which is easily explained by the fact that secondary and higher education is much more widespread,

and that the richness and diversity of Dutch painting collections gives Dutch museums a supply level far above that of the Polish and Greek museums, at least as far as paintings are concerned. Thus, of the Dutch public, 14 per cent at primary level can cite at least one school of painting, 25 per cent at technical level, 66 per cent at *baccalauréat* level, and 43 per cent at university level (cf. table A6.6). In France, where the percentages are slightly lower, it is observed moreover that 22 per cent of farmers and farm workers cite at least one painter not represented in the museum, as against 39 per cent of industrial manual workers, 54 per cent of craftworkers and tradespeople, 63 per cent of clerical staff and junior executives, 70 per cent of senior executives, 77 per cent of primary school teachers, and 78 per cent of higher level teachers, art specialists and students.

Similarly again, working-class visitors are more interested in 'minor' works, such as furniture, ceramics, or folk or historical objects, which are more accessible to them, either because they know what they were used for and they have at their disposal elements of comparison and criteria of evaluation (or, rather, appreciation, in the true sense of the word), or because the culture required to understand such objects, namely, historical culture, is more common, while members of the upper classes are attached to the more noble works of art (paintings and sculptures) (cf. tables A3.14 and 15).²² Similarly yet again, the percentage of visitors who are already familiar with the works they are going to see in the museum increases very sharply with higher social class (13 per cent amongst the working classes, 25.5 per cent amongst the middle classes, and 54.5 per cent amongst the upper classes), with a certain proportion of the visitors owing their prior familiarity with the works to reproductions of them (26 per cent amongst the working classes, 45 per cent amongst the middle classes, and 26 per cent amongst the upper classes) (cf. table A5.4). In short, generic knowledge, which is the condition of the perception of differences and of the memorizing of names, and historical, technical or aesthetic concepts, is greater and all the more specific the more cultivated the group.

The fact that the less educated the visitors, the more likely they are to choose the most famous painters and those most consecrated at school, and the fact that modern painters, who are less likely to be given a place on the syllabus, are only cited by the most cultivated visitors living in very large cities, is far from being a refutation of the previous propositions (cf. table A3.20). Access to judgements of taste labelled as 'personal' is another effect of education: the freedom to

liberate oneself from the constraints of schooling is only available to those who have sufficiently assimilated academic culture to interiorize an emancipated attitude towards the academic culture taught by an educational system so profoundly steeped in the values of the dominant classes that it appropriates for itself the worldly depreciation of academic practices. The academic opposition between canonical culture, which is stereotyped and, in the words of Max Weber, 'routinized', and authentic culture, which is free of the discourse of school, only has any meaning for a tiny minority of cultivated people, because complete command of academic culture is the condition of being able to pass beyond the culture given by school towards that free culture (that is, free of its academic origins) which the bourgeoisie and their schools hold as the ultimate value.

In France, visitors of an educational level below the *baccalauréat* go almost exclusively for the most famous painters (such as Van Gogh or Renoir, who have had films made about them, or artists who are still active), those who are most consecrated by academic tradition (such as da Vinci, Rembrandt or Michelangelo) or through reproductions in books (such as Le Nain, David, La Tour, Greuze, or Raphael). Visitors with the *baccalauréat* are less influenced by contemporary trends (with Van Gogh falling from first to second place, Picasso from third to sixth, and Buffet from fifth to sixteenth), and name the more 'academic' painters less frequently, who lose their place to Gauguin, Braque, Cézanne, Dufy, Fra Angelico, El Greco and Velázquez. As far as visitors with an educational level above that of the *baccalauréat* are concerned, as well as exhibiting a far broader range of choices (witnessed by the fact that the twenty painters most frequently named by them comprise only 44 per cent of the painters cited, compared with 56 per cent amongst the middle classes and 65 per cent amongst the working classes), their roll of honour stands out as much by the originality of the names cited (seeing that Botticelli, Klee, Poussin, Vermeer, Bosch and Titian appear for the first time), as by the hierarchy of preferences (Van Gogh falls to sixth place, da Vinci to fifteenth, and Raphael to nineteenth). The most significant fact is probably that, alongside the Impressionist painters who are cited much less frequently, and the great classical painters common to all the lists (da Vinci, Rembrandt, Delacroix, etc.) appear, in quite high placings, modern artists such as Klee (8) and Braque (10), as well as less famous classical painters such as Poussin (12), Vermeer (14), Velázquez (13) and Titian (20) (cf. table A3.21).

Although the proportion of original citations increases with higher social class, European visitors agree, apart from a few national varia-

tions, on a common hierarchy of famous painters. In this are to be found, in almost equal proportions, both the most classical of values and the revolutionaries of the preceding generation, such as Van Gogh, Rembrandt, Picasso, Goya, Cézanne, Renoir and da Vinci. The fact that each country's public tends to put their country's painters in the highest positions is doubtless explained both by the attachment to national values which is encouraged by academic traditions (and particularly by history books), and by the content of the national collections. This is why Polish visitors exhibit a distinctly marked preference for painters whose work is closely linked to their national history (twelve of the twenty names cited), while the Greeks, who rank El Greco first, also cite national painters, but in a smaller proportion than the Poles, probably because modern Greek painting is not given the same emphasis and meaning in general education as modern Polish painting is in Poland. It is also because, as they owe their taste and preferences less directly to an educational system which gives very little time to the history of art, they cite a greater proportion of foreign painters. The fact that the twenty most frequently named painters represent 94.1 per cent of all painters mentioned in Greece, 81.1 per cent in Poland, 60.9 per cent in Holland and 50.8 per cent in France, coupled with the fact that the two most frequently named painters alone represent almost half of those mentioned in Greece and Poland (54.2 per cent and 46.3 per cent respectively) compared with 37.3 per cent in Holland and 16.3 per cent in France, shows that the field of painters known (and liked) tends to increase with increased national cultural capital. The difference between the preferences of the Dutch and the French public is probably explained, in part, by the content of the two countries' national art collections. It is moreover remarkable that painters such as Klee (who only appears in France in the preferences of the upper classes), Mondrian and Kandinsky appear high up in the order of painters cited by the Dutch public as a whole (cf. table A6.10). The Italians, who are very attached to their national and particularly to their regional traditions, place local painters in high positions, alongside the more established heroes such as Botticelli or da Vinci, while Rembrandt, Goya and the Impressionists only make an appearance amongst the preferences of the cultivated Milanese public.

The more cultivated visitors often give themselves the feeling of participating in a free culture by choosing the revolutionary painters of preceding generations rather than older painters devalued through habituation and false familiarity, or by choosing the more innovative of contemporary artists.

An earlier survey of the opinions and practices of students in matters of

painting showed that, in spite of their aspirations to originality, French students overwhelmingly preferred the most established painters on the list offered them. This attachment to established values can be seen both at the level of the general history of painting, with da Vinci, Poussin, Chardin, Léger and Dali at the head of the honours list, and at the level of French painting after Impressionism. Nevertheless, just as visitors are all the more conformist the lower they are in the social and cultural hierarchy, so too the most noted classical painters are most often chosen by children of peasants and labourers. A finer analysis even allows different groups of painters to be distinguished: those who are appreciated regardless of the visitor's class of origin (Van Gogh, Gauguin, Monet, Buffet), those whose popularity increases with higher social class (Degas, Sisley, Modigliani), painters most appreciated by students of working-class origin (Renoir, Cézanne), and a few painters who seem to meet the preferences of the middle classes (Utrillo, Toulouse-Lautrec).

Is it surprising that the tastes, and the good taste, of more cultivated individuals derive from the homogeneous, and homogenizing, 'routinized' and 'routinizing' action of the academic institution, and, when all is said and done, are highly orthodox, and that, as Boas noted, 'the thought of what we call the educated classes is controlled essentially by those ideals which have been transmitted to us by past generations'?²³ If the more culturally disinherited see, and express more often than the others, what seems to the observer to be the objective truth of the cultivated experience, it is because, just as the illusion of immediate understanding of the cultural environment is only possible within the world into which the individual was born, where behaviour and cultural objects are shaped according to immediately mastered models, so too the charismatic illusion, born of familiarity, can only develop amongst those for whom the world of learned culture is also the world into which they were born. In other words, the frustrations and helplessness of those who are without the cultural 'cipher' re-emphasize that understanding of a conduct or a cultural work is always a case of *mediate decipherment*, even in the particular case where objective and objectivized culture has become culture in the subjective sense, at the end of a long and slow process of interiorization.

For this reason, to argue that cultivated people are people with a culture is not more than a simple tautology. When they apply, for example, inherited categories to the works of art of their own era, while unaware of the irreducible novelty of works which carry with

them the very categories of their own perception, cultivated people, who belong to the culture just as much as the culture belongs to them, are doing nothing more than expressing the truth of the cultivated experience, which is by definition traditional. The total opposite of the devotees of culture, who are dedicated to the cult of the established works of defunct prophets, and of the priests of culture, who are dedicated to the organization of this cult, are the cultural prophets, who disturb the routine of ritualized fervour, only to be 'routinized' in their turn by new priests and new devotees.

However, from the relationships that are established between level of education and all the characteristics of cultural practice, is it reasonable to conclude that schooling exerts a determining influence, seeing as, at least in France, owing to a lack of the most crucial material and institutional means, the direct action of schooling (via art education, teaching of history of art, guided visits to museums, etc.) is extremely weak? This deficiency is particularly serious seeing that only 3 per cent of current museum visitors went into a museum for the first time after the age of 24 (which shows that the die is cast very early on), and since it is only through school that children from underprivileged backgrounds can be given the opportunity to visit a museum (cf. table A3.5). In the absence of a specific organization directly oriented towards the inculcation of artistic culture and charged with sanctioning its assimilation, activities at school aimed at cultural diffusion are left to the enterprise of individual teachers, so that the direct influence of schooling is very weak: only 7 per cent of French visitors say they discovered museums through school, and relatively few owe their interest in painting to the direct influence of a teacher (cf. table A3.6).

The fact that the teaching of drawing occupies such a restricted position in the French school syllabus and that art teachers should be traditionally considered, both by administrative bodies and by their colleagues and pupils, as second-rank teachers, relegated to secondary teaching, with all the educational and material consequences implied by this (lack of specialized premises and materials, lack of institutional support), and, even more, the fact that history of art is entrusted not to teachers of drawing, who are restricted exclusively to the teaching of techniques, but to history teachers, who, subject to the tyranny of the curriculum, give over to art, as one of them said, 'a century per lesson', cannot be understood without seeing that this state of affairs expresses the hierarchy of values which dominates the whole teaching system, and, perhaps, the entire social system.²⁴ The devaluing of

artistic teaching is part of the general devaluing of all technical education, that is, of all teaching of the 'mechanical arts' which principally require manual work. It is significant that it is only within the devalued universe of technical education as a whole that the teacher of drawing holds a certain amount of prestige. Moreover, the fact that the teaching of history of art should be dissociated from the teaching of artistic techniques and entrusted to teachers of history, a canonical discipline, demonstrates the tendency of the whole French teaching system to subordinate the production of works of art to discourse about them. In addition, though, the teaching of drawing or music owes its subordinate position to the fact that bourgeois society, which praises the *consumption* of works of art, attaches little value to the *practice* of accomplishments or to the professional producers of works of art. To quote Hoffman's *Kreisleriana*:

When children grow up, it is obvious that they have to give up the practice of art, because these sort of things are not suitable for serious men, and amongst women they often bring a neglect of the higher duties of the world. Consequently, they experience no more than a passive enjoyment of music and get their children or professional artists to play it for them. From this accurate definition of art, one must conclude that artists – that is, people devoting their whole life (absurdly, it is true!) to an occupation which only serves as relaxation and diversion – should be considered as the lowest level of people, and that one should only suffer their existence because they put the *miscere utili dulce* into practice. A man of sound reason and mature intellect would never bestow the same respect on the most talented artist as he would on a hard-working clerk or even on the craftsman who stuffed the cushion sat on by the councillor in his office or the shopkeeper at his counter, because the latter have useful things in mind, the former only pleasant things. Thus, if one is polite and amiable to artists, this can only be a consequence of our civilisation and our good nature, which leads us to be kind and frivolous with children and other people lacking in seriousness.

Even while the academic institution only gives a restricted role to strictly artistic teaching, and even while it provides neither specific encouragement of cultural practice nor a body of concepts specifically aimed at works of plastic art, it does tend to inspire a certain *familiarity* – part of the feeling of belonging to the cultivated world – with the universe of art, where one feels at home and among friends, as the accredited addressee of works of art which are not delivered to

just anybody. Thus, for example, if going to university gives rise to a sort of cultural bulimia amongst most students, this is because it marks (among other things) entry into the cultivated world, in other words, access to the right and duty (which amounts to the same thing) to appropriate culture, and it is also because in this case cultural practice is particularly strongly encouraged by reference groups. In the same way, the marked disparity between the number of visitors with a primary education and those with a secondary education shows that the latter – at least in countries and periods where almost all of the working classes and a large proportion of the middle classes are excluded from it – is associated, both in its social meaning and in its real-life meaning, with a certain kind of relationship with culture which implies the possibility of museum visiting.

In addition, school tends to inculcate (to different degrees in the different European countries) a learned or scholarly disposition, defined by a recognition of the value of works of art and a generalized and lasting aptitude to appropriate the means of appropriating them.²⁵ Although it is almost exclusively directed to literary works, learning at school tends to create on the one hand a transferable disposition to admire academically established works of art, with the duty to admire and like certain works or groups of works gradually becoming attached to a certain academic and social status group; and on the other hand it creates an equally generalized and transferable aptitude for classification, by artist, genre, school or period. An understanding of the academic categories of literary analysis and the habit of adopting a critical posture predispose someone to pick up at least the equivalent categories in other domains and to hoard typical knowledge which, even if it is extrinsic and anecdotal, makes possible an elementary form of understanding of the representation, based on recourse to literary metaphor or the invocation of analogies taken from visual experience. Thus, because buying a guidebook or a catalogue presupposes a whole attitude to the work of art, formed through upbringing, the use of these sorts of handbooks which provide a programme of informed perception is above all characteristic of the most cultivated visitors, so much so that they only ever initiate those who are already initiated.

In France, the percentage of visitors owning Green Guides (which suggest fairly easy and feasible itineraries) is 2 per cent amongst the working classes, 7 per cent amongst the middle classes and senior executives, and 8 per cent amongst teachers and art specialists, who find

in the more difficult and complete Blue Guide (owned by 5 per cent and 8 per cent of them, compared with 3 per cent of the middle classes), exhaustive information, use of which presupposes dissociation of simple perception and learned understanding. In Poland it is only primary and secondary school teachers (14 per cent), artists and writers (7 per cent) or students (6 per cent), who use catalogues. In Greece, the use of a 'learned' guidebook (the Blue Guide or its equivalent) or even of a simplified tourist guide (the Green Guide or its equivalent) is even less frequent, being restricted respectively to 3.5 per cent and 1.5 per cent of *baccalauréat* holders and 5 per cent and 1 per cent of university graduates. Moreover, in Holland, 4 per cent of *baccalauréat* holders use the Green Guide, and 6 per cent the Blue Guide, with the proportion of guide users falling to 2 per cent amongst those with tertiary education.²⁶

The clearest proof that the general principles of the transference of learning also apply to learning at school lies in the fact that the practices of the same individual or at least of individuals of a certain social category or level of education tend to constitute a system, such that a certain type of practice in any given area of culture is associated, with a very strong degree of probability, with an equivalent kind of practice in all the other areas. Thus regular museum visiting is almost necessarily associated with equally regular trips to the theatre, and to a lesser extent, to concerts. In the same way, all the indications are that knowledge and tastes arrange themselves into constellations (strictly linked to level of education) such that a typical structure of preferences and knowledge in matters of painting is very likely to be linked to a similar structure of knowledge and tastes in classical music or even in jazz or cinema.²⁷

Museum visitors generally claim to go to concerts much less frequently than they visit museums: all working-class visitors, except for one, 51 per cent of middle-class visitors, and 26.6 per cent of upper-class visitors say they never go to concerts. For museums, the modal pattern is one visit every three or four months, while the distribution of visitors by their concert-going patterns has two modes: the higher being 'never', the other being 'three or four times a year'. As with museum visiting, concert-going increases sharply with higher social class, and the correlation between patterns of participation increases simultaneously from the middle to the upper classes (r (rate) = 0.39 and 0.50), which tends to show that a cultivated disposition as a general attitude is increasingly frequent with higher social class. Theatre-going, more frequent than concert-going, since the modal pattern is one visit

every three or four months, is also closely linked to museum visiting ($r = 0.31$ amongst the middle classes and 0.33 amongst the upper classes) and therefore varies according to position in the social hierarchy and level of education. The fact that working-class visitors hardly ever go to the theatre or to concerts tends to confirm that their museum visiting does not express a truly cultivated disposition. In contrast, cinema-going, much more frequent than other cultural practices (since the modal pattern is one film a week), is in no way linked to museum visiting ($r = 0.11$ for the middle classes and 0.07 for the upper classes) and is only weakly dependent on level of education, such that, if the minority of aesthetes who have the same attitude to the cinema as to the theatre and museums are excepted, it can be argued that cinema-going follows a logic which is no longer that of high culture (cf. table A4.7).²⁸

Another proof of the transferability of school learning can be seen in the fact that, contrary to certain portrayals in spontaneous sociology, a high degree of competence in areas of extra-curricular culture, such as jazz or cinema, is very likely to be associated with a high degree of competence in areas such as theatre that are taught and recognized in schools and is thus to be found amongst students most highly placed in the academic hierarchy, and therefore the most capable of applying a learned attitude to the cinema and of memorizing facts such as the names of directors.

It could be objected that there is no worse way to approach works of art than to apply such unspecific categories and concepts as those of literary history. It is also a commonplace of cultivated conversation to oppose 'the naïve impressions of a fresh eye' to academic discourse about painting. In the first place, to do so is in fact to forget that the 'social revenue' of artistic culture depends at least as much on the individual's ability to express artistic experiences as on the intrinsic and non-verifiable quality of these experiences. In addition the view which contrasts an authentically cultivated attitude simultaneously with pure passive enjoyment and an academic disposition, and which is suspected of restricting the potentiality of the ascetic perversion by conferring a greater importance on the ritual accompaniments to enjoyment than on enjoyment itself, performs an ideological function by describing one *manner* of approaching works of art, the product of a particular kind of apprenticeship, as the only legitimate approach. In fact, amongst all the different kinds of disposition, to give a greater importance to the one which carries the least trace of its genesis, namely that of ease or 'naturalness', is to establish a rigid separation between those who possess the correct manner of consuming cultural

goods, which indicates the quality of the consumer (and, in certain cases, the worth of the good which is consumed), and the cultural *parvenus* who betray in the smallest details of their practice the subtle shortcomings of a poorly-acquired culture, autodidacts whose unsystematic snippets of information are easily distinguishable from the well-tempered knowledge of the educated individual by the sole fact that they were not acquired according to the rules and in the right order, 'pedantic' and 'elementary' people who reveal through interests and knowledge which are too exclusively academic, that they owe all their cultural attainments to school. If 'the infinitely varied art of marking distances' of which Proust spoke finds its clearest expression in the treatment of symbolic systems such as costume and cars, clothes and furnishing, language and deportment, and above all in relation to works of art, with the infinite subtleties and efforts it involves, this is because, in this area in which everything is a matter of 'manner', the correct manner is only acquired in the course of the imperceptible and unconscious learning of a primary upbringing which is simultaneously diffuse and total. In the final analysis, the tiny and infinite nuances of an authentically cultivated disposition where nothing is allowed to betray the effort of acquisition reflect a particular mode of acquisition.

Because the work of art presents itself as a concrete individuality from which the principles and rules defining a style can never be deduced, the acquisition of the instruments which make familiarity with works of art possible can only proceed through a slow familiarization. The competence of the connoisseur cannot be passed on solely by precepts or prescriptions, and an artistic apprenticeship presupposes the equivalent of the prolonged contact between disciple and master in a traditional education, in other words, repeated contact with the work of art (or works in the same category): thus, for example, frequent scrutiny of works of art exhibited according to a methodical classification, by schools, periods or artists, tends to produce a sort of overall subconscious familiarity with the basic principles, which allows the cultivated viewer immediately to assign a single work to a category, whether it is of the style of a particular painter, period, or school. Just as the apprentice or the disciple can *subconsciously* acquire the rules of the art, including those that are not explicitly known to the master himself, by means of a self-abandonment, excluding the analysis and selection of the elements of exemplary practice, so too the art lover by, as it were, surrendering him- or herself to a work, can internalize its principles of construction, without these ever being brought to his or her consciousness or

formulated as such; and it is this which makes all the difference between the art theorist and the connoisseur, who is generally incapable of stating the principles of his or her judgements. In this area, as in others (such as learning the grammar of the mother tongue), school education tends to encourage the conscious relearning of schemes of thought, perception or expression which have already been mastered subconsciously, by explicitly formulating the principles of the underlying grammar, such as the laws of harmony and of counterpoint, or the rules of pictorial composition, and by providing the verbal and conceptual material necessary to express differences which are initially only experienced intuitively. An artistic education which is limited to a discourse (historical, aesthetic or other) on works of art is necessarily the second stage of tuition: like the teaching of the mother tongue, literary or artistic education (in other words, 'the humanities' of traditional education) necessarily presupposes (without ever actually organizing itself according to this prerequisite) individuals endowed with a previously acquired competence and a large capital of experiences (visits to museums or monuments, reading, listening to concerts, etc.) which are very unevenly distributed between the different social environments.

The proportion of visitors who claim to have gone to the museum for the first time in the company of their family increases very sharply with higher social class (6 per cent of farmers and farm labourers, 18 per cent of industrial manual workers and of the middle classes, and 30 per cent of senior executives). These differences are in fact the minimum ones, because the proportion of visitors who claim to have made their first visit alone (whether or not they are right, and in any case without this meaning that they did not receive diffuse influence or formal encouragement from their family) also increases the more favoured the class (cf. table A3.6). The first visit is always made earlier, the higher the level of education, such that the proportion of visitors who visited a museum before the age of 15 is 26 per cent amongst the working classes (whose first visit is often associated with tourism) 37.5 per cent amongst the middle classes, who are more strongly influenced by school, and 56 per cent amongst the upper classes (cf. table A3.5).

The more school leaves the task of cultural transmission to the family, the more schooling tends to sanction and legitimate existing inequalities, since its effectiveness is a function of the existing (and unevenly distributed) competence of the individuals being schooled.²⁹ Moreover, should the school manage partially to substitute for the

traditional procedures of cultural transmission by working directly to bring about the familiarity with works of art presupposed by all artistic education, the result always runs the risk of seeming like a devalued substitute for the real disposition, as long as the dominant representation of the cultivated disposition continues to impose itself as the only legitimate one, and as long as schooling coexists with modes of cultural transmission which are in keeping with this ideological representation, since they initiate it and justify it. In fact, an encouragement which does not need to be methodical and considered in order to be effective, and which has to assert itself so little that it often has an effect without being felt, can only reinforce the charismatic illusion, since there is nothing better placed to give the feeling of familiarity with works of art than early museum visits undertaken as an integral part of the familiar rhythms of family life.

When the school does not bother to work methodically and systematically, using all available means, from the earliest years of schooling, to bring everyone in school into direct contact with works of art, or at the very least to provide an approximate substitute for this experience, it renounces the power, which is a responsibility it holds exclusively, of exercising the continued and prolonged action, methodical and uniform, in other words universal or tending towards universality, which (to the great scandal of the holders of the monopoly on cultivated distinction) is alone capable of *mass-producing* competent individuals endowed with the schemes of perception, thought and expression which are the condition for the appropriation of cultural goods, and with the generalized and permanent disposition to appropriate them. The specific function of the school is to develop or create the dispositions which make for the cultivated individual and which are at the same time qualitatively and quantitatively the medium of an intense and lasting practice. As such, it could compensate (partially at least) for the initial disadvantage of those who do not receive in their family environment any encouragement of cultural practice or of the development of the familiarity with works of art which is presupposed by any educational discourse on them, only provided that it uses all available methods to break the circle of cumulative processes to which all cultural education is condemned. When teaching which attempts to communicate simple information such as dates, schools or periods through simple techniques (by showing reproductions and coaching pupils in attribution, for example) is mocked as simplistic, it is forgotten that these methods, as coarse as they might seem, would at least communicate

this minimal knowledge which can only legitimately be scorned in reference to more demanding communication techniques. By acting as if inequalities in relation to culture can only stem from natural inequalities, that is, inequalities of talent, and by neglecting to provide for everyone that which some derive from their family, the school system perpetuates and sanctions initial inequalities.

If initial social advantages or disadvantages have such an important effect on school careers and, more generally, on all cultural life, this is because, whether they are perceptible or imperceptible, they are always cumulative. As the cultural levels of different members of the same family are strongly related to one another, and the chances of going to school in a large city or a small town, of going to a *lycée* or a *collège d'enseignement général*, or of receiving a classical education or being condemned to a 'modern' one, all strongly depend on the social position of the family, and as the cultural atmosphere of early childhood and academic achievements are very closely linked to differing levels of artistic knowledge and practice, even at the highest levels of schooling, it can be seen that the school system, which simply sees all pupils as being equal in rights and duties, usually does no more than intensify and sanction initial cultural inequalities. If inequalities with regard to museums are even more marked than those at school (as shown by a comparison between the social profile of the museum-going public and that of people with tertiary education), this is because the influence of cultural privilege is never greater than in the area of extra-curricular general culture (*la culture 'libre'*), in other words the least academic culture. Thus, for example, while students are likely to have a more extensive knowledge of the theatre the more privileged their social background, the inferiority of working-class students, which is less noticeable in the most established areas of theatrical culture, namely the 'classics', is particularly marked in relation to avant-garde or boulevard theatre. Similarly, in painting, the differences, which tend to cancel each other out for the most established painters (Renoir, Van Gogh, Cézanne), reappear in all their starkness as soon as less famous painters such as Cranach, Chasseriau or Moreau, or even more clearly, modern painters such as Klee, Mondrian or Dubuffet are considered, knowledge of whom is less likely to be directly taught at school, and in this case, at secondary school.³⁰ Thus, those who receive from their family the strongest encouragement of cultural practice, whether explicit or implicit, are also the most likely to stay on longer at school, because they take with them this 'extra-curricular general culture' which the school presup-

poses and demands without ever teaching, and therefore are most likely to see the predispositions formed by the subconscious learning of early upbringing transformed into a cultivated disposition.

The charismatic ideology opposes the authentic experience of the work of art as 'affection' of the heart or immediate intuitive experience, with the painstaking steps of logical understanding and its cold commentaries, while ignoring the social and cultural conditions which make such an experience possible, and while at the same time treating the virtuosity acquired through a long process of familiarization, or through the disciplines of a methodical apprenticeship, as a natural gift. In contrast to this, sociology establishes, both logically and experimentally, that an adequate understanding of a work of culture, and especially of high culture, presupposes, by virtue of an act of decipherment, possession of the cipher in which the work is encoded. Culture, in the objective sense of cipher (or code), is a precondition for the intelligibility of the concrete meaning systems it organizes while remaining irreducible to them, as language is to speech, while culture, in the sense of competence, is nothing other than culture (in the objective sense) internalized and transformed into a permanent and generalized disposition to decipher cultural objects and behaviour using the cipher in which they are encoded. In the particular case of works of high culture, complete mastery of the code cannot be acquired by the simple and diffuse training of everyday experience, but presupposes methodical coaching, organized by an institution specifically designed for this purpose. It follows that understanding a work of art depends, in its intensity, modality, and even its existence, on the viewer's mastery of the generic and specific code of the work (in other words, on his or her artistic competence), and that it derives partly from learning at school. The value, intensity and modality of pedagogic communication, which is, among other things, responsible for transmitting the code of works of high culture (at the same time as passing on the code in which this communication is made), are themselves functions of the culture (as a system of schemes of perception, appreciation, thought and action, historically constituted and socially conditioned) that the receiver owes to his or her family background, and this varies in its congruence, both in its content and in its attitude to works of high culture or to the cultural training implied by it, with the high culture transmitted by schooling and with the linguistic and cultural models by which schooling effects this transmission. Given that direct experience of works of high culture, and the institutionally organized acquisition of the culture necessary

for the appropriate experience of these works, are subject to the same rules, the difficulty of breaking the circle which ensures that cultural capital reproduces cultural capital becomes clear: the school only has to let the objective mechanisms of cultural diffusion run their course and refrain from working systematically to provide everyone, in and through the educational message itself, with the instruments necessary for an adequate reception of the academic message, for initial inequalities to be intensified and for the transmission of cultural capital to be legitimated by its sanction.

The Rules of Cultural Diffusion

Education can do anything: it can make bears dance.

Leibniz

In contrast to occasional visiting, which is often done simply by chance, regular visiting expresses and presupposes a more or less complete congruence between the works on offer and the degree of pictorial competence of the visitors, understood as the ability to apprehend the information offered, to decipher it and to perceive meanings – or rather, meaningful forms.

In other words, museum visiting obeys a logic recognized by communication theory since, in the manner of a radio or television transmitter, the museum offers information which can appeal to every individual at no extra cost and which only takes on meaning and value for an individual capable of deciphering and appreciating it. It follows that the appropriate public for the message is defined, both logically and experimentally, by the 'call' which museums exert on it or, more precisely, by its ability to receive the information they offer: in fact, even though this unique information can be unequally and differently deciphered by different people, it can nevertheless be supposed that regular visiting implies mastery of the code of the message proposed and adherence to a set of values which justify the value given to the deciphered meanings, to the decipherment of these meanings and to the pleasure this decipherment brings. The profile (with respect to scholastic ability) of the regular museum public (and of the total public for a given message) can therefore be considered as an approximate indication of the level of information offered by museums; thus since by far the largest category of museum visitors consists of those holding certificates of secondary education, and since visitors who have not achieved this level show their confusion in numerous ways, it can be concluded that the information offered by French museums is, if one may be permitted the phrase, 'of *baccalauréat* level'.

In fact, though it may be of great operational value in that it allows

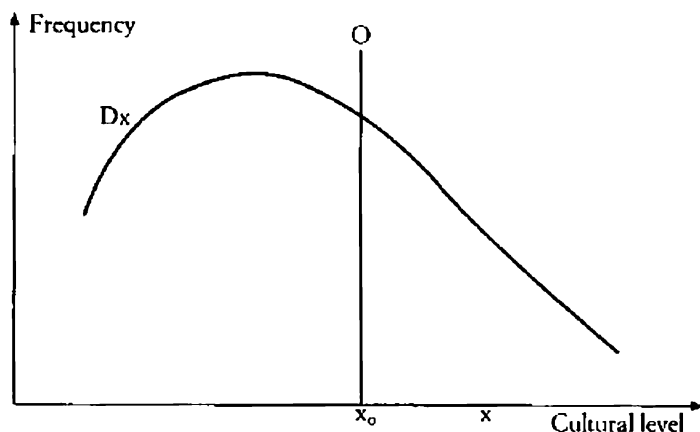
us to make sense of the profile of the museum-going public, the overall information offered by museums remains an abstraction, as does the level of information. Beyond the fact that each museum necessarily offers an overall information whose individual level is defined roughly by the type, quality and quantity of the works exhibited, this level itself cannot be defined precisely because, with rare exceptions, the contents of a museum or a temporary exhibition are never perfectly homogeneous: most museums display several types of material, from folk objects, historic souvenirs, furniture or ceramics, to paintings and sculpture, and within the same type juxtapose works such as Impressionist and Abstract paintings which are not equally decipherable to 'the cultivated' of our societies.

It must also be said that the same work can be deciphered according to several frameworks and that, just as a western can be the object of a naïve following or of a scholarly reading, the same pictorial work can be received differently by receivers of different levels and, for example, satisfy an interest in anecdote or hold attention through its formal properties alone. It is also clear that cultural level cannot be defined any more precisely, first because it is always evolving and each new perception of the work transforms the preceding perceptions, repeated perception being a way of reducing the 'originality' of the work (in the sense given by information theory) by assimilating an ever-increasing proportion of the information contained within it; second because it cannot be defined independently of the aspirations which give it its real meaning, cultural goodwill being able to encourage, as being instructive, the contemplation of works which are above the individual's own level.

Though the experimental situation which would enable a comparison of the profile of the public corresponding to different though strictly homogeneous levels of information cannot be created, an analysis of the profile of the public of museums which offer information on different levels, can attempt to ascertain whether variations in the level of the information offered are accompanied by variations in the profile of the public, distributed according to scholastic ability, and whether similarly the degree of homogeneity of the public corresponds to the degree of homogeneity of the works displayed.

Given that the levels of information offered cannot be precisely defined and that it would not be possible to make a linear classification of museums without ignoring the overlaps which result from the fact that each one offers a range of works on different levels, it is possible,

initially, to classify the transmitters, namely the museums, and the receivers, namely the visitors, into two levels and assume that the message will have a greater chance of being tuned into if it is addressed to receivers of the same level, in other words, that reception will occur adequately if the levels of transmission and reception are identical. If it is supposed that such a hierarchy is continuous, as is the case (approximately) when the scale of educational level is used, it can be seen that each population will be characterized by the 'demand' curve (D) representing the distribution of this population by educational level or, in other words, the distribution of the individuals comprising it by their level of reception; in the same way, each work (or each museum) will be characterized by a certain level of information supplied, shown diagrammatically by a vertical (O) whose intercept x_0 will indicate the level.



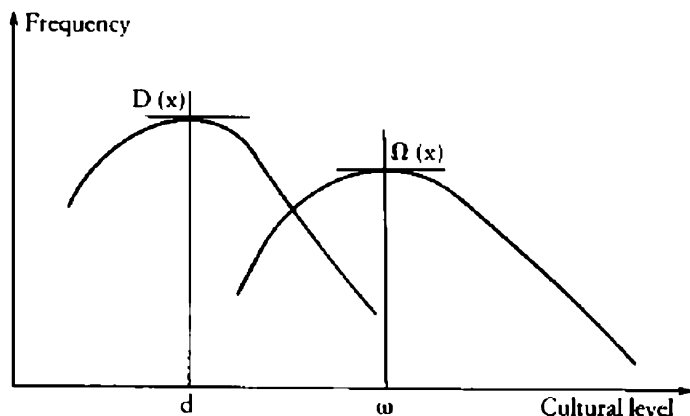
In other words, the only part of the population affected by the message will be the fraction of the population of level x_0 and of derivative $D(x_0)$; the possibility that communication might establish itself during a given period of time is then independent of x_0 .

$$\begin{aligned} t(x) &= 0 \text{ for } x \neq x_0 \\ t(x) &= t_\infty \text{ for } x = x_0 \end{aligned} \quad (1)$$

However, as the level of information supplied by a work and especially by a museum cannot be precisely defined (for reasons given above), it can only thus be worked out as a function of density, associated with each level on the hierarchical scale, say $\omega(x)$ which in the preceding hypothesis was assumed to be zero except for a certain value of x . If $\omega(x)$ is the distribution of the supply, the demand, in other words the ability to receive the work related to level of education, must

be subject to the same generalization, for all the reasons already outlined above, and also because the distribution of abilities or tastes in a relatively homogeneous group is of a probabilistic nature, just as, for example, the distribution of marks in an examination generally follows a Laplace-Gauss curve.

The proposed model is rigorously probabilistic in that it does not define the level of reception and the level of transmission by means of a fixed point but rather by a distribution of probabilities. Consequently, knowledge of the supply and demand does not allow prediction of who will visit museums, but defines the probability of visiting a museum associated with each individual according to the hypothesis, verified previously (in chapter 3), where visitor categories defined by a certain level of education are homogeneous with respect to visiting patterns. Given that unpredictable factors (such as bad weather or the vagaries of a family outing) seem to have uniform effects and that their effects tend to cancel each other out, given also that tourism, capable of promoting visiting, cannot by itself (all other things being equal) bring about long-term visiting or have a long-term effect on the probability and rate of attendance, it is legitimate to ignore these phenomena in the model.



The *probability* of seeing a person of level x entering a museum is, according to (1), $\tau(x) = \omega(x)$; the *proportion* of people of this level who will go into a museum is thus $d(x) \cdot \omega(x)$ and for the total interval of variation of the variable, this proportion is obtained by the formula:

$$\tau = \sum_{x=0}^{\infty} d(x) \omega(x) \quad (2)$$

The value of the sum $\sum_{x=0}^{\infty} d(x)$, represents, for each individual, a total

level of demand and it varies from one individual to another in proportion to his or her cultural attainments. We will suppose that, all other things being equal, on the whole individual differences are negligible and that

$$\sum_x d(x) = k_d$$

Staying with a global argument, the fact that the distribution $D(x)$ of the public varies with that of the variable x makes it possible to estimate

the distribution of the demand for a given country, while $\sum_{x=0}^{\infty} \omega(x)$

has correspondingly greater values, the more numerous and hallowed the works on display.

Visiting rate takes the form:

$$r = k_w \cdot k_d \cdot \sum_{x=0}^{\infty} D(x) \cdot n(x)$$

$$\sum_{x=0}^{\infty} D(x) = \sum_{x=0}^{\infty} n(x) = 1$$

The product $K = k_w \cdot k_d$ can be interpreted as a national cultural capital. The variables k_w and k_d are clearly not independent since the richness of a country's artistic treasures and the strength of its cultural tradition play a role in determining at each moment the level of ability to participate.

It is obvious that if the form of the supply function is modified, the composition of the public which will receive it is modified, whereas if the supply level is modified by simple affinity in relation to the x axis, the visiting rate is modified in a relationship equal to the relationship of affinity, the composition of the public remaining unchanged. Thus, the

special exhibition, which increases the value of the sum $\sum_x \omega(x)$

without modifying its structure, draws a larger public though one of an almost identical structure.

The rules governing the reception of works of art are different to the rules of cultural diffusion: whatever the nature of the message, be it religious prophecy, political discourse, advertising poster, technical subject-matter, etc., reception is a function of the schemes of perception, thought and appreciation of the receivers, so that in a differentiated society, a close relationship is established between the nature and

the quality of the information transmitted and the profile of the public.¹ In other words, the rules of the differential diffusion of information are a particular case of the logic of cultural borrowing, in the same way as is the diffusion of the prophetic message.

It is only necessary to visualize, writes Joseph Schumpeter, what might have happened if the jihad had been preached to the unmilitary 'fishermen' of Galilee, to the 'little people' of Palestine. Is it really far-fetched to assume that they would not have followed the call, that they could not have followed it, that had they tried any such thing, they would have failed wretchedly and destroyed their own community? And if, conversely, Mohammed had preached humility and submission to his Bedouin horsemen, would they not have turned their backs on him? And if they had followed him would not their community have perished? A prophet does more than merely formulate a message acceptable to his early adherents; he is successful and comprehensible only when he also formulates a policy that is valid at the moment. This is precisely what distinguishes the successful – the 'true' prophet – from his unsuccessful fellow – the 'false' prophet. The 'true' prophet recognizes the necessities of the existing situation – a situation that exists quite independently of him – and when these necessities subsequently change, he manages to adopt a new policy without letting the faithful feel that this transition is treachery.²

Thus, each time a unique message is proposed to a differentiated society, it is subject to a quantitatively and qualitatively varied reception: its readability and effectiveness are that much stronger if it meets the implicit or explicit expectation that the receivers owe to their education and that the diffuse pressure of the reference group maintains, supports and reinforces by incessant reminders of the norm ('Have you read . . .?', 'You must see it!'). The different instances of cultural legitimacy (learned societies, universities, reviews, juries of literary and artistic prizes, etc.) and more directly, those belonging to the circle bearing authority in matters of culture, 'style leaders' or 'taste makers', play a role here which is without a single doubt more influential even than 'opinion leaders' in matters of electoral choice.³ When the message can be deciphered by the holders of a code acquired only by a long, institutionally organized apprenticeship, it is obvious that reception depends on the receiver's mastery of the code, or in other words, it is a function of the gap between the level of information offered and the level of competence of the receiver.

More precisely, it follows from the preceding hypotheses that the visiting rate is a function of the difference between the mean (or modal) supply and the mean (or modal) demand. This instinctively acceptable quality however does not fit into the derived forms of the functions $\Omega(x)$ or $D(x)$.

In return for certain very general conditions of integration or differentiation, it can easily be shown first that t can be written as $t = t(\omega - d)$ and second that, if the distributions are unimodal the visiting rate is at a maximum for a value of $\omega - d$ close to zero, but which can only be zero if the distributions Ω and D are symmetrical; furthermore, in the latter case, a function of $(\omega - d)^2$ intervenes and one can then state that *the visiting rate is a decreasing function of the square of the average difference between supply and demand*.

Let us postulate that in fact the supply and demand functions are of the following form:

$$D = D(x, d)$$

$$\Omega = \Omega(x, \omega)$$

d and ω are two parameters, for example the average, if it exists, or any other parameter, such that the curves

$$D(x, d_1) \text{ and } D(x, d_2) \quad (3) \text{ on the one hand}$$

$$\Omega(x, \omega_1) \text{ and } \Omega(x, \omega_2) \quad (4) \text{ on the other,}$$

are deduced respectively from each other by the amplitude translations α and β . In other words $D(x + \alpha, d_2) = D(x, d_1)$ and $\Omega(x + \beta, \omega_2) = \Omega(x, \omega_1)$. The integral $\int_0^\infty D \Omega dx$ is a function of d and ω , i.e. $F(d, \omega)$. For F to be a function of $d - \omega$ it is necessary and sufficient that

$$\frac{\delta F}{\delta d} = - \frac{\delta F}{\delta \omega}$$

Now,

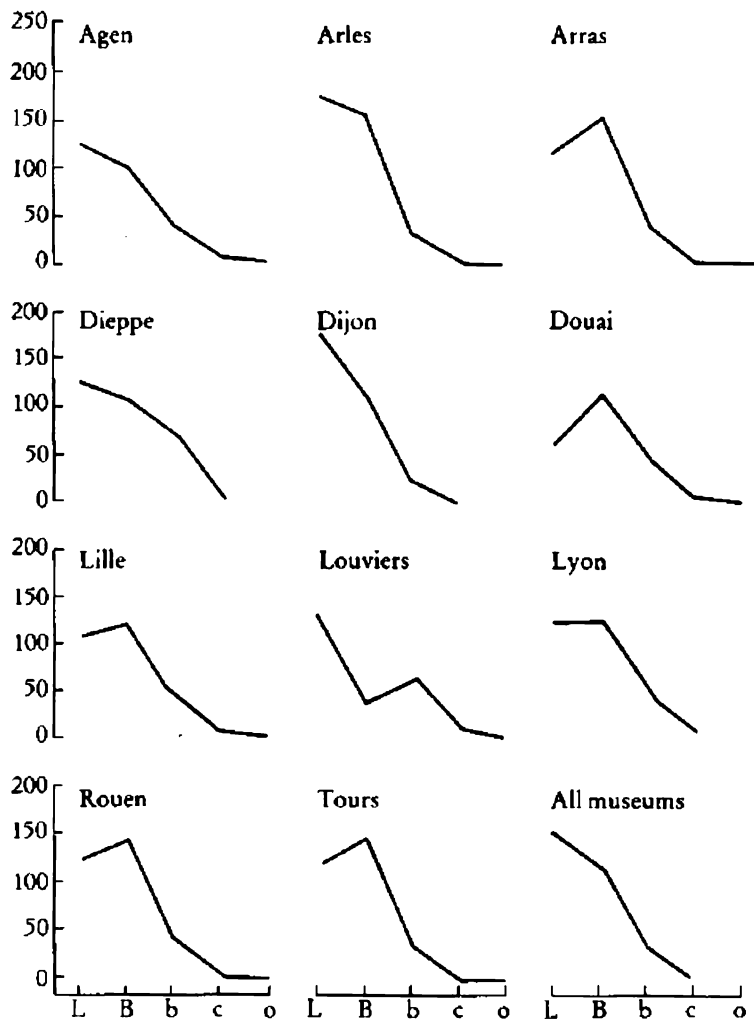
$$\frac{\delta F}{\delta d} = \int_0^\infty D'_d \Omega dx \quad \text{and} \quad \frac{\delta F}{\delta \omega} = \int_0^\infty D \Omega'_\omega dx$$

The differentiation of (3) and (4) gives:

$$D'_d = D'_x \frac{d\alpha}{dd} \quad (5) \quad \text{and} \quad \Omega'_\omega = \Omega'_x \frac{d\beta}{d\omega} \quad (6)$$

Merging (6) and (5) gives:

$$\frac{\delta F}{\delta d} = \frac{d\alpha}{d\beta} \int_0^\infty D'_x \Omega dx \quad \text{and} \quad \frac{\delta F}{d\omega} = \frac{d\beta}{d\omega} \int_0^\infty D \Omega'_x dx$$



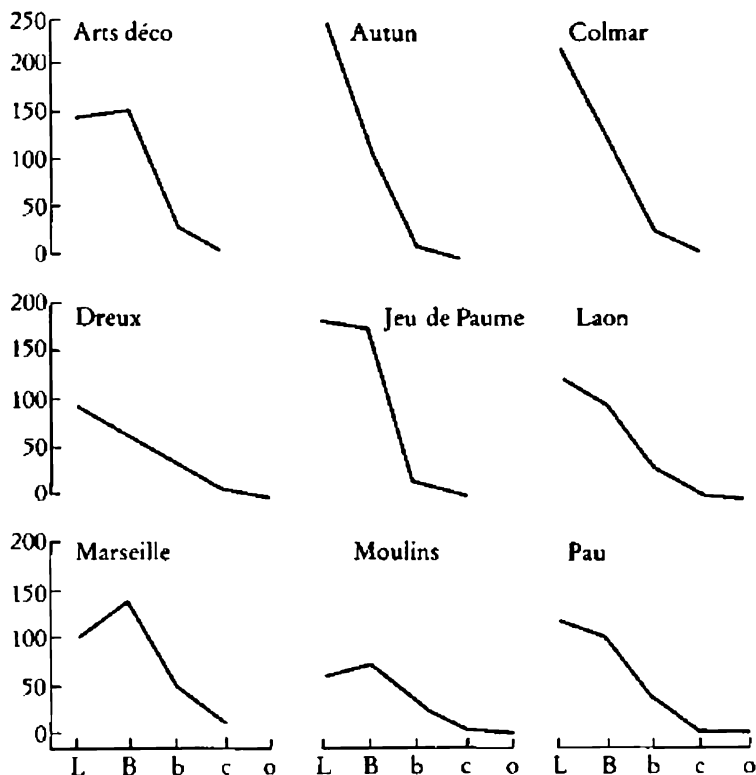


Fig. 5.1 Cultural level of the public

Horizontal axis: L *Licence*
 B *baccalauréat*
 b *brevet*
 c *Certificat d'études*

Vertical axis: Relationship between the proportion of individuals of this level in the sample and the proportion in the total French population. At the 100 mark, the two proportions are equal.

Integrating by parts gives:

$$\frac{\delta F}{\delta d} = \frac{d\alpha}{dd} \left[D \Omega \right]_0^{\infty} - \frac{d\alpha}{dd} \int D \Omega' dx$$

The first term is zero – as a necessary condition of the integration of $(D\Omega)$.

If moreover

$$\frac{dx}{dd} = \frac{d\beta}{d\omega}$$

this gives:

$$\frac{\delta F}{\delta d} = - \frac{\delta F}{\delta \omega}$$

Let us apply the model to a particular case; let us postulate that the demand function of a category of people having completed d years of study is a Laplace-Gauss curve in the form:

$$D = \frac{kd}{\sigma_d \sqrt{2\pi}} e^{-\frac{1}{2} \frac{(x-d)^2}{\sigma_d^2}}$$

x is the level of demand measured in years; the standard deviation σ_d of this distribution is itself independent of x ; d is thus the modal or mean level.

The supply function is of the form:

$$\Omega = \frac{k\omega}{\sigma_\omega \sqrt{2\pi}} e^{-\frac{1}{2} \frac{(\omega-\omega)^2}{\sigma_\omega^2}}$$

k being the capital offered by the museum, indicated by its size, and $\sigma\omega$ the standard deviation, presumed equally independent of x .

Visiting rate takes the form

$$t = \int D \cdot \Omega dx = \frac{1}{\sqrt{2\pi}} \frac{K}{\sqrt{\sigma_d^2 + \sigma_\omega^2}} \cdot e^{-\frac{(\omega-d)^2}{2(\sigma_d^2 + \sigma_\omega^2)}}$$

It can be verified that this is a decreasing function of $(\omega-d)^2$

Furthermore, it is dependent on the parameter $\sigma^2 = \sigma_d^2 + \sigma_\omega^2$ which can be interpreted as the variance of museums and public taken together.

Finally,

$$t = \frac{K}{\sqrt{2\pi}\sigma} e^{-\frac{1}{2} \frac{\Delta^2}{\sigma^2}} \text{ by setting down: } \Delta = \omega - d \quad (7)$$

As figures 5.1–3 show, the experimental rates correspond to expressions of this kind. As the proposed analytical form explains the visiting rates established in practice, it is legitimate to use it to understand the measurable consequences of any specific political action, without taking the results of this verification literally, since this would be going beyond the limits of mathematical technique.

If the demand d can be marked by four equidistant levels, degree level can be given the value 4, *baccalauréat* level 3, BEPC level 2, and CEP level 1. It will be noted that the difference between two consecutive levels is constant, as is the average length of study needed to move from one to the other, namely around three to four years in general, except perhaps between the two highest levels, as teaching necessarily enters into a stage of decreasing returns (in the relationship studied here). If a level of zero is given to the illiterate, visitors with no qualifications have to be given a position somewhere between zero and one, but one which is difficult to determine without a degree of arbitrariness. Let it now be supposed that the level of information offered (the supply) is exactly equal to four, or more generally, that it coincides with one of the levels previously defined. It is then sufficient to calculate the following relationships for each museum:

$$\frac{t(4, d)}{t(4, 4)} = f(d)$$

and then to determine, by use of a Laplace–Gauss table, the values of y , as in

$$\frac{1}{\sqrt{2\pi}} e^{-\frac{1}{2}y^2} = f(d)$$

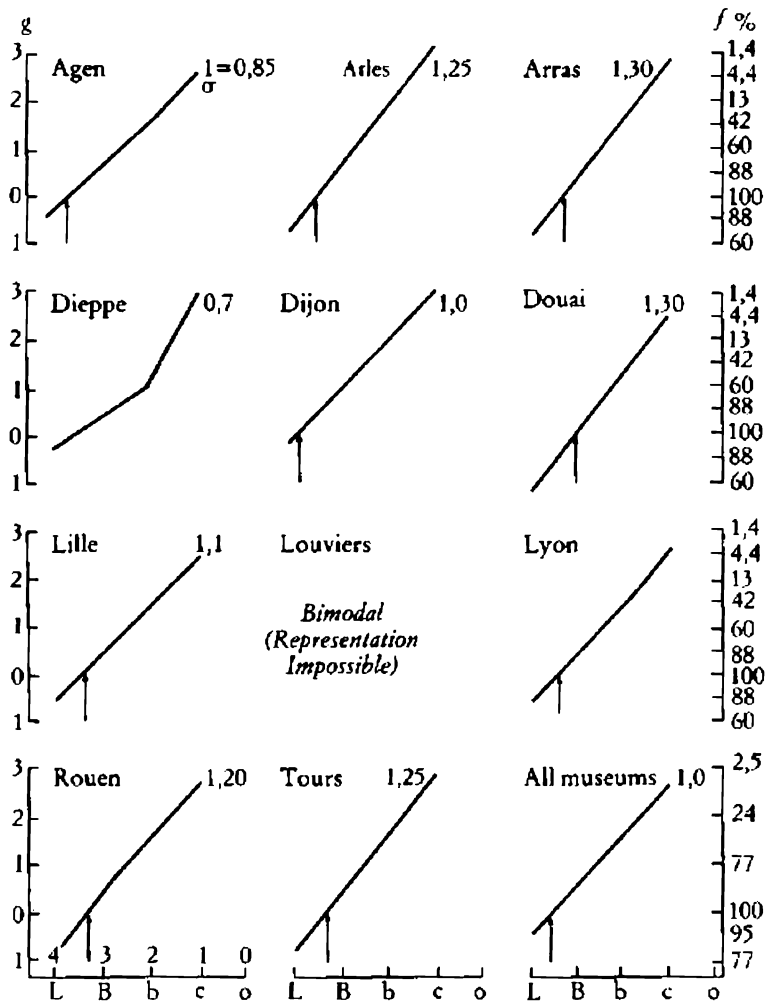
If the hypothesis is valid, d and y are linked linearly by the relationship

$$\frac{4-d}{\sigma} = y \quad (8)$$

where σ is the standard deviation previously defined.

Obviously, this particular case is relatively rare, and in fact, only concerns a few museums in the sample (Autun, Colmar, Dijon). In general, only the broad area where this level is situated is known, most often it is known that $3 < d < 4$. It is therefore necessary to proceed a little differently, by setting down: $f(4) = f_0$; from which $f_0(3)$, $f_0(2)$, $f_0(1)$ are deduced.

This leads to the observation that there is always one value, calculated by successive approaches, which verifies formula (8), and from



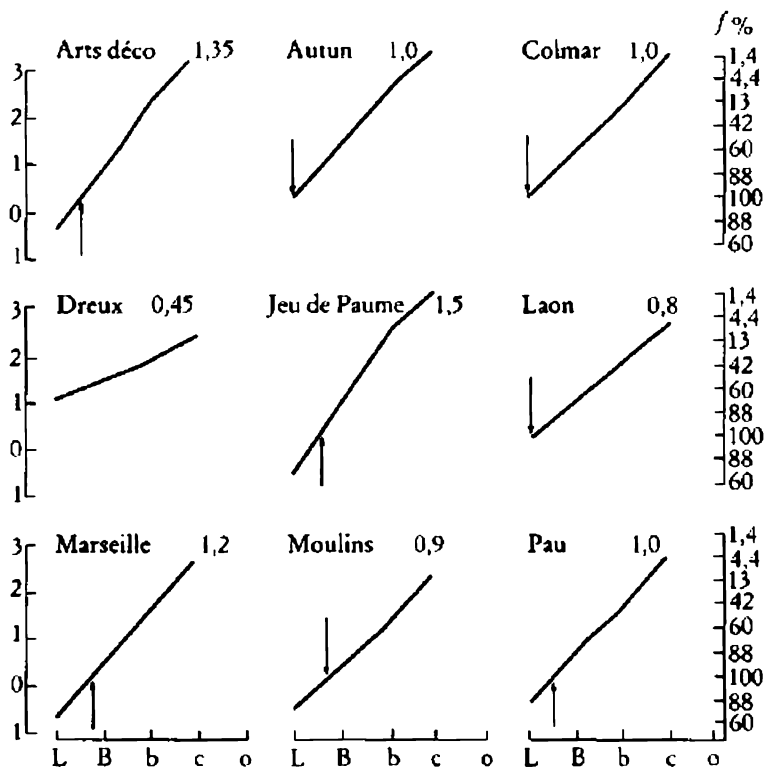


Fig. 5.2 Modal level of supply. Dispersion of the supply and the visiting rate (to the nearest factor) of each museum at each level of education

The modal level is indicated by a vertical arrow (For Agen, $\omega = 3.7$). The visiting rates are given: (1) as a percentage, arbitrarily giving degree level a value of 100 per cent (Axis f); (2) as a Gaussian transformation (Axis g). The slope of the visiting curve is indicated in the top right-hand corner.

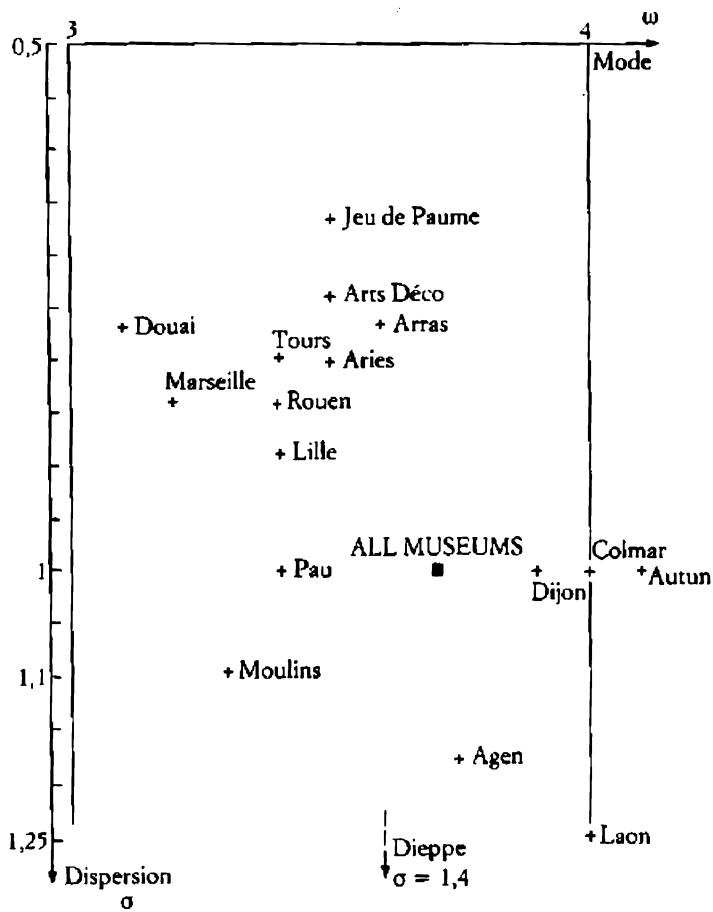


Fig. 5.3 Modal level of supply and dispersion of supply for each museum

which the supply level and the standard deviation of each museum is deduced. It could be objected that it is possible to prepare such a proposed analytical form in advance through a transformation of the relevant variables, that the number of experimental points is low, and that the demonstration is more negative than positive (but is this not a feature of any experimental verification?).⁴

In accordance with the principle of equivalence between the information offered and the degree of competence of the receiver, the differences separating the supply level of different museums (measured by the modal level of visitors) correspond to differences in the quality and type of works they exhibit. Thus Colmar museum, which exhibits one of the most famous paintings in France after the Mona Lisa, and those of Dijon and Autun, both with many famous works, the former in a tourist area, the latter noted for the exceptional quality of its presentation, have the highest levels of information and the most aristocratic public, as does Laon museum (very different from the previous ones both in the size of its public and the quality of its presentation), which attracts a cultivated public because of its collection of Greek vases. In contrast, the level of information is low at Dreux museum, which is mainly historical, at Douai museum, which is newly created and whose curator is attempting to attract young people, at the Museum of Fine Arts in Marseille, whose public is that of a small provincial museum (with temporary exhibitions being held at the Cantini Museum, which is right in the city centre, and is where the curators are housed), at Moulins museum, which mainly exhibits objects, and finally at Louviers museum, which is particularly interesting since it is the only one to have a bimodal public, with a second mode between the level of the BEPC and the *baccalauréat*. Experimental conditions do not allow the particular differences (always very small) to be isolated between good museums of painting of the traditional kind, such as the museums of the Jeu de Paume, Tours, Arras, Arles, Rouen, or Lille.

However, as calculation of the level of emission (or of supply) becomes very imprecise (as the example of Louviers shows) as the range of collections becomes greater (to the point at which, sometimes, several museums really coexist within the same building), the distribution of the museum public by level of education can also be considered, and an attempt can be made to verify whether a restricted range of visitors corresponds to a strong homogeneity of works exhibited, and vice versa. Indeed, the Jeu de Paume and the Musée des

Arts décoratifs, which show particularly homogeneous groups of paintings, have a very restricted range of visitors, as do, to a lesser extent, all the museums principally exhibiting paintings (Arras, Tours, Douai, Arles, Rouen, Marseille, Lille). On the other hand, the range of visitors is at its greatest at Dieppe museum, whose public consists both of regular visitors to historic châteaux and of art lovers who go to see the works of art exhibited in part of the château; at Laon museum, whose public consists both of the usual visitors to a small local museum of archaeology and history, and of more cultivated visitors, mainly members of the teaching profession, drawn by the collection of Greek vases; and at Moulins museum, which exhibits mainly objects but also a few paintings known to art lovers and specialists; and finally at Agen museum which houses prehistoric objects and paintings from the Spanish school.

Thus, although experimental conditions did not permit art museums to be ranked precisely according to the level of information they offer, it seems clear that several broad categories can be distinguished within each museum and even more so amongst museums and monuments as a whole, since it is known that a museum or a monument tends to attract the middle classes more if it presents folk or historical objects in addition to paintings. Consequently, it can be assumed that a museum will have a more diverse public, the greater the diversity of the works it exhibits, and, as well as paintings, the more it offers objects capable of attracting middle-class visitors. A final confirmation of the validity of the model proposed can be seen in the fact that working-class visitors are almost completely immune to the differential attraction of museums, as their visiting owes more to chance than to prior information on the works on display.

The work that a curator can undertake in his or her museum can, by definition, only be carried out on the information provided in the exhibitions, and, though extremely limited, this work is nevertheless important. If a single chance encounter with works of art is not sufficient to make someone a regular museum visitor, it is up to the museum at least not to discourage people, and to retain the one-off visitor attracted by publicity, tourism or chance. An attempt to increase museum visiting may be organized for very different ends, depending on whether it is chosen to increase the proportion of visitors in the social categories already most represented in the visiting public, or to increase the frequency of visits by current visitors, or whether an attempt is made to attract visitors belonging to social classes which at present rarely or never go to museums. Depending on

which aim is selected, different – and in some cases, exclusive – methods have to be used, and consequently the size and swiftness of the overall increase in visitors, and the cost of the exercise, will vary.

To sustain the visiting of individuals of the cultivated classes, who already visit museums, is principally a matter of rekindling their interest in painting, which has often faded, by re-establishing the museum visit into the social calendar, from which it is commonly absent. This, it seems, is the significance of the traditional activity of the curator as defined by 'museumology', which, despite the name, rather than being a science, is a body of formulae and empirical precepts passed on in a diffuse and unofficial manner. In short, publishing catalogues, modernizing the presentation of the works, organizing an Association of Friends of the museum, and above all staging special exhibitions – the most typical ones being those which bring together in an unusual setting works scattered throughout the permanent galleries of different museums to group them in a new way, whether by theme or artist, or those which focus on a single work for a limited period, such as 'the painting of the week' in the National Gallery in Washington – all helps to awaken and sustain the interest of art lovers in an all-too-familiar museum, of which they are only reminded when the activities it offers fit into the social round, or even helps to prompt a special visit by exceptional promotion, capable of giving an artistic event the attractive power of a fashionable ceremony or a social 'happening'. A church where certain chosen individuals come to nurture a virtuoso faith while conformists and hypocrites come to hurry through a class ritual, the museum can suddenly become a place of pilgrimage crowded with the serried ranks of the faithful, who, in New York, Washington, Tokyo or Paris, wait patiently in long lines to have a brief glimpse of a masterpiece designated for collective adulation, much as in the past a crucifix or a reliquary was kissed. However, these marvels can only arouse wonder amongst those who wish to see in these fleeting outbursts of popular excitement a way, doubtless desanctified, of acknowledging the sacred.

The passionate interest shown by intellectuals in phenomena such as the success of the Picasso or Tutankhamun exhibitions would be hard to understand if it were not realized that the intellectual's relationship with culture encompasses the whole question of the relationship between the intellectual and the intellectual condition. This is nowhere more dramatically stated than in the question of the relationship of the working classes with culture, a question that the intellectual poses on behalf of the working classes, and which masks

the question of the relationship between the intellectual and the working classes, as classes deprived of culture. In order to see that intellectuals' interest in this problem – or in similar ones, since it concerns the effectiveness of modern communication, of 'popular culture', of arts centres, or of paperback books – is a directly involved one, it is enough to observe with what rapidity they seize on the tiniest indications of any democratization of access to culture. 'Ladies in white mink rub shoulders with workers in blue in front of the *Demoiselles d'Avignon*', write some of them, while others see television as the great vehicle for cultural messages within the reach of everyone, thus equally accessible to all, thus identical for all, and thus appropriate to make all those who receive them identical. Their intoxication should be counterbalanced by the sobering realism of statistics.

Analysis of the statistics for recorded visits to special exhibitions mounted in Holland between 1950 and 1962 establishes the limits of effectiveness of exhibitions: during this period, the overall number of visitors to museums and special exhibitions increased very regularly (from 2,500,000 in 1952 to more than 5,000,000 in 1962), if two peak periods during the Van Gogh exhibition (1953) and the Rembrandt exhibition (1956) are excepted. Unlike the overall visits, visits to special exhibitions have remained more or less constant (with the exception of 1953 and 1956), fluctuating between 700,000 and 800,000, and this even though the number of exhibitions has continually increased, from 275 in 1952, to 360 in 1961, and 460 in 1962. This observation would cast doubt on the effectiveness of a policy of increasing the number of exhibitions (since such an action seems to obey a law of diminishing returns), were it not also observed that when certain exhibitions meet with particular success, the total number of visits to museums and special exhibitions does not increase accordingly, since, in the two exhibitions cited above, the 'peaks' of the visiting pattern to special exhibitions do not correspond to the 'peaks' in the pattern of visits to museums and exhibitions as a whole, because, as a compensatory effect, they coincide with the 'troughs' in the pattern of visits to museums alone. It is possible to conclude, therefore, that only exceptional exhibitions attract a new but *occasional* public, and that the regular increase in the overall museum public is a phenomenon independent of exhibition policy, which can only be explained by the general raising of the level of education and the increase in cultural tourism⁵ (cf. figure A6.2).

Special exhibitions regularly attract an increased number of visitors,

but tend fairly markedly to reinforce the aristocratic nature of the public (the percentage of individuals who have visited special exhibitions and can remember their names is 17.5 per cent amongst the working classes, 30 per cent amongst the middle classes, and 70 per cent amongst the upper classes) (cf. table A5.5). Thus, a historical exhibition, therefore one which is relatively accessible, about 'Life in Pau during the Second Empire', attracted a large number of visitors to the museum, but the proportion, and even the absolute number, of middle- and working-class visitors decreased (cf. table A3.12). During the exhibition 'Antagonismes' at the Musée des Arts décoratifs about the most daring forms of modern art, 90 per cent of the visitors belonged to the upper classes (of which 18 per cent were senior executives, 33.4 per cent students, 21.6 per cent teachers or art specialists, 17 per cent housewives married to senior executives, as against 8.5 per cent clerical staff and junior executives, 1.5 per cent craftworkers and tradespeople, 0.5 per cent industrial manual workers, with farmers and farm labourers being totally absent).

An experimental situation arose at Lille through the simultaneous presentation of three exhibitions of very different 'levels', promoted by a very rigorous publicity campaign (radio and television broadcasts, articles in the local papers, posters, etc.). At the same time as seeing the museum, visitors could view an exhibition of eighteenth-century paintings, standard in terms of the works exhibited and the method of presentation (bare walls, simple labels near the pictures), an exhibition of Egyptian art sponsored by Lille University, and finally an exhibition about 'The Art of the Interior in Denmark', which showed everyday objects such as glass and crystal, ceramics and furniture.

It might have been expected that having simultaneous exhibitions of very different styles and 'levels' would bring together a socially diverse public, with the Danish exhibition attracting middle- and working-class visitors to the museum and perhaps to the other exhibitions. In fact although the daily number of visits almost doubled, the social profile of the public of the three exhibitions remained similar to the profile of the regular public of the same museum, with the proportion of the working classes even decreasing (from 5.5 per cent to 1.2 per cent, and from an average of 1.36 visitors to 1.20).⁶

The distribution of the public by level of education confirms that the privileged classes profited most from this attempt at popularization, since the proportion of visitors without a *baccalauréat* to the

Table 5.1 Comparison between visits to main museum and special exhibition

| | Museum | | Exhibition | |
|---|----------------------|-------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| | average daily visits | % of total public | average daily visits | % of total public |
| Farmers and farm labourers | 0.4 | 1.5 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Manual workers | 1.0 | 4.0 | 1.2 | 1.0 |
| Craftworkers and tradespeople | 1.9 | 8.0 | 7.2 | 7.0 |
| Clerical staff and junior executives | 6.4 | 27.0 | 21.2 | 21.5 |
| Primary school teachers | 0.8 | 3.5 | 5.2 | 5.5 |
| Students | 6.4 | 27.0 | 31.6 | 32.0 |
| Senior executives | 4.0 | 17.0 | 18.8 | 19.0 |
| Secondary school teachers and art specialists | 2.9 | 12.0 | 14.0 | 14.0 |

exhibitions is clearly lower than in the public of the general museum, whilst the proportion of graduates changes from the average 18.5 per cent to 34.5 per cent for all three exhibitions and to 36.5 per cent for the Danish exhibition, with the proportion of visitors with the *baccalauréat* remaining more or less constant.

Even though the Danish exhibition showed objects which could have been supplied to the public by a large department store, its location and even the publicity which preceded it made it a cultural event and it was therefore more directly addressed to a cultivated public. The mere fact that they should be consecrated by their presentation in a consecrated place is sufficient in itself profoundly to change the meaning (and more precisely the level of supply) of works which would be more accessible if exhibited in a familiar place. This feeling was precisely expressed by the custodian of Jacques Cœur's house in Bourges in an answer to the curator: 'But if you turn it into a museum, no one will come to it.'⁷ The low representation of the middle and working classes is all the more remarkable since almost a third of the visitors (27 per cent) were going to a museum for the first time (of which 68.5 per cent came with the specific intention of seeing this exhibition) and since 80 per cent came from Lille or its immediate environs. No doubt, as with the monuments and sites indicated in

tourist itineraries, the works exhibited acquire a social significance which makes a visit obligatory. However, the added value given to works by the 'extraordinary' presentation and the public demonstrations of solemnization can only be noticed and appreciated by those who belong to that part of society which places a value on these works, such that, in this area more than any other, the encouragements provided by social contacts and by word of mouth have more effect as a means of social influence than modern publicity techniques.

As a necessary undertaking, a visit to an exhibition is not essential to the same degree to visitors from different backgrounds. Because of this, it is the visitors from the more privileged classes who most frequently visit an exhibition additional to the one which was the initial object of their visit; in other words the force of the proposed cultural programme is all the more strongly felt, the stronger the identification with cultural values and the stronger the pressure exerted by the reference group.

As with religious preaching, cultural preaching only has any chance of success when addressed to the converted. It is natural that a curator who is not driven by a missionary spirit and who is concerned above all to gauge the success of his or her efforts immediately, measured by the number of the faithful recorded, addresses him- or herself preferentially to the groups with the greatest number of devotees. It is understandable that a museum's Society of Friends should be, along with special exhibitions, the second main focus of the 'museological' enterprise.

Those who join the Society of Friends of a museum mean to secure for themselves the benefits of belonging to this organization, but also, mostly perhaps in small towns, to show themselves to be fervent devotees of all the cultural events put on by the group: 23 per cent of the members of Friends of the Louvre claim to go on all of the visits organized (more than twenty a year).⁸ The totally exceptional intensity of this practice is understandable in view of the fact that members almost all belong to the cultivated classes (77.5 per cent are senior executives or their wives, compared with only 3 per cent who are craftworkers or tradespeople, and 0.5 per cent farmers, farm labourers or industrial manual workers and their wives). The distribution of members by level of education is no less significant: while the modal museum visitor has a *baccalauréat*, 47 per cent of members of the Society of Friends of the Louvre are graduates (with only 1.8 per cent of the total population of France being graduates), 30 per cent have a *baccalauréat*, and only 19 per cent have a qualification below that.

Proof that the Society attracts devotees rather than novices is given by the fact that its members were already regular museum visitors before they joined, irrespective of their social class. In 90 per cent of cases, first contact with the museum took place before they were eighteen, and 55 per cent claimed that they joined the Society through the influence of a friend or family tradition. Thus, the Society offers to its members the opportunity of continuing to devote themselves to a cultural activity with which they have been made familiar, through their family environment, since childhood or adolescence, and which has been developed in the course of an extended schooling. Contrary to the wishes expressed by its president, the Society in no way acts as a means of attracting to the museum people whose environment and lack of culture has kept them away: 2,500 new members join every year (while almost the same number do not renew their membership), but the social characteristics of the newcomers are exactly the same as those of the old members. Although this is a Parisian association, whose social composition is particularly aristocratic, there are strong indications that the provincial associations also attract notables and intellectuals (members of the Lille Association are 19 per cent middle-class and 81 per cent upper-class, and those of the Douai Association are 2 per cent working-class, 11 per cent middle-class, and 87 per cent upper-class), and have the explicit aim of gathering the elite members of the public around the museum. If their purpose is to attract a new public, they do not have the appropriate means of achieving it.

If the sole concern, above all others, is to entice the largest possible number of visitors to the museum, no doubt some of the means currently employed in the great majority of museums are the best suited, and the most in keeping with the 'vocation' of current museum staff. In contrast, a policy inspired by the desire to attract people to the museum who do not feel the need to visit it could only have an extremely limited short-term effectiveness, and would entail the use of other methods, and probably a staff with a completely different training and attitude.

Amongst the factors defining the supply level of museums, not the least of which is the social meaning of the museum, only the kind of works exhibited and the manner of their presentation depend (at least partially) on museum staff. It is known that the proportion of visitors attracted essentially by historic, folk or ethnographic objects, ceramics or furniture, increases regularly and sharply with lower social class (cf. tables A3.14 and 15). It can thus be concluded that museums which are exclusively devoted to the most 'noble' and difficult works could retain middle-class visitors by making room for objects which

form part of everyday aesthetic experience, such as furniture, crockery or porcelain, or indeed historical, folk or even ethnographic objects, and by responding to aesthetic interests developed by the taste for interior decoration or by satisfying the interest in historical things attested equally well by the success of large-circulation historical magazines and the size (much larger) and profile (much more democratic) of the public of museums housed inside castles and historic monuments.

If it seems impossible to lower the model supply level of museums, it is possible to modify its variance (σ^2 in the model) by varying the type and quality of the works exhibited. The analytical form of the visiting rate t shows that, depending on whether the variance is lower than, equal to or higher than the difference Δ^2 between supply and demand, the visiting rate is an increasing, static or decreasing function of σ^2 . An increase in the dispersion of the level of the works could bring about a drop in the visiting rate of the most cultivated classes (who have the highest level of demand), if this increase in the dispersion were not in fact accompanied by an increase in the intensity of the supply or in the size of the museum, and if the consecration afforded them by the museum did not automatically raise the level of works exhibited, as seen in the case of the Danish exhibition at Lille Museum. In any case, this increase in the dispersion would tend to bring about a slight increase in the number of less cultivated visitors, attracted by works closer to their own experience and interests. Middle-class attitudes are organized around the opposition between the 'interesting' and the 'instructive', an opposition they establish, for example, between the familiar objects in the Danish exhibition, fully in keeping with their interests, and the objects shown in the permanent galleries, which by contrast require a deliberate and forced interest, as different from 'interest' as from aesthetic pleasure; at the same time middle-class visitors could have access to works which were not the primary object of their visit and thereby find an opportunity to express their cultural goodwill.

The only way to lower the level of transmission of a work is to provide, along with the work, the code in which the work is encoded, in a verbal or written explanation whose code has already been partially or totally mastered by the receiver, or which continuously provides the key to its own decipherment, in accordance with the model of perfectly rational pedagogical communication. Working-class visitors who venture into museums often feel out of place and always feel disoriented because they are not well prepared to confront

the works on display and because, in the museum itself, they do not find any aids to make their visit easier. Consequently it can be supposed that, if the works presented are equally difficult to understand, the helplessness of the least cultivated visitors could be decreased by offering them the help they expect. To fear that written or spoken information about the works on display diverts visitors from the contemplation of the works themselves by drawing their attention to extrinsic and anecdotal matters, is to be unaware that the ideal of contemplation without words or actions is only characteristic of those who possess the immediate familiarity acquired by the imperceptible training of prolonged exposure. It is also to be unaware that interest in a work in and for itself, and indifference to the apparently additional information it can provide, defines an aesthetic attitude which, in the same way as the popular experience of beauty, is socially conditioned and in any case is never independent of the social conditions which make 'people of taste' possible. The meaning and function of this social definition of the aesthetic attitude is never as clear as in areas where the 'competition' of the middle and working classes threatens the cultural 'monopoly' and the aesthetic or ethical certainty of the upper classes. Thus the mocking of enthusiastic photographers and the mania for photography that has become one of the commonplaces of distinguished conversation in reality expresses the rules which, in the eyes of the elite, should define aesthetic contemplation. Like photo fans who conform to the laborious asceticism of the accumulation of souvenirs, or film buffs who are capable of reciting the credits of films they have not seen, these museum visitors who, completely preoccupied with hoarding anecdotal knowledge, pay less attention to the works themselves than to the analysis in the catalogue, have no experience of the art of surrendering themselves to the immediate and fleeting emotion which defines the distinguished detachment of the aesthete.

Even if it encouraged a form of contemplation which could be judged inferior, historical and technical information would at least fulfil the expectations of middle-class visitors for whom seeing and knowing and understanding and learning are one and the same, and who put educational value before simple pleasure. At the same time it would help to lessen the discomfiture of those who, having ventured into a museum without being prepared for it, would see, in the effort made to provide the means of learning and understanding, an implicit recognition of the right not to understand and to demand to understand.

So that the explanatory panels do not distort the judgement of visitors or damage the aesthetic quality of the museum, as often seems to be feared, all that would be needed would be to entrust the drafting of the panels to specialists and their design to artists. And without going so far as to wish that full scholarly documentation of the works exhibited should be available to the visitor inside the gallery itself, as is done in the National Gallery in Washington, or that fixed projection equipment or individual audio-visual aids should be used, as in the British Museum, for example, would it be too much to expect that each museum should place a catalogue, however summary, at the visitors' disposal, or even a few photocopied sheets including a groundplan, which the visitor could buy cheaply, consult or even borrow free of charge for the duration of the visit? In fact, nothing illustrates the misunderstanding which separates the curator from visitors of the underprivileged classes better: while the curator, busy with other duties, and wanting to produce an indisputable work of scholarship, occasionally delays the publication of a catalogue for a long time, more often than not the public would be content with a few sheets, perhaps slightly outmoded on a few points of scholarship, but which would help them to avert the distress they experience when they feel alone in front of an indecipherable work of art. Many techniques are used by foreign museums to make museums more accessible. Explanatory panels help visitors to the Rijksmuseum. At the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, old ladies who knit behind small desks have replaced the drowsy or stern warders who follow every step of the solitary visitor to provincial museums. The leaflets carried by the visitors to the National Gallery in London also have the effect of transforming the atmosphere of the visit, because they evoke a walk in a garden rather than contemplation in a church. Why not provide music, which would give visitors the feeling that they can utter a few words without disturbing the religious silence? Why not employ receptionists who could possibly advise or inform less educated visitors, or those who would like to expand their knowledge? Why not add to the educational services (which in the USA are almost always more extensive than the curatorial services), and provide museums with libraries, concert halls, and shops selling reproductions, jewellery and folk objects? Why not make museums more welcoming by fitting them out with bars, lounges or restaurants which would allow visitors to spend the whole day at the museum? Why not provide art teachers with the facilities to hold their classes in the museum galleries, as is often seen in the USA?

Of the two objectively possible policies, the curators nearly always choose the one which tends to increase the aristocratic character of the museum and its public. This is doubtless not because they are aware

that the direct action of the curator cannot of itself contribute in a decisive manner towards the democratization of the culture whose guardians they are; on the contrary, it is often in the name of a charismatic representation of the relationship with the work of art that the connoisseurs, paradoxically attached to the myth of the 'fresh eye', denounce and reject as pure desecration any efforts to reduce the reverential distance of the sacred objects by the effect of rational teaching. In fact, the choices made by curators, and the ideologies they use to justify them, both owe less to the logic of rational consideration than to the objective conditions characterizing the profession and owe even more to the social conditions which make them into an island of traditionalism.

In fact, curators as a whole exhibit all the characteristics of a traditional group. In French provincial towns up until 1945 (and still, in many towns), archivists, librarians and local painters also used to perform the duties of curators, for which, except in certain cases, they had neither the vocation nor the qualifications. In Paris, in the absence of any rational definition of recruitment conditions or of any explanation of the selection criteria, curators were co-opted on the basis of personal relationships and family traditions, and were usually rich amateurs to whom the museum guaranteed neither career nor remuneration (or only of a nominal nature), at least until they reached the grade of curator, but who found consecration of the collector's vocation in their responsibility for curating and augmenting the public collections with an 'unselfish rapacity'.⁹ Little inclined towards the role of administrator and even less towards that of teacher, and rather ill-prepared for properly academic tasks, they used to be satisfied with an overall, ambiguous and thus prestigious, status, which allowed them to present themselves to artists as protectors of Art and guardians of Tradition, to universities as men of action and art experts, and to dealers as disinterested aesthetes. Thus, rather than being a professional body in the true sense, Parisian curators and a few great provincial curators used to constitute a 'society' (in the restricted sense of the word), a group of personalities united (and divided) by very close and intense interconnecting relationships.

The origin of the sociological characteristics of this group can be found neither in its small size, nor in its system of recruitment, which merely expresses the logic of these characteristics and ensures their perpetuation. Instead, their origin resides in the succession of chance occurrences, individual initiatives and administrative decisions which tend to legalize the current state of affairs rather than organizing the

fundamental tasks of an institution with diverse and poorly defined functions, and above all it resides in the subjective and objective image of a 'task', which, as it involves art, and the sacred and ineffable values of cultural salvation, is loath to let itself be confined within the bureaucratic ranks of an ordinary job. This is why the basic truth about this traditional 'society' appeared no more clearly than when confronted with the test brought about by the 1945 statute, which was an unadventurous attempt at rationalization. In fact, the museum statute, contemporary with the creation of the *École Nationale d'Administration*, endeavoured to impose on curators the rules which govern public services, both regarding training and recruitment – by the creation of a competitive examination followed by several years of specialist study – and regarding career structure or the definition of functions, for example by splitting administrative responsibilities from academic ones, or by creating a body of executive staff. The test of rationality in this traditional society – among other causes – triggered off, through a process familiar to experts in acculturation, a sharp intergenerational conflict, which was seen by the older generation as the opposition between disinterested amateurs and ambitious 'academics'. Thus in real terms, up until the 1964 statute (which was just being implemented and whose consequences were not yet apparent), the 1945 statute went unheeded. In reality, neither the competitive examination nor the subsequent studies guaranteed a museum post: in 1961, only 37 per cent of graduates of the highest grade of the *École du Louvre* went into museum work, which continued to recruit individuals without the diploma of the *École du Louvre* as assistants in national museums, and the Council of State rejected the appeal made by the Association of Registered Students of the *École du Louvre* against one of these appointments.¹⁰ Despite a few concessions to the new principles, promotion continued to be subject to the logic of personal relationships while the curators, who still combined administrative and academic functions, resisted any attempt at rationalization as hard as they could and, for example, took advantage of the unpaid services of colleagues from the same social background rather than those of subordinates technically trained for executive tasks. In fact, in this enclosed and restricted world, where most responsibilities are geared to, and often created by and for one particular person, any attempt at introducing impersonal regulations seems almost bound to conceal the arbitrary nature of personal favour and disfavour, which certainly leads to behind-the-scenes resistance from groups united by personal relationships or common interests.¹¹

The French museum curator can point to the multiplicity of his or her duties, as academic, business person (no matter what administrative texts say, the curator is responsible for making acquisitions, and thus for competing with dealers over collectors and possible donors, and for halting exports etc.), administrator, and educator – roles which other countries such as Poland and USA entrust to separate individuals and separate specialist departments – in order to justify giving greater importance to those which are most in keeping with his or her own image of the vocation. More precisely, for each curator, concern for the works of art constantly clashes with concern for the public. However, despite (mainly verbal) concessions to democratizing access to museums, a good number of collectors, covetous of their collection, tolerate the current state of their museum and its public:¹² the incomprehension of visitors little qualified to appreciate the efforts they make in mounting exhibitions or the negotiations behind certain acquisitions could prompt an aristocratic pessimism amongst them, if they were not aware, by direct or indirect experience, of the futility of their attempts to attract a new public. Just as certain Polish museum curators, generally from privileged backgrounds, who have been reduced to the role of teachers by regulations, note with grim pleasure the limited effectiveness of an activity they are reluctant to carry out, a fair number of French curators will also no doubt find in the scientific description of the limits of their power an encouragement to devote themselves to the only activity for the public which seems to them to be worthy of their vocation, namely that of artistic guides to an elite of art lovers or 'taste makers'.¹³ And are they not carrying out their proper function, namely of consecrating established values, when they organize a Chagall exhibition in 1947, Klee in 1948, Villon in 1951, Dufy in 1953, Max Ernst in 1959, or even Miró and Le Corbusier in 1963 (Musée national d'art moderne), or when they discover or rediscover a certain unknown or unrecognized painter from a previous generation?

As a result, it is possible to understand the contradictions inherent in the curators' own representation of their relations with the public. A small group of traditional themes, ritually invoked at national and international conferences, such as free admission, extension of opening hours, or publicity, provide the surest alibi for any concern about 'democracy', since, while allowing sacred principles to be re-emphasized (regarding publicity, for example) and common values to be reaffirmed, it avoids raising questions which could threaten these values and principles, by allowing infinite discussion of the effective-

ness of formulae (magic as well as technical) which the extreme impecuniousness of museums will prevent from ever being tested. No doubt the duality at the heart of the museum, with the galleries open to the general public, and the reserve collections accessible only to specialists, clearly expresses the divided and contradictory consciousness of the majority of curators, torn between a tendency towards aristocratic esotericism which derives from their environment or their profession, and the demands of a society and a period which takes issue with their exclusive practices.¹⁴

However, the limits which are imposed on the activities of the curator are in fact imposed on every possible kind of direct encouragement of cultural practice. Those who believe in the miraculous effectiveness of a policy of encouraging museum visiting, and in particular in a publicity campaign through the press, radio and television, without realizing that this only adds to the redundancy of information already available in guidebooks, tourist offices or signs placed on the outskirts of tourist towns, are like those people who imagine that they only have to shout louder to be better understood by a foreigner.

No doubt, as with tourism, efforts at direct encouragement can break down social resistance and facilitate a first visit, but as they cannot create a disposition for regular visiting, they are condemned to short-lived success. Whether direct action is a matter of information or encouragement carried out through modern communication media or of ventures in cultural diffusion undertaken by 'popular culture' bodies, it can only be effective if it is exercised on individuals who have already been prepared to be affected by it through the systematic and prolonged action of schooling. This, it seems, would explain the oft-remarked partial failure of efforts to give children artistic training. If, having just left school, a great number of children give up a practice which school tried to instil into them, this is not, as is often argued, because this early training resulted in an association between school and the museum, and so breaking with one leads to breaking with the other. On the contrary, it is because schooling was not long enough and education not profound enough to form the cultivated attitude (of which museum visiting is one manifestation), amongst those who do not receive diffuse encouragement of regular visiting from their home environment.

In the same way, up to now, all attempts made to encourage people to visit museums show that the social and cultural characteristics of the

public remain more or less constant whatever the direct means used to attract them. For example, the experiment carried out by UNESCO in 1956 at Limoges consisted of the following: first, an exhibition of paintings in the museum, with guided tours and the distribution of 3,000 catalogues; second, an exhibition on portable panels of duplicate reproductions mounted by two national museum representatives in the entertainment suites of the town halls of twelve main towns in the canton of Haute-Vienne, and in several factories and schools in Limoges; third, two exhibitions on portable panels in the departure hall of Limoges station, in the post office, in the public library, and in certain schools; fourth, the showing of films 'aimed at making the working-class public aware of modern painting' by a team of youth club and sports club leaders; and finally, the distribution of art books through the public library.¹⁵ All these events were supported by an energetic publicity campaign, posters, banners hung up at the local boys' school and at Limoges station, newspaper articles and broadcasts on Radio Limoges.

This experiment allows the measurement of the effectiveness of direct action under the most favourable conditions, where the most modern information media, newspaper, radio and advertising, support what are considered the most traditional methods, lectures or books. In fact, the visitor profile of the museum where the works of art were exhibited for the duration of the experiment was not at all changed. This is understandable if it is realized that the influence of direct methods, especially that of information through the press, radio or television, is always exerted in a differential manner.¹⁶

Table 5.2 Public of Limoges museum compared to all French museums

| | Public of Limoges museum (%) | Public of all French museums (%) |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|--|
| Farmers and farm labourers | 2 | 1 |
| Industrial manual workers | 4 | 5 |
| Craftworkers and tradespeople | 5 | 6 |
| Clerical staff and junior executives | 15.5 | 23 |
| Students | 11 | 18 |
| Teachers and professionals | 43.5 | 38 |
| Others | 21 | 9 |

This provides an opportunity to reiterate that the action of radio and television is not always systematic and homogeneous. As well as the ownership of televisions being very unevenly spread between the different social categories (3.8 per cent amongst casual farm labourers,

5.9 per cent amongst small farmers, 20.8 per cent amongst industrial manual workers, 31 per cent amongst junior executives, and 35.5 per cent amongst senior executives), *receptivity to the information* varies considerably according to the type of information received and the social and cultural characteristics of the individuals receiving it. The audience for 'cultural' radio and television programmes (plays, concerts, etc.) is a function of level of education and position in the social hierarchy,¹⁷ and so it is not necessary to resort to experiments to be certain that information about museums or special exhibitions is most likely only to reach and, especially, only to influence, the most cultivated fraction of television viewers, or more precisely, only to reach and influence viewers in direct proportion to their level of education. It is no doubt those who are best prepared by their culture who most often tune into and absorb most thoroughly programmes devoted to art, and whatever the means employed, the action of cultural encouragement meets with greater success, the more cultivated the individuals.¹⁸

Compelled by the demands of circulation figures to develop a spontaneous sociology based on trial and error, journalists are rather wary of making use of the miraculous powers sometimes attributed to modern communication media. The weekly magazine *Elle*, whose educational content is otherwise evident, not once recommended a visit to a museum during 1963 or 1964. With the exception of an article on how to take children to a museum aimed mainly at mothers, who in fact often visit because they want to accompany their children, in the space of two years this magazine, which has regular columns on theatre, literature and cinema as well as those addressed specifically to women, contented itself with providing a list of French museums, publicizing special exhibitions, recommending a kind of tourist excursion to a craft exhibition in Haute-Provence, and offering a colour reproduction in its Christmas issue. This is not to deny that this kind of magazine, the majority of whose readership is from the working or middle classes (4 per cent farmers or farm labourers, 22 per cent industrial manual workers, 10 per cent craftworkers and tradespeople, 25 per cent junior executives, only 18 per cent senior executives, and 21 per cent non-working or other categories) could not prompt a spark of interest or even a cultural expedition, but it would not give rise to lasting conversions or a permanent practice.

The limitations imposed on all direct encouragement of cultural practice also apply to arts centres. Whether supported by a museum, as at Le Havre, or a theatre, as at Caen, arts centres attract those whose education or social background has prepared them for cultural practice. In the arts centre at Le Havre, the number of participants fluctuated massively from 138 to 3,500 between 1961 and 1964, but the social

profile of its public, always very close to that of the museum-visiting public, remained remarkably constant: the proportion of senior executives, professionals and students varied in the same way as the total number of participants (according to a logic which was also observable in the case of special exhibitions), fluctuating between 57.2 and 67.2 per cent of the total. If the arts centre at Le Havre attracted a public similar in profile to that of museums exhibiting works of art of a particularly high level, such as the Musée des arts décoratifs or Autun museum, this is probably because, as it is supported by a museum with bold architecture devoted to modern works of art, it naturally attracted the usual visitors to this type of museum.

The Caen arts centre, which specializes in theatrical activities, had a public (by 30 May 1964, after being in existence for a year) over three-quarters of which consisted of schoolchildren and students, 7.8 per cent senior executives and teachers, 8.5 per cent clerical staff and tradespeople, and only 0.7 per cent farmers, farm labourers or industrial manual workers.¹⁹ Similarly, the public of the Bourges arts centre comprised (by 30 May 1964, nine months after its opening) 26.8 per cent schoolchildren and students, 52.2 per cent senior executives and teachers, 22.6 per cent junior executives and clerical staff, 9.6 per cent industrial manual workers, and 1.2 per cent farmers and farm labourers.²⁰ While the action of pre-existing sports or family-oriented organizations has been able to encourage part of the middle classes and a minority of the working classes to an unfamiliar cultural practice, arts centres have found themselves invested with the characteristics of the institutions, such as theatres or museums, that they claim to complement or replace. Members of the cultivated class feel entitled and obliged to visit this hallowed ground of culture, from which others feel excluded for lack of sufficient culture. Far from fulfilling the function assigned to it by popular misconception, the arts centre remains a centre for cultivated people.

As a listener's interest in, and, more importantly, understanding of, any particular message is a direct function of his or her 'culture', the effectiveness of all techniques of direct cultural action must be questioned. These range from arts centres to popular education initiatives which, as long as inequalities in school (the sole institution capable of producing a cultivated attitude) are perpetuated, merely disguise the cultural inequalities that they cannot in reality reduce, especially in the long term. There is no short cut to the path leading to works of culture, and artificially produced and directly contrived encounters with them have no future.

The majority of popular education initiatives, especially arts cen-

tres, are inspired by an ideology which, beyond its variants and variations, is organized around a common body of received ideas, which generally appear to be the systematic expression of a certain type of social situation. As if they believed that only the physical inaccessibility of the works of art prevented the great majority from approaching, contemplating and enjoying them, the officials and organizers seem to think it sufficient to take the works of art to the people if they cannot make the people come to them. The exhibitions of paintings in the Renault factories or the plays put on for the workers of Villeurbanne are experiments which can prove nothing since they make the very object of the experiment disappear, by presenting as resolved the problem that the experiments aim to resolve, namely that of the conditions of cultural practice as a deliberate and regular enterprise; but they eventually end up convincing those who undertake them of the legitimacy of their enterprise. Popular education initiatives seem more realistic on the surface, as they rely on the work of the organizers to encourage and prepare members of the culturally disadvantaged classes for cultural practices, but they are never completely free of the ideology by which simple contact with the work of art is in itself sufficient to bring about a lasting disposition for cultural practice. Thus, the organizers of arts centres, convinced that the least cultivated classes (thus the least corrupted by the routinizing influence of university teaching) are predisposed by their state of cultural innocence to receive the most authentic and daring forms of art without prejudice, believe they can reconcile, without contradiction, the pursuit of an avant-garde aesthetic with the pursuit of a mass public. This goes more than some way towards explaining why it is that they in fact only attract the sort of people whom their message is really destined for: the intellectuals who derive from schooling not only a classical culture, in other words an academic culture, but also the capacity and desire to surpass it.

In spite of what the organizers think, these ventures in remedial culture exist at the margins of the academic institution they complement rather than compete with, and this duplicate and marginal position naturally finds its justification in an ideology which, from a critique of the failings of the academic institution, results in a generic questioning of the legitimacy and effectiveness of the specific action of the institution, namely the inculcation, through teaching and practice, of the system of customs and abilities which defines the cultivated attitude. If these organizations, which always threaten to seem like second-rate schools, are seen as offering careers and work to those

rejected by universities, it is understandable that so many of those who pretend to concentrate on cultural diffusion or cultural action, in fact make the questioning of the role of the school the first article of their *credo*.²¹ If these ideological beliefs help those who profess them to maintain themselves in an otherwise unstable situation, they certainly also block one of the apparently sensible ways of getting out of the situation. Certain acknowledgements of failure nevertheless implicitly contain the conditions whereby it can be overcome.

Thus, having described the activities put on in the youth clubs of la porte Briançon, rue Mercœur, Paris-Centre and Paris-Charonne, where 'the result is disappointing because the young people who go to the club have too low a cultural level', M. Eyraud, the director of Arts, Youth, and Sports in the Seine prefecture, concluded 'first, that the working-class public does not feel the need to visit museums, and does not feel comfortable in them; second, that, in order to bring it in, it is vital that an individual is specifically assigned to organize this activity; third, that the fruits of this action will only be reaped after a certain number of months or even years.'²² This shows that the direct cultural action exerted on volunteers (in all likelihood better educated than the average in their category) only obtains perceptible results by using academic methods and by giving itself time limits which are as long as those allowed by the school to produce 'cultivated' individuals.

In their current form, experiments at bringing people into contact with cultural works follow a rule which is familiar to experts in acculturation: a technique can be learned and understood perfectly and then forgotten because the conditions of practising this technique have not been provided, and because it is not integrated into the total system of attitudes and customs which alone can give it a foundation and a meaning. This is why, amongst young beauticians whose curriculum allows for visits to various museums with the aid of the education service of the Louvre, only 19 per cent revisited a museum in the four months following the end of compulsory visits, and even this was for the most part because this formed part of their secondary education.²³ In the same way, the first primary school teachers in Kabylia, at the end of the last century, continually deplored the fact that their pupils seemed to forget everything they had learned as soon as school was over, whether it was the height of trees or mathematics, which are techniques bound up with a whole attitude to the world which, in any case, schooling did not, or could not, convey by itself.

Is this to say that these undertakings can only be effective by equipping themselves with the means at the disposal of the school? In

fact, any attempt at imposing academic tasks and discipline on fringe bodies of cultural diffusion would come up against the ideological opposition of those in charge, who are usually wavering between the advantages of integration with the legitimate educational institution and the advantages of marginality. In addition, since the output of these organizations is currently almost negligible, the cost of the undertaking can also be questioned, as can the real function of a policy which consists of encouraging and maintaining marginal and largely ineffective bodies while not all methods have been implemented to authorize and compel the school to fulfil the function which is its responsibility in fact and in law – that is, to develop in all members of society, without distinction, an aptitude for what are commonly considered the most noble cultural practices. Is it not quite legitimate to ask this question when it can be scientifically established that longer schooling and an increase in the part played in the curriculum by artistic education are the only things which would enable the circle to be broken, in which all techniques of direct action are trapped, whether they be cultural events, or publicity through the press, radio or television?

To return specifically to museums, a *relative* increase in the dispersion of the information given would correspond to a relative increase in the visiting rate (or an 'elasticity' E), according to relationships previously established, equal to

$$E = \frac{\Delta^2}{\sigma^2} - 1$$

For a museum where the modal level of information offered is that of the *baccalauréat* ($\omega = 3$ levels), with a dispersion of one level (the most frequently observed case), any action on the information offered tending to increase the dispersion of one level would establish a tripling in the number of visitors of the level of *certificat d'études* (since $E = (3 - 1)^2 - 1 = 3$), a result which obviously could only be obtained by a complete change in contemporary museum policy and by a considerable increase in the resources at their disposal. As the visiting rates empirically established increase from one to ten between the levels of the CEP and the BEPC, it can be seen that at this level, the effect of the school is at least three times as important as any direct action on the level of supply, and that this is under the least favourable hypothesis since, for the visitor of BEPC level, the effect of this direct action on the supply level, measured in the same way, would be nil ($E = (3 - 2)^2 - 1 = 0$).

Thus, the general rise in the level of education evident in a comparison between the censuses of 1954 and 1962 by itself accounts for an increase in the annual number of visitors of 1.6 per cent, and demographic expansion accounts for an increase of 1.1 per cent, with the 0.3 per cent difference between these calculated figures and the actual annual increase of 3 per cent recorded for the national museums²⁴ probably being due to an increase in cultural tourism.

If the cultural level of those French people currently at the level of the CEP is raised by three years (i.e. by one level) to that of the BEPC, and at the same time those with the BEPC are raised to the level of the *baccalauréat*, a simple calculation shows that, in the very long term, that is, in the space of three generations, the overall visiting rate of French people would increase by 150 per cent. The model proposed here is valid, apart from a few minor details, for all forms of cultural practice. It is therefore established that an intensification of the action of the school is the most efficient means of increasing cultural practice – visits to museums, the theatre or concerts, as well as reading, listening to cultural radio programmes or watching cultural television programmes – at the same time as being the necessary condition for the effectiveness of any other means; in other words, investment in cultural equipment is hardly worthwhile in the absence of investment in schools, the only things able to ‘produce’ the users of this equipment.

However, it has been established that the degree to which the school, in its traditional guise, succeeds in transforming those entrusted to it and in inculcating them with a lasting disposition to cultural practice, is a function of the quantity and quality of the previous experiences implicitly demanded of them. It is therefore possible to forecast that the large expansion of the educated public which would result from a true democratization of recruitment, would necessarily be accompanied by a progressive weakening of the effectiveness of a schooling strictly adapted to individuals endowed, as if through a pre-established harmony, with the predispositions which it implicitly presupposes, unless a radical transformation of educational methods, or, rather, of the implicit postulates at the root of all educational choices, were accomplished.

To define scientifically the social and cultural conditions of museum visiting and, more generally, of all cultivated leisure activities, is to break radically with the ideology of ‘cultural needs’, which leads some to consider the opinions and preferences actually expressed and

recorded by surveys of cultural attitudes or consumption as authentic aspirations, ignoring the economic and social conditioning which determines these opinions and patterns of consumption, and the economic and social conditions which can make another set of opinions or consumptions possible. In short, as the cause cannot be stated and exposed, they sanction the division of society into those who experience 'cultural needs', and those who are deprived of this deprivation. As the work of art only exists as such in the extent to which it is perceived, in other words deciphered, it is obvious that the satisfactions accompanying this perception – whether it be truly aesthetic delight or more indirect rewards such as the *impression of distinction* – are only accessible to those who are disposed to appropriate them because they attach value to them, it being understood that they can only attach value to them when they have the means of appropriating them. Consequently, the need to appropriate goods which, like cultural goods, only exist as such for those who have received from their family and school environment the means of appropriating them, can only exist amongst those who can satisfy it and can be satisfied as soon as it exists. It follows that, on the one hand, in contrast with 'primary' needs, 'cultural needs' as cultivated needs, increase as they are satisfied, since each new appropriation tends to increase mastery of the instruments of appropriation and hence the satisfactions accompanying a new appropriation; and on the other hand, that awareness of deprivation decreases as the deprivation increases, with those who are most completely dispossessed of the means of appropriation of works of art being the most completely dispossessed of an awareness of this dispossession.

Conclusion

The laws formulated above, if they be true . . . , may be truisms.

A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *Structure and Function in Primitive Society*

When, for instance, a man wears a pair of spectacles which are so close to him physically that they are 'sitting on his nose', they are environmentally more remote from him than the picture on the opposite wall. Their proximity is normally so weakly perceived as to go unnoticed.

Heidegger, *Being and Time*

The same people who will no doubt be amazed that so much trouble has been taken to express a few obvious truths will be annoyed at not recognizing in these truisms the flavour, at once obvious and inexpressible, of their experience of works of art. What is the point, they will say, of knowing where and when Van Gogh was born, of knowing the ups and downs of his life and the periods of his work? When all is said and done, what counts for true art lovers is the pleasure they feel in seeing a Van Gogh painting. And isn't this the very thing that sociology desperately tries to ignore through a sort of reductive and disillusioning agnosticism? In fact, the sociologist is always suspected (according to a logic which is not his or her own, but that of the art lover) of disputing the authenticity and sincerity of aesthetic pleasure by simply describing its conditions of existence. This is because, like any kind of love, the love of art is loath to acknowledge its origins and on the whole it prefers strange coincidences, which can be interpreted as predestined, to collective conditions and conditionings.

A vague awareness of the arbitrary nature of admiration for works of art haunts the experience of aesthetic pleasure. The history of individual or collective taste is sufficient to refute any belief that objects as complicated as works of learned culture, produced according to rules of construction developed in the course of a relatively

autonomous history, should be capable of creating natural preferences by their own power. Only a pedagogic authority can break the circle of 'cultural needs' which allow a lasting and assiduous disposition to cultural practice to be formed only by regular and prolonged practice: children from cultivated families who accompany their parents on their visits to museums or special exhibitions in some way borrow from them their disposition to cultural practice for the time it takes them to acquire in turn their own disposition to practice which will give rise to a practice which is both arbitrary and initially arbitrarily imposed. By designating and consecrating certain works of art or certain places (the museum as well as the church) as worthy of being visited, the authorities invested with the power to impose a cultural arbitrary, in other words, in this specific case, a certain demarcation between what is worthy or unworthy of admiration, love or reverence, can determine the level of visiting of which these works will seem intrinsically, or rather, naturally worthy of admiration and enjoyment. Inasmuch as it produces a culture which is simply the interiorization of the cultural arbitrary, family or school upbringing, through the inculcation of the arbitrary, results in an increasingly complete masking of the arbitrary nature of the inculcation. The myth of an innate taste which owes nothing to the constraints of apprenticeship or to chance influences since it has been bestowed in its entirety since birth, is just one of the expressions of the recurrent illusion of a cultivated nature predating any education, an illusion which is a necessary part of education as the imposition of an arbitrary capable of imposing a disregard of the arbitrary nature of imposed meanings and of the manner of imposing them.

The sociologist does not intend to refute Kant's phrase that 'the beautiful is that which pleases without concept', but rather he or she sets out to define the social conditions which make possible both this experience and the people for whom it is possible (art lovers or 'people of taste') and thence to determine the limits within which it can exist. The sociologist establishes, theoretically and experimentally, that the things which please are the things whose concept is understood or, more precisely, that it is only things whose concept is understood which can give pleasure. He or she also establishes that, consequently, in its learned form, aesthetic pleasure presupposes learning and, in any particular case, learning by habit and exercise, such that this pleasure, an artificial product of art and artifice, which exists or is meant to exist as if it were entirely natural, is in reality a cultivated pleasure.

If what Kant called 'barbarous taste', that is, popular taste, seems to be at variance with the Kantian description of cultivated taste on all points, and especially in its insistence on relying on concepts,¹ in reality it simply demonstrates clearly the hidden truth of cultivated taste. Just as Hegel set against the ethics of pure intention, the ethos as 'realized ethics', the pure aesthetic can be opposed in the name of the aesthetic realized in cultivated taste which, as a permanent mode of being, is no less than a 'second nature', in the sense that it surpasses and sublimates primary nature. It is because it is the 'realized aesthetic' or, more precisely, culture (of a class or era) become nature, that the judgement of taste (and its accompanying aesthetic pleasure) can become a subjective experience which appears to be free and even won over in the face of common culture. The contradictions and ambiguities in the relationship of cultivated individuals with their culture are both promoted and sanctioned by the paradox which defines the realization of culture as *naturalization*. If culture is only achieved by denying itself as such, namely as artificial and artificially acquired, then it is understandable that masters of the judgement of taste seem to attain an experience of aesthetic grace so completely free from the constraints of culture (which it never fulfils so completely as when it surpasses it) and showing so little sign of the long and patient process of apprenticeship of which it is the product, that a reminder of the social conditions and conditionings which made it possible seems at the same time both an obvious fact and an outrage.

For culture to fulfil its function of enhancement, it is necessary and sufficient that the social and historical conditions which make possible both the complete possession of culture – a second nature where society recognizes human excellence and which is experienced as a natural privilege – and cultural dispossession, a state of 'nature' in danger of appearing as if it is part of the nature of the people condemned to it, should remain unnoticed.

The deliberate neglect of the social conditions which make possible culture and culture become nature, a cultivated nature with all the appearances of grace and talent but nevertheless learned and therefore 'deserved', is the condition for the existence of the charismatic ideology, which allows culture and especially 'the love of art' to be given the central place they occupy in the bourgeois 'sociodicy'. The heir of bourgeois privileges, not being able to invoke rights of birth (which his or her class historically denied the aristocracy) or the rights of nature, a weapon in the past levelled against nobiliary distinctions which would run the risk of backfiring against bourgeois 'distinction',

or the ascetic virtues which allowed the first generation of entrepreneurs to justify their success by their merit, can call on cultivated nature and naturalized culture, on what is sometimes called 'class', by a sort of Freudian slip, on 'education', in the sense of a product of education which seems to owe nothing to education, on '*distinction*', a grace which is merit and a merit which is grace, an unacquired merit which justifies unmerited attainments, namely heritage. In order for culture to fulfil its function of legitimating inherited privileges, it is necessary and sufficient that the link between culture and education, at once obvious and hidden, should be *forgotten* or *denied*. The unnatural idea of a culture given at birth, a cultural gift bestowed on certain people by nature, supposes and produces a blindness to the functions of the institution which ensures the profitability of the cultural inheritance, and legitimates its transmission by hiding the fact that it fulfils this function. The school is in fact the institution which, by its positively irreproachable verdicts, transforms socially conditioned inequalities in matters of culture into inequalities of success, interpreted as inequalities of talent, which are also inequalities of merit.

By symbolically shifting the principle distinguishing them from the other classes in the fields of economy or culture, or rather, by increasing the strictly economic differences created by the pure possession of material goods through the differences created by the possession of symbolic goods such as works of art or through the search for symbolic distinctions in the manner of using these goods (economic or symbolic) – in short, by making a fact of nature everything which defines their 'worth', in other words, to use the word in the sense used by linguists, their *distinction*, a mark of difference which, as Littré said, is separated from the vulgar 'by a character of elegance, nobility and good form' – the privileged classes of bourgeois society replace the difference between two cultures, products of history reproduced by education, with the basic difference between two natures, one nature naturally cultivated, and another nature naturally natural. Thus, the sanctification of culture and art, this 'currency of the absolute' which is worshipped by a society enslaved to the absolute of currency, fulfils a vital function by contributing to the consecration of the social order. So that cultured people can believe in barbarism and persuade the barbarians of their own barbarity, it is necessary and sufficient for them to succeed in hiding both from themselves and from others the social conditions which make possible not only culture as a second nature, in which

society locates human excellence, and which is experienced as a privilege of birth, but also the legitimated hegemony (or the legitimacy) of a particular definition of culture. Finally, for the ideological circle to be complete, it is sufficient that they derive the justification for their monopoly of the instruments of appropriation of cultural goods from an essentialist representation of the division of their society into barbarians and civilized people.

If this is the function of culture, and if the love of art is the clear mark of the chosen, separating, by an invisible and insuperable barrier, those who are touched by it from those who have not received this grace, it is understandable that in the tiniest details of their morphology and their organization, museums betray their true function, which is to reinforce for some the feeling of belonging and for others the feeling of exclusion. In these sacred places of art such as ancient palaces or large historic residences, to which the nineteenth century added imposing edifices, often in the Graeco-Roman style of civic sanctuaries, where bourgeois society deposits relics inherited from a past which is not its own, everything leads to the conclusion that the world of art opposes itself to the world of everyday life just as the sacred does to the profane: the untouchability of objects, the religious silence which imposes itself on visitors, the puritan asceticism of the amenities, always sparse and rather uncomfortable, the quasi-systematic absence of any information, the grandiose solemnity of decor and decorum, colonnades, huge galleries, painted ceilings, monumental stairways, all seem to serve as reminders that the transition from the profane to the sacred world implies, as Durkheim says, 'a veritable metamorphosis', a radical transformation of the mind, that the establishment of relations between two worlds 'is always a delicate operation in itself, demanding great precautions and a more or less complicated initiation', which 'is quite impossible, unless the profane is to lose its specific characteristics and become sacred after a fashion and to a certain degree in itself'.² If, by its sacred nature, the work of art requires particular dispositions or predispositions, in return it bestows its sanction on those who satisfy these requirements, on the chosen who are themselves chosen by their ability to respond to its call. To grant the work of art the power to awaken the grace of aesthetic inspiration in all people, however culturally disadvantaged they may be, and to produce through itself the conditions of its own diffusion, in accordance with the principle of the emanational mystics, *omne bonum est diffusivum sui*, is to sanction the attribution of all abilities to the unfathomable fates of

grace or to the arbitrary of 'talent', whereas in reality they are always the product of unequal education, and thus it is to regard inherited aptitudes as if they were virtues inherent to the person, simultaneously natural and commendable.

The museum presents to all, as a public heritage, the monuments of a past splendour, instruments for the extravagant glorification of the great people of previous times: false generosity, since free entry is also optional entry, reserved for those who, equipped with the ability to appropriate the works of art, have the privilege of making use of this freedom, and who thence find themselves legitimated in their privilege, that is, in their ownership of the means of appropriation of cultural goods, or to paraphrase Max Weber, in their *monopoly* of the manipulation of cultural goods and the institutional signs of cultural salvation.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1 Timetable of Research

1964

Pilot survey at Lille museum carried out by Yvette Delsaut and Madeleine Lemaire, directed by Pierre Bourdieu (n = 250).

Main survey (I) carried out in March and April by Pierre Bourdieu and Dominique Schnapper, with the assistance of Francine Dreyfus, following a sampling strategy devised by Alain Darbel, on a sample of the public of 21 museums: Agen, Arles, Arras, Autun, Bourg-en-Bresse, Colmar, Dieppe, Dijon, Douai, Dreux, Laon, Lille, Louviers, Lyon, Marseille, Moulins, Pau, Rouen, Tours, and the Musée des arts décoratifs and the Jeu de Paume in Paris (n = 9,226).

Postal survey of members of the Association of Friends of the Louvre, carried out by Dominique Schnapper with the help of Eric Walter (n = 800).

Complementary survey (II) organized by Pierre Bourdieu and Dominique Schnapper, carried out in July in the museums of Arles, Arras, Autun, Laon and Lille (n = 625).

Use made of the survey carried out during the exhibition '*Antagonismes*' by the management of the Musée des arts décoratifs in Paris (n = 4,000).

Survey (VII) carried out in Milan in April by Angela Cacciari at the Pinacoteca della Brera in the Castello Sforzesco and at the Museum of Science and Technology (n = 2,180).

Survey (VII) carried out in June in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, directed by M. Meijer, head of the museum's education service (n = 1,400).

Survey (VII) carried out in June in the Prado museum by M. Villaverde (n = 1,200).

Survey (VII) carried out in July and October in the museums of Barcelona by Mlle Sastre and Mlle Moreno (n = 900).

1964-5

- Survey (III) on the public of three special exhibitions mounted in December 1964 at Lille museum, carried out by Yvette Delsaut, directed by Pierre Bourdieu (n = 500).
- Survey (IV) by in-depth interviews carried out between January and June in the museums of Compiègne, Dreux, Lille and in the Jeu de Paume by Yvette Delsaut, Francine Dreyfus and Madeleine Lemaire (n = 250).
- Experimental recording (V) of duration of visits and knowledge of paintings carried out in March in Lille museum by Yvette Delsaut and Madeleine Lemaire, directed by Pierre Bourdieu (n = 121).
- Verificatory survey (VI) on the visiting patterns of the museums of Autun, Douai, Lille and Moulins, organized by Dominique Schnapper and Francine Dreyfus (n = 731).
- Survey (VII) in Polish museums organized by Nina Lagneau Markiewicz with the aid of the Academy of Sciences of Warsaw (n = 1,260).
- Survey (VII) in the Municipal Museum of The Hague, in the Utrecht Central Museum, and in Groningen museum, organized in June by Gilbert Kirscher (n = c. 2,000).
- Survey (VII) in the National Museum in Athens, the Benaki Museum, and in the museums of Nauplion and Delphi, organized by Francine Dreyfus with the aid of the Centre for Social Sciences in Athens (n = c. 3,000).

The surveys of French museums were undertaken at the request of the Study and Research Service of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, which financed the main survey (I) in France.

Appendix 2 The Questionnaires and the Sampling Method

THE QUESTIONNAIRES

Surveys I and II

MUSEUM:

DATE:

Morning — Afternoon —

Time of entry (approx.) — Time of exit —

Free admission — Admission charge — Special exhibition —

Sex: Age:

Occupation (be as precise as possible):

Occupation of spouse:

Highest qualification: no certificate —

CEP or equivalent —

CAP —

brevet élémentaire —

baccalauréat —

degree or equivalent —

Place of residence:

I Is this the first time you have been to this museum? Yes — No —. If not, how many times have you already been?

II Did you visit the museum today

1 Alone — 2 With your children — 3 With your family — 4 With friends — 5 With an organized group —

III What prompted you to visit the museum today? Did you come:

1 On someone's recommendation —

2 To accompany your children —

3 To accompany someone you are showing round the town —

- 4 Because you are visiting the area at the moment —
- 5 Because when you visit a town you generally go to the museum —
- 6 By chance —
- 7 Other reasons (please give details) _____

IV How do you prefer visiting museums?

- 1 As part of a visit organized by a qualified guide —
- 2 With a knowledgeable friend —
- 3 Alone —
- 4 Other (please give details) _____

V Would your visit be easier if arrows were put up indicating the route your visit should take? To what extent would you be in favour of this?

| | | | | |
|------------------------|-----------|-------------|------------------|-------------------------|
| _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| very much in favour | in favour | indifferent | not in favour | not at all in favour |

VI Would your visit be made easier if panels were put up explaining the works of art on display? To what extent would you be in favour of this?

| | | | | |
|------------------------|-----------|-------------|------------------|-------------------------|
| _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| very much in favour | in favour | indifferent | not in favour | not at all in favour |

VII Did you come to see anything in particular?

sculpture — paintings — historical objects — folk objects — one particular work (which one?) — ceramics, earthenware or porcelain — other (please give details) _____

VIII How did you visit this museum?

- 1 With a Blue Guide —
- 2 With a Michelin Green Guide —
- 3 With a leaflet on the town —
- 4 By reading the labels or notes by the paintings —
- 5 With a teacher or a guide —
- 6 In another way (please give details) _____

IX When did you go into a museum of painting for the first time?

- 1 With whom? _____
- 2 Which museum did you go to? _____
- 3 Under what circumstances (tourism, family visit, school visit, etc.) _____
- 4 How old were you? (approximately) _____

X Which are the last three museums you visited?

- 1 _____
- 2 _____
- 3 _____

XI Who are your favourite painters?

Survey III

DATE:

Morning or afternoon:

Time of entry (approx.):

Time of exit:

Free admission or admission charge:

Sex:

Age:

Occupation (be as precise as possible):

Occupation of spouse:

Highest qualification: no certificate —

CEP or equivalent —

CAP —

brevet élémentaire —*baccalauréat* —

degree or equivalent —

Place of residence:

I Did you come to see:

1 The museum itself —

2 The Egyptian exhibition —

3 The Danish exhibition —

4 The exhibition of 18th-century painting —

II What prompted you to visit?

1 Newspaper articles —

2 Television programme —

3 Recommendations of friends —

4 Posters in the town —

5 Poster by the museum's entrance —

6 Other (give details) _____

III Did you buy any reproductions?

Yes — No —

IV Did you in fact visit:

1 The museum itself —

2 The Egyptian exhibition —

3 The Danish exhibition —

4 The exhibition of 18th-century painting —

V When did you go to this museum for the first time?

1 Today —

2 Some time previously (please give the approximate date) _____

- VI Which museums have you visited since 1st January 1964?
 Name of the museum Occasion (holiday, school visit, etc.)

1 _____

2 _____

3 _____

- VII What did you prefer (number them in order of preference)? Why?

1 The museum itself —

2 The Egyptian exhibition —

3 The Danish exhibition —

4 The exhibition of 18th-century painting —

- VIII Amongst the exhibitions at Lille Museum, which ones do you think require some sort of academic education, advance information or a guide book, and which ones can be enjoyed without preparation? (Tick the boxes provided)

| | Requires academic education | Requires information or guide book | Needs no preparation |
|---|-----------------------------------|--|-------------------------|
| Painting gallery | | | |
| Pottery and ceramics | | | |
| Egyptian exhibition | | | |
| Danish exhibition | | | |
| Exhibition of 18th-century painting | | | |

- IX Of the three special exhibitions on at Lille today, which is the one closest to your ideal image of the museum?

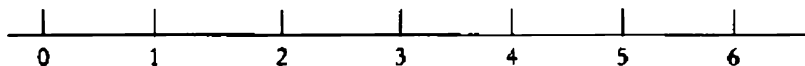
1 The Egyptian exhibition —

2 The Danish exhibition —

3 The exhibition of 18th-century painting —

Why? _____

- 4 If a mark of 5 is given to the museum of the Louvre, what mark would you give this museum?



Why? _____

- 5 Are you visiting a museum for
 The first time — The second time — The third time — The fourth time —
 — More than that —

Please write down the name(s) of the museum(s) you visited

First time _____

Second time _____

Third time _____

If you have already been to a museum more than four times, please write down the names of the last four you visited:

1 _____

2 _____

3 _____

4 _____

- 6 How many times did you visit a museum during 1964?

| | |
|--------------------------|-------|
| First term | times |
| Easter vacation | times |
| Second term | times |
| Summer vacation | times |
| Fourth term | times |
| Christmas vacation | times |
| Total | times |

If you cannot remember exactly the number of visits you made in each period (indicated above to help you remember), please at least write down the total number of visits.

- 7 Approximately how many times do you go to concerts? (Tick the appropriate number)
- Once a week —
- Twice a month —
- Once a month —
- Three or four times a year —
- Once a year —
- Never —

- 8 Approximately how many times do you go to the theatre?

Once a week ___
 Twice a month ___
 Once a month ___
 Three or four times a year ___
 Once a year ___
 Never ___

- 9 Approximately how many times do you visit a museum?

Once a week ___
 Twice a month ___
 Once a month ___
 Three or four times a year ___
 Once a year ___
 Never ___

- 10 Approximately how many times do you go to the cinema?

Once a week ___
 Twice a month ___
 Once a month ___
 Three or four times a year ___
 Once a year ___
 Never ___

- 11 Can you name three works of art that you especially like?

| | Title | Artist | Museums where they are located | How seen | |
|---|-------|--------|-----------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | | | | The real thing | Repro- duction |
| 1 | | | | | |
| 2 | | | | | |
| 3 | | | | | |

- 12 Are there any questions in this questionnaire which you have found shocking, pointless or naïve?

Yes ___ No ___
 Which ones? (number of question)
 Why?

- 13 Are there any questions you would have liked to have been asked?

Yes ___ No ___
 Which ones?
 How would you have replied?

THE SAMPLING METHOD

Formulation of the sample of primary units

The population to be surveyed comprises m museums ($m = 123$); each of these receives N_i visitors; it is supposed that this population is classified in decreasing order of N_i , i.e. that

$$N_1 \geq N_2 \geq \dots \geq N_i \geq \dots N_m$$

$$\text{If } \frac{N_i}{N} = P_i \quad \text{and} \quad \sum_{i=1}^m N_i = N; \quad \sum_{i=1}^m P_i = 1$$

Then the following totals are formed:

$$N_1, N_1 + N_2, \dots, N_1 + N_2 + \dots + N_{i-1}, N_1 + N_2 + \dots + N_i, \dots, N$$

A random number is drawn h_i , $0 \leq h_i \leq N_i$; a double disparity thus arises:

$$\sum_k^{i-1} N_k \leq h_i < \sum_k^i N_k \quad (1 \leq i \leq m) \quad (1)$$

The museum i is thus included in the sample with a probability P_i . If μ is the size of the sample to be drawn, the following series is formed:

$$h_i = h_j \pm 1 \frac{N}{\mu} \quad (1 \text{ being a positive whole number})$$

as well as all the disparities of type (1) relating to it; the museum j is thus included in the sample.

If $N_j < N/\mu$, the probability of the museum j appearing in the sample is clearly P_j ; on the other hand, if $N/\mu < N_j < 2(N/\mu)$, the expectation of it appearing is $1 + P_j$. It is certain to be selected at least once.

This procedure ends up by establishing a stratification based on visitor numbers, and in giving each museum probabilities of appearing in the sample proportionate to these numbers, except for Colmar, the largest museum in the population. The geographic coverage of the sample is controlled by excluding a certain museum j , if it is not suitable, to replace it with museum $j + 1$. However, these corrections are very rare, since a correlation already exists between geographic position and the size of the visitor figures.

Probability of a visitor appearing in the sample

For the duration of the survey, every visitor entering a museum in the sample has the same probability of being interviewed. This is a fundamental point as the representativeness of the survey would have been affected if investigators and visitors had been left to their own devices, and a bias would have been

introduced into the results which would have been impossible to determine. Thus, strenuous efforts were made to include all visitors in the sample. Let n_i be the number of visitors surveyed in museum i . The probability of a visitor j being included is thus

$$P_{ij} = \frac{N_i}{N} \cdot \frac{n_i}{N_i} = \frac{n_i}{N},$$

except for Colmar, provided that the visitor numbers are uniform for the duration of the survey, which is not the case. However, it was necessary to adopt this scheme due to the lack of data on seasonal patterns. Similarly, it was impossible to obtain equal n_i for all the museums, which would otherwise have allowed a direct comparison of all the surveys or would have allowed the same weighting to be given to them; n_i is in fact proportional to N_i and to the timing of the visit, and for the small museums sometimes it would therefore have been necessary to wait a very long time, while for the large museums it was quite easy to obtain fairly large values of n_i and thus at least partially to increase the precision of the estimates.

In practice the year can be divided into two parts, a working period and a holiday period. Thus, if n_1 and n_2 , and N_1 and N_2 are the respective values for n and N for these two periods, then

$$n = n_1 + n_2$$

$$N = N_1 + N_2$$

The aim of obtaining representativeness requires that for each museum

$$\frac{n_1}{N_1} = \frac{n_2}{N_2} = \frac{n}{N}$$

which we could attempt to establish *a posteriori* (see below) only by determining N_1 and N_2 .

As soon as it is possible to calculate the probability of visitors appearing in the sample, it also becomes possible to estimate the characteristics of the public correctly; the sums

$$\frac{1}{N} \sum \frac{X_{ij}}{P_{ij}}$$

$$\bar{X} = \frac{1}{N} \sum_i \sum_j X_{ij}$$

are the correct estimators for the expression, where X_{ij} is a variable attached to a visitor; note that here they are all *qualitative*.

P_{ij} are 40 in number ($\mu = 20$, two periods). The process of estimation was only made possible by use of the computer at the Centre Blaise Pascal.

These probabilities may be written:

$$P_i(1) = \frac{1}{N} \frac{n_i(1)}{\alpha_i} \quad \text{and} \quad P_i(2) = \frac{1}{N} \frac{n_i(2)}{1 - \alpha_i}$$

from which

$$\frac{N_i(1)}{N_i} = \alpha_i \quad \text{and} \quad 1 - \alpha_i = \frac{N_i(2)}{N_i} \quad \text{is derived.}$$

Note: An estimate of the accuracy of the sample is theoretically impossible since $P_i(1)$ and $P_i(2)$ are only known *a posteriori* and calculation of the variance demands, contrary to mathematical expectations, knowledge of all of the P_i , i.e. *a priori* knowledge, which is not the case here.

However, one can get an idea of the survey's reliability by assuming that the rate of surveying in each museum is more or less constant, i.e. that the number n_i of interviews in the museum i is proportional to θ , the length of the interview, i.e. $n_i = \theta N_i$. An approximate expression of the variance is thus

$$V = \frac{1}{\mu} \sum_{i=1}^m (\bar{X}_i - Y_i)^2 \frac{N_i}{N} (1 - c_i) + \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^m \sigma_i^2 \frac{N_i}{N}$$

where Y_i is the mean of the variable X taken in the stratum i ; if the stratification proves to be ineffective, one thus has $Y_i = Y = X$. c_i is a corrective term, explaining the fact that a large fraction of the museums of the stratum were sampled; it equals 1 for the strata corresponding to a high value of N_i (low i) and is practically zero for low values of N_i (high i). σ^2 is the variance of the variable X inside the museum i .

The estimate of V can only here be very approximate. It is best at first to group the strata together, then to calculate the expression for each group.

$$\frac{1}{\mu_k - 1} \cdot \sum_{i=1}^m (\bar{X}_i - \bar{X}_k)^2 (1 - c_k) = V_k$$

and finally

$$v = \frac{1}{\mu} \sum_{k=1}^h V_k$$

which is a slightly biased estimate of V .

The calculation was done numerically for the level of education variable. From this it emerges that the variance associated with the second stage of the sample is rather low. This can basically be ascribed to the relatively large size of r_i . The gain in precision brought by the stratification is negligible; consequently a museum's visitor numbers are not necessarily related to the composition of its public.

Table A2.1 Variance factors

| | Licence | Baccalauréat | Brevet | Certificat d'Études |
|---|---------|--------------|--------|---------------------|
| Total variance ($\times 10^4$) | 2.3 | 3.6 | 2.2 | 2.0 |
| Standard error (%) | 1.4 | 1.9 | 1.5 | 1.4 |
| Relative error (%) | 6.6 | 6.3 | 9.0 | 15.0 |
| Second stage variance ($\times 10^4$) | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.2 | 0.1 |

The sampling error can be regarded as low; for the level of education variable it is the same size as the response errors of the visitors interviewed. However, this calculation is given for information only. In fact, the use of a balloting system is questionable here. The visitors do not comprise a well-defined population such as the households or individuals of a town: the 'population' of visitors is constantly being renewed from one period to another, with a special exhibition capable of radically altering the size of visitor numbers in the museum.

Ultimately, this survey method rests on the fundamental hypothesis that visitor numbers are numerically stable (and in fact they are, apart from for special exhibitions, as a comparison of the two chronological series shows) and on an obviously imperfect *a posteriori* temporal stratification.

Determination of the holiday period and the working period

(Calculation of α_i)

N_i is already known; in addition the survey provides the average number of visits made during each of the two periods, h_i during the working period and v_i during the non-working period. The unknown length of the working period is designated by t , and the complementary length of the non-working period by $1 - t$, with the total length of time being equal to one year (it is assumed that this period is the same from one museum to another). Consequently, $j_i = h_i t + (1 - t)v_i$, where j is the average daily number of questionnaires, that is the relationship of N_i to the annual number of days the museum is open; from this comes

$$t = \frac{j_i - v_i}{h_i - v_i} = t_i \quad 0 \leq t \leq 1$$

An essential check on the compatibility of results then leads to the exclusion of Bourg-en-Bresse museum from the general analysis. t was thus calculated through the expression

$$t = \frac{\sum_1^N N_i t_i}{N}$$

From this comes

$$\alpha_i = \frac{h_{it}}{j_i}$$

which in numerical terms is $t = 0.64 = 7.7$ months, and $1 - t = 0.36 = 4.3$ months, which is an acceptable figure at least as a rough estimate. The average value of α therefore proves to be 55 per cent. It is not possible to get an idea of the accuracy of the estimate.

Table A2.2 The main characteristics of the 123 museums according to their annual number of visits

| | Annual number of visits | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|----------|-----------|---------|
| | under 5,000 | 5-10,000 | 10-15,000 | 15,000+ |
| Quality ^a | 1.46 | 2.20 | 3.66 | 3.80 |
| Fame of a work ^b | 0.04 | 0.38 | 0.35 | 0.76 |
| Fame of the whole ^c | 0.28 | 0.83 | 1.06 | 1.40 |
| Size ^d | 270 | 400 | 1,100 | 1,200 |
| Touristic reputation ^e | 0.64 | 1.08 | 1.33 | 1.33 |

^a Average number of marks (on a scale of 0 to 5).

^b and ^c Average number of stars (from 0 to 3).

^d Average number of works.

^e White: 0; red dash: 1; red: 2 (from *Les Musées de France*, edited by the general tourist board).

Appendix 3 The Public of French Museums: Results of the National Survey (N = 9,226)

Table A3.1 Type of visit preferred, by socio-economic category^a (question IV)

| | With a guide | With a knowledgeable friend | Alone | Total |
|-----------------|--------------|-----------------------------|-------|-------|
| Working classes | 42 | 41 | 17 | 100 |
| Middle classes | 26 | 40 | 34 | 100 |
| Upper classes | 17 | 43 | 40 | 100 |

^a Working classes: Farmers, farm labourers and industrial manual workers.

Middle classes: Craftworkers, tradespeople, clerical staff, junior executives.

Upper classes: Students, senior executives, members of the teaching professions.

Certain discrepancies between the percentages given in these tables and those cited in the text derive from the fact that in the one case the non-responses have been taken into account but not in the other. The non-responses have been excluded in all of the tables below, unless specifically stated.

Table A3.2 Type of guided visit preferred, by socio-economic category

| | With a guide | With a knowledgeable friend | Total |
|--------------------------------------|--------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| Farmers and farm workers | 69 | 31 | 100 |
| Manual workers | 46 | 54 | 100 |
| Craftworkers and tradespeople | 31 | 69 | 100 |
| Clerical staff and junior executives | 42 | 58 | 100 |
| Senior executives | 38 | 62 | 100 |
| Primary school teachers | 36 | 64 | 100 |
| Teachers and art specialists | 22 | 78 | 100 |
| Students | 20 | 80 | 100 |

Table A3.3 Opinions on arrows indicating the route of the visit and on explanatory panels, by socio-economic category (questions V and VI)

| | Arrows | | | Total |
|-----------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------|
| | Very much in favour or in favour | No reply or indifferent | Not in favour or not at all in favour | |
| Working classes | 71 | 27 | 2 | 100 |
| Middle classes | 65 | 30 | 5 | 100 |
| Upper classes | 57 | 35 | 8 | 100 |
| | Panels | | | Total |
| | Very much in favour or in favour | No reply or indifferent | Not in favour or not at all in favour | |
| Working classes | 92 | 8 | 0 | 100 |
| Middle classes | 86 | 12 | 2 | 100 |
| Upper classes | 82 | 16 | 2 | 100 |

Table A3.4 Opinions on arrows indicating the route of the visit and on explanatory panels, by type of visit preferred

| | Arrows | | | Total |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------|
| | Very much in favour or in favour | No reply or indifferent | Not in favour or not at all in favour | |
| With a guide | 75 | 23 | 2 | 100 |
| With a knowledgeable friend | 61 | 32 | 7 | 100 |
| Alone | 52 | 39 | 9 | 100 |
| | Panels | | | Total |
| | Very much in favour or in favour | No reply or indifferent | Not in favour or not at all in favour | |
| With a guide | 93 | 6 | 1 | 100 |
| With a knowledgeable friend | 85 | 13 | 2 | 100 |
| Alone | 78 | 19 | 3 | 100 |

Table A3.5 Age at which first visit was undertaken, by socio-economic category (question IX)

| | No reply ^a | Under 15 | 15-24 | 24+ | Total |
|-----------------|-----------------------|----------|-------|-----|-------|
| Working classes | 53 | 26 | 19 | 2 | 100 |
| Middle classes | 36.5 | 37.5 | 21 | 5 | 100 |
| Upper classes | 23 | 56 | 20 | 1 | 100 |

^a Schoolchildren were excluded.

Table A3.6 Type of first museum visit, by socio-economic category

| | Working classes | Middle classes | Upper classes |
|--|-----------------|----------------|---------------|
| No reply | 51 | 37 | 24.5 |
| Art museum, during childhood, family visit | 16 | 17 | 32 |
| Art museum, during childhood, school visit | 3 | 9 | 11 |
| Art museum, adult tourist | 9 | 11 | 8.5 |
| Other | 21 | 26 | 24 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Table A3.7 Number of previously-visited museums cited, by socio-economic category (question X)

| | No reply | 1 museum | 2 museums | 3 museums | Total |
|-----------------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|-------|
| Working classes | 53 | 15 | 19 | 13 | 100 |
| Middle classes | 30 | 12.5 | 21.5 | 36 | 100 |
| Upper classes | 14 | 12 | 24 | 50 | 100 |

Table A3.8 Number of previously-visited museums cited, by cultural level

| | No reply | 1 museum | 2 museums | 3 museums | Total |
|------------------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|-------|
| CEP ^a | 37 | 16 | 24 | 23 | 100 |
| CAP + BEPC | 29 | 15 | 27 | 29 | 100 |
| Baccalauréat | 18 | 13 | 25 | 44 | 100 |
| Degré+ | 13 | 11 | 20 | 56 | 100 |

^a People 'without qualifications' have been deliberately omitted because 70 per cent were schoolchildren.

Table A3.9 Attraction of museums, by socio-economic category

| Touristic attraction | Working classes | Middle classes | Upper classes |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|----------------|---------------|
| Museums with 1, 3 and 4 stars | 96 | 77 | 60 |
| Museums with 7, 8 and 10 stars | 4 | 15 | 26 |
| Parisian museums | — | 8 | 14 |
| Activity ^a | Working classes | Middle classes | Upper classes |
| Museums with activity 0-3 | 60 | 38 | 25 |
| Museums with activity 6-8 | 40 | 54 | 62 |
| Parisian museums | — | 8 | 13 |

^a In order to gauge the level of activity of a museum, the organization of special exhibitions (marked out of 3), the activity of the Association of Friends of the Museum, the organization of conferences or concerts at the museum, the relationship with tourist organizations, and the museum's publications (all marked out of 2) were taken into account. Obviously the concern was in no way to note the *personal* dynamism of the curator, but rather to evaluate the product of the curator's dynamism and of the objective conditions of his or her action.

Table A3.10 Visitors' socio-economic category, by distance from the museum

| | Same town or département | Rest of France | Total |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------|-------|
| Farmers and farm workers | 71 | 29 | 100 |
| Manual workers | 64 | 36 | 100 |
| Craftworkers and tradespeople | 60 | 40 | 100 |
| Clerical staff and junior executives | 52 | 48 | 100 |
| Senior executives | 43 | 57 | 100 |
| Teachers and art specialists | 48 | 52 | 100 |
| Students | 58 | 42 | 100 |

Table A3.11 Visitors' cultural level, by distance from the museum

| | Same town or département | Rest of France | Total |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|----------------|-------|
| CEP | 64 | 36 | 100 |
| CAP + BEPC | 63 | 37 | 100 |
| Baccalauréat | 55 | 45 | 100 |
| Degree | 41 | 59 | 100 |
| Post-graduate qualification | 37 | 63 | 100 |

Table A3.12 Socio-economic profile of the public during the historical exhibition at Pau Museum (April-May 1964)

| | Working classes | Middle classes | Upper classes | Total |
|--|-----------------|----------------|---------------|-------|
| Museum outside the exhibition ^a | 6 | 43.5 | 50.5 | 100 |
| Historical exhibition ^b | 3 | 32 | 65 | 100 |

^a n = 38.^b n = 169.

Table A3.13 Socio-economic profile of the public during three exhibitions at Lille Museum, December 1964 (Survey III)

| | Working classes | Middle classes | Upper classes | Total |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------|----------------|---------------|-------|
| Outside the exhibitions ^a | 5.5 | 35 | 59.5 | 100 |
| Inside the exhibitions ^b | 1 | 28.5 | 70.5 | 100 |

^a n = 637.^b n = 500.

Table A3.14 Kind of art preferred, by socio-economic category (question VII)

| | Objects | Major arts and objects | Major arts | Total |
|-----------------|---------|------------------------|------------|-------|
| Working classes | 31 | 40 | 29 | 100 |
| Middle classes | 23 | 33 | 44 | 100 |
| Upper classes | 17 | 22 | 61 | 100 |

Table A3.15 Kind of art preferred, by cultural level

| | Objects | Major arts and objects | Major arts | Total |
|--------------|---------|---------------------------|------------|-------|
| CEP | 30 | 37 | 33 | 100 |
| CAP + BEPC | 26 | 33 | 41 | 100 |
| Baccalauréat | 18 | 23 | 59 | 100 |
| Degree+ | 18 | 21 | 61 | 100 |

Table A3.16 Day of visit, by socio-economic category

| | Working classes | Middle classes | Upper classes |
|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| Monday | 20.5 ^a | 15 | 16 |
| Tuesday ^b | 0 | 2.5 | 4 |
| Wednesday | 6 | 8 | 15 |
| Thursday | 4 | 11 | 14 |
| Friday | 1 | 9 | 11 |
| Saturday | 24.5 | 14.5 | 15 |
| Sunday | 44 | 40 | 25 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |

^a Two thirds of the Monday visitors visited on Easter Monday, which is the equivalent of a Sunday.

^b The only museum open on a Tuesday was Tours Museum.

Table A3.17 Declared reasons for visiting, by socio-economic category (question III)

| | Working classes | Middle classes | Upper classes |
|-----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| By chance | 32 | 8 | 5 |
| Recommendation | 10.5 | 10 | 5 |
| To accompany children | 9 | 7 | 2 |
| Tourist | 45 | 61 | 63 |
| 'Noble' reasons | 3.5 | 14 | 24 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Table A3.18 Number of painters and schools cited, by socio-economic category

| | Working classes | Middle classes | Upper classes |
|---------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| No reply | 67 | 36 | 21 |
| 1 painter | 12 | 9 | 8 |
| 2 painters | 9.5 | 15 | 12 |
| 3 painters | 7.5 | 15 | 16 |
| 4+ painters | 3 | 9 | 17 |
| 1 or 2 schools + painters | 1 | 16 | 26 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Table A3.19 Conformity of tastes, by socio-economic category (question XI)

| | Working classes | Middle classes | Upper classes |
|-------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| No reply ^a | 71 | 45 | 37 |
| Category A ^b | 16 | 24 | 19 |
| Category B ^c | 10 | 21 | 27 |
| Category C ^d | 2 | 10 | 17 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |

^{a-d} See notes to table A3.20

Table A3.20 School and/or period preferred, by socio-economic category

| | Working classes | Middle classes | Upper classes | Total |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| No reply ^a | 67 | 36 | 21 | 30 |
| Italian Renaissance | 2 | 7.5 | 10 | 9 |
| Dutch and Flemish | 8 | 13 | 15.5 | 13 ^c |
| Spanish | 1 | 3 | 5 | 4 ^f |
| French and Italian 17th–18th-cent. | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 |
| French 19th-cent. | 3 | 4.5 | 4 | 5 |
| Impressionists | 10 | 22 | 24 | 21 ^e |
| Moderns | 5 | 10 | 16.5 | 13 ^h |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

^a The proportion of non-responses is different between the two tables as a certain percentage of the public cited a school without citing any painters.

^b Category A: The five most frequently cited painters: Renoir, Van Gogh, Rembrandt, Picasso, da Vinci.

^c Category B: The fifteen next most cited painters: Delacroix, Monet, Corot, Goya, Buffet, Manet, Raphael, Cézanne, El Greco, Gauguin, Botticelli, Braque, La Tour, Rubens, David.

^d Category C: other painters.

^e 6 per cent of these are Rembrandt.

^f 3 per cent of these are Goya.

^g 14 per cent of these are Van Gogh and Renoir.

^h 8 per cent of these are Picasso.

Table A3.21 Frequency of citation of painters' names*

| | Total (%) | Cultural level below <i>baccalauréat</i> | Cultural level equal to <i>baccalauréat</i> | Cultural level above <i>baccalauréat</i> |
|------------|-----------|--|---|--|
| Renoir | 18 | Van Gogh | Renoir | Renoir |
| Van Gogh | 17 | Renoir | Rembrandt | Delacroix |
| Rembrandt | 14 | Picasso | Van Gogh | El Greco |
| Picasso | 10.4 | da Vinci | da Vinci | Rembrandt |
| da Vinci | 10.4 | Buffet | Goya | Monet |
| Delacroix | 9.5 | Rembrandt | Corot | Van Gogh |
| Monet | 9 | Monet | Delacroix | Botticelli |
| Corot | 7 | Delacroix | Gauguin | Klee |
| Goya | 7 | Corot | Manet | Picasso |
| Buffet | 6 | Le Nain | Picasso | Braque |
| Manet | 5.5 | Cézanne | Raphael | Goya |
| Raphael | 5.5 | Degas | Braque | Poussin |
| Cézanne | 5 | Michelangelo | Cézanne | Velázquez |
| El Greco | 5 | David | La Tour | Vermeer |
| Gauguin | 4.5 | Goya | Michelangelo | da Vinci |
| Botticelli | 4 | La Tour | Buffet | Bosch |
| Braque | 4 | Manet | Dufy | Corot |
| La Tour | 4 | Rubens | Fra Angelico | David |
| Rubens | 4 | Greuze | El Greco | Raphael |
| David | 3.6 | Raphael | Velázquez | Titian |

* The results were obtained by analysing 300 randomly selected questionnaires from the museums of Laon, Arras, Pau, Rouen, Colmar and the Musée des arts décoratifs. In the sample studied, the non-response rate was 22 per cent amongst individuals with a cultural level below that of the *baccalauréat*, 17 per cent amongst *baccalauréat* holders, and 10 per cent amongst those with a higher qualification. Those who actually refused to reply counted for 1 per cent of those below the *baccalauréat*, 9 per cent of those of *baccalauréat* level, and 20 per cent of those above the *baccalauréat*. The twenty most cited painters represented 65 per cent of all painters cited for those with a level below the *baccalauréat*, 56 per cent for *baccalauréat* holders, and only 44 per cent for those with a higher qualification.

Table A3.22 Correlation matrix (visitors below the level of the *baccalauréat*)

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 |
|---|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 1 Activity of museum | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 Date of visit | 012 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3 Gender | 020 | 105 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4 Age | 004 | 020 | 023 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5 Occupation | 131 | 025 | 067 | 179 | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| 6 Highest certificate | 019 | 017 | 044 | 064 | 082 | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| 7 Place of residence | 214 | 053 | 068 | 120 | 110 | 043 | 1 | | | | | | | |
| 8 Place of residence in relation to museum | 004 | 146 | 050 | 104 | 072 | 140 | 148 | 1 | | | | | | |
| 9 Type of visit preferred | 048 | 008 | 053 | 061 | 064 | 034 | 085 | 058 | 1 | | | | | |
| 10 Opinion on arrows | 154 | 103 | 029 | 084 | 053 | 006 | 012 | 001 | 038 | 1 | | | | |
| 11 What visitor came to see | 153 | 153 | 049 | 056 | 038 | 027 | 104 | 006 | 085 | 066 | 1 | | | |
| 12 Manner of visit | 180 | 180 | 037 | 048 | 094 | 046 | 004 | 041 | 027 | 027 | 066 | 1 | | |
| 13 Kind of visit | 011 | 011 | 027 | 014 | 032 | 094 | 041 | 037 | 002 | 023 | 027 | 026 | 1 | |
| 14 Favourite painters | 018 | 064 | 064 | 015 | 179 | 058 | 148 | 027 | 018 | 018 | 063 | 100 | 134 | 1 |
| Standard deviation | 1.36 | 0.50 | 0.55 | 1.69 | 2.03 | 1.19 | 2.19 | 1.69 | 1.24 | 1.10 | 1.04 | 1.76 | 2.02 | 2.66 |
| Mean | 2.99 | 1.44 | 1.51 | 2.87 | 4.16 | 1.72 | 3.15 | 2.52 | 2.20 | 1.79 | 1.29 | 1.89 | 1.89 | 2.97 |

Table A3.23 Correlation matrix (visitors above the level of the *baccalauréat*)

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 |
|---|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 1 Activity of museum | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 Date of visit | 284 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3 Gender | 039 | 036 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4 Age | 056 | 026 | 117 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5 Occupation | 043 | 074 | 030 | 101 | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| 6 Highest certificate | 005 | 055 | 172 | 283 | 426 | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| 7 Place of residence | 098 | 043 | 014 | 042 | 026 | 068 | 1 | | | | | | | |
| 8 Place of residence in relation to museum | 025 | 120 | 005 | 040 | 099 | 118 | 029 | 1 | | | | | | |
| 9 Type of visit preferred | 059 | 024 | 087 | 017 | 064 | 061 | 057 | 060 | 1 | | | | | |
| 10 Opinion on arrows | 345 | 218 | 017 | 096 | 006 | 035 | 047 | 115 | 049 | 1 | | | | |
| 11 What visitor came to see | 372 | 301 | 015 | 044 | 001 | 008 | 050 | 025 | 031 | 269 | 1 | | | |
| 12 Manner of visit | 005 | 033 | 021 | 009 | 048 | 043 | 002 | 009 | 000 | 053 | 026 | 1 | | |
| 13 Kind of visit | 063 | 016 | 016 | 007 | 002 | 016 | 002 | 037 | 034 | 029 | 024 | 047 | 1 | |
| 14 Favourite painters | 015 | 063 | 072 | 037 | 064 | 108 | 057 | 009 | 043 | 038 | 064 | 041 | 073 | 1 |
| Standard deviation | 1.22 | 0.50 | 0.51 | 1.51 | 1.97 | 0.63 | 2.20 | 1.68 | 1.25 | 1.26 | 0.93 | 1.85 | 1.92 | 2.98 |
| Mean | 3.40 | 1.50 | 1.43 | 3.28 | 6.27 | 4.50 | 3.74 | 3.28 | 2.56 | 1.84 | 0.99 | 2.09 | 1.97 | 4.43 |

Appendix 4 Verificatory Surveys (II, V, VI)

Table A4.1 Socio-economic profile of the public, by time of year^a (verification of the representativeness of the temporal sample)

| | Lille | | | Arras | | | Laon | | | Arles | | | Autun | | |
|-----------------|-------|-----|-----|-------|-----|-----|------|----|----|-------|-----|-----|-------|-----|----|
| | E | S | W | E | S | W | E | S | W | E | S | W | E | S | W |
| Working classes | 10 | 10 | 5 | 6 | 4 | 4 | 14 | 2 | 14 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 5 |
| Middle classes | 55 | 33 | 35 | 38 | 33 | 31 | 33 | 35 | 25 | 27 | 31 | 24 | 18 | 16 | 25 |
| Upper classes | 35 | 57 | 60 | 56 | 63 | 65 | 53 | 63 | 61 | 70 | 66 | 75 | 81 | 81 | 70 |
| n = | 196 | 164 | 277 | 75 | 110 | 117 | 42 | 42 | 42 | 437 | 201 | 134 | 238 | 108 | 98 |

^a E = Easter, S = Summer, W = Winter periods.

Table A4.2 Comparison between time actually spent in the museum and time claimed by the visitor (survey V)^a

| Time claimed against time spent | Working classes (n = 5) | Middle classes (n = 44) | Upper classes (n = 72) |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|
| No reply | — | 9 | 4 |
| Lower | — | 3 | 20.5 |
| Equal | — | 17 | 7.5 |
| Above: 5 mins | 40 | 3 | 6 |
| 10 mins | 20 | 14 | 11 |
| 15 mins | 40 | 17 | 19 |
| 15 mins+ | — | 37 | 32 |

^a This comparison between the objective and subjective times spent on the visit was made possible by precise measurement by the survey team of the time of entry and exit of the visitors, without them being aware of this process.

Table A4.3 Opinion on presentation, welcome and admission charge, by socio-economic category

| | Class not supplied | Working classes | Middle classes | Upper classes |
|------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| <i>Presentation</i> | | | | |
| No reply | 5 | 3 | 2 | 3 |
| Very good | 39 | 34 | 28 | 27 |
| Good | 39 | 39 | 53 | 47 |
| Adequate | 14 | 24 | 15.5 | 19 |
| Poor | 2 | — | 0.5 | 4 |
| Very poor | 1 | — | 1 | — |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (104) | (38) | (247) | (342) |
| <i>Welcome</i> | | | | |
| No reply | 4 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Very good | 59 | 35 | 37.5 | 33 |
| Good | 22 | 24 | 36 | 38 |
| Adequate | 14 | 38 | 21 | 23 |
| Poor | 1 | — | 1.5 | 1 |
| Very poor | — | — | — | — |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (104) | (38) | (247) | (342) |
| <i>Entrance charge</i> | | | | |
| No reply | 8.5 | 5 | 3 | 8 |
| Very good value | 26 | 27 | 29 | 22 |
| Good value | 31.5 | 34 | 33 | 28 |
| Reasonable | 33 | 34 | 34 | 40 |
| Expensive | 1 | — | 1 | 2 |
| Very expensive | — | — | — | — |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (104) | (38) | (247) | (342) |

Table A4.4 Distribution of visitors to Lille museum by cultural level and family income

| | CEP (n = 36) | CAP (n = 20) | <i>brevet</i> (n = 65) | <i>bacca- lauréat</i> (n = 113) | degree+ (n = 73) |
|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|---------------------------|--|---------------------|
| No reply | 25 | 25 | 37 | 25 | 31.5 |
| under 500* | — | — | 1 | — | — |
| 500–750 | 28 | 10 | 3 | 7 | — |
| 750–1,000 | 5 | 20 | 11.5 | 7 | 5.5 |
| 1,000–1,250 | 14 | 10 | 12.5 | 10 | 5.5 |
| 1,250–1,500 | 14 | 15 | 3 | 5 | 9.5 |
| 1,500–2,000 | 8 | 15 | 17 | 14 | 9.5 |
| 2,000–2,500 | 3 | — | 7.5 | 11.5 | 16.5 |
| 2,500–3,000 | — | 5 | 4.5 | 16 | 11 |
| 3,000+ | 3 | — | 3 | 3.5 | 11 |

* FF per month.

Table A4.5 Frequency of visits, by type of secondary education

| | Did Latin (n = 292) | No Latin (n = 439) |
|-----------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| No reply | 17.5 | 13.5 |
| 1 per week | 5 | 2 |
| 2 per month | 10 | 2 |
| 1 per month | 14.5 | 4 |
| 3 or 4 per year | 40 | 39 |
| 1 per year | 13 | 34 |
| Never | — | 5.5 |

Table A4.6 Frequency of cinema visits, by frequency of museum visits for each socio-economic category^a

| Museum visits | No reply | 1 per week | 2 per month | 1 per month | 3 or 4 a year | 1 per year | Never |
|---------------------------------|-------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|---------------|-------|
| <i>Working classes (n = 38)</i> | | | | | | | |
| No reply | | 8.5 | | | | | |
| 1 per week | | | | | 8.5 | | |
| 2 per month | | | | | | | |
| 1 per month | | | | | | | |
| 3 or 4 a year | | 17.0 | | | | | |
| 1 per year | | 8.5 | | 8.5 | 17.0 | | 8.5 |
| Never | | 8.5 | 8.5 | | | | |
| <i>Middle classes (n = 247)</i> | | | | | | | |
| No reply | 3.5 | 2.7 | 0.9 | 2.7 | 0.9 | 0.9 | 1.8 |
| 1 per week | | 0.9 | | 0.9 | | | 0.9 |
| 2 per month | 0.9 | 1.8 | | 0.9 | | | 0.9 |
| 1 per month | | 0.9 | 0.9 | 0.9 | | 1.8 | 1.8 |
| 3 or 4 a year | | 6.5 | 6.5 | 10.0 | 7.0 | 2.7 | 0.9 |
| 1 per year | 0.9 | 6.5 | 10.0 | 4.5 | 9.0 | 0.9 | 3.5 |
| Never | 0.9 | 0.9 | 0.9 | | 1.8 | | |
| <i>Upper classes (n = 342)</i> | | | | | | | |
| No reply | 7.6 | 1.0 | 1.0 | | | 1.0 | |
| 1 per week | 1.0 | 1.6 | 2.7 | 1.0 | | 0.5 | |
| 2 per month | 1.0 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 0.5 | 3.8 | 0.5 | 1.0 |
| 1 per month | 0.5 | 7.1 | 4.3 | 2.7 | 2.7 | 0.5 | 0.5 |
| 3 or 4 a year | | 9.2 | 8.7 | 7.6 | 10.3 | 0.5 | 1.6 |
| 1 per year | | 2.1 | 2.1 | 5.0 | 5.0 | 1.0 | 0.5 |
| Never | | | | | 0.5 | | |

^a See note to table A4.8

*Table A4.7 Frequency of theatre visits, by frequency of museum visits for each socio-economic category**

| Museum visits | No reply | 1 per week | 2 per month | 1 per month | 3 or 4 a year | 1 per year | Never |
|---------------------------------|-------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|---------------|-------|
| <i>Working classes (n = 38)</i> | | | | | | | |
| No reply | | | | | | | 8.5 |
| 1 per week | | | | | | | 8.5 |
| 2 per month | | | | | | | 8.5 |
| 1 per month | | | | | | | 8.5 |
| 3 or 4 a year | | | | | 8.5 | | 8.5 |
| 1 per year | | | | | 8.5 | 17.0 | 8.5 |
| Never | 8.5 | | | | | 8.5 | 17.0 |
| <i>Middle classes (n = 247)</i> | | | | | | | |
| No reply | 5.5 | | | | 4.5 | 3.5 | |
| 1 per week | 0.9 | 1.8 | | 0.9 | 0.9 | | 0.9 |
| 2 per month | | | 0.9 | 1.8 | | | 0.9 |
| 1 per month | | | 2.7 | 2.7 | 12.5 | 4.5 | 9.0 |
| 3 or 4 a year | 1.8 | | | | 13.5 | 9.0 | 8.0 |
| 1 per year | | 0.9 | 0.9 | 1.8 | 0.9 | 1.8 | 6.5 |
| Never | | | | | | | |
| <i>Upper classes (n = 342)</i> | | | | | | | |
| No reply | 7.6 | | | 0.5 | 2.1 | 0.5 | |
| 1 per week | | 0.5 | 0.5 | 3.2 | 0.5 | 1.0 | |
| 2 per month | | | 1.0 | 3.2 | 4.8 | 1.0 | 0.5 |
| 1 per month | | 0.5 | 0.5 | 5.4 | 8.0 | 2.7 | 0.5 |
| 3 or 4 a year | 0.5 | 1.6 | 1.0 | 8.0 | 19.1 | 5.4 | 2.1 |
| 1 per year | 0.5 | | | 1.6 | 6.5 | 5.0 | 2.1 |
| Never | | | | | | 0.5 | |

* See note to table A4.8.

Table A4.8 Frequency of concert-going, by frequency of museum visits for each socio-economic category^a

| Museum visits | No reply | 1 per week | 2 per month | 1 per month | 3 or 4 a year | 1 per year | Never |
|---------------------------------|----------|------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|------------|-------|
| <i>Working classes (n = 38)</i> | | | | | | | |
| No reply | | | | | | | 8.5 |
| 1 per week | | | | | | | |
| 2 per month | | | | | | | 8.5 |
| 1 per month | | | | | | | |
| 3 or 4 a year | | | | | | | 17.0 |
| 1 per year | | | | 8.5 | | | 25.0 |
| Never | | | | | | | 32.0 |
| <i>Middle classes (n = 247)</i> | | | | | | | |
| No reply | 6.5 | | | 1.8 | 1.8 | 0.9 | 2.7 |
| 1 per week | | | | 0.9 | | | |
| 2 per month | | | | | 2.7 | | 1.8 |
| 1 per month | | | 0.9 | 0.9 | 0.9 | | 0.9 |
| 3 or 4 a year | 1.8 | | | 1.8 | 8.0 | 6.5 | 15.5 |
| 1 per year | 2.7 | | | 0.9 | 5.4 | 4.5 | 21.0 |
| Never | | | | | | 1.8 | 7.2 |
| <i>Upper classes (n = 342)</i> | | | | | | | |
| No reply | 8.0 | | | | 0.5 | 0.5 | 1.6 |
| 1 per week | | | | | | | |
| 2 per month | | | 0.5 | 1.6 | 2.7 | 1.0 | |
| 1 per month | | | 1.0 | 3.2 | 3.2 | 2.1 | 0.5 |
| 3 or 4 a year | 0.5 | | 1.6 | 4.3 | 3.8 | 2.7 | 5.0 |
| 1 per year | 2.1 | | 1.0 | 2.7 | 16.7 | 7.6 | 9.8 |
| Never | 1.0 | | | 1.0 | | 4.3 | 9.2 |
| | | | | | | | 0.5 |

^a The percentages were calculated for each of the cultural practices (visiting cinema, theatre, concerts), in relation to the frequency of museum visits, for each socio-economic category. Each of the nine sub-tables in tables A4.6-8 adds up to 100 per cent.

Appendix 5 Analysis of 250 Semi-directed Interviews (Survey IV)

Table A5.1 Influence of the family, by cultural level*

| | No qualifications (non-responses excluded) | CEP | CAP + BEPC | Baccalauréat | Degree+ |
|------------------------|--|------|---------------|--------------|---------|
| No reply | — | 7 | — | — | — |
| Total indifference | 87.5 | 79 | 55.5 | 48 | 38 |
| Lack of encouragement | 12.5 | 7 | 5 | 4 | 7 |
| Specific encouragement | — | 7 | 10.5 | 36 | 38 |
| General encouragement | — | — | 29 | 12 | 17 |
| (n) | (17) | (32) | (82) | (54) | (63) |

* Were your parents interested in art? Yes/No. If 'Yes', did they do anything to make you interested in it? Yes/No. Why?

Table A5.2 Ownership of art books, by socio-economic category^a

| | Working classes | Middle classes | Upper classes |
|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| No reply | — | — | 2 |
| No | 69.5 | 40 | 9 |
| Yes, no details | 13 | 15 | 15 |
| Yes, details | 17.5 | 45 | 74 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (n) | (53) | (98) | (99) |

^a Do you have any art books? Yes/No. Which ones?

Table A5.3 Definition of the most favourable conditions for the contemplation of works of art, by socio-economic category^a

| | Working classes | Middle classes | Upper classes |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| No reply | — | 2 | 1 |
| Presentation of the works | — | 2 | 3.5 |
| Supplementary aids | 22 | 21 | 15.5 |
| Guide book | 30 | 17 | 13 |
| Guide | 4.5 | 6 | 7 |
| Previous general education | 8.5 | 8.5 | 9 |
| Previous specific education | — | — | 2 |
| Catalogue | 4.5 | — | 2 |
| Presentation and previous education | 4.5 | 20 | 20 |
| Presentation and supplementary aids | 26 | 23.5 | 27 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (n =) | (53) | (98) | (99) |

^a What, in your opinion, is the best way to look at works of art?

Table A5.4 Prior knowledge of the works on display, by socio-economic category^a

| | Working classes | Middle classes | Upper classes |
|---|--------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| No reply | 9 | 12.5 | 4.5 |
| Not previously seen | 52 | 17 | 15 |
| Already seen in reproductions or on TV | 26 | 45 | 26 |
| Already seen originals | 13 | 25.5 | 54.5 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (n) | (53) | (98) | (99) |

^a Which works did you particularly like? Did you know them before? Yes/No. How did you know about them?

Table A5.5 Visits to special exhibitions, by socio-economic category^a

| | Working classes | Middle classes | Upper classes |
|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| No reply | — | — | 6.5 |
| No visits | 65 | 51 | 17 |
| Visits, no details | 17.5 | 19 | 6.5 |
| Visits, details | 17.5 | 30 | 70 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (n) | (53) | (98) | (99) |

^a Do you visit special exhibitions? Yes/No.

Table A3.6 Visits to special exhibitions, by previous number of museum visits cited

| | No details | First visit | Non-art museum(s) | 1 museum | 2 museums | 3 museums |
|--------------------|------------|-------------|-------------------|----------|-----------|-----------|
| No reply | 8 | — | — | 3 | — | 2.5 |
| No visits | 77 | 33 | 56 | 52 | 33 | 19 |
| Visits, no details | — | 67 | 22 | 17 | 16.5 | 7.5 |
| Visits, details | 15 | — | 22 | 28 | 49.5 | 71 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (n) | (28) | (6) | (19) | (76) | (39) | (82) |

Table A5.7 Visitors' opinions on the number of other people in the museum, by socio-economic category^a

| | Working classes | Middle classes | Upper classes |
|-----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| No reply | 4 | 10 | 8.5 |
| Prefer people | 39 | 10 | 2 |
| Indifferent/uncertain | 18 | 14 | 19.5 |
| Prefer few people | 39 | 66 | 70 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (n) | (53) | (98) | (99) |

^a What in your opinion is the best way to look at works of art? As far as museum-visiting is concerned, for example, would you prefer to visit when there are a lot of people about or only a few?

Table A5.8 Image of the museum, by socio-economic category^a

| | Working classes | Middle classes | Upper classes |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| No reply | 8 | 4 | 9 |
| Church | 66 | 45 | 30.5 |
| Library | 9 | 34 | 28 |
| Classroom | — | 4 | 4.5 |
| Department store or waiting hall | — | 7 | 2 |
| Church and library | 9 | 2 | 4.5 |
| Church and classroom | 4 | 2 | — |
| Library and classroom | — | — | 2 |
| None of these | 4 | 2 | 19.5 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (n) | (53) | (98) | (99) |

^a Amongst the public places listed below, which one, as far as you are concerned, does the museum remind you of most and least: church, library, classroom, department store, waiting hall. Why?

Appendix 6 The Public of European Museums (Survey VII)

Table A6.1 Distribution of the public of European museums, by level of education

| Educational qualifications | Greece | France | Holland | Poland |
|----------------------------|--------|--------|---------|--------|
| No qualification | 1 | 10 | 1 | 6 |
| Primary | 10 | — | 8.6 | 9 |
| CEP | — | 12 | — | — |
| Higher Primary | — | — | 27.1 | — |
| Secondary | 65 | — | 47.6 | — |
| BEPC | — | 19 | — | — |
| Technical school | — | — | — | 9 |
| General school | — | — | — | 15 |
| <i>Baccalaureat</i> | — | 33 | — | 11 |
| Technical | — | — | — | 14 |
| Upper higher | — | — | — | 16 |
| Higher | 24 | 26 | 15.7 | 20 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Table A6.2 Distribution of the public of European museums, by age

| | -15 | 15-24 | 25-34 | 35-44 | 45-54 | 55-65 | 65+ | Total |
|---------|-----|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-----|-------|
| Greece | 1 | 41 | 34 | 12 | 6 | 4 | 2 | 100 |
| Poland | 6 | 47 | 17.5 | 14.5 | 6 | 6 | 3 | 100 |
| France | 6.5 | 39 | 17 | 15.5 | 10 | 8 | 4 | 100 |
| Holland | 1 | 39 | 17 | 12 | 13 | 10 | 8 | 100 |

Table A6.3 Visiting ratios, by age^a

| | -15 | 15-24 | 25-34 | 35-44 | 45-54 | 55-65 | 65+ |
|---------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|
| Greece | 0.03 | 2.15 | 1.95 | 1.00 | 0.50 | 0.45 | 0.25 |
| Poland | 0.55 | 3.00 | 1.10 | 1.10 | 0.65 | 0.66 | 0.47 |
| France | 0.25 | 2.80 | 1.33 | 1.15 | 1.00 | 0.75 | 0.33 |
| Holland | 0.22 | 2.00 | 1.30 | 1.09 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 0.50 |

^a Relationship between the proportion of visitors of the age indicated and the corresponding proportion in the population.

Table A6.4 Visiting ratios, by level of education^a

| | No qualification | Primary | Secondary | Higher |
|---------|------------------|---------|-----------|--------|
| Greece | 0.02 | 0.30 | 10.50 | 11.50 |
| Poland | 0.12 | 1.50 | 1.04 | 11.70 |
| France | 0.15 | 0.45 | 10.00 | 12.50 |
| Holland | — | 0.50 | 20.00 | 17.30 |

^a Relationship between the proportion of visitors of the level indicated and the corresponding proportion in the population.

Table A6.5 Type of visit preferred, by socio-economic category

| | No reply and others | Guide | Friend | Alone | Total |
|------------------------|------------------------|-------|--------|-------|-------|
| <i>Working classes</i> | | | | | |
| Greece | 33 | 33 | 17 | 17 | 100 |
| Poland | 18 | 31 | 23 | 28 | 100 |
| France | 16 | 36 | 34 | 14 | 100 |
| Holland | 14 | 20 | 33 | 33 | 100 |
| <i>Middle classes</i> | | | | | |
| Greece | 20 | 27 | 40 | 13 | 100 |
| Poland | 3 | 26 | 29 | 42 | 100 |
| France | 3 | 23 | 40 | 34 | 100 |
| Holland | — | 13 | 36 | 51 | 100 |
| <i>Upper classes</i> | | | | | |
| Greece | 3 | 31 | 46 | 20 | 100 |
| Poland | 6 | 14 | 36 | 44 | 100 |
| France | 3 | 14 | 43 | 40 | 100 |
| Holland | — | 10 | 31 | 59 | 100 |

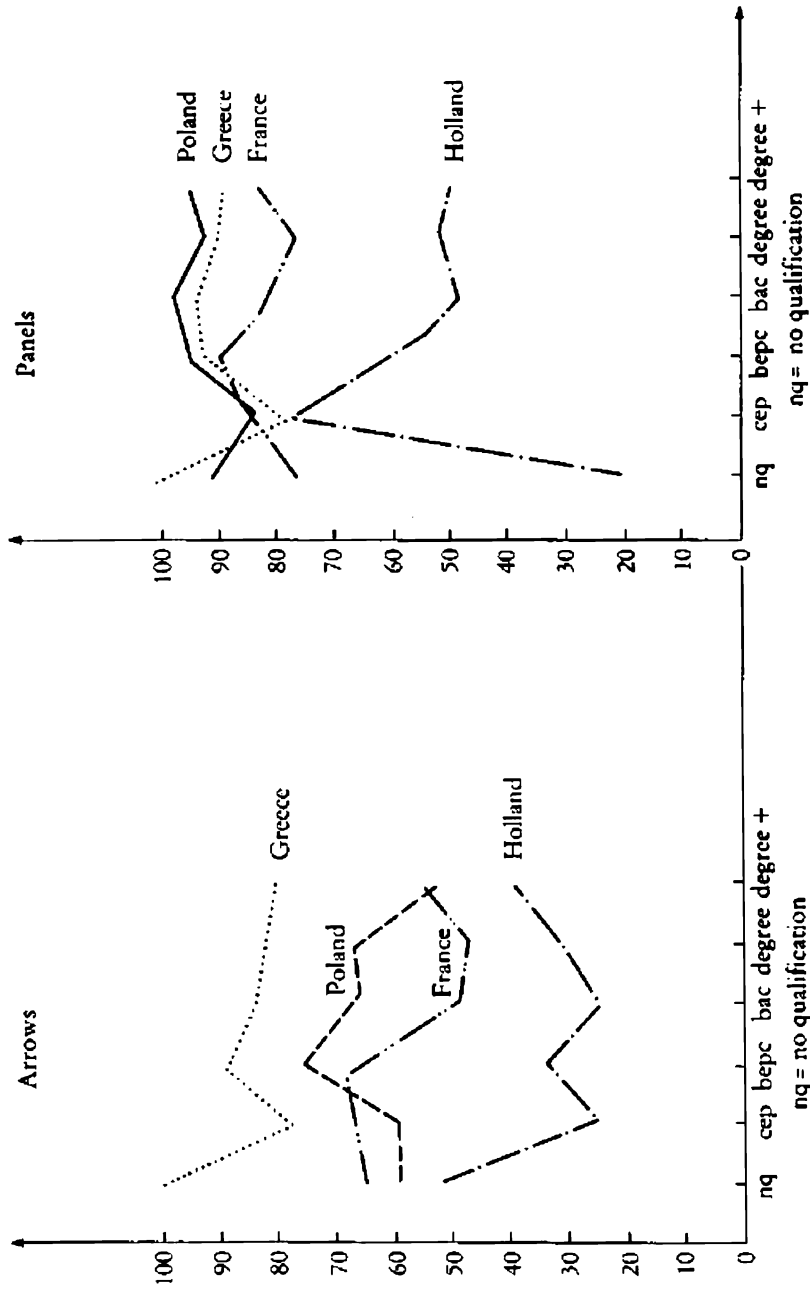


Figure A6.1 Opinion on arrows and explanatory panels, by level of education

Table A6.6 Number of painters and schools cited, by socio-economic category

| | No reply | 1 painter | 2 painters | 3 painters | 4+ painters | 1 or 2 schools and painters | Total |
|------------------------|----------|-----------|------------|------------|-------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| <i>Working classes</i> | | | | | | | |
| Greece | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Poland | 31.5 | 24 | 23 | 17.5 | 3.5 | 1.0 | 100 |
| France | 6.7 | 12 | 9.5 | 7.5 | 3.0 | 1.0 | 100 |
| Holland | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| <i>Middle classes</i> | | | | | | | |
| Greece | 40 | 27 | 7 | 6 | — | 20 | 100 |
| Poland | 19.6 | 17.2 | 17.2 | 32.1 | 28.8 | 2.3 | 100 |
| France | 36 | 9 | 15 | 15 | 9 | 16 | 100 |
| Holland | 23.4 | 16.2 | 13.6 | 15.2 | 10.2 | 21.5 | 100 |
| <i>Upper classes</i> | | | | | | | |
| Greece | 18 | 23 | 19 | 15 | 6.7 | 17 | 100 |
| Poland | 6.4 | 5.5 | 12 | 25.2 | 46 | 4.9 | 100 |
| France | 21 | 8 | 12 | 16 | 17 | 26 | 100 |
| Holland | 23.8 | 3.7 | 8.2 | 9.8 | 15 | 39.6 | 100 |

Table A6.7 Type of art preferred, by socio-economic category

| | Major arts | Non-major arts ^a (folklore, etc.) |
|------------------------|------------|---|
| <i>Working classes</i> | | |
| Greece | — | — |
| Poland | 36 | 12 |
| France | 49 | — |
| Holland | 59 | 19 |
| <i>Middle classes</i> | | |
| Greece | 12 | 48 |
| Poland | 57 | 12 |
| France | 61 | — |
| Holland | 71 | 12 |
| <i>Upper classes</i> | | |
| Greece | 19 | 39 |
| Poland | 71 | 8 |
| France | 72 | — |
| Holland | 76 | 9 |

^a The corresponding figures from France are not strictly comparable.

Table A6.8 Type of first visit to art and non-art museums, by socio-economic category

| | Childhood, family visit | Childhood, school visit | Adult | Others | Total |
|------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------|--------|-------|
| <i>Working classes</i> | | | | | |
| Greece | — | — | — | 100 | 100 |
| Poland | 9 | 8 | 12 | 72 | 100 |
| France | 16 | 6 | 12 | 65 | 100 |
| Holland | 25 | 25 | 5 | 50 | 100 |
| <i>Middle classes</i> | | | | | |
| Greece | 18.5 | 17 | 11 | 66.5 | 100 |
| Poland | 26 | 20 | 5 | 50 | 100 |
| France | 32 | 13 | 7 | 48 | 100 |
| Holland | 33.5 | 17 | 11 | 38.5 | 100 |
| <i>Upper classes</i> | | | | | |
| Greece | 18 | 16 | 3 | 63 | 100 |
| Poland | 32 | 15.5 | 2.5 | 49.5 | 100 |
| France | 33 | 9 | 9.5 | 48 | 100 |
| Holland | 27 | 18 | 11 | 44 | 100 |

Table A6.9 Number of museums previously visited, by socio-economic category

| | No reply | 1 museum | 2 museums | 3 museums | Total |
|------------------------|----------|-------------|--------------|--------------|-------|
| <i>Working classes</i> | | | | | |
| Greece | — | — | — | — | — |
| Poland | 52 | 6 | 11 | 31 | 100 |
| France | 53 | 15 | 19 | 13 | 100 |
| Holland | — | — | — | — | — |
| <i>Middle classes</i> | | | | | |
| Greece | 27 | 7 | 13 | 53 | 100 |
| Poland | 14 | 5 | 14 | 67 | 100 |
| France | 30 | 12.5 | 21.5 | 36 | 100 |
| Holland | 16 | 14.5 | 34 | 35.5 | 100 |
| <i>Upper classes</i> | | | | | |
| Greece | 5.5 | 5.5 | 31.5 | 57.5 | 100 |
| Poland | 4.5 | 3 | 14 | 78.5 | 100 |
| France | 14 | 12 | 24 | 50 | 100 |
| Holland | 7 | 8 | 31.5 | 53.5 | 100 |

Table A6.10 Frequency of citation of different painters' names

| Greece | Poland | France | Holland |
|------------------|--------|--------|------------|
| El Greco | 23.7 | 20.1 | Rembrandt |
| Picasso | 13.4 | 9.1 | Van Gogh |
| da Vinci | 9.6 | 6.4 | Rembrandt |
| Michelangelo | 8.9 | 5.7 | Picasso |
| Van Gogh | 8.2 | 5.0 | da Vinci |
| Raphael | 4.5 | 3.4 | Delacroix |
| Renoir | 5.9 | 3.3 | Monet |
| Rembrandt | 5.2 | 3.1 | Corot |
| Toulouse-Lautrec | 3.0 | 2.7 | Goya |
| Goya | 2.2 | 2.6 | Buffet |
| Van Dyck | 2.2 | 2.4 | Manet |
| Degas | 1.5 | 2.3 | Raphael |
| Gauguin | 1.5 | 2.1 | Cézanne |
| Cézanne | 1.5 | 1.9 | El Greco |
| Rousseau | 0.7 | 1.9 | Gauguin |
| Monet | 0.7 | 1.7 | Botticelli |
| Rubens | 0.7 | 1.7 | Braque |
| Manet | 0.7 | 1.6 | La Tour |
| | | 1.5 | Rubens |
| | | 1.4 | David |
| | | 1.2 | |
| Total | 94.1 | 81.1 | 50.8 |
| | | | 60.9 |

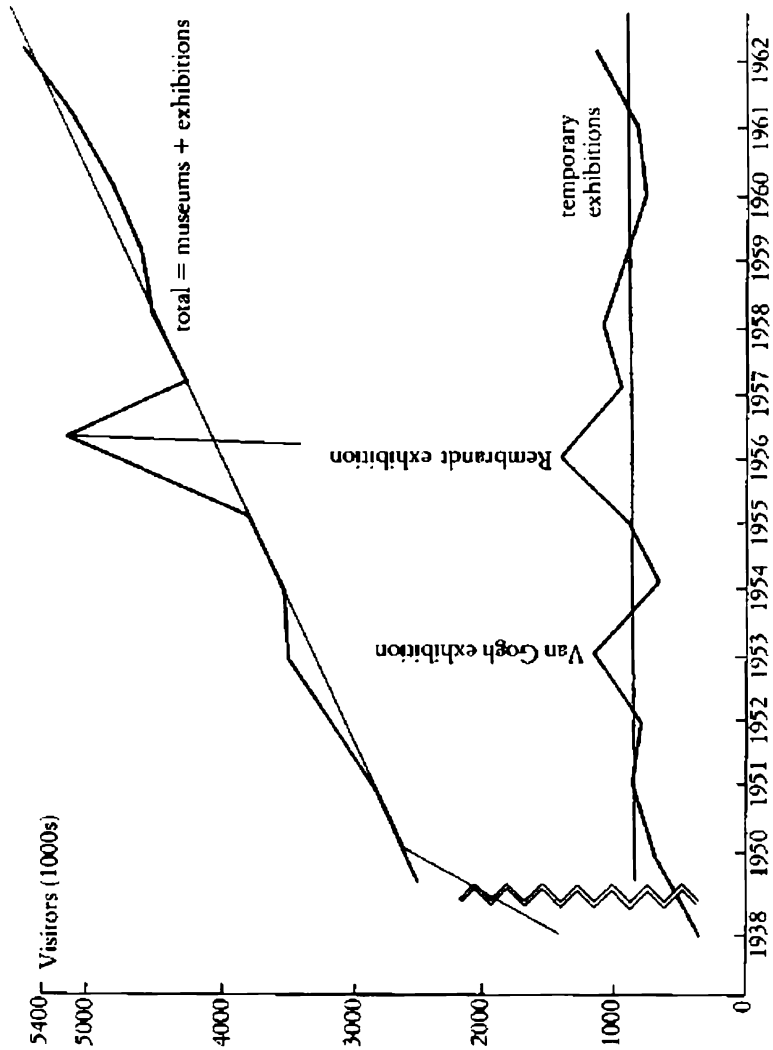


Figure A6.2 Number of visitors to museums and exhibitions in Holland

Notes

CHAPTER 1

- 1 P. Francastel, 'Problèmes de la sociologie de l'art', in G. Gurvitch, *Traité de sociologie* (PUF, Paris, 1960, vol. II), p. 279. It is only a concern for authentication that has prompted us to cite references to texts which, among the many that have influenced us, have struck us as particularly significant.
- 2 *Pascal's Pensées*, tr. Martin Turnell (Harvill Press, London, 1962), pp. 281 and 330.
- 3 *Avant-projet de programme pour le musée du XXème siècle*, photocopy, p. 5; cf. also P. Gazzola in *Musées et collections publiques de France*, April-June 1961, pp. 84-5: 'Works on exhibition can only display their expressive meaning freely in a "neutral" setting. It is this atmosphere, which should of course be abstract to the point of being impersonal, but at the same time scrupulously finished in order to guard against introducing irrelevant associations, which creates the ideal psychological conditions for the visitor.' Cf. also M. Nicolle in 'Musées', *Les cahiers de la république des lettres, des sciences et des arts*, XIII, p. 141: 'The inconvenience of these public classes, gallery talks and guided walks, whose noise so disagreeably disturbs peaceful workers, has already been pointed out.'
- 4 UNESCO, CUA/87, p. 4.
- 5 E. Panofsky, 'Abbot Suger of St.-Denis', in *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (Doubleday Anchor, New York, 1955), pp. 121-3.
- 6 G. Salles, *Le regard*, 1939, cited by G. Wildenstein, in *Supplément à la Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, no. 1110-11, July-August 1965.
- 7 A. Lhote, in *Les cahiers*, p. 273.
- 8 G. Douassain, in *Les cahiers*, p. 368.
- 9 G. Swarzenski, in *Les cahiers*, p. 153.
- 10 R. Huyghe, *Discovery of Art* (Thames & Hudson, London, 1959), p. 8.
- 11 G. Salles, in *Musées et collections publiques de France*, July-September 1956, pp. 138 and 139.
- 12 G. Pascal, in *Les cahiers*, p. 117.
- 13 UNESCO, CUA/87, p. 16.

CHAPTER 2

- 1 The survey data itself allowed the apparent exceptions to be explained: thus, as visits to Bourg-en-Bresse Museum are presented together with those to the cloister adjoining the church at Brou, the official statistics do not take into account the fact that only a small proportion of the visitors to the church actually go into the museum.
- 2 G. Barnaud, *Répertoire des musées de France et de la communauté* (Institut pédagogique national, Paris, 1959).
- 3 A more detailed and systematic account of the sampling method can be found in Appendix 2.
- 4 As the Castello Sforzesco and the Pinacoteca della Brera in Milan cannot be considered as representative of Italian museums, the observations gathered in these museums provide nothing more than indications of the attitudes and preferences of the Italian public.
- 5 The same sampling procedures were used at different times in Greece and Holland, except that the summer holidays were covered rather than the Easter holidays. The problem did not arise in Poland, given the low numbers of tourists. In Spain, the surveys were only carried out during the summer holidays, which gave a significant bias to the sample.
- 6 Cf. W. F. de la Vega, *Analyse factorielle des données d'enquête sur la fréquentation des musées* (Centre de calcul de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, internal memorandum 14 June 1965/ODD, 5 photocopied pages).
- 7 As the main stages and the conclusion of the different mathematical arguments are repeated in more accessible terms, readers can omit these passages without losing the thread of the argument.

CHAPTER 3

- 1 All the rules established for the public of French art museums were verified by the surveys of the other European countries, so that every proposition put forward without further explanation or illustrated solely by the French example may be considered as valid for all the countries studied. In order to avoid the tedious accumulation of figures, only particularly significant illustrations are given for the other European countries (the main statistical data concerning the European museums can be found in Appendix 6).
- 2 The number of male visitors who answered the questionnaire was slightly higher than the number of female visitors, doubtless owing to the patriarchal nature of family traditions, with the husband always considered (especially in the working classes) as being the best qualified to formulate an opinion in matters of learned aesthetics and because women

often refused to answer the questionnaire when their husbands were doing so ('he knows better than I do'). The Danish exhibition in Lille was an exception: if women willingly allow their husbands to have the monopoly on 'intellectual' judgements, it is understandable that, being the accepted judges of everyday taste, they gave their opinion more willingly on works that belong to the order of objects that are familiar and to do with interior decor, such as furniture and ceramics.

- 3 41 per cent of them claim to have studied Latin, compared with only 20.5 per cent of junior executives and 22 per cent of primary school teachers.
- 4 In order to avoid jeopardizing the success of the main survey by asking too direct a series of questions on the number of previous museum visits, it was decided on the one hand to ask visitors about their number of previous visits to the museum in which they are interviewed, and on the other hand to ask them to give the name of the last three museums they had visited (cf. questionnaires I and II, questions I and X). In addition, the verificatory survey asked, under three different guises, a direct question on the number of previous visits to *any* museum. However, the inaccuracy of memory, which is particularly strong in the case of an activity outside the rhythms of social life, and the tendency to overestimate actual visiting, commonly observed in all surveys of cultural practices, tend to jeopardize the quality of the information gathered. The declared number of museums previously visited appeared, on analysis, as the best indicator of visiting patterns (cf. tables A3.7 and 8).
- 5 In short, it is clear that with such a calculation it is not possible to exclude the hypothesis that several sub-populations could exist for which α^1 , α^2 , α^3 , etc. would be distinct but of a comparable magnitude, which amounts to saying that, with various secondary factors acting differently on the different sub-populations (together with the principal factor), strictly logically, the observed phenomena would be dependent on chance.
- 6 Monthly income levels are now, of course, extremely out of date. To convert them to current levels would, however, be inappropriate: the comparison between levels is still relevant.
- 7 'Premiers résultats de l'enquête sur les vacances des Français en 1964', *Études et conjonctures*, supplément no. 4, 1965.
- 8 In all the countries studied, the social profile of foreign visitors is higher than that of local visitors. Thus amongst French visitors questioned in August at the Picasso Museum in Barcelona (which has a fairly high supply level), 1 per cent working-class visitors were counted, 3.5 per cent craftworkers and tradespeople, 18 per cent junior executives, 7 per cent schoolchildren, 31 per cent students, 23 per cent senior executives and 16.5 per cent teachers and art specialists. This distribution only has to be compared with that of French museums as a whole to confirm that tourism in itself does not affect the consistencies generally noted between social class and cultural practice.
- 9 For more on level of information (or level of supply) and level of

- reception (or level of demand), see chapter 5.
- 10 All the indications are that the rules which govern museum visiting are also valid for other cultural practices, even though the action of secondary factors (place of residence or income, for example) could affect the fundamental relationship between level of education and each of the practices under consideration. Thus a survey carried out by the IFOP in 1966–7 (*La clientèle du livre*, Syndicat national des éditeurs, 1967) shows that the reading and the purchase of books is closely dependent on level of education and decreases sharply with age. Furthermore, this survey has shown that visits to the theatre and concerts are very closely linked to museum visiting (see tables A4.6–8).
 - 11 Poland provides several exceptions to the general rules linking museum visiting to an early familiarization, which is all the more frequently ensured by the family, the higher its social class: there the proportion of visitors who made their first visit with school is almost equal to the proportion of those who made it with their family (cf. table A6.5).
 - 12 Owing to the lack of sufficient statistical data, the study of the Spanish public can only be based on an analysis of the composition of the public of a certain number of museums, so the propositions derived from these observations cannot be considered as valid for the public of all Spanish museums. It is clear that the proportion of women is lower in the Spanish national public than in the French national public or in the tourist public (35 per cent women as against 50 per cent in France). Since the female population in Spain spends less time at school than the male population and rates of schooling in Spain are, at all levels, lower than those of France, it is possible to establish that the supply level of Spanish museums is mostly lower and more dispersed than that of French museums. Thus, 57 per cent of the public has an educational level higher than that of the *baccalauréat* in the Museum of Modern Art, 56 per cent in the Picasso Museum and in the Prado, 46 per cent in the Museum of the Spanish People and 43 per cent in the Museum of Catalan Art, a folk museum, while the average French museum has over 60 per cent.
 - 13 For Holland, the system for awarding qualifications means that the number of individuals without certificates is much higher than elsewhere, which inevitably leads to an overestimation of ratios of the secondary level. The very low rate at the secondary level of education in Poland is due to a difference in definition.
 - 14 If more Greek and Polish visitors, at equivalent educational levels, can cite three museums they have previously visited, this it seems is because they take greater care in replying precisely to a question which can seem naïve or without interest to visitors of countries with an old culture, and also, perhaps, because they need to assert by more regular visiting an interest that is not sustained and supported by the cultural tradition as a whole.
 - 15 In order to determine, in an approximate way, the relative levels of national cultural capital amongst the different countries studied, the

number, quality and diversity of the works exhibited in museums, the length of time they have been owned, the size of the artistic capital acquired by the privileged classes in the form of private collections, the relative size of donations in public collections, etc. could all be considered, together with indications of the strength of the commitment to education (and its evolution over time) such as the rate of schooling in secondary and higher education (and their rate of development). Here it is sufficient to point out that, as measured by the rate of schooling of the category of 15-24-year-olds, the hierarchy of countries studied coincides with that evident from indicators of attitude, the exception of Poland being more apparent than real since it has only reached a schooling rate which is more or less equivalent to that of Holland at the end of a rapid and recent growth. It is also known that, of all the European countries, Holland is the one which seems to attach the greatest importance to the teaching of art. Moreover it would be necessary to establish, through a comparative study, the relationship between the artistic capital and the educational capital of the different countries, which would allow an operational form to be given to such notions of spontaneous sociology as 'countries with an old culture' and 'new countries'. This would also provide a means of determining the relationships which, in each country, are established between cultural supply and cultural demand and, possibly, the mechanisms of cultural transmission (amongst which borrowings from other cultural traditions must be included) which tend to ensure, in the course of history, a certain balance between supply and demand. Just as the formation of an artistic patrimony presupposes a certain degree of artistic competence, the acquisition of a certain degree of artistic competence also presupposes a pre-existing patrimony, such that the term national cultural capital denotes the result, accumulated over successive generations, of the interaction between a supply and a demand.

CHAPTER 4

- 1 It has been shown that the three different hierarchies of museums, i.e. the one suggested by tourist guides, the one obtained from the annual number of visits and the one established by curators (cf. table 2.1) all basically coincide.
- 2 It follows that the best measure of real preferences, which may not coincide with declared 'tastes', would be provided by a survey (which would be lengthy and difficult, therefore expensive) of the time that visitors devote to different works in a museum.
- 3 It is in photography and judgements of photographic images that the principles of 'popular taste' are found, rather than in opinions of works of high culture, for example painting and sculpture, which by their high degree of legitimacy, are capable of imposing judgements inspired by a

desire for conformity (cf. P. Bourdieu et al., *Photography. A Middle-brow Art*, tr. S. Whiteside (Polity Press, Cambridge, 1990)).

- 4 In this way at least, the decipherment of a pictorial work follows the same logic as the decipherment of any message. Commenting on Saussure's formula, according to which 'in language, there are only differences' (*Course in General Linguistics*, Peter Owen, London, 1974, p. 120), Buyssens establishes that, both at the semantic level and at the phonological level, the understanding of differences presupposes an implicit reference to similarities of sound or sense (*Cahiers Ferdinand de Saussure*, VIII, 1949, pp. 37-60).
- 5 R. Longhi, cited by A. Berne-Joffroy, *Le dossier Caravage* (Éditions de Minuit, Paris, 1959), pp. 100-1.
- 6 A. Berne-Joffroy, *Le dossier Caravage*, p. 9. It would be necessary to examine systematically the relationship established between the transformation of the instruments of artistic production, because the evolution of the public image of past works of art is indissolubly linked to the evolution of art itself. As Lionello Venturi has commented, it was through Michelangelo that Vasari discovered Giotto and through Caracci and Poussin that Belloni rethought Raphael.
- 7 It goes without saying that the level of emission cannot be defined in an absolute manner because the same work of art can reveal different levels of meaning depending on the interpretative framework applied to it. It can, for example, satisfy an interest in anecdote or in information (especially of a historical nature) or attract by its formal properties alone.
- 8 This is valid for any cultural education, artistic form, scientific theory or political theory, since old *habitus* can survive a revolution in social codes and even in the social conditions of production of these codes for a long time.
- 9 A systematic exposition of these principles can be found in P. Bourdieu, 'Outline of a sociological theory of art perception', *International Social Science Journal*, XX (1968), 4, pp. 589-612.
- 10 E. Panofsky, 'Über das Verhältnis der Kunstgeschichte zur Kunsttheorie', *Zeitschrift für Aesthetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft*, XVIII (1925), pp. 129ff.
- 11 E. Panofsky, 'Zum Problem der Beschreibung und Inhaltsdeutung von Werken der bildenden Kunst', *Logos*, XXI (1932), pp. 103ff. It goes without saying that the extent to which the perceiving individual masters the cultural knowledge which conditions familiarity depends on the type of object and his or her social and cultural position.
- 12 E. Panofsky, 'Zum Problem der Beschreibung und Inhaltsdeutung von Werken der bildenden Kunst'.
- 13 E. Panofsky, 'Über das Verhältnis der Kunstgeschichte zur Kunsttheorie'.
- 14 E. Panofsky, 'Zum Problem der Beschreibung und Inhaltsdeutung von Werken der bildenden Kunst'.
- 15 N. S. Trubetzkoy, *Principles of Phonology*, tr. C. A. M. Baltaxe (Universi-

- ty of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969), p. 54. See also pp. 62-4.
- 16 Colin Thompson has demonstrated through a series of experiments that, even when it is expressly pointed out, the perception of colours in and for themselves is extremely rare (even amongst adolescents at the end of their secondary education), as the attention of viewers is more drawn to the narrative or anecdotal aspects of the image (C. Thompson, *Response to Colour*, Corsham, Research Centre in Art Education, 1965).
 - 17 Cf. I. Kant, *Athropology from a Pragmatic Point of View*, tr. M. J. Gregor (Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1974), p. 107.
 - 18 *L'assommoir*, tr. Leonard Tancock (Penguin Classics, London, 1970), p. 88.
 - 19 In Poland, the proportion of those choosing a guide is 31 per cent for the working classes, 26 per cent for the middle classes, and 14 per cent for the upper classes, with 23 per cent, 29 per cent, and 35.5 per cent respectively preferring to visit with a knowledgeable friend. In Greece, 33 per cent of working-class visitors, 27 per cent of middle-class visitors, and 31 per cent of upper-class visitors prefer a guided tour, compared with 17 per cent, 40 per cent and 46 per cent who prefer to go with a friend. Finally, in Holland, where there is a larger cultural capital, all classes prefer a knowledgeable friend rather than a guide, the interval being more noticeable with a higher level of education (i.e. from 1 to 1.3 for the working classes, 1 to 6 for the middle classes, and from 1 to 5 for the upper classes) (cf. table A6.5).
 - 20 'The average member of the public,' write Charpentreau and Kaes, 'has no wish whatsoever to receive an "education". Rightly or wrongly, he mistrusts everything which reminds him of school, because he wants to be treated as an adult' (*La culture populaire en France*, Éditions Ouvrières, Paris, 1962, p. 122).
 - 21 In an article entitled 'Das Problem des Stils in der bildenden Kunst' (*Zeitschrift für Aesthetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft*, X, 1915), about Heinrich Wölfflin's general theories about style in the figurative arts, Erwin Panofsky highlights the fundamental ambiguity of the Wölfflinian concepts of 'seeing', 'eye' and 'optic', commonly used in two different senses which, 'according to the logic of research of a methodological nature, should of course rigorously be distinguished'. In the narrow sense of the term, the eye is the organ of vision, and, as such, 'plays no role at all in the constitution of a style'. In the figurative sense, 'the eye' (or 'the optical attitude') should strictly only be 'a psychological attitude to optical facts', 'the relationship between the eye and the world' in reality being 'a relationship of the spirit with the world of the eye'.
 - 22 In all the countries, the proportion of those who claim to have gone to see the most prestigious works of art - painting and sculpture - increases with higher level of education, while the proportion of those who went to see folk or historical objects varies inversely. In Holland, the proportion of

lovers of painting and sculpture is 59 per cent for the working classes, 71 per cent for the middle classes, and 76 per cent for the upper classes, while the proportion of visitors interested in folk or historical objects is respectively 19 per cent, 12 per cent and 9 per cent. Similarly, in Poland, 36 per cent, 57 per cent and 71 per cent of these respective classes prefer painting and sculpture. In Greece, the proportion of visitors who went to see sculpture is 12 per cent for the middle classes and 19 per cent for the upper classes, while those interested in folklore comprise 48 per cent and 39 per cent respectively. Here again, a relationship between the cultural capital of different countries and the attitudes of their public can be observed (cf. table A6.7).

- 23 F. Boas, *Anthropology and Modern Life* (W. W. Norton and Co., New York, 1962), p. 196.
- 24 In France at least, reality in general is rather different from the definitions provided by official textbooks. The curriculum provides for a compulsory hour and a half of drawing and crafts in primary education, provided in large towns by specialist teachers, and in others by ordinary teachers. The official curriculum does not specify how much time should be set aside for history of art, which is included in history teaching. In secondary education an hour of drawing is taught per week for the first five years, after which it is optional. For the curriculum of other countries, consult *L'enseignement des arts plastiques dans les écoles primaires et secondaires* (Publication of the International Education Office, no. 164, UNESCO).
- 25 Teaching in school always performs the function of *legitimation*, even if it is only through the consecration it confers on the works of art which it deems worthy of admiration, by teaching about them, and thence helps define the hierarchy of cultural goods which are valued in a given society at a given moment in time. (On the hierarchy of cultural goods and degrees of legitimacy, see P. Bourdieu et al., *Photography*.)
- 26 No doubt the differences would be more marked if, in those countries with the largest cultural capital, senior executives (more than art specialists who see guides or catalogues as a work tool), did not tend to refuse to use a guidebook or refuse to declare that they use one, for fear of exhibiting 'scholastic', or, worse, 'tourist' attitudes. Behaviour such as this, which, more subconsciously than consciously, assumes the taking into account of the symbolic returns of practice, and, more precisely, of the *distinctions* between the different types or modalities of practice, is as it were reserved for the privileged classes of countries with a large cultural capital.
- 27 These propositions, verified by a number of previous observations (see especially P. Bourdieu and J.-C. Passeron, *Les étudiants et leurs études*, Paris, Mouton, 1964 and P. Bourdieu et al., *Photography*), are confirmed and clarified by the results of the survey on social variations in the judgement of taste, analysed in P. Bourdieu, *Distinction*, tr. R. Nice (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1984).

- 28 Although the frequencies claimed are obviously subjective and overestimated, the conditions for the calculation of the correlation coefficients (given here for information only), are fulfilled.
- 29 The example of Poland clearly demonstrates that the degree of success of a policy of cultural action is not only a function of the effectiveness of schooling, but also of the extent of the cultural capital passed on by other means.
- 30 The same observations are valid for knowledge of music, cinema and jazz (cf. P. Bourdieu and J.-C. Passeron, *The Inheritors: French Students and their Relation to Culture*, tr. R. Nice (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1979), pp. 127–33).

CHAPTER 5

- 1 Thus David Riesman affirms that identical popular works are used by different publics in very different ways and for different ends ('Listening to Popular Music', in *Individualism Reconsidered*, Collier-Macmillan, London, 1966).
- 2 J. Schumpeter, *The Sociology of Imperialism*, tr. Heint Norden (Meridian Books, New York, 1951), pp. 39–40.
- 3 Studies of electoral sociology have shown that personal 'influences' play a very important role in electoral choices and that they mediate and relay the influence of modern communication media (cf. Bernard R. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld and William N. McPhee, *Voting*, Chicago University Press, Chicago, 1954; Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard R. Berelson and Hazel Gaudet, *The People's Choice*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1968; Elihu Katz and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, *Personal Influence*, The Free Press, Glencoe, 1960). The role of 'style leaders' is highlighted in Bernard Barber and Lyle S. Lobel's study 'Fashion in Women's Clothes and the American Social System', *Social Forces*, 31, Dec. 1952, pp. 124–31. It must not be inferred from the analogy between 'opinion leaders' and 'style leaders' suggested here that one can expect from the latter the role of instigation similar to that commonly attributed to the former: in fact, it is control more than instigation. Their influence depends, as with all information, on the receptiveness of those it touches and, owing to the social homogeneity of the network of interpersonal relationships, it tends to reinforce and confirm individual opinions.
- 4 Further implications of this model will be discussed at the end of this chapter.
- 5 Special exhibitions can no more produce regular visitors than tourism can. The survey carried out in 1953 and 1954 at the Gemeentemuseum in The Hague showed that an exhibition on the Vatican attracted a great number of Catholic visitors, who never once returned to the museum after the exhibition was over (G. J. Van Der Hoek, 'Bezoekers bekeken',

Mededelingen Gemeentemuseum van den Haag, 2, 1956, no. 2).

- 6 In addition, it was observed at Toronto museum that the profile of the public during special exhibitions remained similar to its usual one, even during an exhibition which was 'an important part of the program to build a new audience to the Metropolitan Toronto Area' (*The Museologist*, Rochester, no. 80, Sept. 1961, pp. 11-16).
- 7 Reported by the curator of Bourges museum during a study day organized by the Association générale des conservateurs des collections publiques en France (21 May 1965).
- 8 The Society of Friends of the Louvre was founded in 1897; its founders set out 'to appeal to the public to contribute to the enrichment of the Louvre'. By 1922, the society already had 3,000 members, and between 1897 and 1922 it had given more than a million francs to the museum, as well as a large number of paintings.
- 9 To take only one example from the distant past, on 15 January 1856, Sauvageot (who is likely to have been Balzac's model for *Cousin Pons*) gave his collection to the Louvre; on the following 4 March, he was appointed curator, with the privilege of living in the museum.
- 10 *Rapport sur les diplômés d'Études supérieures de l'École du Louvre*, photocopy, 1961.
- 11 Similarly, the most impersonal sociological analysis runs the risk of appearing to be a biased allocation of blame and praise.
- 12 Contrasting the modern idea of the museum with that of the private collection, Penguilly-l'Haridon suggests what ought to distinguish the museum curator from the collector: 'The idea of a museum such as the Museum of Artillery is a modern idea. The self-imposed task of an establishment of this nature is to teach people about a series of objects which have been collected and grouped together according to a logical and methodical classification, and to put this simple and serious method of education at the disposal of the public. Teaching made available to all in this way is part of the contemporary way of thinking. It is important not to confuse a museum with a collection. A collection is the accumulation of a certain number of interesting objects for some particular reason, often in a disorderly fashion, and rather striking either by its unusual specialization or by the wealth of the artistry and the material. A museum, such as the one under consideration, should research the remotest origins of each of its series, in order to establish a chronological order amongst the objects comprising these series, while highlighting pieces which are interesting for the clarity of their line, their historical value or the beauty of their workmanship, and present a collection which can stimulate the mind with no great effort, while communicating a certain amount of new knowledge which will be useful in the future' (Penguilly-l'Haridon, 'Le Musée d'Artillerie', in *Paris Guide, par les principaux écrivains et artistes de la France*, Part I, Paris, 1867, p. 478).
- 13 A systematic study of the role of curators as 'taste-makers' can be found

- in Raymonde Moulin's book, *The French Art Market: A Sociological View*, tr. A. Goldhammer (Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, 1987).
- 14 It is significant that the internal division of museums should be the main theme in the *Cahiers de la république des lettres, des sciences et des arts* (XIII, 'Musées', Paris, undated). If the decision to exhibit some of the works of art locked away in the reserve collections created a considerable stir amongst the public (it was often mentioned in the interviews), there is no doubt that it also gave ordinary amateurs the feeling of penetrating the mysteries of art.
 - 15 We are grateful to M. J. Dumazedier for providing us with a description of the experiment and its results.
 - 16 In the same way, less than 1 per cent of visitors to the special exhibition at the Toronto museum said they had previously seen the posters put up around the city (*The Museologist*, Rochester, no. 80, Sept. 1961, pp. 11-16).
 - 17 Cf. 'Une enquête par sondage sur l'écoute radiophonique en France', *Études et conjonctures*, Oct. 1963.
 - 18 The IFOP survey already mentioned demonstrates that, out of every hundred book purchases, three were prompted by television and one by radio.
 - 19 M. and R. Fichelet, *Maisons de la culture et développement économique: Caen*, photocopy, 1965, chap. I, p. 12.
 - 20 S. de Schonen and E. Matalon, *Une enquête par sondage sur la fréquentation de la Maison de la culture de Bourges*, photocopy (Comité national pour un aménagement des temps de travail et des temps de loisir, 1965). A statistical study of 23,715 participants of Grenoble arts centre showed that in July 1968 (three months after opening), its public comprised 38.7 per cent schoolchildren, students and trainees, 10.8 per cent teachers, 31 per cent clerical staff, junior executives and craftworkers, 3.8 per cent members of the professions and senior executives, compared with 9.7 per cent industrial manual workers and foremen, and 0.1 per cent farmers and farm labourers (cf. 'Nos adhérents, qui sont-ils?', *Rogue et Noir*, 1, July 1968, p. 1).
 - 21 A typical example of this sort of ideology is found in Jacques Charpentreau and René Kaës's book, *La culture populaire en France* (Éditions Ouvrières, 1962). Regarding the Billières project, they write: 'The Billières project makes the school the central pivot in the task of continuing education. This is one of the weaknesses of the whole project. For psychological reasons, it is difficult to see the whole of France rediscovering a cultural life by going back to school. Culture is a living thing that is experienced and created; it "is not learned by sitting at a school-desk"' (p. 145).
 - 22 Typed report, February 1965.
 - 23 It also has to be assumed that a proportion of these girls were prompted

by a concern to 'give the right answers' to a survey which, carried out in the school responsible for the programme of visits, was therefore perceived as a test of the results of the programme.

- 24 Cf. H. Landais, *Musées et collections publiques de France*, 1965, no. 1.

CHAPTER 6

- 1 Cf. P. Bourdieu et al., *Photography*.

- 2 E. Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, tr. J. W. Swain (George Allen & Unwin, London, 1915), pp. 39–40.

Select Bibliography

A general history of museums does not exist. M. H. Landais very kindly provided us with unpublished material used on one of the courses at the *École du Louvre* from which we borrowed some information. The historical summaries which often appear in the introductions to provincial museum catalogues are also a good source of information.

For a general overview of museums, see the works of Luc Benoist, *Musée et muséologie* (*Que sais je?*, no. 204) and Georges Poisson, *Les musées de France* (*Que sais je?*, no. 447) as well as the *Répertoire des musées de France et de la Communauté*, by G. Barnaud (*Institut pédagogique national*, Paris, 1959).

A general scientific study of the public of museums does not exist. Individual work has been done, often by museum curators.

The UNESCO documentation centre holds a *Chronological Bibliography of Surveys of Museum Visitors* compiled by Stephan F. de Borhegyi and Irene A. Hanson of the Milwaukee Public Museum in 1964, which is a good source of information. Amongst all the articles cited, we would particularly like to mention:

G. T. Fechner, *Vorschule der Aesthetik* (Breitkopf and Hartel, Leipzig, 1897).

L. V. Coleman, *Public Relations Attendance* (American Association of Museums, no. 2, 1925).

E. S. Robinson, *The Behavior of the Museum Visitor* (American Association of Museums, no. 5, 1928).

A. N. Melton, 'Distribution of Attention in Galleries of Museums of Science and Industry', *Museum News*, XIII (1936), no. 14.

— *Problems in Installation in Museums of Art* (American Association of Museums, no. 14, 1935).

— *Experimental Studies of the Education of Children in a Museum of Science* (American Association of Museums, no. 15, 1936).

M. C. B. Porter, *Behaviour of the Average Visitor in the Peabody Museum of Natural History, Yale University* (American Association of Museums, no. 16, 1938).

W. E. Kearns, 'Studies of Visitor Behavior in the Peabody Museum of Natural History', *Museum News*, XVII (1940), no. 14.

UNESCO, *Records of the General Conference 9th. Session New Delhi* (UNESCO, Paris, 1957).

- A. Monzon, 'Bases para incrementar el publico que visita el Museo Nacional de Antropologia', *Anales del Instituto Nacional de Antropologia e Historia*, VI (1952), no. 35.
- G. J. Van der Hoek, 'Bezoekers bekenen', *Mededelingen Gemeentemuseum van Den Haag*, 2 (1956), no. 2.
- ICOM (International Council of Museums) survey, UNESCO, CUA, 87, April 1958.

See also:

- Svenska Museer*, 3 (1952), 3 (1953), 3-4 (1954), 1 (1955), 2 (1956).
- S. K. Bigman, 'Art exhibit audiences', *The Museologist*, 59-60 (1956).
- H. L. Zetterberg, *Social Theory and Social Practice* (The Bedminster Press, New York, 1962).

In order to understand the problems currently confronting curators in matters of cultural diffusion, the student can consult the reports of the proceedings of the ICOM conferences (Japan in 1961, Mexico in 1962, Essen in 1963, Paris in 1964), as well as the journal *Museum*, and for France, the journal *Musées et collections publiques de France*.

Finally, a bibliography compiled by G. Cart, M. Harmisson and C. R. Russel on the problems of the museum as an educational medium can be found in *The Museum and Young People* (ICOM, 1952).

TRANSLATORS' NOTE

Since the above was written, the following histories of museums and visitor studies have been published:

- Edward P. Alexander, *Museums in Motion: An Introduction to the History and Functions of Museums* (American Association for State and Local History, Nashville, 1979).
- Germain Bazin, *The Museum Age* (Dessor, Brussels, 1967).
- Kenneth Hudson, *Museums of Distinction* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1988).
- Geoffrey Lewis, 'Collections, collectors and museums: a brief world survey' (in J. M. A. Thompson (ed.), *Manual of Curatorship*, Butterworths, London, 1984, pp. 7-22).

Since this book was written, the following general studies have been published:

- Brian Dixon, Alice Courtney and Robert Bailey, *The Museum and the Canadian Public* (Culturcan Publications, Toronto, 1974).

- M. Eisenbeis, 'Elements for a Sociology of Museums', *Museum*, 24(2), 1972, pp. 110-19.
- Marilyn Hood, 'Staying Away: Why People Choose not to Visit Museums', *Museum News*, 61(4), 1983, pp. 50-7.
- Nick Merriman, 'Museum Visiting as a Cultural Phenomenon' (in P. Vergo (ed.), *The New Museology*, Reaktion Books, London, 1989, pp. 149-71).
- David Prince, 'Behavioural Consistency and Visitor Attraction', *The International Journal of Museum Management and Curatorship*, 2(3), 1983, pp. 235-47.

Index

- access 6, 37
aesthetics 46-7, 108-10
age
 of paintings 48
 of visitors 16, 19, 27-9, 32, 60, 66-7, 133, 154
Agen 7, 25, 38, 83, 86, 117
aisthesis 46
Amsterdam 8, 95, 117
Appel, K. 160
Arles 7, 10, 85-6, 117
Arras 6, 7, 10, 85-6, 117
arrows and signposts 49, 51, 132, 156
artistic competence 39-44
asceticism 2
associations *see* Societies of Friends
attribution 41-2
Autun 7, 10, 25, 85, 102, 117, 118
- Barcelona 117, 164
Bernard, St 2
Berne-Joffroy, A. 167
Billières project 172
Blue Guides 25, 63
Boas, F. 59
Bonnard, P. 47
Bosch, H. 57, 139
Botticelli, S. 57, 58, 139, 160
Boudin, E. 42
Bourdieu, P. vii, 117, 118, 166
Bourg-en-Bresse 7, 38, 117, 129, 163
Bourges 90, 102, 171
Braque, G. 57, 139, 160
Breitner 160
British Museum 95
Brueghel, P. 160
Buffet, B. 57, 59, 139, 160
- Cacciari, A. 117
Caen 101-2
Cambridge 95
Canada 170-1, 172
Canaletto, A. 160
Cantini Museum 85
Caracci 167
Caravaggio, M. 42
Cézanne, P. 42, 55, 57, 58, 59, 68, 139, 160
Chagall, M. 98, 160
chance visits 23-4, 35, 49
Chardin, J. 59
charges, entry 19, 48, 143
charismatic ideology 54, 69
Charpentreau, J. 168, 172
Chassériau, T. 68
cinema 63, 64, 145
class 2; *see also* education level
classical education 20
codes and signifiers 39-42, 45, 69
coding and analysis of results 10-11, 131-41
Coeur, J. 90
Colmar 7, 38, 85, 117
communication of information *see* rules of cultural diffusion
comparative study 8, 12-13
 cultural works and cultivated disposition 52, 55, 56, 58, 63
 research details 117-18, 154-5, 157-60, 163, 165-6, 168-9
 rules of cultural diffusion 88, 95, 98
 social conditions of cultural practice 21, 29-36
 see also France; Greece; Holland; Poland; Spain

- competence, artistic 39-44
 Compiègne 118
 concerts 63-4, 147
 Corot, J. 139, 160
 Cranach, L. 68
 Creux 6, 7, 85, 117, 118
 culture
 cultivated disposition 37-70
 cultural capital, national 36
 cultural diffusion, rules of 71-107
 cultural practice, social conditions of 14-36
 cultural works and cultivated disposition 37-70
 curators 6, 91, 95-9
- da Vinci, Leonardo 55, 57, 58, 59, 139, 160
 Darbel, A. 117
 David, J. L. 57, 139, 160
 deafness, cultural 46-7
 Degas, E. 55, 59, 139, 160
 Delacroix, E. 57, 139, 160
 Delasalle, M. 7
 Delsaut, Y. vii, 117, 118
 Dieppe 7, 86, 117
 diffusion, cultural, rules of 71-107
 Dijon 7, 38, 85, 117
 disposition, cultivated, cultural works and 37-70
 distancing, reverential 49-53
 distinction 107, 111
 Douai 6, 7, 38, 85-6, 92, 117, 118
 Dreyfus, F. vii, 117, 118
 Dubuffet, J. 68
 duration of visits 11, 37-8, 142
 Durkheim, E. 112
- École Nationale d'Administration 97
 education level and class 11
 cultural works and cultivated disposition 37-8, 44-9, 56-7, 60-2, 66, 69-70
 research details 131-61 *passim*
 rules of cultural diffusion 78-84, 86, 90-3, 100-1, 105-6
 social conditions of cultural practice 9, 14-20, 23-30, 32-6
 educational visits 3, 9, 16, 19-20, 35, 54, 60, 104
 El Greco 57, 58, 139, 160
 emission, level of 43
 entrance fees 19, 48, 143
 environment 19
 Ernst, M. 98
 Europe
 public of European museums survey 152-61
 see also France; Greece; Holland; Italy; Poland; Spain
 exhibitions *see* special exhibitions
 expressivity 46
 Eyrant, M. 104
- familiarity 61-2
 family 68, 148
 visits 9, 35, 52, 66
 see also income
 fees, entrance 19, 48, 143
 first visits 21, 24, 60, 66, 90, 133, 158
 Fitzwilliam Museum 95
 formalization exercise 12
 Fra Angelico 57, 139
 Francastel, P. 162,
 France, museum visitors in 12, 117-18, 169
 age 16-17, 32, 34, 133, 154
 alone 52
 class *see* education level and class *below*
 curators 96-7
 education level and class: cultural works and cultivated disposition 49-52, 60-1; results 131-4, 136, 139-41, 144, 154-5, 158-60, 165; rules of cultural diffusion 71, 100, 104-6; social conditions of cultural practice 15-17, 26-7, 29-30, 33-6
 guides 53-5, 62-3, 173
 information 85-6
 museums listed 6-7
 pilot survey *see* Lille

- results 11, 131-41, 153, 157-9, 163-5
- sample 8, 10, 127, 129
- schools and painters cited 56, 57-9, 137-9, 157, 160
- special exhibitions 89-93, 98, 100-2, 122, 135, 164
- specific museums and towns *see* individual names
- time spent 38
- tourism 22, 25
- see also in particular* Lille; Paris
- frequency of visits 11, 21-2, 38
- functionalism 40-1
- fundamentalists 1-2

- Gauguin, P. 55, 57, 139, 160
- Gazzola, P. 164
- Gemeentemuseum 8, 118, 170
- gender 18, 27-9, 30
- Gervex 42
- Giotto 167
- Gonzales, J. 42
- Goya, F. 58, 139, 160
- Greece, museum visitors in 12, 118, 169
 - alone 52
 - class *see* education level and class *below*
 - education level and class 29-30, 33-6, 154-5, 158-9, 165
 - guides 54, 63, 168
 - results 153-5, 158-60, 165
 - sample 8, 163
 - schools and painters cited 55, 56, 58, 157, 160, 165
- Green Guides 6, 19, 25, 62-3
- Grenoble 172
- Greuze, J. 57, 139
- Groningen 8, 118
- groups *see* educational visits; family
- Grunewald, M. 45
- guides (guidebooks and catalogues)
 - museum 9, 52, 53-4, 62-3
 - tourist 6, 19, 25, 62-3
- guides (human) 51, 52-3, 95, 131
- Guillaumin, A. 42

- Hague, The 8, 118, 170
- Hals, F. 160
- Haute Provence 101
- Hegel, G. W. F. 110
- Heidegger, M. 108
- hierarchy of museums 6-8
- Hoffman, E. 61
- holidays *see* tourism
- Holland, museum visitors in 12, 117, 118, 168
 - age 32, 34, 154
 - alone 52
 - class *see* education level and class *below*
 - education level and class:
 - results 154-5, 158-9, 165-6;
 - social conditions of cultural practice 27, 29-30, 33-5
 - guides 54, 63, 168
 - results 153-5, 157-60, 165-6
 - sample 8, 163
 - schools and painters cited 55-6, 58, 157, 160
 - special exhibitions 88, 95, 170
- Husserl, E. 47
- Huyghe, R. 3

- income 19, 27-9, 144
- information communication *see* rules of cultural diffusion
- intensity of visits 20
- interviews
 - semi-directed 147-52
 - see also* questionnaire
- Israel, J. 160
- Italy 58, 117

- Japan 87
- Jeu de Paume (Paris) 8, 25, 38, 55, 85, 117-18
- Joffroy, B. 42

- Kabylia 104
- Kaes, R. 168, 172
- Kandinsky, W. 58, 160
- Kant, I. 40, 109-10
- Kirscher, G. 118

- Klee, P. 57, 58, 68, 98, 139, 160
 Kraków 8, 34
- La Tour, G. de 57, 139, 160
 Laon 6, 7, 10, 38, 85-6, 117
 Lazarsfeld 29
 Le Corbusier 98
 Le Havre 101-2
 Le Nain 57, 139
 learning transference 63-4; *see also*
 education level
 Leibniz, G. W. 71
 Lemaire, M. vii, 117, 118
 Leonardo *see* da Vinci
 Lépine, S. 42
 Lille 7, 10, 17, 25, 85-6, 117
 Association of Friends 92
 behaviour in 50-2, 54-5
 cultural works and cultivated
 disposition 49
 pilot survey 5, 9, 117
 results 122, 135, 144, 164
 special exhibitions 89, 93, 118, 164
 time spent visiting 38
 Limoges 100
 Littré, M. P. 111
 Łódź 8, 34
 Louviers 6, 54, 85, 117
 Louvre 54, 91, 97, 104, 171
 Lublin 8, 34
 Lyon 7, 38, 117
- Manet, E. 42, 139, 160
 Markiewicz, N. L. 118
 Marseille 7, 85-6, 117
 Matalon, E. 172
 mediate decipherment 59
 Meijer, M. 117
 Michelangelo 57, 139, 160, 167
 Milan 117, 163
 Miró, J. 98
 modernists 1-2
 Modigliani, A. 59
 Mohammed 76
 Mondrian, P. 58, 68, 160
 Monet, C. 42, 59, 139, 160
 Moreau, G. 68
- Moreno, Mlle 117
 Morisot, B. 42
 Moulins 6, 7, 25, 85-6, 117, 118
 Musée des Arts décoratifs (Paris) 8,
 25, 85-6, 89, 102, 117
 Musée national d'art moderne 98
- Naigeon 14
 national cultural capital 36
 National Gallery (London) 95
 National Gallery (Washington) 87,
 95
 nationality 2; *see also* comparative
 study
 naturalization, culture as 110
 Netherlands *see* Holland
 Nicolle, M. 162
 North America 87, 95, 98, 170-1, 172
 number
 of visits 6-7, 8, 10, 130
 of works displayed 6-8
- occupation *see* education level and
 class; socio-economic groups
- painters and schools cited 55-9, 68,
 137-9, 157, 160
 Panofsky, E. 2, 44, 167, 174
 Paris 8, 25, 54, 102, 117-18
 categories of painters 55
 curators 96-7
 education services 104
 information level 85-6
 Societies of Friends 91, 171
 special exhibitions 89
 time spent visiting museums 38
 Pau 7, 117, 135
 pedagogy *see* education level; guides
 Pengilly-l'Haridon 171
 perception of art 1, 37-70
 Picasso, P. 48, 55, 57, 58, 87, 139,
 160, 164, 165
 pilot survey 5, 9, 117
 Pissarro, C. 42
 poetry 46-7
 Poincaré, H. 12

- Poland, museum visitors in 12, 118, 169
 age 21, 32, 34, 154
 alone 52
 class *see* education level and class *below*
 curators 98
 education level and class 154-5, 158-9, 165-6, 170; social conditions of cultural practice 21, 29-30, 33-5
 guides 54, 63, 168
 results 153-5, 157-60
 sample 8, 163
 schools and painters cited 55, 56, 58, 157, 160
 positional values 31-2
 possibility, real and pure 37
 Poussin, N. 57, 59, 167
 Poznań 8
 practice, cultural, social conditions of 14-36
 Prado 117
 Proust, M. 65
 public of European museums survey 152-61
- questionnaire 5-6, 119-25
- Radcliffe-Brown, A. R. 108
 Raphael 57, 139, 160, 167
 reception, level of 43
 religion, art as 1-4
 Rembrandt 57, 58, 88, 139, 160
 Renoir, P. A. 42, 57, 58, 59, 68, 139, 160
 research process 5-13, 119-61; *see also* questionnaire; results; sample; survey; timetable
 results, coding and analysis of 10-11, 131-41
 reverential distancing 49-53
 Riesman, D. 170
 Rijksmuseum 8, 95, 117
 Rouen 7, 38, 85-6, 117
 Rousseau, T. 160
- Rubens, Sir P. 139, 160
 rules of cultural diffusion 71-107
- sample 6-10
 method 126-30
 Sastre, Mlle 117
 Saussure, F. de 167
 Schmidt-Degener, F. 1
 Schnapper, D. 117, 118
 Schonen, S. de 172
 schooling *see* education level; educational
 schools of painting *see* painters and schools
 Schumpeter, J. 76
 semi-directed interviews 147-52
 signifiers *see* codes and signifiers
 signposts *see* arrows
 Sisley, A. 42, 59
 social class *see* class
 social conditions of cultural practice 14-36
 Societies of Friends of museums 87, 91-2, 117, 134, 171
 socio-economic groups/occupation 14, 17-18, 27-9; *see also* class; education level
 socioeconomic *see* class
 Spain, museum visitors in 12, 117
 class *see* education level and class *below*
 education level and class 29, 164, 165
 sample 8, 163
 special exhibitions 24-5, 87-93, 135, 150-1
 France 89, 93, 118, 164
 Holland 88, 95, 170
 Steen, J. 160
 style 43-5
 survey 6-10
 public of European museums 152-61
see also sample
 surveys, pilot 5, 9, 117
 symbolic systems 39, 65; *see also* codes

- taste 40, 47, 110, 137
- teaching of drawing 60-2; *see also*
education level
- theatre 63-4, 68, 146
- Thompson, C. 167-9
- time *see* duration
- timetable of research 117-18
- Titian 57, 139
- Toronto 170-1, 172
- Toulouse 7
- Toulouse-Lautrec, H. 59, 160
- tourism 3, 7, 9-10, 22-9, 34
- Tours 7, 38, 85-6, 117
- transference of learning 63-4
- Trubetzkoy, N. S. 46
- Turner, J. 47

- UNESCO 100
- United States 87, 95, 98
- Utrecht 8, 118
- Utrillo, M. 59

- Van Dyck, Sir A. 160
- Van Gogh, V. 55, 57, 58, 68, 88, 108,
139, 160
- Vasari, G. 109
- Velázquez, D. 57, 139
- Venturi, L. 162
- verification surveys 142-7
- Vermeer, J. 57, 139, 160
- Versailles 49
- Villaverde, M. 117
- Villeurbanne 103
- Villon, J. 98

- Walter, E. vii
- Warsaw 8, 34
- Weber, M. 57, 113
- Wölfflin, H. 168
- Wrocław 34

- Zola, E. 49

