

Mass Media and the Attraction of the Arts in Small-Size Global Cities: The (Re)Distribution of Cultural Capital

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Global cities have developed ambitious cultural policies to attract a qualified workforce, expecting a range of artistic amenities addressed to their social class. In parallel, the mass media have always been considered a key intermediary between the producers and consumers of cultural practices. However, what is the link between the use of mass media and the arts-led practices in small-size global cities? Current research based on the Bourdieusian concept of *cultural capital* shows that both practices are correlated and reveal a cultural distinction of a “two-headed” elite from other social groups. Luxembourg, a small, urbanized country is used as a case study to investigate the cultural distinction of the elites in this type of global city.

Keywords: mass media, global cities, cultural capital, performing arts, museum, mobility

Most cities have become global due to their integration into international urban networks. Global cities are also locations characterized by an artistic life and mass media considered strategic by growth coalitions to attract the qualified work force (Lamour, 2018; Whitt & Lammers, 1991). It is also important to add that the promotion of arts venues and performances has traditionally been based on the existence of mass media playing the role of intermediaries between the producers and consumers of performing arts. The use of mass media is incorporated in broader social routines (Couldry, 2004; Dickinson & Aiello, 2016; Georgiou, 2013; Lamour, 2019; Tosoni & Ridell, 2016). This practice can especially be related to multidimensional cultural capital, which is reproduced, enriched within given, and evolving social settings (Bourdieu, 1986).

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Here, we argue that the link between mass media consumption and the attraction of the arts in small-size, global cities can reveal a partial reconfiguration of the cultural capital possessed by different segments of urban society, and the definition of a two-headed elite, securing its cultural distinction by adopting differentiated cultural practices. We analyze the connection between the mass media and artistic leisure routines in the urban world by using the case study of Luxembourg. Following a review of the literature on cultural capital—with a focus on mass media and cultural practices—we detail the argument, the case study, and the methodology. The results are then presented in three main parts. The first consists of investigating the links between the use of mass media in general and the attraction of art venues in Luxembourg. The second section focuses on the self-reflection of media users concerning their readiness to visit art venues, and the importance of art and culture in their lives. Lastly, these two analyses are followed by an approach to both phenomena incorporating the sociodemographic profile of urbanites consuming mass media and developing art-related habits, to isolate different types of cultural practitioners.

Mass Media and the Attraction of Arts in Global Cities: Cultural Capital, Reconversion Strategy, and Scapes

As suggested by Hannerz (1996), four typical mobile communities characterize the global cities: the economic upper class, poor migrants, tourists, and members of the artistic milieu. There is consequently a diversification of cultural lifestyles from the cosmopolitan ones generally associated with the elite, crosscutting long-standing cultural barriers, to people's habits, which are often embedded in their specific national or ethnic groups (Kofman, 2005). The global cities are places experiencing a "new age of extremes" (Massey, 2005, p. 214) after a long process of homogenization during the 20th century; places combining a mosaic of nationalities and educational groups, on which a segregation process is often based. The Bourdieusian approach to cultural capital is interesting to explore the cultural distinction of the elite from the rest of society in this new age of extremes. Cultural capital takes three main forms:

The *embodied state*, i.e., in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body (also mentioned in other texts as the *habitus* and related to personal guidance at an earlier stage of life); the *objectified state*, in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.) . . . ; and the *institutionalized state*, a form of objectification which must be set apart because, as . . . in the case of educational qualifications, it confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee. (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 17)

This type of cultural capital is deployed, reproduced and enriched by the transfer of general and linguistic knowledge, bounding specific communities (e.g., journalists, artists) and the social groups they are connected with. The work of Bourdieu dating from the 1970s and early 1980s distinguishes the cultural capital of the elite from that of the more popular class, leading to clearly segmented and hierarchical societal behaviors and cultural tastes. This distinction leads to ignore the existing and plural appropriation of cultural contents revealed by reception studies (Lahire, 1999). It can also sound somewhat rigid when considering the cultural practices of the current elite, who have become omnivorous, consuming/engaging with only one form of culture (Coulangeon, 2017). However, the changing attitude of the cultural elite can also be viewed as "a reconversion strategy" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 157)—that is to say, the ability of the privileged classes to

maintain their hierarchic superiority in defining legitimate cultural tastes within cultural domains experiencing structural changes (Coulangeon, 2015; Lamour & Lorentz, 2019; Lindell & Danielsson, 2017). This superiority is secured by the diversification of their practices, while the access to highbrow culture (opera listening, etc.) and popular culture is becoming less exclusive (Janssen, Verboord, & Kuipers, 2011; van Eijck & Knulst, 2005). From this perspective, it is implied that the legitimate culture of the higher social classes is becoming both broader and more heterogeneous, thanks to the transformation of cultural genres from entertainment to the arts (Baumann, 2007) with the support of arts-and-culture reporters (Varriale, 2016) who are key intermediaries in between producers and consumers of cultural goods. This reconversion strategy of the upper classes can potentially lead to a process of differentiation among members of the elite; a differentiation that is rarely addressed in the specific context of global cities.

The cultural distinction of the elite in the global city, involving specific media use and cultural practices, can be investigated through “non-media-centric media studies,” that is, a material as well as a symbolic appreciation of media in the everyday life of people whose daily routines incorporate the use of media, but are not focused on its consumption (Couldry, 2004; Georgiou, 2013; Krajina, Moores, & Morley, 2014; Lamour, 2019). An important contemporary pattern of media use in everyday life is the increasing global fluidity of mass-mediated information. In turn, this leads to the debordering of cultural practices and identities (Bauman, 2000; Lamour, 2020; Morley, 2000; Morley & Robins, 1995; Rifkin, 2000). The contemporary global city is a specific area within which the interaction between mass media and people is inscribed into multiplying spaces of cultural identities. It is often viewed as one of the locations experienced by people belonging to a global ethnoscape (Appadurai, 1996, p. 33). This ethnoscape is the landscape of people who are on the move from the educated elites to the less privileged diasporas, using a global mediascape (Appadurai, 1996, p. 35)—that is, a debounded flow of images and texts, helping them to imagine themselves and others in these daily lives. The mobile urbanites can use this flow of information to structure their imagined communities in the city. However, this does not mean that these people on the move share the same mediascape and ethnoscape. Cultural practices in the global city will probably reveal the distinction of a global elite possessing specific forms of cultural capital.

What can the current configuration of mass media use and interest in arts and culture in global cities tell us about the possession of “cultural capital” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 17) by different social classes in the “age of extreme” (Massey, 2005, p. 214)? Does the elite organize a “reconversion strategy” (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 157) leading to multiple processes of cultural distinction in the urban society?

Argument, Case Study, and Methodology

It is argued that the combined mass media consumption and the attraction of the arts in global cities is based on a partial reconfiguration of the cultural capital possessed by urbanites embedded in specific social classes. First, we can expect that the use of different mass media (newspapers, television, radio, and the Internet), which is an *objectified state* of the cultural capital, is related to specific practices representing an *embodied state* of the cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) that is an attraction of/interest for specific performing arts and art places in the urban environment. Second, it is suggested that the use of mass media and the attraction of or interest in specific performing arts and art venues can express “a new age of extremes” (Massey, 2005, p. 214) comprising multiple elites distancing themselves from specific segregated

communities based on the *objectified*, *embodied*, but also *institutionalized* states of cultural capital, such as educational level and national citizenship.

The current research is based on a case study of Luxembourg, a small state of 626,000 inhabitants, which is characterized by, first, the existence of a single metropolitan region centered on Luxembourg City. This small and urbanized state is symbolic of current global cities in terms of demography, media market, and cultural life. It is an urban center (1) assembling multiple national communities pooled by the economy, (2) generating new mass media initiatives, and (3) enlarging its art venues.

Luxembourgers represent the most important national group. Nevertheless, foreign residents constitute nearly half of the total population (STATEC, 2020). In parallel, 70% of the inhabitants living in the capital city are non-Luxembourgers (Klein & Peltier, 2017). There is also an age gap between Luxembourgers and foreign residents. The booming economy of Luxembourg and its seductive salaries attract an active population from the rest of the world. Consequently, the relatively small community of Luxembourgers forms a clear majority only among demographic segments at the periphery of the job market, and especially among people over 54 years of age (Peltier & Klein, 2018a). There is also a clear national segmentation in terms of education level, income, and professions among the most represented national communities. On the one hand, there is a Portuguese community (the most numerous foreign group, accounting for 95,000 people in 2020), the members of which tend to have the lowest education level, income, and professional status. On the other hand, the Luxembourgers, Belgians, French, Germans, and the Italians have a larger proportion of citizens with a higher level of education, average income, and professional occupation (STATEC, 2017). Compared with Luxembourgers, the Portuguese are also overrepresented in the younger segments of the resident population (Peltier & Klein, 2018b). Lastly, Luxembourg is one of the richest states in the world. However, the economic growth tended to be pro-rich in the 2000s, and poverty is present locally (Frising, 2018; STATEC, 2017). Again, there are variations depending on the national groups, due to differences in qualifications and professional status (STATEC, 2018). The Luxembourg case study is comparable with other small yet global cities, such as Geneva and Basel in Switzerland.

The mass media market and cultural life in Luxembourg have changed at different speeds with metropolitan growth. There is relative stability in the output of mass media, because the market is small and the audience is becoming more and more fragmented in terms of mother tongues. French is the primary language used in the country, far in front of English, German, and Luxembourgish, a Frankish dialect (STATEC, 2017). However, the market is dominated by Luxembourgish and German language media. The only major change over the past 20 years has been the creation of a French language free daily newspaper, *L'essentiel*, which attracts a large proportion of the young, national/foreign, and popular segment of the resident population, plus an important proportion of French-speaking cross-border workers residing in nearby France and Belgium (Lamour, 2016; TNS-Ilres, 2020). This French-language free publication provides short items concerning Luxembourg for people who have limited knowledge of the country and a basic understanding of French. It also circulates a series of information on popular performing arts taking place in Luxembourg, but embedded in cross-national and Western popular mass culture. Nevertheless, the dominant mass media in the paid-for printed press (*Wort* and *Tageblatt*), radio stations (RTL Radio Lëtzebuerg and Eldorado) and television (RTL Lëtzebuerg) are produced mainly in German or

Luxembourgish (with French subtitles for the Luxembourgish news bulletin of RTL Lëtzebuerg). Consequently, the media tends to target the Luxembourgers, as German nationals represent a small community compared with people from Latin countries (STATEC, 2020). The French-language mass media is the second most circulated in the equivalent segments thanks to the radio station L'essentiel Radio, the paid-for press tending to attract the elite (*Le Jeudi* closed in June 2019 after more than 20 years of existence) and the middle-class (*Le Quotidien*). However, the audiences of these French radio stations and newspapers are far smaller than the German and Luxembourgish language mass media. The Internet can allow some paid-for newspapers based in Luxembourg to offer content in other languages (e.g., *Wort*); especially English, French, and Portuguese, although their audience on the Web is small (TNS-Ilres, 2020).

The cultural life has changed more radically over recent decades. The changes have been in terms of venues and programs. The Luxembourg government has invested in new cultural infrastructures, including a rock venue and a philharmonic house, not to mention the restoration or creation of many theaters. The number of key national art venues grew from seven to 23 between 1994 and 2009. Further, there has been an affirmation of highbrow cultural events expressing the existence of an international elite expecting provisions associated with their class. In total, the different art venues and other institutions proposing cultural contents in Luxembourg attracted 1.2 million people in 2017 (Thunus, 2018).

The methodology used in the current article is based on last Luxembourg Cultural Practices Survey, commissioned by the Ministry of Culture in 2009 and containing a representative sample of 1,880 people over 14 years of age. The study is already 10 years old, but it was carried out when Luxembourg was already a global and multicultural city. At that time, Luxembourg was also one of the top OECD countries concerning the accessibility to the Internet, which was used by an absolute majority of individuals whatever the age and income group (OECD, 2012). Since then, the overall share of residents accessing culture through the Web such as for instance consuming music has increased (Frising & Niclou, 2019). Nevertheless, it is also important to note that the development of social media over the past 10 years has not led to a radical erosion of traditional mass media (print, television, radio). For example, the readership of Luxembourg printed newspapers remains far higher than that of online equivalents (TNS-Ilres, 2020). This is despite the fact that digital access to news has become the second most developed activity of Web users, with 89% of them reading news online (Frising, 2017). Furthermore, as proved by recent surveys on social media use, this practice is linked to the reproduction of societal fragmentation and cultural distinction linked to social classes (Yates & Lockley, 2018). To the extent that Luxembourg's sociocultural makeup and social class divisions remain relatively stable between 2009 to today, there is merit in the argument that the same divisions remain in the cultural tastes, and cultural practices (including media as well as artistic preferences) of Luxembourg's diverse national and socioeconomic classes. Data collected in 2009 can still be useful for identifying and theorizing the divergences and overlaps in media use and cultural practices among Luxembourg's nationally and socioeconomically divergent communities. The aim and scope here is to examine statistical links between different mass media output (*objectified cultural capital*; Bourdieu, 1986) and two different types of *embodied cultural capital* (Bourdieu, 1986): the visitation of art places in the city and the interest for art/cultural information. The mass media output considered includes the press (paid-for and free newspapers published in Luxembourg, plus paid-for foreign newspapers), radio, television (with a focus on the country of origin of the most watched channels) and the Internet. A distinction is made between interest in these media in general and interest in the specific programs and content they deliver. We selected

the following specific programs and content, based on the data available in the survey: (1) press: cultural magazines (literature, cinema and music news); (2) radio: classical music, rock music and other music listening; (3) television: entertainment programs (variety shows), and cultural/art programs; and (4) the Internet: online information related to cultural products and events. Visiting art venues in Luxembourg is assessed by investigating the attendance of performing arts events and visits to museums or similar (including art exhibitions, historic places, and other locations such as natural heritage sites). The attraction of performing arts is divided into four categories: no mobility, popular mobility, highbrow mobility and omnivorous mobility, which is a combination of the two previous ones. The border between highbrow and popular culture is sometimes narrow. However, the following two traditional groups are often encountered (Gronow & Southerton, 2010) and are used in the current research: highbrow culture (theater, dance/ballet, opera/opera, song recital/choral singing, and classical music) and popular culture (comedy shows, folk dance, circus, street performance, and popular music). The interest in art and/or cultural information is captured through the answers given to two specific questions in the survey: the access to better information as a source of increased visits to art venues, and the importance of art and culture in life. A chi-squared test is used to determine whether there is a significant link between the use of mass media (objectified cultural capital) and attitudes toward different aspects of cultural life (embodied cultural capital). The margin of error accepted in this article is 5% ($p < .05$), and the total number of respondents (n) in each table is given at the top of each column.

At the end of the research, a multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) was conducted to identify connections between levels of nominal categorical data summarized by axes; the first two axes being the two most important dimensions in terms of the variance accounted for. The scope of the MCA is to determine potential sociodemographic parameters (age, gender, nationality, income, professional category, and education level) associated with the use of media, the visit to art places and the interest for art/cultural information. The objective of the MCA in particular is to determine whether the use of media and art-driven practices in the urban space can be related to one important dimension of cultural capital—that is, the “institutionalized state” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 17), represented, for instance, by education level or national citizenship. As there is a large amount of missing data regarding the income of respondents in the 2009 cultural practices survey, we use the perception of income by residents—that is, if interviewees consider their income as sufficient to live decently. This will help us to investigate whether the economic capital of residents is related to the media and to cultural practices in the city.

Mass Media and the Consumption of the Arts in a Global Luxembourg: A Matter of Cultural Capital (Re)Distribution

The analysis of statistical ties shows the existence of multiple societal fragmentations in Luxembourg in terms of “cultural capital,” with a partial reconfiguration of media practices and interest in the arts and culture. It also turns out that this partial reconfiguration leads to the definition of a “two-headed elite,” distinguishing itself from other social groups in the city by putting in place a “reconversation strategy” (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 157). We present the results in three parts. First, we analyze statistical ties between the use of mass media and the attraction of art venues. Second, we discuss the statistical links between the use of mass media and the interest in arts and culture information. Third, we use the MCA to help reveal the distinction of a “two-headed” elite in the city.

***Mass Media and the Attraction of Art Venues:
The Information Flows and the Flows of Informed Residents***

Examining the overall mass media use of people visiting museums and attending performing arts events (or avoiding this type of cultural output) reveals statistical tendencies (see Table 1). People attracted by popular and highbrow performing arts (the omnivorous class) are most interested by using the Internet, the Luxembourg paid-for press, and radio programs on an everyday basis. Their consumption of online news in particular helps them to distinguish themselves from the other categories (55% of daily users versus 44% among the second most attracted category). Those enjoying popular performing arts also develop specific media choices. They are by far the most faithful readers of the Luxembourg free dailies and the least interested in the Luxembourg paid-for press. This shows that there is a cultural homology, meaning “a correspondence between types of audiences and types of works (and producers)” (Lahire, 1999, p. 50). There is a statistical correlation between the use of the most commercial newspaper whose reporters target the largest audiences in the city and the attraction of the most popular and commercial performing arts in the city. Furthermore, the relative majority of people attending popular arts performances mainly watch TV channels broadcast from Portugal, whereas these channels are always ranked as the third or fourth most watched among the other three groups. This reflects the socioeconomic and national fragmentation of the Luxembourg urban society, as Portuguese is somewhat embedded in the working class (STATEC, 2017).

It is interesting to note that the mediascape (Appadurai, 1996) of the omnivorous class more often includes the borderless Web platform. In parallel, the mediascape of popular arts consumers is structured more around elastic and yet bounded “home territories” (Morley, 2000)—that is, an expanded material, symbolic, and lived space of people using TV media content addressed to their national community of origin. People moving around the city to exclusively attend traditionally elitist art performances, such as opera and choral singing—the highbrow group—generally have mass media routines that often make it difficult to separate them from the rest of society. They are, however, the least interested in the Luxembourg free press and Portuguese television stations. Lastly, the urbanites who do not go out to attend performing arts are the most interested in daily television watching, as evidenced by other surveys (Coulangeon, 2015). People going to museums generally develop the same mass media routines as highbrow and/or omnivorous communities.

Table 1. Proportion of the Public Attending Performing Arts, Consuming Mass-Mediated Content (%).

		Categories of performing arts public				
		Highbrow (<i>n</i> = 230)	Omnivorou s (<i>n</i> = 763)	Popular (<i>n</i> = 443)	No mobility (<i>n</i> = 442)	<i>p</i> value
Newspapers	Luxembourg paid press	55	59	37	45	<.0001
	Luxembourg free press	22	27	43	29	<.0001
	Foreign paid press	14	16	14	12	<.0001
Radio		77	80	75	66	<.0001
Television	General use	79	77	78	85	<.0054
	Luxembourg-Germany	39	37	23	33	
	Luxembourg-France	8	11	7	4	
	Germany-France	28	22	21	25	<.0001
	France	5	5	8	5	
	Portugal-Other	4	9	26	15	
Other	16	16	16	19		
Internet		44	55	44	39	<.0001

Note. Daily consumption for all media except for the national TV stations indicator, which reveals the nation-state provenance of the most watched televisions. "France" television also includes French broadcasters diffused from Belgium. Fifty-five percent of people attending highbrow performing arts read the paid-for Luxembourg newspapers daily, and 39% of them watch mainly Luxembourg and Germany TV channels. Statistical test: Chi-squared test. Source: Cultural Practices Survey 2009 (Ministry of Culture).

The investigation of the specific mass mediated content selected by those attending performing arts shows a clear distinction between the omnivorous community and the rest of society. The omnivorous group is the most interested in cultural magazines (literature, cinema, and music news) and in cultural information available online. This chameleonic cultural interest is also revealed by the capacity to be attracted by classical music radio content, like the highbrow community, and by rock and pop music on the radio, like the popular community. This ability to crosscut mass media cultural genres is a contemporary phenomenon associated with the young elite (Coulangeon, 2017). The mass media behavior of this community confirms the clear combination of objectified cultural capital (the preference for specific media content) and embodied cultural capital (the attendance of performing arts). However, looking at the media practices of the three other categories of the public attending performing arts shows that there is not always an evident link between their everyday media routines and their attendance of performing arts in the urban space. For instance, people attending exclusively highbrow performing arts in the city are far keener on listening to rock and pop music on the radio than people staying at home. It shows that this musical genre—which has succeeded in imposing itself among the cultural elite thanks particularly to the intermediary role of reporters (Varriale, 2016)—is not simply limited to people developing omnivorous tastes in the urban space (see Table 2). The same tendencies are evident when we pay attention to people who go to museums.

Table 2. Proportion of the Public Attending Performing Arts, Consuming Specific Mass-Mediated Content (%).

		Categories of performing arts public				
		Highbrow (<i>n</i> = 230)	Omnivorous (<i>n</i> = 763)	Popular (<i>n</i> = 443)	No mobility (<i>n</i> = 442)	<i>p</i> value
Newspapers	Cultural magazine	30	42	25	23	<.0001
Radio	Classical music	37	39	19	18	<.0001
	Rock-pop music	66	72	74	57	<.0001
	Other music	64	71	62	48	<.0001
Television	Cultural program	23	21	13	19	<.0001
	Variety shows	8	13	14	16	<.0001
Internet	Search for cultural events and products	57	71	52	43	<.0001

Note. Consumption for all contents except for the televised ones whose represented statistics show the frequency of consumption (many times a week). Thirty percent of people attending highbrow performing arts read cultural magazines, and 8% of them watch televised variety shows many times a week. Statistical test: Chi-squared test. Source: Cultural Practices Survey 2009 (Ministry of Culture).

Media Consumption and the Interest in Art Information: Tendencies in the City

First, there is no statistically significant link between the role of cultural information as a source of arts attraction in the city and the use of television or radio in general. Statistical links do exist for two different blocks of media users/cultural information seekers. On one side, there are residents who read the Luxembourg paid-for newspapers on a daily basis, together with people who mainly watch Luxembourg and Germany TV stations—that is, people who are strongly embedded in the Luxembourgish national community. On the other side, there are inhabitants who read the Luxembourg free newspapers and use the Internet daily. These are people attracted by print and digital news formats addressed to a mobile urban crowd with a limited cultural denominator, and linked to the global mediascape and ethnoscape (Appadurai, 1996).

The urbanites who state that more cultural information would influence their attraction of arts in the city are those who read the Luxembourg paid-for newspapers as often as the free press. Nevertheless, there is a divergence among people who mention a lack of influence. Half of them belong to the daily paid-for newspaper readership, whereas less than a third read the free dailies of Luxembourg (see Table 3). The free press (and also the Internet) has more potential to influence the attraction for arts among their users compared with the Luxembourg paid-for press and the Luxembourg and Germany television stations. This probably reveals the progressive ageing of the paid-for press readership and Luxembourg/Germany TV viewers, whose attraction for arts in the city diminishes, while the free press and the Internet attracts younger people keener on going out based on cultural information gathered from their favorite media. The focus on statistical ties between the particular media genre (from cultural magazines to specific searches for cultural information on the Internet) and the influence of mediated information on the attraction of arts in the city is less straightforward. A (positive) statistical link only exists among people who listen to rock and pop music on the radio or search for cultural information online. For instance, 81% of people who mention the influence of improved information on their

cultural practices in the city search for cultural goods and services on the Internet, whereas half the residents not mentioning an influence have the same pattern of Web use.

Table 3. The Influence of a Better Cultural Information on the Mobility of Media Users (%).

		A better information on the cultural programs (available in Luxembourg) will incite me to go out more often		
		Yes (<i>n</i> = 216)	No (<i>n</i> = 1,651)	<i>p</i> value
Newspapers	Luxembourg paid press	43	51	.0029
	Luxembourg free press	40	29	.0014
	Foreign paid press	18	14	<.0001
Radio		76	75	.5081
Television	General use	76	80	.4371
	Luxembourg-Germany	25	34	
	Luxembourg-France	7	8	
	Germany-France	24	23	.0036
	France	10	5	
	Portugal-Other	13	14	
	Other	21	16	
Internet		63	45	<.0001

Note. Daily consumption for all media except for the national TV stations indicator, which reveals the nation-state provenance of the most watched televisions. "France" television also includes French broadcasters diffused from Belgium. Forty-three percent of people answering "Yes" to this question read the Luxembourg paid-for press on a daily basis, and 25% of them mainly watch Luxembourg and Germany TV channels. Statistical test: Chi-squared test. Source: Cultural Practices Survey 2009 (Ministry of Culture).

The highest proportion of people who state that arts and culture are very important for them is found among radio listeners and TV viewers in general. However, there is no statistically significant link between radio listening and the importance of arts and culture. Furthermore, there is a negative link between TV viewing and the appreciation given to arts and culture. Some differences can nevertheless exist, depending on the national TV channels mainly watched by residents. In parallel, there is always a positive link when the other media are considered. The more people consider arts and culture as crucial to them, the more they are inclined to read the press or use the Internet every day (see Table 4).

Table 4. The Importance of Arts and Culture in the Life of Media Users (%).

		Importance of arts and culture in people's lives				
		Very important (n = 337)	Relatively important (n = 761)	Not really important (n = 629)	Not important at all (n = 148)	p value
Newspapers	Luxembourg paid press	52	51	49	47	.0025
	Luxembourg free press	33	30	32	22	<.0001
	Foreign paid press	21	15	12	5	.0001
Radio		77	76	73	76	.0557
Television	General use	70	82	82	82	<.0001
	Luxembourg-Germany	23	31	38	44	
	Luxembourg-France	12	7	8	5	
	Germany-France	26	23	24	8	
	France	9	6	4	3	<.0001
	Portugal-Other	9	16	13	22	
	Other	21	17	13	18	
Internet		48	52	45	31	<.0001

Note. Daily consumption for all media except for the national TV stations indicator, which reveals the nation-state provenance of the most watched televisions. "France" television also includes French broadcasters diffused from Belgium. Fifty-two percent of people declaring that arts and culture is very important for them read the Luxembourg paid-for press on a daily basis, and 23% of them mainly watch Luxembourg and Germany TV channels. Statistical test: Chi-squared test. Source: Cultural Practices Survey 2009 (Ministry of Culture).

The same positive link is revealed when we focus attention on the specific genre of media content that is used by people, from cultural magazines to cultural information available online. However, there is not, on the one hand, a highbrow elite who consider culture as very important and are immensely attracted, for instance, by cultural magazines and classical music radio listening, and, on the other hand, a popular group denying the importance of arts and culture in their life and who are tremendously passionate about TV variety shows and rock and pop music on the radio. For instance, more than two thirds of people mentioning arts and culture as an important part of their life listen to rock and pop music on the radio, whereas just above a third of them watch cultural TV programs (see Table 5). This indirectly reveals a double evolution of cultural practices, and more precisely the increasing artistic legitimacy of past leisure entertainment such as rock and pop music listening, and the parallel depreciation of past cultural forms associated with highbrow artistic taste (Baumann, 2007) such as watching cultural TV programs.

**Table 5. The Importance of Arts and Culture in the Life of Media Users:
A Focus on Specific Media Programs (%).**

		Importance of arts and culture in people's lives				
		Very important (n = 337)	Relatively important (n = 761)	Not really important (n = 629)	Not important at all (n = 148)	p value
Newspapers	Cultural magazine	49	35	23	11	<.0001
Radio	Classical music	47	33	18	13	<.0001
	Rock-pop music	68	73	67	49	<.0001
	Other music	72	67	57	42	<.0001
Television	Cultural program	37	18	12	10	<.0001
	Variety Shows	13	16	10	14	.0008
Internet	Search for cultural events and products	63	65	54	30	<.0001

Note. Consumption for all contents except for the televised ones whose represented statistics show the frequency of consumption (many times a week). Forty-nine percent of people declaring that arts and culture are very important in their life read cultural magazines, and 13% of them watch televised variety shows many times a week. Statistical test: Chi-squared test. Source: Cultural Practices Survey 2009 (Ministry of Culture).

The Metropolitan Age of Extremes: The "Two Heads" Elite and the Bases of its Distinctions

The MCA includes first the use of mass media and the different genres of media content. Second, different expressions of the Bourdieusian *embodied* cultural capital: the attraction of arts in the city, the influence of mediated information on this attraction, and the importance of arts and culture in life. Third, a series of sociodemographic parameters (age, gender, nationality, education level, professional category, and perceived sufficiency of income). The analysis reveals the presence of four different "universes of stylistic possibles" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 208), comprising structured ensembles of preferences based on the volume and composition of capital. These four universes are shaped around two main axes, and more precisely, around two forms of institutionalized cultural capital—education level and national citizenship—that are linked to the use of mass media (objectified capital) and the consumption of arts (embodied capital). The two-headed elite is split between a debounded universe of the artistic expression (the connected minority diversifying its cultural practices to secure its distinction) and a static national universe of rooted elderlies (the minority of Luxembourgers securing their distinction by selecting media dedicated to their national community). The two universes are determined by the *habitus* of their members—that is, the long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body, including a potential reconversion strategy to maintain their distinction in society (Bourdieu, 1984, 1986).

The horizontal axis reveals what Rifkin (2000) terms the age of access—that is, the contemporary division of society at the world level between two groups. First is a minority who is highly educated, whose attendance of performing arts is facilitated, and who uses the unlimited information in cyberspace to secure, augment, and/or diversify current cultural use in the material space. Second is a disconnected group, with

limited education, a detachment from cyberspace, and who currently attends no performing arts events while also being indifferent about other leisure activities such as listening to rock and pop music on the radio. Since Rifkin's (2000) *The Age of Access* was written, a growing section of society has had access to this digital technology. However, social divisions remain as a structural phenomenon determining the specific use of this tool (Yates & Lockley, 2018). The issue is not simply to acknowledge a digital divide between the societal segments. It is to be aware of the Web connection as *objectified* cultural capital, which is combined with the *embodied* and *institutionalized* cultural capital possessed by different classes. This differentiated combination helps to reprocess in detail the distinction of a perpetually mobile elite from a less privileged class put in motion by a global economy toward specific urban nodes requiring their low skills. Internet use is incorporated among the preferences of two separate universes of the stylistic possibles, which can be termed as the debounded universe of the artistic experience (the intellectual elite) and the secluded universe of the artistic indifference (the low-educated class; see Figure 1).

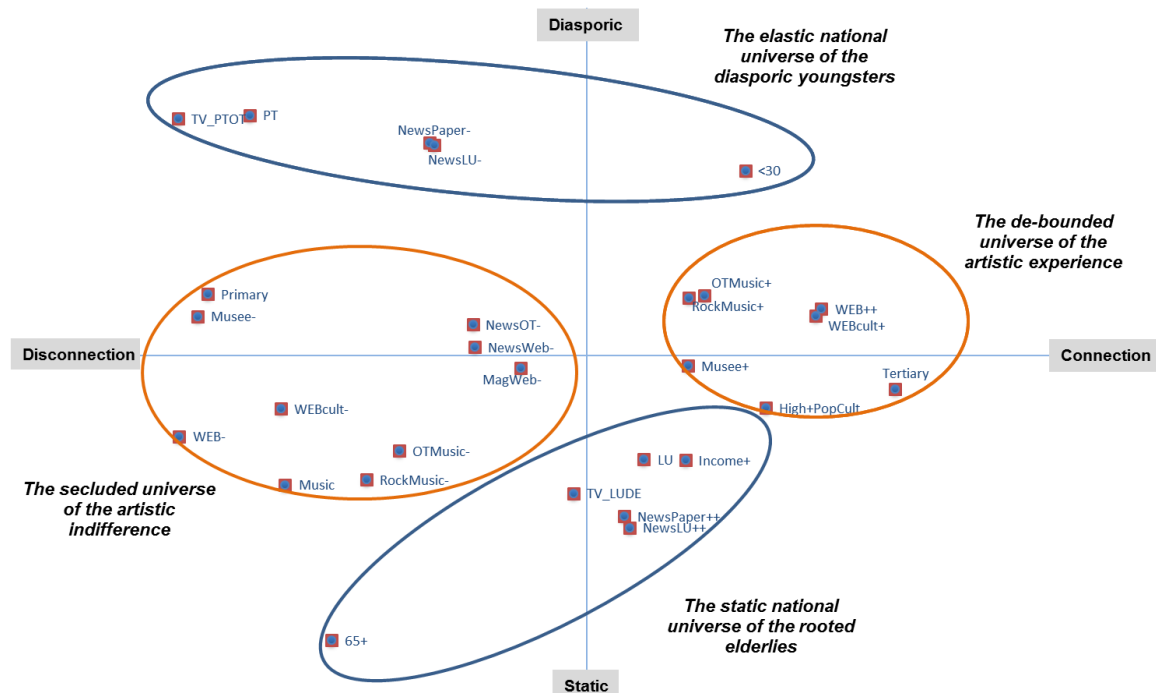


Figure 1. The four universes of stylistic possibles in the city.

Note. Abbreviations used in the MCA:

- High+PopCult: People attending at least one example of high culture performing arts (theater, dance/ballet, opera/opera, song recital/choral singing, classical music concert) and one example of popular culture performing arts (comedy show, folklore dance, street performance art) during the past 12 months in Luxembourg or abroad.
- Music: People listening to music at least once a week.
- RockMusic+: People listening mostly to rock, hard rock, punk, metal, heavy metal, trash, pop and dance music.
- RockMusic-: People generally not listening to rock, hard rock, punk, metal, heavy metal, trash, pop and dance music.

- OTMusic+: People listening mostly to music different from rock (and associated genres previously mentioned) and classical music.
- OTMusic-: People generally not listening to music different from rock (and associated genres previously mentioned) and classical music.
- Musee+: People visiting museums, art exhibitions, historical places, or relaxing places (e.g., gardens) at least once over the past 12 months.
- Musee-: People not visiting museums, art exhibitions, historical places, or relaxing places (e.g., gardens) at least once over the past 12 months.
- Newspaper++: People reading a print newspaper on an everyday basis.
- Newspaper-: People never reading a print newspaper.
- NewsLU++: People reading a paid-for Luxembourg newspaper on an everyday basis.
- NewsLU-: People never reading a paid-for Luxembourg newspaper.
- NewsOT-: People never reading a paid-for foreign newspaper.
- NewsWeb-: People never reading a paid-for newspaper on the Internet.
- MagWeb-: People never reading a magazine on the Internet.
- Web++: People going on the Internet for private use at least once or twice a week.
- Web-: People never going on the Internet for private use or not having access to the Internet.
- Webcult+: People going on the Internet to obtain some information about cultural products or events.
- Webcult-: People never going on the Internet to obtain some information about cultural products or events.
- TV_LUDE: People watching mainly Luxembourg and Germany TV channels.
- TV_PTOT: People watching mainly Portugal and other TV channels.
- Income+: People considering that their income allows them to live easily or very easily.
- Primary: People having primary education level or lower.
- Tertiary: People having a university education level.
- <30: People under 30.
- 65+: People over 65.
- LU: People having Luxembourg citizenship
- PO: People having Portuguese citizenship

The second axis shows how these cities can have coexistent national groups associated with a distinctive mediascape and an ethnoscape (Appadurai, 1996) while living in the same urban setting. This axis also reveals the changing demographic and national patterns of global cities, induced by metropolitan growth. National citizenship is the *institutionalized* form of cultural capital, which structures the contrast between the two groups. On one side, there is the static national universe of the rooted elderlies, and on the other, the elastic national universe of the diasporic youngsters. Luxembourgers, who are overrepresented among the older generation (Peltier & Klein, 2018a), reproduce their Luxembourg "home territory" (Morley, 2000) by routinely using the two forms of media mainly dedicated to their national group: currently, the Luxembourg paid-for newspapers and the Luxembourg and Germany television stations. These forms of media have been central in the mundane and banal reproduction of nations in Europe and beyond (Anderson, 1983). The universe of these Luxembourgers can be considered as static, because there is a cohesive embeddedness of people and the media in the fixed national and territorial unit, including the booming metropolis: Luxembourg. This ensemble is clearly made up of the elite, as people located in it consider themselves as living with a comfortable income. However, the economic capital does not structure the contrast between them and the second group of media/culture consumers. This contrast is based on national belonging: Old Luxembourgers versus Young Portuguese. The Portuguese also reproduce their home territory, which is actually stretched, made elastic, thanks to a debounded Portuguese mediascape including Luxembourg (see Figure 1). TV watching has been associated with working-class culture (Morley,

1992). However, the current research shows that it is not belonging to a particular socioeconomic class that determines the cultural differentiation in terms of TV viewing within global cities, but the embeddedness of people in specific national communities. Interestingly, the age factor—which has been associated with the differentiation between established and emergent cultural practices in various surveys (Le Roux, Rouanet, Savage, & Warde, 2008)—is simply linked here to the differentiation within an established cultural practice: TV watching. It shows that small-size global cities can have a demographic structure incorporating a national imbalance, leading to contrasting patterns of TV viewing.

The interest of the older generation Luxembourgers and the younger generation Portuguese in television programs mainly aimed at their respective national communities does not mean that these two groups are cut off from the more cosmopolitan society of Luxembourg. It can simply express their eagerness to maintain strong ties with their national imagined communities, through news content that is reprocessed by residents experiencing a cultural otherness on an everyday basis in a changing and multicultural Europe (Robins, 2008). For example, the Portuguese are revealed in the MCA as the group most interested in television addressed to their nation of origin. However, they also constitute a large readership group for the French-language free press of Luxembourg. Furthermore, they have an interest in TV channels from France and French-speaking Belgium revealed by the 2009 cultural survey. The attraction to them of the Portuguese channel is not due to the language barriers, but to cultural and national affinities not leading to the inward-looking nature of the group. Portuguese are, for instance, the diaspora in which we currently find the highest number of people asking for and obtaining Luxembourg citizenship, which requires a language test in Luxembourgish (STATEC, 2017). This access to a second citizenship is not required to work in the country, as the Portuguese are EU citizens. It shows the capacity of the Portuguese diaspora to develop an in-between cultural identity. In parallel, older Luxembourgers might have fewer contacts with the cosmopolitan society on a daily basis. However, the TV news bulletin in the country (produced by RTL) distributes information about a Luxembourg that is becoming more and more multicultural.

Is there a dominance of older Luxembourgers over the younger Portuguese with regard to televised cultural tastes? We can consider that there is a dominance based on the content offered by television and the fact of belonging to two different citizenries that is the nationally biased structure of each mediated public sphere. The main content offered by the central Luxembourg and national TV broadcaster (RTL) is a daily news bulletin (repeated many times). It is the key window for politics organized by Luxembourg politicians speaking in Luxembourgish for their Luxembourg citizens, who elect members of parliament and secure the democratic legitimacy of the national government. The young Portuguese, who are not able to elect Luxembourg MPs, are attracted by Portuguese television offering a broad variety of content (as in any large country) and potentially political news, which is, however, relatively irrelevant in terms of constructing their political claims in Luxembourg. Lastly, the common denominator of these two communities (the Luxembourg-rooted older people and the Portuguese-diasporic youngsters) is their immobility in the city in terms of cultural leisure, which is actually trusted by the people belonging to the debounded universe of the artistic experience (the intellectual elite). The MCA shows the existence of two upper classes having specific media interests differentiating themselves from other segments of the urban society. Nevertheless, only the one possessing the highest education organizes cultural routines combining media and attendance of performing arts/visit of museums in the urban space.

Conclusion

Art consumption and the use of media are two related practices expressing the existence of multiple social groups that may not have the same cultural capital. One can discern the blurring of some boundaries between the elite and the rest of society in terms of cultural practices in Luxembourg. There is nevertheless a higher educated elite, whose reconversion strategy (Bourdieu, 1984) to secure its cultural supremacy in the global city consists of (1) organizing a more developed arts practice in the city (attendance of different types of performing arts, visits to museums); (2) more frequently consuming a digital-based artistic information flow; and (3) generating a more positive attitude toward the arts and culture. This global elite can also differentiate itself from a more rooted and national equivalent involving the older generation. The presence of the eclectic cultural tastes of the global elite is known by the public authorities of Luxembourg, and they have targeted a great deal of investment at diverse cultural places. In parallel, the Ministry of Culture aims at bringing other segments of the population into the world of arts through better governance, with cultural institutions and other ministerial administrations dealing with integration, social inclusion, and education (Ministère de la Culture, 2020). Over the past decade, there has been an explosion of social media practices. This might have led to some changes concerning the characteristics of the four different "universes of stylistic possibles" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 208) found in Luxembourg, but not necessarily their structural disappearance. As shown in recent studies, the use of social media is linked to a perpetuation of preexisting fragmentation and an evolving process of distinction between social classes (Yates & Lockley, 2018).

Luxembourg will organize its third European Capital of Culture (ECoC) in 2022, in the industrial region centered on Esch-sur-Alzette. The ECoC is a European Union initiative to reinforce a sense of European belonging, a process of social inclusion, and an urban development strategy based on a year-long cultural program. We can expect that the mass media in Luxembourg will be central cultural intermediaries between the arts producers and the urbanites, characterized by their popular, their highbrow, and their omnivorous cultural tastes. Nevertheless, it is unknown how the four universes of "stylistic possibles" investigated in this article will use the different art expressions of Esch2022 to reproduce their cultural capital in the "new age of extremes" (Massey, 2005, p. 214). Further research is needed to investigate the role of arts practices and media use in the organization of urban society within global cities. This can lead to the copresence of bounded groups, but also to dialogue among different communities (Lamour, 2019; Lamour & Lorentz, 2019).

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