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An individual and a societal level

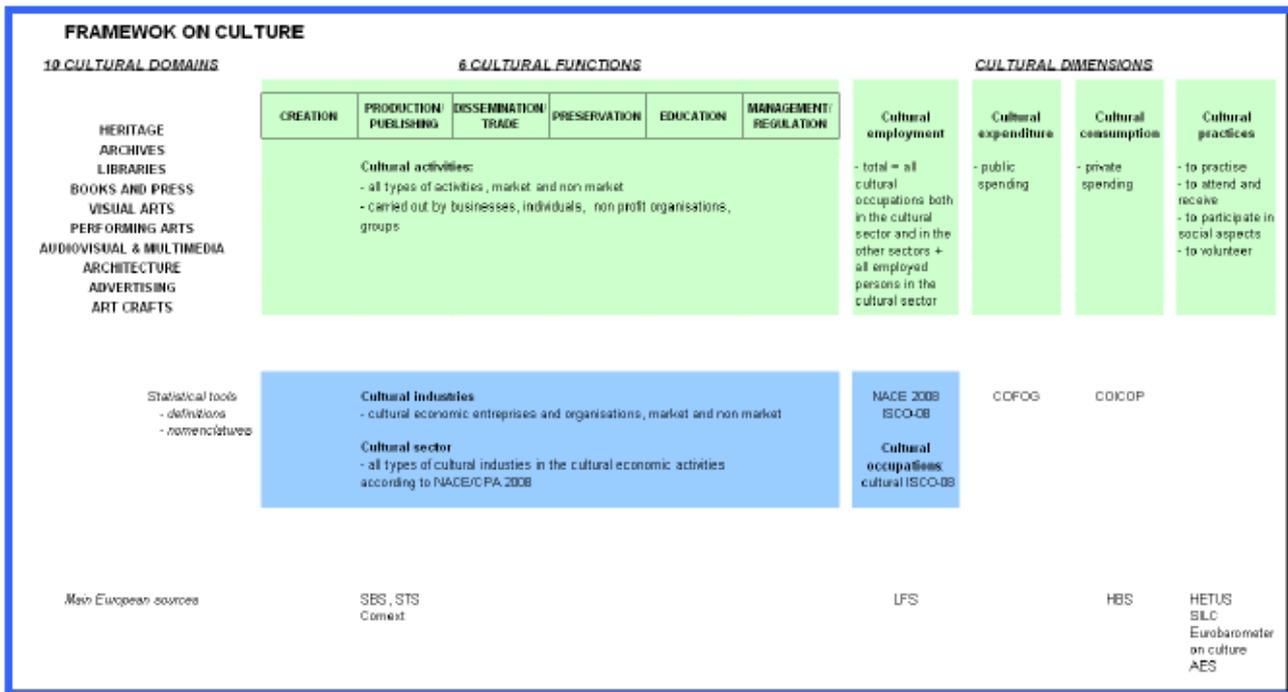
The concept of cultural capital was first introduced by French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1984, 1986), to be added to two other types of capital - economic and social (later he added also a fourth, symbolic capital) – in that, similarly to these, it “can be saved, transmitted, invested, and used to obtain other resources”.

Bourdieu’s perspective was that of individuals, families and social groups. Cultural capital, in his view, is a social space in which conflicts of power are enacted, social stratification is produced and transmitted intergenerationally, in interaction with economic capital. Other authors, without necessarily sharing Bourdieu’s conflict based view, have stressed that parental education has an impact on their children’s educational performance and the kind of culture (language use, tastes, modes of cultural participation and so forth) is acquired and transmitted through primary and secondary socialization has a crucial impact on occupational choices and outcomes (e.g. de Graaf et al. 2000, Sullivan 2001, Barone 2006, van de Werfhorst 2010). Still others, find that not only level of education, but cultural participation is important for individual well-being at the psychological but also physical level (e.g. Koonlaan et al. 2000, Daykin et al. 2008, Bygren et al. 2009). All these approaches and findings would support considering individual cultural capital, its contents, distribution, the forms of access to it and so forth when analysing inter and intra-generational equity and sustainability. Individuals’ culture and cultural capital, furthermore, may be considered also a societal asset, both in view of economic development (e.g. Sacco 2011) and from the perspective of social integration at the national and international level.

In turn, cultural capital in the form of objective assets (monuments, libraries, concert hall, cultural sites and so forth) may be also a societal property, part of its overall wealth and a resource for its economy and development, as well as a resource for the development of individual cultural capital.

This dual – individual and societal - dimension of cultural capital may be represented using the conceptualisation proposed by the European Statistical System Network on Culture - ESS-Net (see fig. 1).

Fig. 1 The statistical scope in terms of classifications and statistical sources of the framework for cultural statistics



source, ESS-Net Report 2012, fig. 6

In the following, I will synthetically present the main theoretical approaches and findings concerning these two levels

The individual level: Bourdieu and beyond

For Bourdieu, cultural capital is a crucial dimension (“space”) of the mechanisms of reproduction and maintenance of social inequality. In his view, class cannot be reduced to economic relations or position in the division of labour. Class differences and power unbalances are produced and reproduced also through the sharing and control of what counts as culture. If families are the primary agents of cultural transmission, schools play an important role in legitimising and strengthening it. According to Bourdieu, in fact, the school system tends to support and acknowledge the dominant culture, thus reinforcing the mechanisms of reproduction of social inequality.

According to Bourdieu, three types of cultural capital should be distinguished:

Embodied cultural capital consists of both the consciously acquired and the passively “inherited” features that characterize ways of being and feeling, such as language, tastes, patterns of communication and behaviour and so forth. It is acquired over time, through socialization. Overall, Bourdieu identifies three sub-types of embodied cultural capital that belong to three different social classes: ‘*le goût de liberté*’ (bourgeoisie), ‘*le goût modeste*’ (middle class) and ‘*le goût de nécessité*’ (working class).

Objectified cultural capital consists of physical objects that are owned, such as our cars, works of art, or even our groceries. These cultural goods can be transmitted both for economic profit (as by buying and selling them with regard only to others’ willingness to pay) and for the purpose of “symbolically” conveying the cultural capital whose acquisition they facilitate.

Institutionalized cultural capital consists of institutional recognition, most often in the form of academic credentials or qualifications, of the cultural capital held by an individual. The institutional recognition process eases the conversion of cultural capital to economic capital by serving as a experience-based model that sellers can use to describe their capital and buyers can use to describe their needs.

The debate over Bourdieu’s approach, at both the theoretical and the empirical level, is vibrant (for a strong criticism see e.g. Goldthorpe 2007 and the ensuing debate on the online journal *Sociologica*). Most scholars would however agree that Bourdieu’s notion of the cultural mismatch between the cultural backgrounds of children from low-educated families and the cultural values and practices that are expected in schools has been very influential in educational research (see e.g. Savage et al. 2005, De Graaf et al., 2000, 2007, Di Maggio, 2004, 2007). Education (i. e. the institutional level), in fact, for Bourdieu plays a central role in the transmission of their social advantage by the dominant classes, particularly since direct transmission of economic power and capital became more complicated. In his words, “the transmission of cultural capital is no doubt the best hidden form of hereditary transmission of capital, and it therefore receives disproportionately

greater weight in the system of reproduction strategies, as the direct, visible forms of transmission tend to be more strongly censored and controlled” (Bourdieu 1986, p. 246).

This notion has, in fact, stimulated researchers to go beyond not only an economicistic concept of social class, but also beyond a simplistic reduction of culture to parents’ level of education when looking at the impact of social class on children’s educational attainment. In education research, this has meant exploring precisely what aspects of family culture and cultural practices have an impact on what aspects of educational performance, in the one hand, whether and how the school may not only strengthen, but on the contrary compensate this impact rebalancing the options of those who come from a less culturally favourable background, thus supporting social mobility (contrary to Bourdieu’s himself expectation). The early child care and education movement and policies is inspired precisely by the hypothesis that cultural capital inequalities based in family membership may, and should, be compensated for by early exposure to a cognitively stimulating and culturally rich structured educational environment.

Specifically, as synthesized by van de Werfhorst (2010), quantitative empirical research on the influence of cultural capital on children’s educational and occupational attainment has aimed to operationalize parents’ culture through their involvement in cultural products such as theatres, art museums, and books (De Graaf 1986; Aschaffenburg and Maas 1997; Di Maggio 1982; Dumais 2002; Sullivan 2001; Crook 1997; for an overview, see Sullivan 2002). Others have distinguished between participation to cultural event and consumption of cultural goods on the one hand, and cultural attitudes and activities that involve cognitive development and performance, such as reading, on the other hand. The latter, in fact, seems to be a better predictor of children’s schooling outcomes than other cultural activities and consumptions (De Graaf et al. 2000; Sullivan 2001; Barone 2006). Finally, someone has suggested that “cultural capital” is not an homogeneous set of values and tastes that affects homogeneously cognitive development, school performance and choice of field of education. On the contrary, different sets of cultural values and tastes within the “same” class affect differently aspirations, education and professional choices as well as political

attitudes (van de Werfhorst 2010). Business and entrepreneurial parents transmit different tastes and expectations than parents in the intellectual professions and their children not only tend to choose different fields of study, but also to perform differently in the same subjects.

As argued by van de Werfhorst, operationalizations of cultural capital have almost exclusively focused on the ‘objectified state’ of cultural capital: cultural goods owned, formal cultural activities performed. The operationalization of the ‘institutionalized state’ has been mainly reduced to formal diplomas achieved. Much less attention has been given to the specific and different contents of distinct subgroup cultures and diplomas, which – although formally of the same level (a university degree, a doctorate) may open different kinds of professions (and therefore income levels and professional networks) as well as socialize to distinct social and political views and to exercise different kinds of power.

The embodied state is perhaps most crucial in Bourdieu’s work, but it is difficult to operationalize. The most interesting insight, developed independently from Bourdieu’s approach, is found in Bernstein’s (1961, 1965) sociolinguistic study of differential linguistic codes used in mother-child interaction in different social classes. Also studies on patterns of socialization by different social classes (e.g. Kohn 1963, 1977), although largely obsolete in the specific content due to changes happened in the labour market and the economy, have offered insights on how social classes tend to transmit the values and behavioural modes which they experience as necessary and useful as adults located in the division of labour and a given stratification system. From a different perspective, also Erikson and Goldthorpe (2002) suggest that there is more to the intergenerational transmission of inequality than an unequal access to institutional culture. In their words, “intergenerational inequality has important self-maintaining properties. It creates conditions under which individuals in less advantaged positions choose and act in ways that can in themselves be understood as adaptively quite rational.... yet which, in aggregate, serve to perpetuate the status quo”. For this reason, they conclude that “Educational expansion and reform alone should not, therefore, be expected to serve as very effective instruments of public policy at creating greater

equality of opportunities”. Rather than focusing only on the cultural-via-education way, “complementary efforts to reduce inequality of conditions, and especially class inequalities in economic security, stability and prospects, will also be required” (p. 45).

Also the OECD Report on the Well being of nations (2001), in discussing what constitutes human capital, of which cultural capital is certainly part of, underlines the partiality of formal education as an indicator, as well as the partiality of formal education policies to offset inherited social inequalities. But in empirical analysis the indicators used by this report are still level and kind of education, integrated by literacy (and health, which is part of human capital, but not of cultural capital).

While great deal of attention has been given to the changing value of institutionalised cultural capital due to the increased average scholarization of the population (e.g. Collins 1979, OECD 2001), less attention has been given to changes in the embodied capital and in their differences across social classes due to societal and technical changes (e.g. Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007). As a matter of fact, technical changes have not only modified modes of production. They have also modified modes of cultural participation, also transforming audiences in cultural performers/producers. As pointed out by Sacco (2011), what he calls culture 3.0 revolution “is characterized by the explosion of the pool of producers, so that it becomes increasingly difficult to distinguish between cultural producers and users: Simply, they become interchanging roles that each individual assumes“ (see also de Haan and van den Broeck 2012). In turn, this development further contributes to break down traditional distinctions between “high” and “low” culture, already initiated by cultural mass production.

Finally, while Bourdieu is adamant in arguing that the education system merely acts as support to social stratification via support to hegemonic cultural patterns, changes in the teachers’ social status on the one hand, public policy intervention towards a democratisation of access on the other hand, may have broken down the automatic link between the education and cultural system and social stratification. Teachers may be less, if not at all, identified with the higher classes. PISA

results show that national school systems may be more or less efficacious in reducing social class disparities in cognitive development. There are also various instances of public policies trying to facilitate the access of the less privileged classes, and particularly of children within them, to cultural activities traditionally associated with the more privileged social groups. In addition to democratising access, these policies, in so far as they support cultural participation by the population as such, irrespective of social class, seem to have a beneficial effect on the perception of well-being, particularly so in the case of the ill and the elderly, thus having also an indirect impact on social expenditure on health (e.g. Koonlaan et al., 2000, Grossi et al. 2010, 2011).

Interesting contributions to the embodied dimension of cultural capital come, as a matter of fact, from research using the well-being, rather than the social stratification perspective. One strand of such research focuses on how intercultural differences shape different perceptions/experiences of well-being. Biswas-Diener et al. (2005) show how different cultural environments may elicit different responses on different dimensions and scales with regard to subjective well-being. Uchida et al. (2004) find that cultural variation affects cultural meanings of happiness, the motivational basis of happiness, and the predictors themselves of happiness. In particular, they highlight the difference between the self-centred, individualistic focus that is typical of North American societies and the socially-centred focus of East Asian societies (see also Lu and Gilmour 2004). Sheldon and Hoon (2007) find that membership in one given culture is one of the multiple determinants of subjective well-being. Another strand of research, looking at how different levels of institutional cultural capital, allowing to better develop one's own capabilities and life plans, support the attainment of higher level of psychological well-being (e.g. Carlisle et al. 2008, Zheng et al. 2004). Also participation to cultural activities has a similar positive impact. Grossi et al. (2010, 2011) show a positive independent impact of culture-related activities, such as reading books and attending concerts, on the well-known psychological general well-being index—PGWBI—in an Italian sample. Crociata et al. (2013) in a study on Italy find that the discharge rate for mental illness is substantially improved by some forms of cultural consumptions. The positive effect is particularly

large in the case of long term unemployment. A third strand of research focuses on the impact of various forms of cultural capital on health (for an overview see Grossi et al. 2010). Rosengren et al. (2009) find evidence of clinical implications, showing, on the basis of a large sample from 52 different nations covering very different cultures that, in high income countries, high levels of education and other forms of socio-economic status imply a substantially lower risk of acute myocardial infarction. In a 14-year longitudinal study investigating the possible influence of attending various kinds of cultural events or visiting cultural institutions as a determinant of survival, Koonlaan et al. (2000) found a higher mortality risk for those people who rarely went to cinema, concerts, museums, or art exhibitions, as compared with those visiting them most often. Less beneficial effects were found for attendance of theatre, church service or sport events as a spectator, and no effect at all from reading or music making. Hyppa et al. (2006) in a study concerning cultural participation as a predictor of survival on a sample of 8.000 Finnish observed a lower risk of mortality among frequent attendees. Similarly, Bygren et al. (2009) in a longitudinal study on more than 9000 participants, found that, in urban areas, those who were rare or moderate attendees at concerts and other cultural events were, respectively, 3.23 and 2.92 times more likely to die of cancer during the follow-up period than frequent attendees.

All these studies suggest the importance not only of formal degrees, but of some kind of cultural involvement/participation for the physical and psychological well being of individuals. They offer empirical support for arguing in favour of public investment not only in education, but also in different kinds of cultural participation, in order to improve the well being of the population, also possibly saving on health costs.

The European Statistical System Network on Culture – ESS-Net (2012), in its comprehensive methodological work on indicators for culture at the social and individual level, offers an important systematisation of indicators for cultural participation and practice. It distinguishes four kinds of participation (ICET module- see tab. 2): information (to seek, collect and spread information on culture), communication and community (to interact with others on cultural issues and to participate in

cultural networks), enjoyment and expression (to enjoy exhibitions, art performances and other forms of cultural expression, to practice the arts for leisure, and to create online content), transaction (to buy art and to buy or reserve tickets for shows). A specific attention is given to the impact of the new technologies (see also the contribution by de Haan and van den Broeck on this specific issue in the ESS-Report).

Tab. 2 ICET at work: points taken into consideration for each mode of participation

Information	Practical information and information about cultural content
Communication	Communication with other members of audience and communication with artists
Enjoyment/Expression	Consumption and production of art for leisure
Transaction	Tickets, content (e.g.: books, CDs, other art works) and merchandise

Source: ESS-Net 2012, tab. 28

The third kind of participation has been indicated as particularly important (as well as facilitated by technological innovation) also by *the European Expert Network on Culture (EENC)* (see Sacco 2011) in supporting individual well being at the micro-level and social capacity for innovation at the macro-level. Thus, on the one hand, macro and meso contextual conditions may facilitate individual access to cultural capital, allowing the development of individual capabilities and well being. On the other hand, individual cultural capital, not only at the institutionalised level (education), but also in the form of participation, may enrich a society both culturally and economically.

The ESS-Net has developed a module on cultural participation to be inserted in European Surveys such as EU-Silc. It has also drawn up a list of indicators of participation in the various areas of cultural activity, by priority (see tab. 3). It may be observed that the space given to what Sacco (2011) calls culture 3.0 is very, possibly too much, limited.

Tab. 3 List of indicators of cultural participation by level of priority

CULTURAL PARTICIPATION INDICATORS	LEVEL OF PRIORITY		
	1	2	3
PERFORMING ARTS			
Percentage of persons who have carried out at least one artistic activity the last 12 months ⁽⁶²⁾	×		
Percentage of persons who have played musical instruments		×	
Percentage of persons who have sung		×	
Percentage of persons who have danced (dance, ballet)		×	
Percentage of persons who have made theatre		×	
Percentage of persons who have done other artistic activities			×
Percentage of persons who have visited live arts performances in the last 12 months	×		
Percentage of persons who have visited theatres in the last 12 months		×	
Percentage of persons who have visited opera performances in the last 12 months		×	
Percentage of persons who have visited ballet/dance performances in the last 12 months		×	
Percentage of persons who have visited other live arts performances in the last 12 months		×	
Percentage of persons who have visited live music concerts in the last 12 months	×		
Percentage of persons who have visited classical concerts in the last 12 months		×	
Percentage of persons who have visited pop rock concerts in the last 12 months		×	
Percentage of persons who have visited other concerts in the last 12 months		×	
Percentage of persons who have visited other kind of actual music concerts in the last 12 months by type of concert			×
Percentage of persons who have viewed direct broadcast outside home of cultural performances in the last 12 months		×	
Percentage of persons who have listened or viewed recordings of artistic performances	×		
Percentage of persons who have listened or viewed recordings of theatres in the last 12 months		×	
Percentage of persons who have listened or viewed recordings of opera performances in the last 12 months		×	
Percentage of persons who have listened or viewed recordings of ballet/dance performances in the last 12 months		×	
Percentage of persons who have listened or viewed recordings of classical concerts in the last 12 months		×	
Percentage of persons who have listened or viewed recordings of pop rock concerts in the last 12 months		×	
Percentage of persons who have listened or viewed recordings of other concerts in the last 12 months		×	
ARCHITECTURE, VISUAL ARTS AND CRAFTS			
Percentage of persons who have done at least one artistic activity among those listed in Q6 in the last 12 months	×		
Percentage of persons who have painted or have drawn		×	
Percentage of persons who have made photographs		×	
Percentage of persons who have practiced other visual art activity (making pottery, restoration..)		×	
Percentage of persons who were member of an association, a club or a group of amateur artists or craftsmen in the last 12 months			×
Percentage of persons who presented own work in an exhibition in the last 12 months			×
Percentage of persons who followed lessons for their artistic or creative activity in the last 12 months			×
Percentage of persons who uploaded images of their work on the internet in the last 12 months			×
Percentage of persons who viewed paintings, drawings, graphical works, photos, and sculptures, products of crafts or virtual exhibitions of visual arts or crafts (on the internet or other media) in the last 12 months			×
Percentage of persons who view or listen to a programme about visual arts and crafts in the last 12 months			×
HERITAGE			
Percentage of persons who were member of a cultural association (among those listed in Q10) in the last 12 months		×	
Percentage of persons who did voluntary work for a cultural association (among those listed in Q10) in the last 12 months		×	
Percentage of persons who have visited museums and public galleries in the last 12 months	×		

Percentage of persons who have visited museums and public galleries in the last 12 months by type		×	
Percentage of persons who have visited monuments, archaeological sites in the last 12 months	×		
Percentage of persons who have visited monuments, archaeological sites in the last 12 months by type		×	
Percentage of persons who have viewed virtual exhibitions of art or any kind of museum objects in the last 12 months			×
Percentage of persons who have viewed monuments, historical or artistic places, buildings or sites (on the internet or other media) in the last 12 months			×
Percentage of persons who have viewed or listened to a programme about museums (on television, radio, video, DVD, internet or other media) in the last 12 months			×
Percentage of persons who have viewed or listened to a programme about monuments, historical or artistic places, buildings or sites (on television, radio, video, DVD, internet or other media) in the last 12 months			×
BOOKS AND PRESS			
Percentage of persons who wrote poetry, prose, fiction or non-fiction in leisure time in the last 12 months		×	
Percentage of households with no books at home	×		
Percentage of persons who have read books in the last 12 months (both printed or ebooks)	×		
Percentage of persons who have read books printed book in the last 12 months		×	
Percentage of persons who have read books in digital form in the last 12 months			×
Percentage of persons who have read books in the last 12 months by kind of books read			×
Percentage of persons who have read between 1-3 books in the last 12 months		×	
Percentage of persons who have read between 4-6 books in the last 12 months		×	
Percentage of persons who have read more than 6 books in the last 12 months		×	
Percentage of persons who read newspapers at least once a week	×		
Percentage of persons who read magazines and periodicals at least once a month	×		
Percentage of persons who read online newspapers at least once a week		×	
Percentage of persons who read magazines and periodicals online at least once a month		×	
ARCHIVES AND LIBRARIES			
Percentage of persons who have visited an archive in the last 12 months		×	
Percentage of persons who have consulted archival records online in the last 12 months			×
Percentage of persons who have visited libraries or have accessed libraries via Internet in the last 12 months	×		
Percentage of persons who have visited libraries in the last 12 months		×	
Percentage of persons who have accessed libraries via Internet in the last 12 months		×	
FILM & VIDEO			
Percentage of persons who have made at least one film or one video as an artistic hobby in the last 12 months		×	
Percentage of persons who followed lesson for film or video making in the last 12 months		×	
Percentage of persons who have visited cinemas in the last 12 months	×		
Percentage of persons who watch videos at least once a week		×	
Percentage of persons who downloaded films from the Internet			×
RADIO, TELEVISION AND INTERNET			
Average time spent listening to the radio in the average week		×	
Average time spent listening to the radio via Internet in the average week			×
Average time spent watching television in the average week		×	
Average time spent watching television via Internet in the average week			×
Average time spent on the Internet in the average week		×	
Average time spent on social network in the average week		×	
Percentage of persons who designed something for the Internet in the last 12 months			×

Source: ESS-Net 2012, tab. 32

Although the common European survey on participation in cultural activities suggested by ESS-Net has not yet been implemented, two *Eurobarometers* on cultural participation were carried out: one

in the 15 ‘old’ Member States and one in the new Member States and Candidates: *Europeans’ Participation in Cultural Activities* (2001) and *New Europeans and Culture* (2003), respectively. Both *Eurobarometers* used a questionnaire developed by the LEG-Culture Task Force. The results differed considerably from the results of national surveys, thus opening questions concerning design, comparability and so forth. It was, nevertheless, the first time that all Member States of the EU researched cultural practices of their population. Questions concerning cultural participation were also included in the *Eurobarometer European Cultural Values* (2007) and in the Survey on Income and Living Conditions (SILC) in 2006 and the Adult Education Survey (AES) in 2007. Both editions of the pocket book *Cultural Statistics* (2007 and 2011) published by Eurostat include sections on cultural participation. This work has been influential in the preparation of the section on Measuring Cultural Participation of the *2009 UNESCO Framework for Cultural Statistics*.

The societal level: existing studies

As mentioned above, the concept of cultural capital has first being introduced by Bourdieu as a property of individuals located in specific social contexts, work on how to define culture for the purpose of collecting comparable data has been developed systematically mainly with regard to the societal level, under the impulse of several international organizations and authorities, such as the Council of Europe, UNESCO, OECD, WIPO and more recently the EU, first *via* the European pilot group on cultural statistics, known under the acronym ‘LEG-Culture’ *Leadership Group Culture* and then *via* the already mentioned European Statistical System Network on Culture – ESS-Net (for an overview of this development see the ESS-net Report 2012. Although the term “capital” is not used, culture is conceived as an important asset for economic and social growth and for social cohesion (see also Sacco 2011).

The work by Ess-net builds on previous work not only by LEG-Culture as well as by UNESCO and other agencies. It starts from the UNESCO’s (2001) definition of culture, namely “Culture should be regarded as the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group, and it encompasses, in addition to art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions

and beliefs”. It further specifies four criteria to identify cultural activities: creativity, intellectual property, method of production, use value.

Within this broad framework, and with regard to the societal level, ESS-net proposes to identify 10 cultural domains and six cultural functions. A cultural domain consists “of a set of practices, activities or cultural products centred on a group of expressions recognized as artistic ones”. The domains are: *Heritage, Archives, Libraries, Book and Press, Visuals Arts, Performing Arts, Audiovisual and Multimedia, Architecture, Advertising* and *Arts crafts*. The functions are sequenced ones (from creation to dissemination, along with education or support functions) and follow an economic approach, although they do not aim at representing the whole economic cycle. The functions are: *Creation, Production/Publishing, Dissemination/Trade, Preservation, Education* and *Management/Regulation*. The activities included may be both market and non market.

Ess-Net declares not to wish to enter into the academic debate of what is culture and to use an “intuitive” concept of culture (and values), without attempting at any hierarchyization. Yet, one might notice that some of the domains are far from being neutral. For instance, what is acknowledged as a national heritage is the outcome of (cultural and political) power relations among social groups. From a comparative and temporal perspective of equity and sustainability, it would be important to understand what degree of fluidity there is in the definition of “shared values” and of “national” or even international heritage, to what degree the history and products of different social groups are acknowledged within it, and so forth. There are interesting historical examples of the enlargement of the - national or world – heritage following a process of rebalancing of power relations among social groups, or of acknowledging past conflicts (see e.g. Saraceno 2013). Of course, such a task lies beyond the scope of developing a statistically manageable inventory of various forms of cultural activities, but it cannot be ignored as such.

Tab. 4 ESS-Net Culture statistical framework for cultural statistics: cultural activities by function

	CREATION	PRODUCTION / PUBLISHING	DISSEMINATION / TRADE	PRESERVATION	EDUCATION	MANAGEMENT / REGULATION
HERITAGE <i>-Museums</i> <i>-Historical places</i> <i>-Archeological sites</i>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Museums sciences activities (constitution of collections) -Recognition of historical heritage 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Museums exhibitions -Museography and scenography activities -Art galleries activities (incl. e-commerce) -Trade of antiquities (incl. e-commerce) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Operation activities for historical sites -Preservation of intangible cultural heritage -Restoring of museums collections -Restoring of protected monuments -Archeological activities -Applied research and technical preservation activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Formal and non formal: artistic, cultural teaching activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Administrative management (State, local or other bodies)
ARCHIVES		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Acquisition of documents 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Consultation of archives -Archives exhibitions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Archiving activities (incl. Digitization) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Formal and non formal: artistic, cultural teaching activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Administrative management (State, local or other bodies)
LIBRARIES		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Acquisition and organizations of collections 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Lending activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Preservation activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Formal and non formal: artistic, cultural teaching activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Administrative management (State, local or other bodies)
BOOKS & PRESS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Creation of literary works -Writing of cultural articles for newspapers and periodicals -Translation and interpretation activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Publishing of books (incl. by Internet) -Publishing of newspapers and magazines (incl. by Internet) -News agency activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Organization of book conventions and event-organizing activities, promoting services -Galleries & other temporary exhibitions -Trade of books and press (incl. e-commerce) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Protection activities for books and newspapers -Restoring of books 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Formal and non formal: artistic, cultural teaching activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Supporting activities for managing rights and royalties -Administrative management (State, local or other bodies) -Artistic agents and engagement agencies
VISUAL ARTS <i>-Plastic/Fine arts</i> <i>-Photography</i> <i>-Design</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Creation of graphical & plastic art works -Creation of photographic works -Design creation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Production of visual art works -Publishing of photographic works 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Organization of visual arts conventions and event-organising activities -Galleries & other temporary exhibitions -Trade of visual arts works/Art market (incl. e-commerce) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Protection activities for visual arts works -Restoring of visual arts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Formal and non formal: artistic, cultural teaching activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Supporting activities for managing rights and royalties -Administrative management (State, local or other bodies)
PERFORMING ARTS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Creation of musical, choreographic, 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Performing arts production & organization 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Live presentation activities -Booking services 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Restoring of musical instruments 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Formal and non formal: artistic, 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Supporting activities for managing rights

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Music -Dance -Drama -Circus -Cabaret -Combined arts -Other live shows 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> lyrical, dramatic works and other shows -Creation of technical settings for live performance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Support and technical activities for producing live performance 			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> cultural teaching activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> and royalties -Administrative management (State, local or other bodies) -Artistic agents and engagement agencies
AUDIOVISUAL & MULTIMEDIA <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Film -Radio -Television -Video -Sound recordings -Multimedia works (incl. videogames) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Creation of audiovisual works -Creation of multimedia works 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Motion picture, video and audiovisual programme production -Television programme production (incl. Internet) -Publishing of sound recordings, films, videotapes (incl. by the internet) -Publishing of multimedia works -Publishing of computer games -Radio programme production -Audiovisual post-production activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Organization of film/video conventions and event-organising activities -Radio and TV broadcasting (incl. by internet) -Film projection -Film/video distribution -Renting of video tapes and disks -Trade of audiovisual works (incl. e-commerce) -Temporary audiovisual exhibitions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Protection activities for audiovisual and multimedia works -Restoring of audiovisual and multimedia works 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Formal and non formal: artistic, cultural teaching activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Supporting activities for managing rights and royalties -Administrative management (State, local or other bodies) -Artistic agents and engagement agencies
ARCHITECTURE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Architectural creation 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Temporary architectural exhibitions -Galleries exhibitions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Architectural preserving activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Formal and non formal: artistic, cultural teaching activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Administrative management (State, local or other bodies) -Supporting activities for managing rights and royalties
ADVERTISING	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Creation of advertising works 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Distribution of advertising designs 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Formal and non formal: artistic, cultural teaching activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Supporting activities for managing rights and royalties
ART CRAFTS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Artistic crafts creation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Production of artistic craft 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Artistic craft exhibitions and trade (incl. e-commerce) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Restoring of art crafts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Formal and non formal: artistic, cultural teaching activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Administrative management (State, local or other bodies)

Source: ESS-Net 2012, tab. 1

Based on this categorization, the ESS-net has developed a first mapping of cultural activities at the societal level, based on the statistical definition of economic activities in the European Community (NACE), which it proposes to further elaborate for the purpose of its implementation in the cultural field.

In addition to the conceptual framework for identifying cultural activities at the societal level as well as cultural participation at the individual level, the Ess-Net has also made a first analysis of data available on public and household expenditure on cultural activities, that is, on public and private investment in culture.

Conclusion (provisional)

My answer to the question in the title is yes. We need capital accounts for culture at the individual and societal level, being aware that cultural capital may be both a dimension of social inequality and an individual and social asset towards well-being, sustainability and innovation. Given these multiple meanings and functions, however, finding indicators that are not simply inventories of all possible spheres of cultural activities and goods, but represent strategic assets, that mobilize individual and social resources, is no simple endeavour. In this perspective, beyond the obvious indicator of education, those concerning different modes of cultural participation seem to deserve particular attention, as well those concerning the ways societies promote it. In this perspective, the work done by ESS-Culture towards a conceptual and methodological systematisation is of great value and should be followed up and integrated particularly in the areas where production and participation intermingle.

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