

Technology and Demographics: Are Cultural Habits Mutating?

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Abstract. Surveys on cultural practices and habits (conducted every five years since 1979 by the Québec Ministère de la Culture, des Communications et de la Condition Féminine [MCCCF]), government statistics on the production and dissemination of cultural products, and research in this field all foresee significant changes that may question the pertinence of government intervention in cultural affairs in Québec. The aging of Québec's population, its increasingly multi-ethnic makeup, and the emergence of digital culture without borders favour a market model of culture management that is incompatible with cultural policy geared towards access to and assistance for creative activities. The emphasis has therefore been shifting from cultural values to market values. Utilizing data from the ministère de la Culture et des Communications du Québec surveys, and especially data from a complementary survey, conducted at Université Laval in March 2007 by a cultural development research group (Fonds québécois de la recherche sur la société et la culture [FQRSC]/concerted action initiative), the authors attempt, in particular, to evaluate the influence of technology and demographics on the production and dissemination of Québec's cultural products, and to sketch the outlines of an "emerging model" of cultural habits.

Keywords. Cultural practices, Quebec, technology, demography, state intervention, digital culture, survey

Résumé. Les enquêtes sur les pratiques culturelles (réalisées au Québec par le ministère de la Culture et des Communications sur une base quinquennale depuis 1979), tout comme les statistiques publiques sur la production et la diffusion des produits de la cul-

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ture et les recherches menées dans le domaine, laissent entrevoir d'importantes transformations qui peuvent remettre en question l'intervention étatique en matière de culture au Québec. Ainsi, le vieillissement de la population québécoise, sa composition de plus en plus multiethnique et l'émergence d'une « culture numérique » sans frontière encouragent un modèle marchand de gestion de la culture qui contredit l'intervention par les politiques culturelles visant l'accès et l'aide à la création. Cela étant, la valorisation par les critères culturels cède la place à la valorisation par les critères de marché. En s'appuyant sur les données des enquêtes réalisées par le ministère de la Culture et des Communications du Québec, mais surtout sur celles d'un sondage complémentaire réalisé en mars 2007 à l'Université Laval par le Groupe de recherche sur le développement culturel (FQRSC/Action concertée), les auteurs cherchent notamment à évaluer les influences de la technologie et de la démographie sur la production et la diffusion des produits culturels québécois, ainsi qu'esquisser les contours d'un « modèle émergent » des pratiques culturelles.

Mots-clés. Pratiques culturelles, Québec, technologie, démographie, intervention étatique, culture numérique, enquête.

Introduction

Generally speaking, poll surveys on culture participation are consistent with the cultural policy orientations of the 1960s and the ideology of cultural democratization. According to Garon (2002), cultural policy in Québec has changed over the years from the classical institutionalization introduced in 1961 by the creation of the Ministère des Affaires culturelles, through the industrialization brought about by the creation in 1978 of the Société québécoise de développement des industries culturelles, to the empowerment of citizens prompted by the emergence of cultural action founded on democracy and citizenship principles which occurred around 1996.

According to Caune (2006), changes in cultural habits gained momentum in the 1980s and involved the redefinition of the objectives of public authorities. These changes were not unrelated to the fact that cultural industries had imposed a quantitative audience logic or qualitative immediate effectiveness logic. For example, this means that the number of films that were sold became more important than creation.

The experience of many cultural organization managers, who are torn between business rules and the rules of creativity (Martin, 1992), which Bourdieu refers to as the shift from cultural values to market values, is defined by the terms cultural industry or cultural industries.¹ Martin (2002, p. 283) says that the introduction of symbolic goods production into economic channels is not a secondary aspect of intellectual or artistic activity, but rather one of the principal means of its social exis-

tence. He adds that this does not mean that symbol production is wholly determined by economic relationships. Instead, according to him, symbolic value and economic value are two relatively independent but reciprocally articulated value systems.

Symbolic Value and the Field Theory Proposed by Bourdieu

According to Saint-Jacques and De la Garde (1992), complex societies normally develop cultural practices specific to the ruling classes. The people within these classes are those who establish the criteria for legitimacy and cultural enhancement (DiMaggio, 1982). Whether productions are approached from the viewpoint of production or reception, the existence of a ladder of cultural legitimacy is observed in couples of terms that aim to demonstrate the existence of a cultural hierarchy: elite/masses, legitimate/illegitimate, limited production/heavy production, etc. (Fabiani, 2003).

The sociology of cultural practices has been dominated in France by the field theory proposed by Bourdieu. A few decades later, Bourdieu's theories are also dominant in Anglo-Saxon research. According to Coulangeon (2004), the success of this theory may be explained, among other reasons, by the very imposing empirical evidence that surveys and analyses have brought. In Europe (Ganzeboom, 1989) and in North America (DiMaggio & Useem, 1978; Robinson, 1993), empirical evidence still corroborates Bourdieu's thesis. The surveys on cultural practices conducted by the ministère de la Culture et de la Communication in France in 1973, 1981, 1988, and 1997 and those conducted by the ministère de la Culture et des Communications du Québec in 1979, 1983, 1989, 1994, 1999, and 2004 all support Bourdieu's theory on legitimate culture and dominant classes. The democratization of culture itself can be considered as "elitism for all" (Maïakovski: cited in Coulangeon) or as the imposition of a cultural arbitrary. As Coulangeon puts it, even though Bourdieu's theories are widely corroborated, this view of social stratification is contrary to certain empirical evidence: the lifestyle of many in the high class is characterized not by cultural legitimacy but by eclecticism of taste and practices. Also, the explosion of the cultural production field provides popular practices with greater autonomy, making it possible to be interested in them without considering they are illegitimate. According to Coulangeon (2004), before the publication of *La Distinction*, Gans (1974, 1985) already had considered that the limits between high culture and mass culture tended to scramble.

In the 1980s, many researchers argued that cultural practices of the elite could be characterized by the diversity of their practices (DiMaggio, 1987; Donnat, 1994). Peterson (1992) proposed the omnivore/univore hypothesis that considers the distinction of the high and popular classes not through legitimacy but according to the variety of tastes and practices. In this perspective, popular classes have exclusive practices (univorousness) and superior classes are characterized by the eclecticism or diversity of their tastes.

As Alderson, Junisbai and Heacock (2007) argue, high-status Americans not only consume more “high” culture than others, but more “middle” and “low” culture as well. In the 1980s, DiMaggio (1987), Peterson (Peterson, 1992; Peterson & Kern, 1996; Peterson & Simkus, 1992), Lamont (1992), and Bryson (1996) showed that high-status Americans were not “snobs” who rejected middle and low-brow cultural practices and products (Bourdieu, 1984; Lynes, 1954; Murphy, 1988; Sontag, 1966) but omnivores who were interested in all these forms of culture. According to Alderson, Junisbai and Heacock (2007), the omnivore-univore argument suggests that, “rather than mapping on to stratification in a one-to-one, high-low, elite-mass fashion, higher strata Americans now differ from those in lower strata in the intensity of their cultural consumption and in the breadth of its range. As regards social stratification, the central division is no longer that between elite and mass, but between cultural omnivore and culture univore” (p. 194). The study conducted by Alderson, Junisbai, and Heacock (2007) brought more details about the “omnivore/univore” thesis. In fact, their results showed that, as a matter of fact, the old segmentation related to education, age, gender, and class was no longer appropriate. The central pillar of the division between cultural consumers should be seen in terms of social status. Moreover, the “omnivore/univore” duality has to be re-categorized in “omnivores,” “pacivores,” and “inactives,” suggesting that a portion of the population, the Omnivores, does have a high range of cultural preferences, while another, the Pacivores, enjoys a large and diversified cultural offer without precisely preferring specific ones “but with a bias towards more popular activities” (p. 207). The Inactives are less predisposed to be involved in any kind of cultural activities whatsoever. One angle of their study looked at the ethnographic aspects of the results, without, one again, being able to affirm strong links between a specific race and a category of cultural consumption, but only a few groups’ tendencies to inactivity or “omnivoricity.”

As Gibson (2000) argues, the first wave of cultural studies research hoped to provide the working class “with the self-confidence and energy to assert its own values” against those of the bourgeoisie (Thompson, 1995, 63). Gibson calls for methodological and theoretical care and paraphrases the British cultural geographer Jackson: this “heroic” interpretation of consumption sometimes gives the impression that watching game shows, wearing ripped jeans, and shopping at the mall are truly subversive activities with revolutionary potential (1993, 216). Referring to Budd, Entman, and Steinman (1990), Gibson (2000) considers that “the social and historical conditions within which audiences generate such meanings, not to mention the actual political import of such televisual resistance, become obscured in favour of an optimistic celebration of audience autonomy” (p. 256). Fiske’s argument is a good example of this optimistic celebration of audience: “we don’t need to worry about people watching several hours of TV a day, consuming its images, ads, and values. People are already critical, active viewers and listeners, not cultural dopes manipulated by the media” (1990, 170). This perspective is linked to the central tenet of the uses and gratifications tradition: people are intentional and selective in their use of media (Levy & Windahl, 1984; Perse, 1990; Rosengren & Windahl, 1972).

According to Gibson (2000), researchers into the process of audience meaning-making should follow Morley’s (1986) lead by paying attention both to the ability of audiences to generate creative and divergent meanings and the wider national and global determinants that constrain and limit some meanings while enabling and encouraging others. Gibson considers that “in order to accomplish this dialectical feat, we clearly need (1) a way to conceptualize the totality of a society—that is, how the wider structures of economic, political, and cultural power are configured and organized at a particular historical moment; and (2) an understanding of how this totality is reproduced within, and perhaps even transformed by, the practices of everyday life, including the practice of media consumption.”

According to Hesmondhalgh (2006), in Bourdieu’s theory of cultural consumption, “certain goods tend to be favoured by the dominant fraction of the dominant class, and others by the dominated fraction of this class” (p. 214). In this theory, Bourdieu argues that there are two subfields: the subfield of large-scale production and that of small-scale production that has a relatively high degree of autonomy compared to that of the large-scale production. According to Hesmondhalgh: “it is simply astonishing how little Bourdieu has to say about large-scale, ‘het-

eronomous' commercial cultural production, given not only its enormous social and cultural importance in the contemporary world, but also its significance in determining conditions in the sub-field in which he is clearly much more interested—restricted production. The result is that Bourdieu offers no account of how the most widely consumed cultural products—those disseminated by the media—are produced.” (2006, 217). According to Hesmondalgh (2006): “if Bourdieu and his associates have cared little for large-scale production, restricted production had been neglected by Anglo-American media and cultural studies. These two torn halves need to be put together—though not of course with any fantasy that they could make a unified whole, as Bourdieu so effectively demonstrates” (p. 229).

Research on Cultural Practices: Changes and Under-Researched Mutations

It is undeniable that since the 1980s leisure activities in general; television and Internet use; video viewing and movie theatre attendance; newspaper, magazine and book reading, and public library use have all undergone major changes (Caune, 2006). According to Martin (2002), in 1992 families spent an average of \$928 CA on cultural activities—48% of their leisure expenses. He found that the audio-visual component accounted for over two-thirds of these expenses. Outings represented one-tenth and reading, one-quarter. The bulk of these audio-visual expenses were incurred to purchase televisions, sound reproduction equipment and other equipment, and to pay for cable. It was the influence of technologies and demographics specifically that we wished to study. The review of literature that follows is not at all exhaustive but it will serve the reader in understanding the mutations we refer to in our analyses and presentation of results.

Age

According to Boilly (2000), youth can make very selective choices, according to their tastes and interests, because they benefit from a vast mediatic horizon including many radio and television channels. For this author, youth considers television as a passive activity that takes a lot of their time. Most people who are 18 to 24 years old would prefer other activities. Pronovost (1996), considers that it is the first time that the number of hours of free time is not associated with more time spent in front of the television. According to Atkinson (1998), 18 to 24 year-olds are not keen to adapting their schedules and agendas to television viewing. Research results show that they don't watch television that much

when compared to other groups (Cossette Communication-Marketing, 1996; Pronovost, 1996). It seems that young people are more interested in other leisure activities than the preceding generations. Of course, the use of the Internet could explain this (Donnat, 2004).

Gender

Gender differences are more and more important in the sociology of taste and cultural practices. For example, more women read and visit art museums than men who are more interested in sports (Coulangeon, Menger, & Roharik, 2002; Donnat, 1997). Romance or drama films are more associated with women while adventure movies are more associated with men (Guy, 2000). The same can be said about historical and suspense novels which are more linked to men, whereas women like romance novels. Women prefer variety music and more women than men don't enjoy rock music (Donnat, 1997).

Reading

In *La lecture au Québec* (1984), the following judgments are made: (1) books aren't part of the daily environment of Quebecers, (2) reading is not integrated in the leisure activities of Quebecers, (3) too many Quebecers have a negative perception of books and of reading, (4) books and reading aren't sufficiently supported by animation and activities, and (5) reading doesn't occupy enough space in government programs. Statistics show that reading is more popular in the Montreal region and in Québec City but much less in Gaspé Abitibi-Témiscamingue, the North Shore, la Côte-Nord and other regions far from the metropolitan areas. What people read most, according to the Québec survey, is daily papers followed by magazines and books. Most readers don't associate this activity with an intellectual work; they consider it leisure. The Québec survey shows a decline in readership of print (daily papers, magazines, books) but points out the fact that a growing number of people read directly on the Internet.

Music

According to the Québec survey (MCC, 1999, 2004), 80% of Quebecers listen to music often and very often in 1999 and 71.5% in 2004. Young people are more interested in music. In fact, interest in music declines with age. Therefore, age is the most determinant socio-demographic factor for listening to pop rock in 1999.

As far as listening devices are concerned, it's clear AM radio has surrendered to FM radio. From 1994 to 1999, CDs leaped 20% compared to audio cassettes. Music listening through television and stereo sys-

tems peaked in 1989. In 1999, 6.1% of music fans used the Internet. In 2004, compared to 1999, the proportion of people who listened to music on television stayed about the same, on the other hand the proportion of people who downloaded music from the Internet climbed to 40%. The stereo, which has been replaced by the MP3 player, cannot be studied through the MCC (ministry of culture and communications) survey since the variable “stereo” has been withdrawn and that the variable “MP3 player” or “cell phone music” are not included. On the other hand, we can assume that this listening has jumped significantly as well.

Purchases

In 1999, more than seven out of ten music fans bought compact discs (that was still the case in 2004), 28.6% bought cassettes (in 2004, 8.6%) and 36.8% bought blank cassettes (10% in 2004). The share of CDs moved from 11.1% to 71.2% from 1989 to 1999, and to 70.5% in 2004. We can assume that downloading had an impact on the sale of CDs. Even though men were initially the largest consumers of CDs, by 1999 men and women were equal purchasers. This proportion stayed the same in 2004. Young people, the more educated, and those with higher incomes, were the quickest to adopt the CD. In 2004, the more people were educated, the more they took to the CD.

Mutations in cultural industries seem to be exacerbated in the field of music. (Vandiedonck, 2006). Concentration and convergence, music royalties, hacking, and the overlap of industrial logics and technical norms constitute important problematics. Many studies have concluded that the music industry was fragile (Burnett, 1996; Charles, 2003; D’Angelo, 1997; De Coster, 1976; Lange, 1995; Le Diberder, 1987; Pichevin, 2000; Vandiedonck, 1999).

Television

The Enquête sur les pratiques culturelles du Québec of the MCC indicated a radical drop in television viewing within the group of people who were 20–24 years old in 1994 (2.3 hours per day compared to 2.8 hours for the rest of the population). In 1999, the same group watched television 2.6 hours per day compared to 2.7 for the rest of the population (Boily, Duval, & Gauthier, 2000, p. 57), but it remains inferior to what it used to be.

New Media

Many practitioners and researchers have long thought that new media would replace older media. Research confirms that increased audience

fragmentation results from the introduction of new media (Abramson et al., 1988; Davis & Owen, 1998; Dizard, 1997; Webster, 1989; Webster & Phalen, 1997) and that the new media erode the audience for the traditional media (Becker & Shoenbach, 1989; Davis & Owen, 1998; Dobrow, 1990) but when a new medium is used for the same purposes as an older medium, the new medium becomes a functional alternative to the older medium, and audiences should choose between them by determining which one better satisfies particular needs (Heikkinen & Reese, 1986; Levy & Windahl, 1984; Robinson & Jeffres, 1979; Rosengren & Windahl, 1972; Williams, Rice, & Rogers, 1988; Wright, 1960).

The impact of the new media on cultural practices has been under-researched. According to Jones and Lenhart (2004), although popular music and the Internet seem inextricably intertwined, research on the Internet's impact on popular music has been slow to develop.

Socio-economic and demographic differences in the use of computers and the Internet are important because the ability to use these technologies has become increasingly critical to economic success (National Telecommunications and Information Administration [NTIA], 1999). Gender differences may exist because of socio-economic status differences between men and women (Bimber, 2000) or because men are more interested in computers than women (Shashaani, 1997). According to Clemente (1998), Internet users were mostly male in 1994, but female users kept increasing in 1994 and 1997. According to Katz, Rice, and Aspden (2001), women constituted the majority of new Internet users during 1997–2000. According to Ono and Zavodny (2003), a gender gap existed in the 1990s but it has since disappeared.

Time Spent on the Internet

Using Statistics Canada's 1998 General Social Survey: Time Use, Pronovost (2002) found that individuals using the Internet over a 24-hour period spent more time reading, corresponding, and doing hobbies than non-users, and less time working, socializing, and sleeping. Dryburgh (2001) and Williams (2001) showed that some Canadians spent less time on various activities, including watching television, reading and sleeping, once they started using the Internet.

According to Veenhof (2006), the "time displacement" theory considers that "time spent on the Internet must necessarily come from time previously allocated to other activities" (Kwan, 2003; Nie, & Hillygus, 2002; Robinson, Kestnbaum, Neustadt, & Alvarez, 2000, 2002). Dryburgh (2001) and Williams (2001) mention that respondents often say that television viewing is displaced by Internet use, information that is cor-

roborated by longitudinal analysis of users. Considering different perspectives, Robinson, Kestnbaum, Neustadt, and Alvarez, (2002), propose the conclusion that the Internet can function as both a “time displacer” and a “time enhancer.” According to Cole and Robinson (2002) and Pronovost (2002), Internet users are likely to spend more time reading books than non-users of the Internet.

What About This Under-Researched Field in a “Small Society”?

Our study falls within the framework of a research program on businesses and organizations in the cultural sector in Québec. A minority French-speaking collectivity within an English-speaking North America, Québec has seen its cultural industries develop to an extent that is surprising for a “small society” (Baillargeon, 2002). However, we wonder if these successes, necessarily the result of an enhancement based on market forces, come at the expense of opportunities for enhancement based on cultural criteria (Bourdieu, 1992).

We must also examine whether the democratization of culture and the market-based enhancement of culture operate at cross-purposes (where the democratization of culture consists of the State’s desire to “raise” non-visitors or non-users to a culture enhanced by cultural criteria (Bourdieu, 1992), or whether, conversely, they both conflict with enhancement by cultural criteria (where the democratization of culture or cultural democracy then consists of making market-enhanced culture accessible).

Certain authors recently have questioned the role of the State and the real impact of cultural policies (Benhamou, 2006; Caune, 2006), even while others criticize the validity of Bourdieusian analyses of culture or of any analysis at all based on social class (Lahire, 2004).

We aim to verify certain hypotheses and research questions relative to the issue at hand. To this end, we will analyze the findings of a survey on cultural practices conducted by our research group in March 2007, as well as those of data from the ministère de la Culture et des Communications du Québec, the Observatoire de la culture et des communications du Québec and similar outside sources.

In this text and in the survey conducted by our research group, we prioritize the analysis of cultural habits with regard to published media, the research topic for a concerted action initiative on cultural development (Fonds québécois de la recherche sur la société et la culture [FQRSC], Ministère de la Culture, des Communications et de la Condition Féminine [MCCCF], Institut de la statistique de Québec [ISQ]).

Methodology

To evaluate the influence of technology and demographics on the production and dissemination of Québec's cultural products, we performed a telephone survey.² We interviewed 485 respondents age 18 and over by telephone, ensuring a theoretical margin of error of plus or minus 4.4%, 19 times out of 20 (95% confidence level). In the demographic composition of the sample, there were significant biases in terms of gender distribution (a little over 60% of the sample were women; this variable was weighted) and first language (92% French-speaking; we were unable to develop this variable). The sample was quite representative, however, with regards to other demographic variables (discrepancies were within margins of error): the average age was 46; the median education level was college; the median income per household was approximately \$44,000 per annum; 56% of respondents held jobs, 11% were students, and 21% were retired; 25% lived on Montréal island and in Laval, 25% in the greater Montréal area, and 50% elsewhere in the province of Québec (10% in the Québec City area).

There were 61 questions—almost 80 variables when subquestions and identification variables are taken into account. The questionnaire was broken down into six parts. Many of the questions went over material covered by the 2004 MCCQ survey but the priority was placed on cultural habits with regard to published media (DEV CULT research project topic): leisure activities in general (Q01–02 and Q52–54); television and Internet use (Q03–16); video viewing and movie theatre attendance (Q17–25); newspaper, magazine, and book reading (Q33–46); public library use (Q47–51); and demographic variables (Q52–61).

Industrial Culture and Classic Culture

If the trend continues, industrial culture, which is based in large part on market values, will definitely play a greater role in years to come because young people are more interested in its activities than the elderly (unless this trend is due to a generational effect, which will not become clear for several years). However, the mass retirement of the baby boomer generation may give a boost, at least temporarily, to classic culture. This type of culture is mostly embraced by baby boomers, so if the trend persists and classic culture fails to attract greater numbers of younger people—by adapting to their needs, in particular—then classic culture is basically living on borrowed time, thanks to the boomers.

Table 1 shows that young people placed greater importance on industrial culture (54% of them preferred movies, television, and live per-

Table 1
Cultural Priority according to Age or Gender

Cultural Priority (Q54)		TV, Movies, Live Performances	Theatre, Arts, Music	Cultural Leisure Activities	Total (n)
Age (Q56)	29 and under	54.4	22.2	23.3	100.0 (90)
Cramer's V = .136 (p = .012)	30-44	46.4	24.8	28.8	100.0 (125)
	45-59	48.9	24.1	27.0	100.0 (137)
	60 or over	28.4	40.9	30.7	100.0 (88)
Gender (Q55)	Female	37.2	31.6	31.2	100.0 (234)
Cramer's V = .159 (p = .003)	Male	52.8	22.0	25.2	100.0 (214)
All		44.6	27.0	28.3	100.0 (448)

Source: DevCult survey, March 2007, Questions 54, 55, and 56.

formances), and that older people gave greater priority to classic culture (theatre, art, and music: 41%) and active pursuits (cultural activities: 31%).

It should be emphasized that these differences were still fairly minor and that "industrial culture" was prioritized by three out of four age groups (the 60-and-over age group being the exception). Classic culture is in fact mostly popular with older people. This raises the important question of what classic cultural institutions can do to attract a younger public.

Table 1 also compares the same cultural priority variable (Q54) according to respondent gender. It shows that more women preferred classic or active cultural activities than men, when compared with industrial activities. These trends were not very pronounced, however, and the coefficients were weak.

Surprisingly, the comparison of this cultural priority variable (Q54) according to education level did not yield any significant results ($p = .057$), in spite of the fact that education is generally accepted to be an important predictor of classic cultural habits (Bourdieu, 1969; Donnat, 1994; Garon, 2004; Luckerhoff, 2006). Clearly, there would seem to be an "inhibitive" relationship at play here: the combined, non-isolated effect of several explanatory variables can mask the specific effect of any one of them.

Technology's Influence on Habits

According to Pronovost (1996, p. 29), research into cultural habits must not be limited to cultural site or institution frequentation alone. He says that current research makes it clear that information and communication technologies have even led to an increase in culture participation. As an example, he points out that in the United States in 1992 there were generally twice as many people who listened to classical music and jazz and watched theatrical plays on television than those who went to live performances. This rule also applies to movie theatre attendance: it is either stable or dropping, but film rental is on the rise. The media therefore increase our access to cultural products and change our relationship with them.³

The media are both producers and disseminators of culture and help provide access to other cultural forms by making them known. In regards to production, Garon and Santerre (2004) point out that Québec's audiovisual industry has also experienced quite a boom: from 1991 to 1999, the Société de développement des entreprises culturelles (SODEC) counted 1,380 independent film and television productions, representing a total of \$3.1 million in revenue. In 1991, the production volume for national and international markets was \$183 million, and in 1999 it corresponded to \$635 million and represented 12,500 direct jobs.⁴

According to Garon and Santerre (2004), TVs, VCRs, and CD players, followed by microcomputers and Internet connection, have joined the list of what constitutes a household's basic equipment, despite the fact that they are still costly to purchase and use. According to surveys, the saturation point has not been reached yet.

On most points, our survey data complied with those of the most recent MCCQ survey (2004). Most of the discrepancies between the two studies either fell within the margin of error or could be explained by the biases referred to above (particularly home language). Generally speaking, the differences in survey findings were nil or only slight when it came to data relating to film rental, movie theatre attendance, music listening, book reading, and public library use.

There were a number of interesting discrepancies, however, which would appear to be attributable to the effects of technical changes and organizational developments. This is what we will be looking at first, with the growing popularity of certain household equipment (Table 2). We will then cover Internet use and its impact on other leisure activities in greater detail, taking into account the users' demographic traits: gender, education and, especially, age (Tables 3 to 9, Figures 2 to 7).

Table 2
Home Electronic Equipment

Equipment	MCCQ(%)	DevCult(%)
VCR/DVD	85.5 (VCR)/53.0 (DVD)	97.7
Home theatre system	17.3	27.7
CD player	82.1	88.8
Game console	24.1	37.8
Digital camera	–	63.4
Computer	63.4	82.7
Internet connection	47.6	76.2

Sources: MCCQ, 2005, Table 189, p. 221; DevCult survey, March 2007, question 08

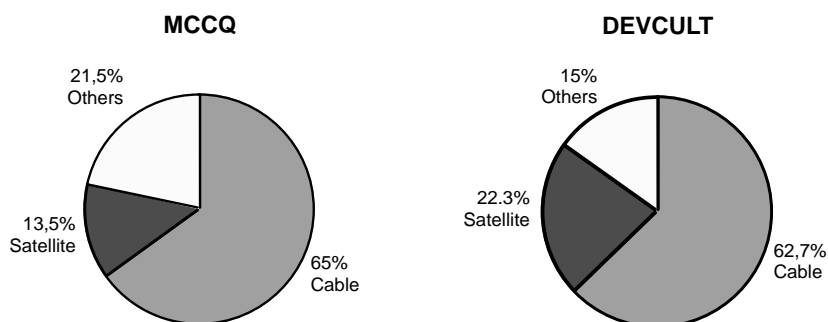
The impact of strides in technology is particularly apparent in the list of home electronic equipment. For instance, between the MCC survey in 2004 and ours in 2007, there was a marked increase in the number of households with a home theatre system (+10%) or a game console (+14%). Likewise, there was a significant rise in the number of people who said that they had a computer (63.4% vs. 82.7%) and Internet connection (47.6% vs. 76.2%). It would therefore appear that at least 76.2% of respondents had a computer and were connected to the Internet. The impact of new technologies also affected a minority (albeit a very slight one) of the remaining 23.8% in that 4% of the 2007 respondents who did not have the Internet at home, i.e. one out of every six from unconnected households, used the Internet elsewhere (accessing it at work, school, Internet cafés or friends' places).

The 2007 DEVCULT survey also pointed to changes in television reception systems: the proportion of respondents with satellite TV systems had increased by nearly 9% since 2004 (Figure 1). What's more, the proportion of households receiving television by Hertzian waves dropped from 23% to 15%, the minimum that broadcasters look for to offer the new HD signal on the air!

If we recalculate the DEVCULT figures as the MCCQ's were, the data on time spent on the Internet were quite similar: there were fewer non-users and more "average" users in the DEVCULT survey (Table 3). This could be a margin of error effect, or it might be explained as follows: the more connected households there are, the more likely it is for the proportion of regular Internet users to be smaller.

Both surveys showed that close to 50% of the people who accessed the Internet at home were regular users (4 hrs/wk or more). Table 4 illus-

Figure 1
Television Reception Systems



Sources: MCCQ 2005, Table 186–187, p. 218–219; DevCult survey 2007, Question 06

trates how this time was divided between different specialized Internet activities.

The two category systems for Table 4 were not really comparable. For example, using the Internet to read about the news, or current events, and to get information (2007) only corresponded partially to the categories consulting encyclopaedias and consulting newspapers and magazines (2004). In addition, the MCCQ categories are based on subjective qualitative evaluations (such as “often”), whereas the DevCult categories include temporal benchmarks (at least once a day, at least once a week). The 2007 survey showed certain widespread practices: 66% of Internet users utilized email at least once a day (and 86% at least once a week, when the two percentages were added). Also, 26% used the Internet on a daily basis to obtain information (news and information gathering) and 59%, at least once a week. The same 59% proportion was observed under Internet use at least once a week for entertainment purposes.

We also noted an increase in Web use for downloading: 20% of the 2007 respondents downloaded material at least once a week, including 5% who engaged in this activity every day, whereas 14% of the 2004 respondents considered that they did so “often.”

We wondered if the increasingly widespread use of the Internet for entertainment and information could have had an impact on the intensity or number of other activities. We therefore asked Internet users if the time they spent on the Web had led them to reduce the time they devoted to

Table 3
Number of Hours Internet Use per Week
(for respondents having Home Internet connection)

	Never	Under 1 hr/week	1–3 hrs/wk	4–10 hrs/wk	11 hrs/wk and over
MCCQ (n= 2397)	11.6	12.8	25.5	29.3	20.8
DevCult (n = 357)	6.7	10.8	34.1	31.5	16.9

Sources: MCCQ, 2005, Table 198, p. 230; DevCult survey, March 2007, Question 09

Table 4
Frequency of Different Internet Activities

	MCCQ: Often	DevCult: Once/Day +	DevCult: Once/Wk
Email	–	66.4	19.3
Web forums	–	9.2	8.4
News/information	–	25.8	33.6
Entertainment	–	26.3	32.2
‘Sound and image’	–	16.5	19.6
Downloading	13.9	5.0	15.4
Cultural product purchase	5.6	0.6	3.1
Transactions	–	9.3	30.4
Encyclopaedias	28.8	–	–
Newspapers + magazines	27.1	–	–
Cultural information	32.1	–	–

Sources: MCCQ 2005, Tables 200–204, p. 232–236; DevCult survey, Questions 11a–11h

certain other leisure activities in 2007. Seventy-seven percent of them said that they had cut back the amount of time they spent on at least one of the activities in the list in Table 5.

Note that the leisure activity the most affected by Internet use was television viewing (33% of Internet users said that they had cut down on the amount of time they spent watching TV), followed by newspaper and magazine reading, and library and bookstore use (18–22% of users). In the case of the “other” leisure activities category mentioned by 7.9% of Internet users, physical exercise and outdoor activities were cited almost half the time (3.6% of users).

Table 5
Internet and Reduction of Time Devoted to Other Activities

Other Leisure Activities Where Time Spent Was Reduced as a Result of Internet Use	% Respondents (480)	% Internet Users (356)
Newspaper + magazine reading	15.4	21.9
Book reading	12.6	18.0
Television viewing	23.5	33.4
Movie theatre attendance	8.5	12.1
Shows	5.5	7.9
Concerts/theatre	4.9	7.0
Library/bookstore use	12.8	18.3
Record store use	11.1	15.7
Sports and "other"	5.8	7.9

N = 480, 356 of whom were Internet users (*Source*: DevCult survey 2007, Q13a-13h)

Table 6
Reduction of Time Devoted to Certain Leisure Activities as a Result of Internet Use: Correlations according to Different Activities, Age, and Education

	Book Reduction	TV Reduction	Reduction in Library and Bookstore Use
Q09r Regular Internet user	.278**	.373**	.280**
Q38r Regular reader	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.
Q48r Library user	.146**	N.S.	N.S.
Q03 TV watching	N.S.	-.246**	-.124**
Q58d1 University education	.201**	.196**	.160**
Q56 Age	-.122**	-.243**	-.215**

Note. Pearson's *r* correlations: ** significant at .01; * significant at .05; N.S: non-significant.
Source: DevCult Survey, March 2007

In the following bivariate correlations (Table 6), the leisure activities which were reduced the most often (TV watching, reading, and library and bookstore use) proved to be positively correlated to regular Internet use and a university education, but negatively related to age. Gender and income did not have a significant effect on the reduction of time spent on leisure activities as a result of Internet use.

Generally speaking, the coefficients were weak; the strongest relationships were found between activity reduction and regular Internet

use (first line). It should be pointed out that there was no significant link between the reduction of time spent reading books or visiting libraries and regular reading habits. There was a negative relationship, however, between the reduction of time devoted to TV viewing and regular television watching: among Internet users, it was the less frequent TV watchers who spent less time on this activity in favour of the Internet. This suggests that, for many of these people, television viewing is a stopgap activity that they engage in when they don't have anything to do but that they are quick to abandon when a more interesting option arises.

The two demographic variables used in the model had a slight but significant effect on behavioural variables. Indeed, when age and education were controlled in a partial matrix correlation, most of the other correlations in the preceding table became non-significant! The only ones that remained were those where there was a relationship between regular Internet use and the reduction of time devoted to other activities.

These findings did not turn out to be very different from those noted by the Statistics Canada's 2005 survey on the Internet and its effects on how Canadians spend their time (Canadian Internet Use Survey). This survey showed that although they had different lifestyles from other Canadians, devoting less time to home and social activities and relationships, the biggest Internet users demonstrated a marked interest in other media (Veenhof, 2006, 23–24).

It is not possible with the Statistics Canada survey, however, to differentiate between the specific effects of separate Internet activities as we can with our survey (Table 7). Both our survey and the Statistics Canada survey showed that intensive Internet use for information gathering (Q11c) did not have a significant effect on the reduction of other cultural activities (questions 13a to 13h). On the other hand, there was a strong relationship between intensive Web use for entertainment (Q11d) and a reduction in time spent on various other activities.

There were similar relationships between intensive Internet use for the purpose of listening to or viewing audio-visual material (Q11e) and reduction of the time spent on the same group of activities, in particular book reading ($\text{Gamma} = .402 / p = .000$) and record store visits ($G = .348 / p = .007$).

Regular use of the Internet to download audio-visual material (Q11f) was also associated with a decrease in the time devoted to leisure activities, especially record store use ($G = .492/p = .001$), book reading ($G =$

Table 7
Specific Internet Activities and Reduction of Time
Devoted to Different Cultural Activities

Other Leisure Activities Where Time Spent Is Reduced as a Result of Internet Use	Internet Use for Entertainment Gamma (p)	Audio-Visual Equipment: Viewing/Listening Gamma (p)	Downloading Gamma (p)
Newspaper and magazine reading	.419 (.000)		
Book reading	.331 (.003)	.402 (.000)	.464 (.000)
TV viewing	.394 (.000)		.411 (.000)
Movie theatre attendance	.474 (.001)		.362 (.001)
Record store use		.348 (.007)	.492 (.001)

Note. Empty cells: non-significant coefficients ($p > .05$).

Source: DevCult survey, March 2007, Q13a-13g, according to Q11d-11f

.464/ $p = .000$), TV watching ($G = .411/p = .000$), and movie theatre attendance ($G = .362/p = .001$).

It should be stressed that this data on the reduction of leisure time as a result of the Internet is based on the respondents' words and not on verifiable changes in leisure habits. All the same, the Internet would appear to have contradictory effects on other media, depending on how it is used. As a means of gathering information and communicating, it adds to antecedent media whereas as a means of entertainment, it competes in two ways: it "steals" some of the time available for leisure from other media and, most of all, makes it possible to access cultural products online, from one's home, without having to go out to stores or for services that distribute these products in a "published" format (newspapers, magazines, books, CDs, DVDs, etc.).

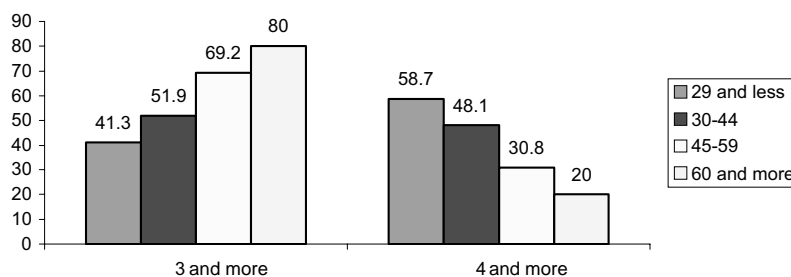
Internet: Effect of Demographic Variables

The relationships and correlations seen in the above tables are nevertheless deceptive. They reflect a constant effect of two demographic variables: the respondents' education and, above all, age. Of the other demographic variables, gender had a slight but non-significant influence, while income and occupation were noticeably related to education.

Contrary to expectations, we failed to detect any significant differences according to region. This is partly due to the small size of the sample, which did not allow us to obtain significant data once it was broken up into small subunits.⁵

The effects of demographic variables applied just as well to Internet use in general as they did to the specific activities of Internet users, as the charts and tables below illustrate.

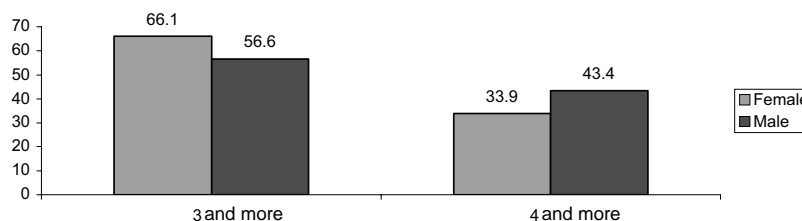
Figure 2
Use of the Internet (Q09) according to Age (Q56)



Use of the Internet N = 476 valid cases (92-133-146-105), 14 missing G = .433; V = .289 (p = .000)

Figure 2 shows that regular Internet use was inversely proportional to age: 59% of respondents in the 29-and-under group spent 4 hours/week or more on the Web (which we consider “regular use”), while this proportion dropped to 20% in those 60 and over. The relationship was moderate, with a Gamma of -.433. How should this relationship be interpreted? It is apparently linked to the greater information and communication technology socialization found in young people and their enthusiasm for new things. Older people, on the other hand, appeared to be more reticent about new tools. Figure 3 demonstrates that the influence of gender is clearly weaker than that of age.

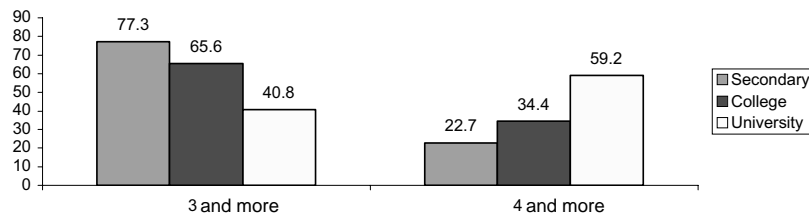
Figure 3
Use of the Internet (Q09) according to Gender (Q56)



Use of the Internet N = 486 valid cases (251 F - 235 H), 4 missing G = .199; V = 0.98 (p = 0.3)

Although Figure 3 shows that a higher proportion of men (43%) are regular Internet users than women (34%), the impact of gender is still quite weak in regards to Internet use. The Gamma is only .199 and the risk of null hypothesis is higher than .01 ($p = .03$). In general, men are always a little more enthusiastic than women when it comes to technology purchase and use. Of course, a trivariate analysis controlling gender according to age would show a larger proportion of young men among regular Internet users and a smaller proportion of old women, as the 2005 Statistics Canada data show (Veenhof, 2006). The influence of education is more significant, however (Figure 4).

Figure 4
Use of the Internet (Q09) according to Schooling (Q58)



Use of the Internet N = 482 valid cases (185-128-169), 8 missing G = .508; V = .325 ($p = .000$)

Sixty percent of regular Internet users had a university education ($N = 169$), 34% had a college education ($N = 128$), and only 23% were from the high-school-or-less group ($N = 185$). The Gamma coefficient (.508) indicated a moderate to strong relationship. It is easy to understand that the need to use Web resources and the computer skills required to do so are more prevalent among more educated people.

Figures 2 to 4 present regular Internet use for all Internet activities. We wondered, however, if the effects of demographic variables would be the same whether the Internet user was gathering information or using the Web for entertainment. Table 8 and Figures 6 and 7 shed some interesting light on this matter.

Regular use of the Internet for information purposes (Q11c) was strongly related to age: 70% of respondents 29 and under used the Web at least once a week to gather information, compared to only 26% of those who were 60 and over. The indicators pointed to a moderate relationship. Older people are certainly more likely to read daily newspapers (paper format) than those who are younger.

Table 8
Internet Use for Information or Entertainment
according to Age, Gender or Education

Independant Variables	Categories (n)	Internet Use for Information (Q11c) (% at least once/wk)	Internet Use for Entertainment (Q11d) (% at least once/wk)
Age (Q56)	29 and under (91)	70.3	71.4
	30–44 (134)	56.0	51.9
	45–59 (146)	37.7	35.6
	60 and over (106)	25.5	27.1
		$\bar{\text{Gamma}} = -.467$ ($p = .000$)	$\bar{\text{Gamma}} = -.452$ ($p = .000$)
Gender (Q55)	Female (252)	38.5	38.9
	Male (234)	54.3	51.7
		$\bar{\text{Gamma}} = .310$ ($p = .000$)	$\bar{\text{Gamma}} = .254$ ($p = .004$)
Education (Q58)	High School or less (186)	27.4	37.1
	College (128)	51.6	26.3
	University (169)	63.3	47.9
		$\bar{\text{Gamma}} = .453$ ($p = .000$)	$\bar{\text{Gamma}} = .219$ ($p = .001$)
All	(Total n = 490) ^a	45.9	44.9

^a Total n slightly varies according to independant variables (different numbers of missing values)
Source: DevCult survey, March 2007

The gender effect was a bit less significant, although men used the Internet more for this purpose ($\text{Gamma} = .310$). The picture was quite different in the case of the influence of education, which is covered at the bottom of Table 8.

Although 63% of the university-educated respondents used the Internet to obtain information at least once a week, the proportions were 52% for people with college and 28% for those with high school or less. As with the previous table, the relationship was moderate ($\text{Gamma} = .482$).

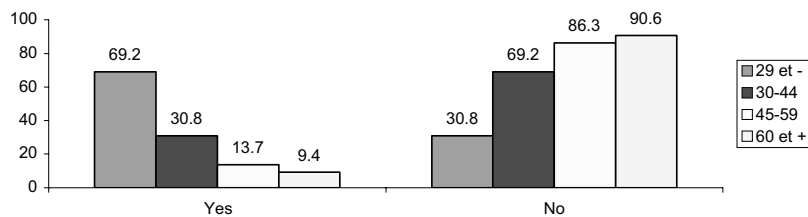
Use of the Net for entertainment purposes (Q11d, Table 8: right column) was inversely related to age group, much as using it for information purposes was: the keenest users represented 71% of the 29-and-under age group, 52% of those 30–44, 36% of those 45–59 and 27% of those 60 and over. The

relationship was moderate here as well, but a bit weaker than for information purposes. Gender (male) and education (university) were also associated with intensive Internet use for entertainment, but these relationships were the weakest in Table 8 (the Gammas were .254 and .213 respectively).

The data on audio-visual downloading indicated that age had a considerable effect on this practice, albeit a less important one than education. Gender did not have a significant impact ($p = .068$).

Figure 5 clearly portrays the effect of age on downloading habits.

Figure 5
Downloading Habits (Q11f) according to Age (Q56)



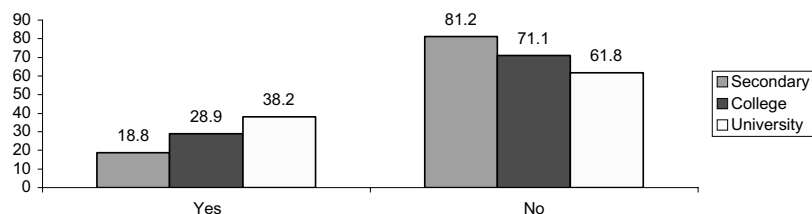
Downloads sounds + images every month N = 476 valid cases (91-133-146-106), 14 missing G = -.674; V = -.480 ($p = .000$)

While less than 10% of respondents 60 and over ($N = 106$) downloaded material once a month or more, this proportion rose to 14% for 45–59-year-olds ($N = 146$), 31% for those in the 30–44 age bracket ($N = 133$), and hit 69% in respondents 29 and under ($N = 91$), for an overall proportion of 28%. The $-.674$ Gamma coefficient indicates the strongest relationship in this series of tables and charts intersecting Internet activities and demographic variables.

As Figure 6 illustrates, education played a less important role than age where downloading audio-visual material was concerned. We observed, however, that “regular downloaders” only represented 19% of the least-educated respondents (high school or less), 29% of those who were college-educated, and 38% of those who had been to university. The relationship was nevertheless fairly weak (Gamma = .330).

To sum up, Figures 2 to 6, as well as Table 8, indicated that age had quite a strong influence, education a somewhat more moderate one, and gender a fairly weak effect on different Internet activities, whether they were geared towards information gathering or entertainment. We saw above (Tables 5 to 7) how Web use, associated with the same demographic variables, could have an impact on the amount of time devoted to other leisure activities or other media.

Figure 6
Downloading Habits (Q11f) according to Schooling (Q58)



Downloads sounds + images every month N = 484 valid cases (186-128-170), 6 missing G = -.330;
 V = -.185 (p = .000)

These impacts were mild, however, and sometimes become non-significant when subjected to multivariate analysis. The effect of education on Internet use to obtain information turned out to be significant in all age groups (the overall Gamma in Table 8 was .482; and the partial Gammas for the different age brackets varied from .303 to .608). In this case, both variables had a cumulative effect: a highly educated young person was bound to use the Internet a lot, while an old person without much education was unlikely to.

On the other hand, the weak effect of education on entertainment-related Internet use (Gamma = .213) proved to be non-significant when age was controlled ... except in the case of the oldest respondents: the Gamma coefficients ranged from -.016 to .222 for the three younger age groups (59 and under), but the value was .689 for those 60 and over! Old people almost never used the Internet for fun, although a few (atypical) highly educated elderly people did manage to enjoy themselves with it!

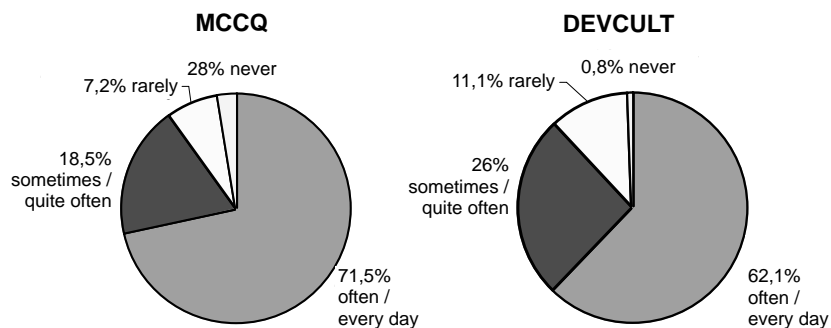
The Case of Music

Internet use or activities are not the only indicators of new trends in cultural practices: data relating to music are as well.

As Chart 7 below shows, music listening frequency was pretty much the same in the DEVCULT survey, but the number of people who said that they listened to music "every day" dropped by 9.4% and the number who said that they listened to music "quite often" increased by 7.5%. These disparities can presumably be explained by the fact that the "every day" category (DEVCULT) is more specific and compelling than the "often" category (MCCQ).

While there was little change in music listening frequency between 2004 and 2007, there were significant changes in the case of music lis-

Figure 7
Music Listening Frequency (Q26/T46)



tening frequency using different equipment. In 2004, 19.2% of respondents said that they had listened to MP3s on a computer; as the following Table 9 shows, this proportion rose to 30% in 2007.

According to Lapointe (2007), music listening in 2004 was not exclusive to any specific part of the population, unlike most of the cultural activities measured by the MCCQ surveys. The social group a person belonged to did not determine whether or not they listened to music but did have an influence on their musical tastes. We wondered if downloading music had re-introduced a distinction into music listening. Age, income, and education seemed to be predictors of downloaded music listening habits in 2007. We can therefore assume that the impact of new technologies on music listening, for now, will be the re-introduction of the distinction expressed by Bourdieu (1979) into a cultural activity involving all individuals.

In Lapointe's opinion (2007), the more people listen to music, the more they are inclined to engage in other cultural activities. Indeed, the 2004 MCCQ survey showed that the more music that people purchased, the broader their range of cultural activities and vice versa. Lapointe (2007) also demonstrated that people who rarely listened to music and did not buy any were less likely to own a computer, CD burner, or DVD player; to be connected to the Internet; to have a home theatre system; to rent movies; to go to movie theatres; and to attend festivals.

We observed similar relationships in our 2007 survey. For instance, listening to music every day was associated with regular book reading or

Table 9
Music Listening Frequency using Different Equipment

	MCCQ	DevCult		
	Often	Every Day	Quite Often	Every Day or Quite Often
Purchased CDs	67.9	24.4	39.0	63.4
Copied CDs	19.2	7.8	15.9	23.7
Computer/MP3	18.3	15.4	14.6	30
Radio	57.9	49.6	26.9	76.5
Television	20.7	8.2	26.6	34.8

Sources: MCCQ (2005), Tables 48–58, p. 63–73; DevCult survey (2007), Questions 27a-27f

regular movie theatre attendance (significant at .05). Another example: regular Internet use was linked to library use (signif. = .01) and regular book reading (signif. = .05). The fact remains, however, that these relationships were weak and, for the most part, connected with the demographic traits of the people interviewed (with education and age being the weighty factors, as shown above).

This non-competitiveness also appeared to reach its limits right when it came to the impact of new technologies. In fact, general Internet use did not mean that a person would spend less time on other cultural activities. However, there clearly appears to be a major difference between people who use the Internet for leisure activities and those who use it for work. Indeed, keen recreational users of Internet technology have opted for Web activities to the detriment of other cultural or leisure activities. This is implied by the previously cited Statistics Canada survey concerning the Internet's impact on how Canadians spend their time: of those free-time activities the most affected by Internet use, sleeping, resting, and physical exercise were affected far more than book reading or television viewing—StatsCan did not find any significant Internet-related difference for these last two when demographic variables were controlled (Veenhof, 2006, 23).

Conclusion

According to Garon (2002), participation in activities offered by cultural institutions has been falling for 10 years. The DEVCULT survey data infer that people who use the Internet a lot for leisure and cultural activities have opted to “consume culture” exclusively via the Internet. New technologies therefore have a relatively negative impact on classic cultural institutions.

In 2002, Garon also showed that young people were drawn increasingly to industrial culture and less and less to classic culture, preferring to consume the cultural products encouraged by the industry rather than investing in the aesthetic experience proposed by the institutional approach. What's more, young people no longer identify with society's more highly educated people, an elite that consumes distinctive cultural products. Instead, they identify with a fairly circumscribed industry-based segment of the culture market: the segment proposed by Internet and new technologies. Internet use must therefore be seen as a rapidly progressing practice which appeals specifically to young people. In fact, age is one of the most important predictors of Internet-related cultural habits and activities.

Although the data from the different MCCQ surveys showed that the more activities there were, the more diversified and numerous other activities would be, the DEVCULT survey data indicates that new technologies split culture consumers into segments. This mostly Internet-induced split appears to create two different socialization and identification phenomena, bringing together people with considerably different sociodemographic profiles. The least educated (and therefore younger) ones and the most educated ones, those with above-average incomes, and younger people are apparently more drawn to the Internet, music downloading, and new technology in general.

While Garon was already talking about a decline in humanist culture and the growing importance of culture driven by cultural industries and the media in 2002, we believe that the Internet and new technologies will intensify the role played by cultural industries in years to come. The distinguishing factors that were only associated with humanist culture in 2004 are now, due to the impact of new technologies, found in industrial culture. Education, which had lost its influence since 1979, is bound to recover its importance due to the skills required to use the Internet. The social cohesion that was prompting more and more citizens—regardless of distinguishing factors—to identify with working-class industrial culture is transforming, at least temporarily, into two different socialization groups: industrial cultural activities related to new technologies, and classic industrial cultural activities. Added to this are classic humanist practices, which obviously have lost a lot of their popularity but are not as threatened by the Internet as “traditional” industrial practices and activities.

These changes raise serious questions for cultural industry managers, and for government funding and regulatory agencies: in future, gov-

ernment cultural industry assistance programs will have to be less devoted to the protection of supports such as records, print publications, etc. and more geared towards creation and dissemination. The important thing is for culture to be produced and to circulate, using the most modern technologies to do so.

Acknowledgments

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Notes

- 1 For a definition and history of the cultural industry and cultural industries, see the text by Martin (1992) or the one by Tremblay and Lacroix (2002).
- 2 The telephone survey was conducted between March 19 and 23, 2007 at the poll lab, Département d'information et de communication, Université Laval, by the 50 students enrolled in the course *Enquête par sondage* (COM-17651). The random sample of telephone numbers, stratified by geographical region, was produced by the firm ASDE Survey Sampler (Gatineau, Qc). The data entry and preliminary processing (software used: Filemaker and SPSS) were performed by André Roy, who was in charge of practical training and coordinating the Département d'information et de communication poll lab at Université Laval. The random sample was created by computer software.
- 3 For example, operas have been presented in 3D in a number of Montréal's movie theatres. This practice gives opera a new lease on life, provides a new audience, and costs much less than taking the whole opera company from city to city. This example is reminiscent of what Marshall McLuhan and Glenn Gould were saying when they talked together about the fact that music recording increased accessibility and provided a greater variety of audiences (Roberts, 1999).
- 4 P. Lampron, *État de situation de la contribution publique dans le financement du cinéma et de la production télévisuelle*, report presented to the Minister of Culture and Communications, Montréal, SODEC, November 1999, p.6.

- 5 We tried grouping the data into four large geographical areas (25% of the sample each, or 120–125 respondents): 1. Montréal and Laval; 2. The area around the periphery of Montréal (Montérégie, Laurentides, Lanaudière); 3. Western Québec (Abitibi-Témiscamingue, Outaouais, Mauricie, Centre-du-Québec, Estrie); and 4. Eastern Québec (Capitale-Nationale, Chaudière-Appalaches, Saguenay-Lac-St-Jean, Gaspésie, Côte-Nord, etc.) but these huge groupings inevitably masked intraregional differences. A more in-depth study of our data will have to use the municipalities' size and their proximity to or distance from a large urban centre as a basis for comparison.
- 6 The questionnaire used in the study is available upon request.

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