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Cultural capital in the UK: a preliminary report using correspondence analysis

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(with the assistance of Johs Hjellbrekke, Brigitte LeRoux and Henry Rouanet).

Authors note: *this working paper draws on data produced by the research team for the ESRC project Cultural Capital and Social Exclusion: a critical investigation (Award no R000239801). The team comprised Tony Bennett (Principal Applicant), Mike Savage, Elizabeth Silva, Alan Warde (Co-Applicants), David Wright and Modesto Gayo-Cal (Research Fellows). The applicants were jointly responsible for the design of the national survey and the focus groups and household interviews that generated the quantitative and qualitative data for the project. Elizabeth Silva, assisted by David Wright, coordinated the analyses of the qualitative data from the focus groups and household interviews. Mike Savage and Alan Warde, assisted by Modesto Gayo-Cal, co-ordinated the analyses of the quantitative data produced by the survey. Tony Bennett was responsible for the overall direction and coordination of the project.*

Abstract

Pierre Bourdieu's study *Distinction* has encouraged numerous studies assessing whether cultural capital can be detected in different nations. This paper reports early findings from a national survey on cultural taste, participation and knowledge conducted in 2003–04 in the UK. We use correspondence analysis, the method used by Bourdieu but nearly entirely ignored in English language research, to assess the clustering of cultural taste, participation and knowledge amongst our sample of 1564 British respondents. We show that cultural taste, participation and knowledge is clustered in sociologically interesting ways, but that there are important differences between the fields of music and reading which makes it important to recognize cultural specificity. In generalising from our findings, we show that there three main axes separate out different cultural activities, the first axis organized on the basis of social class divisions and educational qualifications, the second around age groups, and the third around gender differences. Whilst supporting the value of a Bourdieusian approach to the study of cultural practices, our results suggest interesting differences in cultural patterning, compared to Bourdieu's own study in *Distinction*.

The publication of Pierre Bourdieu's *Distinction* in 1979 (English translation 1984) has generated an enduring interest in exploring the nature of cultural capital acts as an axis that generates inequality. Refusing the conventional sociological view that cultural processes are derived from economic class relations, Bourdieu emphasized that symbolic violence was inherent to the production, reception and institutionalisation of cultural forms, and traced a mode of middle class reproduction based not on the transmission of property but on the way that the middle classes convert their cultural privileges into educational advantages for their children and henceforth into their occupational success. Bourdieu's work has subsequently generated huge interest in the extent to which cultural capital can be seen as a powerful structuring feature, and its precise historical and geographical forms. However, despite Bourdieu's own use of survey data in elaborating his argument, most subsequent research, at least in the English language, has relied on qualitative data (Halle 1992; Lamont 1992; Reay 1998; Skeggs 1997; Devine 2004), and historical case studies of specific cultural institutions (e.g. Fyfe 2000; Prior 2000).

The aim of our paper is to report on early findings from the ESRC funded *Cultural Capital and Social Exclusion* project[i], which includes both qualitative and quantitative components, and was explicitly designed to examine the structure of cultural taste, participation and knowledge so that we could provide the first sustained examination of the applicability of Bourdieu's framework in the UK context. Because the national random survey asks questions in unprecedented detail on taste towards, knowledge of, and participation in music, reading, film, television, the visual arts, food, dress and embodiment, sport, and education, it offers an unprecedented opportunity to examine whether we can detect the existence of cultural capital in contemporary Britain. In this paper we critically situate our early findings within current sociological debates. Since the early 1990s there has been a significant increase of interest in examining the relationship between stratification and cultural practices using survey sources and quantitative methods in Anglophone sociology. This interest continues to gather pace, with articles not only in specialist journals such as *Poetics* but also in high profile, general, sociology journals such as the *American Sociological Review* (Bryson 1996; Peterson and Kern 1996), *European Sociological Review* (Sintas and Alvarez 2002), *Social Forces* (van Eijck 2001), and *Sociology* (Warde et al 1999). Much of the work adopts standard multivariate techniques, and draws on surveys whose principal concern has not been directly to explore the relationship between stratification and culture. Noting that Bourdieu himself was a critic of some forms of quantitative analysis, we argue that methods which rely on defining forms of cultural knowledge, participation and taste as dependent variables do not do justice to the complexity of cultural processes. At this point in time we need to more fully understand the structuring of cultural forms themselves using more descriptive, exploratory techniques. We focus on correspondence analysis, the method which Bourdieu himself used in Distinction, but which remains remarkably under-utilized in Anglophone social science.

The first part of this paper considers what the concept of cultural capital might mean, and points to some ambiguities in how Bourdieu himself, and later writers, have operationalized the term. We review the methods that have been used to examine cultural capital, and cultural taste, knowledge and participation, to argue that orthodox multivariate analysis which seek to model the impact of independent variables on dependent variables, although highly sophisticated, are not always appropriate to the task in hand. Secondly, we show how research questions around cultural knowledge, participation have been operationalized in restrictive ways because of the nature of much existing survey data, and we show how this has had the effect of limiting, even disabling, some of the core interests in the field. Thirdly, we introduce our CCSE survey to show how it can be used to examine the relationship between taste, participation and knowledge in unusually fine-grained detail. In the fourth section we show how there are very different levels of cultural engagement between different cultural fields which play an important part in assessing how tastes within each of them might be organized. The fifth section reports on how we used multiple correspondence analysis to analyse our survey, and reports our key findings with respect to the structure of taste and participation for

music and reading. The sixth section shows how socio-economic variables are related to the patterns of musical and literary taste and participation, where we show that class, age, and gender emerge as powerful correlates. In our conclusion we relate them back to our interpretation of cultural capital, which suggests significant differences in the way that cultural capital appears to be organized in the contemporary UK compared to France in the 1960s.

1. Methodological Issues

What does cultural capital - if it exists at all - consist of? Although the concept is much discussed, its existence is usually inferred from its effects, such as the possession of educational credentials (e.g. Halsey et al 1980). Bourdieu himself (1997) does not provide a clear statement: in his most concise account of the nature of capital, he differentiates between embodied, objectified and institutionalized cultural capital. The embodied form of cultural capital refers to the way that cultural practices are incorporated into the habitus. 'Like the acquisition of a muscular physique or suntan' the accumulation of cultural capital 'cannot be done at second hand' (Bourdieu 1997: 48). Objectified forms of cultural capital are the specific cultural artefacts, genres, and works which are consecrated and denigrated as part of cultural capital. Finally, cultural capital is institutionalized through the academic qualifications which confer institutional recognition.

This tri-partite division insists on the circuit of cultural capital which links institutions, specific cultural works, and individual agents. It requires us to reflect not only on how institutions themselves consecrate specific cultural forms, but also on if and how individuals themselves embody cultural capital. It is in this latter area that current research is limited. Although there is now a considerable research literature on cultural capital in its institutionalized forms (in the fields of schooling, museum studies and the like), we know relatively little about how individuals themselves venerate cultural practices and tastes. There are some important qualitative studies which focus on the way that the disadvantaged feel 'outside', or stigmatized by the middle classes (e.g. Charlesworth 2000; Skeggs 1997). There are also a few qualitative studies which explore the cultural formation of the middle classes, which generally point to a degree of cultural fragmentation which does not indicate any clear, hegemonic form of cultural capital (Halle 1993; Lamont 1992). Yet we do not have a good knowledge of the kinds of specific cultural likes and dislikes which are central to it.

This is in large part because our understanding of what the embodied forms of cultural capital might be uncertain, with different possible accounts, even by those adopting a Bourdieuvian perspective[ii]. These can be listed as follows

1. following Bourdieu, is the insistence on the *Kantian aesthetic* in which the ability to appreciate 'abstract' cultural forms, distanced from the practical necessity of daily life, is viewed as a crucial component of cultural capital. This is most likely to manifest itself in relation to traditional forms of high culture (a liking for classical music and opera, for example) and, perhaps more especially, in modernist and avant-garde cultural practices. Here cultural capital finds it ultimate manifestation in artistic modernism.

2. a more conventional form of *'snob' culture* in which elite practices which do not appear especially 'abstract' may be important, a liking for elite sports, for example. Here it is not a Kantian disposition that matters but those aspects which enable it to function as a marker of social exclusiveness, an indicator of high culture in opposition to low or popular culture. Attendance at the opera, appreciating portraits of upper class families, and their animals and property, do not in any obvious way depend on a Kantian aesthetic, but a sense of difference from popular culture. Here cultural capital is difficult to gain entrance to, and marked by exclusive practices and rituals.

3. A third definition might defines cultural capital in terms of *whatever is consecrated by the education system* and is thus able to be mobilized by, in the main, the professional middle classes as a key aspect of transgenerational strategies of inheritance. This point picks up on Bourdieu's emphasis on the ultimate arbitrariness of whatever is institutionally venerated, and allows for changes in accordance with shifts in pedagogy: for instance as classics becomes an insignificant part of the educational curriculum, so we might expect that a taste for Greek and Latin no longer serves as a key aspect of cultural capital, whereas computing an IT skills might become more important.

4. In recent years, a fourth possible indicator of cultural capital has been explored, the idea of *cultural omnivorousness*. This concept, developed by Richard Peterson (Peterson and Simkus 1992), initially sought to show that middle class taste did not take a 'snob' form, but was able to move between different genres and tastes, in a way which was consistent with claims that 'post-modern' cultural formations entailed the ability to move sample, mix and match cultural forms (e.g. Savage et al 1992). Subsequently, however, it has been argued that omnivorousness itself can be a contemporary form of cultural capital, since the ability to range between cultural forms requires a distance which only the privileged possess: in this respect, the cultural omnivore relies on a particular kind of Kantian aesthetic (Bryson 1996). Embodied cultural capital rests precisely on the ability to reflect on, and appreciate different kinds of, cultural artefacts.

5. Finally, there is also the argument that cultural capital is bound up with *territorial claims*, especially those of the nation. Bourdieu himself says relatively little about this dimension of cultural capital, though it is implicit in much of his writing (see Savage et al 2005). Later writers have noted how the potential for familiarity with the 'national canon', as well as an adeptness with national cultures as different forms of life, are important features of cultural capital in an increasingly cosmopolitan environment (Hage 1995; McCrone 2005). Here objectified cultural capital is related to a knowledge of the national canon and distance from, ignorance of, and disparagement towards, cultures from other locations.

It is not the aim of this paper to theoretically adjudicate which, if any, of these conceptions of cultural capital, finds authentic warrant in Bourdieu's writing, or that of his followers[iii]. Rather, we are interested in taking these as a working hypothesis, to see which - if any - can be seen to operate in the contemporary British context. This leads us to a research strategy which is attuned to the way that particular kinds of cultural practice activity may - or may not - bestow cultural capital depending on its relationship to other cultural practices. As Holt (1997) insists, there is a danger in existing work that simple empirical indicators of cultural capital are assumed to be measures of high or low culture (such as going to the opera, theatre, etc), rather than a more nuanced and subtle awareness that is able to demonstrate that they might serve as a form of cultural capital. What we need, in fact, is an approach which does not presuppose the existence of cultural capital but which is able to describe the relationships between different components of a cultural field with enough detail to be able to delineate precisely how certain kinds of likes, knowledge and modes of participation are related together. We see such a strategy as central to Bourdieu's own criticisms of variable centred research strategies which reduced causal explanation to the power of specific factors to influence defined dependent variables. This is a point of contact with the work of the American cultural sociologist, Richard Peterson, the influential exponent of the 'production of culture' school which became increasingly prominent from the later 1970s. In his first major contribution, Peterson (1983) insisted on looking at the 'patterning of culture', and was sceptical of attempts to reduce cultural activity to the effects of class or other socio-economic determinants. Peterson insisted that cultural activity should not be seen as part of socially determined sub-cultures but rested on choices (see famously Peterson 1983). In making this argument Peterson called for studies of the 'patterning of cultural taste' so that we could

observe the transformation of the 'buzz of human activity into a set of delimited patterns' (Peterson 1983: 428). And indeed, most of the contributors to the special issue of the *American Behavioural Scientist* in 1983, the first sustained attempt to use quantitative approaches to study cultural activity, used factor and cluster analysis to group Americans into different kinds of cultural communities on the basis of their consumption patterns, their taste for cultural genres, and so forth.

There is a very real sense in which both Bourdieu and Peterson were calling fundamentally for better descriptions of cultural activity as a means of unpacking the organisation of the cultural field, and its various sub-fields in the areas of music, reading, etc. However, despite the continued prominence of both these writers in subsequent debates, there has been a clear shift towards more 'explanatory', variable- centred, approaches in recent work, with the focus being on defining a given kind of cultural activity as a dependent variable, and examining a range of economic and social determinants as independent variables which might explain certain cultural outcomes. A particularly telling instance of this shift is Peterson's idea of the cultural omnivore itself. At one level, the cultural omnivore is a way of classifying a particular kind of taste which ranges across genres and forms: it is thus a largely descriptive endeavour, in line with Peterson's 1983 call. However, in recent years, the omnivore has been subject to causal analysis, with interest resting less in the nature of omnivorous taste itself, and more on the kinds of people who are omnivores, and the kinds of structural pre-conditions which facilitate it (see for instance Bryson 1996; Santas and Alvarez 2002; 2004).

Table 1 lists important recent studies as a means of reviewing the main analytical techniques they use. The most important distinction is between methods which seek to examine the impact of independent on dependent variables (notably 4 and 5), and those which seek to examine patterns in the data (notably 2 and 3). Those modes of quantitative data analysis, such as multiple and logistic regression analysis differentiate between dependent variables and independent variables, with the focus being on how one might explain the former by the latter. We can see a distinct shift over time towards the use of regression methods of this kind. Correspondence analysis, the method that Bourdieu himself championed, is hardly used at all in the English language, and when it is, it is nearly always by French writers (Sapiro 2002).

Table 1: Methods used in data analysis (characterized by the most technically advanced methods deployed)

Modes of analysis	Studies
1) Frequencies, ratios, crosstabulations	DiMaggio and Mukhtar 2004 Woodward and Emmison 2001
2) Analysis of variance	Trienekens 2002
3) Factor and cluster analysis	Hughes and Peterson 1983 Marsden and Reed 1983 Greenberg and Frank 1983 Bennett et al 1999 Van Eijck 2001 Holbrook et al 2002
4) OLS regression	Marsden and Reed 1983 Peterson and Simkus 1994 Van Eijck and Bargeman 2004
5) Multinomial logistic regression	Pellerin and Stearns 2001 Kane 2003; 2004 Upright 2004 Chan and Goldthorpe 2004
6) Weighted multi-dimensional scaling	Han 2003
7) Latent class analysis	Santas and Alvarez, 2002 Santas and Alvarez 2004 Chan and Goldthorpe 2004
8) Correspondence analysis	Sapiro 2002*

* not a study using survey data, but included for indicative purposes

We insist on recognising the complexity of cultural activity vis-à-vis the subjects examined in more orthodox forms of economic and social analysis. In the latter it is arguably easier to define dependent variables as relatively discrete and stable phenomenon, as a result of sustained research seeking measures of household income, a person's job, their health, etc. However, given the different ways that cultural capital can be operationalized, we simply do not have satisfactory measures for cultural outcomes or states which are equivalent to these and which can be used today as robust and reliable indicators. There is an extensive literature on different ways by which occupations can be grouped into classes or status rankings, evident for instance in the debate leading up to the elaboration of the New Statistics Socio-economic Classification (Rose and Pevalin 2003). However, we simply do not have an equivalent literature on how cultural tastes, knowledge and participation can be grouped in ways which allow us to associate different measures with other, to allow us to proffer valid indicators. This is not surprising: as we go onto discuss below, there are woeful data deficiencies which explain why this is so. Attempts, therefore, to develop explanatory models immediately face the issue that their object of explanation (cultural activity) is generally poorly specified. This is arguably even more of an issue than the equivalent for occupations. Most people only have one occupation, but they might have any number of cultural activities, tastes and practices, so that the task of defining one cultural state looks problematic indeed. Cultural outcomes seem fluid, contextual and contingent, and these make it difficult to designate such outcomes as demarcated into 'high cultural capital' etc. Dependent variables can be thought of as 'states', yet it is not clear that cultural tastes, knowledge and participation are 'states' of this kind: rather they intuitively appear more active and conditioning in their importance. If they are thought of as 'states' then the analytical treatment of them may be weakened.

The alternative then is indeed to return to the methodological agenda laid down by Bourdieu and Peterson, and use more qualitative and descriptive approaches. One source is to draw on the arguments triggered by the American sociologist, Andrew Abbott (2002). Abbott argues that the assumptions of 'general linear reality' which involve the separation of outcomes from their causes are untenable, since they deny the processual nature of social life. In order for 'explanatory' modelling to work, cause and effect need to be held separate in the way that defies their mutual interrelation in the 'real world'. Abbott's arguments are related to his emphasis on the significance of time in social life. Explanatory models assume a linear, 'empty' time in which a particular cluster of variables at time x can cause outcomes at a later time, y. Abbott does not, however, argue against quantitative analysis per se, but for the championing of what he sees as the kinds of descriptive methods which help the researcher see patterns and associations in the data, but which do not seek to discriminate causes from effects in any hard and fast way. These he takes to be methods such as factor analysis, clustering methods (such as his own optimal matching techniques) and social network methods. It should not be thought that descriptive methods are not analytical: as Holbrook et al (2002) show, they can actually be used to test out possible models of how cultural activity is organized, as in their exploration of how boundary-effacement, omnivore and distinction effects can simultaneously operate[iv]. There is increasing interest in the way that field theory can generate a distinct kind of explanatory project which avoids reducing causality to the billiard ball effect of variables impacting on other variables but instead points to the structural causality of the spatial organisation of relational attributes (see Martin 2003).

To be sure, Abbott's arguments are controversial. Some of his attack, especially in his early paper on models of general linear reality is directed against the deficiencies of explanatory models in handling the complexity of time and process. It is undoubtedly true that recent developments in areas such as event history (hazard rate) modelling, as well as multi-level modelling, allow more sophisticated ways of handling time than he allowed (see Elliott 2005), though it remains true that this recognition of temporal complexity is usually with respect to the independent rather than the dependent variables: much modelling continues to be interested in a the preconditions of a discrete state or transition: as we see from Table 1, logistic regression is one of the main methods used in these studies.

Our argument is strategic: at this moment in time, given our absence of knowledge about cultural processes, we are well advised to focus on descriptive rather than explanatory methods, focusing less on the impact of independent variables, but describing the kinds of association in the data themselves. We need to know much more about the way that cultural forms are organized in hierarchical (or non hierarchical) ways. In the next section we show how this deficiency is in large part due to the data sources which are available,

2. Four limitations in the quantitative study of the relationship between culture and stratification

If we agree that this descriptive project is crucial for us to tease out how cultural capital may be organized, then, we need to note that existing data sources are singularly badly equipped to deal with this. Table 2 provides a starting point by indicating some influential survey sources for the analysis of culture and stratification in recent international research, as indicated through a reading of key journals and their citations. Early research on stratification and culture tended to rely on consumption data from expenditure surveys and marketing research (e.g. Felson 1983; Sobel 1983), which we do not discuss directly here, though we can note that these are often highly appropriate to descriptive strategies since they contain large amounts of data on specific products or genres. However, they often contain detailed information on socio-demographic characteristics of respondents[v], and restrict themselves to simply whether particular programmes/ commodities/ books have been viewed/ purchases/ or read (see Warde 1997; Savage et al 1992 for examples of research using such sources). In

addition there are numerous local or focused survey based projects (for instance Warde and Martens 2000), which we do not include here.

Table 2 reports the growing number of national individual and household surveys which have data on individual's cultural participation, taste, and knowledge. It shows that recent surveys have been conducted in most developed nations pertinent to issues of culture, but they also demonstrate clear limitations to the breadth and range of coverage. It is not incidental that most relevant surveys are either 'bolt-ons' of more established social and economic surveys, or have been commissioned by particular agencies with specific interest in 'culture'. This indicates the continued marginality of such surveys compared to other domains within the social sciences.

Table 2: Features of main surveys analysing cultural taste

Source	Nation	Dates and sample size	Indicators	Studies
National Endowment for the Arts	Southern US	1978: 1684	Leisure activities	Marsden and Reed 1983
American Council for the Arts	US	1976, 3005	Participation in leisure, attitudes to arts	Hughes and Peterson 1983
General Social Survey (culture module)	US	1993	Attendance at music venues, liking of musical genres	Bryson 1996 Han 2003
Survey of Public Participation in the Arts	US	1982: 17254, T 1992: 12736, T 2002: 17135, T	Attendance at selected music venues, art and historic sites Liking of musical genres	Peterson and Sinkus, 1994 Peterson and Kern 1996 Peterson and Sherkat, 1996 Balfe and Mayerson, 1996 Pellerin and Stearns 2001 DiMaggio and Mukhtar, 2004 Upright 2004
Culture as Consumption	Spain	1994, 1200		
Habits of Cultural Consumption	Spain	1998: 12000	Attendance at arts events	Sintas and Alvarez 2002 Sintas and Alverez 2004
Cultural Participation of the Dutch population	Netherlands	1987: 4251	Cultural participation, frequency of listening to music genres	Van Eijck, 2001
Dutch Time Budget studies	Netherlands	1975 + 5 year intervals, 12478	Attendance at leisure venues; time listening to select media	Van Ejyk and Bergmann, 2004
	UK		Participation in sports and leisure activities	Warde et al 1999
Arts Council	England		Attendance at music and cultural venues	Chan and Goldthorpe 2004
Australian Everyday Cultures project	Australia		Taste, knowledge and participation of different cultural fields	Bennett et al 1999 Woodward and Emmison 2001

Limit 1

In most surveys participation is the usual measure of cultural activity, and furthermore participation itself is usually measured in binary, or occasionally categorical terms, where respondents either do or do not do an activity. If their frequency of participation is measured this takes the form of asking whether it is 'frequent', 'occasional', etc. There is little evidence therefore on the scale of people's involvement in various cultural activities, nor on people's

taste or knowledge of cultural forms. An example is Chan and Goldthorpe 2004 which asks about attendance at one of four types of musical event: opera, jazz, rock concert, classical concert or musical, as well as their listening to four types of music. People's participation stands as a wider proxy for cultural activity more generally, yet it is not clear that taste is so easily seen as subsidiary to participation if the aim is to test Bourdieu's conception of cultural capital. The main exception here is around music, where a number of surveys (notably the GSS Culture module 1993 and the SPPA surveys) have asked about whether individuals like or dislike particular genres, which leads us to Limit 2.

Limit 2

There is an undue concentration on musical activity and taste in existing sources and studies. All the surveys listed in Table 2 ask about musical attendance, and some about how music is listened to. These are usually linked to questions asking for attendance at other cultural sites, such as museums or art galleries, Nonetheless, in general terms, whilst most surveys can discriminate between those attending opera and rock concerns, there are only a few surveys which allow us to distinguish between those attending elite museums and those of more specialized concern (e.g. Merriman 1991). In addition, questions of reading, television viewing, film watching, are either absent or very limited in such surveys. Our subsequent understanding of cultural activity is over-influenced by the case of music and we lack developed knowledge of the extent to which it is typical or a-typical of other cultural activities.

It is clear that in existing debates music has become the litmus test for understanding the relationship between culture and stratification: the prominence of music in debates about the cultural omnivore is a case in point. However, we have no understanding of the extent to which the musical field itself may be unusual in its organisation, with the result that we have a skewed understanding of the relationship between culture and taste.

Limit 3

Data on participation and likes/ dislikes (where available) only ask about a limited range of cultural 'genres', rather than about taste towards or attendance at specific cultural works. This point lies at the heart of Holt's (1997) still resonant critique of research on cultural taste. He argues that in order for an adequate understanding of cultural capital to be developed it is necessary not just to ask about genres of music but about specific works and practices of consumption, since we need to know exactly which ones, or which combinations, serve as markers or taste vis-à-vis others. Even in the case of music, the most heavily researched area, surveys only ask about participation in a relatively limited number of genres. Sintas and Alvarez identify eight musical genres (classical, opera, light opera; ballet dance, pop music, flamenco and folk); DiMaggio and Mukhtar five (classical; jazz; opera; musical theatre; ballet). It can readily be seen that these are skewed towards 'high culture' and do not differentiate between modes of popular music, for instance. We cannot be sure that respondents have similar understandings of what music entailed in particular genres, and we probably don't know if people who don't like genres genuinely don't like them, or have not heard them

Limit 4

Developing this last point, there is an extremely limited operationalisation of variables for measuring high and popular culture, or more generally the patterning of culture. Given the limits discussed above, heroic assumptions have to be made as to what might constitute participation in high and low culture, for instance. There is a clear bias in many survey sources towards asking about art and intellectual culture: one striking instance being Sintas and Alvarez (2002) who measure cultural activity in terms of attendance at museums, art galleries, historical monuments, book fairs, craft fairs, trade fairs, lecturers and music/ theatre festivals, none of which appear to be indicators of popular culture. van Eijck and Bargeman

(2004) identify 'high-brow' in terms of attendance at plays, concerts, museums, and time spent reading, and popular culture in terms of number of visits to discothèques, cinemas, café's, bars and sports clubs. Yet, whilst these may be the best distinctions which might be drawn on the data available, they are still problematic. Can all forms of museum attendance be seen as a marker of high cultural capital, for instance, or attendance at historic sites (consider Alton Towers)? What about those going to arts cinemas who would be classified here as partaking in popular culture. Much of the discussion once again focuses on music, where certain genres are assumed to represent high, middle brow or low (Peterson and Simkus 1994). However, it is an open question whether entire genres of music represent tastes in this way: each genre may well have its own partitioning into forms of 'higher' and 'lower' taste, which can only be ascertained through considering tastes for particular works. This kind of operation proceeds not by exploring whether specific genres and activities are evidence of high or low culture, but by assuming they are.

Given these limits, it is perhaps not surprising that the idea of the cultural omnivore has become so influential within the field (see van Eijck 2001). This is possibly the only idea which can meaningfully be researched within the limits identified above because (a) it can be operationalized in terms of participation, without necessarily needing data on taste or judgement (though this is not to say that it needs to be operationalized in these terms) (b) interesting analyses can be conducted even when there are limited questions on genres or kinds of participation by considering the extent to which respondents exhibit participation and taste which crosses genres (c) it can be identified as a plausible dependent variable and then subject to explanatory analysis and (d) it engages to some extent with theoretical debates. However, there is an irony which is that the omnivore debate takes its point of departure from Bourdieu but that it is not possible on current data to gain a good purchase on the kinds of indicators which might allow us to identify forms of cultural capital. There is a real sense in which although Bourdieu is invoked as a central source for the study of stratification and culture, his actual specific arguments about cultural capital, and about habitus, field and capital remain remarkably unresearched.

Let us state our argument so far. In order for research on cultural capital to progress, it is necessary to develop a richer descriptive understanding of the clustering of cultural taste, knowledge and participation in its own terms, rather than about the reduction of particular, narrowly defined, cultural states to various socio-economic determinants. Currently, we lack robust measures of cultural capital, or more generally of the ordering of cultural taste, participation and knowledge. We therefore need a fuller descriptive understanding of the inter-relationships between cultural practices, tastes and knowledge, which (a) do not assume the primacy of participation (b) are not premised on music's central role as proxy for cultural practice more generally (c) are able to assess how far taste towards particular genres are significant discriminators of concrete cultural tastes. Only this will allow us to differentiate in enough fine-grained detail to unpick the nature of cultural capital. In making this argument we are in a sense simply restating Bourdieu's own insistence in *Distinction* that it is vital not to operationalize cultural practices as a discrete set of variables but as a carefully constructed space of lifestyles. Bourdieu himself used correspondence analysis as a means of mapping such associations. It is strange that whilst Bourdieu's theoretical arguments have been extensively discussed, and form the main reference point within debates on culture and stratification, his own methodological arguments, which in many respects echo Abbott's critique of variable centred models, have not been subject to any analysis: within the Anglophone literature correspondence analysis is hardly used. In order to address these concerns let us now introduce our own CCSE survey.

3. The CCSE survey

The CCSE survey is uniquely well placed to address the limits of existing research identified above. It asks batteries of questions in key areas of cultural activity, including television and the media; reading; visual arts; music; eating out; sport and leisure. In most of these areas respondents are not only asked for their participation in relevant activities, but also their taste towards, and knowledge of, them. A particular feature is that as well as asking for taste towards genres, we also ask about particular works of literature, music, art, film and television so that we can assess the particular range of knowledge that respondents have. In addition, the survey contained comprehensive data on respondent's economic and social capital, as well as their education and parental background. So far as we are aware it is the most comprehensive and thorough survey of its type ever conducted in the UK. The survey was administered between November 2003 and summer 2004 by the National Centre for Social Research. It used a stratified, clustered random sample from 111 post code sectors, and achieved a response rate of 52% with a final achieved sample size of 1564, (alongside an ethnic boost which we do not discuss here). The response rate was relatively low for a sample of this kind. For 28% of the unproductive sample no contact could be made or no interview could be arranged because of illness, etc. Checks of the socio-demographic characteristics of the sample against other surveys indicate that the survey's findings are comparable with these, and weights have been applied to ensure consistency. However, because the sample size is smaller than most of the surveys discussed in Table 1, this poses certain limits, especially in allowing us to disaggregate the data to consider regional specificity. In addition, even with an ethnic boost of 227, numbers in ethnic minorities remain small, and make it difficult to explore in detail ethnic minority cultural participation, knowledge and taste, though our future analyses will address this issue as best we can.

Table 3: CCSE survey: Questions asked about each of the main cultural fields

	Television	**Film**	**Reading**	**Music**	**Visual Art**	**Eating**
Media	Terrestrial Satellite	Cinema DVD/ video	Books Newspapers/ magazines	Attendance at live venues, General taste for	Attendance at galleries, General taste for	Culinary taste Eating out
Genres	*2 favourites & and least favourite* News/ Current affairs Comedy/ sitcoms Police/ detective Quizzes/ game shows Documentaries Sport Arts programmes Films Variety/ chat shows Drama Reality TV Soap operas Cookery etc	*2 Favourites and least fav* Action/ advent Alternative/ art Bollywood Cartoon Comedy Costume drama Crime Documentary Fantasy Film Noire Horror Musical Romance Science fiction War Western	*Rank on 1–7 scale* Thrillers, detective Sci-fi, fantasy, horror Romances Biographies Modern literature Religious Self help	*Rank on 1–7 scale* Rock (incl Indie) Modern Jazz World music (incl Reggae and Bhangra) Classical (incl Opera) Country and Western Electronic (incl Techno and House) Heavy Metal Urban (inc Hip Hop and R&B)	*Favourite and least favourite* Performance Art Landscapes Renaissance art Still lifes Portraits Modern art Impressionism	*2 favourite and least fav* Café, teashop Pizza house Fast food/ burger Fish and chip Pub/ wine bar/ hotel Indian Chinese/ Thai Italian French Trad steakhouse Vegetarian
Specific works	*3 favourites of* Bad Girls Big Brother South Park Midsomer Murders Simpsons Abs Fabulous Home and Away Panorama University Challenge West Wing Touch of Frost Two Pints of Lager... Eastenders Who Wants to be a Millionaire Friends Eurotrash Six Feet Under The Bill Buffy the Vampire Slayer Coronation St Perfect Match	*Have you, would you watch film by* Spielberg Hitchcock Almodovar Bergman Campion Rathnam	*Have you, would you, read* Chamber of Secrets (JK Rowling) Pride and Prejudice (Jane Austen) Solace of Sin (Catherine Cookson) I Know Why The Caged Bird Sings (Maya Angelou) The Firm (John Grisham) Madame Bovary (Gustave Flaubert)	*Have you listened to and did you like/ dislike* Wonderwall (Oasis) Stan (Eminem) Four Seasons (Vivaldi) Einstein on the Beach (Phillip Glass) Symphony No 5 (Mahler) Kind of Blue (Miles Davis) Oops I did it Again (Britney Spears) Chicago (Frank Sinatra)	*Have you seen, and did you like/ dislike* Vincent Van Gogh Pablo Picasso Frida Kahlo JMW Turner Tracey Emin Andy Warhol LS Lowry	

Table 3 briefly the kind of questions we asked for each cultural sub-field. We emphasize five distinctive features of the CCSE survey. Firstly, we have much more detailed questions on taste for, and knowledge of, genres and works, compared to existing surveys which focus largely on participation. Secondly, we do not just ask about taste for broad genres, but also for specific works, so that we can assess how far people's taste is actually usefully categorized through genres, and how far it may actually cross genres. Although we follow Bourdieu himself in insisting on the value of such focused questions, no other survey discussed under Table 1 does this. Thirdly, our survey is not music-centred, in the way that most recent research area is. We have more questions on television, the most popular cultural field, than any other area, and similar numbers, and types of, questions on film, reading and the visual arts. We are thus able to empirically explore variations, as well as similarities, between fields, as a means of exploring the nature of cultural capital. Fourthly, we avoid focusing our questions on fields, genres or works which one might think of as being representative of 'high' culture. We chose artists, genres and works which we thought might exemplify many kinds of possible cultural variation. We are thus in a position not to assume cultural hierarchy in the framing of our questions but to assess the actual clustering of taste through analysis of our data. Finally, we ask questions about specific genres and works which might be expected to appeal to different age groups, different ethnic and national groups, and men and women. We are thus able to use our data to explore cultural variation along numerous axes, though there continue to be limitations caused by the need to devise an interview schedule lasting no more than an hour. Nonetheless we are still confident that our survey is unparalleled not only in the UK but also internationally in the range and depth of its coverage.

4. Levels of Cultural Engagement

We begin with some descriptive findings regarding people's involvement in various cultural fields. We compare these fields to emphasize how they each have different salience, and thus to underline our argument that music centred approaches to cultural activity need to understand its unusual features vis-à-vis other cultural forms. Table 4 reports one measure of engagement, the extent to which households own relevant works from four selected fields. Books and music CDs are rather similar in their distribution: very few households have none at all, and a significant number have a lot. 40% of households have over 200 CDs, and nearly a third have over two hundred books. This compares strikingly to the possession of videos and especially art works.

Table 4: Number of cultural artefacts possessed

Number of items possessed	None	Less than 10	11–99	100–199	200 – 500	Over 500	Median
Books	5.4	5.9	40.0	17.5	21.6	9.7	186
CDs/ DVDs/ records	2.1	2.9	31.4	23.3	29.7	10.8	216
Videos/ DVDs	8.9	10.3	56.0	15.0	7.6	1.1	64
Original art works	60.3	34.1	4.9	0.2	0.1	0.2	5

Source: CCSE data

The mere possession of such works is only one measure of engagement which cannot be expected to accurately map the salience of the cultural activity for individuals within that household. Table 5 reports the frequency with which various cultural works are consumed within the household, using various measures as appropriate to the field concerned. 61.4% watch over 20 hours television a week, equating to three hours or more per day, which underscores its imbrication in everyday life (Silverstone 1990). Reading books, by contrast,

emerges as relatively unpopular. Two thirds of the sample read less than ten books in the last year: only 12% read over forty, equating to nearly one per week.

If we consider attendance at live events of various kinds, we should not be surprised at the relative unpopularity of the opera and classical music, but we might also note the general unpopularity of any specific activity, including those which are often deemed to be more 'popular'. Rock concerts, for instance, are no more widely frequented than classical events. If we take those saying they go at least several times a year as enthusiasts for any of these activities, we see that such enthusiasts form a small minority for all the listed activities, with only theatre and cinema attendance rising above a quarter.

Table 5: Frequency of engagement with cultural domains

	None	**Up to 10**	**10–19**	**20–29**	**30–39**	**Over 40**
Hours television watched per week	0.4%	11.1	26.1	32.0	14.3	15.1
Number of books read last year	20.4	45.4	13.0	6.4	2.9	11.8
	Never	**Once a year or less**	**Several times a year**	**Once a month**	**Once a week**	
Theatre	43.6	29.7	24.1	2.5	0.1	
Cinema						
Art galleries	55.3	29.4	12.5	2.5	0.4	
Night clubs	63.6	13.8	9.7	8.7	4.1	
Orchestral concerts	67.4	20.7	10.2	1.4	0.2	
Musicals	49.6	32.5	16.2	1.4	0.2	
Opera	84.6	10.8	4.1	0.6		
Rock concerts	68.8	21.0	8.5	1.4	0.2	

Source: CCSE data

Table 6 considers a final measure of cultural engagement: whether people had 'consumed' any of the selected works which they were asked about. The results indicate those who consumed none, those who consumed one only, those who consumed all of them, and those who consumed over half. Clearly, we need to be cautious in our interpretation of Table 6 since the respondents are replying to our specific prompts, and those who abstain, for instance, may have consumed other works which we did not ask about. However, we should note that in each of our fields we make specific efforts to ask about some popular works, so the findings may still be indicative of broad levels of engagement. .

Table 6:Consumption of selected works

	Art	Music	Reading
% who abstain (score = 0)	16.3	7.9	44.5
% 'univores' (score = 1)	12.7	19.4	27.8
% 'omnivores' (score = max)	0.5	0.3	0.1
% 'omnivores' (score over half total[vi])	11.1	7.6	2.5
% 'moderates'[vii]	59.7	58.4	25.2

Source: CCSE data

Table 6 shows that reading is the most unpopular of the genres. Nearly one half had not read any of the six books we quizzed them about, even though we had included titles such as Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*, JK Rowling's *Harry Potter*, John Grisham's *The Firm*, and Cathryn Cookson's *The Solace of Sin* which are known best sellers. By contrast, nearly everyone had heard at least one of the musical works, and three quarters could name more than one. Art is intermediate between these two categories.

Tables 4–6 indicate that people are highly engaged with music, though not particularly as a 'live' activity involving participation at events. In this respect, its consumption appears rather similar to television. Reading books is unpopular, with only around one third of the population treating it as a significant leisure interest. Bearing these different modes of engagement in mind, we now turn to explore the organisation of two cultural fields: music and reading, to consider this question further.

5. Using multiple correspondence analysis

There is a small literature on multiple correspondence analysis in English (e.g. Greenacre and Blasius 1994; Clausen 1998), and here we will explain the procedures through explaining how we implemented them in our case[viii]. Multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) proceeds inductively from a contingency table, not by providing summary statistics, but by transforming its values into a visual display whose dimensions can then be interpreted. It can thus be seen as a descriptive procedure which seeks to visualize patterns in a complex data table, in a way we compatible with Abbott's (2002) call.

5a defining variables and preparation

Individuals form the rows of the contingency table, whilst the columns are composed of the values for various questions pertinent to different kinds of cultural activity. These questions are transformed into categorical values. For those questions which are not categorical, e.g. for those which ask respondents to rate their liking for music and reading on a Likert 1–7 scale, we have recoded responses into categories equating to like or dislike: a response between 1–3 is treated as 'like' and '5–7' as dislike. '4' responses are treated as 'junk' categories, which are treated as missing values for the purpose of the analysis. Those questions which ask about favourite genres are already in categorical form, and we use these in the original state. The columns of the data matrix are then rendered as a Binary Indicator Matrix, in which each individual (row) is assigned a 0 or 1 for each modality asked about (for instance, they are assigned 1 if they like 'thrillers' in column 1, 1 if they like science fiction, and so on).

In total we used 79 modalities, constructed from 31 questions to define the space of lifestyles (see Table 7). Individuals are rendered as points, the distance between whom are determined by the similarity of their responses to the questions, with individuals with similar responses

occupying similar spaces. MCA identifies the number of axes, or dimensions, which separate out individuals, with the most important axis being the first principal axis, followed by other axes in descending order of importance. The relative importance of each axis can be revealed by consulting the eigen values and inertia they each contribute.

These axes thus operate to separate out responses relationally, vis-à-vis each other, in a way that can permit us to assess whether some stand in opposition to others. If there is no patterning of the responses to the various questions, there would be numerous different axes, each with weak inertia, and none of which operates to summarize across categories (modalities). By interpreting the eigen values reported, we can assess how many axes (or dimensions) offer an adequate summary of the space of lifestyles that we have constructed. This which explains why Bourdieu sees MCA as the best method to examine the organisation of fields, each defined in terms of oppositions between tastes.

The results obtained by MCA depend on the modalities, (or variables) which are used to in constructing the BIM. Table 7 indicates the questions we have used. They cover a wide diversity of cultural sectors, from reading, through music, art, eating out, participation in leisure and sport. In sport and TV watching, we used factor analysis to group forms of sport and TV watching which we knew to be related to each other: if we had not done this we would have increased significantly the number of modalities in these two areas which may have skewed the resulting patterns. Nonetheless, it can be observed that there are more modalities in music than in visual art, for instance. It is therefore important to note that more account will be taken of music than of sport in placing people in geometric space. This having been said, (leaving aside leisure activities) no one cultural sector accounts for more than 20% of the modalities in total, so that we can be confident that the space of lifestyles is not being defined mainly by responses in select areas[ix].

Our questions also mix questions on participation, in the form of leisure activities, and taste. 30% of the modalities concern activities, and 70% taste. This juxtaposition is deliberate: the aim is to see whether, using MCA, there are common structuring properties which operate across this multiple field, rather than to 'test' for a particular relationship which we hypothesize might exist. However, in interpreting the results, we need to bear in mind this skewing between participation and taste.

Comparing Table 7 with Table 3 shows that we have not used all the possible questions from the CCSE survey. MCA works most effectively where there are around 70 'modalities' where each category represents a modality, and we have therefore sought to isolate particular variables to give us a first attempt at looking at the patterns. Table 7 also reports on the supplementary variables that we used in our analysis. These are not used to construct the space of lifestyles, but their distribution can later be superimposed on this space of lifestyle as an aid to interpreting the patterns found.

Table 7. List of variables used to construct space of lifestyles.

Active variables by fields:	
A. Reading: Do you like or dislike	5. Modern literature
1. Thrillers, who-dunnits and detective stories	6. Religious books
2. Science-fiction, fantasy and horror	7. Self-help books
3. Romances	
4. Biographies and autobiographies	Note: 14 modalities (like or dislike x 7)
B. Music: do you like or dislike	13. Electronic dance music, including techno and house
8. Rock, including Indie	14. Heavy metal
9. Modern jazz	15. Urban, including Hip Hop and R and B
10. World music, including Reggae and Bhangra	
11. Classical music, including opera	Note: 16 modalities (like or dislike x 8)
12. Country and western	
C. Leisure activities: Do you regularly go to	23. Stately homes or historic sites
16. Cinema	24. Theatre
17. Museums	25. Art galleries
18. Pubs	26. Night clubs
19. Rock concerts	27. Somewhere to eat out
20. Opera	
21. Bingo	Note: 24 modalities (go regularly or not regularly x 12)
22. Orchestral or choral concerts	
D. Favourite types of television programmes:	28. Variety/ chat shows, reality TV e.g. Big Brother, soap operas
28. News/ current affairs, nature/ history documentaries, sport	28. Cookery/ home decorations/ gardening
28. Comedy/ sitcoms	
28. Police/ detective, quizzes/ game shows	Note: 7 modalities
28. Arts programmes, films, drama	
E. Favourite Restaurants or other places to eat:	29. Vegetarian restaurant, none of these/ never eat out
29. Pub/ wine bar/ hotel, traditional steakhouse	29. A pizza house/ restaurant, a fast food restaurant/ burger bar (eg McDonalds, KFC)
29. Italian/ French restaurant	
29. Café or teashop, a fish and chip eat-in restaurant	Note: 6 modalities
29. Indian/ Chinese/ Thai restaurant	
F. Favourite Sport:	30. Golf, basketball, other
30. Football (soccer), Rugby League, Rugby Union, Cricket	30. None of these
30. Swimming, skiing, tennis, gymnastics, athletics	Note: 7 modalities
30. Ice hockey, Formula One car and motorcycle racing, speedway, stock car and drag racing	
30. Snooker, boxing, wrestling, horse racing, darts	
G. Favourite form of art.	31. Modern art
31. Performance art	31. Impressionism
31. Landscapes	31. None of these
31. Renaissance art	
31. Still lifes/ portraits	Note: 7 modalities

Supplementary variables by fields:

H. Social class: the National Statistics Socio-economic Classification: 1. Large employers/ higher managerial & professional 1. Low professional/ high technicians/ low managerial/ high supervisor 1. Intermediate occupations 1. Employers small organisations/ own account workers	1. Lower supervisory/ lower technical 1. Semi-routine occupations 1. Routine occupations 1. Never worked
I. **Level of education**: 2. No educational qualifications 2. GCSE, CSE, O-level, NVQ/SVQ level 1 or 2 2. RSA/OCR Higher Diploma, City & Guilds Full T	2. GCE A-level, Scottish Higher Grades, ONC 2. University/CNAA Bachelor Degr, Master Deg/Ph.D./D.Phil 2. Other
J. **Sex**: 3. Male 3. Female	
K. **Age**: 4. 18-26 4. 27–32 4. 33–37 4. 38–41 4. 42–47	4. 48–53 4. 54–60 4. 61–67 4. 68–75 4. 76–98
L. **Ethnic origin**: 5. White-English 5. White-other British/ Irish	5. White-other 5. Other origin

MCA requires specialist software: following the advice and instruction of Johs Hjellbrekke, Brigitte LeRoux and Henry Rouanet we used the French ADDAD programme for the analysis. We then entered the results into the programme R which has excellent graphics, so that the results could be visualized in an accessible way.

5b General findings

Analysis of the eigen values for our data indicates that a fit on three dimensions is a satisfactory solution: once we move onto the 4th axis any additional variation explained is relatively modest (see Table 8). The first axis has considerably more inertia than the second axis, indicating that it alone accounts for a significant amount of the positioning of the modalities. The inertia of the second axis is also quite large. The third axis, by contrast has considerably less inertias. Our space of lifestyles can therefore usefully be seen as organized along three dimensions, with the first two being especially important. Any two of these axes can be superimposed on a standard graph and portrayed in two-dimensional space.

Table 8. MCA: selection of axis.

	Axis 1	***Axis 2***	***Axis3***
Eigenvalue	0.14901	0.11042	0.05998
Percentage	9.5	7.1	3.8
Acumulative %	9.5	16.6	20.4
Variation %		2.5	3.2
Modified inertia rate (%)	39	26	9
Cumulated modified rates (%)	39	65	74

Let us firstly consider the way that the modalities are distributed on the various axes (see Table 9). Table 9 highlights the modalities that make a contribution to the axes over and above the mean in bold. The co-ordinate indicates whether the point is to the left (-) or right (+) of the axis. Axis 1 sees important contributions from every cultural sector except sport, which indicates that there are some common patterns spanning the various sectors. We can also see, however, that the highest contributions come from modalities listed under leisure activities, over half of which make an above average contribution. We also see that across all the modalities, there is a negative sign beside all reported tastes for genres of reading and music, restaurants and art works, and participation in leisure activities, and a positive sign beside dislikes and non participation. This indicates that the prime rupture across all parts of the cultural field is less between those who like one kind of culture, and those who like another, but between those who like any named cultural form, and those who do not.

Table 9: Coordinates and contribution of the active modalities on the first three axis.

		Axis 1		**Axis 2**		**Axis 3**	
Variable	*Modality*	*Coord.*	*Contr.*	*Coord.*	*Contr.*	*Coord.*	*Contr.*
Reading							
Thrillers, who-dunnits and detective stories	Like it	-0.193	.004	0.041	.000	-.020	.000
	Don't like it	0.138	.002	-0.062	.001	0.021	.000
Science-fiction, fantasy and horror	Like it	-0.479	.011	0.671	**.028**	-0.319	.012
	Don't like it	0.111	.002	-0.188	.008	0.097	.004
Romances	Like it	0.169	.002	-0.014	.000	0.976	**.160**
	Don't like it	-0.106	.002	0.002	.000	-0.448	**.071**
Biographies and autobiographies	Like it	-0.385	**.017**	-0.087	.001	0.157	.007
	Don't like it	0.440	**.018**	0.099	.001	-0.186	.008
Modern literature	Like it	-0.840	**.037**	-0.187	.002	0.321	**.013**
	Don't like it	0.245	.009	0.063	.001	-0.100	.004
Religious books	Like it	-0.105	.000	-0.450	.008	0.771	**.045**
	Don't like it	-0.003	.000	0.073	.001	-0.127	.007
Self-help books	Like it	-0.328	.006	0.113	.001	0.652	**.062**
	Don't like it	0.096	.001	-0.048	.000	-0.248	**.023**
Music							
Rock, including Indie	Like it	-0.554	**.026**	0.473	**.025**	-0.294	**.018**
	Don't like it	0.327	**.013**	-0.294	**.015**	0.197	0.12
Modern jazz	Like it	-0.532	**.016**	-0.077	.000	0.028	.000
	Don't like it	0.183	.005	0.022	.000	-0.010	.000

World music, including Reggae and Bhangra	Like it	-0.389	.007	0.513	**.016**	0.357	**.015**
	Don't like it	0.075	.001	-0.138	.004	-0.104	.004
Classical music, including Opera	Like it	-0.312	.009	-0.601	**.046**	0.033	.000
	Don't like it	0.241	.007	.472	**.036**	-0.024	.000
Country and Western	Like it	0.288	.007	-0.394	**.018**	0.023	.000
	Don't like it	-0.204	.005	0.269	.012	-0.013	.000
Electronic dance music, including techno and house	Like it	-0.305	.004	1.150	**.069**	0.177	.003
	Don't like it	-0.002	.000	-0.226	.011	-0.065	.002
Heavy metal	Like it	-0.659	**.015**	0.715	**.024**	-0.643	**.035**
	Don't like it	0.107	.002	-0.132	.004	0.122	.007
Urban, including Hip Hop and R&B	Like it	-0.273	.005	0.894	**.067**	0.371	**.021**
	Don't like it	0.062	.001	-0.339	**.022**	-0.172	.010
Leisure activities							
Cinema	Once a month/ several times a year	-0.578	**.034**	0.338	**.016**	0.110	.003
	Once a year or less/never	0.515	**.030**	-0.301	**.014**	-0.098	.003
Museums	Once week/ once year or less	-0.520	**.036**	-0.187	.006	-0.010	.000
	Never	0.858	**.060**	0.309	.011	0.017	.000
Pubs	Once week/ month	-0.239	.006	0.410	**.025**	-0.199	.011
	Several times a year/never	0.242	.006	-0.415	**.025**	0.202	.011
Rock concerts	Once week/ once year or less	-0.814	**.043**	0.512	**.023**	-0.209	.007
	Never	0.352	**.019**	-0.221	.010	0.090	.003
Opera	Once week/ once year or less	-0.950	**.031**	-0.784	**.029**	0.034	.000
	Never	0.183	.006	0.151	.006	-0.007	.000
Bingo	Once week/ once year or less	0.427	.006	0.375	.006	0.734	**.044**
	Never	-0.077	.001	-0.067	.001	-0.132	.008
Orchestral or choral concerts	Once week/ once year or less	-0.738	**.039**	-0.682	**.045**	0.062	.001
	Never	0.360	**.019**	0.333	**.022**	-0.030	.000
Stately homes or historic sites	Once week/ once year or less	-0.361	**.020**	-0.198	.008	-0.026	.000
	Never	0.815	**.044**	0.448	**.018**	0.059	.001
Theatre	Once week/ once year or less	-0.541	**.035**	-0.204	.007	0.093	.003
	Never	-0.687	**.045**	0.260	.009	-0.118	.003
Art galleries	Once week/ once year or less	-0.754	**.055**	-0.300	.012	0.003	.000
	Never	0.601	**.044**	0.239	.009	-0.002	.000
Night clubs	Once week/ once year or less	-0.355	.010	0.872	**.077**	0.069	.001
	Never	0.190	.005	-0.465	**.041**	-0.037	.000
Somewhere to eat out	Once week/ month	-0.302	.012	0.162	.005	0.076	.002
	Several times a year/never	0.476	**.019**	-0.255	.007	-0.120	.003
Types of television programmes							
Television programme like the most	News/ current affairs, nature/ history documentaries, sport	-0.141	.002	-0.267	.008	-0.481	**.049**
	Comedy/ sitcoms	-0.252	.001	.650	.012	-0.329	.006
	Police/ detective, quizzes/ game shows	0.337	.002	-0.296	.002	0.103	.001
	Arts programmes, films, drama	-0.305	.003	0.069	.000	0.319	.010
	Variety, chat shows, reality TV, eg Big Brother, soap operas	0.589	**.013**	0.359	.007	0.794	**.060**
	Cookery/ home decorations/ gardening	-0.066	.000	-0.110	.000	0.375	.003
Restaurants or other places to eat							
Place to eat out like the best	Pub/ wine bar/ hotel, traditional steakhouse	0.283	.005	-0.309	.009	-0.236	.009
	Italian/ French restaurant	-0.681	**.021**	-0.209	.003	0.098	.001
	Café or teashop, a fish and chip eat-in restaurant	0.948	**.014**	-0.478	.005	-0.119	.001

	Indian/Chinese/Thai restaurant	-0.163	.002	0.503	**.023**	0.199	.007
	Vegetarian restaurant, none of these/ never eat out	0.020	.000	-0.525	.004	-0.259	.002
	A pizza house/ restaurant, a fast food restaurant/ burger bar (eg McDonalds, KFC)	0.631	.005	0.784	.010	0.201	.001
Sport							
Sport like to watch the most	Football (soccer), Rugby League, Rugby Union, Cricket	-0.175	.003	0.157	.003	-0.398	**.033**
	Swimming, skiing, tennis, gymnastics, athletics	-0.162	.001	-0.298	.006	0.829	**.086**
	Ice hockey, Formula 1 car and motorcycle racing, speedway, stock car and drag racing	-0.327	.002	0.375	.004	-0.419	.009
	Snooker, boxing, wrestling, horse racing, darts	0.574	.012	-0.010	.000	-0.009	.000
	Golf, basketball, other	0.122	.000	-0.286	.001	-0.336	.003
	None of these	0.498	.003	-0.139	.000	0.271	.003
Art							
Type of art like the most	Performance art	-0.329	.002	0.234	.001	0.409	.007
	Landscapes	0.181	.003	-0.257	.009	-0.177	.008
	Renaissance art	-0.902	.007	-0.606	.004	-0.247	.001
	Still lifes/ portraits	0.088	.000	0.305	.004	0.675	**.033**
	Modern art	-0.340	.002	0.944	**.022**	0.319	.005
	Impressionism	-0.953	**.019**	-0.297	.002	-0.055	.000
	None of these	.905	**.016**	0.422	.005	-0.568	**.015**

*Bold figures have been used for the modalities that make a contribution to the different axis over the mean.

The only exceptions to this pattern are for those who never who go to the theatre, who also appear with a negative sign, alongside those who do go to the theatre; those who like variety, chat shows, reality TV and soap operas, and those who like to eat out in café's, teashops, or fish and chip shops. These latter two are the only tastes and activities which are found opposed to participation and taste for other kinds of music, reading, art, eating out and television. The first axis appears therefore to distinguish between participants/enthusiasts and non-participants/ non enthusiasts, bearing in mind, of course, that these terms are only as applied to the specific questions we have used in constructing our space of lifestyles. This first axis offers modest support for the argument that there is a central opposition between omnivores and abstainers.

If we now look at the contribution of the modalities to axis 2, we can also see that modalities from all cultural sectors except television viewing and sport make contributions above the mean. Modalities linked to music are especially important in this axis. Unlike axis 1, there is no straightforward division between those who like (or participate) having negative co-ordinates, and those who do not like (or participate) having positive ones. Axis 2 therefore discriminates between different kinds of tastes. Those modalities with positive values include liking science fiction, rock, world music, electronic dance music, urban music, and modern art and going to the cinema, pubs, rock concerts, night clubs, Indian and Thai restaurants. Those with negative values include liking classical music, country and western music, going to the opera, and orchestral concerts. Here we can therefore detect a fracture between forms of popular culture on the one hand, and more established cultural forms on the other. This point having been made, it is interesting that modalities from TV watching, sport and most forms of reading are not important.

The third axis has considerably less inertia than the first two. The modalities which contribute above the mean are drawn from all sectors, but leisure activities are much less important than for axes 1 and 2. Instead, modalities from television watching, sport and reading are more

important. Those modalities with positive co-ordinates indicate a liking for romances; modern literature; self-help books; world music; urban music; bingo; variety programmes and chat shows; swimming, skiing, tennis, gymnastics and athletics; and still life paintings. Those with negative co-ordinates include a liking for rock; heavy metal; news, current affairs, documentaries, sport, nature and history programmes; football, rugby, cricket. Although our space of lifestyles is not constructed on the basis of gender, it seems evident that the third axis appears to be distinguishing female oriented cultural activities (with positive co-ordinates) from male oriented ones.

We can summarize by returning to the five definitions of cultural capital we defined in the first section of this paper. The first axis appears to distinguish primarily on the basis of the culturally 'engaged' against those mainly unengaged, which may be compatible with versions of the educational consecration or the omnivore approach. The second axis appears to distinguish on some kind of popular - elite dimension, though not all forms of what might be deemed popular culture appear to be significant. The third axis appears to distinguish masculine from feminine cultural tastes. We have also shown how different types of modalities appear to contribute in varied ways to the axes: the first predominantly related to participation, the second to musical modalities, and the third to reading. Let us now explore these patterns further through looking at the distribution of responses to music and reading in greater detail.

5c Musical taste.

We proceed inductively by looking at how people's taste for musical genres is located within the three dimensions of the space of lifestyles which we have shown offer a robust way of organising our data. We report here 'clouds of individuals' where every respondent is differentially located in geometric space on two axes. By portraying them in the same colours if they respond in similar ways to specific questions, it possible to see if there is any clustering. In all these figures, those liking a particular genre are picked out in red, and those disliking it are picked out in green. Those coloured blue do not know of, or have no view about the genre concerned. The advantage of looking at the cloud of individuals is that we can visually inspect the extent to which individuals vary from the mean location of responses to the modality as a whole.

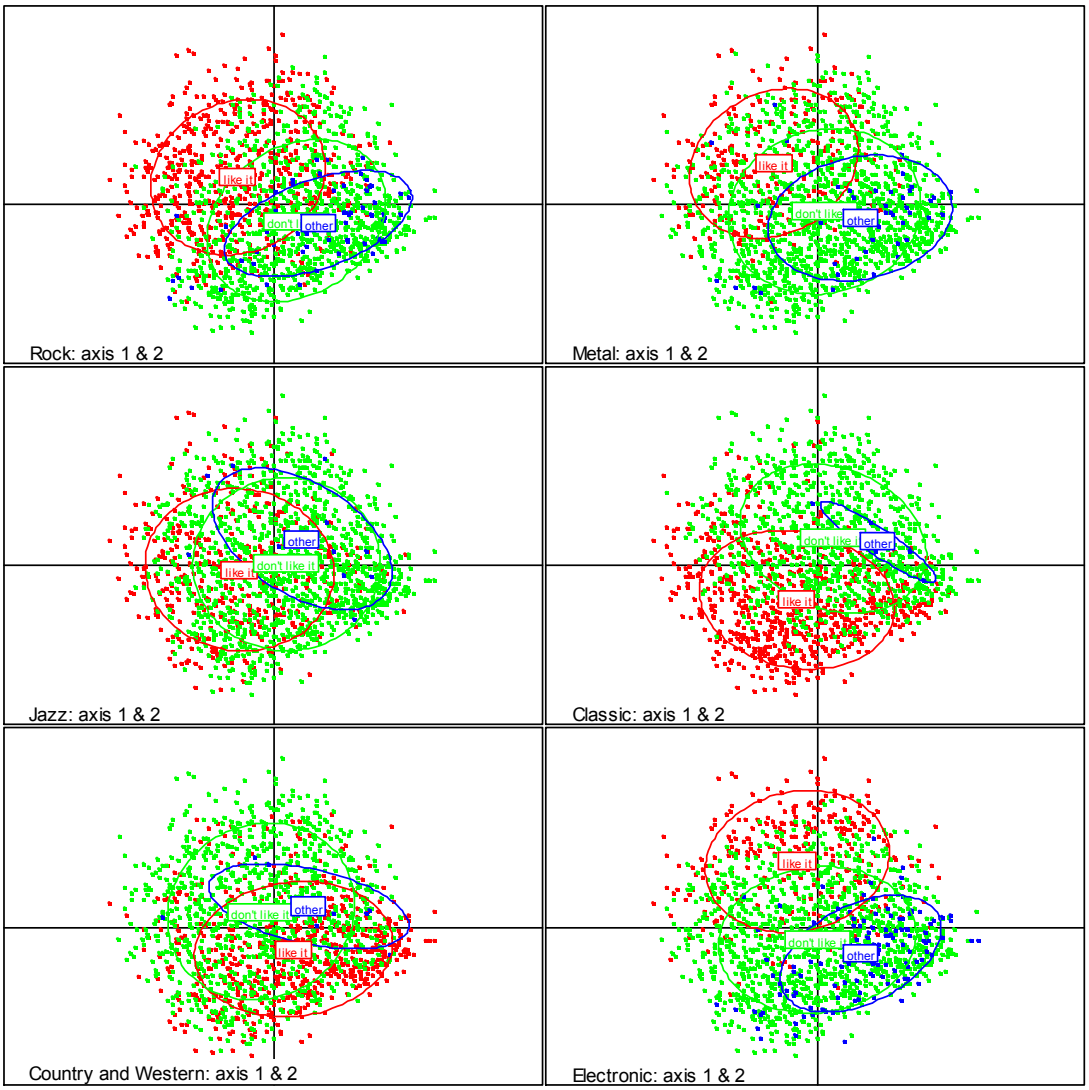
Figure 1 thus indicates how individuals have answered 6 different questions about their musical taste, and by comparing these 6 figures it becomes possible to explore how clear the partition is between musical taste communities. If we find a clear separation between red and green dots, it indicates that there is a very clear demarcation of taste with respect to any specific musical genre: if, however they are not well separated, this indicates that the musical genre does not discriminate well: those who like the genre are located in similar spaces to those who do not.

In general, we do in fact find a very clear separation of musical taste. The top left hand slide of Figure 1 shows a clear separation between those who like rock, clustered towards the top left, and those who do not, in the bottom right. The mirror image is that of likes for Country and Western, which are clustered towards the bottom right. Very few people, it would appear, like both rock and country and western. We can then see a third distinct clustering, for classical music, focused on the bottom left of the figure. This partly overlaps with those who like jazz, though these also overlap to a small extent with those who like rock. We can further see that liking for Heavy Metal and Electronic music is very similar to that for Rock. In contrast to all these genres, there is no obvious clustering of taste for jazz at all: the red dots, green dots, and blue dots are very close together.

We can therefore detect clear separation of musical taste, with rock, heavy metal, and electronic clustering together, and standing in direct relationship to liking for Country and Western. Taste for classical music is again distinctive. These findings are interesting since

they do not give much support for the omnivore thesis. It is important to note that respondents are not being asked for their favourite form of music but for each of the genres can give a positive evaluation: thus in principle someone who likes classical can also like rock or jazz or Country and Western. And indeed it can be seen that a few people do report these kinds of multiple likes. However, there are very few red dots of those liking rock in the bottom right hand corner, and very few red dots of those liking country and western in the top left. Those liking rock are somewhat more spatially dispersed than those liking electronic and heavy metal, indicating that taste from these latter two are especially demarcated from the rest. The clustering of heavy metal with rock and electronic is interesting in view of Bryson's (1996) argument that it is distinct from other genres in generating highly negative views from otherwise wide ranging omnivores.

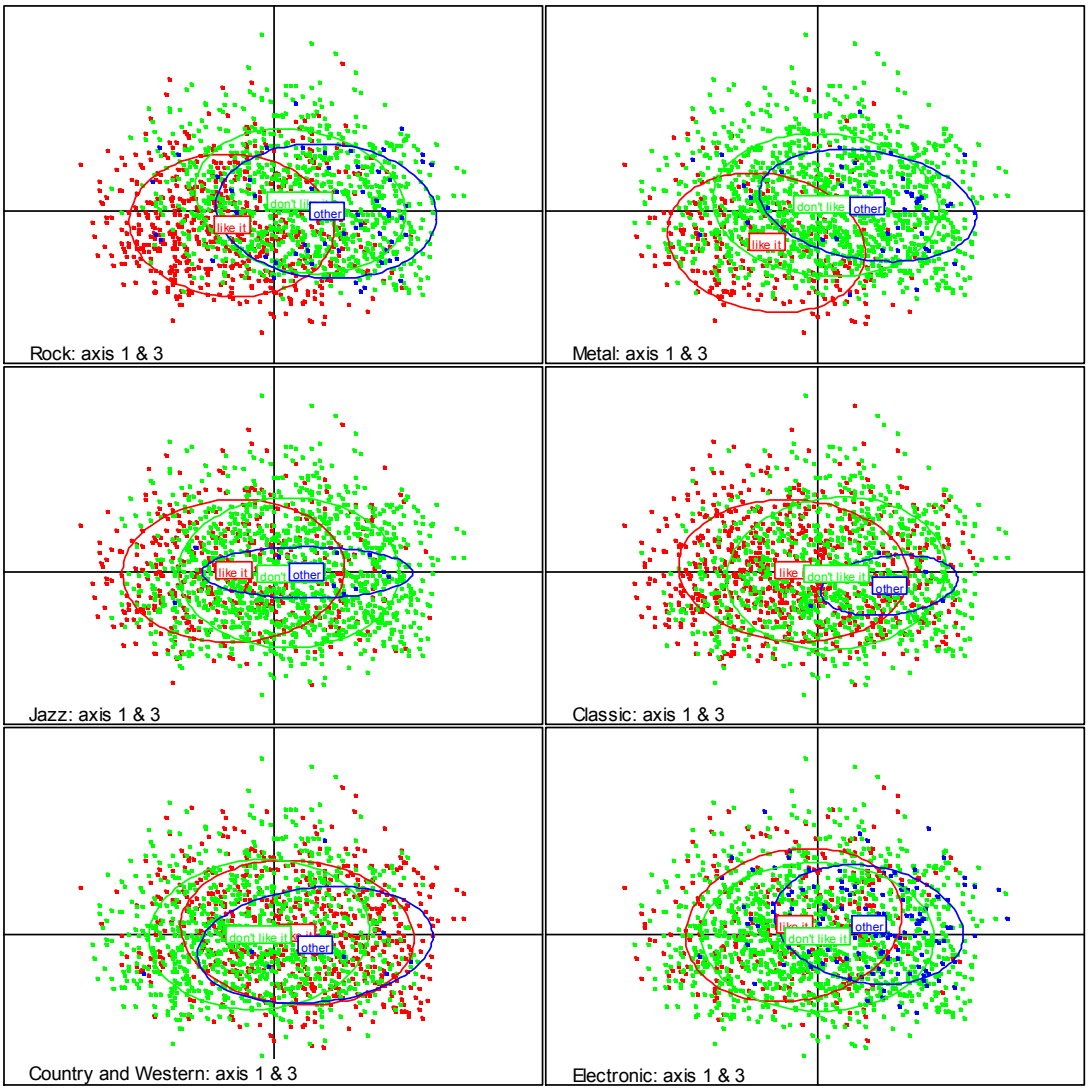
Figure 1: Taste for musical genres: 1st and 2nd axes.



Let us now consider the third axis, which we place against the first axis in Figure 2. We expect the distribution of individuals on the left-right axis to remain the same as in Figure 1, because we continue to map the first axis, but the distribution of individuals on the top-bottom axis should change as we are now mapping the third, rather than second axis. We would also expect on the basis of Table 9 to see poorer separation, since we know that musical tastes are contribute especially to the second axis.

On the whole, our expectations are confirmed, though we can see a separation between those who like electronic and heavy metal music. In figure 1 these individuals were located in similar space, but we now see those who like heavy metal towards the top, and those who like electronic towards the bottom.

Figure 2: Musical taste, 1st and 3rd axes.



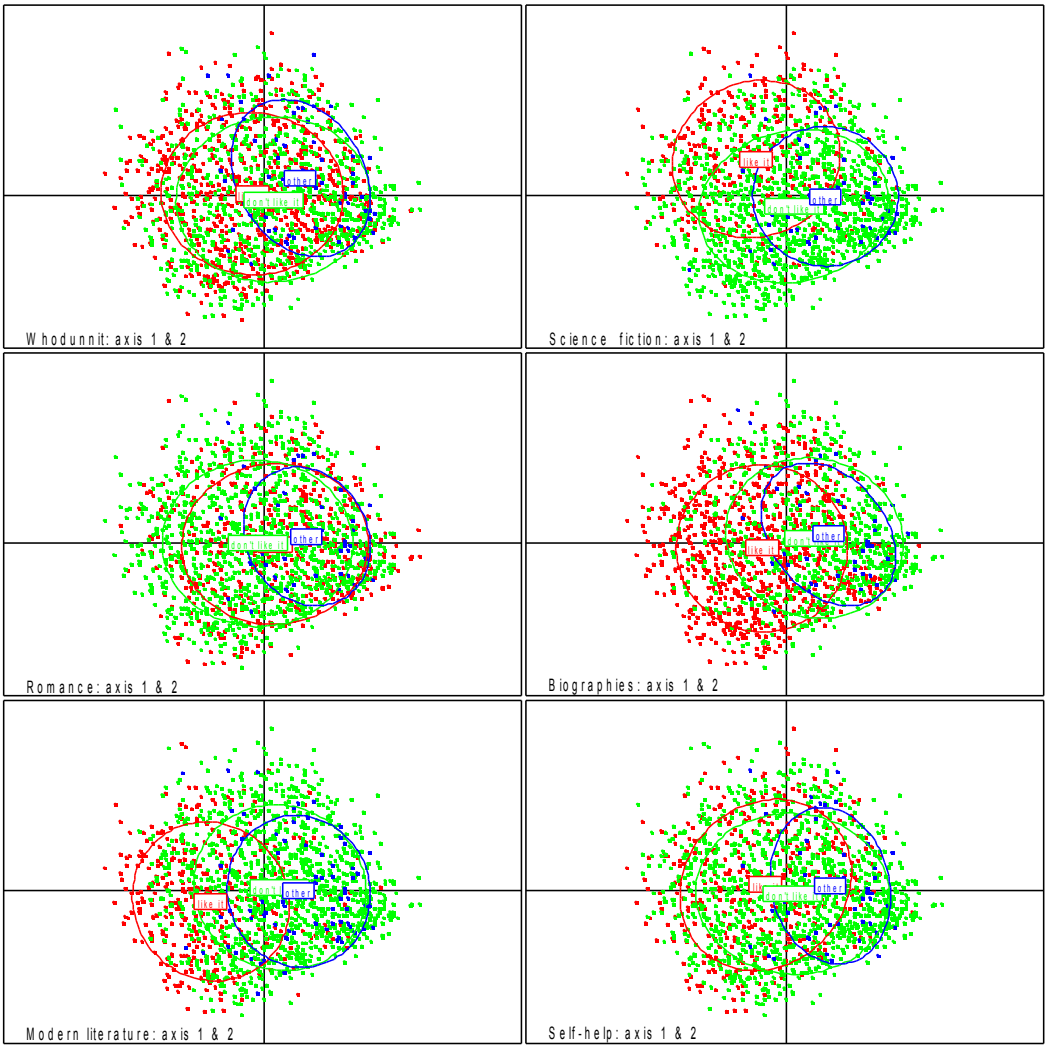
We can therefore see that liking for electronic music now operates in a different space to rock and heavy metal: it is no longer located in the same space. Both classical music and country and western music are no longer so distinct, and in addition liking for classical music is now in a similar space to liking for rock music. Whatever process is responsible for distinguishing tastes on this third dimension does so in different ways to the first and second axes.

5d: reading

Let us now turn to the complementary figures for reading. Beginning with the first and second axes, we can see striking differences compared to music. For three of the genres, those who dislike the genres are found relatively closely to those who like the genres, compared to a third group, the 'others'. These are for the genres 'who-dunnits', romances, and self-help books. These others are those who have no knowledge of the genre: most likely to be the non-readers. This of course is entirely consistent with our observations about the relative unpopularity of reading books as an activity: what reading 1,2 shows us is that those who dislike several genres are actually quite close to those who like those same genres because

despite their differences, they have a shared interest in reading which set them apart from the significant group of people who do not.

Figure 3: Reading taste, 1st and 2nd axes

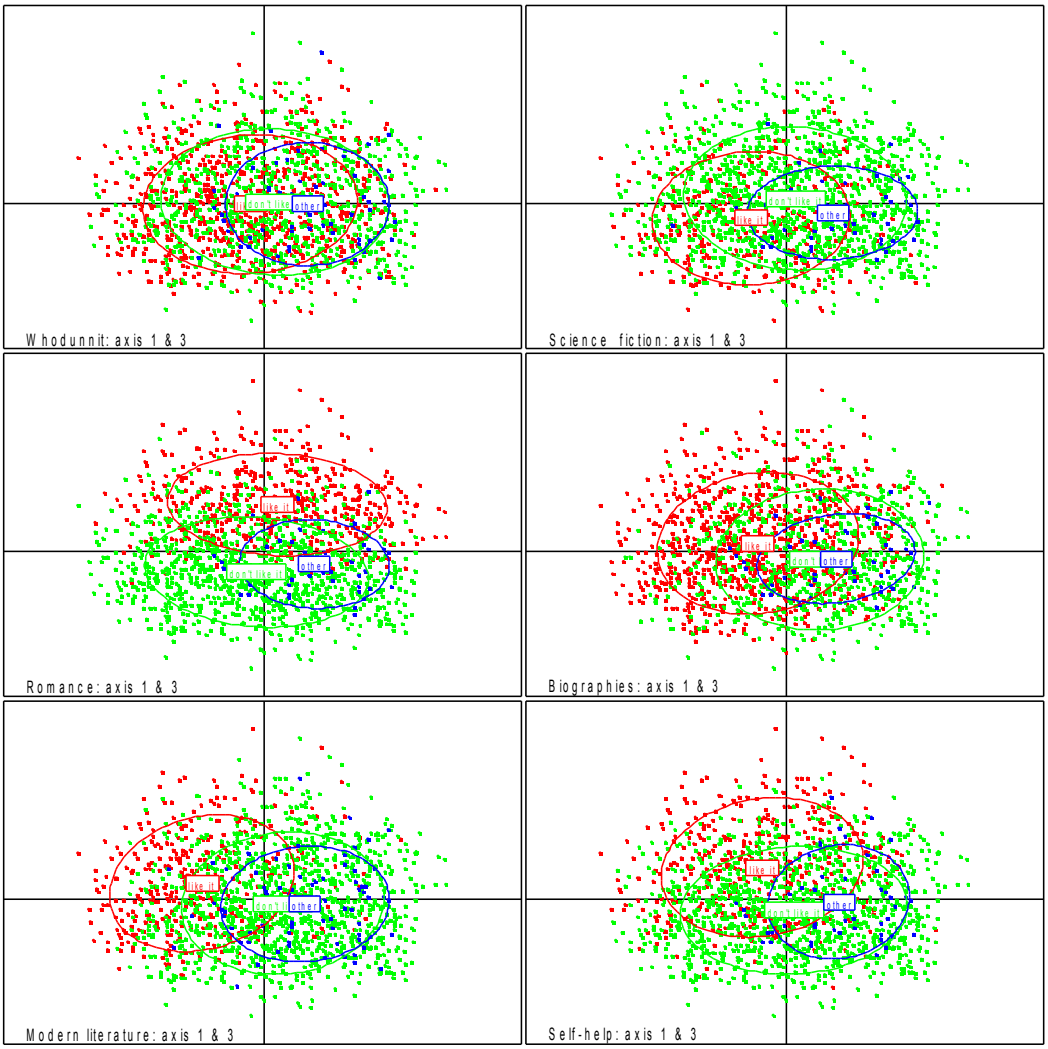


If we focus further on the left-right axis we can see that for all genres, other than romance reading, those who like the genre are on the left of the figure, and those who don't like the genres are on the right (though as we have observed the degree of separation is often not very marked). There is simply not the same degree of separation of the genres as we found in music. This is not surprising when we recall from Table 9 that reading tastes are not especially important in contributing to either the first or second axis. People who read biographies, are also those who read who dunnits, science fiction, modern literature, and self help books. If we also compare these findings with those for music, they are the same people we found on the left hand of the music figures, i.e. those who liked classical music and rock music. The genre which offers the most distinct separation is those who like biographies, who are clustered very much towards the left, and those who like modern literature. This does seem a potentially 'highbrow' grouping.

Let us turn to the third axis to see what additional separations it reveals. Like the first two axes there are similarities: the 'likes' remain quite close to the 'dislikes' for who dunnits,

science fiction, and to some extent for self-help. However in general we can see a better separation on the third dimension compared to the first and second dimension. Liking for romance now appears highly differentiated from those who dislike romances, located in a rather similar space to those who like self help books, at the top left hand side.

Figure 4: Reading tastes, axes 1 and 3



Let us summarize our findings once more. If we superimpose the various figures above, there appears to be some kind of demarcation between those who like classic high culture (bottom left hand) and contemporary music and writing (top left hand). In general, those on the right hand side do not like either music or reading, the only exception being those who like country music. Our correspondence analysis is picking out some familiar points, similar in some respects to those that Bourdieu unravelled in *Distinction*, yet with some surprising twists.

6. The structuring of the space of lifestyles

We have shown a clear partitioning of taste within the fields of music and reading, though on different axes and in complex ways. Correspondence analysis shows that these patterns are subtle: the genres vary in the extent to which they are partitioned, and whereas music is

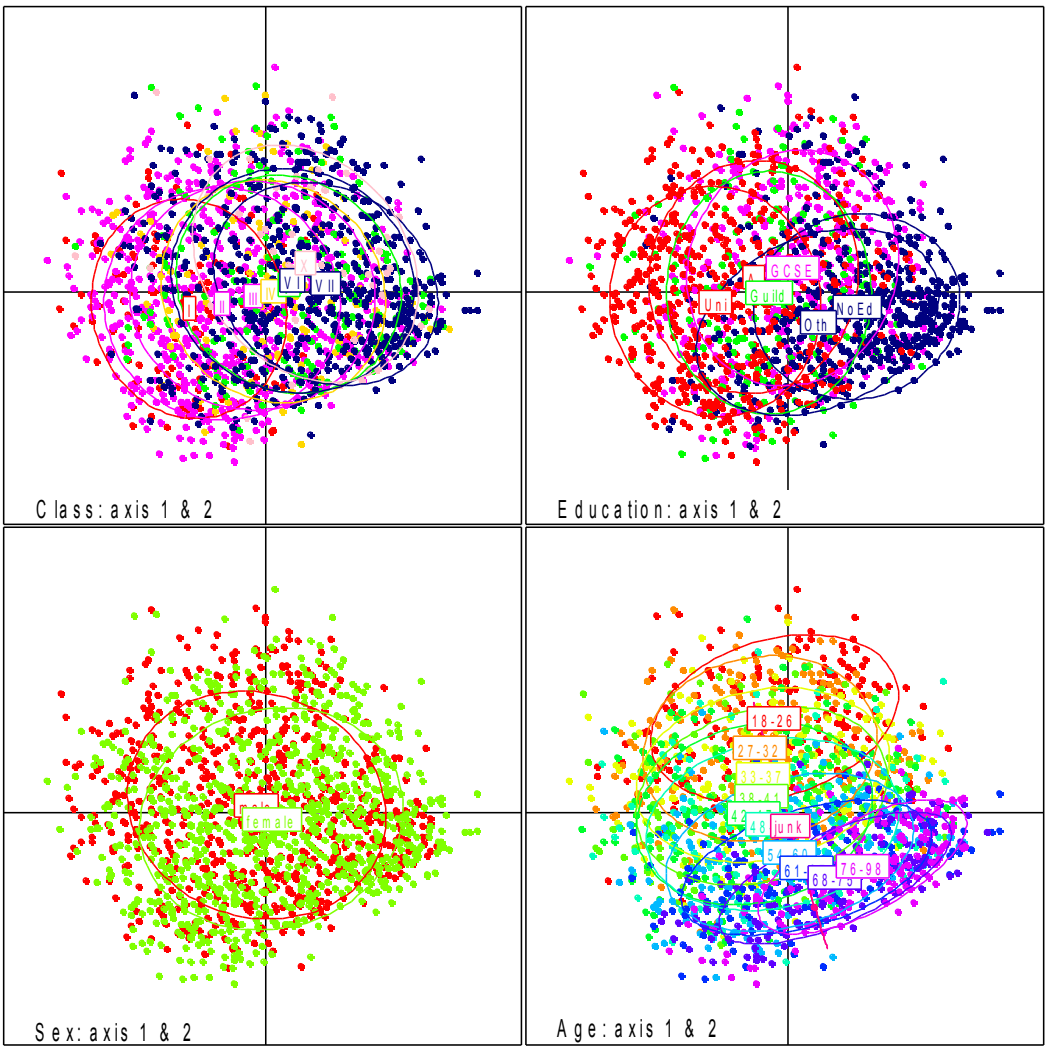
separated well on the first and second axes, reading is better separated on the first and third. In short, we need to be attentive to the complexity of specific cultural sectors. Now we can conclude our paper by considering in more detail how the axes are organized, and what the implications are for understanding the nature of cultural capital. Inspection of Figures 1 and 2 indicates that there does appear to be a clustering of established, high taste in the bottom left hand corner, and more generally that the left hand side of Figure 1 are marked by having more tastes than those on the right hand side who are distinguished mainly in terms of being disengaged.

In interpreting these axes further, we can map onto the space of lifestyles, a series of socio-economic variables to see how they are distributed in this geometric space. These socio-demographic variables are supplementary, i.e. they are not used to construct the axes and themselves, but they are simply overlain so that we can how closely allied they appear to be with the space of lifestyles. We used social class, gender, educational qualifications, age, and ethnic group[x] as our supplementary variables. Social class was defined in terms of NS-SEC class, and educational qualifications in terms of last full time education, distinguishing between university level, vocational qualifications, A levels, GCSE and no education.

Let us firstly consider the first and second axes. Here we can see that three out of the four variables are clearly separated. Class and educational qualification are both separated on a left-right axis, with those in higher social classes, and higher educational qualifications towards the left. For social class, the class distribution operates in remarkably clear steps, from class 1 (higher employers and managers) through to class 7. However, one can also see that there are some class VI and class VII towards the left of the figure: the separation is by no means absolute. Here there is a contrast with the pattern for educational qualification, which has a very marked cluster of 'no education' at the right of the figure, with very few red dots.

The importance of class and education on the first axis can usefully be related to our finding that the first axis mainly discriminates those who are culturally engaged from those who are disengaged. Those in higher classes, with higher levels of educational attainment, generally report having more tastes, and more forms of leisure participation. Class and education do not appear to be important in discriminating between kinds of tastes, a point which offers modest support to versions of the omnivore thesis.

Figure 5: Superimposing passive variables for class, education, age, gender, 1st and 2nd dimensions



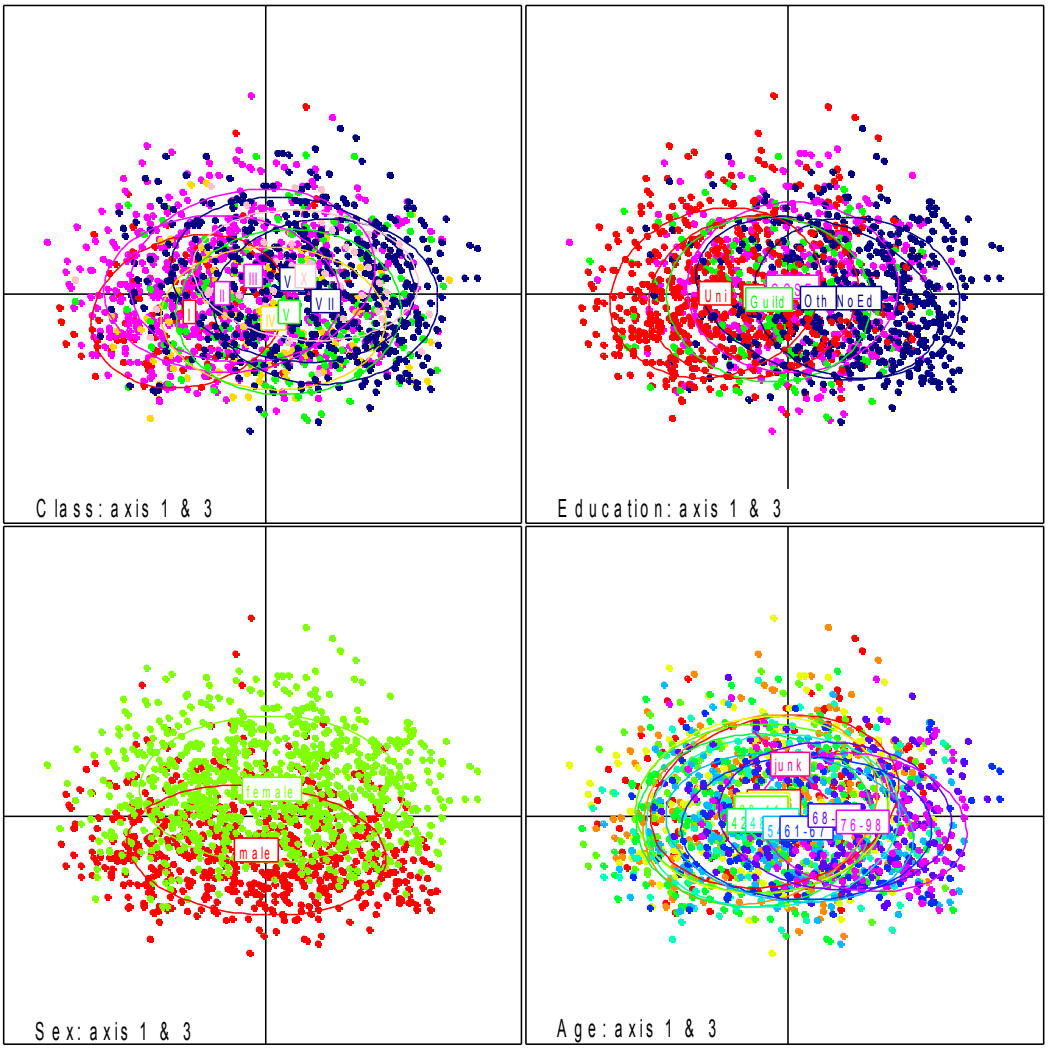
What we can see is that the left-right axis is one defined by the hierarchical effects of class and education, with those at the left being in more advantaged positions. We need to do more work on this issue, but we would expect this axis to be primarily be a measure of resources: if we included data on income levels, or Cambridge score of occupations, or other class measures, it is likely that they would separate in a similar way. This axis can be taken, in short, as an axis for 'volume of capital', which forms a similar axis in Bourdieu's own analysis.

If we turn to the top-bottom axis, we can also readily see the separation of age, which is especially clear and striking. There are hardly any red dots, indicating those age 18–26 below the central point, and there are scarcely any blue or purple dots above. From age 18 to 50, the cohorts move steadily downwards, but from the age of 51 onwards, there is much less separation between cohorts: there is apparently a more homogeneous group of older people.

We are now in a position to go back to our findings with respect to music and reading tastes and interpret them in the light of the distribution of these supplementary variables. We see that those liking classical music, biographies, and modern literature are the older, middle

class, well educated; those liking rock, heavy metal, electronic are younger, middle class, well educated; those liking country and western are older, working class, less well educated. Those who are young, working class and poorly educated have are not especially predisposed to any cultural like: they are characterized by indifference or dislike to all the genres we asked about.

Figure 6: Supplementary variables of class, education, age, and gender, 1st and 3rd axes.



Let us now turn to the third axis. As we would expect, the effects of class and education are similar (we are still using axis 1 here). However, we can now see that gender separates out the top from the bottom, whilst age recedes in importance: women tend to be at the top of the figure, and men at the bottom. We can see that the separation is again, clear and obvious. So, we can now conclude that gender forms the third axis of cultural taste, and if we return to our findings above, we can see that rock and heavy metal are predominantly liked by men, and perhaps surprisingly, middle class, well educated men. Self-help and modern literature, by contrast appeals to middle class women, whilst working class women are more attracted to romance literature. This confirms our earlier interpretation of the third axis as primarily distinguishing feminine from masculine taste.

8. Conclusions

Let us draw together some conclusions as a means of returning to our question about how cultural capital might be organized in contemporary Britain. Before we do this, we should re-iterate the provisional nature of our findings, and the fact that our correspondence analysis reported here may well alter in later iterations. Readers should be aware that our findings are dependent on the way that we constructed our space of lifestyles, around selected questions from our CCSE survey. With this warning in place, let us make our provisional conclusions.

Firstly, notwithstanding widespread claims about the fragmentation of taste communities, individualisation, and the like, we have revealed clear and marked patterns of differentiation in tastes, many of which appear familiar from long term historical patterns, and many of which we would probably have found in earlier decades. Thus to learn that older middle class people like classical music, working class women like romances, younger people like electronic music, etc. would seem completely predictable on the basis of long standing assumptions about cultural taste. This partitioning is especially true in music, but although at first glance it appears less true for reading books, this is only because reading books is itself constituted as a minority taste. In general, there appear to be clear limits to the kind of cultural omnivorousness emphasized by Peterson and his colleagues. We have found that especially for music there is a clear partitioning of musical taste for many genres with only limited cross over between those who like classical and rock, for instance. However, there is much more omnivorous taste in reading, but this is only because reading itself appears to be a distinct, minority taste.

This leads to a second point. Peterson argues that the cultural omnivore can be distinguished from the cultural univore, and is insistent against the claims of the Frankfurt school that the working class are not passive consumers but have distinctive enthusiasms for one discrete taste. However, we find that those people who tend to be like any cultural forms are set apart not from those who only like one, but from those who are generally disinterested or disengaged. If one looks at the right hand side of axis 1, there are very few positive likes or modes of participation reported in them, and this includes items outside music and reading which we have concentrated on here (such as taste for television genres). Of course here we have to again note that this point is only applicable given the variables we have used to construct the space of lifestyles, and it may be that there are other tastes we have not used which may offer a different picture. With this caveat in mind, it does appear that those from higher classes and with more education are more likely to have tastes for (any kind of) cultural genres, whereas the working class and poorly educated only disproportionately like two out of the forty seven tastes and activities about which they were asked: romance books (marginally) and country and western music.

Thirdly, we also find a second axis between those who like 'classic' established taste, and those who like more popular cultural forms: this is a tension within the middle class which primarily sets the young against the old. Here our finding on the significance of age in defining taste is important since in Bourdieu's work, the two main axes differentiating the space of lifestyles are firstly volume of capital (which we also see in our left-right axis) and secondly, type of capital, where cultural and economic capital are differentiated. *We do not cannot find this differentiation on the second axis*. Rather than the effects of educational qualification (as a surrogate for cultural capital) being distributed on a different axis to those of class, the two work together, both being aligned along the first axis. This is the most important finding from this preliminary analysis and suggests that the fracture between economic and cultural capital does not appear as important as Bourdieu himself emphasized. Instead, the importance of age is something that Bourdieu does not bring out in his work. This may reflect the fact that few of the questions in his survey appear to be aimed at uncovering age differences (for instance, most of his questions on music appear to be pitched at a middle aged audience). This point is interesting in view of the fact that so much recent social science

has uncovered powerful generational shifts, from Inglehart's (1990) claims about the rise of post materialist generations to Putnam's (2000) arguments about the falling off in civic engagement amongst younger age groups.

Fourthly, and linked to the point made above about the lack of any obvious partitioning between cultural and economic capital, we can find little clear evidence at this stage for a distinct kind of intellectual, avant-garde taste, which might equate to the Kantian aesthetic. This may reflect the fact that at this stage we have not yet used the appropriate indicators in constructing our space of lifestyles which might delineate such tastes in our correspondence analyses: even so, it is still revealing that taste for jazz, which might be a potential marker, is more indistinct than for any other musical genre, and that for modern literature is not as distinct as for biographies. All we can say at this stage is that we cannot distinguish the kind of abstract art representative of the Kantian aesthetic from more established high cultural taste. This may indicate that 'snob' taste has been increasingly put into the mainstream, with classic works not being confined to a small minority but having considerable resonance amongst a relatively large group. It follows that if we are to consider which of the types of cultural capital that we delineated at the start may be operating, it is that which links it to the consecrating power of the educational process. Educational institutions and the mass media have helped to popularize the national canon, so making it less exclusive than might have historically been the case.

Fifthly, we can also detect a significant group in the population which on the basis of our analysis here, seems to be outside the parameters of those cultural tastes that we have measured here. It is overwhelmingly the young, poorly educated working class who fall into this group. Although we are some way from finding a good measure of cultural exclusion, it seems likely on the basis of our findings so far that this will overlap other, entrenched inequalities of class and age. In terms of understanding cultural capital, our conclusion is that our evidence lends relatively little support for the importance of the Kantian aesthetic or the cultural omnivore as markers of cultural capital. We are more persuaded by the way that 'classical' culture exists as a relatively mainstream taste of the well-educated middle class, and would suggest that this does relate to the educational curriculum.

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[i] This paper was first presented at a conference on 'Cultures at Consumption', at Oxford in March 2005, and we would like to thank the participants for their comments. This paper can be read alongside Bennett et al (2005) which also provides an exploratory account of the data but using more conventional quantitative approaches. We would like to thank Tony Bennett and Elizabeth Silva for comments on an early draft.

[ii] It should be noted that some sociologists of stratification use the term in a way which treats it as an aspect of human capital, see Treiman 2002

[iii] We doubt that Bourdieu himself is entirely consistent, an issue which we are pursuing through theoretical reflections on Bourdieu's use of concepts such as field, habitus and practice. See Bennett 2005, Silva 2005, Savage et al 2005 and Warde 2005 for our early reflections.

[iv] There are of course underlying issues as to what explanation consists of which we do not have the scope to go into here. However, one point evident from Pickstone (2000) is that natural scientists themselves in no way see explanation as their only worthwhile endeavour and also insist on the value of more descriptive, classificatory work. Unravelling the human genome is a recent example of this.

[v] A particular weakness of market research surveys is that they still use market research measures of class, rather than those which have been validated by academic social science.

[vi] These include those registering 4-7 or 4-6 'likes' or 'have reads'. .

[vii] Those registering 2-4 (where there are seven items) or 2-3 (where there are six) 'likes' or 'have reads'

[viii] We should note that our work is indebted to our collaborators, Johs Hjellbrekke (Bergen), Brigitte LeRoux (Paris 5), Henry Rouanet, and Lennart Rossenlund (Stavanger), who have helped by giving advice and teaching us basic procedures.

[ix] Musical taste contributes 20% of the modalities, reading taste 18%; taste for eating out and art 9% each; taste for TV and sport 8% each. If we include the modalities for leisure activities alongside those for taste, then music rises to 30% (taste for music & going to rock concerts, opera, orchestral concerts and night clubs), art to 11% (if we add art gallery attendance to taste for art works) or 19% if we also include visiting museums and stately homes under this heading

[x] We do not show a figure with the distribution by ethnic group because there are no clear separations by ethnicity.

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