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Class and Cultural Division in the UK

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Abstract

Using data drawn from the *Cultural Capital and Social Exclusion* study, we examine the relationship between social class membership and cultural participation and taste in the areas of music, reading, television and film, visual arts, leisure, and eating out. Using Geometric Data Analysis, we find that four distinctive axes provide a satisfactory description of the space of lifestyles in contemporary Britain, with the first two being especially important. We show that there is no simple opposition between 'high' and 'popular' culture, but that the *primary* tension is between those who are multiply culturally engaged, and those who are largely culturally disengaged. By superimposing socio-demographic variables on our cultural maps, we show that the first, most important, axis is indeed strongly associated with class. The second is associated with age. Having thereby demonstrated the importance of class, we inductively assess which kind of class boundaries can most effectively differentiate individuals within this 'space of lifestyles'. We explore occupational groups one by one, but then show that using three classes provides a good way of differentiating positions on our cultural maps. However, the boundaries between service class, intermediate class and working class that are associated with Goldthorpe's class schema need to be redrawn to obtain the best fit. The most effective model distinguishes a relatively small professional class (24%) from an intermediate class of lower managerial workers, supervisors, the self employed, senior technicians and white collar workers (32%) and a large working class which includes lower supervisors and technicians (44%). In conclusion we insist on the continued, but modified, centrality of social class for cultural practices and tastes in contemporary Britain.

CLASS AND CULTURAL DIVISION IN THE UK

Introduction

There is widespread agreement that social class is no longer associated with the central cleavages in participation and cultural taste in Britain (see the discussion in Crompton 1998; Savage 2000). In policy terms, claims about social exclusion imply that the main 'fault lines' are between deprived minorities on the one hand and a large mainstream on the other. In academic debates, there is a surprising convergence in the views of both critics, and supporters, of class analysis. Critics, including the influential theorists Ulrich Beck, Zygmunt Bauman, and Anthony Giddens, claim that class is less salient in the daily routines, beliefs and practices of people today. Beck famously coined the phrase that class is a 'zombie category', one which has ceased to perform useful work for sociology. It is less recognised, however, that leading British stratification theorists, notably John Goldthorpe, also emphasise that class is not a significant force in structuring cultural participation and taste. In a series of important papers written with Tak Wing Chan, Goldthorpe (Chan and Goldthorpe 2006a; 2006b; 2007) argues that cultural life is primarily affected by the status order, and that although class is important in determining material life chances, its cultural significance is limited. In this respect, Goldthorpe echoes the insistence of Weberian writers such as John Scott (1996) that the concept of status needs to be emphasised.

This paper takes issue with these arguments and shows that, appropriately conceived, class remains profoundly important for the organisation of contemporary cultural practice and tastes. We draw on the most detailed study of cultural practice, taste and knowledge ever conducted in the UK, the *Cultural Capital and Social Exclusion* (CCSE) survey (for early results from which, see Bennett and Silva (eds), 2006, and in greater detail, Bennett et al, forthcoming). Using specific Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA), which permits us to explore an unusually wide range of tastes, dislikes, and forms of participations in the areas of music, visual arts, television and cinema, sport, reading, and eating out, we identified four significant axes which differentiate our sample. However, we map the plane of the two principal axes only in this paper. By unravelling the details of our 'cultural map', we show that class is associated with the first, and most important, axis of cultural differentiation. We then turn to unpack the association between class and cultural taste and participation using the 'cloud of individuals' within MCA, which allows us to position individuals uniquely according to their cultural practices. Careful inspection allows us to demonstrate that the not withstanding the current consensus regarding cultural fragmentation and the eradication of class in structuring cultural taste and participation, we can in fact map three major class groupings onto our data. These are similar to those enshrined in the Nuffield class schema and the ONS National Statistics Socio-Economic Classification with the important exception that we define lower managers as part of the intermediate, rather than 'service' class. We thus argue that a three class divisions which differentiates a professional class, an intermediate business class, and a large working class which includes technicians and supervisors, offers the most valuable tool for unravelling cultural – and possibly structural – divisions than other class schemas.

Section 1 begins by exploring key theoretical issues in exploring the relationship between class and culture. In Section 2 we describe our data, and demonstrate the importance of class in differentiating cultural practices. In Section 3, using the 'cloud of individuals', we unpack how different class measures are mapped onto our cultural map. Finally, in a concluding section, we examine the broader implications of our findings for understanding the contemporary significance of class, and in developing an adequate assessment of the relationship between status and class in stratification theory.

1. Class and culture in contemporary sociology

Over the past decade there has been a striking revival of interest in class in British sociology (see e.g. the articles in *Sociology*, 2005; Bottero 2005; Devine, Savage, Crompton and Scott (eds) 2004; Savage, Warde and Devine, 2005). Much of this renewed interest focuses on the nature of subjective aspects of class, including interests in class identities and attitudes (Savage et al 2001; Payne et al 2005; Surridge 2007), and the moralities and ethics associated with class relations, including issues such as shame, worth, and respect (Lawler 2000; Charlesworth 2000; Skeggs 1997; 2004; Sayer 2005). At the same time, an older tradition of research focusing on the nature of the class structure has matured, with the formalisation of the ONS National Statistics Socio-Economic Classification (NS-SeC), which enshrines a version of the Nuffield class schema as the most valuable way of measuring social class inequalities (Pevalin and Rose 2003). The official adoption of this schema in the UK, and the increasing interest in the comparative versions of this schema to study issues such as social mobility (e.g. Breen 2005) has largely dispelled earlier contestations about the best way of measuring and defining class (on which see Marshall et al 1988) and generated a consensus about the value of a three fold class schema which distinguishes a 'salariat' from an intermediate and working class.

Yet, despite the proliferation of research on class, it can nonetheless be argued that a rather surprising conclusion has been reached, namely that structural class divisions are now relatively insignificant in shaping people's ostensible cultural practices and tastes. This is for two reasons. Firstly, much of the (mostly qualitative) research on subjective aspects of class identity and awareness insists on the 'dis-identification' from class; that people do not readily identify as members of class, or consciously take up and adopt what might be seen as class specific activities. The importance of class, within this perspective, lies in its unstated and covert aspects, features of what Sennett and Cobb (1971) famously identified as 'the hidden injuries of class'. People's stated intentions, desires, and their actual practices are marked by their hopes and fantasies, but these dissemble from, rather than are the reflex of, their actual class locations. Secondly, much research on the impact of class on life chances makes no strong claims or predictions about the significance of class for cultural tastes and practices, but rather emphasises their importance for material life chances in areas such as health and social mobility (Goldthorpe and Marshall 1992). Part of the reasoning here is related to the adoption of rational action theory by writers such as Goldthorpe and Breen, which argues that people, regardless of their circumstances, make predominantly rational choices about their actions. Therefore, even though (as we discuss below) Chan and Goldthorpe have shown increasing interest in the social determinants of cultural activity, they prefer to see it as related to status, rather than class.

These important bodies of research, although all addressing the continued importance of class, therefore do not, surprisingly perhaps, seriously challenge the claims made by social theorists such as Giddens, Beck and Bauman that class is now of limited cultural importance, and that in increasingly individualised, detraditionalised and globalised conditions, class is not central to the organisation of cultural activity. It is this claim which we dispute in this paper. Using the most wide-ranging survey of cultural practices and tastes ever conducted in the UK, we will show that class remains of primary importance. We will show that this has not been recognised in existing research because of a number of operational decisions made in (a) the way that class is conceptualised and measured, and (b) through focusing interests in culture around subjectivity and identity, rather than practice and taste. Challenging both these emphases allows us to demonstrate the cultural centrality of class in contemporary Britain.

This paper addresses these vital issues through focusing on what might be deemed a relatively trivial issue - what measure of occupational class best intersects with the organisation of cultural life in contemporary Britain. This may be thought to be a question which has been resolved through the widespread adoption of the NS-Sec, and by the greater sophistication of

research on culture, but in fact this is not the case. The debate during the 1990s regarding the validation of measures of class focused mainly on the question of criterion validity (e.g. Evans 1992; 1996; Evans and Mills 1998; 2000): namely whether the class schema accurately measured what it was supposed to measure. In view of the fact that Goldthorpe (e.g. 2000) sees class as defined by employment relations, especially through the distinction between employees, self employed and employers, and on the difference amongst employees between those on 'labour' and 'service' contracts, Evans (1992; 1998) explored whether measures such as occupational pensions, the use of salaries (rather than wages), and supervisory roles were associated with class position. Particular interest was shown in examining whether the service class of professionals and managers could be differentiated from those in the working and intermediate classes because of their reliance on 'prospective rewards' such as pension rights and promotion prospects (see the discussion in Savage et al 1992; Butler and Savage 1995; Goldthorpe 2000). There has been much more limited research examining 'criterion validity', namely how far the class schema affects key dependent variables, such as cultural values, practices or tastes. The insistence, instead, was on a deductive measure of class, validated through the demonstration that it did differentiate between workers on the basis of aspects of their employment relations. It was seen to be an empirical issue as to whether it actually affected dependent variables, and it was not seen as relevant to identifying it as the best measure of class if it did not (see e.g. Goldthorpe and Marshall 1992). It is for this reason, as we shall see shortly, that Chan and Goldthorpe are happy to admit that class is relatively unimportant in structuring cultural consumption.

However, this deductive strategy has not been without problems. In fact, Evans' and Mills's (1998) analyses of the relationship between measures of employment relations and class position is not unequivocal. Their latent class analysis does not map exactly onto the Goldthorpe class schema and they note that 'the service class is somewhat smaller than might have been expected' (Evans and Mills 1998: 655). Furthermore, Goldthorpe's argument about the significance of 'service relationship' insists on a categorical difference between professionals and managers on the one hand, and other employees on the other. But the difference is actually much less clear cut, and might better be seen as gradational. Thus there are numerous members of the intermediate and even the working class who appear to be employed on a 'service contract' by Goldthorpe's definition, and there are a few professionals and (especially) managers who appear to be employed on a labour contract. It is for reasons such as these that critics like Bottero (2005), and Prandy (1998) continue to argue that stratification can best be seen as gradational, not between clearly bounded class groupings, but better understood as organised on a hierarchical continuum.

An important issue here is the fact that some studies have shown that the 'lower service class' is actually rather more like the intermediate class than the most privileged members of the 'service class'. Thus, in the area of health inequalities, where the NS-SeC has generally been seen to offer a good account of relative differences in morbidity and mortality, the propensity of the lower service class to die from cancer, accidents, strokes, and suicide is closer to that of the intermediate class than it is to the higher managers. It is for reasons such as these that Goldthorpe himself, in his recent work (Goldthorpe, 2000) has come to see his class schema as less categorical and more gradational, recognising that lower managers, for instance, do not have an equivalent service relationship compared to professionals. Similarly, work by Egerton and Savage (2000) and Power et al (2004) has identified significant divisions within the service class in terms of their educational strategies for their children. In short, the debate about which class boundaries are the most significant in mapping cultural divisions is by no means settled, and needs further examination. This is one of the main objectives of our paper.

Over the past five years, an important body of literature, led by Tak Wing Chan and John Goldthorpe has sought to explore the social determinants of cultural practices and tastes in the area of newspaper readership, musical consumption, and attendance at cinema, theatre and dance and leisure practices. Somewhat surprisingly, since Goldthorpe has been doyen and

defender of class analysis in the UK, they argue that class is not a (very important) determinant of cultural engagement. In an impressive series of articles they position their analyses of cultural engagement in opposition to the individualisation theses of Beck, Bauman and Giddens and the account of distinction offered by Bourdieu. They show that there are group patterns to cultural taste which belie the individualisation thesis. They argue that there is not much evidence of a correspondence between class (conceived as uniform habitus) and cultural preferences as might be envisaged by Bourdieu; i.e. there are no longer exclusive class preferences as there might have been in the past. They conclude that a version of the cultural omnivore thesis, associated primarily with Richard Peterson (e.g Petersen and Kern, 1996) gives the best account of distinctive differences in cultural patterns. In addition they argue that taste groupings, uncovered by latent class analysis techniques, in a number of discrete fields, are more strongly associated with status than with occupational class. Their regression analyses of musical taste (2007b), attendance at cinema, theatre and dance performances (2005) and newspaper readership (2007c) broadly confirm their claims. However, there remains room for doubt whether their results offer compelling support for their theoretical position. First, the desirability of a radical separation between economic properties of class and cultural attributes of lifestyle is contestable. Second, the way in which status is defined and operationalised seems problematic.

One of Bourdieu's achievements was to re-establish the foundational and constructive role of culture in social inequality in a period when economic determinist accounts predominated. Drawing a strong conceptual distinction between class and status, Chan and Goldthorpe (2004) make a theoretical case, on the authority of Max Weber, that status should be more closely associated with cultural taste than economic class. They thus apparently escape economism. However, their sharp analytic distinction pulls asunder conceptually the strong empirical association between occupation (with its corollaries in income, educational qualifications and networking opportunities) and lifestyle (with its connections to cultural consumption, social contacts and education). Their defence is that the statistical association between class, status and education among the individuals in their sample is modest, and that in models of cultural consumption status and education both appear to have separate force, while class measures are mostly insignificant. Invoking orthodox notions of statistical rigour in variable analysis, they maintain that so long as two variables can be measured independently, and have different effects in some different situations, then their significance in a model validates drawing a *theoretical* distinction between them. While they might be congratulated for applying Weberian theory rigourously, this does considerable damage to an understanding of the determinants of life chances in contemporary society. It is difficult to read their accounts of taste as anything but that it is an epiphenomenal reflection of a status order which is itself of no great significance for social inequality and social divisions. This seems to be the implication of Goldthorpe's dismissal of any potential value in a concept of cultural capital[1]. Moreover, for Chan and Goldthorpe, cultural consumption merely *reflects* the social status order, it neither constitutes it nor contributes to it.

Of course this demonstration of the limited significance of class is derived from the now established NS-Sec measure of class. It is possible that an alternative way of grouping occupational and employment groupings may reveal stronger associations. This is the possibility we examine in this paper[2]. In the context of research indicating the declining

[1] We recognise that there is genuine grounds for dispute about exactly how important is familiarity with the beaux arts for the inter-generational transmission of privilege'

[2] We also have concerns about the epistemological assumptions in the use of deductive Weberian approaches rooted in a different understanding of the best ways to achieve the purposes of a social science. In the context of the cultural turn we are particularly concerned to comprehend theoretically and implement in our empirical procedures the constitutive role of culture in the distribution of life

legitimacy, or 'honour' of previously elite cultural practices – where the very criticisms that have been made of Bourdieu's claims about dominant culture can be applied with as much force against the concept of status group – it is not obvious that emphasising the status dimensions of cultural practices offers the most useful approach. Indeed, it goes against Goldthorpe's earlier arguments regarding the decline of the status order in post-war capitalism (see e.g. Goldthorpe 1984). We seek to show instead that class can be identified as a powerful structuring force affecting cultural taste and practice, but only if class is measured differently from in the NS-SeC.

We note an observation of Marshall et al (1988:18) that differences between approaches to class frameworks arise more 'from the details of research procedure than from the axioms of class theory itself'. In its own terms, Chan and Goldthorpe's research procedure is problematic in one very important regard. They measure ego's position by examining the occupational class position of his or her best friend. In this respect the measure is more or less equivalent to the Cambridge School technique of allocating people to *class* as a position on a continuous scale. Thus, what they measure as status others call class. Bourdieu (1996) would call the same phenomenon social capital. Though the presumption that friends have similar levels of prestige is unobjectionable, indeed, the rule of homophily says that people choose as friends people like themselves, just as they tend to marry people from the same social grade, it may not serve effectively to establish that it is *status* which accounts for differential cultural participation. If status is grounded in a measure of occupational position, and since occupational positions are also the foundation of their measure of class, the indicator of status seems irremediably tainted by the characteristics of the occupational order. So when a measure of status (friend's occupational position) eclipses a measure of class (ego's occupational position) in a regression model – as it does regarding attendance at arts events, though not always in respect of newspaper readership – it may not be the effect of the independent domain of prestige, but rather just another measure of occupational standing. This is made even more problematic when, in every model in which status is significant so too, and usually to a greater extent, are educational qualifications. In sum, we are not persuaded that it is status that has been operationalised effectively. Indeed we would contend that the results delivered by Chan and Goldthorpe are at least as easily accommodated to an account in terms of the intersection of economic, cultural and network resources as they are to Weberian categories. We further contend that it makes best sense to use the concept of *social class* to encompass the amalgam of these properties, attributing less theoretical weight to the fact that we have distinct empirical measures of occupation, education, and social connections.Normal.

2. The Construction of the Space of Lifestyles

Multiple Correspondence Analysis of questionnaires

Rather than a deductive approach, where measures of class are formally delineated, and their association with dependent variables explored, we deploy an inductive procedure. By providing a rich and complex map of cultural taste and practice, and then exploring which clustering of occupational groups best fits, we can empirically unpack the relationship between class and culture. This approach is possible through using Geometric Data Analysis (GDA), and more particularly specific 'Multiple Correspondence Analysis' (MCA) (see Le Roux & Rouanet 2004). GDA is related to Principal Components Analysis, but is distinctive in plotting its findings in geometric space so that its results can be inductively inspected and

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chances. This is an area where we are attracted to the potential of Bourdieu's field theory, but we bracket this broader issue from this current paper.

interpreted. It thus proceeds differently from many multivariate techniques which distinguish a priori dependent variables which might then be explained through different combinations of independent variables.

In MCA, variables are categorized, that is, composed of modalities; the geometric approach leads to two clouds of points, namely the cloud of individuals and the cloud of modalities, whose principal axes are sought and interpreted. GDA was the analytic technique preferred by Bourdieu and was most famously used in *Distinction* (1984[1979]), see Rouanet, Ackermann, Le Roux (2000); MCA was used systematically by Bourdieu since "Le patronat" (1979). Some British and American critics of *Distinction* have conflated Bourdieu's findings with the MCA method. Yet his sociological theory of class division in France is not entailed by his use of MCA. MCA is perfectly able to distinguish the structural characteristics of Britain in the 21st century from that of France 40 years earlier. We argue that the method is descriptively powerful in unpacking complex and relatively un-researched phenomenon, notably in the field of culture and lifestyle.

Distinctively, MCA involves patient attention to, and careful construction of, that which is to be explained – the distribution of cultural resources in the population. It allows us to unravel the complex relationships between numerous cultural indicators in ways which avoid the simplistic use of a small number of cultural variables as measures of 'elite' or 'popular' culture.

In this paper, we begin by constructing the space of lifestyles in Britain. From the eigenvalues, the number of axes to be interpreted is assessed in order to provide an adequate summary of data. These axes operate to separate out responses relationally, vis-a-vis each other, in a way that can permit us to assess whether some stand in opposition to others. We can subsequently inspect the ordering of this space to determine how individual respondents are located within that space. In the *space of modalities*, we use supplementary variables that have not been used in the construction of the space and whose modalities can be visualized together with active modalities. In the *space of individuals*, we use structuring factors, such as socio-demographic variable, in order to differentiate sub-clouds of individuals. This strategy has the further advantage that we are able to see how our results compare to those of Bourdieu's, our strategy for data analysis strategy being essentially similar to that of *Distinction*.

Data set

This paper is based on data collected in the 'Cultural Capital and Social Exclusion' project which set out to explore – using focus-group discussions, semi-structured household interviews and a questionnaire – the cultural tastes, forms of cultural participation and cultural knowledge of the British population. We report here on results from the national random sample survey data 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 of the UK population aged 18+ (see the technical details in Thompson, 2004). 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 our approach to the questionnaire design we were particularly concerned to distinguish different modes of cultural involvement from one another by asking questions which distinguished between (i) frequency of participation in nominated cultural activities, and (ii) cultural taste as measured by expressions of likes and dislikes in each of the cultural domains mentioned above. The survey also contained comprehensive data on respondent's economic and social capital, as well as their education and parental background.

In preparing the questionnaire for analysis we identified a range of items for each of several domains which included some which had been identified in earlier accounts as definitive elements of high and popular culture, some mainstream majority tastes and some specialised preferences associated with sub-cultures and the avant-garde. In choosing items we drew on focus group discussions and the advice of a panel of a dozen sociologists and arts professionals who debated the meaning and likely appeal of potential items in order to obtain a coverage which was not biased towards particular social groups or interest constituencies. No compilation could be immune to criticism, but we would submit that, within the constraints of an interview lasting an hour, we have considered an appropriately broad range of items.

The items used to construct the space of lifestyles cover seven domains – music, literature, television, film, visual arts, sport and eating out – and mix questions on participation and taste. In order to construct the space of lifestyles (Bourdieu, 1984), we retained 41 questions (active questions) regarding participation (17 questions) and taste (24 questions), generating 198 modalities (61 for participation and 137 for taste).[3]

Before proceeding with the analysis we note that we left out 35 individuals, 32 who had failed to respond to four or more of the questions about taste in literature and 3 who has replied to no more than one question on visual art. Hence the analysis refers to 1529 individuals. In our data set we have 3 rare modalities (frequencies less than 4%) and also 29 "junk" or "others" or "don't know" modalities. These 32 modalities will not be used for defining the distance between individuals, in accordance with the principles of *specific MCA*.

The space of lifestyles in contemporary Britain

As a preliminary to our main interest in the importance of class in the structuring of lifestyles, let us first explore how the MCA analysis depicts the cultural map of contemporary Britain.

Contribution of domains and assessment of number of axes to be interpreted: Eating out contributes the least (10%) and music the most (19%) (see Table 1). Rather more than two thirds of the variance is attributable to measures of taste. We can interpret the first four axes, where the modified cumulated rate[4] reaches 82%. The first two axes are especially important, and we focus on these here.

Table 1 Contribution of the 7 domains to total variance according to participation and taste

	TV	***Films***	***Reading***	***Music***	***Visual Art***	***Eating out***	***Sport***	***Total***
Participation	3.2	1.6	4.0	7.9	6.3	3.2	4.0	30.2
Taste	11.2	12.1	11.2	11.2	9.7	6.4	8.1	69.8
Total	14.4	13.7	15.2	19.1	16.0	9.6	12.1	100.0

Summary interpretation of axes: Most of the variance of axis 1 is accounted for by participation (60%), while on the second axis the contribution of taste is dominant (63%). The third is based even more on taste (85%) and the fourth is balanced between taste (44%) and participation (56%). On the first axis attending musical events and visiting museums and art galleries make large contributions (15% and 21%), complemented by variations in taste

[3] The analysis reported here builds on, but supplants, that elaborated in Savage et al (2005).

[4] See Benzécri (1992) & Le Roux & Rouanet (2004), p. 200.

among genres of literature and music (14% and 10%). The second axis is structured by music (20% and 26%), but also incorporated taste in film (10%). For the third axis, TV, film, literature and sport play major roles. For the fourth axis, visual arts and music play a major role (32% and 23%).

Interpretation of first two axes: Here, we use the cloud of modalities. As a general rule, one retains for interpretation of an axis at least all the modalities whose contributions to axis exceed the average contribution (100/166=0.6%). Tables A1-2 (see Appendix) list for each axis the most contributing modalities in the decreasing order of contributions of questions. In Figures 1-2, are shown these modalities distinguishing participation and taste.

Axis 1 (λ_1=0.1641). Cultural Engagement: involvement versus disengagement

Figure 1 shows the 57 modalities (34 for participation and 23 for taste) contributing most to the first axis. Together they contribute to 81% of the variance of axis 1.

- To the left of axis 1 lie modalities of two sorts. Firstly there is evidence of lack of participation: never visiting museums (Museum0), stately homes (StatelyHomes0) or art galleries (ArtGallery0), never going to the cinema (Cin0) or playing sport (noSport), never attending the theatre (Theater0) or concerts (RockConcert0, Orch0, Musical0), and not having read a book in the last year (noBk). So too are dislikes for modalities referring to legitimate culture: reading biographies (Biog –), classical music (ClassicM–), modern literature (ModLitt–) and jazz (Jazz–) are registered as least favourite genres. Secondly we find modalities that indicate tastes for popular culture: watching more than five hours television per day (Tvd>5h), a liking for fish and chips (Eat+FishChips), for soap operas (Tv+soap), and for country and western music (CWMusic+).
- To the right of the axis, by contrast, are modalities expressing moderate and heavy attendance at cultural events and sites like opera (Ope2), art galleries (ArtGallery2), classical music concerts (Orch2 &1), cinema (Cin2 & 1), museums (Museum2) and stately homes (StatelyHomes2). These are activities which take place outside the home and which may be relatively expensive. Also present are some tastes for film drama (F+drama), impressionist art (Art+impressionism), French restaurants (Eat+French), classical music (ClassicM+) and modern literature (ModLitt+), but also rock music (Rock+).

To sum up: axis 1 groups together, and counter-poses, absence and frequent attendance at legitimate cultural events and differences over taste for legitimate genres.

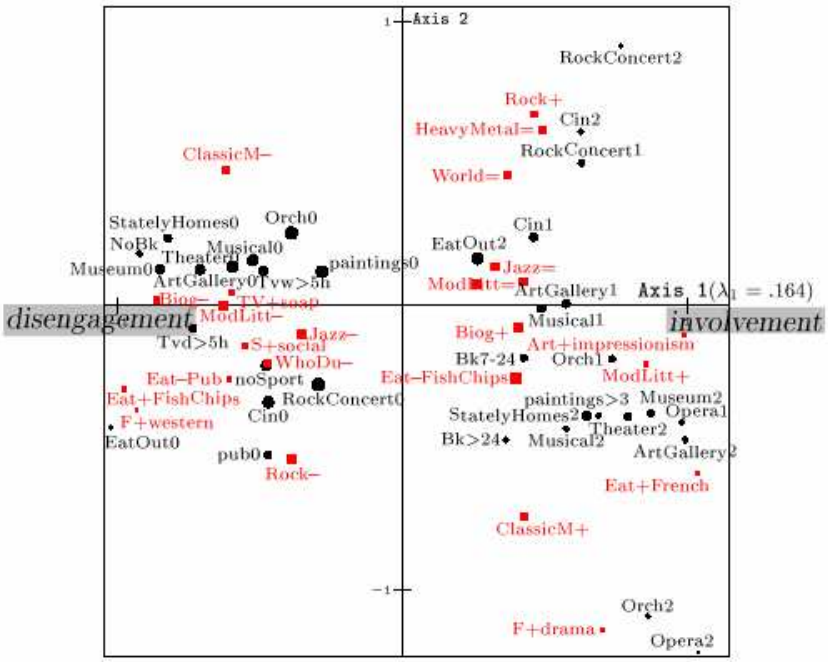


Figure 1. Interpretation of axis 1: 57 modalities most contributing to axis 1 (in plane 1-2), 34 participation (circles) and 23 taste (squares) ones.

Axis 2 (λ_2=0.1188): Contemporary Taste : the established and the emergent

We retained 57 modalities contributing together to 80% of the variance of axis (see Figure 2)

- At the top of the axis, are concentrated frequent participation at the cinema (Cinema 2) and the pub (Pub2), also to night clubs (NightC2) and rock concerts (RockConcert2), and frequent keen football playing (football). We can see that musical taste contributes a lot to this section of the space. Prevalent tastes here include strong liking for urban (Urban+), heavy metal (HeavyMetal+) and rock music (Rock+), and dislikes of classical (Class-), musicals (Musical-) and country and western (CWmusic-). A liking for modern art and a dislike of landscapes register. So too does a liking for horror movies and comedy programmes on TV. Science fiction is popular reading material.

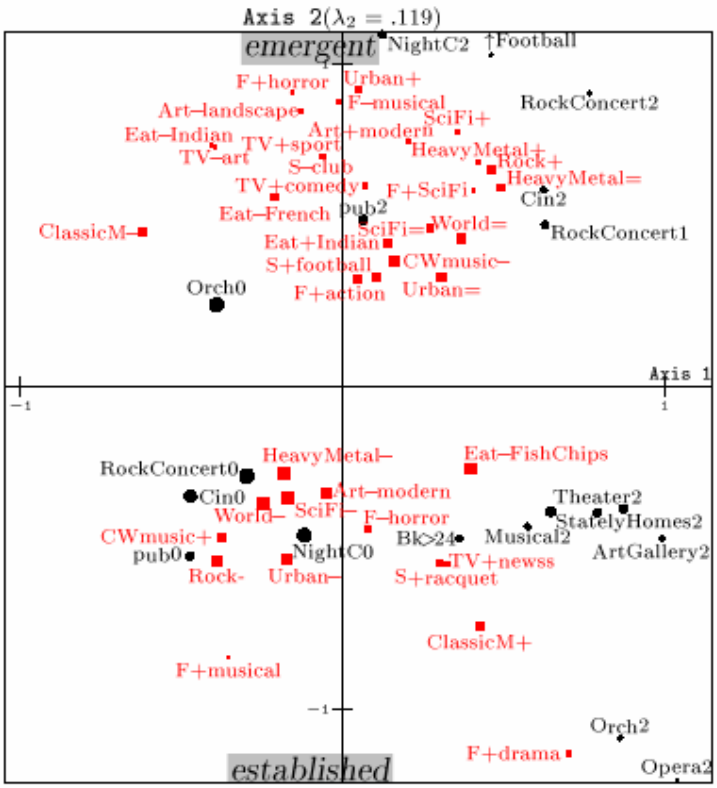


Figure 2. Interpretation of axis 2: 57 modalities most contributing to axis 1 (in plane 1-2), 19 participation (circles) and 38 taste (squares) ones.

- On the bottom of Figure 2 we see musical tastes prominently represented, but this time towards more established forms: liking classical music (ClassicM+), country and western music (CWmusic+), and musical films (F+musical). These are associated also with liking racquet sports (S+racquet), news programmes on television (TV+news), drama (F+drama). There is also a strong dislike for many of the musical tastes recorded at the top of Figure 2. A series of cultural practices, ranging from going to opera (Opera2), orchestral concerts (Orch2), theatres (Theater2), stately homes (StatelyHomes2), art galleries (ArtGallery2), and musicals (Musical2) are also linked to these tastes. This lower part of axis 2 picks out most of the established, traditional forms of culture that we asked about in our survey and indicates that there does appear to be a cultural separation between what we might see as traditional from contemporary cultural forms, especially in the domain of music. This separation between culturally established forms and newer, more commercial forms of culture may be evidence of a change in the modus operandi, or the content, of cultural capital, an issue which we explore further below.

To sum up: axis 2 appears to capture a distinction between tastes for established cultural genres and emergent ones.

Study of Socio-demographic Variables

Before turning to our main focus on class, let us consider which socio-demographic variables are associated with the two main axes structuring cultural taste and participation, so we can address the relative importance of class compared to these. We will therefore superimpose

socio-demographic variables as *supplementary elements*, which do not intervene either in the definition of distances between individuals nor in the determination of axes. A deviation between the coordinates of two modalities on an axis that is greater than 1 will be regarded as "large", a deviation less than 0.5 as "small"[5]. Before turning to consider class, we focus first on other socio-demographics.

- For *gender* (see Figure 3), the deviation between men and women is negligible on the first axis; it is small on the second. For age, the modalities are ordered along Axis 2, and the deviation between the extreme modalities (18-24 and 75+) is very large (*d*=2.2).
- The *incomes* of households and respondents are correlated. As can be seen on Figure 3 income modalities are ordered along the first axis. The deviation between extreme modalities on axis (<5 and >60 000£) is large (*d*=1.3).
- *Education* levels are also ordered along Axis 1 (see Figure 4). The deviation between 'University' and 'No diploma' is large. For respondents, partners, fathers, the deviations on Axis 1 are large and respectively equal to 1.7, 1.4 and 1.2; for mothers, the deviation is 0.94.

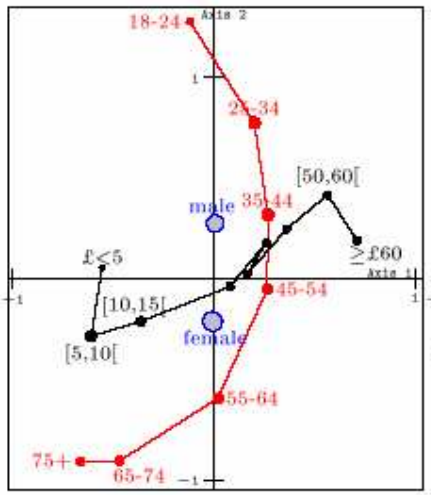


Figure 3. Gender, Age and Household income categories in plane 1-2

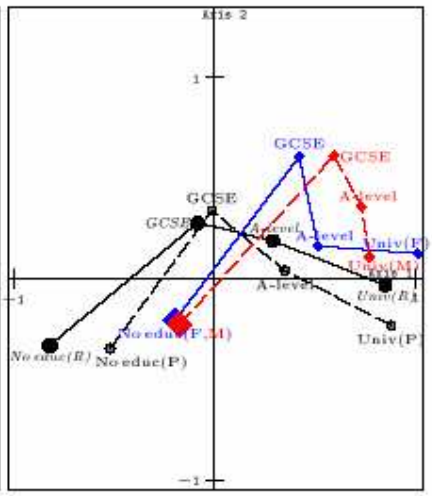


Figure 4. Levels of education for Respondent (R), Partner (P), Father (F) and Mother(M)in plane 1-2

We can see, then, that the first axis appears to be related to income and education, and the second axis to that of age. Let us now see how class is also associated with these two axes. In order to pursue this, we turn to 'the cloud of individuals'. We now are able to plot every individual in the sample, thus permitting detailed study of how individuals from various class locations are positioned on the 1st and 2nd axis.

[5] The difference of coordinates between modalities along an axis in the cloud of modalities is equal to the deviation between the corresponding modality mean-points in the cloud of individuals expressed in standard deviation units (cf. Le Roux & Rouanet, 2004, p. 234).

Exploration of the Cloud of Individuals

The cloud of individuals has rarely been used before in Anglo-American sociology: our use of it here is a major innovation. Figure 5 reveals the location of every individual in our sample. In plane 1-2, the *shape* of the cloud is triangular, with three edges, one corresponding to the pole '*disengagement*', the two others to two sorts of '*involvement*'

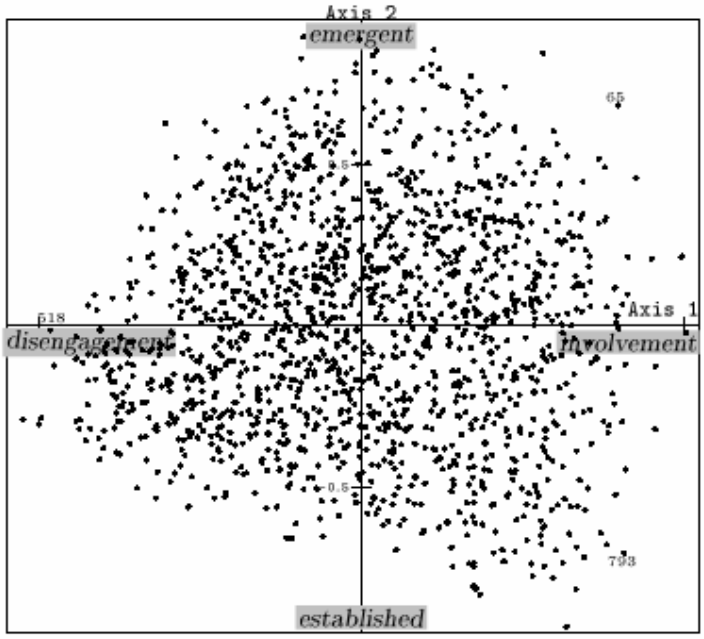


Figure 5: Cloud of 1529 individuals with 3 landmark patterns in plane 1-2.

One attractive feature of the cloud of individuals is that it enables one to pinpoint *landmark individuals* so that we can describe their profiles in detail. For instance, on the left, we find individual #518 who is a man 35-45 old, without any educational qualifications and with income less than £10,000; he watches much TV and prefers sport programmes (football/rugby) yet does not practice sport; he does not go to the cinema, does not read books, does not go out except to pubs and likes fish-and-chips.

On the other side, we find two individuals #65 (top) and #793 (bottom), who illustrate the two sorts of involvement emergent vs established. — Individual #65 is a man, 35-44 old, with university education, and income between £30,000 and £40,000; he watches much TV during week-ends and less during the week, likes film programmes; he plays football and watches football programmes; he often goes to cinemas, night clubs and rock concerts and likes rock music; he reads a little (biographies and modern literature); he often visits art galleries and likes modern art; he often goes to pubs and restaurants especially Indian ones. — Individual #793 is a woman, 45-54 old, a university graduate, and (respondent) income £60,000; she watches very little TV except racket sport programmes and practices indoor sport; she often goes to theatre, opera and concerts, she likes jazz and classical music but dislikes rock and heavy metal; she reads a lot, especially biographies and modern literature, but dislikes science fiction and romances; she often visits art galleries, museums and stately homes, possesses paintings and likes impressionism; she often eats out, particularly in French restaurants.

The cloud of individuals encompasses all the information provided by supplementary variables. For instance, each gender defines a subcloud of individuals. Each subcloud has a mean point which can be put in correspondence with the modality in the cloud of modalities.

A *structuring factor* generates a partition of the cloud of individuals. If for every subcloud we plot its mean point, we get a derived cloud of mean points whose variance defines the *between-variance* of the partition; the average variance of the subclouds defines the *within-variance* of the partition. The coefficient eta-square (η^2) is equal to the between-variance divided by the total variance (between + within). Useful geometric summaries of subclouds in a plane are provided by *concentration ellipses* (see Cramér, 1946, p. 284). The length of each half-axis of the concentration ellipse is twice the standard deviation of the subcloud along this direction. For a normally-shaped cloud, the concentration ellipse contains 86% of the points of the cloud (Le Roux & Rouanet, 2004, p. 97-99). Concentration ellipses will be extensively used in the analysis here.

3 Lifestyle Space and Social Classes in Britain

Occupational Groups in Britain

Let us now turn to our main analytical goal. Here, we are concerned with the 'fit' of different class measures on to the first two axes. To re-iterate, given that the first axis distinguishes the most powerful structuring features of cultural taste and participation in the UK, if we can show that class is associated with it, then this is a powerful demonstration of the enduring significance of class.

We use as our most fine-grained occupation unit, a version of the National Statistics Socio-Economic Classification which distinguishes between 13 'operational categories'. By combining these groups in various ways we can approximate to different class schemes, their relative effectiveness can be assessed.

The 12 occupational groups retained for analysis, denoted L1/L2 through L13, are described in Table 2. All of these groups above are employees except L1, L8 and L9. Groups L2, L5, L6, L10 have supervisory or managerial functions. Rose and Pevalin (2003) identify L1-L5 as part of the professional and managerial 'service class', which is separate from the intermediate class (L6-L9), and a class of 'routine and manual workers (L10-13). By considering whether those in L1 to L5 occupy similar positions in lifestyle space we are able to ascertain whether the boundary between service class and the other classes is an important social boundary. In this analysis, we collapse L1 and L2 into one group because of the small numbers involved.

Table 2: The 12 occupational groups retained for analysis, denoted L1/L2 through L13.

L1/L2 (*n*=29)	Employers in large establishments and Higher managerial positions	L8 (*n*=36)	Employers in small establishments
L3 (*n*=91)	Higher professional occupations	L9 (*n*=68)	Own account workers
L4 (*n*=237)	Lower professional and higher technical occupations	L10 (*n*=121)	Lower supervisory workers
L5 (*n*=77)	Lower managerial occupations	L11 (*n*=53)	Lower technical workers
L6 (*n*=72)	Higher supervisory occupations	L12 (*n*=311)	Semi routine occupations
L7 (*n*=192)	Intermediate occupations	L13 (*n*=198)	Routine occupations
Total for the 12 occupational groups: *n*=1485 (never worked (41); DK (3) with 1485+44=1529, total number of active individuals).			

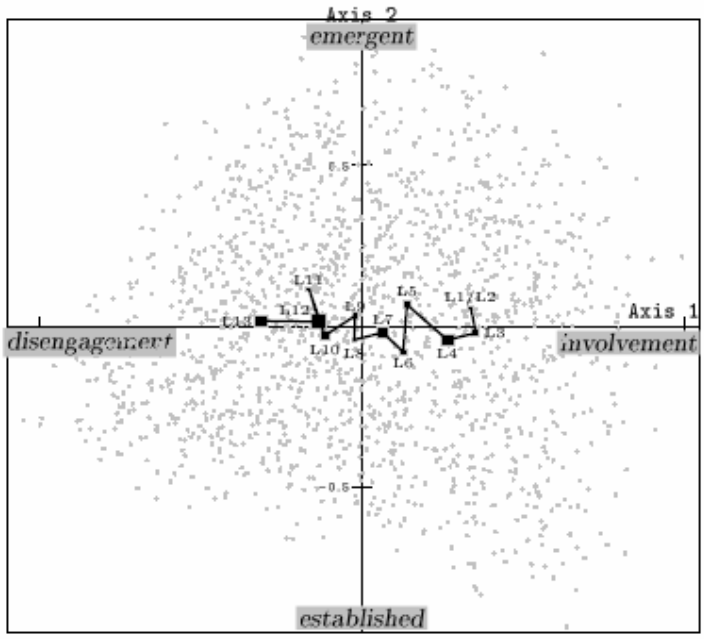


Figure 6 : 12 mean points of occupational groups (L1/L2 through L13) in the cloud of individuals (plane 1-2).

The first issue we consider is whether these social classes are located on the first two axes of our space of lifestyles. With each of the 12 groups we can derive a subcloud of individuals with its mean point, hence a derived cloud of 12 mean points (see Figure 6): the ordering of the 12 group mean points matches pretty well that of Axis 1. The part of variance of this axis accounted for by the 12-class partition (1485 individuals) is η^2= 0.258 ; the eta-square coefficient corresponding to the other axes are much smaller. *So Axis 1 is indeed the axis of occupational classes*. Social classes therefore, remain highly associated with patterns of lifestyles, demonstrating clearly that class remains a central factor in the structuring of contemporary cultural practice in Britain. Class matters.

Table 3 double decomposition of variances along 12 groups and axis1, total, between and within variance

		Freq.	***Variances on Axis 1***
L1/ L2	Employers in large establishments and Higher managerial positions	29	0.099
L3	Higher professional occupations	91	0.085
L4	Lower professional & higher technical occupations	237	0.113
L5	Lower managerial occupations	77	0.154
L6	Higher supervisory occupations	72	0.100
L7	Intermediate occupations	192	0.130
L8	Employers in small establishments	36	0.112
L9	Own account workers	68	0.130
L10	Lower supervisory workers	121	0.115
L11	Lower technical workers	53	0.127
L12	Semi routine occupations	311	0.138
L13	Routine occupations	198	0.116
	Total variance	1485	0.1640
	Between variance		0.0423
	Within variance		0.1217
	η^2= between/total		**0.258**

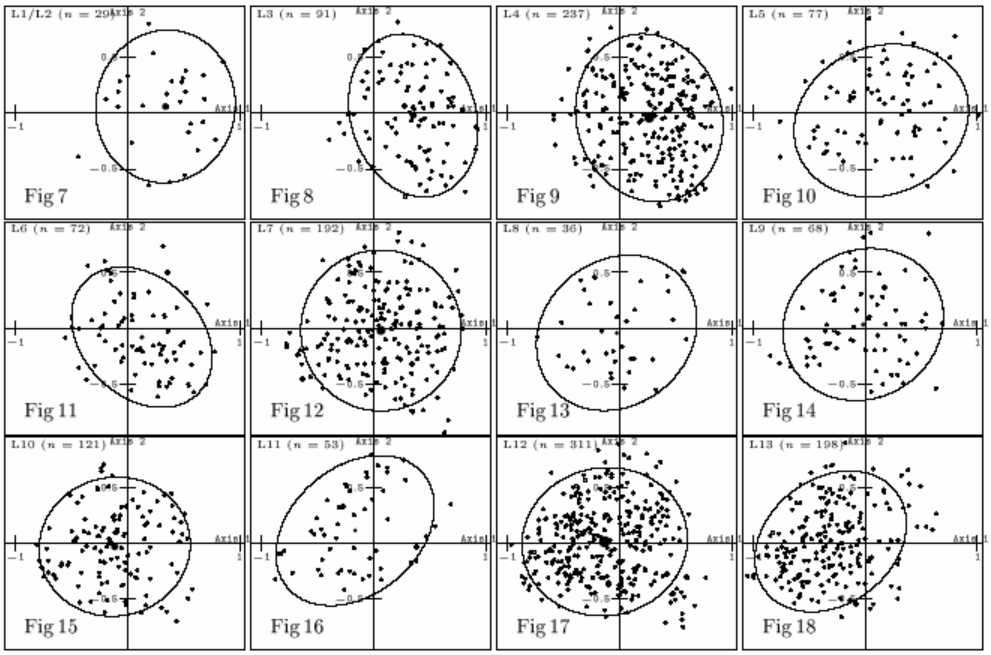
(NB. For each axis the total variance is not exactly corresponding to eigenvalue since it pertains on 1485 individuals not on 1529 active individuals).

Having established the importance of class in structuring cultural taste and activities, what kind of class boundaries partition these practices most effectively? We can begin simply by inspecting the location of individuals within the 12 occupational groups, to show how far apart in the space of lifestyles they are (see Figures 7 through 18). The exercise is valuable in revealing the degree of overlap as well as separation between different classes. On the right hand side (Figure 7 showing plane 1-2) lie the 29 individuals who are higher managers or large employers (L1/L2) with the concentration ellipse of this group. Figure 7 indicates that most members of this group are located at the culturally engaged pole. The centre of the subcloud is located on the right of axis 1, with only a few individuals being on the left of figure.

By contrast routine workers (Figure 18) are located mostly on the left hand side of axis 1. The ellipse has a well-marked SouthWest–NorthEast orientation, indicating relatively few members from it fall into the corner characterised by established tastes. We can see, therefore, that there is very little overlap between the cultural practices and tastes of individuals from these two groups as they are arrayed on these first two axes.

Of course, by taking remote classes it is much easier to show their separation than it is for other classes. Most of those who use the Goldthorpe class schema, derived form the NS-SeC or some other classification, use a seven class model. However, we are able to show that a three class model groups individuals on axis 1 economically and efficiently, though with one key difference. If we look at the four ellipses for the Goldthorpe 'service class' (Figures 7 through 10) we can see that higher employers and managers, high professionals, and low professionals are located in similar positions, to the right of the space, but that the ellipse of

lower managers is markedly different. This is evidence that lower managers are different from other groups within the 'service class'. In fact, they are not dissimilar to those in the intermediate class (Figures 11 through 15). This suggests that the account given by Savage et al (1992) which claims that managers are characterized by 'indistinctive' taste does recognize their difference from the professional middle class.



Figures 7 to 18. The 12 subclouds of the occupational groups (L1/L2 through L13) with their concentration ellipses.

Figures 11 through 15 show that all the intermediate groups are located towards the centre of axis 1. The mean point for higher supervisors is furthest to the right, in fact reasonably close to that for lower managers (see figure 6), and it is squashed so that it has a NW-SE axis (see Figure 11), indicating that its older members are somewhat to the right of axis 1 compared to its younger members. Lower supervisors, by contrast are located to the left of centre and the right curve of their ellipse is well to the left of that of the other categories (Figure 15). This is good evidence that they are actually close to the working class.

Figures 16 through 18 show the ellipses for the working class groups, with routine workers and lower technicians especially to the left. Both their ellipses have a SW-NE axis. The left curve for semi-routine workers is similarly positioned to that of these groups, and although its right curve stretches towards the centre, nonetheless, its mean point is well to the left of the centre of axis 1, and along with the lower supervisors it occupies a relatively cohesive position in the space of lifestyles.

Social Class Divisions

We can more formally investigate the cultural coherence of the different social classes further by considering the variances along the axes of each of the professional groups. Table 3 indicates that the least variances on the first axis are found for classes L3 (Higher professional), L1/L2 (large employers and higher managerial), and L6 (Higher supervisory). The two most advantaged classes are the most uniform and united on this first axis. By contrast, those classes with the most variance on the first axis are L5 (lower managers), L12 (semi-routine), L7 (intermediate occupations), and L10 (lower supervisory). It therefore

appears that the groups within the intermediate and working classes are somewhat more dispersed and hence less cohesive (on the second axis, the variances are of the same order of magnitude and reflect the dispersions of age within groups).

Although most users use a seven class version of the NS-SeC, following the indications of Figures 19 and 20 (and Figures 7 to 18) we can in fact show that a three class separation offers a reasonable fit. The most efficient way of reducing the 12 categories to three classes largely follows the NS-SeC classification with one important exception. This is to distinguish a 'small' service class of professionals and large managers and employers (comprising 24% of the population), an intermediate class which includes the lower managers (30%) and a relatively large working class which includes lower supervisors and technicians (46%). This is interesting, in view of the arguments about social exclusion, in showing that those who are culturally disengaged are actually a large group, twice as big as the professional classes.

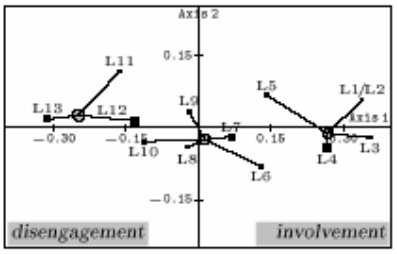


Figure 19: 12 occupational groups split up into 3 classes (Goldthorpe classification) in the cloud of individuals (plane 1-2).

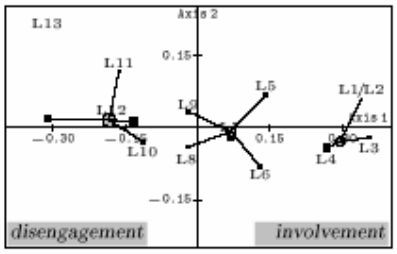


Figure 20: 12 occupational groups split up into 3 classes (our classification) in the cloud of individuals (plane 1-2).

In view of this fact that the lower managers are part of the intermediate class, we prefer to distinguish a professional class, a (business oriented) intermediate class, and a working class. Of course, as clearly revealed by our analyses using the cloud of individuals, this is a probabilistic relationship and not an absolute one, with the clouds for each of the 12 occupational groups being relatively widely dispersed. Nonetheless, we have shown that these class groups are arrayed on the first, most powerful, axis, and that we gain considerable purchase in understanding such divisions through a measure of class which distinguishes a relatively small professional class, from a business oriented intermediate class, and a large working class which includes supervisors and technicians.

We can further recognize the power of these divisions by exploring the class complexion of particular cultural practices. This is valuable in allowing us to recognize that for some activities these class divisions are very apparent, whilst for others they are of only limited importance. Table 4 shows that for some cultural practices, such as going to nightclubs or pubs, there is no variation by social class, whereas for others, such differences are very marked. For the working class, the proportion of individuals watching five hours of television or more each day is four times that of professional classes, the professional classes attend orchestral concerts or the opera over three times more than the working class on the average. However, even amongst the professional classes, only small minorities do these practices, so probably more socially divisive are cinema attendance, going to musicals, and attendance at art galleries and museums.[6] We can see in some cases that there are substantial and socially

[6] (A common criticism of Bourdieu's analysis in *Distinction* is that although he often shows relative differences in cultural appreciation between classes, he does not give much consideration to whether a

meaningful differences between classes. Only a relatively small minority of the professional classes do not visit art galleries or museums, whereas a large majority of the working class do not attend. Most professionals go to orchestral concerts: only a small minority of the working class do. This is all striking evidence of powerful class divisions in cultural practices. On the whole, the professionals participate more in all practices than do the working class, with the main exception lying in watching television. Their preferences are also in some respects different, for example in liking current affairs programmes or disliking soap operas.

Table 4 : selected cultural practices by three social classes

	Professional class	***Intermediate class***	***Working class***	***Total***
More than 5 hours TV per weekday	8.4%	22.0%	33.4%	24.2%
Once a year or less to cinema	33.3%	51.5%	62.2%	52.5%
Never go to musicals	19.3%	35.3%	59.7%	30.7%
Read no books last year	8.1%	13.7%	27.4%	18.9%
Sometimes goes to opera	9.8%	3.8%	2.6%	4.6%
Sometimes goes to orchestral concerts	22.4%	11.9%	6.7%	11.8%
Never goes to orchestral concerts	41.5%	63.8%	80.2%	66.6%
Sometimes goes to nightclubs	21.0%	20.0%	23.1%	21.9%
Never go to museums	14.6%	32.8%	50.1%	39.2%
Never goes to art galleries	30.3%	51.9%	69.3%.	54.9%
Goes to pub at least once a week	28.9%	29.0%	29.6%	28.8%
Soap operas favourite TV prog.	10.4%	15.7%	21.5%	17.1%
News/current affairs favourite TV prog.	24.1%	18.9%	13.8%	17.5%

The modalities covered seven domains and recorded frequency of participation and expressions of taste as follows: television - 2 questions about participation and 2 about taste; films : 1 participation, 2 taste; reading - 2 participation and 7 taste; music – 5 participation, 7 taste; visual art - 4 participation, 2 taste; eating out - 2 participation, 2 taste; sport, 1 participation and 2 taste.

Our final illustration of the discriminating power of our revised three class model can be derived from evidence on voting intention, an area where there is an established literature on voting (e.g. Evans 2002). Table 5 and Figure 21 show the relationship between social class and intended vote using CCSE data. When we use our three class model, grouping the lower managers as part of the intermediate class, a significant improvement in the class-vote relationship is obtained compared to that which places lower managers with the professionals, and which also places lower technicians and supervisors with the intermediate class. Given we are only re-distributing a small minority of the sample we would not expect the differences to be large. However, the use of our three class measure shows that class voting for the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats is still notable. The intermediate class emerges as clearly the main bastion of support for the Conservative Party, whilst the professional class gives disproportionate support to the Liberal Democrats, and the working class to Labour.

given item is generally popular, or unpopular, amongst the population as a whole, see Longhurst and Savage 1996).

Table 5 Percentages of votes for each class for orthodox and our partitions (n=1485)

Classes	***Professional***		***Intermediate***		***Working***	
partition	orth	our	orth	our	orth	our
Frequency	434	357	489	445	562	683
Conservative	26.5	23.2	32.2	34.2	14.3	14.3
Labour	27.2	27.7	21.8	22.9	30.8	30.2
Lib Democrat	16.6	19.9	10.1	8.3	10.5	11.4
Other	5.5	6.2	6.7	6.1	8.4	8.1
Would not vote	15.7	14.8	19.5	18.4	22.4	21.7
Don't Know	8.5	8.1	7.7	10.1	14.8	14.3
	100	100	100	100	100	100

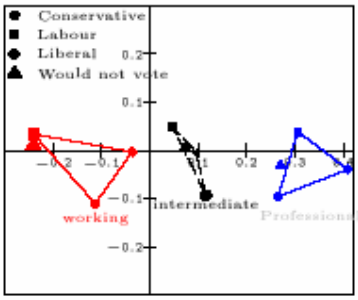


Figure 21: Votes within each class in plane 1-2 (sizes of points proportional to absolute frequencies).

Notes: orthodox schema distinguishes 'large service class' (L!-L5) from an intermediate class (L6-L10) and small working class (L11-L13).

4 Conclusions

Our main conclusion is a simple but important one. The arguments of those who claim that cultural practices are no longer a significant structuring force in contemporary Britain are mistaken. If we use a variant on the NS-SeC model, we can see that class is strongly arrayed on the first, most powerful axis of cultural differentiation. However, we also have seen that the most efficient model is one that distinguishes a small, professional class, from a business oriented intermediate class, and a large working class. Class matters, but only when measured in a particular way. In this respect using different data and modes of analysis, our arguments are similar to Evans and Mills (1998), though we have one important difference which is that we need to recognise the distinctive role of a smaller, what we term professional, class with lower managers closer to other occupational categories within the intermediate class.

In general terms, our argument suggests that cultural divisions in the UK are not helpfully illuminated by a concept of 'social exclusion' which distinguishes a large 'mainstream' population from marginalized minorities who for specific reasons face barriers to

participation. Class divisions are a central feature to the organization of cultural taste and practice in the UK, and in this situation the working class forms the largest single class, nearly half the population.

In extrapolating from these findings, we see our work as consistent with a theoretically robust 'capitals, assets, resources' model of class (see generally Savage et al 2005). This recognises that social class divisions can be attributed to the interplay between economic, cultural and social capital, and class divisions should not therefore be conflated with the division of labour itself. Our findings suggest that class boundaries are being redrawn through the increasing interplay between economic and cultural capital. Those members of the 'service class' who do not typically possess graduate level credentials, especially those in lower managerial positions, are more similar to the intermediate classes than they are to the other sections of the professional middle class. We also see a process of boundary redrawing at work with respect to the working class, where lower supervisory and technical occupations have been downgraded so that they have become similar to those in semi-routine and routine positions.

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Figure 13: (plane 1-2), L7-Intermediate occupations (*n*=192)

Figure 14: (plane 1-2)**:** L8-Employers in small establishments (*n*=36)

Figure 15: (plane 1-2): L9-Own account workers (*n*=68)

Figure 16: (plane 1-2): L10-Lower supervisory workers (*n*=121)

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Appendix

Table AI: Interprétation of axis 1

Questions	***Ctr$_q$***	***Modalities***		***Ctr***	
		Left	***right***	***left***	***right***
Museums	7.1	never	Sometimes	4.0	2.7
Art galleries	6.7	never	Sometimes Once a year	2.9	2.4 1.4
Theater	6.2	never	Sometimes	2.4	3.3
Statelyhomes	5.1	never	Sometimes	3.0	2.0
Orchestral concert	4.5	never	Sometimes Once a year	1.5	1.3 1.7
Musicals	4.1	never	Sometimes Once a year	2.0	0.9 1.2
Cinema	3.7	never	Once a week Several/year	1.7	1.0 1.0
# books/year	3.3	none	7-24&>24	2.4	.6+.4
Rock conc.	3.0	never	Sometimes Once a year	0.9	0.8 1.2
Play sport	3.0	none		1.5	
Opera	2.9		Sometimes		0.7
			Once a year		1.7
Tv weekday	2.7	≥5h		1.9	
Eat out	2.4	≤0nce	>once/month	1.6	0.6
#paintings	2.2	none	≥4	0.7	1.1
Tv weekend	1.5	>5h		1.2	
Pub	1.2	≤0nce		0.9	
Total Ctr				28.6	26.0

Questions	***Ctr$_q$***	***Modalities***		***Ctr***	
		left	***right***	***left***	***right***
Moden literature	5.1	dislike	Like Indif.t	2.6	1.5 1.1
Biogs	3.7	dislike	like	2.6	1.0
Eat like most	3.4	FishChips	french	1.4	1.2
Classical music	2.8	dislike	like	1.8	0.8
Eat like least	2.3	Pub	Fish & Chips	0.9	1.1
Art like most	2.1		Impressionism		1.4
Film like best	1.9	western	drame	0.7	0.7
Rock	1.8	dislike	like	0.9	0.8
Modern jazz	1.8	dislike	indiff	0.9	0.6
TV pg like best	1.5	soap		0.9	
Who-dunnits	1.4	dislike		0.9	
Heavy Metal	1.3		indiff	0.7	
World music	1.2		indiff		0.7
Sport like most	1.2	social			0.8
Total Ctr				14.3	11.7

Table AII : Interpretation of axis 2

Questions	***Ctr_q***	***Modalities***		***Ctr***	
		bottom	top	bottom	top
Night Club	8.7	never	often	2.8	5.4
Orch. Concert	3.9	often	never	2.9	0.9
Rock concert	3.8	never	Often sometimes	1.1	1.6 1.1
Play fav sport	3.7		football		2.3
pub	3.1	never	often	1.5	1.6
cinema	2.9	never	often	1.2	1.3
opera	2.1	often		1.4	
Stately homes	1.5	often		1.0	
Books	1.5	>24		0.8	
theater	1.1	often		0.8	
Art gallery	1.0	often		0.7	
museums	0.9	often		0.7	
musicals	0.9	often		0.7	
Total Ctr				15.6	14.2

Questions	***Ctr_q***	***Modalities***		***Ctr***	
		bottom	top	bottom	top
Film like best	6.8	drama	horror	2.7	0.8
		Musical	action	1.0	0.7
			SciFi		0.6
UrbanMu	6.5	dislike	Like indiff	2.6	3.1 0.8
Classical music	5.3	like	Dislike.	3.5	1.5
RockMusic	5.0	dislike	like	2.3	2.5
TV like best	4.5	news	comedy	1.1	0.9
			sport		1.3
Science Fiction	4.5	dislike	Like indif	1.5	1.9 1.1
Heavy metal	3.6	dislike	Like indif	1.0	1.0 1.5
Film like least	3.4	horror	musical	0.8	1.1
World music	3.1	dislike	indiff	1.4	1.5
Eat like least	3.0	Fish & chips	Indian french	0.6	0.6 1.6
Eat like most	2.5		indian		1.3
Country western	2.3	like	dislike	1.2	1.1
Sport like most	2.1	racquet	football	0.8	0.8
Art like the least	2.1	modern	landscape	0.9	0.8
Art like the most	2.0		modern		1.0
TV like least	2.0		art		0.9
Sport like least	1.8		club		0.6
Total Ctr				21.4	29.0

Table AIII : Interpretation of axis 3

Questions	***Ctr$_q$***	***Modalities***		***Ctr***	
		bottom	top	bottom	top
Play sport	5.3	Club Football	indoor	1.5 1.2	2.5
pub	2.0	often	Some times	1.1	0.9
cine	1.3	never		0.6	
Eat out	1.5	never		1.1	
musicals	0.9		often		0.6

Questions	***Ctr$_q$***	***Modalities***		***Ctr***	
		bottom	top	bottom	top
romances	14.34	dislike	Like indiff	6.6	7.0 0.8
Tv like best	12.2	Sport Nature	Soap drama	4.4 1.3	4.8 1.1
Film like best	9.9	Western SciFi action	Romance comedy	1.8 1.3 0.7	4.3 0.8
Tv like least	9.8	Soap Reality	sport nature news	2.9 0.7	3.7 1.1 1.0
Film like least	8.1	Romance Musical bollywood	War Western horror	2.3 1.3 0.9	1.6 0.6 0.6
Sport like most	6.4	football	Indoor outdoor	2.5	2.5 0.6
Sport like least	4.6	indoor	club	3.1	1.3
Art like most	3.7	landscape	Portrait modern	0.9	1.2 1.0
Art like least	3.0	modern	Landscape renaissance	0.6	1.3 0.6
rock	1.9	like	indiff	1.2	0.6
urban	1.9	dislike	like	0.8	0.9
Self-help	1.8	dislike	like	0.8	0.8
Heavy metal	1.6	like		1.0	
Classic music	1.2		dislike		0.8
Sci-fi	1.2	like		0.7	

Table AIV: Interpretation of axis 4

Question Ctr_q		***Modalities***		***Ctr***	
		bottom	top	bottom	top
ArtGallery	8.3	often	sometimes	5.6	2.4
museum	8.0	often	sometimes	3.6	4.1
TV weekend	5.3	<1h		4.6	
StatelyHomes	4.8	never	sometimes	1.4	2.9
Theater	4.8	Never often	sometimes	0.8 0.7	3.3
TV week	4.0	<1h		3.4	
Musicals	2.9	never	sometimes	1.0	1.9
Night Clubs	2.4	often	sometimes	1.5	0.8
pub	2.3	never	sometimes	0.6	1.3
Orchestral	2.2	often	sometimes	1.5	0.8
Eat out	2.1	never	sometimes	1.2	0.9
Cinema	2.1	often		1.6	
Opera	1.9	often		1.8	
books	1.5		1 to 6		0.8
paintings	1.3		1 to 3		0.8
Rock Concert	1.0	often		0.6	

Questions	***Ctr_q***	***Modalities***		***Ctr***	
		bottom	top	bottom	top
Art like the most	6.0	Modern renaissance	landscape	3.1 0.7	1.5
Art like the least	4.1	landscape	impressionisme	1.7	1.4
World music	2.7	like	dislike	2.1	0.6
Films like the best	2.6	horror	action	0.8	0.6
Classical Music	2.4	like	indiff	0.7	1.5
Urban	2.4	like	indiff	1.4	1.0
Country Western	2.3	dislike	indiff	1.2	1.1
Eat like most	2.3	Fish & Chips	pub	1.3	0.9
TV like best	2.2		Soap sport		0.6 0.6
Film like least	1.9	war	SciFi	0.6	0.8
Modern litt	1.9	like		1.5	
Romance	1.8	dislike	like	0.9	0.8
Religious book	1.8	like	indiff	1.2	0.6
Biography	1.6	dislike	indiff	1	0.6
Rock	1.6		indiff		1.1
TV like least	1.0		art		0.6
Who dunnits	1.0	dislike		0.6	