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Brigitte Le Roux, Henry Rouanet, Mike Savage and Alan Warde

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Class and Cultural Division in the UK

Brigitte Le Roux and Henry Rouanet*
Université Paris Descartes

Mike Savage and Alan Warde
University of Manchester

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 examine the nature of the two most important axes which distinguish 'the space of lifestyles'. By superimposing socio-demographic variables on this cultural map, we show that the first, most important, axis is indeed strongly associated with class. We inductively assess which kind of class boundaries can most effectively differentiate individuals within this 'space of lifestyles'. 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 relatively large working class which includes lower supervisors and technicians (44%).

KEY WORDS
class / cultural capital / geometric data analysis

Class and Culture in Contemporary sociology

Over the past decade there has been a striking revival of interest in class in British sociology (see Bottero, 2005; Devine et al., 2004; *Sociology*, 2005). Much of this work focuses on subjective aspects of class, including identities,

*This paper is dedicated to the memory of Henry Rouanet who died whilst it was in press.

attitudes and morals (e.g. shame, worth, respect). Long standing research interests on the nature of the class structure have also matured, with the formalization of the NS-SEC, which enshrines a version of the Nuffield class schema as the most valuable way of measuring class inequalities (Rose and Pevalin, 2003). The adoption of this schema in the UK, and the use of comparative versions to study issues such as social mobility (e.g. Breen, 2005), has largely eliminated disputes about the best way of measuring and defining class.

This research has however reached the somewhat surprising conclusion that structural class divisions are relatively insignificant in shaping people's cultural practices and tastes for two reasons. First, much of the (mostly qualitative) research on class identity and awareness insists on 'dis-identification' (i.e. people do not readily identify as class members or consciously adopt 'class specific' activities). The importance of class, from this perspective, lies in its tacit aspects, features that Sennett and Cobb (1971) famously identified as 'the hidden injuries of class'. People's stated intentions, desires and practices are marked by their hopes and fantasies, but these dissemble, rather than being the reflex of, their class locations. Second, much research on the impact of class on life chances makes weak predictions about its significance for cultural tastes and practices, but rather emphasizes its importance for material life chances in areas such as health and social mobility (Goldthorpe and Marshall, 1992).

Asking an apparently trivial question – what measure of occupational class best intersects with the organization of cultural life in contemporary Britain? – we show that class remains profoundly important in affecting cultural life, but that we need a somewhat different model of the class structure to that which has dominated in recent research. Here we intervene in debates about the validation of the NS-SeC, by taking attention away form criterion-related concerns (Evans 1992, 1996, Evans and Mills 1998, 2000; Mills and Evans 2003) to contruct related ones. Criterion related validation focuses on whether the scheme accurately measures class as a system of employment relations. Following Goldthorpe's (e.g. 2000) conceptualization of class which focused on the distinction between employees, self-employed and employers, and differences between employees on 'labour' and 'service' contracts, Evans (1992; Mills and Evans, 2003) 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 professional/managerial service class could be differentiated from the working and intermediate classes because of their reliance on 'prospective rewards' (e.g. pensions and promotion; see Butler and Savage, 1995; Goldthorpe, 2000; Savage et al., 1992). By insisting on a deductive measure of class, validated by demonstrating that it differentiated workers on the basis of aspects of their employment relations, this work ignored how the class schema affected key dependent variables, such as cultural values, practices or tastes (see e.g. Goldthorpe and Marshall, 1992).

This deductive strategy has problems. Evans and Mills's (1998) analyses of the relationship between employment relations and class position is equivocal. Their

latent class analysis does not map exactly onto the Nuffield class schema and they note that 'the service class is somewhat smaller than might have been expected' (1998: 655). Goldthorpe's argument about the significance of "service relationship" insists on a categorical difference between professionals and managers, and other employees. But this is less clear cut: there are numerous members of the intermediate and working class who appear to be employed on a "service contract" by Goldthorpe's definition and a few professionals, notably managers, who appear to be employed on a labour contract. For such reasons, critics like Bottero (2005) argue that stratification is better understood as a hierarchical continuum.

One important issue is that some studies show that the 'lower service class' is more like the intermediate class than the most privileged members of the 'service class'. Even in terms of health inequalities, where the NS-SeC generally offers a good fit, 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. Hence Goldthorpe himself (2000) re-evaluated his schema as less categorical and more gradational (e.g. recognizing that lower managers do not have an equivalent service relationship to professionals). Similarly, Egerton and Savage (2000) and Power et al. (2003) have 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. Its further examination is a key objective of our article.

Recently, Chan and Goldthorpe, among others, have addressed these issues by exploring the impact of class on cultural practices and tastes in the area of newspaper readership, musical consumption, attendance at cinema, theatre and dance, and leisure practices. In an impressive series of articles they argue that class is not a very important determinant of cultural engagement. Their position opposes both individualization theses and the account of distinction offered by Bourdieu. They show that there are group patterns to cultural taste which belie the individualization thesis and they argue that there is little evidence of a correspondence between class (conceived as uniform habitus) and cultural preferences. They conclude that a version of the cultural omnivore thesis (see Petersen and Kern, 1996) best accounts for distinctive differences in cultural patterns. In addition, they argue that many taste groupings, uncovered by latent class analysis techniques, are more strongly associated with status than with occupational class. Their analyses of musical taste (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007a), attendance at cinema, theatre and dance performances (2005), and newspaper readership (2007b) broadly confirm their claims. However, it is doubtful whether their results offer compelling support for their theoretical position. First, the value 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 operationalized 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 an alternative theoretical

case, following Weber, that status should be more closely associated with cultural taste than economic class. Their sharp analytic distinction challenges conceptually the strong empirical association between occupation (with its corollaries in income, 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, so long as class is not significant. They maintain that while two variables can be measured independently, and have different effects, their significance in a model validates drawing a *theoretical* distinction between them. While they might be congratulated for applying Weberian theory rigorously, this appears to damage considerably the understanding of the determinants of life chances in contemporary society. The implication of Goldthorpe's dismissal of any potential value in a concept of cultural capital[1] is that taste appears as an epiphenomenal reflection of a status order which it neither constitutes nor contributes to, and has no explicit significance for social inequality. Moreover, emphasizing the status dimensions of cultural practices contradicts Goldthorpe's earlier arguments regarding the decline of the status order in post-war capitalism (e.g. Goldthorpe, 1978).

This demonstration of the limited significance of class follows from use of the Nuffield and NS-SeC. We contend that, measured differently, an alternative grouping of occupation and employment reveals stronger associations[2] and that class remains a powerful force affecting cultural taste and practice.

As Marshall et al. (1988: 18) observed, differences between approaches to class frameworks arise more 'from the details of research procedure than from the axioms of class theory itself'. In this regard too, Chan and Goldthorpe's analysis is very problematic. They measure ego's status position by examining the occupational class position of his or her best friend. What they measure as status others call class (e.g. Bottero, 2005; Stewart et al., 1980). Bourdieu (1996) would call the same phenomenon social capital. Although the presumption that friends have similar levels of prestige is unobjectionable (indeed people choose as friends people like themselves, just as they tend to marry people from the same social grade), this does not effectively establish that it is *status* which accounts for differential cultural participation. If status is grounded in a measure of occupational position that in turn is used to measure class, the indicator of status seems irredeemably 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 an independent domain of prestige, but rather just another measure of occupational standing. This is even more problematic when in every model in which status is significant so too are educational qualifications (usually to a greater extent). In sum, we doubt that status has been operationalized effectively. We contend that Chan and Goldthorpe's findings are as easily accommodated to an account of

the intersection of economic, cultural and network resources as they are to Weberian categories. We further contend that it makes more sense to use the concept of *social class* to encompass the amalgam of these properties, attributing less theoretical weight to distinct empirical measures of occupation, education and social connections.

Multiple Correspondence Analysis

By providing a rich and complex map of cultural taste and practice, and exploring which clustering of occupational groups best fits, we empirically unpack the relationship between class and culture. This is possible using Geometric Data Analysis (GDA), and specific Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) (Le Roux and Rouanet, 2004). GDA differs from conventional multivariate techniques which distinguish *a priori* dependent variables which might then be explained through different combinations of independent variables; instead it proceeds inductively from the Individuals x Variables table. For MCA, variables are categorized or 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 famously used in *Distinction* (Bourdieu, 1984), and MCA was employed systematically by Bourdieu since 'Le Patronat' (Bourdieu and de Saint Martin, 1978). Some critics have conflated Bourdieu's findings with the MCA method. Yet his theory of class division in France is not entailed by his method. MCA is perfectly able to distinguish the structural characteristics of Britain in the 21st century from those of France 40 years earlier. We suggest that MCA is descriptively powerful and allows us to unravel the relationship between class divisions and lifestyle. Distinctively, MCA starts from and carefully constructs 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 unitary cultural variables as measures of 'elite' or 'popular' culture.

In this article, we construct the space of lifestyles in Britain. The variances of axes (i.e. eigenvalues) indicate the number of axes to be interpreted in order to provide an adequate summary. These axes separate out responses relationally, vis-à-vis each other, permitting us to assess whether some stand in opposition. We can subsequently inspect the ordering of this space to determine how individual respondents are located within that space. In the *cloud of modalities*, we use supplementary variables not used to construct the space and whose modalities can be visualized together with active modalities. In the *cloud of individuals*, we use structuring factors, such as a socio-demographic variable, to differentiate sub-clouds of individuals. This strategy has the further advantage that we are able compare our results to Bourdieu's, our analytical strategy being essentially similar to that of *Distinction*.

The Study

The *Cultural Capital and Social Exclusion* (CCSE) survey (see Bennett, Savage, and Silva, Warde, Gayo-Cal and Wright, 2008) was administered between 2003 and 2004 by the National Centre for Social Research. A stratified, clustered random sample from 111 postcode sectors achieved a response rate of 52 per cent with a final sample of 1564 of the UK population aged 18+. The questionnaire covered key areas of cultural activity, including television and media, reading, visual arts, music, eating out, sport and leisure. We were particularly concerned to distinguish different modes of cultural involvement from one another by asking questions which distinguished between (1) frequency of participation in nominated cultural activities, and (2) taste measured by expressions of likes and dislikes in each of the cultural domains. The survey also collected comprehensive data on economic and social capital, education and parental background.

We identified items for each domain, including some defined in previous research as high and popular culture, some mainstream majority tastes and some specialized preferences associated with sub-cultures and the avant-garde. We drew on focus groups and advice from a panel of 12 sociologists and arts professionals who debated the meaning and likely appeal of potential items to ensure that we avoided bias towards particular social groups or interest constituencies. Within the constraints of a 60-minute interview we believe we 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 – mixing questions on participation and taste. We used 41 questions, 17 regarding participation and 24 on taste, generating 198 modalities (61 for participation and 137 for taste).[3]

Our analysis refers to 1529 individuals. We excluded 35 individuals, 32 who had failed to respond to four or more of the questions about taste in literature and three who replied to only one question on visual art. The data contain three rare modalities (frequencies less than 4%) and also 29 'others' or 'don't know' modalities which are ignored when defining the distance between individuals, in the specific MCA.

The Space of Lifestyles in Contemporary Britain

Before looking at the importance of class in the structuring of lifestyles we explore how the MCA analysis depicts the cultural map of contemporary Britain.[4] Table 1 shows the contribution of domains and assessment of number of axes to be interpreted: eating out contributes the least (9.6%) and music the most (19.1%). 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[5] reaches 82 per cent. The first two axes are especially important, and are the focus of this article.

Table 1 Contribution of the seven 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	69.9
Total	14.4	13.7	15.2	19.1	16.0	9.6	12.1	100.1

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%). On the first axis attending musical events and visiting museums and art galleries make large contributions (15% and 21%), complemented by variations in taste 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%).

Interpretation of First Two Axes

Here, we use the cloud of modalities. As a general rule, interpretation of an axis retains at least all the modalities whose contributions exceed the average contribution (100/166 = 0.6%). Figures 1–2 show these modalities distinguishing participation and taste.

Axis 1 (λ_1 = 0.1641). Cultural Engagement: involvement vs 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 per cent of the variance of Axis 1.

To the left of Axis 1 lie two types of modality. First there is evidence of non-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 (Theatre0) or concerts (RockConcert0, Orch0, Musical0), and not having read a book in the last year (noBk). Dislikes for modalities refer to legitimate culture: reading biographies (Biog–), classical music (ClassicM–), modern literature (ModLitt–) and jazz (Jazz–) are least favourite genres. Second, we find modalities that indicate tastes for popular culture: watching more than five hours of television per day (Tvd>5h), a liking for fish and chips (Eat+FishChips), and for soap operas (TV+soap).

To the right of the axis, by contrast, are modalities expressing heavy and moderate attendance at cultural events and sites: opera (Opera1 & 2), galleries (ArtGallery2), classical music concerts (Orch2 & 1), cinema (Cin2 & 1), museums (Museum2), stately homes (StatelyHomes2). These activities take place

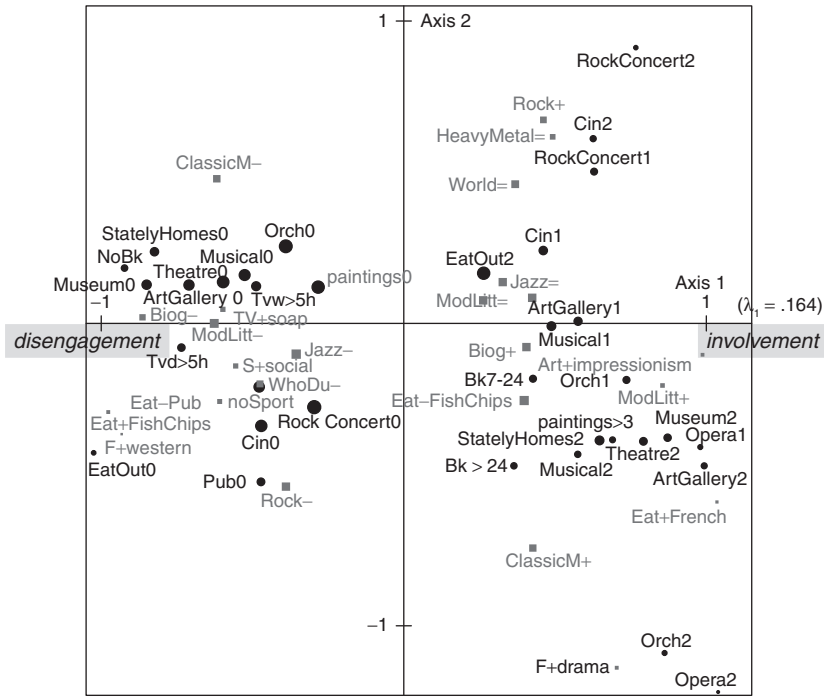

Figure 1 Interpretation of axis 1: 57 modalities most contributing to axis 1 (in plane 1-2), 34 participation (circles) and 23 taste (squares) ones.

outside the home and 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+), modern literature (ModLitt+) and rock music (Rock+).

Summary: Axis 1 groups together, and counterposes, absence and frequent attendance at legitimate cultural events and differences over taste for legitimate genres.

Axis 2 ($\lambda_2 = 0.1188$): Contemporary Taste: the established and the emergent

We selected 57 modalities contributing together to 80 per cent of the variance of the axis (Figure 2).

The top of the axis concentrates frequent participation at the cinema (Cin2) pubs (Pub2), night clubs (NightC2) and rock concerts (RockConcert2), and frequent football playing (football). Musical taste contributes heavily to this section of the space. Prevalent tastes include strong liking for urban (Urban+), heavy metal (HeavyMetal+) and rock music (Rock+), and dislikes of classical

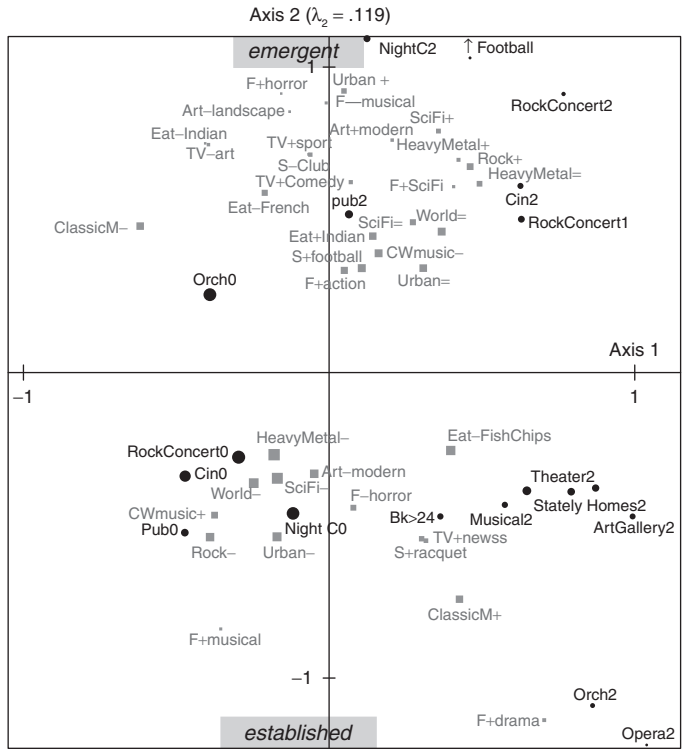

Figure 2 Interpretation of axis 2: 57 modalities most contributing to axis 1 (in plane 1-2), 19 participation (circles) and 38 taste (squares) ones.

(ClassicM–), musical films (F–Musical) and country and western (CWmusic–). A liking for modern art and a dislike of landscapes register, as does a liking for horror movies and comedy programmes on TV. Reading science fiction is popular.

On the bottom of Figure 2 musical tastes are prominently represented, but favour more established forms: liking classical (ClassicM+) and 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. The lower part of Axis 2 picks many established, traditional forms of culture and indicates an apparent separation between 'traditional' and '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.

Summary: Axis 2 appears to capture a distinction between tastes for established cultural genres and emergent ones.

Socio-Demographic Variables

We now briefly consider the socio-demographic variables associated with the two main axes structuring cultural taste and participation to see how significant measures of class are. We superimpose socio-demographic variables as *supplementary elements*, which do not intervene either in the definition of distances between individuals or in the determination of axes. A deviation between the coordinates of two modalities on an axis that is greater than 1 is regarded as 'large', a deviation less than 0.5 as 'small'.[6] We begin with gender, age, income and education.

For *gender* (Figure 3), the deviation between men and women is negligible on the first axis and small on the second. (Gender differences appear on Axis 3.) 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). Households and respondent *incomes* are correlated; modalities are ordered along the first axis and the deviation between extreme modalities on the axis (<5 and >60 000£) is large (d = 1.3). *Education* levels are also ordered along Axis 1 (Figure 4). The deviation between 'University' and 'No qualification' 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.

We can see, then, that the first axis appears to be related to income and education, and the second axis to age. We now return to our main concern – unravelling how class is associated with these two axes. To pursue this, we examine the 'cloud of individuals'.

Exploration of the Cloud of Individuals

We can plot the location of every individual in the sample (Figure 5), permitting detailed study of how individuals from various class locations are positioned on the first and second axes. In plane 1–2, the *shape* of the cloud is triangular, with one edge corresponding to the pole 'disengagement' and two to aspects of *'involvement'*.

One attractive feature of the cloud of individuals is that it can be used to pinpoint and describe *landmark individuals*. For instance, on the left, we find #518 who is a man aged 35–45, without any educational qualifications and with income less than £10,000; he watches much TV and prefers sport programmes (football/rugby) yet does not practise sport; he does not go to the cinema, read books, or go out except to pubs and he likes fish and chips. On the other side, are two individuals #65 (top) and #793 (bottom), who illustrate emergent and established types of involvement. Individual #65 is a male university

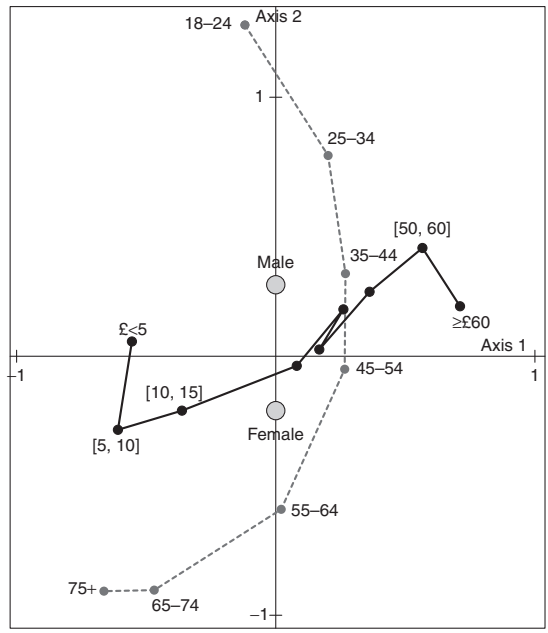

Figure 3 Gender, Age and Household income in cloud of categories (plane 1-2).

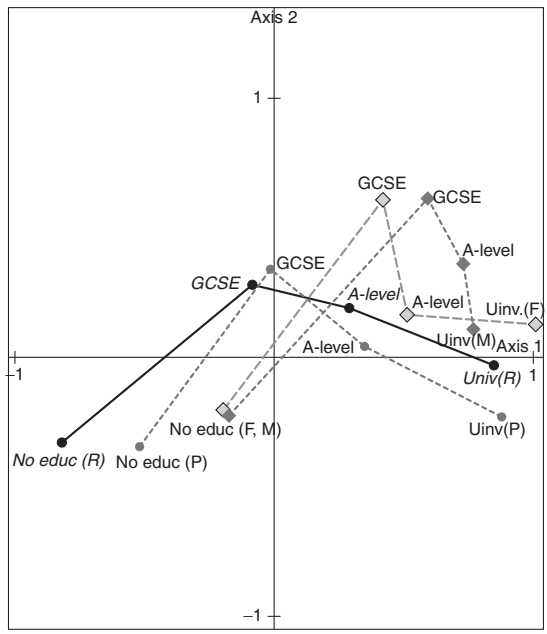

Figure 4 Levels of education for Respondent (R), Partner (P), Father (F) and Mother (M) in cloud of categories (plane 1-2).

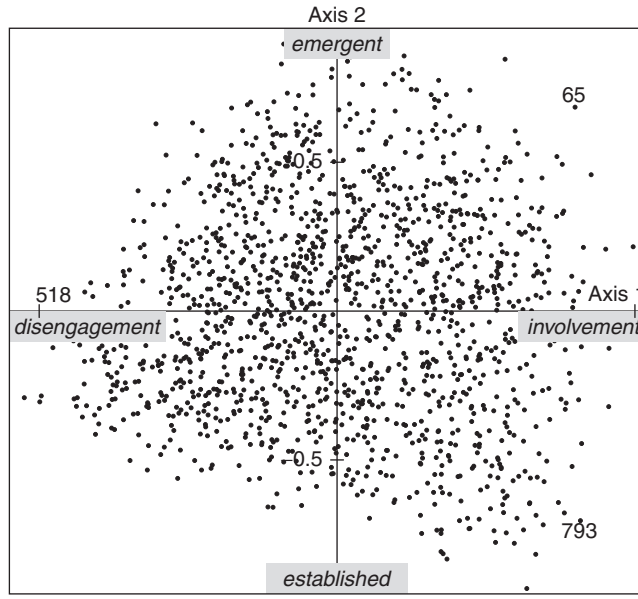

Figure 5 Cloud of 1529 individuals with 3 landmark patterns in plane 1-2.

graduate aged 35–44, with income between £30,000 and £40,000; he watches much TV during weekends, less during the week, and likes film programmes; he practises 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); 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, with a degree, and income of £60,000; she watches very little TV except racquet sport programmes and she practises indoor sport; she often goes to theatre, opera and concerts, 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, preferring French restaurants.

The cloud of individuals encompasses all information provided by supplementary variables. For instance, gender defines a sub-cloud of individuals. Each sub-cloud 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. By plotting the mean point for each sub-cloud, we get a derived cloud of mean points whose variance defines the *between-variance* of the partition; the average variance of the sub-clouds 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 sub-clouds in a

Table 2 Double decomposition of variances along 12 groups and Axis 1, total, between and within variance

		Freq.	*Variances on Axis 1*
L1/	Employers in large establishments and higher	29	0.099
L2	managerial positions		
L3	Higher professional occupations	91	0.085
L4	Lower professional and 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		0.1640
	Between variance	1485	0.0423
	Within variance		0.1217
	η^2 = between/total		**0.258**

Note: For each axis the total variance does not exactly correspond to eigenvalue since it pertains to 1485 individuals not 1529 active individuals.

plane are provided by *concentration ellipses* (Cramér, 1946: 284). The length of each half-axis of the concentration ellipse is twice the standard deviation of the sub-cloud along this direction. For a normally shaped cloud, the concentration ellipse contains 86 per cent of the points of the cloud (Le Roux and Rouanet, 2004: 97–9). We use concentration ellipses below.

Lifestyle Space and Social Classes in Britain

Occupational Groups

Our main analytical goal is understanding the 'fit' of different class measures on the first two axes; if we can show that class is associated with the first axis this is a powerful demonstration of the enduring significance of class. We use a version of the NS-SeC which distinguishes between 13 'occupational categories' and combine these to assess the relative effectiveness of different class schemes.

The 12 occupational groups retained for analysis (L1/L2–L13) are described in Table 2. These groups are employees except L1, L8 and L9. Groups L2, L5, L6 and L10 have supervisory or managerial functions. Rose and Pevalin (2003) identify L1–L5 as part of the professional and managerial 'service class', separate from the intermediate class (L6–L9) and a class of routine and manual workers (L10–13). By considering whether L1 to L5 occupy similar positions in

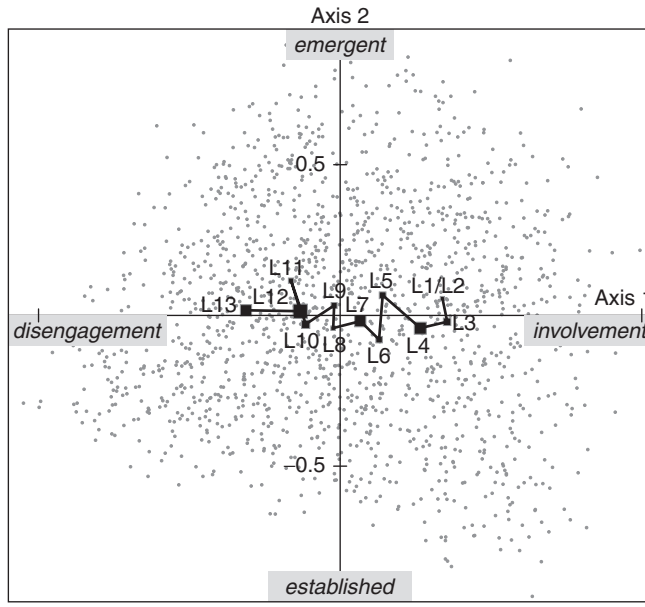

Figure 6 12 mean points of occupational groups (L1/L2 through L13) in the cloud of individuals (plane 1-2).

lifestyle space we can ascertain whether the boundary between the service class and the other classes is important. Here we combine L1 and L2 because of the small numbers involved.

The first issue is whether these social classes are located on the first two axes of the space of lifestyles. For each of 12 groups we derive a sub-cloud of individuals with its mean point (Figure 6): the order of these mean points corresponds closely to Axis 1. The part of variance of this axis accounted for by the 12-class partition (1485 individuals) is $\eta^2 = 0.258$; the eta-square coefficient corresponding to the other axes are much smaller. *So Axis 1 is also the axis of occupational groups*. Social classes, therefore, remain highly associated with patterns of lifestyles, demonstrating clearly that class matters in structuring contemporary UK cultural practice.

Having re-established the importance of class, what kind of class boundaries partition cultural practices most effectively? By inspecting the location of individuals within occupational groups, we can see how far apart in the space of lifestyles they are (see Figures 7–18). This reveals the degree of overlap and separation between different classes. For example, Figure 7 identifies 29 individuals who are higher managers or large employers (L1/L2) and draws their concentration ellipse, showing that most members of this group are located at the culturally engaged pole. The centre of the sub-cloud is located on the right of Axis 1, with only a few individuals on the left of figure. By contrast routine workers (Figure 18) are located mostly on the left of Axis 1. That ellipse has a

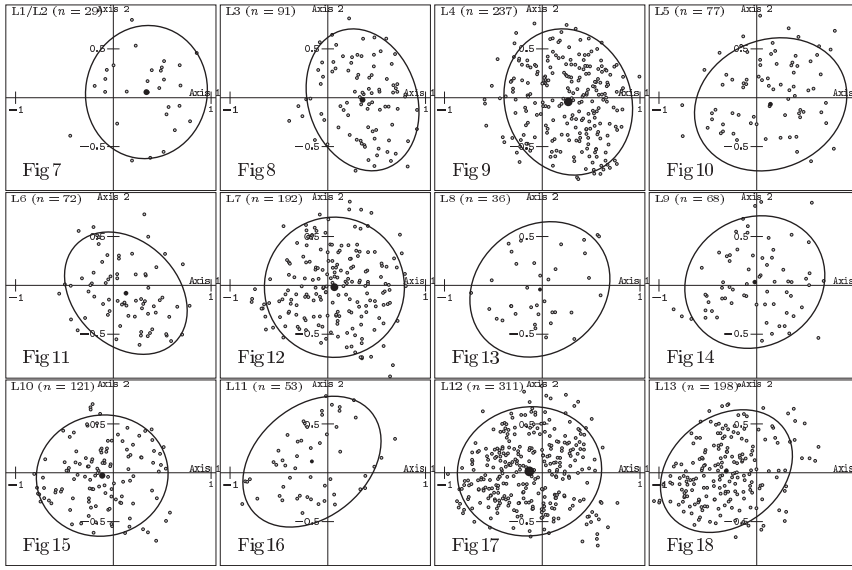

Figure 7 to 18 The 12 subclouds of the occupational groups (L1/L2 through L13) with their concentration ellipses.

well-marked SW–NE orientation, indicating relatively few members in the area characterized by established tastes. There is very little overlap between the cultural practices and tastes of individuals from these two groups.

Of course, remote classes show greater separation than others. It is possible, indeed conventional to reduce the NS-SeC to three main classes, distinguishing the service class from the intermediate and working class. We also find that a three-class model groups individuals on Axis 1 economically and efficiently, though with one key difference. In the ellipses for the Goldthorpe 'service class' (Figures 7–10) 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 very different. Lower managers are similar to the intermediate class (Figures 11–15). This supports the claim by Savage et al. (1992) that managers are characterized by 'indistinctive' taste, and recognizes their difference from the professional middle class.

Figures 11–14 show that the intermediate groups are located towards the centre of Axis 1. The mean point for higher supervisors (Figure 11) is furthest to the right, reasonably close to that for lower managers (see Figure 6), and it is squashed so that it has a NS–SeC axis (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 closer to the working class as shown by Figures 16–18; ellipses for the working-class groups, where routine workers and lower technicians especially lie to the left, both having a SW–NE axis. The left curve for semi-routine workers is similarly positioned, 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 (Figure 15) it occupies a relatively cohesive position in the space of lifestyles.

Social Class Divisions

We can more formally investigate the cultural coherence of different social classes by considering variances along the axes of each of the occupational groups. 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) (Table 2). 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). Groups within the intermediate and working classes appear more dispersed and less cohesive (on the second axis, the variances are of the same order of magnitude and reflect the dispersions of age within groups).

Figures 7–20 show that a three-class separation offers a reasonable fit. The most efficient way of reducing the 12 categories to three classes follows the NS-SeC with one important exception. This distinguishes a 'small' service class of professionals and large managers and employers (comprising 24% of the workforce), an intermediate class that includes the lower managers (30%) and a relatively large working class which includes lower supervisors and technicians (46%). Interestingly, the most privileged class remains twice as small as the working class.

Since 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 our analyses of the cloud of individuals reveal, this is a statistical relationship and not an absolute one, with the clouds for each of the 12 occupational groups being relatively widely dispersed. Nonetheless, these class groups are arrayed on the first, most powerful, axis, and we gain considerable purchase in understanding such divisions by distinguishing between these three groupings.

The power of these divisions is clear when exploring the class complexion of particular cultural practices. For some activities class divisions are very apparent, whilst for others they are of limited importance. Table 3 shows that for some cultural practices, such as going to nightclubs or pubs, there is no social class variation. However, for the working class, the proportion of individuals watching five or more hours of television per day is four times that of the professional class. The professional class, on average, attends orchestral

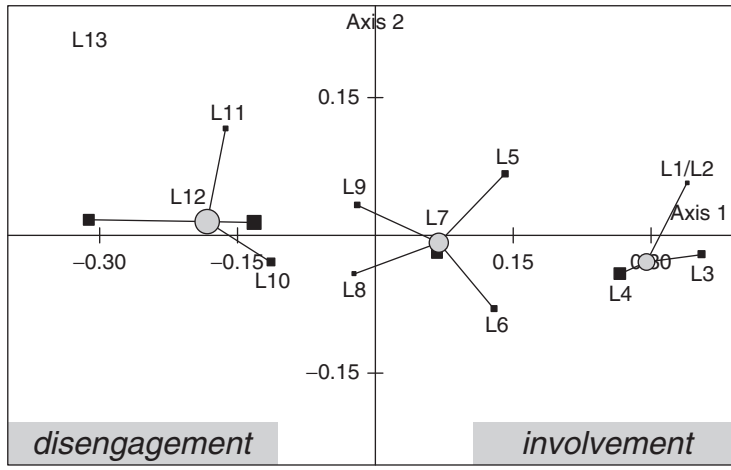

Figure 19 12 Occupational groups split up into 3 classes (our classfication) in the cloud of individuals (plane 1-2).

concerts or the opera over three times more than the working class, although within this class, only small minorities engage in these practices.[7] Cinema attendance, going to musicals, art galleries and museums are more socially divided. Only a relatively small minority of the professional class 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 striking evidence of powerful class divisions in cultural practices. On the whole, professionals participate more in all practices than the working class, with the main exception being watching television where preferences also differ in some respects (e.g. liking current affairs programmes, disliking soap operas).

Our final illustration of the discriminating power of our revised model relates to data on voting intention (Figure 20). Using our three-class model, especially grouping the lower managers with the intermediate class, a slight improvement in the class–vote relationship is obtained. The differences are not great. Given that we are only redistributing a small minority of the sample one would not expect them to be. However, our measure shows the intermediate class to be 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.

Conclusions

Our main conclusion is simple but important. Those who claim that cultural practices are no longer a significant structuring force in contemporary

Table 3 Selected cultural practices by class

	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 goes 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 goes 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 programme	10.4%	15.7%	21.5%	17.1%
News/current affairs favourite TV programme	24.1%	18.9%	13.8%	17.5%

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. Moreover, the most efficient model 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 recognize the distinctive role of a smaller, 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 facing specific barriers to participation. Class divisions are a central feature to the organization of cultural taste and practice in the UK, and the working class forms the largest single class, nearly half the population. Our findings are consistent with a theoretically robust 'capitals, assets, resources' model of class (Savage et al., 2005). This recognizes 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. 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 class than they are to the other sections of the professional middle

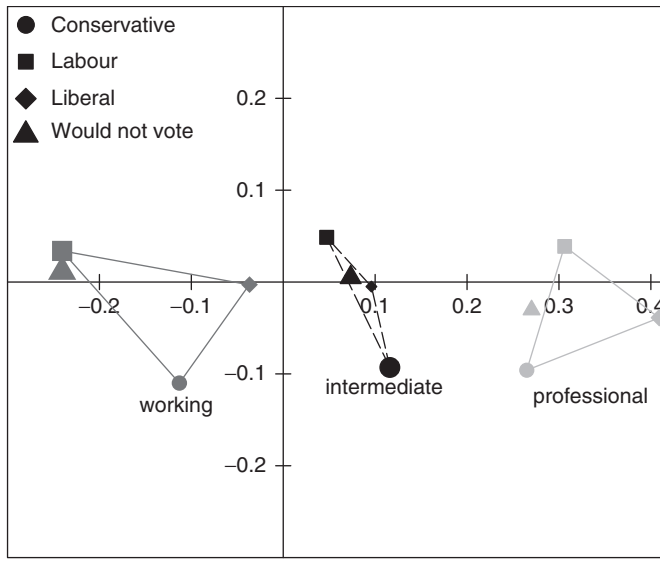

Figure 20 Votes within each class in plane 1-2 (sizes of points proportional to absolute frequencies).

class. Boundaries are also being redrawn within 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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Notes

1 We recognize that there are genuine grounds for dispute about exactly how important familiarity with the beaux arts is for the intergenerational transmission of privilege.
2 We also have concerns about the epistemological assumptions in deductive Weberian approaches about how to achieve the purposes of a social science. In the context of the cultural turn we are particularly concerned to comprehend theoretically and empirically the constitutive role of culture in the distribution of life chances, but we do not discuss this here. See Bennett et al. 2008 for further discussion.
3 The analysis reported here builds on, but supplants, that elaborated in Savage et al. (2005).
4 For more details of other related findings of the project, see Bennett et al. (2008).
5 See Benzécri (1992) and Le Roux and Rouanet (2004: 200).
6 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 and Rouanet, 2004: 234).
7 A common criticism of Bourdieu is that although he often shows relative differences in cultural appreciation between classes, he does not really consider whether a given item is generally popular, or unpopular, amongst the population as a whole (Longhurst and Savage, 1996).

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Brigitte Le Roux

Is Professor at the department of Mathématiques et Informatique, Université Paris Descartes. Her main interests are in Geometric Data Analysis (GDA), with emphasis on large-size tables, structured data, stability problems and combinatorial inference in GDA, and applications to behavioural and social sciences. She has recently co-authored several books about descriptive and inductive data analysis.
Address: MAP5 – Département de Mathématiques et Informatique, Université Paris Descartes, 45 Rue des Saints-Pères, 75006 PARIS, France.
E-mail: brigitte.leroux@math-info.univ-paris5.fr

Henry Rouanet

Before his unfortunate death as this article was in press, Henry Rouanet was a guest researcher at the Centre de Recherche Informatique de Paris 5 (CRIP5), Université Paris Descartes. His main interests were analysis of variance and Bayesian inference. He has co-authored several books about statistics and geometric data analysis.
Website: www.mi.parisdescartes.fr/~rouanet

Mike Savage

Is Professor of Sociology at the University of Manchester, where he is a Director of the ESRC Centre for Research for Socio-Cultural Research. He is interested in stratification, historical sociology and urban sociology and his recent books include *Globalization and Belonging* (with Gaynor Bagnall and Brian Longhurst, SAGE, 2005), *Remembering Elites* (edited with Karel Williams, Blackwell, 2008), *Networked Urbanism: Social Capital and the City* (edited with Talja Blokland, Ashgate, 2008) and *Culture, Class, Distinction* (with Tony Bennett, Elizabeth Silva, Alan Warde, Modesto Gayo-Ca, and David Wright, Routledge, 2008).
Address: CRESC, 178 Waterloo Place, University of Manchester, Manchester M13 9PL, UK.
E-mail: m.savage@manchester.ac.uk

Alan Warde

Is Professor of Sociology at the University of Manchester. He has research interests in the sociology of culture and social stratification, among others. He is joint author, with Tony Bennett, Mike Savage, Elizabeth Silva, Modesto Gayo-Cal and David Wright, of *Culture, Class, Distinction* (Routledge, 2008), which reports at greater length on the research project upon which the current article is based. He has also recently published *Trust in Food: An Institutional and Comparative Analysis* (Palgrave, 2007) with Unni Kjaernes and Mark Harvey.

Address: School of Social Sciences, University of Manchester, Arthur Lewis Building, Manchester M13 9PL, UK.

E-mail: alan.warde@manchester.ac.uk