

A Cultural Map of the United Kingdom, 2003

Modesto Gayo-Cal, Mike Savage & Alan Warde

This paper employs Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) to map cultural participation and taste in the UK. It constructs what Bourdieu calls a space of lifestyles from evidence collected in a national random sample survey of the British population in 2003. MCA constructs the space relationally on the basis of similarities and differences in responses to questions about a large number of cultural items in several sub-fields including music, reading, TV and recreational activity. These items are mapped along two axes and their clustering indicates affinities between tastes and practices across sub-fields. The cultural patterns are described. We then superimpose socio-demographic variables, including class, educational qualifications and age, the distribution of which indicates tendencies for certain categories of person to have shared tastes. The analysis reveals meaningful, socially differentiated patterns of taste. The space of lifestyles proves to be structured primarily by the total volume of capital (resources) held by respondents and by age. Strong oppositions are revealed. An older, educated middle class shares 'legitimate' established cultural preferences. The repertoire of a younger middle class group contains more contemporary and 'popular' items. Less well-educated, working class groups are characterised often primarily by lack of cultural participation, but also, especially among the young, by an aversion to 'legitimate' culture.

Keywords: Bourdieu, Cultural capital, Multiple correspondence analysis, Space of lifestyles

Introduction

Other articles in this special issue have shown how individual cultural fields are differentiated in various ways, and that we need to be careful in applying simple ideas about how 'popular' can be distinguished from 'high' culture, and so forth. In this article we consider how far we can detect similarities across the cultural fields, so that we can assess whether lifestyles are organized in systematic ways. It is a central claim of Bourdieu (1984) that there are 'homologies' between cultural taste and participation

Correspondence to: Mike Savage, CRESC, The University of Manchester, 178 Waterloo Place, Oxford Road, Manchester M13 9PL, UK. Email: Modesto.gayo-cal@manchester.ac.uk

across cultural fields. A taste for certain kinds of classical music might thus be associated with a taste for fine wines, 'serious' fiction and art cinema, for instance. However, in recent years sociologists have argued that specific leisure 'enthusiasms' or 'lifestyles' increasingly define people's central life interests (Bellah *et al.*, 1985; Stebbins, 1992). Here, the argument might run that those who love motor racing, for instance, focus their interests on it to such an extent that they are relatively disengaged from other cultural pursuits. One might think that the rising importance of the leisure industries might be conducive to this kind of specialization, which would suggest that cultural distinctions in one area might not overlap into cultural distinctions in another (see the discussion in Roberts, 2004). Still further debates have emerged in the wake of Petersen and Kern's argument that we are becoming a nation of cultural omnivores in which the middle classes increasingly participate in a wide variety of cultural genres (Petersen & Kern, 1996; see also Savage, Barlow, Dickens, & Fielding, 1992; Warde, 1997).

Particular policy concerns overlap with these debates. Current concerns with social exclusion argue that particular disadvantaged groups are excluded from the social body, with the implication that most people do indeed partake in many aspects of cultural life. As numerous critics point out (e.g. Levitas, 2004), this discourse tends to see the problem of exclusion as lying on the social margins, and does not recognize the possibility of entrenched cultural divisions within the social body itself. It is therefore essential to explore how far we can detect a unitary cultural landscape in Britain, which people of all kinds feel able to partake of according to their specific interests, or how far, by contrast, cultural life is itself characterized by opposition and division in the way that Bourdieu highlights.

This article attempts a preliminary exploration of these issues. There are numerous multivariate methods which could be used to assess how far there are homologies across cultural fields.¹ This article is distinctive in using correspondence analysis, a form of principal components analysis, which allows us to plot people's cultural preferences in Euclidian space. This is the method that Bourdieu himself used in *Distinction* (Bourdieu, 1984), but it remains remarkably under-utilized in Anglophone social science. If we treat the resulting figures as cultural maps, it is possible to assess the extent to which certain preferences and forms of participation are located close to, or apart from, others, so that we can inductively explore the contemporary cultural landscape. As well as being interesting in its own right, this can also provide a valuable means of allowing us to assess how far there appear to be elite cultural forms, and how entrenched cultural inequalities appear to be.

Accordingly, Part 1 reports on how we constructed the variables and operationalized them using multiple correspondence analysis (MCA). Part 2 presents and discusses our cultural map of contemporary Britain, by examining the clustering of cultural preferences and forms of participation. Against those who argue that we are seeing the proliferation of discrete enthusiasms, we show that there is a very powerful divide between the engaged and the disengaged, and evidence also for tension between established and popular tastes. Part 3 develops this argument by showing how the distribution of social, demographic and economic variables is associated with the space of lifestyles.

Part 1: Using Multiple Correspondence Analysis

There is a small literature in English on MCA (e.g. Clausen, 1998; Greenacre & Blasius, 1994). MCA proceeds differently from many standard exploratory multivariate techniques which seek to define a valid, distinct, dependent variable which might then be explained through different combinations of independent variables (see for instance, Chan & Goldthorpe, 2005). Rather, it proceeds inductively from a complex contingency table, not by providing summary statistics, but by transforming its values into co-ordinates on a figure, whose dimensions can then be interpreted. It can thus be seen as a descriptive procedure in the way Abbott (2001) endorses, though it should also be emphasized that in its advanced forms it can also be used in association with inferential statistics (LeRoux & Rouanet, 2004).

In deriving its findings from the contingency table, each individual is placed in a row, whilst the columns are composed of binary ('yes' or 'no') responses to a range of questions covering various aspects of cultural taste and participation. It is a deliberate strategy to ensure that these questions cover a diffuse field, so that it becomes an empirical matter to assess how far patterns can be detected amongst the many modalities. Should questions of a particular type dominate, then it is likely that the distribution of points in the resulting figures will be the artefact of this dominance.

The 168 categorized variables which form the modalities column of our contingency table are listed in the Appendix, Table A2. Most of these variables will be familiar from other articles of this special issue, and need no specific elaboration here, though readers might need to refer to the Appendix to understand the labels used in Figures 1–7.² The variables have been transformed from their original state to allow them to be used in MCA, as follows. Those questions which ask respondents to rate their liking for genres (for instance for music and reading) on a Likert 1–7 scale have been recoded, where 1–2 is seen as 'like', 3–5 as 'indifferent' and '6–7' as 'dislike'. Those questions which ask about favourite genres of TV, film, visual art, sport and eating out are already in categorical form, and are used in the original state except where the proportions stating that they like or dislike the given genre fall (roughly) below 5 per cent of the sample. In such cases these categories are either left out or recoded into a bigger category. Those questions asking about the frequency of participating in specific leisure pursuits have also been recoded into three categories (high, low, never).

The Appendix shows that 168 active modalities cover a wide diversity of cultural sub-fields, including TV (23 modalities), cinema (20 modalities), reading (25 modalities), music (38 modalities), visual art (23 modalities), eating out (16 modalities) and participation in leisure and sport (21 modalities). Our questions mix questions on participation and taste. This complexity is deliberate: the aim is to see whether, using MCA, there are common structuring properties which operate across these multiple sub-fields, rather than to 'test' for a particular relationship hypothesized to exist. The space we have constructed here is unusually large and rich, and allows us to assess in unprecedented detail the location of a wide number of cultural variables.³

From the binary indicator matrix, MCA will identify the number of axes, each of which separates out the responses along one dimension. By interpreting the eigenvalues

reported for each different axis (eigen values show the amount of variance explained by each axis), we can assess how many axes offer an adequate summary of the space of lifestyles that we have constructed. In our case, as reported in Table A1, we are satisfied with two axes, although a further two axes, which we do not have the space to report here, are also of some importance. Focusing on two axes alone is also economical of space since we can portray these as the x and y axes of a conventional figure.⁴ These axes operate to separate out responses relationally, vis-à-vis each other, in a way that can permit us to assess whether some stand in opposition to others. Thus, if everyone who liked westerns also liked soap operas, they would be located in the same position. We initially used the French ADDAD and EYELID programme for the analysis, though we report here comparable findings produced by the Windows-driven package, SPAD. We can subsequently inspect the ordering of this space of lifestyles to determine how those who have responded in specific ways to any questions are located within it. By looking at each question in turn it becomes possible to describe how different kinds of responses are spatially separated, and how they go to make up key components of the space of lifestyles. The process is inductive: it is up to the viewer to see if he or she can discern the reasons why responses are differentially located. To repeat: MCA does not directly test a given hypothesized relationship.

Finally, we can explore what appear to be the structuring features of the space of lifestyles. An important aid here is the use of socio-demographic variables as 'supplementary' variables. These variables do not themselves help to construct the space of lifestyles, but can be superimposed on them, so that we can see if they appear to be associated with such lifestyles. This strategy has the further advantage that we are able to see how our results compare to those of Bourdieu, whose use of correspondence analysis was central to his analysis in *Distinction* (Bourdieu, 1984).

Part 2: The Space of Lifestyles: A Cultural Map of Britain in 2003

Figure 1 maps the co-ordinates of each of the modalities which constitute the space of lifestyles where these modalities contribute significantly (i.e. above the mean) to the two axes. The items represented in this and subsequent figures record only those preferences which contribute above the mean to the two axes. To aid interpretation of the associations across cultural fields, modalities concerned with reading are indicated by an arrow pointing down; music with a plus sign; TV with a circle; film with an arrow pointing up; eating out with an arrow pointing right; and sport with a square. A glance at Figure 1 reveals that, on axis 1, most of the likes are on the left-hand side, and many dislikes are on the right-hand side. Yet, since Figure 1 is rather complicated to view because of the number of modalities reported, we deal with each of the quadrants separately below at a higher level of magnification. Readers should be aware that Figure 1 is important because it indicates the complete patterning of the space of lifestyles as a whole. The further apart the modalities are, the more exclusive these modalities are with respect to each other; the closer together they are, the more likely it is for them to be shared.

First consider the bottom left quadrant of our space (Figure 2).⁵ Remembering that the further along either axis an item is positioned, the more it discriminates from other

modalities, we can see, at the farther points of axis 1, a liking for Impressionist painting, modern literature and French restaurants. There is also indication of interest in going to the opera (both frequent and occasional attendance is registered), and frequent visits to museums, art galleries, orchestral concerts and stately houses. A little closer to the intersect we see also a liking for biographies, costume drama and stage musicals, and classical music. These tastes go along with owning original works of art and many books. If we then look at the items with reference to axis 2, we find opera, French restaurants, classical music and orchestral concerts towards the extremes, and Impressionism, biographies and regular attendance at art galleries nearer to the middle. It seems relatively easy to interpret this quadrant as comprising elements associated with 'traditional' or 'established' high culture, spanning music, visual arts, eating out, leisure and reading. This includes a taste for items learned and transmitted through classical or formal education (classical music, modern literature), items which are comparatively expensive (French restaurants and attendance at opera) and collections of paintings and books, which signify both formal education and discretionary income. There are very few dislikes recorded (reality TV and the cheapest of eating-out places are the only two). This seems to indicate, therefore, not only a positive reaction to a substantial number of items, but a tolerance towards others, to some degree in accordance with the idea of cultural omnivorousness (Peterson & Kern, 1996). There is little sign, therefore, that those who appreciate these established cultural forms snobbishly reject other, popular, forms—though we should also note that nor do they show any particular interests in contemporary and popular culture.

Look next at Figure 3, which maps the top right quadrant, the antithesis of the bottom left. It is comprised almost exclusively of dislikes and avoidances. Modalities in this cluster include never attending a museum, art gallery or stately home. Dislikes are held for biography, modern literature, classical music, arts programmes, French and vegetarian restaurants and landscape painting, owning no books and no paintings. It is significant that this quadrant is the location for those watching more than 5 hours of TV on a weekday, and that the only distinctive positive preferences located in it are for soap operas, watching sport and horror films. The overriding impression of this particular configuration of activities is one of disengagement from, and even rejection of, many forms of cultural activity. The dislikes are for those items associated with established high culture, but there are no alternative positive preferences to suggest some substitute vibrant popular cultural life.

By contrast, we find in the top left quadrant (Figure 4) evidence of a positive evaluation of contemporary cultural forms, some popular, some serious. The pattern of the co-ordinates is probably best described by its distribution on the second axis, where items with the heaviest weight are, besides playing football and rugby, liking electronic and urban music, liking modern art, science fiction, fantasy and horror books and TV comedies. Further along the first axis (contributing to Factor 1) can be found going to rock concerts and frequent visits to the cinema, and liking rock and heavy metal music. The modalities here cover music, playing sport, reading and television. There are some, but not many, dislikes: film musicals, landscape painting, watching golf on TV and country and western music. There is also considerable evidence of

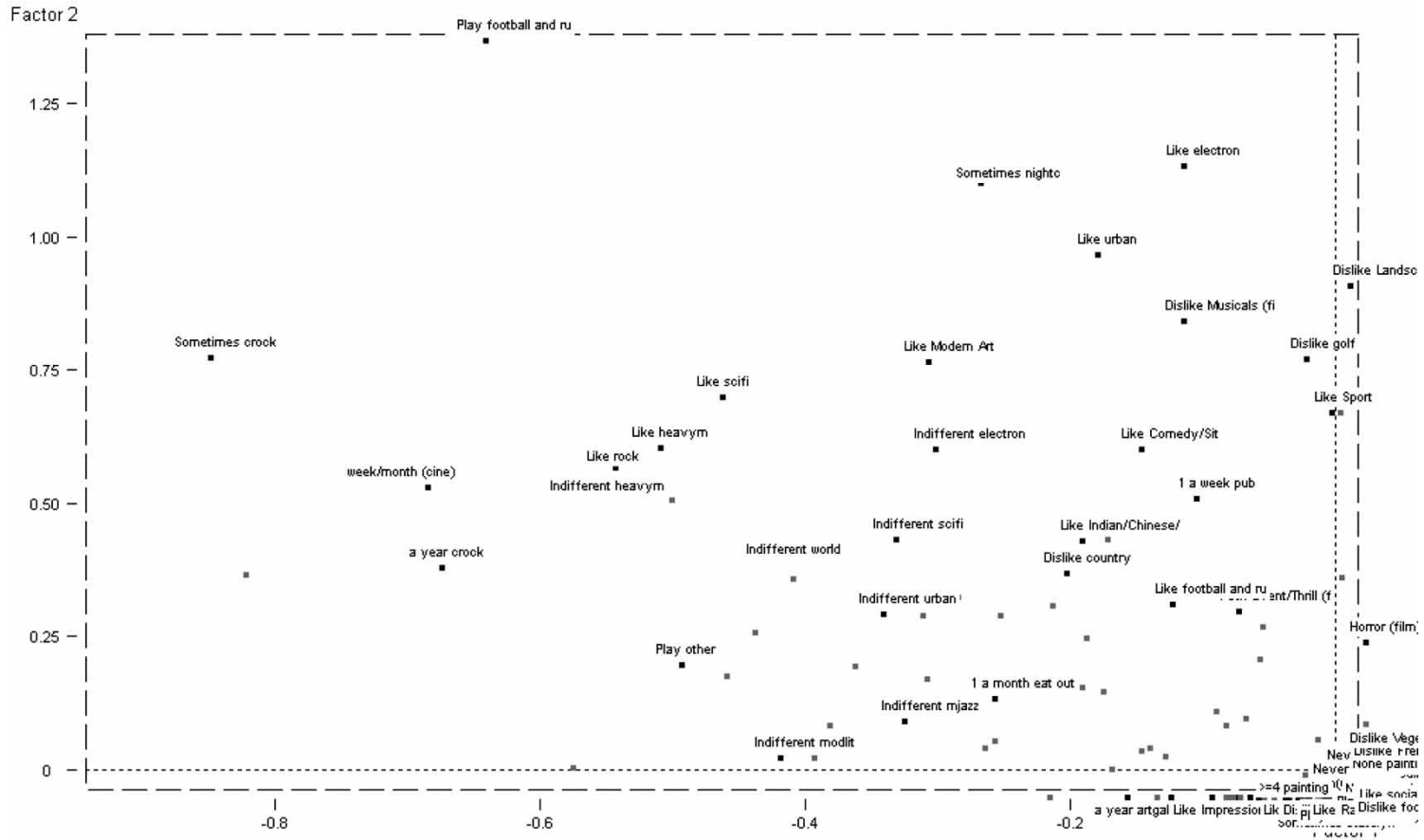


Figure 4 Cloud with those Modalities that Make a Contribution to Axes 1 and 2 (Quarter Top Left)

tolerance for almost all forms of non-classical music, registered in the map as expression of indifference (neither liking nor disliking) to modern jazz, world, heavy metal, electronic and urban music. In this syndrome, popular music plays a significant role in defining tastes, though eating Indian and Chinese food, watching sport and going to the pub frequently are also significant.

The fourth quadrant (bottom right) is also primarily structured by dislikes and avoidances (see Figure 5). People sharing this bundle of preferences, apart from expressing a liking for country and western music, typically do not appreciate modern popular music. They dislike rock, world, urban, heavy metal, modern jazz and electronic music, and never go to rock concerts. They also do not like to watch football, or horror films, and do not like modern art or reading science fiction and self-help books. They do not go to night clubs or the cinema, and they do not play sport. They rarely, if ever, go to pubs or restaurants. This suggests some degree of avoidance of the more commercial cultural events and aversion to activities and tastes which have more recently become popular. Notably, they are not particularly averse to some other forms of recreational outings—to art galleries or stately homes, for example. Their distinctive positive preferences are for country and western music, watching social sports (the most commonly reported of these in the survey were darts and snooker), westerns and films of musicals. They also have preferences for traditional foods, liking the inexpensive outlets of fish and chip restaurants and cafes, and express dislike for Indian and Chinese restaurants. This set of tastes might perhaps best be characterized as traditional, averse to contemporary popular culture, and of lower class provenance. This is indeed what we see when we consider the supplementary variables below. It is older, working-class people with no educational qualifications who are situated in this quadrant.

However, before pursuing this further, let us review some additional and summary features of these quadrants. As we can see from Figure 1, a strong line of differentiation exists along axis 1 between likes and dislikes. The right-hand side of the space of lifestyles is characterized by dislikes, especially aversion to the taste for established culture in the top quadrant and for contemporary popular culture in the lower quadrant, with avoidance of participation in commercial culture more obvious in the latter. Comparing the two bottom quadrants, we see evidence of the archaeology of the cultural foundations of the post-war years, with the differences being between established high culture and a taste for what is now a rather old-fashioned syndrome of 'popular' culture: westerns, fish and chips and musicals. With the exception of fish and chips, it is not people with established tastes (in the bottom left quadrant) who most dislike these items; rather, it is those younger groups in the top left quadrant. But, in general, there are few dislikes among either the established or the contemporary cluster, the difference between the two being more a difference in preferences for genres of music and reading. The two quadrants in the top half of the map are distinguished particularly by the extent of dislike of established culture. Tastes are more convergent (scores high on axis 2, but around the mid point of axis 1) around liking to watch sport on TV, and the liking for electronic and perhaps urban music.

Second, there is evidence of homologies of taste across fields. So, not only can we see that tastes for particular genres of music or writing are distributed unevenly, we can

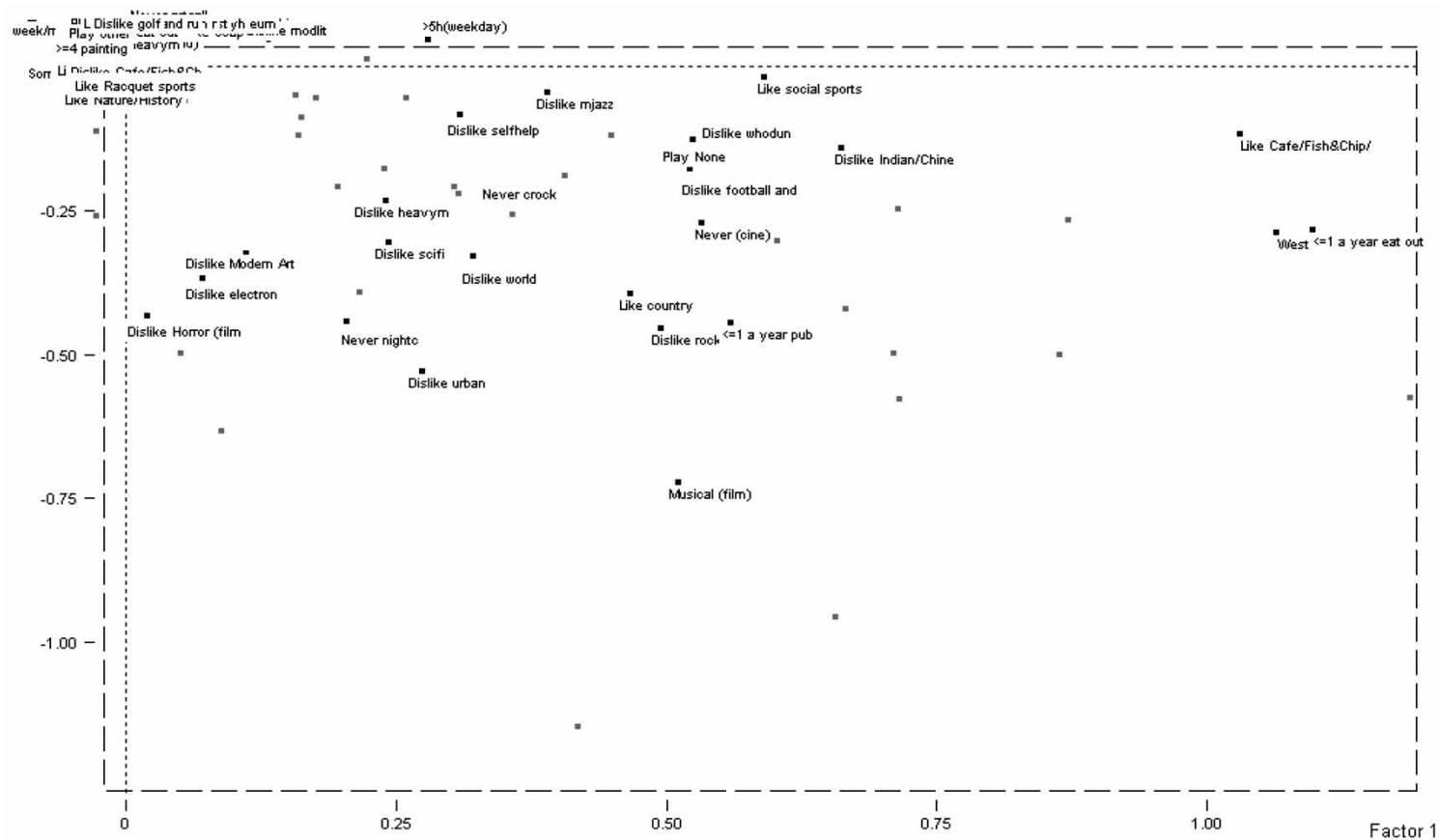


Figure 5 Cloud with those Modalities that Make a Contribution to Axes 1 and 2 (Quarter Bottom Right)

also see that there are affinities between tastes and practices of different types. The clearest example is perhaps the tendency noted above for those who like Impressionist painting also to like opera and French restaurants. Equally, though, those who most appreciate modern art also tend to like science fiction books and heavy metal music. There are homologies across fields. Given that the two axes explain about 75 per cent of the total variance in this space of lifestyles, the likelihood that these clusters are symbolically significant is robust. However, some fields seem less likely to yield distinctions: types of TV programmes, for instance (though not the amount of time spent watching TV), are rarely an element of a distinctive cultural clustering, and nor, very often, are genres of film. This is in itself important, though, confirming the role that these media play in providing some points of cultural convergence for groups whose tastes might, in other aspects, be sharply divergent.

Third, we can see some differences between the ways in which tastes and participation differentiate among clusters. Our space of lifestyles has been constructed with reference to both. However, they are not necessarily the same, since expressing a view about how much one likes a cultural item or form is very different, and for instance requires fewer material resources, than frequent visits to live events or sites of cultural interest. Each operates slightly differently, as can be seen when we look at the way in which the social space is superimposed upon the space of lifestyles.

Part 3: How Far is the Space of Lifestyles Associated with Social Divisions?

Our discussion in Part 2 is deliberately designed simply to examine the relationships between cultural modalities themselves, without smuggling in assumptions about the kinds of people who may partake of these distinctive cultural forms. However, now that we have interpreted the axes in Figure 1, we are able to overlay the location of some key supplementary variables to indicate whether there is a clear relationship between social position and position on the cultural map. Recall that these socio-demographic factors were *not* part of the construction of the space of lifestyles, which depended for its structure entirely on the extent to which preferences were distributed. This gives some understanding to the social structure of the space of lifestyles.

As we have seen in other articles in this issue, the *Cultural Capital and Social Exclusion* (CCSE) survey has extensive information on the economic, social and educational characteristics of its respondents. Table A3 in the Appendix indicates the variables that we included as supplementary variables here.⁶ Each is placed on the map at the point which represents the mean co-ordinates of a particular category, for instance male or age 18–24. Figure 6 shows gender, age group, occupational class and highest educational qualification of respondent, and mother's and father's highest educational qualification. To aid interpretation, lines are drawn linking three key variables: occupational class, educational qualifications and age. What is most obvious is that measures of class and education are distributed monotonically along axis 1. The spread for respondents' educational qualification is marginally greater than that for occupational class. It is interesting that the modality furthest on the left-hand side of Figure 6 is father's education, which suggests the importance of inherited cultural capital for respondents'

Factor 2 - 4.02 %

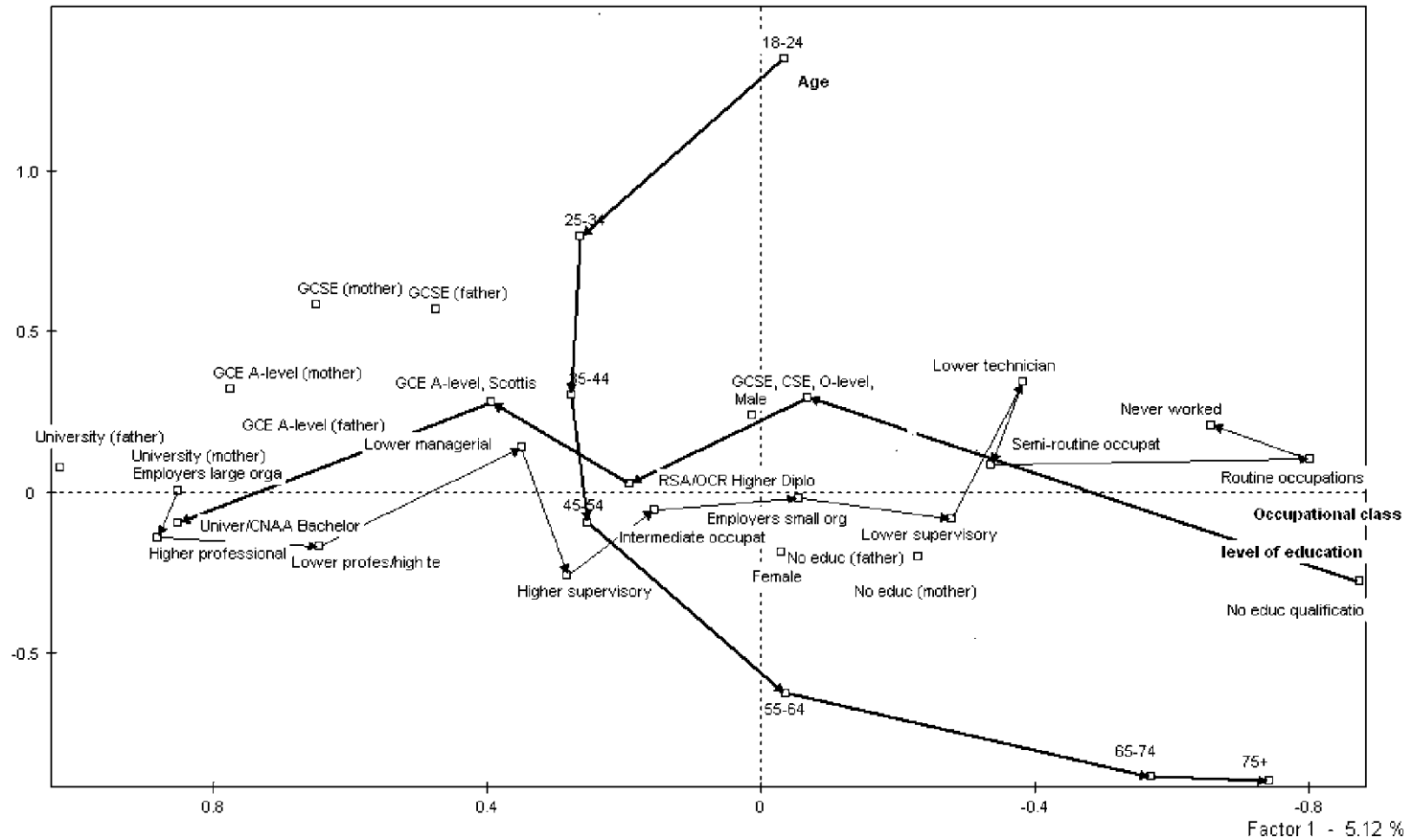


Figure 6 Supplementary Variables with Trajectories

taste. In general, we can see the inter-related nature of education and occupational class, and the tendency for higher occupational position to be inter-generationally transmitted. Educated fathers and mothers, and equally parents themselves with higher occupational positions, disproportionately educate their children to higher levels, enabling them to obtain more rewarding jobs.⁷ In Bourdieu's terms, axis 1 plots the holding of both economic and (institutionalized) cultural capital, both increasing together from right to left, and is close to his account where he sees the 'volume of capital' as being the fundamental measure of axis 1. The second factor, displayed on axis 2, is less easily characterized, though is predominantly age related. Although the difference is not very great, men tend to be located above the intersect, and women below; both are close to the mid point of axis 1. The distribution of age groups clearly does map onto axis 2: the youngest age group is at the top, the oldest at the bottom, and the intermediate groups run in sequence. It is, however, also the case that age groups might be seen as running along a diagonal from top left to bottom right. Were it not for the positioning of the (relatively small) youngest group, it would be just as plausible to seek to understand age as a structuring feature of the horizontal as of the vertical axis. The reason is, of course, sociologically immediately comprehensible. Respondents aged 25–44 are, on average, significantly more highly qualified than older cohorts, and were the beneficiaries of changes in the occupational structure after de-industrialization propelled the growth of professional and managerial occupations and the decline of manual work. We are thus in a position now to look at the ways in which social position and tastes are matched.

In order to do this we examine Figure 7, which selects modalities from four key fields—restaurants, genres of television, music and reading. We make this selection for ease of reading the diagram, but these supplementary socio-demographic variables could be superimposed at exactly the same co-ordinates in Figure 1 (and indeed Figures 2–5). In many ways, cognizance of the structure of the social space makes immediate sense of the patterns manifest in the space of lifestyles. It is the educated middle class who have the tastes clustering on the left of the map; the further one moves to the left, the more these particular tastes are those of graduates and members of the higher echelons of the professional and managerial service class. Those people are particularly likely to go to opera, like French restaurants and occasionally go to rock concerts. They are in privileged positions. So were their parents. It is primarily age that differentiates between a liking for established culture and one for contemporary cultural forms. It is the younger, educated middle class who have a taste for rock music, heavy metal and science fiction. However, both the older and younger cohorts exhibit a high degree of tolerance—they do not exhibit much by way of dislikes. Indeed, the dislikes are located along the *x* axis at a point where respondents tend to be educated to A-level and have lower managerial and intermediate jobs. Dislike for reality TV, fish and chips, and country and western music is at its greatest among such groups. Thus we see some indication of the striated patterns of taste, as categories of people symbolically differentiate themselves from other groups.

The importance of age, and to some extent gender, can be explored further. The preferences displayed in the top left quadrant are those of younger people. It is no

Factor 2

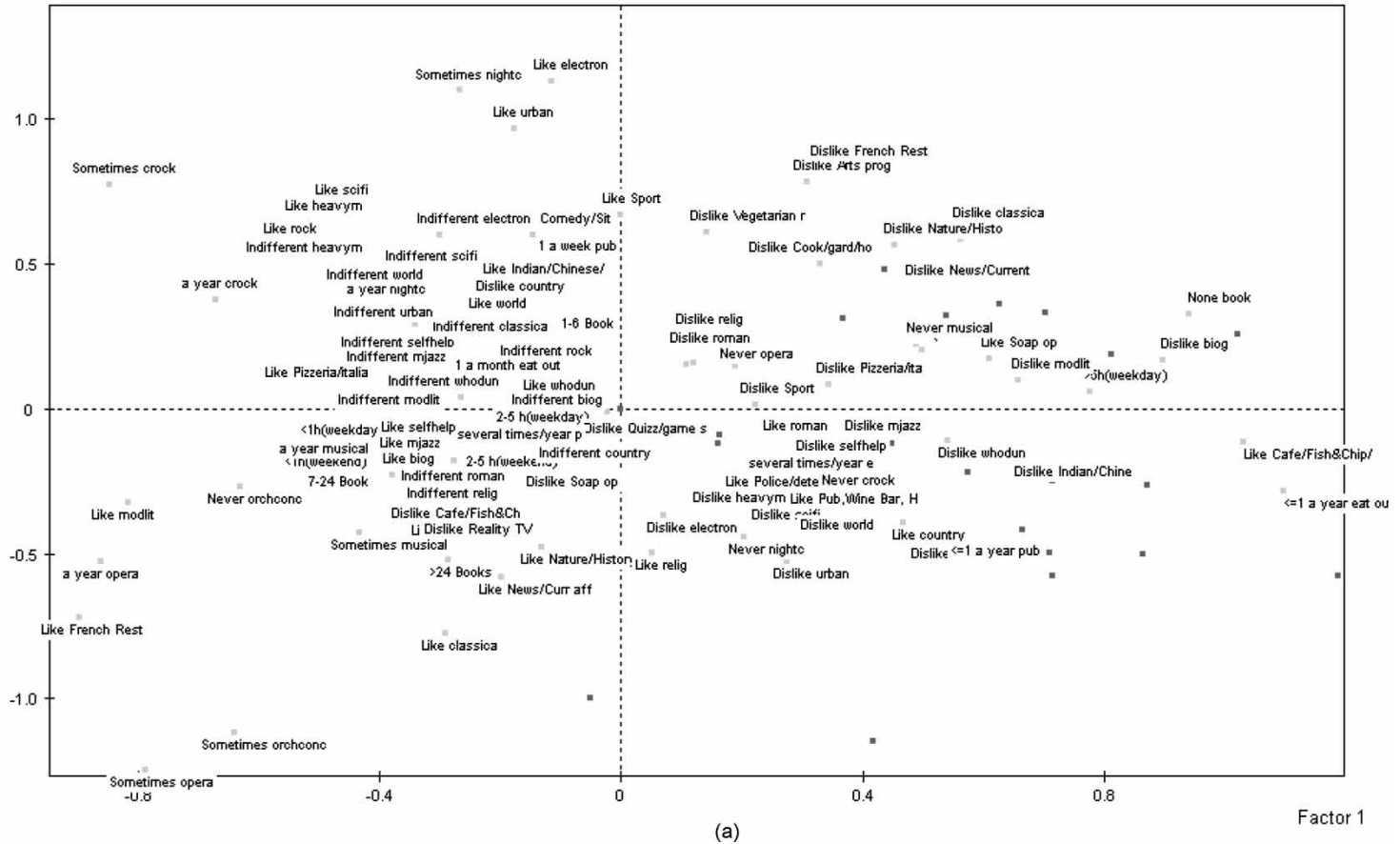


Figure 7 (a) Cloud of Modalities for the Fields of TV, Eating Out, Reading and Music

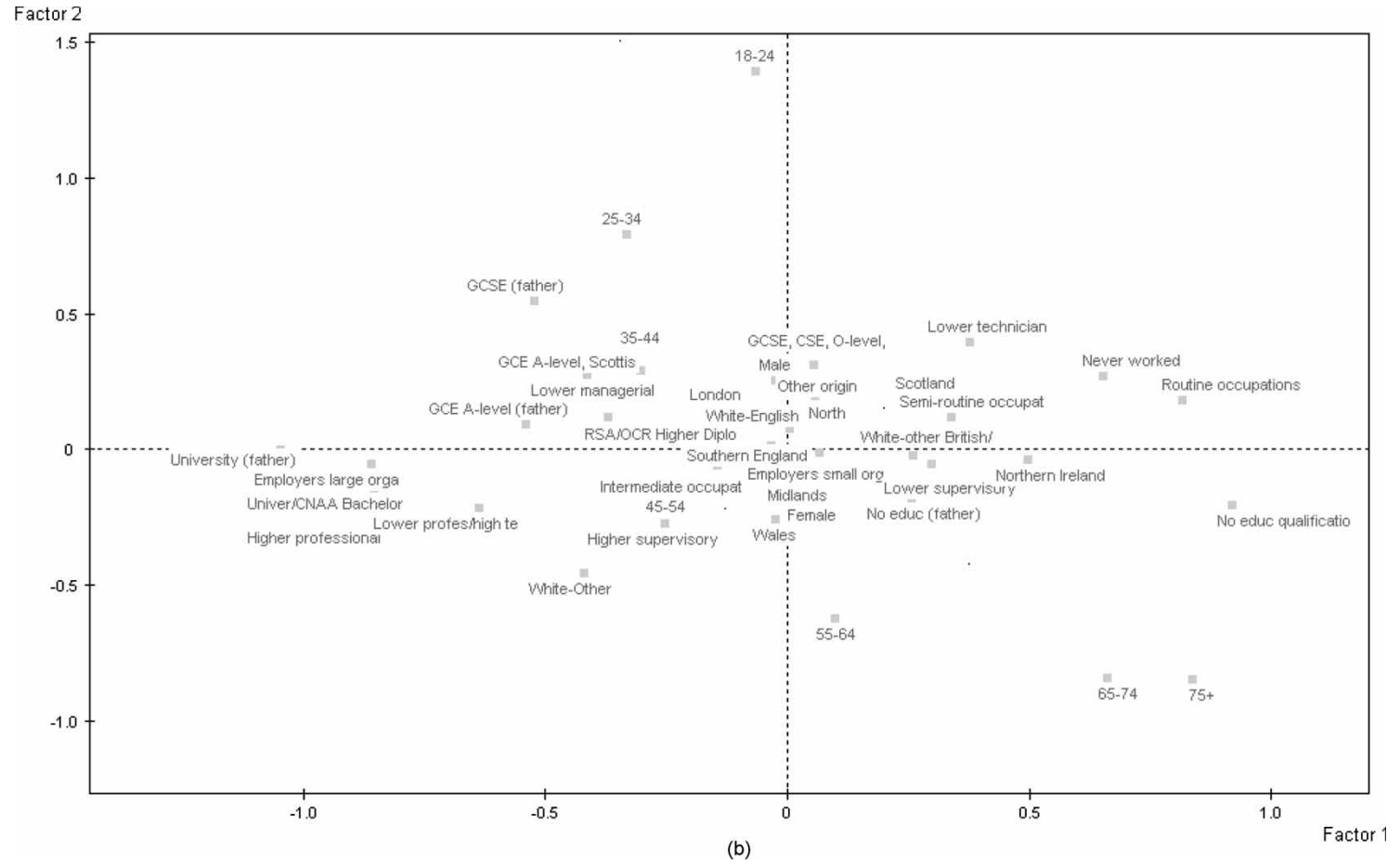


Figure 7 (b) Supplementary variables, mean points.

surprise that younger and better-off people might go to rock concerts and night clubs. Nor that they like contemporary musical genres. Those chosen are perhaps also partly conditioned by gender. Men have more of a taste than women for science fiction, fantasy and horror books and heavy metal. Their well-documented preference for watching sports programmes is also apparent. Conversely, some of the items that we know are more preferred by educated women, modern literature, for instance, lie below the horizontal axis. Nevertheless, it probably is particularly important that age is represented on the vertical axis. It suggests that some of the forms typically thought of as formal and established are less central to the younger middle class. For instance, opera, and maybe especially classical music, appear to be preserves of the older middle class. Size of book collection is also a function of age, along with liking news and nature programmes. These appear to be items common to older white-collar groups more generally, and do suggest that there might have been a significant generational shift. What distinguishes the young middle class from the older is music, and to some extent food, TV habits and different forms of 'going out'.

Consideration of the role of age also helps identify the nature of the culturally disengaged group. The correspondence analysis suggests that it is young, poorly educated males who have fewer cultural attachments. They especially dislike those items in which the established and older middle class find their identity (owning books, French restaurants, classical music, current-affairs programmes). The lower the educational level and the greater the involvement in manual work, the more time is spent watching TV and the more likely a person is to have no books. The younger the person, the more they dislike classical music and arts programmes. This group is more averse to the established middle-class cultural preferences than to those of the older working-class cohorts. Presumably this is a function of educational experience and a learned aversion, born out of discomfort with the practice and curriculum of the school, to types of culture to which there is no attachment or appreciation.

If we compare the items appearing in the bottom right quadrant, a position dominated by elderly, poorly qualified people who had had working-class employment, we see that their aversions are to the items liked by the young middle class. There is the occasional exception: the division of opinion on fish and chips and modern jazz occurs between older people across the class boundary. But most dislikes—for forms of contemporary music, science fiction and horror movies—are counter-posed to the tastes of the younger middle class.

Conclusions

Let us draw together some conclusions, but before we do this, we should once again re-iterate the provisional nature of our findings, and the fact that our correspondence analysis reported here may well alter in later iterations. Readers need to be aware that our findings are dependent on the way that we constructed our space of lifestyles, around selected questions from our CCSE survey: this in no way therefore stands as a definitive statement of our findings as a whole.

MCA allows the opportunity to array a wide variety of forms of cultural taste and participation visually, so that we can inspect how they are organized in an economical way. Readers will see that, for any specific field, the separations displayed in Figures 1–5 are consistent with those reported in other articles in this volume, but the value of the exercise here is that we are able to overlay these fields so that interconnections can be usefully unravelled, in a readily accessible form which does not demand statistical expertise. Rather than testing for specific kinds of relationships or patterns, we are thereby able to present a wide-ranging cultural map.

In interpreting these figures, we have emphasized a number of points. First, notwithstanding widespread claims about the fragmentation of taste communities, individualization, and similar claims about contemporary forms of social change, we have revealed clear and marked patterns of differentiation in tastes, many of which appear rooted in long-term historical patterns, and many of which we would probably have found in earlier decades. Thus to learn that older middle-class people like classical music and younger people like electronic music etc. would seem completely predictable on the basis of long-standing assumptions about cultural taste. Clusters of taste do appear to be associated with social position.

This consideration gives us some general basis for asserting that processes of distinction are still at work in Britain, and that the processes work across a range of activities. Those with high economic and cultural capital are not only likely to go to the opera, but also to watch less than an hour's television on a weekday, own books, and like rock music and modern jazz. These are component parts of lifestyles segmented by possession of economic and cultural capital. And there is a consolidation across fields in much the way that Bourdieu would anticipate. These are not wholly isolated taste communities, to be sure. Many items probably have relatively limited importance in determining cultural identity and identification. A few indicators (those at the margins of the space) are particularly useful as signs of social differentiation. This does suggest that cultural consumption is part of collective social identity and identification, as Bourdieu argues, and is a function of social institutions and social connections.

This having been said, we can see that, whereas amongst the older age groups, at the bottom of Figures 1 and 7, there seems to be an opposition between those who like forms of established, 'legitimate' culture, and those who like what used to be seen as more 'popular' forms of culture, for the younger age groups, at the top of Figures 1 and 7, this is less clear. For the younger age groups, the major rift is between those who express likings, especially towards forms of popular music, and those who are disengaged and who do not appear to have any obvious likes. We need to repeat our caution that this finding depends on the variables used to construct the space of lifestyles, and that it could be that those on the top right of Figure 1 have tastes and forms of participation that we did not ask about. But, as should be clear from the articles in this special issue, we did ask about a wide range of cultural forms. We detect a significant group in the population which, on the basis of our analysis, seems to be outside the parameters of those cultural tastes that we have measured here. It is overwhelmingly the young, poorly educated working class who fall into this group. Although we are some way from finding a good

measure of cultural inequalities, it seems likely, on the basis of our findings so far, that this will overlap other, entrenched inequalities of class and age.

Looking at the left-hand side of Figures 1 and 7, we find a second axis between those who like 'classic' established taste and those who like more popular cultural forms: this is a tension within the middle class which primarily sets younger against older respondents. Here our finding on the significance of age in defining taste is important, since in Bourdieu's work the two main axes differentiating the space of lifestyles are, first, volume of capital (which we also see in our left–right axis) and, second, type of capital, where cultural and economic capitals are differentiated. We do not find the later differentiation. We would have expected the effects of educational qualification to be located on a different axis to those of class if these two forms of capital were clearly separated. This is not the case. The importance of age is not something that Bourdieu brings out in his work. This may reflect the fact that few of the questions in his survey appear to be aimed at uncovering age differences (for instance, most of his questions on music appear to be pitched at a middle-aged audience), but certainly in our results we see very powerful effects of age. This point is interesting in view of the fact that so much recent social science has uncovered powerful generational shifts, from Inglehart's claims about the rise of post-materialist generations (Inglehart, 1990) to Putnam's arguments about the falling off in civic engagement amongst younger age groups (Putnam, 2000).

It may be that this was always the case in the UK, but we doubt it. We think that it is likely that age has emerged as an important differentiating feature, as a result of changing commercial provision, the development of culture industries more attuned to fashion, youth and profit (especially music), liberalizing education, and stronger polarization in the economic prospects (especially for men) of younger cohorts with more and less qualifications.

Our final remarks return to the issues of social and cultural inequality. We have indeed found significant sections of the population, defined largely in terms of level of education and occupational class, who are relatively little engaged in the cultural tastes and forms of participation we have asked about. These groups comprise a relatively large proportion of our sample; their nucleating points occupy an entire quadrant of our space of lifestyles. When those in the bottom right-hand quadrant, who also tend to be little involved in any of the forms of reading, art and music that we inquired about, are added, it seems that a fundamental rift exists between the (multiply) engaged and the disengaged. We do not, however, think that the vocabulary of 'social exclusion' offers a helpful characterization of this situation.

This is because the range of the social groups that are primarily gathered in these quadrants is far too large numerically, and represents a division that is far too systemic, for them to be construed as marginal populations that are excluded from a majoritarian 'mainstream'. Equally, we have seen that the 'mainstream' is itself significantly divided, particularly in terms of age and the ways in which this connects with the relations between level of education and occupational class position. The correspondence analysis has also demonstrated the complexity of the cultural field, with the result that we cannot easily construct binary divides between included and excluded. For if questions focused around the concept of cultural capital are to

enter productively into cultural policy debates concerned with a greater equalization of cultural life chances, they need to do so in a manner informed by the role it plays, in connection with other forms of capital, in relation to the whole set of complexly differentiated positions within the space of lifestyles that this article has demonstrated.

Notes

- [1] For case studies using qualitative data, see Silva (in press).
- [2] It is unfortunate that we are not able to use colour in Figures 1–7 to aid visual interpretation of the findings. The tables have been placed on the CRESC website www.cresc.ac.uk so that colour can be used, and so that readers can alter the size of the figures should they wish to inspect them in detail.
- [3] Readers should note that the analysis reported here is hence more fully elaborated than that reported in Savage, Gayo-Cal, Tampubolon, and Warde (2005), and that this account is therefore more robust, though we will continue to refine the space of lifestyles in future work, to be reported in Bennett *et al.* (forthcoming).
- [4] Additional axes would require additional figures, so complicating the interpretation of the space.
- [5] Modalities without a label do not contribute significantly to the axis concerned and can hence be disregarded for our purposes.
- [6] These amount to only a small proportion of those variables available from the CCSE survey and our future work will examine the location of these supplementary variables in greater detail.
- [7] Income, incidentally, is a rather less discriminating variable, but it too maps onto axis 1, with four income groups running from right to left, from lowest to highest quartile.

References

- Abbott, A. (2001). *Time matters*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Bellah, R., et al. (1996). *Habits of the heart: Individualism and commitment in American life*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Bennett, T., Savage, M., Silva, A., Warde, A., Gayo-Cal, M., & Wright, D. (forthcoming) *Culture, Capital, Distinction* London: Routledge.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction*. London: Routledge.
- Chan, T. & Goldthorpe, J. H. (forthcoming). "Social Stratification and Cultural consumption: music in England". *European Sociological Review*, University of Oxford.
- Clausen, S. (1998). *Applied correspondence analysis: An introduction*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Greenacre & Blasius (Eds.). (1994). *Correspondence analysis in the social sciences*. London: Academic Press.
- Inglehart, R. (1990). *Culture shift in advanced society*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- LeRoux, B., & Rouanet, H. (2004). *Geometric data analysis*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Levitas, R. (2004). Let's hear it for Humpty: Social exclusion, the third way, and cultural capital. *Cultural Trends*, 13(2), 41–50.
- Peterson, R. A., & Kern, R. (1996). Changing highbrow taste: From snob to omnivore. *American Sociological Review*, 61, 900–909.
- Putnam, R. (2000). *Bowling alone*. New York: Touchstone.
- Roberts, K. (2004). Leisure inequalities, class divisions and social exclusion in present day Britain, *Cultural Trends* 13(2), 57–71.
- Savage, M., Barlow, J., Dickens, P., & Fielding, A. J. (1992). *Property, bureaucracy and culture: Middle class formation in contemporary Britain*. London: Routledge.
- Savage, M., Gayo-Cal, M., Tampubolon, G., & Warde, A. (2005). Cultural capital in the UK: A preliminary report using correspondence analysis (CRESC Working Paper No. 4). Manchester: University of Manchester. Retrieved from <http://www.cresc.ac.uk>
- Silva, E. B. (in press). Homologies of social space and elective affinities: Researching cultural capital. *Sociology*, 41(1).

Stebbins, R. A. (1992). *Amateurs, professionals and serious leisure*. McGill, CA: McGill University Press.

Appendix

Table A1 Multiple Correspondence Analysis: Selection of Axis

	Axis 1	Axis 2
Eigenvalue	0.1601	0.1272
Percentage	5.12	4.02
Acumulative %	5.12	9.14
Variation (%)		1.10
Modified inertia rate (%)	49	28
Cumulated modified rates (%)		77

Notes: the modified inertia rate is the squared difference between the eigenvalue of a particular axis and the mean of all the eigenvalues divided by the sum of all the eigenvalues above the mean. The idea is to stretch out the

Table A2 Co-ordinates and Contribution of the Active Modalities on the First Two Axes

Variables	Modalities	Axis 1		Axis 2	
		Coord.	Contr.	Coord.	Contr.
No. hours TV (an ordinary weekday)	<1 hour (weekday)	0.45	0.48	-0.03	0.00
	2-5 hours (weekday)	0.17	0.28	0.01	0.00
	>5 hours (weekday)	-0.76	2.15	-0.02	0.00
No. hours TV (an ordinary weekend day)	<1 hours(weekend)	0.33	0.19	-0.09	0.02
	2-5 hours (weekend)	0.22	0.42	-0.08	0.07
	>5 hours (weekend)	-0.50	1.31	0.15	0.16
Type TV programme like best	Like News/Current Affairs	0.25	0.17	-0.57	1.13
	Like Comedy/Sitcom	0.11	0.02	0.60	0.82
	Like Police/detective	-0.29	0.09	-0.23	0.07
	Like Nature/History	0.18	0.06	-0.47	0.54
	Like Sport	-0.05	0.00	0.66	1.04
	Like Films	0.14	0.03	0.44	0.35
	Like Drama	0.35	0.17	-0.36	0.24
Type TV programme like least	Like Soap opera	-0.60	0.96	0.11	0.04
	Dislike News/Current Affairs	-0.49	0.16	0.42	0.15
	Dislike Quiz/games	0.02	0.00	-0.01	0.00
	Dislike Nature/History	-0.49	0.16	0.52	0.23
	Dislike Sport	-0.21	0.11	-0.02	0.00
	Dislike Arts programmes	-0.35	0.16	0.74	0.91
	Dislike Reality TV	0.32	0.43	-0.36	0.66
	Dislike Soap opera	0.19	0.09	-0.15	0.08
	Dislike cookery/gardening/home decoration programmes	-0.36	0.11	0.46	0.23
	How often do you go to the cinema?	High cinema	0.64	1.09	0.58
Some cinema		0.45	0.98	0.21	0.26
Never cinema		-0.50	2.00	-0.32	1.04

(Table Continued)

Table A2 Continued

Variables	Modalities	Axis 1		Axis 2	
		Coord.	Contr.	Coord.	Contr.
Type of films like the best	Action/Adventure/Thrillers	0.06	0.01	0.30	0.50
	Comedy	-0.02	0.00	0.35	0.44
	Costume drama	0.62	0.59	-1.16	2.68
	Documentary	0.11	0.01	-0.56	0.47
	Horror	-0.12	0.01	0.95	0.87
	Musical	-0.44	0.20	-0.77	0.80
	Romance	-0.28	0.10	0.04	0.00
	Science Fiction	0.47	0.25	0.54	0.42
	Westerns	-1.04	0.84	-0.37	0.13
Type of films like the least	Dislike Bollywood	0.24	0.11	0.30	0.22
	Dislike Costume drama	-0.05	0.00	0.66	0.45
	Dislike Horror	0.02	0.00	-0.44	0.77
	Dislike Musicals	0.05	0.00	0.84	0.97
	Dislike Romance	-0.25	0.04	0.27	0.07
	Dislike Science Fiction	-0.18	0.07	-0.41	0.46
	Dislike War	0.07	0.01	0.09	0.01
	Dislike Western	0.14	0.03	0.05	0.00
No. books read in last year	No book	-0.95	2.63	0.24	0.22
	1-6 Books	0.05	0.02	0.20	0.34
	7-24 Books	0.41	0.54	-0.21	0.18
	>24 Books	0.34	0.32	-0.50	0.89
How much like whodunnits?	Like whodunit	0.14	0.09	0.03	0.00
	Indifferent whodunit	0.27	0.44	0.05	0.02
	Dislike whodunit	-0.52	1.18	-0.16	0.14
How much like Sci-Fi, fantasy and horror?	Like science fiction	0.42	0.40	0.73	1.53
	Indifferent science fiction	0.31	0.31	0.45	0.86
	Dislike science fiction	-0.21	0.43	-0.33	1.33
How much like romances?	Like romances	-0.24	0.19	-0.08	0.03
	Indifferent romances	0.30	0.45	-0.16	0.17
	Dislike romances	-0.11	0.09	0.14	0.17
How much like biographies and autobiographies?	Like biographies	0.39	0.93	-0.11	0.09
	Indifferent biographies	0.15	0.13	0.04	0.01
	Dislike biographies	-0.90	2.97	0.09	0.04
How much like modern literature?	Like modern literature	0.84	1.51	-0.25	0.18
	Indifferent modern literature	0.43	1.12	0.05	0.02
	Dislike modern literature	-0.65	2.86	0.04	0.01
How much like religious books?	Like religious books	0.01	0.00	-0.51	0.44
	Indifferent religious books	0.35	0.42	-0.25	0.29
	Dislike religion	-0.13	0.17	0.14	0.27
How much like self-help books?	Like self help	0.33	0.27	-0.05	0.01
	Indifferent self help	0.30	0.45	0.19	0.22
	Dislike self help	-0.30	0.69	-0.11	0.13
How often go to Rock concerts?	High rock concerts	0.80	0.96	0.83	1.31
	Some rock concerts	0.65	1.36	0.43	0.77
	Never rock concerts	-0.32	1.12	-0.25	0.86
How often go to Opera?	High opera	0.91	0.59	-1.22	1.34
	Some opera	0.92	1.53	-0.47	0.51
	Never opera	-0.19	0.48	0.13	0.27

(Table Continued)

Table A2 Continued

Variables	Modalities	Axis 1		Axis 2	
		Coord.	Contr.	Coord.	Contr.
How often go to Orchestral or choral concerts?	High orchestral concerts	0.76	1.07	-1.11	2.85
	Some orchestral concerts	0.70	1.64	-0.26	0.28
	Never orchestral concerts	-0.38	1.47	0.27	0.98
How often go to Musicals?	High musical	0.48	0.64	-0.41	0.58
	Some musical	0.46	1.06	-0.07	0.03
	Never musical	-0.50	1.89	0.18	0.32
How often go to night clubs?	High nightclubs	0.19	0.12	1.11	5.32
	Some nightclubs	0.38	0.30	0.39	0.39
	Never nightclubs	-0.16	0.26	-0.46	2.73
How much like rock?	Like rock	0.50	1.03	0.61	1.91
	Indifferent rock	0.17	0.14	0.15	0.15
	Dislike rock	-0.45	1.20	-0.50	1.93
How much like Modern jazz?	Like modern jazz	0.37	0.26	-0.09	0.02
	Indifferent modern jazz	0.32	0.63	0.11	0.10
	Dislike modern jazz	-0.37	1.04	-0.08	0.07
How much like World music?	Like world	0.20	0.07	0.32	0.24
	Indifferent world	0.39	0.82	0.43	1.28
	Dislike world	-0.29	0.64	-0.36	1.29
How much like Classical music, inc Opera?	Like classical	0.37	0.64	-0.77	3.53
	Indifferent classical	0.19	0.20	0.17	0.20
	Dislike classical	-0.60	1.75	0.53	1.75
How much like Country and Western?	Like country	-0.42	0.71	-0.44	0.98
	Indifferent country	0.11	0.07	-0.06	0.03
	Dislike country	0.18	0.17	0.38	0.97
How much like Electronic Dance Music?	Like electronic	0.04	0.00	1.12	2.66
	Indifferent electronic	0.26	0.25	0.61	1.71
	Dislike electronic	-0.04	0.01	-0.38	1.63
How much like Heavy Metal?	Like heavy metal	0.46	0.35	0.64	0.85
	Indifferent heavy metal	0.53	0.83	0.57	1.25
	Dislike heavy metal	-0.21	0.46	-0.26	0.89
How much like Urban, inc Hip Hop and RnB?	Like urban	0.12	0.04	0.97	3.32
	Indifferent urban	0.33	0.53	0.31	0.63
	Dislike urban	-0.22	0.34	-0.55	2.66
How often go to Museums?	High museum	0.83	2.56	-0.42	0.83
	Some museum	0.26	0.42	0.07	0.03
	Never museum	-0.85	4.10	0.19	0.26
How often go to Stately homes or historic sites?	High stately homes	0.60	1.85	-0.42	1.13
	Some stately homes	0.09	0.05	0.11	0.08
	Never stately homes	-0.81	3.06	0.31	0.57
How often go to Art galleries?	High art galleries	0.96	2.32	-0.52	0.87
	Some art galleries	0.55	1.36	-0.06	0.02
	Never art galleries	-0.60	3.01	0.18	0.34
Type of art like the most?	Like Performance art	0.19	0.05	0.25	0.09
	Like Landscape art	-0.15	0.18	-0.24	0.53
	Like Renaissance art	0.73	0.34	-0.57	0.26
	Like Still life art	0.09	0.01	0.08	0.01
	Like Portrait art	-0.13	0.02	0.36	0.22
	Like Modern art	0.27	0.09	0.78	0.99
	Like Impressionist art	0.97	1.41	-0.19	0.07
Like no art	-1.06	1.51	0.37	0.23	

(Table Continued)

Table A2 Continued

Variables	Modalities	Axis 1		Axis 2	
		Coord.	Contr.	Coord.	Contr.
Type of art like the least?	Dislike Performance	0.40	0.34	0.05	0.01
	Dislike Landscape art	-0.06	0.00	0.89	0.86
	Dislike Renaissance art	0.05	0.00	0.26	0.06
	Dislike Still life art	0.28	0.12	0.33	0.22
	Dislike Portrait art	0.42	0.14	0.29	0.08
	Dislike Modern art	-0.07	0.03	-0.34	0.92
	Dislike Impressionist art	-0.13	0.03	-0.07	0.01
number of paintings	No paintings	-0.29	0.78	0.14	0.23
	1-3 paintings	0.28	0.27	-0.08	0.03
	>4 paintings	0.66	1.08	-0.44	0.59
How often do you go to the pub ?	High pub	0.08	0.03	0.50	1.45
	Some pub	0.22	0.33	-0.05	0.03
	Rarely pub	-0.52	1.05	-0.49	1.22
How often go to somewhere to eat out?	High eat out	0.25	0.61	0.15	0.26
	Some eat out	-0.22	0.21	-0.20	0.23
	Rarely eat out	-1.06	1.70	-0.37	0.27
Place to eat out like most	Like Cafe/Fish&Chip	-1.00	1.55	-0.21	0.08
	Like Pizzeria/Italian	0.38	0.41	0.11	0.04
	Like Pub, Wine Bar, Hotel	-0.28	0.37	-0.25	0.39
	Like Indian/Chinese restaurants	0.16	0.13	0.44	1.17
Place to eat out like least	Like French Restaurants	0.96	1.06	-0.65	0.63
	Dislike Café/Fish&Chips	0.36	0.96	-0.29	0.79
	Dislike Pizzeria/Italian	-0.34	0.09	0.05	0.00
	Dislike Indian/Chinese Restaurants	-0.63	0.95	-0.21	0.13
	Dislike French Restaurants	-0.39	0.12	0.79	0.62
Play favorite to sport	Dislike Vegetarian restaurants	-0.17	0.10	0.58	1.48
	Play no sport	-0.51	1.78	-0.17	0.26
	Play racquet sports	0.80	0.41	0.43	0.15
	Play indoor health	0.35	0.40	0.22	0.20
	Play social sports	-0.31	0.04	-0.30	0.04
	Play outdoor healthy	0.34	0.29	-0.39	0.47
	Play football and ruby	0.54	0.24	1.40	2.04
	Play club and expenses sport	0.59	0.26	0.04	0.00
Type of sport like most to watch	Like Car racing	0.30	0.12	0.31	0.16
	Like Racquet sports	0.28	0.16	-0.57	0.87
	Like Indoor healthy	0.02	0.00	0.05	0.00
	Like social sports	-0.57	0.85	-0.07	0.02
	Like outdoor healthy	0.23	0.05	-0.25	0.08
	Like football and rugby	0.10	0.06	0.31	0.68
	Like golf	-0.02	0.00	-0.65	0.28
Type of sport like least to watch	Dislike Car racing	0.11	0.02	-0.34	0.25
	Dislike Racquet sport	-0.36	0.27	0.36	0.34
	Dislike Indoor health	-0.08	0.01	0.47	0.24
	Dislike social sport	0.28	0.53	-0.12	0.12
	Dislike outdoor health	-0.49	0.08	0.19	0.01
	Dislike football and rugby	-0.50	0.44	-0.22	0.11
	Dislike golf	-0.02	0.00	0.75	0.69

Table A3 Frequencies and Coordinates of Supplementary Variables

Variables	Modalities	Frequencies	Axis 1 Coord.	Axis 2 Coord.
Social class	Employers large organization	29	0,85	0,02
	Higher professional	91	0,88	-0,14
	Lower professional/high technician	237	0,64	-0,17
	Lower managerial	77	0,35	0,14
	Higher supervisory	72	0,28	-0,26
	Intermediate occupation	192	0,16	-0,06
	Employers small org	105	-0,05	-0,02
	Lower supervisory	121	-0,28	-0,08
	Lower technician	54	-0,38	0,35
	Semi-routine occupation	311	-0,34	0,08
	Routine occupations	201	-0,81	0,10
	Never worked	41	-0,66	0,20
	DK soc class	3	0,23	1,49
Sex	Male	663	0,02	0,24
	Female	871	-0,03	-0,19
Education	No educational qualifications	444	-0,88	-0,28
	GCSE, CSE, O-level,	367	-0,07	0,29
	RSA/OCR Higher Diploma	159	0,19	0,03
	GCE A-level, Scottish	185	0,39	0,28
	University/CNAA Bachelor	354	0,85	-0,10
	Other	25	-0,31	-0,44
Age	18-24	114	-0,03	1,35
	25-34	289	0,26	0,80
	35-44	307	0,28	0,30
	45-54	236	0,25	-0,10
	55-64	238	-0,04	-0,63
	65-74	186	-0,57	-0,88
	75+	162	-0,74	-0,90
	DK	2	-0,23	0,17
Ethnic origin	White-English	1101	0,04	0,01
	White-other British	302	-0,24	-0,05
	White-Other	42	0,45	-0,43
	Other origin	87	-0,07	0,18
	DK	2	0,17	-0,24
Region	North	393	0,00	0,06
	Midlands	269	-0,01	-0,06
	Southern England	456	0,05	-0,03
	London	133	0,13	0,08
	Wales	97	0,05	-0,26
	Scotland	134	-0,27	0,13
	Northern Ireland	52	-0,46	-0,10
Father's level of education	No education (father)	763	-0,23	-0,20
	GCSE (father)	125	0,47	0,57
	GCE A-level (father)	122	0,53	0,12
	University (father)	112	1,03	0,08
	Other education (father)	412	-0,20	0,13