

Understanding Social and Geographical Inequalities in Eating

Tracking Changing Eating Patterns over Time and Space

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Abstract

Through an analysis of the 1970 British Birth Cohort Study, this thesis explores the intersections between food, class, space, and the life course. I show that different class groups consume different foods, and argue that this provides evidence for an ongoing homology between class and cultural consumption. The broad divide I uncover is between indulgent eating patterns on the part of working classes, and ascetic consumption patterns on the part of the middle classes. I show how, over the period from 1986 to 2000, a new post-Fordist pattern of consumption has developed (the 'Ascetic plus' eating pattern) amongst the cohort under investigation. I am also able to demonstrate that socialization in childhood, as well as cultural capital, appear to retain important roles in structuring eating patterns, but that the importance of socialization seems to vary depending on the trajectory of individuals' life courses. Upwardly socially and geographically mobile people are the individuals who are most likely to adhere to the new post-Fordist eating pattern and because of this, I argue that these groups may be the most able to break away from the structural moorings of class based consumption. I propose that this finding could be explained with reference to unequal distribution of reserves of reflexivity – these particular 'mobile' segments of the middle class may have greater access to individualized forms of identity.

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Authors Declaration

I declare that this thesis has been composed by myself alone from the result of my own research and any work that is not my own has been clearly referenced. It has not been submitted for award at this or any other institution.

1 Introduction

“Tell me what thou eatest, and I will tell thee who thou art.”

Brillet Savarin *The Physiology of Taste* (1825)

1.1 Food and Class

While the human race as a whole could be described as omnivorous, most individuals and groups of people are actually quite 'faddy' and consciously or unconsciously limit the types of foods that they eat. It may seem to any individual person that their food 'preferences' or 'choices' and the ways that they eat are idiosyncrasies unique to themselves, but in most cases their eating patterns are actually likely to bear a striking resemblance to the eating patterns followed by people similar to them. As Brilliet-Savarin famously pointed out, you are what you eat. This idea of similar people eating in similar ways has been shown to apply across a wide variety of social divisions including gender, ethnicity, geography and class. In this thesis, I will touch upon each of these issues although the main focus will be upon another key structuring base that is closely linked to food consumption: social class.

Historical scholars have provided evidence showing the classed distribution of food dating back thousands of years. Jack Goody (eg 1982), for example has shown how different strata of Ancient Egyptian society ate differently from one other – the rich consuming a wide variety of foods while the diets of the poor have traditionally been restricted to a few staple foods. However, along with many other areas of social life, the form that these class differences take has changed dramatically over the period since the industrial revolution, and in particular over the last fifty years. Whereas social class differences in food consumption have traditionally been characterized by indulgence on the behalf of higher class groups and a lack of sufficient volume and / or variety of food on the part of less privileged groups (Crotty, 1999), this situation has been at least

partially reversed in the Western world in the period since the end of the Second World War.

A variety of structurally important economic factors including sustained economic growth, the development of revolutionary farming methods leading to a surplus of food, as well as the introduction of the welfare state, have led to a situation where, for probably the first time in history, the vast majority of people from further down the socio-economic spectrum can essentially eat as they like. It has been argued (by for example, Warde, 1997) that these changes (and other processes) have led to a narrowing of class differences in terms of what people eat – for example the increased availability of meat, a type of food that was for many years largely the preserve of the rich - has led to a situation where this previously expensive, exclusive food is now consumed by groups of people ranging across the socio-economic spectrum, including amongst working class groups. In a very real sense then, class differences in food consumption decreased rapidly during the last century.

This extension of cheap, varied and plentiful food to the majority has led to the class groups who could not previously consume indulgently beginning to do exactly that, and there is a large and growing body of evidence (e.g. DEFRA, 2011, Martikainen et al., 2003, ONS, 2004) suggesting that, probably for the first time in history, people from lower social strata are more likely to eat too much food, rather than too little. Nowadays, very broadly speaking, it appears that the differences in consumption patterns of different social strata take the following form: Working class people with lower levels of education and less money (people poor both in terms of cultural capital and economic capital) tend to eat relatively high levels of white bread, potatoes, refined foods, processed meats, high fat milk and animal fats (DEFRA, 2011, ONS, 2004, Tomlinson and Warde, 1993, Warde, 1997). Higher class groups with higher levels of education and more money tend to eat more unrefined foods and whole grains, fruit and vegetables, nuts, low fat milk, vegetable fats and drink more wine (DEFRA, 2011, Lang and Jebb, 2007, Leather and Dowler, 1997, Martikainen et al., 2003, ONS, 2004, Warde, 1997).

Most, although not all, of these analyses have been conducted from a nutritional science perspective and have tended to be understood from such a viewpoint; that is, they have been interpreted as showing that normatively 'healthy' foods are more likely to be consumed by richer people from higher occupational classes with higher educational attainment, whereas the opposite is true for people on the other end of the socio-economic spectrum. Darmon and Drewnowski's (2008) review of this evidence focuses on the link between 'diet quality' and socio-economic position and provides an excellent example of this kind of perspective, as well as a summary of the very large international evidence base to support this idea. They report that there is "a large body of epidemiologic data show(ing) that diet quality follows a socioeconomic gradient" (pg. 1107). In other words, the types of foods that the working classes eat appear to be the same foods that are increasingly being linked to health problems in later life, whereas middle class groups are more likely to shy away from consuming in such a normatively 'unhealthy', indulgent manner. This class differential in types of foods consumed has been taken to explain the corresponding class differences that exist in terms of obesity, obesity-related problems and other negative health outcomes.

We therefore have a situation that probably would have been unthinkable even 100 years ago. The economically poor working classes are now consuming relatively high levels of 'unhealthy' high calorie, high fat, high sugar foods and are increasingly paying a high price for doing so. This price comes in the form of the biggest and most intractable public health problem that exists in the UK today: the obesity 'epidemic' and the health problems, such as Type II diabetes and heart disease that are associated with overconsumption. Nutritional science has thus uncovered a serious problem and as yet the solution is unclear. The response of the government has been through policy interventions – mostly rational appeals to individuals to get them to change what they eat. Unfortunately, the extent to which these policy interventions have been successful (especially among working class groups) is not really up for debate – they have been a complete failure. Obesity rates, and rates of associated

illnesses continue to rise over the entire population, and especially among working class groups (Zaninotto et al., 2009).

These developments are extremely worrying. Entrenched inequality in Western societies is clearly a big enough problem without taking into account food consumption. There is the danger that social divisions are reinforced by an interaction between the social consequences of being born into an underprivileged social group and the biological processes that result from the consumption patterns that are associated with such a group. In other words, as well as having the myriad of social disadvantages that come from being born into a lower socioeconomic group, people from these groups are also more likely to suffer from illness and ultimately early death as a consequence of their class based consumption. It is therefore clear that the issue of social class and what people eat is extremely important and worthy of further investigation. This will be the main focus of the analysis presented in this thesis.

1.2 *Cultural Sociology*

Although the work of nutritional science has gone some way to help us understand (or at least quantify) the patterning of food consumption I have described above, the topic of social class and food is also of course relevant to contemporary debates in cultural sociology. This is due to the fact that food consumption has often been treated as a form of culture analogous to other fields or domains of cultural consumption. Two of the most important examples of this type of work, where a sociological focus is applied to the analysis of food and eating, are Pierre Bourdieu's *Distinction* (1984) and Alan Warde's *Food, Consumption and Taste* (1997). In these texts, both Bourdieu and Warde are interested in investigating the nature of cultural taste and class and both employ food as a lens through which to investigate the broader issues of the relationship between social stratification and consumption.

Both of these texts include empirical analysis as well as theoretical insights. In *Distinction*, Bourdieu applies his theoretical triumvirate of *habitus*, capital, and

field to synthesise his now famous theory of cultural and social reproduction. Bourdieu's relational model in *Distinction* explains how social classes and class fractions are in a constant struggle for economic and cultural capital – the resources that allow them to progress through the social milieu and resist domination at the hands of other classes and class fractions. Bourdieu's argument is that some cultural tastes and practices (including tastes for food) are generally recognized as being higher status than others and that the middle classes, especially certain fractions that do not have particularly high reserves of economic capital, possess the proclivities to consume these forms of culture that he terms as 'legitimate' culture. These legitimate tastes comprise a component of cultural capital and give members of these class fractions an advantage in life because their cultural 'choices' are generally misrecognized as representing a genuine superiority rather than just being largely a consequence of socialization in childhood. I describe Bourdieu's theory in much more depth in Chapter 2 but essentially, in *Distinction*, this theory is posited to explain the homology between social space and the space of lifestyles that Bourdieu observes in his survey data.

Where Bourdieu investigates food alongside other forms of culture such as music and the arts, in *Food, Consumption and Taste*, Warde restricts his analysis to the consumption of food. He investigates a number of theories relating to cultural change and consumption (including arguments from homology such as Bourdieu's, as well as mass consumption and individualization arguments) through an empirical process involving a number of methods, including the use of repeated cross-sectional surveys to track change over time. Warde identifies a continuing homology between food consumption and social class but suggests that there is some evidence that food consumption may be becoming less structured by social class over time, as would be consistent with individualization theories championed by the likes of Zygmunt Bauman (2001), Ulrich Beck (2002) and Anthony Giddens (1991).

One of the logical conclusions that can be drawn from the success of these studies in treating analysis of food consumption as a form of 'cultural class analysis' is that any understanding of the classed nature of food consumption is

partly contingent on an understanding of cultural consumption and the way that it interacts with inequality. In other words, it is necessary to engage with broad theories of cultural consumption and cultural change in order to gain insight into narrower fields, such as the study of food and eating. The other side of this same coin is that it is possible to employ the study of food as a tool to help us understand how social and cultural factors may create and magnify inequality. In this thesis I will therefore situate the empirical analysis I conduct within the theoretical framework of cultural sociology. I will do this by following Warde's (1997) example and outline the most important theories of cultural practice and class, consider some of the components of these theories that may be explored through quantitative means and then conduct a largely descriptive and exploratory analysis that will facilitate a discussion of these theories.

I will be focusing on three different families of theories. The first are arguments from homology, where I will focus mostly upon the ideas of Bourdieu, as Bourdieu's work is now extremely influential within cultural sociology and is often seen as a starting point from which analyses into cultural consumption and class can proceed. The second are the individualization arguments that became popular in the late 1980's and early 1990's with the publication of several seminal texts, including Beck's *Risk Society* (1992) and Giddens' *Modernity and Self Identity* (1991). The third type is the omnivore / univore theory, chronologically the most recent, in which middle class groups are described as increasingly embracing a wider variety of culture, including working class culture. This theory was first outlined by Richard Peterson (see Peterson and Kern, 1996, Peterson and Simkus, 1992).

I have already outlined the basics of Bourdieu's argument but essentially arguments from homology posit that there is a correspondence (or *homology*) between social class position and cultural taste and practice or lifestyle. Where Bourdieu's ideas are empirically based and derived through the analysis of survey data, individualization theories, on the other hand, have their roots in social theory rather than empirical observation. The three main individualization theorists Beck, Bauman, and Giddens all differ somewhat in

how they conceptualize social and cultural change to be occurring in contemporary Western society (and I will outline the differences between their ideas in Chapter 2) but what all their theories have in common is that individuals within society are conceived of as becoming increasingly reflexive and less constrained by traditional structural forces. Social class is counted amongst these increasingly unimportant structural bases and this has led some scholars (e.g. Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007) to describe individualization arguments as polar opposites to arguments from homology. This is because individualization arguments suggest class is becoming increasingly unimportant for understanding many aspects of social life, including cultural consumption.

The omnivore / univore argument has its roots in quantitative sample survey data analysis within the cultural sociology paradigm. The crux of the argument is that middle class groups have begun to move away from consuming solely 'highbrow' or 'legitimate' (to borrow Bourdieu's term) cultural forms and have begun to embrace more lowbrow forms of culture that have traditionally been the preserve of working class groups. These middle class 'omnivores' can be contrasted against lower class 'univores' whose consumption patterns are characterized by the consumption of solely lowbrow cultural forms. Peterson's original hypothesis to explain this change is that omnivorousness is related to increased tolerance: he suggests middle class groups are becoming more tolerant (in general) over time and that this change in outlook has contributed to less overt cultural snobbery (Peterson and Kern, 1996). There has been much debate over alternative explanations of the omnivore phenomenon (and I will describe this debate in some depth in Chapter 2) but the basic empirical finding of an increase in plurality of tastes for middle class groups has been repeated across a variety of different cultural domains (see Peterson, 2005 for a review), mostly through the use of cross-sectional survey analysis.

1.3 *Broad aims of the study*

One of the main aims of the study is to investigate these different theories through an empirical investigation into food consumption. Using the 1970 British Birth Cohort Study (1970BCS) as a data-source I will conduct a series of empirical analyses beginning with a process whereby I will identify 'types' of eaters using cluster analysis before examining the extent to which patterning in food consumption is related to various measures of social stratification. Essentially this process will form the 'backbone' of my analysis and this part of my methodological process could be described as fairly conventional and comparable to other contemporary analyses of cultural taste and practice.

I will also focus on two further important factors that are of some relevance to the theoretical areas of interest – these factors are time - with a particular focus on the life course - and geography. The way that the relationship between class and culture changes over time has been the focus of some important research (e.g. Van Eijck, 1999, Warde, 1997) although considering the importance that is attributed to change within all three of the theories I have outlined above, I would suggest that the existing body of cultural sociology literature has not as yet fully explored this area. The same can be said to an even greater extent about the links between cultural consumption and geography, where any sort of 'mapping' of cultural taste tends to involve social rather geographic space. The focus on these two areas of interest within this thesis means that I will be able, to some extent at least, to address the gaps in the existing literature base.

In the case of time, I will take advantage of the longitudinal nature of the 1970BCS data to conduct empirical analyses that allow me to investigate change in a variety of ways. As described above, much of the existing research in this area is based around the analysis of *cross-sectional* sample survey data. Through the application of prospective longitudinal data in the 1970BCS, I will explore change in food consumption over the life course, as well as the interactions between food consumption, class, space and time. This temporal dimension will provide an opportunity to grapple with relevant theoretical issues that have

temporal properties - theories of individualization and omnivorousness are theories of *change* over time and Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* suggests that socialization in childhood is very important for understanding practice in later life and hence is concerned with *stability* over time. The empirical engagement with time will therefore enable me to engage with theoretical areas of interest in a somewhat novel manner.

In the case of space, I will investigate how food consumption is related to geographical location *within* the UK. This is an area of research that has largely been ignored within cultural sociology and instead been left to market researchers, who have demonstrated the potential predictive power of low level geography to create geo-demographic classification systems that show the importance of space for predicting consumption. Although the power of these resources for understanding taste and consumption has been recognized by sociologists (Burrows and Gane, 2006, Savage and Burrows, 2007), no real effort within cultural sociology has been made to engage with geography through the use of sample survey data. In this thesis, I explore this issue and try to identify the extent to which different regions of the UK follow different eating patterns, after the effect of social class is taken into account. Again, I will link my empirical analysis to theoretical issues – for example Beck and Beck-Gernsheim's (2002) suggestion that individualization processes may progress at a faster rate in urban rather than rural locations – and investigate these claims empirically.

A further broad aim of this thesis is to provide a sociological perspective on nutritional and health science work in the area relating to food consumption and social class. As I have described, the topic of the link between food and social class is one that is of great relevance to health scientists and policy makers because of its significance for public health. However, despite the recognition within health science that the 'social' aspects of public health have often been ignored (Breslow, 1999), and calls from both nutritional scientists (Lake et al., 2009b) and sociologists of health (Delormier et al., 2009) the engagement between sociology and health sciences in this regard has been

minimal. In this thesis I will hope to reduce this gap slightly through an application of a sociological perspective to the relevant health science literature.

1.4 Overview of Chapters

2 Literature Review I – Taste, Practice and Social Stratification

I will outline the three main families of theories that relate to cultural consumption and class. These are arguments from homology, individualization arguments, and omnivore / univore arguments. I will also discuss social mobility and how the movement of people up or down the social hierarchy can be related to these three theories.

3 Literature Review II – Investigating Food Consumption as a Form of Cultural Practice

In this chapter I will discuss how food differs from other domains of cultural consumption. I will then move on to discuss how each of the three main families of theories described in the previous chapter have previously been applied to food and eating. I will also present my research questions and explain the justifications behind the questions I have included.

4 Methodology

In this chapter I will explain why the data-source I use in this thesis (the 1970BCS) is a good tool for addressing the research aims I have specified and briefly outline the research process I will follow in the three empirical chapters. I will also outline my strategy for dealing with missing data.

5 Clusters: Identifying Types of Eaters in the UK

This chapter will include a discussion of the provenance of the variables

recording the frequency at which cohort members eat certain foods, as well as a description of the research process I will use when trying to group cases in the survey into clusters of people who eat in similar ways. I will show how cohort members can be grouped into clusters according to what they eat in both 1986 at age 16 and in 2000 at age 30. I will investigate the links between these clusters and health-related measures before concluding the empirical portion of the chapter by investigating the longitudinal links between eating at 16 and 30. I will show that there appears to be a relational structure between different foods consumed and that perhaps the best way to describe this structure is through reference to a 'healthy'/'unhealthy' divide. I will conclude by suggesting that eating patterns tracked across the life course – in other words, what a person eats at 16 is very likely to influence what they eat at 30.

6 Capitals: Exploring the Social Class Profiles of the Clusters

Here I will focus upon the links between socio-economic position and eating patterns at ages 16 and 30. I will discuss the different ways in which measures of stratification could be operationalized: as Bourdieusian capitals or alternatively as measures of class and status by neo-Weberian scholars. I will discuss which of these two models of inequality is more useful for interpreting the results of the analysis. I will also investigate the links between social mobility and eating patterns, and assess the possibility that upward and downward mobility are related to food consumption. In terms of findings and conclusions, I will argue that a multidimensional Bourdieusian model of class is more useful for understanding the classed nature of food consumption than a neo-Weberian model and suggest cultural capital in particular appears to be playing an important role. In terms of social mobility, I will uncover a relationship between mobility and consumption, and suggest that upward mobility is related to certain forms of consumption.

7 Space: Investigating the Geographical Distribution of Types of Eaters

In this penultimate chapter, I will present visualizations showing the distribution of different types of eaters across the UK in both 1986 and 2000. I will do this with the aim of uncovering the extent to which different areas of the UK have their own distinct cultures of food. I will then explore the extent to which the geographic patterning I observe can be attributed to multidimensional social class differences between regions of the UK. I will then conduct further analyses examining the eating pattern differences between urban and rural areas and investigate the extent to which the changes in the distribution of types of eaters between 1986 and 2000 can be attributed to intra-national migration. I will conclude that there are two geographical areas that appear to stand out as distinct from other areas of the UK –Scotland and London. In 2000, Scotland has a high proportion of ‘Indulgent’ eaters whereas London has a high proportion of ‘Ascetic’ and ‘Ascetic Plus’ eaters. In theoretical terms, this chapter will be focused on investigating various aspects of individualization theories and I will discuss how these findings relate to these theories. In particular I will discuss how upwardly socially mobile and geographically mobile individuals could possess high levels of reflexivity that may be linked to their ascetic consumption choices.

8 Conclusions

In this final chapter I will draw together the findings from the thesis. I will discuss how the methods used in this thesis could be useful in future research, before discussing the relevance of the findings in this thesis to policy and nutritional science. Finally, I will return to theoretical concerns and outline how there are different aspects from each of the three different families of theories that can be reconciled with the empirical findings in this study.

2. Taste, Practice and Social Stratification

The three main theoretical positions proposed to explain the link (or lack of link) between social stratification and cultural consumption are summarized by Warde et al (2000) as 'homology' arguments (e.g. Bennett et al., 2009, Bourdieu, 1984, Veblen, 2007) in which there is a direct correspondence between class and culture, with a hierarchy of culture that operates alongside a social class hierarchy; 'individualization' arguments (e.g. Bauman, 1988, Bauman, 2000, Beck, 1992, Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, Giddens, 1991) in which underlying class structures are dissolving / have dissolved and individual agency is becoming more important; and the 'omnivore / univore' argument in which individuals from the higher classes are consuming a more varied variety of culture / becoming more culturally tolerant (e.g. Peterson, 1992, Peterson and Kern, 1996, Peterson and Simkus, 1992). This same trichotomy is also endorsed by Chan and Goldthorpe (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2005, Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007b, Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007c). In this chapter, these three groups of theories are described and discussed in general terms. I attempt to give a 'flavour' of how each of the three theories might apply to food and eating. Note that I do not discuss the existing food literature in much depth as the application of the theories to food and eating is the focus of the next chapter, which is dedicated to thinking through how these general theories can be applied to the specific cultural domain of food and eating.

2.1 *Arguments from Homology*

Arguments from homology posit that some form of direct, linear correspondence between social class and cultural tastes and practice exists and that the best way to understand the different cultural tastes and practices of different people from the same society is through reference to class. In other words, cultural tastes and practices are an expression or an intrinsic part of class position. In the context of food and eating (the domain of cultural consumption I focus on within this thesis), a homology argument would suggest

that different social class groups would be expected to eat different foods, in different ways. Arguments from homology can of course be applied to areas of culture well beyond food and eating so in this section I outline how general arguments from homology have evolved, beginning with the work of Thorstein Veblen. I then move on to discuss Pierre Bourdieu's contribution, which is still extremely influential, before introducing a contemporary example of an argument from homology, as presented by Tony Bennett and colleagues.

2.1.1 Veblen

Thorstein Veblen is an important figure in the genesis of cultural sociology and also within economics, and is mainly remembered today because he was the author to coin the term *conspicuous consumption* in *Theory of the Leisure Class* (2007 first published 1899). Veblen was writing at the end of the industrial revolution, when it was clear that the modern economies of the leading Western powers were more than capable of producing a surplus of consumer goods. Veblen was interested in groups of newly rich people who, he suggests, were looking for ways to transform their newfound wealth into status. This group of newly rich individuals that Veblen terms the 'Leisure Class' had begun to accumulate property but were still essentially viewed as lower status than aristocratic groups who may have been of similar economic worth but had inherited their wealth.

Veblen's 'Leisure Class' therefore had to attempt to transfer their newfound wealth into increased status and Veblen suggests that the way that they did this was through actively displaying their wealth. For Veblen, there are two main ways in which this could have been done: first, through engaging in extensive leisure activities that display a distance from having to work or concern oneself with wealth accumulation, and second, through lavish expenditure on luxurious goods and / or services. Veblen explicitly makes the point that both of these activities involve waste and it is this waste (of time or money) that allows the Leisure Class to demonstrate their surplus of wealth to other people, as long as there is a way for other people to become aware of their wasteful activities.

Veblen suggests that the second of these methods, the waste of wealth, or *conspicuous consumption*, was less easy to miss in a dynamic mobile society and so became the more important method through which the Leisure Class transferred their wealth into status. Veblen goes so far as to suggest that it was this need to demonstrate wealth to others that was driving cultural consumption and the consumer-led economic boom that accompanied it in the US in the late 19th century.

Veblen also describes how conspicuous consumption became important for all social classes. Individuals in each class of people view the consumption practices of people in classes above them as superior to their own and attempt to consume in a similar manner so as to increase their own status position within society. An ongoing process ensues in which everyone, from the rich downwards, are attempting to consume conspicuously, even if for the poorest groups this means they must make their material circumstances harder than is practically necessary. In such a consumption arms race there will be a consistent difference between the different class groups (or a 'homology' between one's position in the social hierarchy and the form that consumption takes) although the form of the differences between class groups will differ over time as each class group attempts to emulate the consumption of the group above. Such an argument can therefore be used to explain why a homology between stratification and culture exists, even as the actual forms of culture consumed change over time.

2.1.2 Bourdieu

Critics of Veblen have suggested that while the deployment of conspicuous consumption as a form of social distinction can explain some aspects of class differences in cultural consumption, it cannot explain all the variation within the cultural tastes and practices of different classes. Such an argument would be overly focused upon the economic determinants of cultural consumption, and fail to take into account important symbolic factors. This is why arguments from homology have since become more sophisticated. At this point in time, the most

well-known argument from homology has been proposed by French scholar Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu's arguments regarding culture and class are primarily set out in *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (1984).

At the heart of the argument in *Distinction* is the contention that while class is still related to a position within the relations of production and to ingrained economic inequality, it is also related to cultural tastes and practices, which play an important part in the constant struggle between classes for domination. Thus, the homology argument for Bourdieu is different to Veblen's – consumption of economically expensive goods plays an important role but economic inequalities only play one part in distinction; interclass inequalities are multidimensional. The symbolic differences between the way that different classes consume and understand culture are also relevant. The mechanisms through which this multidimensional link between class and culture is maintained can be understood through reference to three interrelated key concepts. These are the concepts of *habitus*, capital, and field. Bourdieu's concepts work together in the following form:

$[(habitus) (capital)] + field = practice$

These same three concepts are employed by Bourdieu in his writings on a wide range of topics over a period of 40 years and as such the ways that he uses the terms evolve over time. For this reason, it has been argued by some (including Bourdieu himself) that is best to think of them as 'thinking tools' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) – concepts that can help one to think through how the social world is structured and provide a vocabulary that helps us to understand contemporary society and culture better.

Habitus

The *habitus* is an internalised set of dispositions that Bourdieu (1984) describes as both a "structuring structure" and a "structured structure" (pg. 166). To take

the latter term first, “structured structure” refers to how broad class conditions and the relations of specific forms of culture to other forms of culture and to class are contained within the *habitus*. Throughout life, people learn about how certain forms of culture are primarily opposed to other forms of culture (for example high versus low or, in the case of food, healthy versus unhealthy) and all this relational information is inscribed within the *habitus*. This information is learnt during life through inculcation at home and at school. The term “structuring structure” refers to the *habitus*’s role in guiding how any individual will react to a given cultural stimuli. People who are from similar class backgrounds will, on average, have similar upbringings so will end up with a similar set of dispositions. For example, someone who has been brought up within a working class household, where cultural taste has been ‘lowbrow’, will likely develop a disposition that includes knowledge of, and a liking of ‘lowbrow’ culture and a distaste for opposing ‘highbrow’ culture. A middle class child on the other hand, will normally, from a young age at home and continuing through school, be encouraged to engage with ‘legitimate’ ‘highbrow’ culture.

When these two people are presented with the same cultural stimuli, for example a piece of modern art, the *habitus* as a structured structure will allow both to classify the culture as ‘legitimate’ art. Yet the *habitus* as a structuring structure will also come into play, and guide the individual in how they react to such culture. It is likely that the working class person will have developed a disposition that includes a dislike for such art, and the middle class person will have a disposition that includes a taste for it. Practices, as well as tastes, are structured by the *habitus* – so people from different social classes will develop different sets of dispositions towards how they enjoy spending their time and will therefore have different lifestyles. Through the concept of the *habitus*, Bourdieu explains why patterning of cultural taste by class occurs, yet leaves room for exceptions to occur, as the *habitus* and dispositions inscribed within it are learnt through a socialization process that does not necessarily guarantee exact reproduction of cultural tastes and practices from earlier generations.

Bourdieu suggests the most important difference between the *habitus*’s of the

different classes is the aesthetic disposition of the dominant middle class compared to the popular 'aesthetic' (inverted commas are included because it is actually a rejection of any notion of a Kantian aesthetic) of the working class. The dominant class fractions favour culture that emphasises form over function. They have a disposition that favours mediation, detachment, and distance from necessity, whereas the dominated working classes, for their part, reject highbrow culture, and instead favour function over form, and embrace lowbrow or popular culture, which serves the purpose of an expression of intra-class solidarity. Working class cultural tastes are described by Bourdieu as 'tastes of necessity'. As I cover in more detail in the next chapter, in the field of food and eating Bourdieu suggests that 'tastes of necessity' and the 'aesthetic disposition' can be seen in the opposition between working class and middle class tastes – the working classes tend to consume high energy, 'nourishing' foods, whereas the middle classes focus on a detachment from such foods, favouring more complex 'light' foods and 'exotic' cuisines.

Capital

In the *Forms of Capital* (2001 first published 1986), Bourdieu contends that there are three forms of capital. The first and most obvious type is economic capital. The other two, social and cultural capital, are concepts that Bourdieu refers to throughout his work. The concept of cultural capital is somewhat nebulous (and I describe it in more detail shortly) but essentially it refers to non-financial symbolic resources. Social capital, on the other hand, tends to refer to friends and contacts, the people who one knows and can influence. These concepts are described as forms of capital because, similarly to economic capital, they can be both inherited and acquired through life and, just as reserves of economic capital function to 'open doors' for individuals and allow them to progress through the social milieu with ease, so other forms of capital have a similar effect in giving people an advantage in life. In strictly Bourdieusian terms, capital provides the means to exercise or resist domination at the hands of other classes or class fractions. It is possible to convert one type of capital to another - for example social capital can be transformed into economic capital by

making use of networks of contacts to acquire a high paying job (Bourdieu, 1993).

In *Distinction*, Bourdieu dedicates the most analytical attention to economic capital and cultural capital, and suggests these are the most important forms of capital in terms of understanding cultural practices. In particular he focuses on cultural capital – the type of capital that refers to the non-financial symbolic assets that a person has, and that can help to demonstrate cultural superiority, because, as with all forms of capital, not everyone has access to equal amounts. Bourdieu uses the term 'cultural capital' in a number of different ways throughout his work, but in this thesis I refer to three sub-types of cultural capital: objectified, embodied and institutionalized; these different types of cultural capital are outlined in *The Forms of Capital* (2001).

Certain forms of tastes, practices and consumption can be thought of as examples of *objectified* cultural capital. For instance, when an individual consumes culture according to their 'legitimate' tastes, or simply expresses these tastes in any way, they can be said to be demonstrating their reserves of objectified cultural capital. Such an individual is able to demonstrate that they possess significant reserves of cultural capital through their engagement with particular forms of culture rather than others. Someone with low reserves of objectified cultural capital, on the other hand, will have lowbrow tastes and an inability to engage with 'legitimate' forms of culture. The tastes that a person has for music, art, sport, food and all other forms of culture therefore all form a part of objectified cultural capital. It is this aspect of cultural capital (objectified) that has been the focus of most existing cultural sociology research exploring cultural capital, for example Bourdieu's own work (1984) focuses on tastes for culture, as do most contemporary analyses of cultural consumption (e.g. Bennett et al., 2009). Empirical attempts to operationalize cultural capital (e.g. Sullivan, 2001) have focused mainly on this form of cultural capital. My own study presented here also focuses mainly on objectified cultural, in that I investigate the foods that people eat.

It is important to note that Bourdieu (1984) also suggests that the concept of cultural capital runs deeper than preferences, practices, tastes and consumption; there are many ways in which cultural capital is irreconcilably embodied within an individual – these are the aspects of cultural capital that Bourdieu (1984) refers to as *embodied* cultural capital. Embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 2001, Friedman, 2011, Holt, 1997) refers to the underlying modes of appreciation and perception that sit behind, and feed into, the actual forms of consumption that constitute objectified cultural capital, as well as the language that different class groups employ. As I have described, in Bourdieu's original formulation of how distinction operated in 1960's France, significant emphasis is placed on the role of the aesthetic disposition of the dominant middle classes and the way that a disinterested focus upon form over function for these class fractions is contrasted with the working class popular 'aesthetic' that focused mainly upon function, and a closeness to necessity. These different modes of perception, inscribed within the *habitus*, are an example of embodied cultural capital, although it is clear that the class differences that we see in actual taste and consumption patterns (objectified cultural capital) are related to, and even to a certain extent derived from, embodied cultural capital. Tastes, knowledge and consumption practices (objectified cultural capital) are therefore an important component of cultural capital, but the abilities to talk in a certain way, carry oneself in a certain way, and take a certain perspective towards new forms of culture are equally if not even more important. People who can display these competencies are rich in embodied cultural capital and can use them to gain social benefit in certain areas of social life.

Despite its conceptual importance, embodied cultural capital has been studied to a far lesser degree than objectified cultural capital. This is because the concept does not lend itself so readily to empirical, especially quantitative, analysis. It is hard, for example to assess how someone speaks or 'holds themselves' through questionnaires. Nevertheless, it is important to remember that just because the majority of empirical work focuses upon taste and practice, this does not mean that this is all there is to cultural capital. The concept extends beyond different consumption preferences and practices to encompass

embodied aspects. The way that people interact with culture is of just as great importance in activating cultural capital reserves as the actual form of culture that is being consumed.

The third type of cultural capital that is discussed throughout this thesis is *institutionalized* cultural capital. Institutionalized cultural capital (also called *guaranteed* capital in *Distinction* (1984)) refers to cultural achievements or resources that act as an asset that help agents to move through the social milieu. These achievements have been officially sanctioned by institutions (such as the state, or cultural intermediaries, or especially educational institutions - universities) whose judgements on such matters are generally recognized as being valued. Through the accreditation of such organizations, individuals' reserves of cultural capital are, in a sense, guaranteed. The most commonly used example of institutionalized cultural capital are educational qualifications (Warde et al., 2008) - the educational qualifications that a person has acquired suggest that their cultural capital reserves must be significant without them having to display an aesthetic disposition or consume in a certain manner.

Bourdieu underlines the importance of education for understanding cultural capital by suggesting that it plays an important role in the cultivation of cultural capital. He suggests that the education system presupposes knowledge of dominant culture and is more likely to reward individuals from middle class backgrounds (e.g. Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990). Furthermore, school validates the cultural choices of middle class children, meaning inculcation to legitimate culture happens both at home and at school. In the case of middle class children, prolonged exposure to legitimate culture at home and at school leads to a taste for these types of culture developing, whereby schemes of knowledge are built up that are reinforced every time legitimate culture is encountered. Cultural capital therefore is irreconcilably linked to the education system.

It is partly for these theoretical reasons that educational achievements are often treated as a measure of institutionalized cultural capital or just a proxy measure of cultural capital in general. However, while the contention that a long and

successful stint in education is linked to the accumulation of certain cultural proclivities and dispositions has its roots in Bourdieusian theory, there is also some empirical evidence relating to educational achievement and taste that appears to support Bourdieu's ideas. One of the most persistent findings in studies examining consumption and taste is that educational qualifications are strongly associated with cultural consumption in many different domains of culture (Bourdieu, 1984, Chan and Goldthorpe, 2005, Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007b, Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007c, Savage, 2006). This combination of Bourdieu's theoretical ideas relating to cultural reproduction and a large number of stable empirical findings showing the importance of education for predicting cultural consumption, explains why some scholars following Bourdieu investigating class and cultural consumption (Bennett et al., 2009, Bourdieu, 1984, Halsey et al., 1980, Jonsson, 1987, Savage, 2006, Warde et al., 2000) operationalize educational achievement as institutionalized cultural capital or simply as a proxy of cultural capital.

It is worth noting that there are, however, problems with using a measure of educational attainment as a proxy for cultural capital in empirical research. Educational achievement clearly does not have particularly strong content validity as a measure of cultural capital (i.e. it does not directly measure either objectified or embodied cultural capital). Furthermore, Sullivan (2001) suggests that the exact processes that are causing children to achieve better at school are not made clear by Bourdieu. Sullivan (2001) also demonstrates empirically that engaging in some 'legitimate' cultural activities (such as playing an instrument) as a child has no relationship with achieving better grades in later life. This suggests that the links between cultural capital and educational achievement may not be as straightforward as Bourdieu suggests.

Field

The term field refers to different spheres or areas within the social space that are relatively self-contained and have their own rules and 'markets'. Bourdieu suggests that cultural capital (and indeed other forms of capital) is not

necessarily equally useful in all areas of cultural and / or social space. In fact, it could be argued that the concept of field is the theoretical construct that can be used to explain *why* capital is not required in equal proportions and amounts across all areas of social relations. The multidimensionality of forms of capital is matched by a multidimensionality of different fields. This multidimensionality provides solid theoretical ground to explain why empirically, some cultural practices are explained better by some socio-economic variables and others are explained better by other socio-economic variables. As an example, we can consider Bourdieu's discussion of how different fractions of the dominant class (the bourgeois) are dominant within different fields. Bourdieu presents empirical evidence (from 1960s France) that, within the middle classes, cultural and economic capital are hierarchically but inversely distributed. He states:

"If the professionals do not always have the tastes to match their means, the teachers hardly ever have the means to match their tastes" (1984; pg. 287)

So, to take the class fractions near the extremes of these two scales; the fractions that are among the richest in terms of economic capital (professionals) have the least cultural capital and the fractions that are amongst the poorest in economic capital (higher education teachers) have the most cultural capital (cultural capital is partly gained through extended academic learning and education plays a key part in generating cultural capital through inculcation of knowledge and the appropriate manner of acting). So, different fields have their own logics as to which forms of capital are most important (relevant in each 'market'). This means class fractions that are lower in economic capital can achieve positions of dominance in fields pertaining to culture. In other areas of social relations, such as within organizations, economic and social capital may be of far more importance and professionals or other fractions will be dominant.

The analysis presented in this thesis could be considered as an investigation into the dynamics of the field of food and eating. This is because I explore whether or not different class groups within this relatively self-contained domain of culture compete to demonstrate distinction from other groups among them.

The term 'field' strictly applied implies that there must be stakes and competition within the field, which is difficult for me to demonstrate in this thesis, so my use of the term is somewhat loose - I essentially use the term interchangeably with 'domain' to refer to a relatively self-contained cultural space. As the field of food and eating is a cultural field (indeed one could argue it is the most complex example of a *cultural* field, given the ubiquity of food, and the dazzling array of different foods to eat and the variety of ways to eat them), a Bourdieusian argument from homology would suggest that it is likely that cultural capital will play an important role in structuring tastes. In this thesis I therefore investigate whether this is the case, and also explore the forms of objectified cultural capital that distinguish groups with high levels of institutionalized cultural capital from others.

A Bourdieusian model of social class

For Bourdieu, there are multiple different types of capital each prized in different fields and the composition and volume of capital required for dominance in each field varies across the different fields. Dominance in any one field can give social advantages and therefore different fractions of the middle class have dominance in different areas. For all the middle classes (but to a greater extent for some fractions than others), reserves of cultural capital, built up as part of the *habitus* through inculcation to legitimate culture, language and manner through childhood and the education system, provide an advantage that can be passed down through the generations. Cultural capital, therefore, alongside other types of capital, forms an important component of what defines class and contributes to the stability of the class structure. Class differences in culture cannot be explained solely by economic capital, and / or cultural capital, but by different combinations, and other forms of capital depending on the field that one is investigating.

This definition of social class, as a multidimensional construct, suggests that an individual's class position should be understood as contingent upon their position within multidimensional social space (Bourdieu, 1984, 1987).

Differences between individuals in terms of reserves of economic, social and cultural capital dictate class positions that can be said to be relational in nature, and therefore it is not an easy task to definitively place an individual within an actual 'class' as such. In different fields of culture, different 'markets' operate, and the relative importance of different types of capital varies between these different markets. Reserves of multidimensional capital therefore have differing importance within different fields of social and cultural life. This understanding of class is qualitatively different to traditional definitions of the term (be they Marxist or Weberian) because it stretches beyond simply economic matters to encompass cultural and symbolic factors. Through conceiving of class as this structure in which classes are defined as groups of people who possess a similar volume and composition of multidimensional capital, Bourdieu's definition is also at odds with a Goldthorpean definition of class (probably the current dominant paradigm within much contemporary UK class analysis) which suggests that 'class' can be measured through the grouping of occupations together to form groups who all have similar relationships to the occupational structure and who all have similar life-chances. In this thesis, when I use the term class, it is the Bourdieusian definition I am referring to. This is because the focus of the thesis is on cultural taste and practice (in the form of food) and Bourdieu's argument from homology is of greater relevance to this topic. Where I reference other definitions of the term 'class' I specifically state the definition I am referring to – for example when discussing occupational class measures I explicitly use the term *occupational class*.

Summary of Bourdieu and Distinction

Bourdieu suggests that distinction between class groups can be maintained in a number of ways, depending on the capital that individuals or groups have at their disposal. Whereas groups who are economically rich can still use conspicuous consumption (for example in the field of food and eating, the economically rich might consume caviar and champagne, items that could not be consumed with any regularity by poorer groups), Bourdieu suggests that this is a crude tool of distinction compared to the ability to look upon things with a

“quasi-creative power” (1984, pg. 32) that is a part of the *habitus* of the creative middle classes. Higher class fractions are not simply using economic capital to maintain distinction through conspicuous consumption – they also exhibit ‘symbolic violence’ through their involvement in legitimate culture, using their cultural knowledge and refined tastes (for example, middle class groups with high levels of cultural capital may reject a large roast and three veg in favour of a the latest nouvelle cuisine dish) to maintain distinction from the lower classes.

I hope that this gives a clear description of the basic theoretical structure outlined by Bourdieu to explain the link between class and culture and how inequality in culture is maintained despite the constant changes in tastes and practices across all social groups. Although Bourdieu’s work has been extremely influential, it is now thirty years since *Distinction* was first published (and over 40 years since the empirical data underpinning it was collected) and some parts of the theories and methods travel across time and space better than others. However, I would suggest the concepts of capital, field, and *habitus*, as well as the idea of distinction, retain relevance today and can continue to function as ‘thinking tools’ that provide ways to think about culture in the contemporary world.

Indeed, Bourdieu’s main concepts remain extremely influential today, with capital in particular having influence way beyond strictly Bourdieusian thought (see, for example, Putnam, 2000). Cultural capital provides a catch-all term that describes symbolic assets that a person has that allow them to demonstrate cultural superiority and I would suggest that the idea that different forms of capital have different significance in different fields of culture provides a useful starting point for explaining the complexity of cultural life. It has been argued that *habitus*, on the other hand, as it is defined in Bourdieu’s early work, may well place too much focus on class as a structuring force, at the expense of other factors such as gender, ethnicity and space. Bennett et al. (2009) make this point and suggest that the importance of the interaction between class and other factors in understanding cultural choices mean that Bourdieu’s concept of *habitus* is limited in its analytical potential. They suggest that the “complex and

sometimes contradictory ways” (pg. 3) in which the shared dispositions of classes interact with other demographic factors limits the usefulness of the concept.

I would accept this point that *habitus*, especially as it is discussed in Bourdieu’s early work, places a disproportionate emphasis on class, to the detriment of a focus on gender, ethnicity, and other structuring forces, but resist the suggestion that *habitus* has reached the end of its theoretical usefulness. I argue this for three reasons. First, the broad idea that an understanding of the basic structural oppositions in culture develop through a person’s formative years and that accompanying dispositions towards culture are built up at the same time through learning from family, friends and the education system seems eminently sensible. Second, *habitus* plays an important role in Bourdieu’s theoretical triumvirate of *habitus*, capital, and field, which work better together as ‘thinking tools’ than they do apart. Third, as the likes of Lahire (2011) and Friedman (2013) have shown, the concept of *habitus* remains a useful tool to employ when thinking through the theoretical consequences of *change and stability over time, and over the life course*, in particular for analyses of social mobility and its intersections with cultural consumption, an underexplored topic that is investigated in this thesis.

2.1.3 Culture, Class, Distinction

The actual data analysis reported in *Distinction* refers to 1960's France so it is important that a more modern version of a homology argument, with reference to class and culture in contemporary Britain, is described in this literature review. *Culture, Class, Distinction* (Bennett et al., 2009) comprises by far the most complete example of such an analysis¹. The book is positioned by Bennett and colleagues as an investigation into the extent to which Bourdieu's ideas can be applied in the context of the contemporary UK. In addition to analysing quantitative data from the Cultural Capital and Social Exclusion survey using multiple correspondence analysis (a form of factor analysis and also the same relational data analysis method employed by Bourdieu), qualitative interviews and focus groups with participants of the same survey were also reported as part of the mixed methods project. Bennett et al. (2009) identify a continuing homology between the cultural space of lifestyles and social stratification, regardless of the way that stratification is measured. In other words, there remain clear class differences in terms of what forms of culture people in the UK consume.

What's more, social position seems to be a very important structuring factor in 'determining' an individual's cultural taste, participation and knowledge. Bennett et al. (2009) show that within different fields of culture, class has varying importance, a finding that is consistent with Bourdieusian theory regarding the multidimensionality of fields and capital. While class remains the key structuring factor in a variety of cultural fields in the UK, the patterning of cultural taste and practices along class lines seems to have moved away from a highbrow / lowbrow divide (if indeed it ever existed in the UK) towards one that is characterised by involvement with culture on the part of higher class groups versus disengagement with the vast majority of culture by working class groups.

¹ *Culture, Class, Distinction* could also be described as providing support for omnivore / univore theories. Separating all scholarly work on the link between stratification and culture into three 'ideal types' obviously leads to simplifications of the positions proposed by authors. *Culture, Class, Distinction* is included as an example of a homology argument because it is the best example of a text from the contemporary UK that underlines the continuing importance of class for understanding culture.

Only very few cultural activities are followed disproportionately highly by the working classes, whereas a wide variety of tastes and activities, such as reading certain books, going to museums, playing sports, are followed disproportionately by the middle classes.

Presuming that in the past, a legitimate versus lowbrow opposition was operating in the UK, Bennett et al.'s (2009) findings suggest that a change has occurred in terms of how the middle classes maintain distinction through their tastes and practices. Bennett et al. (2009) suggest that whereas in Bourdieu's 1960s and 1970s France, the middle classes distanced themselves from the vulgarity of the working classes 'tastes of necessity', in modern day Britain the working classes lack such a distinctive culture so distinction does not operate in such an oppositional way. Although tastes for legitimate culture are still valued by some within the middle class (to a greater extent than is the case for the lower classes), the majority of the middle class are not consuming large amounts of, or are particularly engaged with, such culture (see also Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007a). As well as this, Bennett et al. (2009) conclude that the value of cultural capital (including its exchange rate) may have decreased, as the importance attributed to economic capital has grown. So, while Bourdieu suggests that in 1960s France in-depth knowledge of legitimate culture, an aesthetic disposition and the ability to talk about legitimate culture in the right way had surpassed conspicuous consumption as the dominant form of maintaining distinction, Bennett et al. (2009) suggest that in 21st century Britain a whole raft of new ways of maintaining distinction have surpassed a liking for 'highbrow' culture and an aesthetic disposition. They state that a middle class "cultivated persona" will include obeying the following general heuristics, amongst others:

"Do not appear snobbish."

"Do not fail to modulate performances in the light of specific audiences."

"Do not neglect the discipline of the body."

(pg. 256)

The first of these points could in fact be construed as in direct opposition to Bourdieu's ideas; snobbishness or elitism could be seen as a forming an important part of cultural capital within Bourdieu's framework. The key point to take away from this at this stage of the discussion is that this is one part of Bourdieu's theories that does not apply in Britain today. As Ferguson (1998) suggests, the specific form that the differences between classes take is constantly in flux. In this case, the specific symbolism of a highbrow / lowbrow distinction does not translate from 1960's France to 21st century Britain in many fields of culture. While processes of distinction are still occurring, the form that objectified cultural capital takes, and the relevant importance of different aspects of cultural capital and other forms of capital may change across time. For example, it would not be unreasonable to suggest that embodied cultural capital in the form of how one carries oneself may have increased in importance relative to the importance of taste in terms of allowing a person to progress successfully through social life. Bennett et al. (2009) also explicitly make this point about how the relative importance of different types of capital and different forms of cultural capital will change over time.

2.1.4 Evidence that would support a homology argument

In this thesis, I employ a mostly exploratory methodology (rather than a strict hypothesis testing one) although it is still worth considering, at this early stage, some of the empirical evidence that could be found that could be used to support arguments from homology. The most obvious example of such evidence would be a strong statistical association between measures of culture and class. It would be very surprising if such a finding were not identified, given that cultural tastes are routinely found to be statistically associated with class measures (see e.g. Bennett et al., 2009). Therefore, some kind of further finding would be needed to convincingly provide evidence to support a continuing homology. One such finding that could provide this evidence would be that people hailing from higher socio-economic groups actively reject the tastes of groups from lower down the spectrum, and vice versa. This would show that not only do people share tastes with people of a similar class to them (intra-

class similarity), but also that they reject the culture of classes below and / or above them (inter-class differences). I therefore look for evidence of these types of oppositions within the data – these analyses are reported in Chapter 6.

I am also focusing on certain parts of homology theories in some detail. In *Culture, Class, Distinction*, the varying influence of different types of capital was not addressed to the extent that it might have been had more ‘conventional’ modelling techniques (i.e. some form of regression) been employed. This methodological choice was made deliberately by Bennett et al. (2009) with the dual justification of following Bourdieu and avoiding deterministic methods. In the present study, I conduct a series of bivariate analyses and estimate a number of models that allow for a discussion of the potential importance of different forms of capital and their relation to cultural tastes and practices. Furthermore, the importance of inherited cultural capital and acquired cultural capital is investigated, as is the impact of social mobility on food consumption (social mobility is discussed later in this chapter). This facilitates a discussion into *habitus* and the importance of socialization in childhood for consumption patterns in later life.

2.2 *Individualization*

2.2.1 Giddens, Beck and Bauman

Individualization arguments can be seen as the intellectual antithesis of homology arguments such as Bourdieu's, coming down on the opposite side of the structure / agency debate. Individualization theories have appeared in a variety of forms (e.g. Bauman, 1988, Bauman, 2000, Beck, 1992, Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, Giddens, 1991) but all of these accounts share the idea that in the contemporary Western world, an epochal change is occurring. Some or all of the dominant forces and structures that have controlled and ordered social life through the modern era are breaking down. Reflexivity is the most important buzz word in this formulation of social change – individual agents are increasingly becoming actively involved in creating their own identities. These

theories draw on some post-modernist ideas² (although certainly their authors would reject this term as a description of their own work) and suggest that the link between social stratification and culture is breaking down. While individualization theories relate to far broader topics than the link between class and culture, one of the key facets of individualization processes is that class, as a structuring force, has been declining in importance, and continues to decline in importance, in the contemporary world.

It is important to point out the differences between the various formulations of individualization. Of the three key thinkers (Anthony Giddens, Ulrich Beck, and Zygmunt Bauman), I would suggest the least radical (in terms of departing from traditional sociological thought) is Giddens, who uses the terms 'late' and 'high' modernity to describe the current epoch. In Giddens' (1991) conception of individualization, class is not entirely discarded as a structuring force. He states:

"Class divisions can partly be *defined* in terms of differential access to forms of self-actualization and empowerment."

(pg. 6, italics in original)

As will be seen, this type of argument is taken further by theorists who would likely sympathise with homologist positions (Savage, 2000, Skeggs, 2004). Nonetheless, this statement shows how, in 1991 at least, Giddens has not entirely abandoned class as a structuring factor. Regardless, the main thrust of the argument in Giddens' extremely influential book *Modernity and Self Identity* (1991) is that self-identity is increasingly a "reflexive project" (pg. 32), that the individual has to continually monitor and update their lifestyles and their own

² Related to individualization theories are post-modernist theories such as the one offered up by Pakulski and Waters (1996). Such interpretations also emphasize the importance of the breaking down of traditional class structures, as well as the increasing importance of individual agency / choice which is why they are included in this section. Pakulski and Waters suggest class identities are in terminal decline and that cultural consumption linked to stratification is declining alongside this, to the point that class becomes irrelevant. They draw on the work of Beck and Bauman, as well as Baudrillard, and suggest individualization, niche consumption, and hypercommodification are the overriding elements that define, and will continue to define, recent changes in culture.

conception of self. There is no choice about this increased amount of choice – everyone has to choose between lifestyles and people cannot simply rely on membership of collective groups such as socio-economic classes to define themselves anymore. Giddens also suggests that the ‘ontological security’ of individuals is compromised by individualization processes:

“Living in the world (of late modernity) involves various distractive tensions and difficulties on the level of the self... which...have to be resolved in order to preserve a coherent narrative of self-identity”

(pg189)

People can no longer be satisfied and calm with the world as their position within it is in constant flux. Beck’s conception of individualization shares this view of increased anxiety, along with many other key ideas elucidated by Giddens, although it could be argued that his position is more radical - Beck has famously described class as a ‘zombie category’ (Beck, 2002, Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002) – a dead concept that has no relevance in ‘reflexive’ / ‘second’ (Beck’s preferred terms for the new epoch) modernity but that lives on in both sociological and common parlance. Beck suggests that some traditional structures (including class and the family) are breaking down, and that individuals are becoming dis-embedded from traditional social structures. They then re-embed within new identities of their choice. Similarly to Giddens, Beck suggests that in second modernity, individuals have no choice about this choice (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002).

People are no longer attached to any class group, rather individualization has become the new dominant process – individualism has become institutionalised. Having said this, for Beck, whilst class has become irrelevant, other structuring forces are not necessarily fragmenting to the same extent. I would suggest that it would not be inconsistent with Beck’s (or Giddens’) conception of individualization if people chose to align themselves to, and define themselves according to, gender, or according to ethnicity, or according to a sub-culture, that it is the *choosing* itself that is the important aspect of their definitions of

individualization.

Bauman's ideas regarding individualization evolve over time, although it is fair to say they are consistently more radical than Beck's and Giddens' perspectives, and significantly closer to post-modern thought. In *Freedom (1988)* and in portions of *Liquid Modernity (2000)* and *The Individualized Society (2001)* Bauman suggests that people increasingly have the freedom to choose what and how they want to consume. In Bauman's conception of 'liquid modernity' (his preferred phrase for the new epoch and also the title of his 2000 book) all the traditional structuring forces are in the process of dissolving, leaving every individual as increasingly in control of their own fates – there is no re-embedding within other structures as is the case with Giddens and Beck, rather a situation of ever-increasing individual responsibility and choice accompanied by ever-increasing anxiety is envisaged. People increasingly consume all aspects of life in increasingly individualistic ways and construct their own identities through choosing their own lifestyles.

The idea that individualized individuals can re-embed themselves within new collective identities is one of the main ways in which moderate forms of individualization differ from the more radical definition suggested by Bauman. This idea of 'niche' cultural consumption is described by Warde (1997), who is himself drawing on John Urry's (1990) definition, as *post-Fordist* consumption. It could equally be described as neo-tribalist (see Bennett, 1999, Maffesoli, 1996) consumption. In the trichotomy of theories describing the link (or lack of link) between social stratification and cultural taste and practice that I present here, I categorize post-Fordist explanations of cultural consumption as a type of individualization argument because it involves a movement away from consuming according to social class and a movement towards defining oneself according to consumption. Post-Fordism can thus be thought of as a moderate form of an individualization argument, similar to that suggested by Beck, because moderate individualization arguments do not necessarily reject all forms of collective identity, only collective identity based along class lines. Dis-embedding from class identity in moderate conceptions of individualization is

followed by a re-embedding within new collective identities of one's own choosing.

In the context of food and eating, individualization could be seen to be impacting on practice in a variety of ways. Beck stresses how part of the process of individualization involves the breaking down of traditional groups such as 'nuclear families' and I would suggest this has obvious connotations for concepts such as the 'family meal'. In the narrower area of interest in this thesis, where I am specifically interested in individualization as it relates to culture and *class*, individualization processes could be expected to manifest themselves in a breakdown of distinct class cultures in food, for example there may be a decline in the working class 'proper meal' (see e.g. Charles and Kerr, 1988, Murcott, 1982). On the other hand, the importance of choosing one's own lifestyle and defining oneself according to consumption practices could mean that consumption patterns continue to vary greatly (or even increase in variation) across the population but that patterns of consumption will be 'disembedded' from class. Vegetarianism is a good example of a pattern of consumption that could be said to be an example of reflexive 'lifestyle politics' resulting from individualization processes. It could also be argued to be a post-Fordist phenomenon.

2.2.2 Strengths and weaknesses of individualization arguments

In my opinion, and especially with regards to this particular thesis, the main strength of individualization theories is that they provide a theoretical explanation of what appears to be happening in a rapidly changing world. Individualization arguments are appealing because they help to explain the increasing complexity of the cultural and the social within Western life. With regards to class, I would suggest that the idea that class matters less in the modern world is intrinsically appealing to many people outside of academic discourse. It is certainly less easy to assign individuals to a certain class than it would have been even 30 years ago and class consciousness has been on the wane for many years (Savage, 2000), a process that has been accelerated in the

UK by the breakdown of working class cultures linked to industry and manufacturing. This breakdown of compartmentalised class cultures would seem to be consistent with individualization accounts of social change.

However, the class analysis counter to this position would be that collective class consciousness is not necessary for the underlying effects of class to matter. This argument has been made in many guises over the last half century and beyond. Writing in 1959, C Wright Mills (2000) describes the way that people can fail to link private troubles to public issues in the *Sociological Imagination* and in 1972 Sennett and Cobb (1993) refer to *the Hidden Injuries of Class* in their book of the same name. More recently, Savage (2000) and Le Roux et al (2008) have made similar points, the former with considerable supporting empirical evidence. These later works also specifically refer to the importance of culture for understanding class - just because people no longer have a strong sense of class consciousness does not mean that class is not still important, and also that culture does not play an important role in producing and maintaining class-based inequality.

In terms of critical engagement with individualization theories, Will Atkinson (Atkinson, 2008, Atkinson, 2007) has critiqued Beck and Bauman's theories of individualization. In the case of Beck, Atkinson (2007) identifies a number of contradictions within Beck's writings, the most notable in the context of this thesis being that Beck's description of the extent to which individuals 're-embed' in other non-class based collectivities is inconsistent across, and even sometimes within, some of the texts he has authored. In the case of Bauman, Atkinson (2008) describes how Bauman rejects the concept of class as useful but in doing so, he only engages with one definition of class (the Marxist definition based around the central importance of the separation of the exploited Proletariat and the exploiting Bourgeois). Although Bauman likely focuses on Marxist conceptions of class because that is what he knows (Bauman would have identified as a Marxist in the 1960's and 1970's), Atkinson points out that this is not the only way to think about class; indeed many class analysts have been moving away from Marxist interpretations for some years. Neo-

Weberians such as John Goldthorpe (see Goldthorpe and Marshall, 1992) would suggest class should be defined according to the division of labour and the differential life chances that result from such a division and Bourdieusians such as Atkinson himself would endorse a broader definition, where class is dependent on a position within multidimensional social space. Essentially Bauman rejects the concept of class as increasingly irrelevant but the reasons that he gives relate only to one conception of class and are therefore not relevant to those working from different perspectives. In the context of this thesis, this is very important because Bourdieusian and neo-Weberian explanations of the link between cultural consumption and class are currently the most influential arguments – indeed one of the aims in the analysis presented in Chapter 6 is to attempt to work out which of these two theories best fit with the empirically observed survey data. This being the case, an argument that Marxist class theory is not consistent with Bauman’s observations on class in the contemporary world is not of any relevance to most of the scholars working within empirical class analysis within the UK.

This links in to my final point about individualization theories. All three of the key authors (Giddens, Beck and Bauman) fail to provide empirical evidence to support their claims. Beck (1992, 2002) does not include empirical analyses and references mostly his own work, whereas Giddens (1991) provides as evidence a number of anecdotal references to works such as a popular text on marriage and divorce. Bauman’s later works on individualization (2000, 2001) also have a paucity of references and little reference to empirical data. While it may seem unfair to criticize social theorists for theorising, the ‘data-free’ nature of their main works in this area is striking. If epochal change is occurring, and the world is being remade, then there should be some traces of this change that can be identified using empirical data. In this thesis I look for exactly these traces – in the next section I outline some of the relevant questions that are explored. These discussions then feed into the empirical analyses that are reported in Chapter 5, 6, and in particular, 7.

2.2.3 Evidence that would support individualization arguments

If we follow Beck and Bauman's theories through to their logical conclusions, then they would appear to suggest that, as class is decreasing in importance and we move into the new epoch, society should be characterized by no patterning of cultural consumption along class lines. This type of hypothesis is simple, and easy to test with sample survey data. However, in reality, in this study, this is an unlikely outcome. As I have already outlined, contemporary cultural sociologists (e.g. Bennett et al., 2009) have provided detailed empirical evidence that underlines the continuing importance of class, as well as other structuring factors, notably age and gender, and it would be unlikely for a different finding to be identified in this study.

Having said this, it is worth pointing out that just because cultural taste is consistently found to be related to stratification does not necessarily mean that individualization theories are wrong. This is because, individualization, regardless of whose formulation is under discussion, is conceived of as a *process*. Individualization theories (as applied to culture) do not in fact insist that there will be no patterning of cultural participation and tastes across classes, but simply that this patterning will decrease across time. As I am using prospective longitudinal data in this thesis, cultural taste and practice across the life course is examined, and the extent to which people consume according to their social class position at different points in their lives is investigated. While this provides an interesting perspective on how social class and food consumption are related over time, it is worth noting that this does not mean that I am able to directly engage with the main tenet of individualization theory – that the link between class and cultural consumption is decreasing. This is due to the nature of the data – it is impossible to tell if changes are occurring across society as a whole, or if they are restricted to the cohort of individuals under investigation. This is a general issue often encountered in empirical studies over time (Openshaw, 1995)

This means that more micro aspects of individualization theories may be more

appropriate for investigation in this thesis. One interesting aspect of Beck's (2002) conception of individualization is that it is not happening at the same rate for everyone within Western societies. He states that "individualization means, implies, urbanization" (pg. 5). I take this to mean that individuals immersed in the social milieu of urban environments are more likely to be subject to individualizing forces. If individualization is something that happens in cities, then one way in which to address the validity of the theory (in the context of cultural taste and practices) would be to look at the extent to which cultural choices are individualized in cities compared to rural environments. Chapter 7 is dedicated to a geographical analysis of eating in the UK, so the results of this analysis facilitate a discussion of this urban / rural issue in some detail.

In Beck's and Giddens' descriptions of individualization, individuals' dis-embedding from class identities is followed by re-embedding within new identities that are often based around cultural consumption. I therefore attempt to look for evidence of any such re-embedding, i.e. I attempt to identify patterns of cultural consumption that are not linked to class but that may represent these new collective identities. If the process of dis-embedding and re-embedding is occurring, then it may be possible to pick up traces of the phenomenon in empirical analyses. Groups of people with similar patterns of cultural participation should be able to be identified, and their consumption practices should be relatively different to other peoples, and certainly not strongly related to class, as within Beck's individualization argument, the old identities are abandoned and replaced with new ones of a person's own choosing.

Earlier in the chapter I noted Giddens' (1991) suggestion that individualization may be partly structured along class lines. Giddens does not follow up this suggestion in detail, although this issue has been explored in some depth by Mike Savage in *Class Analysis and Social Transformation* (2000). Savage accepts some individualization processes may be ongoing but suggests that the groups with access to individualized reflexivity are increasingly middle class. In the context of cultural sociology, such a contention has great significance. If

individualization is not occurring at equal rates for everyone (on a class level, as well as on a geographical level as described by Beck above), then the concept has significant relevance for analyses of culture based around class. If some individuals' and groups' cultural tastes are individualized and others are still strongly patterned according to class then this would constitute only a partial breakdown in the homology of class and culture. In the empirical section of this thesis, patterns of individualization are therefore be investigated alongside class, to see whether any class-based de-patterning of cultural tastes over the life course can be identified and to see whether post-Fordist cultural consumption can be identified in greater amounts in middle class groups.

This discussion of the possible *partial* breakdown of class-based cultural taste and practices leads on logically to the next section, where the cultural omnivore / univore theory is discussed. Within this theory, the middle class 'cultural omnivore' is postulated as having a greater openness to varied culture than the lower class 'univore' of the dichotomy.

2.3 *The Omnivore / Univore Theory*

2.3.1 Peterson

Perhaps the most popular, and certainly the most discussed theory of cultural taste produced since Bourdieu's *Distinction* is the omnivore / univore hypothesis, which was first conceived in the US by Richard Peterson and colleagues (see Peterson, 1992, Peterson and Kern, 1996, Peterson and Simkus, 1992). Although the theory is often described as the cultural omnivore theory, in this thesis I use the term 'omnivore / univore', as the defining characteristic of the theory in its original form is that of an opposition between two different types of cultural consumers. As described by Peterson, the term omnivore refers to high status people, hailing from higher socio-economic groups, who report high levels of engagement with, and tolerance towards, a variety of forms of cultural consumption, including both 'highbrow' *and* mass 'lowbrow' culture. Within the same framework, and set against the cultural omnivore, is the

univore, a kind of lowest common denominator consumer, who hails from lower socioeconomic classes, outnumbers the omnivore in terms of sheer numbers, has narrower cultural tastes, consumes quantitatively fewer cultural forms, and restricts their cultural tastes and participation to more 'lowbrow' or 'popular' culture.

The original theory was first expressed in two papers published in 1992 that coined the term 'omnivore' (Peterson 1992) and provided the first empirical backing in the form of quantitative analysis of musical taste in US survey data (Petersons and Simkus 1992). In 1996 Peterson and Kern went on to demonstrate that the omnivorousness phenomenon had increased over time in the US (the omnivore / univore theory is therefore a theory of change), to suggest that an omnivorous orientation is also related to more general political tolerance, and also to propose that the phenomenon could be a positive social development in that higher socio-economic groups are exhibiting increasingly inclusive consumption patterns and hence less snobbery.

Several scholars (including Warde et al. (2000) and Chan and Goldthorpe (2005, 2007b, 2007c)) suggest that the omnivore / univore theory can be seen as a compromise between homology theories and individualization accounts. While a marriage of two such diametrically opposed positions sounds unlikely, this type of compromise argument is not unreasonable. Under the omnivore / univore theory, there is still a homology between social class and culture of sorts, as differences between univores and omnivores are still based along socio-demographic lines in the form of lower class univores versus higher class omnivores. Groups from higher up the socio-economic hierarchy still consume highbrow culture and groups from lower down the spectrum still consume lowbrow culture – it is just that now lowbrow culture is not necessarily rejected outright by middle class groups. There is also room for some of the ideas of individualization theories within the omnivore / univore account because the argument allows for increasing diversification of tastes among some sections of the population (the middle classes).

Peterson and Kern's suggestion, that tolerant attitudes towards lowbrow culture are related to liberal attitudes and tolerance towards others in general, can be seen as an optimistic vision of how cultural taste is changing. An open-minded attitude towards popular culture on the part of the middle classes could be seen as a rejection of traditional hierarchies of culture and the start of a process in which the homology between social position and cultural taste and practices begins to break down. In this regard, the omnivore / univore hypothesis as envisaged by Peterson differs from individualization arguments in that it is not intrinsically pessimistic. However, this idea that cultural omnivorousness is a positive sign of a new era of cultural inclusivity was, chronologically speaking, the first part of the omnivore / univore argument to be subjected to sustained critical attention. Bryson (1996, 1997) for example, maintains that higher social groups displaying omnivorous tastes may just be a new way for these groups to maintain distinction over the lower classes. Bryson states: "It (omnivorousness) provides a new criterion of cultural exclusion" (1996; pp897). Such a strategy (although the word *strategy* should not be taken to imply conscious thought; processes of distinction are largely unconscious) would comprise a more sophisticated method of maintaining distinction because it does not run counter to principles of democracy and cultural equivalency held dear in Western democratic liberal societies.

Others, including Erickson (1996), and in the context of eating out, Warde et al. (1999), suggest that omnivorousness could be useful because it allows cultural capital to be transformed into social capital. The mechanism by which this is achieved is explained in terms of social competence and networks - if for example an individual can display broad tastes and a knowledge of a wide variety of cultural phenomena then this provides the opportunity for the individual to "solidify and entrench social networks" (Warde et al., 1999, pg. 124) within a wide variety of different social groups. DiMaggio (1991) and Peterson (1992), working in the US, provide evidence for this - both show that a broad range of cultural tastes are related to a broad social network of friends and acquaintances.

Some more recent evidence also seems consistent with this theory. For example, Lizardo (2006) and Van Eijk & Lievens (2008) both show that cultural tastes are associated with social integration attitudes. Van Eijk and Lievens, for example, show that people with attitudes such as communitarianism are likely to have broad cultural tastes. Therefore, it is possible that a broad range of cultural tastes are developed by people as a way of making friends. It is worth pointing out that the associations described above could be explained the other way around; Mark (1998) proposes that people from similar networks have similar tastes not because tastes and knowledge affect people's ability to progress through the social milieu but rather that people who are in similar networks develop similar tastes to each other. Of course it is also possible, even likely in my opinion, that causality is not unidirectional but rather that tastes affect networks and networks affect tastes. Another finding that may well be relevant to this idea of using culture to build and sustain social networks is Savage's (1995) finding that managers are a relatively unique occupational class group in that they have 'undistinctive' taste. Perhaps this 'undistinctive' taste is a mechanism used by managers to 'get along' with as many people as possible. Managers are one occupational group who would benefit most from this ability to convert cultural capital into social capital due to the way in which they must interact with people both below them and above them in the social hierarchy.

While these debates regarding the explanations of omnivorousness have continued, the omnivore / univore hypothesis has gained considerable traction in cultural sociology. Researchers have produced numerous analyses of large scale social surveys that identify patterns of cultural engagement consistent with many of the broad tenets of omnivore / univore theory. One very influential body of work that appears to demonstrate the omnivorous tendencies of higher social groups within the UK is the series of articles published in the mid 2000's by Tak Wing Chan and John Goldthorpe (2005, 2007b, 2007c). In these articles, Chan and Goldthorpe investigate a number of different cultural domains and report evidence to support the omnivore / univore hypothesis. They do this through a two stage research process. Firstly, they apply clustering methods that allow them to a priori identify 'types' of

cultural consumers, and secondly they investigate the socio-demographic characteristics of the individuals who make up each of these classes.

In the article on musical taste (2007c), Chan and Goldthorpe identify three 'types' of musical consumers, one of which could be described as lowbrow 'univores', and two of which are described as 'omnivore' groups. Chan and Goldthorpe report that the high status, highly educated people are likely to belong to the omnivorous groups and argue this provides evidence to support the omnivore / univore hypothesis. In the article on theatre, dance and cinema attendance (2005), a similar methodological process again leads to the identification of two groups that could be described as 'omnivores' and 'univores'. In line with the omnivore / univore hypothesis, the omnivores were more likely to be high status and highly educated people and the opposite was true for the univores. The conclusion of these articles, as regards the main arguments describing the link between stratification and cultural consumption, is that the omnivore / univore argument best fits the data – this is because we see a greater plurality of practice in the groups located higher up the socio-economic spectrum.

2.3.2 The Goldthorpe schema and cultural consumption

It is interesting to note at this point that there is another important aspect to this work that is of relevance to this thesis. This is Chan and Goldthorpe's finding that the occupational class measure they employ to investigate the differences between class groups (the NS-SEC – the officially adopted occupational class measure based upon the Goldthorpe class schema) actually does a very poor job of discerning between types of cultural consumers when other measures of social stratification are taken into account. Instead the other two measures of social stratification that they employ: an empirically derived status order based on the likely friendship patterns of each individual (see Chan and Goldthorpe, 2004 for information on its derivation) and the level of educational achievement of each individual, are more effective predictors for understanding latent class membership.

Chan and Goldthorpe (2005, 2007c) suggest that this finding can be explained through reference to Weberian theory. They describe their theoretical position as *neo-Weberian* and stress the importance of the empirical and conceptual separation of class and status / *stand*. Weber (1991, first published 1920) suggests that class refers to the economic relations between different types of people, whereas status refers to the regard by which individuals are held in society. This conceptual separation is important because lifestyle is postulated by Weber to be related to status, rather than class. Therefore, when empirical research shows that occupational social class is more important than status for understanding economic outcomes such as voting patterns and unemployment risk (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007a, Goldthorpe and McKnight, 2006) and simultaneously that status is more important than occupational class for understanding cultural consumption (Chan, 2010, Chan and Goldthorpe, 2005, Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007c), this is taken by neo-Weberian scholars as evidence that the separation of class and status is justified.

Interestingly though, within Chan and Goldthorpes' analyses of consumption, level of education is an even more important predictor of which 'type' of consumption pattern will be followed. Chan and Goldthorpe (2007b) explain the importance of education in 'determining' consumption patterns through reference to 'information processing capacity' arguments first outlined at the end of the 1970's and early 1980's (see e.g. Ganzeboom, 1982). This type of argument suggests that people with superior cognitive abilities will be more likely to consume more complex / a wider array of culture and is thus set against the Bourdieusian one I have outlined in the section on homology above. Educational achievements are seen by many Bourdieusian scholars as a proxy measure of cultural capital (or institutionalized cultural capital), whereas from a neo-Weberian perspective, the concept of cultural capital is redundant due to the idea that cultural consumption is an aspect of lifestyle, which is itself dependent upon one's position within the status order.

Le Roux et al. (2008) have criticized Chan and Goldthorpe's focus on the class /

status dichotomy, suggesting that just because two measures of social inequality (occupational 'class' and 'status') are only weakly correlated and appear to predict different things does not mean that they should be completely separated conceptually. Le Roux and colleagues suggest that perhaps it makes more sense to think of social class as an amalgamation of cultural, social and economic resources. Such a position would be consistent with a Bourdieusian position on social class, where class is thought of as a position in multidimensional social space, which is structured according to the clustering of individuals with a similar volume and composition of multidimensional capital. Le Roux et al. (2008) also point out that the operationalization of status is contestable, suggesting that the status scale is essentially derived from information on occupation, and as such is just capturing a different aspect of the same underlying concept.³ Bourdieusian scholars would conceive of a status scale such as the one derived by Chan and Goldthorpe (2004) as a proxy for social capital, and indeed a similar scale derived in a very similar way (the Cambridge scale) has been conceptualized by its creators as such (see Prandy and Lambert, 2004).

I mention these issues of measurement and operationalization because the way that social class and stratification are measured could have very important consequences for the interpretation of the results of this thesis. The different ways in which neo-Weberian and Bourdieusian scholars conceive of the conceptual significance of educational achievement (i.e. an indicator of information processing capacity or a facet of cultural capital), means that while both schools of thought may employ similar research strategies to investigate cultural taste and practice and social stratification, the way that the variables are operationalized, and following on from this, the way that results are interpreted, are completely different for both schools of thought. In my analysis it is therefore important that I take these different positions into account.

³ I would add to this that Weber's original definition of status is actually extremely wide-ranging and spreads far beyond simply who one knows, so this measure of status can hardly be said to have content validity. To be fair though, as I have described in the section on arguments from homology, a similar criticism could be applied to those who conceive of educational achievement as a proxy measure of cultural capital.

2.3.3 Omnivores by volume and omnivores by composition

To return to the topic of omnivore / univore theory, Chan and Goldthorpe's work showing omnivorous tastes amongst higher class groups in the UK form only a small part of the growing body of international evidence supporting the omnivore / univore hypothesis. Music has remained very much the main field in which the phenomenon has been analysed but the concept of the omnivore has been extended beyond music and applied to many different areas of culture including reading (Van Rees et al., 1999), eating out (Warde et al., 1999), television (Lizardo and Skiles, 2009), and arts consumption (DiMaggio and Mukhtar, 2004, Fisher and Preece, 2003). The phenomenon has also been identified in a variety of different industrialised countries including the UK (Bennett et al., 2009), the Netherlands (Van Eijck, 2000), Spain (Sintas and Álvarez, 2004), Russia (Zavisca, 2005), and Canada (Fisher and Preece, 2003). See Peterson (Peterson, 2005) for a review of this mostly confirmatory (in terms of theory but also statistical methodology) research.

Despite the identification of omnivorous tendencies in middle class groups around the world in a variety of cultural fields, various further issues have been raised questioning the validity of the concept. Alan Warde and colleagues have pointed out the inconsistencies in the way in which cultural omnivorousness is defined in much of the research on the cultural omnivore (see Warde et al., 2000, Warde et al., 2007, Warde et al., 2008). One of the key points that Warde makes in this regard is that the term omnivore is often used in two different ways and that it is important to distinguish between these two different definitions because the theoretical consequences of applying each of the two definitions vary. These two different types of omnivore are termed *omnivores by volume* and *omnivores by composition*. Omnivores by volume simply consume a wider variety of culture / have a broader set of tastes and tend to be from higher social groups. Omnivores by composition, on the other hand, are symbolically separate from the univores of the dichotomy. The higher class omnivores are changing their aesthetic preferences (i.e. in Bourdieusian terms from a preference for 'high' or 'legitimate' culture) to a preference for a broad range of

culture. Omnivorosity by volume simply requires a liking for a wide variety of different types of culture. Omnivorosity by composition, on the other hand, involves a qualitative change in orientation towards taste – the attitude that one has towards taste and cultural practices (for example an open, tolerant, democratized attitude) is as important as the actual tastes themselves. Warde (2008) suggests “openness to the tastes of others is valued” (pg. 164) in and of itself. For omnivores defined as ‘omnivores by composition’, snobbishness is no longer a positive trait for middle class people, as it was, for example, in Bourdieu’s 1960’s France.

However, if we accept that there is a symbolic divide between omnivores and univores (as is required by the omnivore by composition definition) then, as Savage and Gayo-Cal (2011) point out, issues of how to explain this divide become of great importance. As has been described, there are three main explanations given for the omnivore phenomenon, all of which can be classified as omnivore by composition arguments – this is because each of them specifies a dividing line across which lower class univores are symbolically separated from middle class omnivores. To recap, these are Peterson and Kern’s (1996) original explanation of the highbrow omnivore – a liking for a broad range of culture is related to generally tolerant views in other areas of life and omnivorosity in culture is symptomatic of a broader cultural trend of inclusivity in the middle classes. Other authors (Erickson, 1996, Warde et al., 1999) have explained a preference for a broad range of culture as instrumental in forming social bonds and accumulating social capital. Still further authors have suggested omnivorosity may alternatively be a new way in which middle class distinction from the lower classes can be maintained (Bennett et al., 2009, Bryson, 1996, Savage and Gayo, 2011, Warde et al., 2007, Warde et al., 2008). All of these ideas, if applied to all omnivores as a single group, are consistent with the definition of omnivorosity by composition because they specify a symbolic dividing line that separates the omnivores from the univores.

Studies that focus on the omnivore / univore phenomenon as omnivorosity by volume often ignore explanations and instead focus on just showing greater

breadth of taste / practice / knowledge. In doing so they are ignoring a key component of the original definition (i.e. that omnivores are a different *type* of person, with symbolically different attitudes and dispositions to culture from univores) and therefore the concept of an omnivore / univore divide becomes less a theory of cultural change and more just an empirical finding describing wide cultural consumption amongst higher social groups.

2.3.4 A reliance on quantitative research

A related issue, identified in the same two papers (Warde et al., 2007, Warde et al., 2008) is that the vast amount of early supporting evidence for the omnivore / univore theory is quantitative in nature (perhaps unsurprisingly given its American heritage). In recent years, this gap in the literature base has been addressed through a proliferation of qualitative and mixed methods research examining the omnivore / univore phenomenon (see Atkinson, 2011, Bellavance, 2008, Ollivier, 2008, Savage and Gayo, 2011, Warde et al., 2007, Warde et al., 2008). In general terms, these studies show that omnivores are a very diverse group of people and suggest that the subtle distinctions between them would not be picked up upon by sample surveys. For example, Guy Bellavance (2008), working in Canada, identifies a group of 'transitory figures' with 'eclectic' tastes, who differ considerably from each other in terms of their tastes and their justifications for their tastes but who he suggests may well appear as omnivores if they were participants in a sample survey such as those analysed by Peterson. The overarching conclusion of the authors listed above is that the over-reliance on quantitative data has led to a situation whereby the concept of the cultural omnivore provides at best a simplification of a complex situation, and at worst what could be described as an artefact of a reductive research process.

Given this recent research demonstrating the heterogeneity of omnivores, it seems likely that the conception of a single 'type' of omnivore, separated from univores by a symbolic dividing line, may not be the ideal conceptual archetype for describing contemporary cultural participation and taste. It appears that the

way that sample surveys are designed (with, for example, an overreliance on genre categories - see Beer, 2013) can lead to the identification of seemingly omnivorous respondents, but that the same surveys are not ideal for picking up more complex patterning that would discern between individuals categorised as omnivores.

Despite these issues, the repeated finding that higher class groups consume a wider variety of types of culture still needs explaining. The situation is complicated by the fact that it is possible that all three of the explanations behind omnivorousness could apply simultaneously to different groups of people, or to a greater or lesser extent amongst different individuals / groups. Some people could have omnivorous tastes mainly because they need to be able to interact with a wide variety of different people. For example, people in certain managerial occupations could be omnivorous mainly because of the social capital rewards, whereas other sections of the middle class such as cultural intermediaries could display omnivorousness primarily to maintain distinction. These issues are explored in the empirical section of this thesis through an exploration of the extent to which different patterns of food consumption are related to different forms of capital. The survey data employed is comprised of broad categories of different types of foods so the issues regarding the problems of using quantitative surveys to classify people when looking for evidence of omnivorousness will be of some relevance.

2.4 A False Trichotomy

The trichotomy I have presented in this chapter is a false one for two reasons – essentially these theories are neither exhaustive nor mutually exclusive.

They are not exhaustive in that I have omitted some traditionally prominent theories pertaining to cultural consumption from the analysis. This was done so as to restrict the discussions in order that the theories that are discussed could be explored in more depth. One important theory that I have ignored is Adorno

and Horkheimer's (1997, first published 1944) theory of mass culture. In a mass society, culture is created by the culture industry, which becomes more and more prominent over time, leading to standardization of cultural tastes and practices across all of society. The omission of this theory may seem odd given the relatively recent prominence of George Ritzer's influential McDonaldization theory (1983, 1993), which argues that standardization is occurring and references a restaurant in its name, but Ritzer's ideas relate largely to production instead of consumption. Furthermore, mass consumption does not seem to describe the current state of cultural taste and consumption convincingly, including in the specific field of food. Mennell (1996) and Warde (1997) both point out that, rather than mass standardization in food occurring, the opposite has happened - food consumption has evolved over a long period of time to be increasingly complex and unstandardized.

The theories covered in this thesis are not mutually exclusive because there are also important aspects of each the three theories that overlap, and indeed complement each other. The separation of all the theories of class and culture into three discrete groups is, of course, a simplification – classification and categorization are not simple processes at the best of times. As an example, we can consider the third explanation of omnivorousness (i.e. the argument that omnivorousness is used as a mechanism for maintaining distinction), that could be described as a compromise between homology and omnivore / univore arguments. I have classified *Culture, Class, Distinction* as an example of a book showing an argument from homology but it also has arguments within it that shares some key aspects with this formulation of the omnivore / univore theory. Bennett et al. (2009) state:

“In so far as there is a dominant expression of cultural capital in Britain, it is perhaps the adoption of an omnivorous orientation... It is contrasted with ‘fixed’ or ‘static’ tastes, which can be portrayed as narrow and restrictive, and, by implication, those of the working class.”

(pg. 254)

Bennett et al (2009) accept that omnivorousness is a real measurable phenomenon in the UK, and that there is a symbolic line separating the omnivores from the univores – higher class omnivores embrace variety and openness to culture. However, they also suggest that omnivorousness is being used to maintain distinction, the same argument articulated by Bryson (1996). This is an omnivorousness by composition argument yet in the same text the authors provide evidence for a continuing, albeit imperfect homology of class position and consumption within and across a variety of fields.

Another example of the way that the different theories can operate together and complement each other is the contention made by Savage (2000) and also Skeggs (2004) that reflexivity forms a part of the middle class identity, and that individualization therefore affects the middle class to a greater extent than the working class. Considering that Individualization theory is specifically set against class by two of its greatest proponents (Beck and Bauman), this demonstrates the way that the ideas contained within the different theories can be used together to form a greater understanding of the area of interest. Although the overall aim of this project is to investigate these three theories, this does not mean that one will be proclaimed correct and the other two discarded. Rather, I aim to work through different aspects of the different theories and understand which can best be applied to explaining the patterns I identify in the empirical analysis. To put it another way, a lack of mutually exclusive categories is not a problem – theory should be used to guide, not restrict, research, and in this thesis this classification system is just used as a starting point from which to begin the analysis.

2.5 Social mobility, consumption, and change over the life course

Before moving on to discuss how these three different theories relate to food and eating, I first discuss one further area of interest in this study: social mobility.

The term social mobility refers to the movement of individuals or groups within

a social hierarchy. The phrase is commonly used within political discourses and beyond, and is overwhelmingly viewed in a positive light, as something to be encouraged, because high levels of social mobility within a society act as a good marker of a meritocratic society. The argument goes that if people are judged on their ability, and on the effort that they apply in their work and in their lives, then in a perfectly meritocratic society you would expect people who are innately 'intelligent', and people who work hard to be upwardly socially mobile, and people who are lazy or simply 'bad at life' to be downwardly socially mobile. It is fair to say that in modern Western liberal democracies, the ideological position that hard work should be rewarded with an improved lot in life is not controversial; in fact it is almost taken as a given. As such, increasing social mobility has been described as a key aim of at least the past three UK governments, and increasing social mobility is a stated aim of each of the three main political parties (Payne, 2011).

Within academia (in particular sociology and more recently economics) much of the most influential research examining social mobility over the last thirty years has been focused around issues of the quantification and measurement of inter-generational social mobility. John Goldthorpe and colleagues' analyses of social mobility (see e.g. Goldthorpe and Jackson, 2007, Goldthorpe et al., 1980) compare the occupational social class of an individual to the occupational social class of their parents (usually fathers) in order to classify everyone within their sample as upwardly mobile, downwardly mobile or stable. Different rates of mobility, both absolute and relative, can then be estimated. Economists (e.g. Blanden et al., 2004) essentially follow the same process but rather than examining movement through class groups, they focus on income and compare the income of people to their parents. The main focus of the debate between these two groups is about the extent to which mobility rates are in flux and, not surprisingly, which of the two methods gives a clearer view of how mobility is operating in the UK.

These debates are only of tangential relevance to this thesis, so I do not discuss them in any detail here. What is more important in this context is that there is

the beginning of a shift within sociology towards a wider engagement with the concept of social mobility (Friedman, 2013, Payne, 2012). Sam Friedman (2012, 2013) in particular has adopted the position that a movement away from a focus purely on the objective measurement of social mobility is required and that a greater engagement with people's subjective experiences of their own mobility would be beneficial. Friedman points out that the subjective experience of mobility used to be discussed by some important figures but that debate around this particular aspect of the social mobility phenomenon faded out once the Goldthorpe paradigm became dominant. Sorokin (1959) for example describes how both upwardly mobile and downwardly mobile individuals would be likely to feel 'dissociated' from any particular class culture as they do not feel a full sense of belonging to either their (to borrow Goldthorpe's terminology) 'origin' or 'destination' classes.

This idea that mobility may leave the people who experience it in a kind of limbo between class cultures is interesting because it problematizes the notion that social mobility is always a positive thing. Even upwardly mobile individuals, for whom one would assume mobility brings the biggest benefits, may experience this 'dissociation'. Taking this idea that socially mobile individuals may come into contact with a disproportionately broad array of culture due to this connection to multiple class cultures, Friedman (Friedman, 2011, Friedman, 2012, Friedman, 2013) and other authors such as Lahire (2011, 2008) have linked the concept of social mobility to the omnivorousness phenomenon – suggesting that socially mobile people may be more likely to be a certain sub-type of omnivore. Friedman (2012) describes the socially mobile individuals of his study as 'culturally homeless' and Lahire (2011) describes omnivorousness in socially mobile people as 'cultural dissonance'. As they are viewed by Lahire, socially mobile omnivores do not have any firm anchoring in a particular culture, and have to "oscillate constantly – and sometimes in a mentally exhausting manner – between two habits and two points of view" (Lahire, 2011; 38)

Bearing all this in mind, it is clear that a quantitative investigation of social

mobility and cultural consumption could shed light on this aspect of the omnivore / univore phenomenon. If social mobility is actually creating omnivorous tastes through leading to an engagement with a wide array of cultural forms, then the impact of this should be identifiable within sample survey data – i.e. more socially mobile people should be following omnivorous consumption patterns. Friedman (2013) points out that such analyses are rare, although not unknown. Van Eijk (1999) and Lahire (2008) both conducted empirical studies investigating exactly this issue (in the Netherlands and France) and report that socially mobile individuals are more likely to consume in a heterogeneous manner, which provides some evidence to suggest that for at least some people, ‘omnivorous’ tastes may be attributable to their movement through the social hierarchy. In this study, the same issue is investigated although my focus is on food and this is the first time such a research strategy has been followed using UK data.

This renewed interest in social mobility and cultural consumption has therefore been framed mostly in terms of its relevance to the omnivore / univore debate. However, I would suggest that it is also important to think about social mobility in terms of individualization and homology theories as well. Movement through the social hierarchy is purported to lead to ‘dissociation’ (Sorokin, 1956), and ‘dissonance’ (Lahire, 2011) and these ideas can clearly be linked to individualization theories. Perhaps the most useful ideas in this context come from Giddens, who, as I have described, outlines how individualized agents feel a sense of ‘ontological insecurity’ as they become detached from traditional socio-cultural moorings such as social class as a consequence of individualization processes. It is not hard to see the links between the ideas of Lahire and Friedman and Giddens’ description of life in ‘late’ modernity – socially mobile people could easily be thought of as prime candidates for experiencing ontological insecurity. I have already outlined how Savage, Skeggs, and Atkinson have suggested that reserves of reflexivity are higher within middle class groups but perhaps they will be even higher amongst people who are socially mobile (in particular *upwardly* socially mobile) – this issue is also investigated in this thesis.

In terms of investigating arguments from homology, and specifically Bourdieu's formulation of a homology argument, social mobility is important because the concept of social mobility has some important intersections with Bourdieu's theoretical ideas. Bourdieu's concept of multidimensional capital is relevant here because it allows the consideration of the idea that cultural proclivities (in the form of cultural capital) are a resource that can be passed on from parents to children, in a way analogous to how economic capital is inherited. A comparison of a parent's position in the social hierarchy with a child's position in the same social hierarchy a generation later (much as is conducted by researchers investigating social mobility) allows for a comparison of the importance of an individual's inherited capital reserves with their acquired capital reserves in 'determining' cultural taste and practice. A specific focus on cultural capital transmission between generations provides the potential to discuss the extent to which cultural consumption patterns in adulthood are linked to the transmission of cultural capital from parents.

An investigation into social mobility also allows a discussion of how *habitus* operates in the field of food and eating. Identifying individuals who are upwardly and downwardly mobile and then comparing them to individuals who are static has been shown by Van Eijk (1999) to be a powerful research strategy. Van Eijk describes two of the possible outcomes that could result from such analyses. Firstly, people who are upwardly mobile could consume in a manner that is consistent with their origin class rather than their destination class – this he describes as a 'socialization' hypothesis. On the other hand, people could consume in a way that is consistent with their 'destination' class – this would be described as 'status maximalization' because the upwardly mobile people would be moulding their consumption practices to fit with their new higher class position. Van Eijk's (1999) own analysis provides evidence to support the first of these two options - a 'socialization' hypothesis - while upwardly mobile people do consume in a manner differently to people who have remained in their 'origin' class, they do so to a lesser extent than their new-found peers in their destination class.

In this study, such a strategy (of comparing socially mobile people to socially stable people) is powerful for investigating *habitus* because it provides an opportunity to investigate the extent to which people who move up the social order change their consumption practices away from what might be expected given their social background and how they were socialized as children. Individuals who *acquire* unusual amounts of capital (either higher or lower than would be expected given their inherited capital) could conceivably develop different tastes and practices to what might be expected according to their class *habitus* (i.e. in the context of food they might eat in a way that differs from their class background). Clearly not everyone follows a similar pattern of cultural consumption to their parents / their class background (a fact that authors critical of Bourdieu and *habitus* sometimes point out) and an investigation of social mobility shows whether social mobility may be important in explaining lack of continuity from generation to generation.

In Chapter 6 I investigate empirically the extent to which socially mobile people consume differently to people who remain socially static, in order to explore further the issue I have outlined above.

2.6 *Conclusions*

In this chapter I have outlined the three main arguments that are postulated to link together taste, practice and consumption with social class. First, arguments from homology suggest that class position and cultural practice are two sides of the same coin. Bourdieu's position set out in *Distinction*, underlining the importance of a multidimensional understanding of social class and recommending a focus on the interplay of economic and cultural capital for understanding taste and practice is the most influential version of such an argument with the best potential for further exploration. Second, individualization arguments suggest class is becoming increasingly irrelevant for understanding consumption patterns. Instead consumption is becoming either entirely disordered, or linked to structural bases other than class, or

becoming a post-Fordist lifestyle choice (i.e. individual agents can choose to align themselves to certain forms of consumption or patterns of cultural practice that are in no way linked to structural bases such as class or gender). Third, omnivore / univore arguments can be seen as a compromise between the two prior arguments. They suggest there are two different types of cultural consumers - lower class univores and middle class omnivores. There are different explanations for the omnivorousness phenomenon and there are different formulations to the argument but all share the idea that middle class omnivorousness is on the increase across a wide range of cultural fields. Some recent research has suggested that an overreliance on sample survey data has led to heterogeneous people being grouped together as 'omnivores'.

As should be clear from the summary of the literature presented in this chapter, much of the existing research examining these issues focuses on areas of cultural consumption other than food. In particular music has been the focus of a large proportion of the research covered. Given the importance of food as a universal form of cultural consumption, my focus on it here will contribute to these debates through an exploration of a form of cultural practice that is currently under-represented in the literature base.

3 Food Consumption as a Form of Cultural Practice

In Chapter 2, the main contemporary theories of the link between social stratification and cultural taste and practice were outlined. In this chapter, the work of Alan Warde, whose application of theories of consumption to the field of food and eating in the UK in *Consumption, Food & Taste* (1997) are of great relevance to this thesis, are described and the key aspects of food and eating that make it comparable to, and also different from, other forms of cultural taste and practice are discussed. Scholars who have directly applied the three theories linking taste, practice and class to food, or whose theories have relevance to this link, are also discussed. Finally, a series of research questions, that relate to these theories and that are explored in the empirical section of this thesis, are proposed.

3.1 *Consumption, Food & Taste*

A wide variety of different fields of culture have been used as lenses through which to analyse cultural taste and participation and its link with stratification. Most recently, especially with reference to the omnivore theory, the topic has often been addressed with reference to *musical preferences* (e.g. Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007c, Savage, 2006, van Eijck and Lievens, 2008). Other fields of cultural taste and practice that have been investigated in detail include participation in art (e.g. Chan and Goldthorpe, 2005, DiMaggio and Mukhtar, 2004, Sintas and Álvarez, 2004) and reading (e.g. Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007c, Van Rees et al., 1999), among others. Recently there has also been a move towards broad analyses of a wide variety of fields, as was the case with Bennett et al.'s (2009) analysis of the whole cultural map of the UK, and other analyses conducted using the same data (e.g. Warde et al., 2007, Warde et al., 2008, Le Roux et al., 2008, Warde and Gayo-Cal, 2011). However, food and eating is one field of culture that remains relatively underexplored. Using food and eating as

a window through which to assess theories of cultural taste, practices and consumption has been done before, although the amount of work completed in this area is by no means exhaustive. Given the centrality that food has in cultural life it is fair to say that this is a significant gap in the literature that this thesis will in part address. It is important, however, to begin the discussion of the application of the three theories linking social stratification and cultural taste and practices, by discussing the most important text in the field in this context, Alan Warde's *Consumption, Food and Taste*. Warde (1997) focuses on food as a form of consumption and suggests that studying food is an excellent way to test different theories of consumption because of its complexity and universality. Reflecting the state of the art at the time, Warde focuses on four theories of consumption. These are:

1. Theories of increased personal agency in taste and consumption – namely individualization and informalization
2. Market segmentation or post-Fordist niche consumption
3. Massification
4. The 'retrenchment of social divisions', including a homology between class and culture but also the continuing importance of other social forces such as gender, ethnicity and space.

The theories of consumption that Warde evaluates are therefore related to, but distinct from, the theories of the link between cultural taste and practice and stratification assessed in this thesis. Warde's book remains key in the context of this thesis because of the similar issues that it addresses and because it is an exemplary example of a text that focuses on food and eating, but also treats food as part of a wider cultural sociology debate. Because of this, Warde's work has heavily influenced this thesis and plays a key role in helping me to situate the debate within existing thought. The text is used as starting point for analysing the three theories of taste and practice as they relate to what people eat.

Warde (1997) used mixed methods, including analysis of multiple waves of UK expenditure survey data, interviews and content analysis of magazine articles

dating from the 1960's to the late 1980's in order to assess the merits of each theory in explaining food consumption. Warde suggests that there is some evidence to support each of the four theories of consumption. Longitudinal analysis of the magazines shows that personal choice is increasingly emphasised as important in food consumption and that running alongside this, the rise of food movements such as vegetarianism provide evidence for neo-tribal / post-Fordist patterns of consumption. The increased commodification and industrialization of food could be said to provide evidence for theories of mass consumption and the quantitative analysis shows that occupational class differences have not declined noticeably over the period from 1968 to 1988.

To summarize, there is some evidence for each of the theories even within this study but Warde's main conclusion (in the context of the theories of consumption) is that individualization and informalization are the dominant tendencies surrounding discourses about food and eating and that they are having a significant effect on changing food consumption. Having said this, Warde also suggests that it is easy to overemphasise their impact and that class, as well as other structuring factors, remain very much relevant.

A second key component of *Consumption, Food and Taste* are the four antinomies of taste identified by Warde and explored with reference to empirical evidence and the theories of consumption described above. Warde (1997) suggests the four key antinomies of taste are "Health and Indulgence", "Novelty and Tradition", "Economy and Extravagance" and "Convenience and Care". Each of the four antinomies represents a pair of opposing cultural viewpoints or arguments that are irreconcilable with each other. So, according to Warde, no food can be both novel and traditional, be produced with care and yet remain convenient, be extravagant yet cheap, or indeed indulgent and healthy. One of the aims of this study will be to look for evidence for the existence, primacy or decline in importance of all these oppositions. Warde (1997) suggests that the opposition of healthiness and indulgence appears to be increasingly prominent and this particular binary divide is certainly the topic that much of the academic discussions about food in nutritional science, social policy and indeed sociology

focus upon.

One aim of this thesis is therefore to explore the field of food and eating in the UK and investigate how eating patterns in the UK are structured. Through this exploratory process, evidence of any oppositions within the data may arise, that may provide evidence for the dominance of any of the oppositions described here. Given that the data is also longitudinal, there is also the opportunity to investigate the longitudinal links between consumption in childhood and adulthood. There are therefore five research questions that will be covered in this section of the analysis (in Chapter 5):

1. In what way was cohort members' food consumption patterned in 1986 and 2000?
2. How might we describe the patterns that show up in the data?
3. In what ways, if any, does the dominant nutritional science discourse of healthy versus unhealthy foods show up in the data?
4. Do any of Warde's four antinomies of taste show up in the data? If so, how?
5. How do people's formative eating patterns influence what they eat later in life?

3.2 Differences between food and other fields of cultural taste and practice

In this section, the differences between food and eating and other types of cultural taste and practice as I see them are discussed and the validity of analysing food in the UK as a field / domain of culture is assessed. A number of key interrelated points that relate to this issue are discussed. These points relate to the complexity of the field of food and eating, the biological necessity that accompanies eating, and the relationships between food, health, and the body.

Beardsworth and Kiel (1990) touch on the first two of these points when they suggest:

“Food consumption is an absolutely fundamental aspect of human activity. It imposes imperatives, which can, of course be satisfied in immensely diverse ways, giving rise to sometimes bewildering variability.”

(pp148)

The complexity of the field of food and eating in the UK is at least as great as in any other comparable cultural field – each individual person has engaged with food constantly throughout the course of their lives so they will have built up vast relational systems of preferences that, for many people will make preferences for music seem simple. Given the recent finding that analysis of cultural taste and music has suffered due to issues of genre oversimplification in macro quantitative data analysis (see, for example Bellavance, 2008), it is likely that any analysis of food will suffer from this problem to an even greater extent. In the present study, a quantitative methodology is employed so this issue needs to be considered throughout.

Warde (1997) rightly suggests that the universality of eating is a reason why food is an appropriate tool for studying culture. But the other side of the same coin is that we also need to bear in mind that this same universality, or necessity, of eating means that it is, to an extent, a unique case and cannot be treated as completely analogous to other forms of culture, such as music. As Crotty (1999) points out, many millions of people suffer and many thousands die every day around the world due to under-nutrition and food inadequacy. In this context, inadequate food ‘choices’ are forced upon people by a lack of food or a lack of diversity of foods. The equivalent situation does not exist with reference to other forms of culture. Although everyone *has* to eat, everyone doesn’t *have* to listen to music. Due to this biologically enforced fact that people *have to* eat in order to survive it is conceivable that it may be hard to identify some of the patterns that have been identified in other cultural fields.

There are also further issues that are related to, but separate from, the issue of biological necessity, that also may have a bearing on treating food as a form of culture. Food consumption is very closely intertwined with the interrelated issues of health and the body. Warde (1997) suggests 'health' is one side of one of four key structural antinomies that individuals have to negotiate when making choices about food (the other side of the opposition is indulgence). All choices made about food involve a trade off or choice between health and indulgence and people have become increasingly aware of which foods are 'healthy' and which foods are 'unhealthy'. The issue of the link between food and healthiness is relevant to treating food as a type of culture because, assuming people act as rational agents in this regard (which is far from certain), some people may make food choices due to a rational concern for improving or maintaining good health. Such life changing choices are not normally encountered with other types of cultural taste and practice; for example the choice of which television shows to watch is not normally thought to have a significant effect on health. Maintaining distinction from lower classes through consuming certain foods and avoiding others, for example, may become less important for an individual who has been told to eat more or less of a particular food/s or they will suffer serious health consequences.

A similar point could be made about how people's food preferences are structured in relation to issues of the body. It is conceivable that personal motivations and / or social pressures relating to the body may cause people to have a different relationship to food than they do to other forms of culture. The foods that people eat directly influence bodies through biological processes and importantly, people are very aware of this link. The stigma and social sanctions that people with fat bodies receive have been shown to be significant (see Puhl and Brownell, 2001) and this is therefore an issue that could well cause people to consume food in a different way than they might do to other forms of culture that don't have such a direct effect on the body.

In terms of the body, this same kind of interaction with food and structural

forces will also mean that food consumption cannot simply be treated as directly analogous to other forms of cultural practice. Issues of the body are likely to influence food consumption and its relationship with class. Indeed, Bourdieu (1984) suggests that slimness forms a component of embodied cultural capital, to which of course the middle classes would have greater access. Furthermore, gender is likely to be of some import in this regard. Warde (1997), in his analysis of women's magazines, found that the increase in concern with healthiness over the period towards the end of the 20th century has been accompanied by a corresponding concern with slimness. Bennett et al. (2009) also report that gender plays a more important structuring role in regimes of body management than it does in other fields of culture. It is therefore not unreasonable to suggest that gender will have an important role to play in structuring food preferences - indeed there is plenty of evidence from nutritional science, government statistics and sociology that shows gender differences in food consumption are significant (e.g. Bates et al., 1999, Beardsworth et al., 2002, DEFRA, 2011, ONS, 2004, Warde, 1997). This gender difference is greater than what one might expect to find in analyses of some other cultural fields, such as music, because norms in society suggest that a thin body is appropriate, and these factors play a more important role for women than for men.

It is hard to say what effect issues such as increased complexity, biological necessity and the interplay of food, health and the body might have upon food preferences, and how much these issues will impact upon patterning in the data. It is conceivable that they will have such an important effect that other differences between classes that may be important in studies of cultural taste and practice become insignificant in comparison, or are cancelled out by these issues. On the other hand, these considerations of increased complexity, biological necessity, and health and the body, in particular the latter, may work to magnify the differences by adding to or even interacting with structural factors - class differences may actually therefore be greater in food preferences than they are in other forms of cultural practice because health itself is closely related to class and plays a large role in common discourses that surround food

and eating. The empirical analysis presented in this thesis facilitates a discussion of some of these issues.

3.3 Theories of class and taste – how do they apply to food?

In the previous chapter, I outlined each of the three theories of the link (or lack of link) between cultural taste and practice and social stratification. In this section, these theories are discussed specifically with reference to what people eat in the UK.

3.3.1 Homology

Theories from homology, when applied to what people eat (the main focus of this thesis), would suggest that different classes of people eat in different ways, and that there is a hierarchy of ways of eating that runs parallel to the social hierarchy of class. As was discussed in the introductory chapter of this thesis, structural changes that have occurred in the UK over the last few hundred years have led to a decrease in class contrasts in terms of the foods that are eaten. People from a broader range of social class groups can now afford to eat copious amounts of meat, dairy, and a large variety of other foods. However, this does not mean that class differences have completely disappeared. As has been shown by Bennett et al. (2009) amongst others, the nature of class differences in culture evolve and can become more subtle over time. Inglis et al. (2008) directly apply this idea to food – they suggest that the increased availability of various foods to poorer people does not mean distinction in terms of what people eat is dead – rather forms of maintaining distinction may well just take new, more subtle forms.

Having said this, and despite the relative lack of research into the field of food and eating by cultural sociologists, there is actually a very large quantitative evidence base from the UK showing continued class differences in terms of what people eat. This evidence comes from a variety of different sources. The longest running of these is the annual, cross-sectional National Food Survey, which

began in 1940, and shows that people from different social strata continued to eat differently throughout the period of rapid change that followed the Second World War (see Slater, 1991)⁴. The same finding has been found to have persisted up to the present day in a variety of analyses of other national level sample surveys. Evidence from multiple sweeps of the National Diet and Nutrition Survey (see ONS, 2004) show a clear persistence of differences along socio-economic lines, as does evidence from the Health and Lifestyle Survey (Prevost et al., 1997, Whichelow and Prevost, 1996), the Whitehall II study (Martikainen et al., 2003), and various waves of the Family Expenditure Survey (Majima, 2008, DEFRA, 2011, Tomlinson and Warde, 1993, Warde, 1997). These broad class differences are characterized by working class groups consuming high levels of white bread, potatoes, refined foods, processed meats, high fat milk and animal fats while middle class groups eat more unrefined foods and whole grains, fruit and vegetables, nuts, low fat milk, and vegetable fats (DEFRA, 2011, Lang et al., 2003, Leather and Dowler, 1997, Martikainen et al., 2003, ONS, 2004, Tomlinson and Warde, 1993, Warde, 1997).

Explaining the class differential

It is clear then that a significant class differential exists in the field of food and eating in the UK. The reasons for the perseverance of this differential are less clear. Bourdieu's homology argument underlines the importance of symbolic differences between classes but before moving on to look at this issue and other sociological explanations of the link between food and class, I first examine some of the explanations given by nutritional science scholars for the class differential in food consumption. This is worth doing because scholars working in this field have produced a large body of work showing the persistence of inequalities in food consumption, and have proposed a number of different explanations. In the analysis section of this thesis, these explanations are considered alongside sociological theories of consumption.

⁴ The National food Survey later merged with the Family Expenditure Survey in 2000 to become the National Food and Expenditure Survey, which was itself renamed the National Living Costs and Food Survey in 2008.

Material Hardship

One interpretation for why socioeconomic groups eat differently to each other is based upon economics. This idea is sometimes suggested in the nutritional science literature as an explanation for the continuing class contrasts in consumption of 'healthy' and 'unhealthy' foods, and the associated class differences in obesity and other over-consumption health problems. Within these arguments symbolic differences are downplayed – the main idea is that the cheapness and availability of 'unhealthy' foods and the expensiveness and unavailability of 'healthy' foods in working class areas means that poorer people have to buy more 'unhealthy' food due to necessity. For example, Morton and Blanchard (2007) (writing in the US) suggest the negative correlation between obesity and income is due to exactly these causes. It is not uncommon to hear this argument made in the UK, both in academic (e.g. Smith and Brunner, 1997) and also non-academic (Williams, 2011) discourses.

The basic argument around material hardship causing 'unhealthy' eating is that bad diets and associated health problems, which are more common in people from further down the social hierarchy, exist because sugary and fatty foods are cheaply available to working class people while more healthy foods are not. Ernst Engel first noted that as income increases, the proportion of income spent on food decreases (Engel, 1857). This observation has been termed 'Engel's law' and it has been argued that this shows that material wealth plays an important role in structuring what people eat. This argument around the cost of 'unhealthy' foods has its merits in that high fat, high sugar foods are certainly more affordable than ever before and there is a wealth of empirical evidence showing that these foods are eaten disproportionately more by lower socio-economic groups.

However, some of the differences in food choices do not seem to make sense in this context. For example, a loaf of white bread costs an equivalent price to a loaf of brown bread yet significant class differences remain despite this. Additionally, some empirical research seems to show that money is not the most

important factor in determining what people eat. Tomlinson and Warde (1993) show that occupational class predicts what people eat more effectively than income does, so it seems likely that some kind of symbolic component may be at work. Evidence from the Whitehall II study of civil servants in London also shows that participants who were suffering material hardship did not follow significantly different eating patterns to other participants from similar occupational positions not suffering from material hardship (Martikainen et al., 2003). In this thesis, the relationship between eating preferences and both measures of economic hardship and measures of income is investigated. I therefore explore the extent to which purely economic factors may be affecting food preferences.

A more recent theoretical concept that brings space into the equation is the 'food desert', a term coined (originally by Beaumont et al., 1995) to describe a geographic location where the shops and restaurants in deprived neighbourhoods sell only unhealthy processed foods at a cheap price and where 'healthy' unprocessed fresh foods are expensive or not available. Cummins and McIntyre (2002) suggest this phenomenon of the 'food desert' was discussed frequently throughout the late 1990's in government reports, although they point out that empirical evidence supporting the existence of food deserts did not accompany these discussions. The 'food desert' idea seems plausible, as many 'health' foods are sold in specialist shops and small shops in more deprived areas may not stock a lot of fresh produce. However, when Cummins and McIntyre did conduct investigations into food deserts in Glasgow, they found no evidence to support the idea – in fact low price supermarkets with a variety of cheap *and* normatively healthy foods were often situated near to areas of socioeconomic deprivation, although unhealthy foods were also cheaper in these areas. This is, however, only one study looking at one city. In the analysis section of this thesis, although the issue of space is addressed in some length, it is not possible to assess the food desert idea directly, as the data available lacks a sufficient level of granularity, although the investigation of the impact of urban / rural living is investigated and may shed some light on this issue.

Symbolic differences

I now move away from purely economic arguments to focus upon symbolic differences between class groups. The most obvious example of an argument underlying the importance of symbolic differences is Bourdieu's position set out in *Distinction*, although many other authors have also stressed the symbolic importance of food. Social Anthropologists Sidney Mintz and Christine Dubois in *The Anthropology of Food* (2003) describe how food, as a form of culture, is symbolically significant:

“Like all culturally defined material substances used in the creation and maintenance of social relationships, food serves both to solidify group membership and to set groups apart.”

(pg. 109)

Different groups (or 'types') of people eat differently from each other because of issues relating to group identity, whether this be due to processes of inter-class distinction, or intra-class solidarity. In *Distinction* (1984), as well as proposing a model explaining the homology between cultural taste and practice in general, Bourdieu also specifically addresses the issue of food and eating, treating food as a single field of culture. It therefore seems logical to include Bourdieu here as the main proponent of an argument that there is a continuing homology between class and food, that is driven partly by cultural differences between class groups, although there have been valuable contributions from other authors whose ideas and research will also be discussed in this section.

Bourdieu (1984) suggests that, with reference to 1960's France, an opposition exists between two different kinds of cultural taste that map directly onto a hierarchy of class. These tastes are the tastes of freedom and the tastes of necessity. Tastes of freedom are the tastes of the bourgeois, who use their higher resources of economic and / or cultural capital to consume 'superior' / 'legitimate' foods. The tastes of necessity are the tastes of the working classes, whose tastes are more basic and are composed of a variety of cheaper foods.

Despite their name, the tastes of necessity are not necessarily enforced by material need, rather they form a part of the popular 'aesthetic' that Bourdieu identifies as an intrinsic part of the working class *habitus*, and which takes the form of preferences for foods that are simple, functional (i.e. high energy) and unpretentious.

As has been discussed in the previous chapter, the dominant classes' cultural tastes and practices can be used for demonstrating status and as a way for maintaining distinction from the classes below them. For the economic elite in Bourdieu's sample (who have high reserves of economic capital but less in terms of cultural capital), maintaining distinction is simple – they simply consume a variety of indulgent, rich, fatty and salty foods. Such consumption patterns could be described as conspicuous consumption and as such, could be said to be linked to economic, rather than cultural resources. But in the case of the middle class fractions with high reserves of cultural capital but less economic capital, for example cultural producers and teachers (Bourdieu's dominant class fraction in the field of food and eating), distinction is maintained through a variety of different ways.

One of the most important is the ascetic nature of the dominant class fractions orientation towards food. Bourdieu (1984) reports that the groups high in cultural capital are likely to consume 'health-giving' 'light', and 'non-fattening' (pg. 182) foods and reject indulgent foods. Through restricting their input of indulgent foods, they can demonstrate a 'distance from necessity' that forms an important component of their class-based *habitus*. This idea of 'ascetic' versus 'indulgent' eating as the main dividing line between class groups is of course consistent with nutritional science understandings of the situation and has also been noted by other researchers working in cultural sociology. Savage et al. (1995), for example, describe how ascetic lifestyles are spreading across a wide spectrum of middle class groups, even amongst class fractions such as the professionals, who Bourdieu would perhaps have suggested would consume indulgently.

Another way in which Bourdieu's 'dominant class' consume differently from others is in the consumption of exotic foods, prepared in time consuming, highly skilled ways. Through eating certain types of foods that are exotic, lengthy to prepare, divorced from necessity, and both different from, and superior to, the foods that the lower classes and the economically rich eat, the 'aristocracy of culture' can activate their resources of cultural capital and maintain a distinct identity through this demonstration of "symbolic violence". Thus Bourdieu argues that processes of distinction work in much the same way in the context of food and eating as they do in other fields of culture.

For some examples of consumption practices that could be said to constitute examples of objectified cultural capital, we can consider healthy eating, as well as the concepts of gastronomy (the art or science of eating), gourmet (eating expertise) and gourmandism (a love of 'good' food) – these could all be understood as markers of distinction used by the higher social classes. Stephen Mennell (1996) suggests that:

"The Gastronomer is more than a gourmet - he is also a theorist and propagandist about culinary taste"

(pg. 267)

Gastronomes represent the culinary elite, who view themselves as the absolute arbiters of good taste in foods. Through their pronouncements they can valorise certain foods, food groups, or dishes and dismiss others as low status. When middle class groups assimilate this information and learn the appropriate ways to talk about 'legitimate' food, it forms a component of cultural capital which distinguishes them from lower social groups.

Warde (1997) raises the example of nouvelle cuisine as a contemporary example of a type of eating through which the upper and middle classes can maintain distinction. The rich can use their ability to afford, and knowledge of, nouvelle cuisine as both a demonstration of wealth and for exhibiting distinction. The very fact it is so expensive and that you get such small portions makes it the

antithesis of value for money and therefore divorced from working class tastes of necessity.

Warde also addresses the issue that some specific foods may have symbolic significance. One example he gives is wine. Warde's (1997) own empirical evidence suggests that by the end of the 1980's class differences in terms of volume of wine consumption were decreasing. More recent evidence has shown that this process has continued and wine has become more popular across class boundaries and hence its consumption is less of a marker of social position (e.g. Bennett et al., 2009, Majima, 2008, Majima and Warde, 2008). Although drinking wine may now be enjoyed by a wide variety of different groups and hence no longer act a marker of distinction, the ability to display knowledge about wine, differentiate between wines, and talk about wine in a certain way may remain a key component of cultural capital and a way that the middle class can maintain distinction.

Processes of distinction, then, are relevant to food, just as they are to other forms of culture. However, it is worth pointing out that not all class differences may be due to inter-class competition – sometimes inter-group solidarity is just as or more important. Bourdieu (1984) concurs with Mintz and Dubois that the symbolic component of the differences between classes is not limited to higher class groups setting themselves apart (displays of 'symbolic violence' in Bourdieusian terms). Bourdieu suggests that food works not just as a powerful tool for demonstrating distinction but also as a way of "affirming solidarity" (1984; pg. 183). As has been described, for the middle classes, displaying distinction from the lower class fractions is the most important symbolic aspect in terms of food preferences, but Bourdieu does not suggest that intra-group similarity is not also important for all social classes. Warde (1997) also maintains that in-group solidarity plays a very important role in maintaining class differences.

It is in the case of the working classes that Bourdieu (1984) highlights in-group similarity as the dominant cohesive force (possibly because they have no-one

below them in the social hierarchy to maintain distinction from). Bourdieu suggests that actually food is one of the few areas where the working classes still challenge the 'legitimate' dominant culture and notes an anomaly in his data whereby foremen eat more like their workers than they do like clerks and commercial employees, even though they earn more than these professions. He suggests this shows a form of 'cultural resistance', whereby the foremen, who are very likely to have come from working class backgrounds, continue to eat in the same way even though they now earn significantly more and can now afford to eat more like the bourgeois. Their tastes do not change despite their social and material circumstances doing so – suggesting the influence of dispositions inscribed in the *habitus* remains even after moving up through the class hierarchy.

Warde (1997) reports a more recent finding that is analogous to Bourdieu's foreman anomaly. His analysis of 1988 UK expenditure data shows that the petit bourgeoisie (self-employed people with no employees) are distinctive in that they spend money on food in a similar way to the manual working class – a class many of them originated in. This provides evidence of a similar nature – when economic capital increases, eating patterns do not necessarily change because dispositions inscribed in the *habitus* and the in-group solidarity that accompanies this, are more important in this regard. Bourdieu would suggest that working class people's tastes for necessity are therefore not contingent on actual economic necessity – they "have a taste for what they are anyway condemned to" (1984; pg178). Through their food consumption of simple food they can demonstrate tastes for necessity, intra-class solidarity and shared identity. It is worth noting at this point that this idea is in direct conflict with the argument that food consumption differences are due to economic cost.

The other way to think about this type of finding is in terms of inter and intra-generational social mobility. Bourdieu and Warde have both identified individuals who are socially mobile within their own lives – they have moved up the social hierarchy. Yet these groups still consume in a way that is consistent with how they were socialized when young. This could be taken to suggest that

the socially mobile person is still highly influenced by the class conditions they experienced in their formative years. Such a finding could be seen as consistent with Bourdieu's concept of *habitus*: childhood socialization into certain dispositions towards food (or other types of culture) – what could be described as levels of inherited cultural capital – are very important for understanding consumption practices later in life. I investigate this same issue in this thesis to see whether similar results can be identified.

Bourdieu (1984) also identifies a possible related explanation for the fact that class differences in food preferences often follow an 'unhealthy' / 'healthy' dichotomy, where the working classes consistently eat more unhealthy food and the middle classes consume in a more ascetic manner. He suggests that:

“The being-in-the-present which is affirmed in the readiness to take advantage of the good times and take time as it comes is, in itself, an affirmation of solidarity with others”

(pg. 183)

The working class enjoy unhealthy foods and eat indulgently, opposing the middle class need to conduct cost-benefit analyses of their eating (i.e. deliberations about health consequences down the line) and instead opt for the “spontaneous gratification” (pg. 180) offered by good food. Bourdieu suggests an explanation for this lack of concern about the future. The working classes have “little to expect from the future” (pg. 183) – they are not used to seeing their lives improve and therefore are willing to ‘live in the now’ and get the most out of life as it comes. The idea that people from lower down the socioeconomic spectrum may be less concerned about the future consequences of their eating is still relevant to debates in the UK today, especially with reference to health, and also crops up in some health science discussions on the class differential in terms of what people eat. For example Martikainen et al. (2003) suggest that perhaps the reason that there are marked class differences in food consumption in terms of ‘healthy’ and ‘unhealthy’ foods is down to an accompanying difference in the extent to which different groups of people believe they can

influence their own futures. I investigate this idea in Chapter 6 through an empirical investigation of the relationship of 'locus of control' variables and eating patterns.

Empirical strategy

In this thesis, I investigate whether a homology between class and culture exists in the field of food and eating in the UK. Taking a Bourdieusian position as a starting point, I attempt to identify which forms of capital are the most important in patterning foods and tastes. Bourdieu suggests that in different fields, different combinations of forms of capital are required to a greater or lesser extent so in Chapter 6, I investigate the field of food and eating in the UK to see what different forms of capital may be important. As part of this analysis, I identify groups of people who have particularly low reserves of economic capital and compare their consumption patterns to other groups. This should show how important economic factors are for people in terms of structuring food choices, and hence engage with arguments about material hardship.

The impact of institutionalized cultural capital (educational qualifications) on eating patterns is assessed and I attempt to identify any evidence that high cultural capital measures are associated with tastes of freedom as described by Bourdieu. The extent to which working class groups have tastes that could be described as tastes of necessity is also investigated. As was discussed in the previous chapter, the form that class differences take, and the tastes and practices that are important markers of distinction can, and do, change over time. Recent research (e.g. Bennett et al, 2009) has suggested that if there is still a homology operating between class and culture, then perhaps Bourdieu's specific formulation may not be relevant in 21st century Britain. What constitutes cultural capital may have shifted and different attitudes towards culture, food movements and specific foods may be more important markers of distinction than the idea of tastes of necessity versus tastes of freedom.

The issue of food avoidances may also be relevant here. As arguments from

homology suggest that there must be a hierarchy of culture that mirrors the structure of the class hierarchy, I examine whether or not higher class groups avoid culture that lower class groups do engage with. If any foods are found to be avoided by higher class groups but consumed by lower class groups, and if the food is not being chosen by the working classes for reasons of material hardship, then this would provide some evidence that there are symbolic dividing lines operating within the field of food and eating in the UK.

I also investigate the relative importance of inherited cultural capital, compared to acquired cultural capital, for understanding the structuring of eating patterns. By comparing the importance of parents' social positions to cohort members own social positions I explore how important socialization in childhood is to eating patterns in adulthood. This provides an opportunity to discuss the concept of *habitus*. To investigate the same issue, I also classify everyone within the sample as being upwardly mobile, static, or downwardly mobile and investigate the relationship of each of these life course trajectories with eating patterns.

Chapter 6 includes the results of this Bourdieusian inspired analysis that I have described above. However, seeing as much of the research process I follow is essentially similar to what has been conducted by neo-Weberian scholars such as Chan and Goldthorpe (e.g. , 2007c) , I take the opportunity to also investigate the relationship of the Goldthorpe class schema with eating patterns and also consider how the results presented in the same chapter might be interpreted from a viewpoint that rejects the need for any concept of cultural capital and instead places a primary focus on the importance of maintaining the conceptual distinction between class and status.

The research questions that I hope to address therefore are:

- 1 To what extent is class an important structuring factor in terms of what people eat?
- 2 What form do the differences between class groups take? E.g. Is a healthy /

unhealthy perspective helpful for understanding food preferences in the UK?

3 What forms of capital are most associated with socially stratified eating patterns?

4 Do middle class groups actively reject the foods eaten by working class groups?

5 Are eating patterns at age 30 related to levels of capital at 16 or 30, or both?

6 What is the relationship between (upward and downward) social mobility and eating patterns?

7 Are eating patterns statistically associated with the Goldthorpe class schema?

8 To what extent is the patterning of eating patterns consistent with a neo-Weberian perspective on class?

3.3.2 Individualization

Theories of individualization have impacted upon the analysis of food and eating in a number of ways. Around the period where individualization theories were dominant across the social sciences, their impact on sociological discussions of the meal, for example, was striking. Mennell et al. (1992) suggest that:

“Though incompletely investigated, it is highly likely that the meals that are held to be the very stuff of sociality are in danger of disappearing (and that this is) part and parcel of the trends characterized earlier in this report as increasing tendencies towards individualisation.”

(Pg. 116, quoted in Fischler, 2011)

Despite admitting there is limited evidence to suggest a decline in commensal eating is occurring, Mennell et al. (1992) claim that the very same phenomenon is in danger of disappearing! Claude Fischler (1993, 2011) also makes the same point. He suggests that individualization will increasingly lead to less social interaction and a corresponding decrease in commensality. This ‘decline of the family meal’ (whether explicitly linked to individualization or not) is a popular topic of debate in academia (and beyond) but empirical evidence for a decrease in commensality has not been easy to come by. In recent years, there has, if

anything, been evidence to the contrary - Cheng et al.'s (2007) analysis of UK time-use data shows that people spent roughly the same amount of time eating in social situations in 2000 as in 1975. This equates to a greater proportion of free time spent eating together in 2000 than in the earlier year. This is interesting because it goes against what might be expected given normative discourses surrounding this issue and also provides an example of the successful application of quantitative methods to investigate individualization.

Another way in which individualization theories have been applied to food and eating is in relation to the increased individual choice available to consumers and the impact that this might have. Fischler (1993) suggests that as the number of different foods and types of foods increase, there will be an increased need for people to make choices about their food. Alongside this increasing individual choice will come increased anxiety as identities are reflexively constructed in response to the increasing amount of choice. This breakdown of norms and structure along with an increased sense of anxiety could be said to be reminiscent of all three of the major individualization theorists thought but Fischler casts it as Durkheimian in nature and has coined the term 'Gastro-anomy' to describe the process.

Fischler's idea that the field of food and eating is increasing in complexity, that choices are becoming more numerous, and that anxiety is increasing, seems convincing when one considers developments within the domain of food and eating. Firstly, the number of food products available for people to buy, consume and develop a taste for, have increased and continue to increase. There is a great deal of anxiety surrounding food, as Fischler suggests, as would be expected by the theories of Bauman, Beck and Giddens. Food scares and controversies are commonplace, examples include fears about B.S.E / C.J.D in the 1990's, the G.M. controversy, and the widespread concern about eating healthily. There is little doubt that concerns about the link between food and health have increased over time and continue to increase (see Warde, 1997; Zwiier et al. 2009) and it doesn't seem unreasonable to conclude that these changes could be the result of individualization processes; people are more anxious about the impact of the

food 'choices' that they make. It could also be argued that anxieties about food and its provenance have contributed to the proliferation of vegetarian and vegan lifestyles (which could be described as 'post-Fordist' lifestyles) and the introduction and success of organic and fair-trade foods.

In broad terms then, it certainly seems plausible that individualization processes are impacting upon the domain of food and eating in a number of ways. I would however, suggest we should be cautious in this regard. As the discussions surrounding the 'decline of the family meal' and Cheng et al.'s (2007) study show, it is always important to attempt to empirically investigate postulated changes in society. I would suggest that there are many aspects of individualization theories that do not receive the critical *empirical* attention they should do, probably for two reasons. Firstly, they have roots in social theory, meaning empirical backing for an idea is not necessary for it to gain popularity, and secondly, because of the methodological difficulties that can arise in measuring change over time.

This does not mean that there is no relevant empirical work in this area. Perhaps the most important body of existing work for examining the aspects of individualization I am interested in in this thesis (specifically related to *what* people eat and also to class) is the literature that focuses on change over time by examining *trends over time* (eg Beardsworth and Bryman, 2004, ONS, 2004, Warde, 1997). This work examines the extent to which eating patterns are structured by class, and the extent to which this structuring is changing over time. Crotty's (1999) review of this type of research suggests that there is some evidence to support the idea that class-based consumption patterns are on the decrease across European countries, although change appears to be happening very slowly. Warde's (1997) analysis of change over time, comparing class based consumption patterns in survey data from 1969 and 1989, reveals that:

"The evidence does not suggest a rapid dilution of class based consumption patterns, nor their replacement by unregulated individual choice"

(pg. 115)

These studies therefore suggest that individualization of food preferences appears to be happening very slowly. This is perhaps not surprising given that some authors (eg Ingelhart, 1997) suggest that the primary mechanism for cultural change in general is through generational replacement rather than through individuals changing, and also because food is so universal and structures of preferences begin to build up at such a young age that changes in this particular cultural field may happen over long periods of time.

A further aspect of individualization theories that is worth exploring in the context of food and eating is the idea that individualization is a class-based phenomenon in which the middle classes gain increasing amounts of reflexivity while the working classes have fewer opportunities to make their own choices. Savage (2000) suggests individualization is a process that is best understood in the context of unequal access to reflexivity and there is some existing evidence that this could be the case. In terms of evidence for this idea within the field of food and eating, Warde (1997) reports that fragmentation within middle class food tastes is occurring - professionals, employers, and routine white collar workers all increasingly show distinct eating patterns. While fragmentation or splintering into smaller class fractions within classes is not by itself convincing evidence for a new individualized epoch, it does suggest that change may be occurring faster in the middle classes, which could suggest higher levels of reflexivity among these types of individuals.

A related issue is the emergence of 'post-Fordist' eating patterns that may well provide evidence to support some aspects of more moderate individualization arguments⁵. Certain forms of engagement with food, such as the rise of consumer groups, anti-GM, organic and local food movements, the Slow Food movement, and vegetarianism could be seen as post-Fordist in nature, and have been described as providing a pushing back effect against mass production processes (Belasco, 2007). As such, they could be seen as indicative of

⁵ To my knowledge Beck does not actually employ the term 'post-Fordist'. This conflation is my own.

increasingly reflexive orientations towards food. Interestingly, there is some evidence that middle class groups are relatively likely to follow neo-tribal eating patterns, such as vegetarianism (Gale et al., 2007) and also to purchase organic and local food (Padel and Foster, 2005). This could be seen as evidence that reserves of reflexivity are higher among middle class groups, as suggested by Savage (2000).

Empirical strategy

As I have described in the section on Homology above, in Chapter 6 I investigate the extent to which eating patterns at 16 and at 30 are structured by multidimensional class and by gender, and the extent to which class remains important across the life course for predicting eating patterns. In addition to this, in Chapter 7 my main analytical focus is on geographical, as well as social position. This means that I investigate the relative importance of these different structural factors in predicting eating patterns. This is relevant to Individualization theory because one would expect to see a decrease in the importance of class and perhaps other structural factors (depending on which formulation of Individualization theory is considered) over time.

Whether there has been a decrease in class-based consumption practices over time, or whether class may be becoming less important compared to these other relevant structural bases is a question that is highly problematic to address from a methodological point of view. This is not only because class, consumption and time interact with one another over time in different ways, but they are concepts that have themselves changed both over time as well. For example, what we can now consume in the UK is literally different to what we could even just ten years ago. In turn, therefore, it becomes very difficult to unpack the intertwined causal mechanisms that are underlying what causes what over time. Furthermore, the problem of causality is exacerbated with regards to the ageing process because it is hard to say whether any decrease in class-based consumption is due to changes that may normally happen over the ageing process or to broader changes happening in society as a whole. This

issue of change over time on a broad (aggregate) societal level might be better addressed (and indeed has been addressed) through 'trend' studies that examine changes in cross-sectional surveys over time (e.g. Beardsworth and Bryman, 2004, Warde, 1997). However, exploring changes through the life course – where the notions of ageing and the life course are themselves necessarily situated in the context of a changing social world – arguably demands a cautious exploratory approach in order to really grapple with the empirical evidence concerned with class-based consumption practices over time within the context of wider class changes which are relationally interdependent on other relevant structural bases.

This means that I am not conducting analyses with the aim of exploring the broad tenet of individualization theory that suggests class may be decreasing in importance as a structuring factor. Instead, my analysis focuses on narrower aspects of individualization theory. I do this by investigating whether any groups of people in either year appear to following eating patterns that could be indicative of post-Fordist eating patterns such as vegetarianism. Traces of post-Fordist eating patterns, such as vegetarianism and veganism, could provide evidence that taste is becoming individualized and contingent on personal choice, in a way that makes class less relevant.

However, as I have outlined, it is plausible that individualized tastes and practices, as well as post-Fordist eating patterns, may actually be intrinsically related to class. If gastro-anomy (individualization of food tastes) is found to be occurring at a faster rate for the middle classes then this should provide evidence to support an argument along the lines made by Savage (2000) and Skeggs (2004). This idea is investigated through examining the extent to which middle class groups follow post-Fordist eating patterns to a greater extent than working class groups and looking at the development of such eating patterns over the life course.

Although I have not come across the writings of any food scholars who specifically suggest that class-based patterns of food preferences are breaking

down to a greater extent in conurbations than rural locations, this is an interesting general suggestion of Beck's that could be extended to apply to tastes and practices in foods. The research focus on space in this thesis (Chapter 7) means that this suggestion takes on an added significance. I therefore assess Beck's (2002) assertion that individualization is predominately an urban phenomenon, in the context of eating patterns. If eating patterns seem to be clustered according to class to a greater extent in rural areas than in the cities then this would provide some evidence for this theory. Similarly, the geographic distribution of post-Fordist consumption across urban and rural areas is also investigated

The questions that will be investigated (mostly in Chapter 7) therefore are:

- 1 Is geography an important structuring factor in terms of what people eat?
- 2 Is there any evidence for the development of post-Fordist eating patterns in the data?
- 3 If post-Fordist eating patterns are identified, are they associated with social class?
- 4 Are eating patterns associated with residing in urban or rural areas?

3.3.3 Omnivore / Univore

Given that the name of the theory is taken from the world of food, it is perhaps surprising that the omnivore / univore theory has not received a significant amount of attention from researchers looking at food as a form of culture. There are, however, some notable exceptions (Johnston and Baumann, 2007, e.g. Johnston and Baumann, 2010, Warde et al., 1999).

In the first specific application of omnivore / univore theory to food in the UK, Warde et al. (1999) examine the theory with reference to eating out. Using survey data, they show that highly educated, economically rich people from higher occupational classes are more likely to show variety in their choice of restaurant, and that this finding could not just be explained solely as a function

of frequently eating out (i.e. even after taking into account that middle class people eat out more than working class people, middle class groups are still more likely to visit a variety of different restaurants). Warde et al. (1999) therefore successfully apply the basic tenets of the omnivore / univore theory to the field of food and eating. Their findings are comparable to that of much of the early quantitative evidence supporting omnivore theory (e.g. Peterson and Kern, 1996; Van Rees et al., 1999) in that they show working class univores arrayed against middle class omnivores. Furthermore, Warde et al. (1999) endorse one of the three omnivore by composition arguments outlined in the previous chapter; they conclude that there is strong evidence for a form of highbrow omnivorousness in the UK in terms of eating out, although they reject the educated and culturally tolerant omnivore envisaged by Peterson and Kern (1996), and the omnivore as a new form of distinction described by Bryson (1996), and state that the evidence broadly supports the hypothesis put forward by Erickson, that it is helpful for middle class people to be able to talk to other people about restaurants and food in order to be successful:

“A broad repertoire of culinary experience (for purposes of conversation, comparison, companionship) is a practical tool of intra-class communication and a type of symbolic claim among fractions of the middle class with high levels of cultural capital.”

(Warde et al., 1999, pg. 123)

As evidence for this conclusion, they show how managers and professionals tend to talk about food and restaurants more than other groups within an occupational context, and that their participants seem to be more interested in variety per se than in actually learning about foreign cuisine. Through a broad yet relatively shallow knowledge base, these omnivores can converse with a variety of different people from a variety of different walks of life, be they people of different ages and / or class groups.

Johnston and Baumann’s (2007) contribution to this area is also significant. They analyse a series of ‘foodie’ magazines in the US in order to understand the

dominant discourses operating in the field of food and eating. One of their main findings is a commitment to variety and cultural equivalency that fits in well with the omnivore / univore theory. In other words, the middle class groups with some of the highest amounts of food-specific cultural capital in the US (writers whose job it is to write in prestigious food magazines) are valorising omnivorousness in the cultural field of food and eating in the US. They endorse foods from a variety of different cultures, in terms of national cultures, ethnic cultures, and lower class cultures – for example Johnston and Bauman report examples of articles about where the best hamburgers can be bought. Furthermore, they underline the importance of democratic notions of tolerance and the equivalency of cultures, rejecting any highbrow / lowbrow divide that may have existed in the past. These themes are reminiscent of the ideas of Peterson (see Peterson, 1992, Peterson and Kern, 1996) (see Peterson, 1992; Peterson and Kern, 1996), in his original conception of the omnivore / univore theory, where omnivores represent a tolerant middle class group, who are increasingly rejecting snobbery.

Although the discourse that Johnston and Baumann identify is one of tolerance, they still draw heavily on Bourdieu and suggest an argument consistent with Bryson's (1996) interpretation of omnivorousness as a new form of status seeking, whereby the middle classes use their reserves of cultural capital to maintain distinction from the groups lower down the socio-economic hierarchy⁶. Johnston and Baumann suggest tolerance and democracy form a key component of this cultural capital. In the previous chapter I suggested that the specific form that a cultural hierarchy takes is amenable (even certain) to change over time and differ across geographic distances. Johnston and Baumann adopt the same viewpoint and essentially suggest that omnivorousness is a new form of distinction. They propose that, as ideals of tolerance and democracy are ingrained amongst the middle class in America, a traditional hierarchy of high versus low does not sit well with these ideals, so a more sophisticated means of maintaining distinction has taken hold.

⁶ Such an argument could also be described as a weakened form of an argument from homology.

Johnston and Baumann therefore suggest that instead of a high – low symbolic dividing line, a different line is drawn in contemporary America. They discuss the “desacralization” of French cuisine that occurred in America from the 1950’s onwards, and the move towards a more inclusive narrative of food and eating⁷. As was described in the previous chapter, Bennett et al. (2009) report that a similar change has occurred in UK culture – they suggest a modern middle class ‘cultivated persona’ must include a dedication to not appearing snobbish. The immediate question that arises is: if people take a tolerant opinion towards all culture / all cuisines, then where is the new symbolic dividing line drawn?

Johnston and Baumann (2007) answer this by suggesting that although the magazine articles suggest all foods and ways of eating are equal, in fact this is not the case. They suggest two ‘frames’ or discourses that run throughout the magazines and through reference to which, distinction can still be maintained by the middle classes. These frames are ‘authenticity’ and ‘exoticism’. Foods that have these (socially constructed) facets are foods that when eaten or discussed by the middle classes, form components of cultural capital (objectified and embodied respectively). Geographic specificity is important – an ‘authentic’ food will generally come from a specific area within a country. For example, the ability to talk about ‘Chinese’ food is arguably worth significantly less cultural capital than the ability to talk about ‘Cantonese’ food. There are also many other important factors:

“Authentic foods are seemingly “simple” foods that come from highly specific places off the middle class tourist path, they are produced by hard-working rural people with non-commercial motivations, they have ties to specific personalities and culinary artists (especially in wealthy settings), they have rich history, and they are consumed in casual, “simple” settings”

(pg. 187)

⁷ See Di Maggio (1982) for a case study looking at the evolution of the high /low divide in Boston, MA. This longer term view shows how the high / low divide was first introduced into the US.

'Exotic' foods, on the other hand, are normally "foreign...exciting, norm breaking and rare" (pg. 183). Authenticity and exoticism are not mutually exclusive. In the case of both 'authentic' and 'exotic' foods, distinction can be maintained "without (recourse to) overt snobbery" (pg. 179). So, omnivorous in food, supported by the narratives of authenticity and exoticism, allows middle class groups to 'tip the hat' to inclusiveness and democracy (ideals of particular importance in the US, but also in the UK) and simultaneously maintain distinction. Distinction is maintained through their superior reserves of cultural capital unique to the field of food and eating that may take the form of eating the right foods or discussing food in food in the 'correct' way with reference to authenticity and exoticism. Often a reserve of economic capital is also required because 'authentic' and 'exotic' foods tend not to be cheap. Thus, for Johnston and Baumann, as Inglis et al. (2008) suggest, maintenance of distinction in food is becoming more subtle as time passes. Whether or not class differences between classes in this thesis show any evidence of a divide between 'authentic' and 'unauthentic' foods or between 'exotic' and 'un-exotic' foods may therefore allow Johnson and Baumann's specific theoretical formulation of how distinction operates in the contemporary US to be applied to the UK as well. On the other hand, it may well be the case that, because what constitutes cultural capital changes across time and space, a different form of cultural capital is identified in this thesis.

Empirical strategy

In the present study, an exploratory clustering methodological approach is employed to uncover 'types' of 'eaters' in the UK in both 1986 and 2000 (this analysis is reported in Chapter 5). Given such an approach necessarily reveals 'groups' of eaters that are similar and different to one another, in one sense, it is apt for the identification of omnivores and univores in the UK. Indeed, other researchers have used classification techniques in a similar way to identify omnivorous and univorous groups (e.g. Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007c, Van Rees et al., 1999, Warde et al., 2000) and if omnivores exist in the data, such an approach is likely to uncover them. In turn, I investigate whether any groups

have consumption patterns that could be termed 'omnivorous' or 'univorous', and examine whether they fit the middle class omnivore / working class univore template.

While Warde et al. (1999) report evidence for omnivorousness in terms of eating out and Bennett et al. (2009) have found some evidence that food and eating (along with other forms of culture) is separated along involvement versus disengagement lines, evidence for the omnivore / univore theory has never been identified in the UK in terms of what specific foods people eat, so this would be an interesting finding. Additionally, if evidence for middle class omnivore groups is found in 2000 and not 1986 and / or 1980, this could be taken as tentative evidence towards omnivorousness, as is predicted by the theory, which is a theory of *cultural change*. Again, in this situation, caution needs to be applied in interpretation because of the nature of the data showing change over the life course rather than trends over time.

Additionally, in Chapter 5, the composition of any 'omnivore' type groups is closely scrutinized so as to investigate whether these groups reject certain forms of food (i.e. their omnivorousness is qualified and may still be acting as a form of distinction as suggested by Bryson (1996) and Johnston and Baumann (2007)). I also investigate the aggregate social and political attitudes of the different types of eaters to see whether any omnivore type groups display tolerant attitudes (as has previously been shown by van Eijck and Lievens, 2008).

I therefore explore the following questions relating to omnivorousness in this thesis:

1. Is there any evidence for different 'types' of eaters that could be described as highbrow 'omnivores' and lowbrow 'univores' in either 1986 or 2000?
2. Is there any evidence that omnivores are rejecting certain foods that are eaten by the working classes?

3. Are eating patterns statistically associated with social and political attitudes?

3.4 *Conclusions*

Each of the three main families of theories from the trichotomy described above (Homology, Individualization and Omnivore / Univore) explain the link between cultural taste and practice and social stratification in different terms. In this chapter, I have explained how each of these theories can be applied specifically to the field of food and eating and identified research questions that allow me to investigate the theories in more detail. Although there is a large body of existing work examining the link between cultural taste and practices and social stratification, looking at what people eat as a form of cultural taste / practice has not been adequately addressed, and where it has, the focus has tended to be on *how* people eat (e.g. eating in or out), rather than *what* they eat. In this thesis, therefore, I investigate this under-explored field of culture, and also place a focus on space and the life course, and in this way contribute novel insights in this area.

4 Methodology

The research aims outlined in the previous chapters are explored through secondary analysis of the 1970 British Birth Cohort Study. In this chapter I describe why I decided to analyse cohort data and employ this survey specifically. I outline its strengths and weaknesses for assessing my research aims and questions. I then outline how I deal with issues of missing data in the 1970BCS, before providing a brief outline of the methodological processes that is reported in more depth in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

4.1 *Choosing an appropriate survey*

In this study, an in-depth exploration of the 1970 British Birth Cohort Study (1970BCS) was undertaken. The 1970BCS is one of the four British National Birth Cohort Studies. These are ongoing world leading prospective longitudinal studies that survey individuals from birth throughout their lives. The four studies are the 1946 National Survey of Health and Development (1946NSHD), the 1958 National Child Development Study (1958NCDS), the 1970 British Cohort Study (1970BCS) and the Millennium Cohort Study (2000MCS). Participants are surveyed on average every five years and asked a variety of questions about their lives. The 1946NSHD was originally designed for solely epidemiological purposes but since their inception the cohort studies have been expanded to include variables describing a wide variety of the participants' social, cultural and economic circumstances. Before discussing which of these specific surveys I used, I first discuss some of the alternative secondary quantitative resources I could have employed.

As some, although by no means all, of the issues I aim to investigate in this thesis relate to temporality, change and stability, some type of data source that involves repeated measures of a phenomenon was required. There are two main types of survey that may have been appropriate for this thesis - a prospective longitudinal survey (in this case one of the British birth cohort studies), which

track participants across their lives and ask them questions at various different points across their lives, and a repeated cross-sectional survey, such as the National Diet and Nutrition Survey (NDNS) and the Living Cost and Food Survey (LCFS), which track the same phenomena over time, but focus on different individuals. These two different types of surveys allow for temporal factors to be investigated in different ways. Whereas prospective longitudinal studies allow for an engagement with the life course, repeated cross-sectional trend studies tend to only allow an engagement with trends – that is, they are useful for revealing how aggregate patterns across a population, and in certain groups within a population, are changing over time.

The most obvious examples of available datasets suitable for a study of food consumption over time are the cross-sectional food surveys are the NDNS and the LCFS. These are both long-running repeated cross-sectional surveys (cross-sectional surveys repeated multiple times using a different sample each wave, who are nevertheless representative of the same population) that provide detailed information on diets in the UK, as well as information on aggregate change over time. As such, an argument could be made (as is done, regarding the LCFS (by Warde in *Consumption, Food and Taste* (1997))) that these surveys are the best quantitative resources for exploring food and eating from a sociological perspective.

While it is the case that most food studies in the UK do tend to draw on these surveys, especially for any explorations over time, in terms of investigating the substantive aims of this thesis, a cohort survey is arguably a suitable and interesting alternative. Although this is perhaps a relatively unusual way of approaching the matter, in this particular study, various aspects of my research relate to change over the life course, including the aims to investigate social and geographical mobility. Thus, while trend studies are certainly interesting (and might, for example, provide an equivalent way into exploring food over time to what we see in the American cultural sociology literature (Bryson, 1996, Peterson and Kern, 1996)) and they can also address broader questions about social change that are certainly of relevance, the ability to engage with the life

course is an important given the substantive aims of this thesis. Therefore, the ability to compare a position (either in space or in a class structure) in childhood to and later life is vital.

The use of a cohort survey in this study has the potential, therefore, to provide an opportunity to understand the links between circumstances in cohort members' early lives and characteristics or circumstances in later life. However, it is worth pointing out at this relatively early point that there is one problematic issue that arises from using only one cohort survey. This issue relates to the fact that change can and does occur on different levels. By this I mean that change can be conceptualized as occurring through a number of different mechanisms and it can often be difficult to tell these different types of change apart, when analysing only longitudinal data source.

To give a hypothetical example, analysis of a prospective longitudinal survey may well allow a researcher to show that, on average, cohort members (and by inference, the population that a survey is representative of) have increased their consumption of potato chips over a period of time, say between 1986 and 2000 as they aged from 16 to 30. A researcher could then go on to explain this finding in a two main different ways. They could, for instance, claim that chip consumption increases as people age from 16 to 30 (this would be known as an 'age effect') or they could claim that this change in chip consumption has occurred because more people across the whole of society have been eating chips over this period (i.e. a 'period effect'). If the analysis from the cohort study is presented in a 'vacuum', without any context about the wider social changes within which the study is conducted, then there is no way to tell which of these two options are the most convincing. So, studied on its own, cohort data must still be treated with caution when attempting to explain change over time and over the life course. Given the fact that I am using data of this kind in this thesis, the claims made throughout about whether or not changes are cohort or age effects need to be treated with an element of caution and therefore, as will be shown, I err on the side of caution when making conclusions.

One way I do this is by acknowledging where there are multiple possible explanations for findings in this thesis. I also attempt to mitigate this problem by referring to other relevant information where appropriate. So, in the example above, I could do exactly this; for instance, drawing on information from repeated cross-sectional surveys such as the National Diet and Nutrition Survey, or indeed any other piece of relevant empirical research, in order to provide context that may help to explain findings that have come out of the data analysis process. For example, if primary or secondary analysis of National Diet and Nutrition Survey demonstrates that chips consumption have decreased over this period, it would not be unreasonable to claim that the changes in chip consumption that we see in the cohort data is due to an age effect and that there appears to be something special about this age-group that leads to an increase in chips consumption.

To summarize, the strengths and weaknesses of repeated cross-section versus panel or cohort surveys are well recognised (Blossfeld, 2001, Ruspini, 2002). Each have advantages and disadvantages in terms of explanatory capacity. Whereas repeated cross-sections tend to provide rich information at an aggregate level, panel or cohort surveys tend to provide rich information about what particular cohorts or age groups may be experiencing together. What is important in either case is to acknowledge the limitations that each kind of data bring to any particular study. Although repeated cross-sectional surveys such as the NDNS and LCFS provide rich data on exactly what foods people have eaten, these surveys tend to lack the supplementary variables relating to longitudinal socio-economic and geographic origin and destination variables that could allow for the sort of analysis I am interested in conducting here. For this reason, the cohort studies, while lacking some of the depth in terms of the actual questions surrounding what participants eat, more than make up for this with the potential for an analysis that privileges time and space alongside class and culture.

4.2 *Choosing between cohort surveys*

Unfortunately, within the present thesis, there is only scope to investigate one cohort. Although the potential of inter-cohort analysis is great and would provide an excellent opportunity to understand processes of cultural and social change to a greater extent than would be possible using a single cohort (as such an analysis would allow for age and period effects to be separated out), the commitment to concentrate on a single cohort survey means that greater depth and rigour can be applied to this analysis in order to develop a rich descriptive account of the field of food and eating for one generation of people.

The most recent UK cohort survey, the 2000MCS, was too recent to be considered as a possibility for this analysis – the cohort members being around 13 years old at the time of writing. The 1946NSHS, on the other hand, holds data about people who are now 66 years old so this was considered as a possibility. Furthermore, the actual data about what foods participants eat is described in much detail by the multiple waves of the 1946NSHS, as food diaries were kept by survey respondents in 1982, 1989, and 1999. Indeed, this large amount of food consumption information has been analysed in some depth by researchers working in nutritional science. In these studies, eating patterns are derived from food diaries and the participants' nutritional intake is linked to their health outcomes. However, this data only relates to a 17 year period out of their lives, and does not include any information about eating as a child, which would likely be important if one wanted to analyse the links between eating in formative years and later life, as is one of the aims of this study.

The two most promising of the cohort surveys for use in sociologically informed food and eating research are therefore the 1958NCDS and the 1970BCS. In both of these surveys, participants have been periodically asked questions about what foods they eat and these studies also contain various other potentially interesting variables, including geographic data. These datasets therefore allow for an interrogation of the importance of the life course and for an examination of the links between socio-economic circumstances in early life with eating

patterns in later life, as well as the geographic distribution of different types of eaters.

The 1970BCS was selected over the 1958NCDS for two reasons. Firstly, although there is a good amount of food related and socio-demographic data contained within the 1958NCDS, the 1970BCS contains three waves of food frequency questions compared to only two from the 1958NCDS. Secondly, and more importantly (as I actually end up using only two waves of food frequency data in this thesis), the 1970BCS is a superior resource to the 1958NCDS because that the latter does not contain food preference data from childhood. The 1958NCDS is therefore less useful than the 1970BCS for exploring important concepts that relate to change between childhood and adulthood, such as social mobility and *habitus*. For this particular study, therefore, the 1970BCS was considered to be the most appropriate resource for investigating the substantive issues I have outlined in the previous chapters.

4.3 *The 1970BCS*

All surveys have their pros and cons with regards to responding to particular research questions and as such, it is important to lay these out here in relation to the strengths and weaknesses of the use of the 1970BCS in this project. The 1970BCS tracks the lives of all the people living in Great Britain who were born in one week in April 1970. All individuals born in this week are considered a part of the sample until they have died or emigrated from the UK permanently. So far, nine sweeps of the survey have been completed - in 1970, 1975, 1980, 1986, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008, and 2012. People who migrate into the UK also automatically become members of the sample so the actual sample size varies from wave to wave although it has remained around 15000 for the duration of the study despite the migration and attrition that occurs between waves of the study.

Cohort members were first surveyed regarding the food that they ate in the year 1980; the 10 year old cohort members were asked about how often they ate 9

different foods. In 1986, quite a large number of questions were asked of both the cohort members, and of their mothers or guardians, about what they ate. In this year, 19 questions were asked of the 16 year old survey respondents about how often they ate certain foods and 26 questions asking how often cohort members ate certain foods were asked in the maternal survey. A variety of other food-related questions were also asked in the maternal survey, including how often they had served particular meals, and various questions about practices that accompany eating, such as the extent of sit-down meals and whether or not cohort members bought and ate lunch at school. At age 30 in the year 2000, the frequency at which 15 different foods were eaten was asked of the participants. There is therefore a significant amount of food preferences data contained within the 1970BCS. Moreover, this food aspect of this particular cohort has yet to be fully explored, especially from a cultural sociological perspective.

The data that I am employing in my analyses is food frequency data (this is data where people are asked how often they eat particular foods - I discuss the advantages and disadvantages of using this type of data in more detail in the next chapter) as, as I have outlined in the previous chapter, my main focus is on the foods that people eat, rather than the ways in which they do so. As this data is available from several different waves of the survey, there is the potential for longitudinal analysis to be conducted.⁸

Regarding measures of social position, occupational social class, income, and level of educational achievement variables are available (or can be derived) for both cohort members and their parents in multiple waves of the survey. Regarding geography, the data is recorded at county level - a reasonable level of granularity that allows for geographical analysis to be conducted. The 'county at interview' data is recorded for the years 1986, 1996 and 2000. This matches up well with the food data, with two of the three main waves where food related data was recorded (1986 and 2000) also having accompanying data recording where the cohort member was living.

⁸ As it turns out, the 1980 food frequency data showed little patterning in terms of different types of eaters, so the analysis reported in this thesis is actually restricted to eating in two different years – 1986 and 2000

Taking all these factors together, it is possible to summarize why the 1970BCS is deemed to be an excellent and so far neglected resource for addressing the research aims I have specified in the previous two chapters. Firstly, the data is longitudinal, which allow me to explore issues of change over the life course. I am interested in the broad topic of cultural and social change (both individualization and omnivore/univore arguments are accounts of social and cultural change and theories of homology are characterized by stability), in issues relating to social and geographical mobility, and in the links between childhood consumption and adulthood consumption, all of which are topics intrinsically related to temporality and change.

Second, although some of my research aims exploit the longitudinal component of the survey, it is not my aim to solely employ the data for prospective longitudinal analysis. The survey contains variables that allow me to conduct interesting cross-sectional analyses that explore food as a form of cultural consumption in a way that may not be possible with more restrictive data-sets specifically designed to examine food and eating. Although cohort surveys are generally employed to answer questions about change over the life course (Ruspini, 2001), there is arguably no methodological reason why they have to be employed to investigate only these issues. After all, each wave becomes a 'slice' of a particular cohort at an aggregate level and it is this element of the survey that is especially exploited for the purposes of this study.

Of course, surveys that follow particular individuals over time have the benefit of being able to provide a clear trajectory over time and this is an aspect that is unfortunately not fully explored here. But there is no statistical reason not to use the data a little differently, in an exploratory manner. While the accusation could be made that such a research strategy is not, in Gary King's (1994) terms 'maximising leverage', this is compensated for by the fact that the use of the data in this way has strong synergy with my aims in this thesis. Indeed, the majority of the research questions and aims I examine in this thesis relate to cross-sectional links between what people eat, their social class position, and their

position in geographical space. The cohort studies are generally well served in these areas and allow for an exploration of these issues through providing information on what cohort members eat, as well as information on various different aspects of their social and geographical positions. Further important supplementary variables are also available in the survey, including those that allow me to explore various other issues, for example variables looking at locus of control and highbrow cultural consumption. This depth and breadth of data is not available in the NCDS and the LCFS, despite these other surveys having more information available on actual foods eaten.

Third, not only is the 1970BCS considered to be the best available resource for addressing the aims of this thesis, it is also essentially unexplored by sociologists of culture interested in food. The food related data in the 1970BCS, although having been put to use by researchers working in nutritional science, health science, and social psychology (e.g. Crawley, 1997, Batty et al., 2007, Moore et al., 2009, Parsons et al., 2005) has never been analyzed from a sociological perspective. This means that not only is the 1970BCS perfectly adequate for the task at hand, it is also basically an entirely unexplored source of data as far as the areas that I am interested in are concerned. In the next section, I outline the findings of some of the key studies that have employed 1970BCS data to investigate food consumption or related factors.

4.4 Relevant existing research employing the 1970BCS

Authors working in areas other than sociology, such as the fields of nutritional science, health science, and social psychology have used the British Birth Cohort Surveys to investigate issues that are of some relevance to this thesis. In the case of the epidemiological studies that comprise the majority of this body of literature, most of these studies are concerned with either linking some food-related variable (whether this be a measurement of food consumption or a BMI measurement) at one point in time and some related lifestyle or health variable at another point in time, or linking some psychological construct (such as intelligence or locus of control) to a food related variable at another point in

time. The aim of these studies is to uncover associations over time and to theorize on causal links between food consumption, health and illness, psychological functioning and other related factors.

One relevant example of this type of work is Viner and Cole's (2005) study using the 1970BCS that shows that, contrary to what might be expected, obesity at 16 is *not* associated with a range of different negative outcomes at 30, once obesity at 30 is controlled for. This suggests that the importance of obesity in childhood for health in later life may not be as significant as previously thought and that it is the transition from childhood to adulthood that may be the important point in time for influencing health outcomes in later life. In a further paper again using 1970BCS data, Viner and Cole (2006) investigate the factors that are associated with moving from obesity in childhood to non-obesity in adulthood. They identify factors that have been postulated by policy makers as important for weight loss (for example, increasing physical activity) and test whether any of these variables are associated with BMI reduction / increase over the period from 1986 to 2000. They report that inactivity, consumption of lots of fast food, consumption of lots of carbonated drinks, and, interestingly, trying to *lose* weight by dieting at age 16 all lead to an increase in BMI at age 30. This final finding is explained by the idea that only people who are likely to be above a 'normal' weight would be likely to try to lose weight.

Further relevant research using the 1970BCS has been conducted by Batty et al (2007). Batty and colleagues examine the link between childhood mental ability (measured at age 10) and consumption of various foods at age 30 (through the use of the same food frequency variables that I employ in my analysis). They report that higher scores on mental ability tests are related to consumption of higher levels of 'healthy' foods and lower levels of 'unhealthy' foods later in life. The strength and significance of these links is attenuated to a large extent, although not entirely, by the inclusion of educational achievement in models. Batty et al (2007) tentatively suggest that the explanation for these findings could be that people with higher level intelligence may be better able to manage their own health 'behaviours'. This could be due to a better knowledge of what

is healthy, or alternatively because they may have greater self-control. Regardless, implicit within the suggestion that mental ability leads to healthy eating is the idea that eating patterns are based upon a rational calculation of risk – reward. This is a perspective that perhaps does not fit in with more structurally based explanations of cultural consumption – for example those proposed by Bourdieusian scholars.

Gale et al (2007) report a similar study in which they examine the link between IQ in childhood and vegetarianism in later life. The methodology employed is similar to that in the Batty et al (2007) study in that IQ at 10 is linked to self-reported vegetarianism at 30, although again this link is largely attenuated by the inclusion of educational achievement in multivariate analyses. Vegetarianism is a very interesting phenomenon in the context of this thesis because of its relationship with social class. For instance, Gale et al (2007) report that highly educated people are likely to be vegetarian but that people who are economically rich are not particularly likely to self-define as such - a distinction that would be seen in Bourdieusian terms as the difference between having high reserves of cultural capital and economic capital. Similarly to Batty et al (2007), Gale et al (2007) interpret the link between IQ and vegetarianism in later life by suggesting that higher IQs may make people better able to choose a diet that is 'healthy' (i.e. a vegetarian diet – although I would point out that health is not generally found to be the main reason that vegetarians give for their lifestyle choice – this accolade goes to ethical concerns (Beardsworth and Keil, 1992, Fox and Ward, 2008)) and that this could explain observed links between high IQ in childhood and certain positive health outcomes, such as low levels of heart disease, in later life.

Moore et al (2009), working in the field of social psychology, applied comparable epidemiological techniques using the 1970BCS, although rather than attempting to measure some aspect of cognitive ability early in life and linking to food consumption in later life, in this case an aspect of food consumption in early life (sweet consumption at age 10) was linked to a problematic 'behaviour' in later life (violence measured through criminal convictions). As Parsons et al (2013)

point out, there are problems with this study. Moore et al (2009) fail to adequately control for any aspect of childhood social class in their models and the binary dependent variable in question is overwhelmingly (albeit necessarily) skewed towards cohort members not having a criminal conviction. Nevertheless, Moore et al (2009) speculate about causal links, suggesting a direct psychological effect (aggression possibly caused by food additives) could be responsible, or alternatively that people who eat many sweets are less likely to be able to defer gratification, “in turn biasing decision processes towards more impulsive behaviour, biases that are strongly associated with delinquency” (pg 367). It is interesting to note that this second explanation, that indulgent eating may be due to a lack of self-control, is similar to the arguments we see across a variety of different literatures discussing ‘unhealthy’ eating, whether these be the nutritional and health scientists above, or indeed sociology; both Bourdieu’s focus on the working classes ‘spontaneous gratification’ or ideas about reserves of reflexivity that are supposed to characterize agents within an individualized society.

What I somewhat loosely refer to as ‘self-control’ here is often empirically investigated in sample survey research through the application of ‘locus of control’ scales. The term locus of control refers to variables that are operationalized to represent the extent to which individuals believe they can influence events through their own actions (Rotter, 1966). The concept is measured through the use of summated scales such as the Rotter (1966) and CARALOC (1975) scales, both of which are comprised of similar types of questions. The following comes from the CARALOC scale:

“Do you feel that most of the time it is not worth trying hard because things never turn out right anyway?”

People who have an external locus of control are more likely to believe that their actions can have little impact upon outcomes in the wider world, whereas people with an internal orientation suggest that they *can* impact upon the world. Gale et al (2008) identify this concept as key to the debate about ‘healthy eating’

(partly because they suggest locus of control may be related to 'intelligence' and thus implicated in the relationship between IQ test scores and vegetarianism identified in their earlier (2007) study) and employ the 1970BCS to investigate whether or not locus of control at age 10 is associated with a variety of 'health outcomes' at 30, none of which directly measure food consumption (although BMI is included). Gale et al (2008) report that locus of control is related to a variety of health-related 'outcome' variables, but that educational attainment strongly attenuates these links. They also report that although there is a link between intelligence at 10 and obesity at 30, this link ceases to be significant once locus of control at 10 is controlled for. These findings suggest that the previously identified links between measures of intelligence in early life and patterns of healthy eating may therefore actually be explained by locus of control differentials.

Although these studies are all interesting in that they exploit the prospective longitudinal nature of the 1970BCS so as to examine the links between various diverse factors related to food and eating, the focus of this research is not primarily on obesity or health so they do not link directly to my own study. They are useful in the context of this current thesis because they show how prospective longitudinal data (and in particular British Birth Cohort data) can be employed successfully to address issues of change over the life course, as it relates to food. As I am working using similar data, though, I draw on the health science literature in two main ways – by employing a similar set of variables (I examine the links between health-based variables and eating patterns in Chapter 5) and also through considering the links between the nutritional and health science literature and my own findings. One example of how I do this is through the use of locus of control variables described above.

It is important to also note the major differences between the type of work using the 1970BCS described above and the type of work in this thesis. As I conduct an analysis of the structuring of the field / domain of food and eating (which I am treating as largely analogous to any other field of culture), and aim to understand the links between food consumption and class-based inequality, and

how these links may be changing over time, my study itself is an exploratory one. I explore the structuring of this field and conduct supplementary analyses that allow me to further comment on particular aspects of the relevant theories, rather than explicitly trying to test any given hypotheses. . This is a key point as it situates my work within a particular school of quantitative work, which following Tukey (1977) leans more towards an exploratory and descriptive rather than an explanatory mode of analysis (Byrne, 2002). This is not to say that I do not also seek to produce tentative explanatory suggestions regarding issues of causality behind some of the findings. However, like Tukey, the approach used throughout seeks to employ both exploratory and confirmatory statistical techniques as a way of critically engaging with the available variables, which also vary over time, and the subsequent analysis that is derived by using them.

This approach contrasts somewhat to the more epidemiological studies mentioned above, which have a much more linear, deductive, and clearly defined research process. Indeed, many of these food related health science studies largely treat eating 'behaviours' as important and worth studying because of their relationship with human health and illness, and aim to inform policies that can improve public health through changing individual 'behaviours'. As such, certain patterns of eating are treated as medicalized problems that need to be solved through top down behaviour modification, whether this be in the form of education or some form of government legislation.

While this nutritional and health science body of work is very much worthwhile, the approach differs to the one used here. Indeed, it is essentially engaging with similar issues (i.e. food consumption) from a very different starting point from cultural sociology. That is to say, whereas authors such as Viner and Cole (2006), Gale et al (2007), and Poortinga (2007) tend to work from the premise that food consumption is a 'behaviour' that is to be primarily understood as either beneficial or harmful to health, instead my own approach assumes a cultural practice where the concepts of 'healthiness' and 'unhealthiness' are only one of many aspects of consumption that are of interest. Although this may delimit the

project somewhat, the main reason the concepts of ‘healthiness’ and ‘unhealthiness’ are the primarily of relevance to this thesis is because of the way that they may be embedded in the narratives that underlie lay understandings of different ‘types’ of foods, different ‘types’ of eating patterns and different ‘types’ of eaters (i.e. in the sense that Warde (1997) talks about the ‘Indulgent-Healthy’ oppositions).⁹

However, as one of the aims of this thesis is to attempt to apply a sociological perspective to this type of research, it is worth reflecting on the ways in which, in recent years, scholars have begun to call for a closing of the gap between the health and social sciences. Since the ‘third revolution’ in public health (Breslow, 1999), the importance of taking into account social (as well as biological and psychological) factors for explaining health ‘outcomes’ has been increasingly recognized in the health sciences, and this idea of ‘bridging the gap’ between disparate disciplines has been advocated by scholars on either side of the science – social science divide. For example, nutritional scientists Lake et al (2009) suggest that specifically *sociological* insight could help to better explain the ways that diets change over time, as well as *why* they change. Delormier et al (2009), writing from a sociology of health perspective, make the argument that a closer engagement between health science and social theory (in their case they employ Giddens’ structuration theory) will allow for a more sophisticated understanding of food and eating. They also highlight the point that eating should be seen as a form of social practice (embedded, as it is, in a complex world of social connections and systems of meanings).

However, in practice, much of the health and nutritional science literature tends to neglect the importance of social theory – or at least where it is does, it tends not to do so to any great degree. After all, the health and nutritional science literature using the 1970BCS cited above (eg Batty et al., 2007, Gale et al., 2008, Gale et al., 2007) all appear to be implicitly based around an RAT understanding of human action. Although in their modelling strategies, various measures of social position are controlled for, explanatory mechanisms for understanding

⁹ It is for this reason that I include these terms enclosed in inverted commas in this thesis

'unhealthy' eating are largely discussed in individualistic, psychological terms. So, for example, arguments from 'intelligence' suggest that people with high IQs are better at calculating the risk-reward payoff of certain forms of eating, and that their day-to-day food 'choices' are made with an eye on possible health benefits decades in the future. A consequence of this type of individualistic thinking is that the solutions that are offered for solving very real health crises, related to, for example, obesity, are overwhelmingly based around the individual. As Travers (1997) points out, public health responses to such issues rely upon psychological models of behaviour that emphasise:

"Individualistic behaviour change strategies (which) negate the role of the social context in shaping behaviour, and thus (imply) a separation of people and their environment"

(pg 58, in Delormier et al, 2009, pg 216).

Thus, while different disciplinary perspectives each have their value, my own position here is more aligned with those who adopt a more 'sociological' perspective to food consumption. Indeed, I concur with Lake et al (2009) and Delormier et al (2009) that a health science perspective might in fact benefit from a greater engagement with sociology, in particular in the area of food and eating. The simple reason for this is that food is a form of cultural consumption and therefore any attempt to understand the reasons that food consumption is patterned in the way that it is, and in particular, how and why this patterning is related to social class, should arguably be informed by broader debates around cultural consumption. I therefore draw links between the two literatures in the empirical portions of this thesis.

4.5 Dealing with missing values

Missing data tends to be an issue in most quantitative research. One of the key challenges that often arises when working with longitudinal data in particular is that missing data often become an increasingly large problem as more and more data collection waves are conducted. As problems with data collection cause

cohort members to be un-contactable, or issues extraneous to the survey lead to certain parts of it not being completed, or as people drop out of the survey entirely due to death or emigration, missing values accumulate.

Indeed, Nur (2004) and Wood (2004) both stress the point that it is very common for researchers to completely ignore or gloss over the effect of missing data in longitudinal data. In the case of the present thesis, it is especially important that I do not do this because the problems common to longitudinal data that I describe above are particularly pertinent in the case of the 1970BCS (Ketende et al., 2010). A large amount of data is missing, particularly from earlier waves of the survey. The most significant body of data is missing from the 1986 wave, where a teachers' strike led to a situation where questionnaires that should have been completed at school were not completed. This means that some components of the survey in that year have much higher sample sizes than others. The same issue (with different variables coming from different parts of the survey) also applies to other waves, although the loss of data is less severe.

For this particular study, I used a combination of approaches, which were driven primarily by the data and research questions. More specifically, the strategy I have employed throughout this study for dealing with missing data comprises of a two-step process. The first stage consists of identifying every cohort member who has filled in the parts of the survey that I consider to be most important for the context of this thesis (here I am referring to the food frequency data in multiple years) and only including these people in the analysis. I outline the process by which I do this in Chapter 5 but at this point it will suffice to say that the 'working sample' that results consists of 3383 cases. Table 4.1 shows a comparison of the demographic make-up of the full cohort and the working sample.

Table 4.1. Demographic Comparison of Whole Cohort and Working Sample

	Whole cohort	Working sample
Total		
N	14537	3383
Gender		
n	11261	3383
% Male	48.6	39.7
% Female	51.4	60.3
1975 Parents' highest qualification		
n	11349	2827
% Degree	14.1	18.3
% A Levels	11.6	14.9
% O Levels	21.5	24.1
% Vocational quals	13.2	11.8
% None	39.5	30.9
1986 Region		
n	11369	3336
% North East	5.7	5.4
% North West	13.2	12.9
% Yorkshire and the Humber	9.8	9.6
% East Midlands	7.8	7.2
% West Midlands	10.2	10.9
% East of England	10.0	10.0
% South East	12.7	14.3
% South West	8.1	8.0
% Greater London	7.4	5.8
% Wales	6.2	6.3
% Scotland	8.9	9.6
2000 Highest qualification		
n	x	3383
% Higher Degree	2.8	4.7
% Degree	17.2	26.1
% Sub-degree	6.7	7.2
% 2 or more A-Levels	4.6	6.1
% Good O Levels	32.2	31.9
% Bad O Levels, CSE 2-5	8.4	5.9
% None	28.1	18.9
2000 Region		
n	11059	3325
% North East	4.8	4.7
% North West	12.5	12.2
% Yorkshire and the Humber	9.4	9.0
% East Midlands	6.9	6.9
% West Midlands	9.6	10.1
% East of England	9.9	9.7
% South East	13.3	14.6
% South West	8.0	7.7
% Greater London	10.9	9.9
% Wales	5.5	5.8
% Scotland	9.2	9.4

As can be seen from this analysis, there are some differences. While the geographic distribution of missing cases is similar to that of the cohort as a

whole, women and highly educated cohort members are over-represented in the working sample. However, these differences are relatively minor and do not suggest an insurmountable skew.

The second stage for dealing with missing values focuses on missing data within the working sample. I have considered a number of different strategies for dealing with this second type but these options all fall into two broad categories – the first is list-wise removal (removing any cases that have missing values on either of the variables involved in bivariate and multivariate analyses – in this case I am already employing a restricted sample based on what food frequency data is available so any cases removed would be due to missing data on other variables employed in supplementary analyses) and the second is some form of imputation (replacing missing values with an estimation of what the value may have been had the question been asked of the participant in the first place).

Of these two options, my preferred choice would be the former. This is because list-wise removal has a number of advantages over imputation methods. Allison (2004) suggests that list-wise deletion is often the most appropriate method for dealing with missing data because there are no special computational methods required and because the resulting data can be used for any kind of subsequent statistical analysis, as well as it being a robust method if there is only non-random missing data on *either* the dependent or independent variables. Additionally, as I am interested in conducting a descriptive analysis of the data as it was originally collected, imputation does not fit squarely with my epistemological position in this regard.

However, there are also reasons to suggest that some type of imputation strategy may be appropriate. First and foremost, because this data is longitudinal, there is additional incentive to maintain the same sample throughout the analysis so as to ensure any conclusions drawn about the characteristics of the sample at one period of time are directly comparable to the characteristics of the sample at any other time. The large numbers of missing values present on some variables also necessitate at least an exploration

of the options as far as imputation is concerned. Therefore, in order to choose which of these methods is most appropriate, I have turned to the methodological literature, where there is some consensus (Allison, 2001, Tabachnick and Fidell, 2001, Wood, 1995) that one way to deal with missing data is to bear in mind the extent of the missing data, and the reasons for which it is missing, in order to decide how best to deal with it. In many ways, this echoes Bateson's (1984) approach about appreciating the importance of the construction of social survey data in general.

In the case of the former (the extent to which there is missing data) there are several variables in the dataset that are above (in some cases significantly above) the usual cut-off point for a problematic volume of missing data (5% - see Schafer, 1999). The cumulative effect of having missing data on a number of different variables can quickly grow to problematic proportions so this problem could lead to significant issues in multivariate analyses. In the case of the latter (the reasons for which the data is missing), this is a complex issue, although since Rubin's (1976) seminal paper on missing data, it has been common within the literature to separate missing data into three types that represent assumptions that researchers can make about the nature of the missing data. These are Missing Completely at Random (MCAR), Missing at Random (MAR) and Missing Not at Random (MNAR). Through engaging with this typology and linking it to the reasons that missing data is present in the 1970BCS data, and seeing which of the three assumptions can be met, it is possible to decide which applies to the 1970BCS data. This provides a way to choose the most appropriate method of imputation, should one be employed. I first describe the three different assumptions so as to facilitate this process.

Data that are said to be MCAR are where data-points that are missing on any given variable are not related to the variable and cannot be predicted through reference to other variables in the dataset. In other words, the missing data is randomly distributed amongst the dataset. To give an example relating to food, if the variable in question is BMI score, then the MCAR assumption is only satisfied if the BMI of a participant has no impact on the likelihood that there

will be missing data on the BMI variable *and* if no other variables are related to missingness on the BMI score variable (for example level of education and gender should also have no impact on whether missingness is present on the BMI variable). MNAR is an assumption that is rarely reasonable to adopt because missing data that is not deliberately missing will normally have some form of patterning underlying it.

Data is said to be MAR when there is a pattern to the missing data that can be understood in the context of other parts of the data that have been collected, rather than through reference to the variable itself. So, to retain the same example of a BMI variable, if people with no qualifications are more likely to have missingness on the BMI variable than people with a degree, but the 'true' (i.e. what the BMI values would have been if it had been collected) values of the data are not related to missingness on the BMI variable (something that is of course impossible to measure because we don't know what the missing values would have been) then the data can be said to be MAR. If data is assumed to be MAR, then there is an opportunity for a researcher to impute missing data based upon the values of other variables in the dataset. In the BMI example, a simple (although flawed for reasons I outline later) solution, known as marginal mean imputation, would be to replace each missing value on the BMI variable with the mean BMI score of the educational level that they have achieved.

MNAR data (also known as non-ignorable missing data) is missing data where the pattern of missingness is not understandable through reference to other variables in the dataset but instead through reference to the variable with missing data itself. So, if people who have high or low BMIs are more likely to not fill in this information (precisely because of their BMI scores – for example they may be sensitive or embarrassed about their weight / body shape), regardless of their social class (or any other variable) then this would be an example of MNAR missing data. In this case, it is not possible to predict from other variables in the dataset what the values of then missing data may be and imputation must be based on information from outside of the dataset.

In the case of the variables I am working with here, much of the data is missing due to reasons that largely do not relate to the individual circumstances of the participants- for example, as I have outlined, a teachers strike is often cited as the main reason for low response rates in the 1986 wave. This means that although it is plausible that some small percentage could be missing due to reasons relating to the variable's missing data (for example the BMI data could be missing for the reasons I have identified above in the paragraph on MNAR), it is unlikely that the data is MNAR. Instead it is more probable that the data is either MAR or MCAR.

By implication, this means that some method of imputation that takes into account other variables in the dataset but that does not necessarily take into account the missingness mechanism itself should be sufficient for imputation in this case. The first forms of imputation I considered were traditional 'deterministic', 'conventional' (Allison, 2001) methods for dealing with missing values where a single likely value is calculated for each missing value with reference to other values of the same variable (eg the mean in the example I gave above when discussing MAR) or to a number of different variables (eg 'hotdeck' methods, where the most similar case is found and then the value for the missing value copied from that case, or through the use of regression methods, where a number of predictors are used to estimate a value to place in the missing data). A key problem with such methods is that while they take into account relevant information about the missing data and would likely provide reasonable estimates of what the missing data points would be, these methods do not take into account unobserved variance within the missing data and have therefore have been shown (Little and Rubin, 2002) to lead to problems with the estimation of standard errors and accompanying statistical tests.

For this reason, in this study I decided to employ multiple imputation - a method which has been shown to reduce the errors described above (Allison, 2001). Multiple imputation is a Monte Carlo method where a series of imputation models, including independent variables that are associated with variables that are missing data, are estimated and a number (usually 3 -10) of datasets are

outputted, each with conceivably different values for the unobserved data. These new datasets are then taken forward to the data analysis stage and any analysis conducted using missing data is conducted using a pooled average (calculated in different ways depending on the statistical technique that is being employed) of the multiple imputed data. This process takes into account unobserved variance within the missing data and therefore produces less biased analyses than would be the case if the single imputation methods described above were used.

It is important, as the likes of Rubin (1996), Longford et al. (2000) and Allison (2001) suggest, to include a relatively large number of independent variables in the regression models used to impute values (especially variables that are highly correlated with variables that are missing a significant amount of data), even if they are not all used later on in the analysis. This is because such a process improves the plausibility of the MAR assumption, since as much relevant information as possible is used when making imputations and a good estimate of the missing data points can then be made and taken through to further analysis. I therefore adopted a strategy whereby I chose to include as many variables in the imputation process as possible. This means that most of the variables that are included in any of the analyses throughout the thesis are included in this process, either as predictor variables, or as variables with missing data to be imputed, or both.

With longitudinal data, it is possible to use data from early waves of the survey to predict values from later waves. This is desirable because information from the early waves can be combined to produce even more accurate imputations for missing values than may be the case with cross-sectional imputation. Variables recording aspects of socio-demographic position in early life can reasonably be expected to impact upon circumstances in later life. For example, it is conceivable that most of the variables that I end up employing in this study could be related to social circumstances in early life, and that by including these variables in the process, less biased estimates of the missing values will be produced not just for the 1986 variables with missing values, but also for the

2000 variables.

For this reason, I included a number of demographic variables from early years (1975, 1980, and 1986) within my imputation models and these variables were used to predict both 1986 and 2000 variables. These take the form of various measures of social position at age 5, 10 and 16, including multidimensional social class and education (See Chapter 6 for information on these variables' derivation.) Including measures of multidimensional social class has the added benefit of meaning that if a cohort member is missing data on, for example, their father's social class position, then a good estimation can be made on the basis of their income and parents' educational level.

To sum up the multiple imputation process I followed, most of the variables that are used in Chapters 5, 6, and 7 were included in the imputation modelling process. Including a large number of variables such as this in the imputation process ensures that the consequences arising from adopting the MAR assumption are accounted for. Multiple Imputation was conducted in SPSS, using the Monte Carlo Markov chain method.

As I stressed above, the practice of imputation is one of many approaches available. On the one hand, relying on list-wise deletion has the benefit of allowing me to remain as close to the original data as possible. It also reasonably 'robust' for the purposes of this study, since it is also a technique which, as Allison (2001) notes, can "tolerate either nonrandom missingness on the dependent variable or nonrandom missingness on the independent variables (but not both)" (pg 86) (in this case it is the latter). In addition, it is common practice for researchers using the 1970BCS to rely on list-wise removal. For example, Chan and Bolliver, (2013), Cheng et al (2013), and Viner and Cole (2006) all noted the impact of missing data but relied on list-wise removal to deal with the issue. The use of list-wise deletion for the purposes of this research can be said to be, therefore, in line with other comparable studies.

On the other hand, using imputation alongside list-wise deletion has the

advantage of deepening the analysis in a way that both explores and verifies the impact of missing data on the findings more generally. Note that the discussion presented in the main body of the thesis relies on list-wise deletion and the key analyses which are repeated using the imputed data are presented in Appendix 1 at the end of the thesis. Importantly, the differences between the results of the analysis using list-wise deletion and the imputed data are minimal.

The only analyses that are not repeated using the imputed data are ones that relate to social and geographical mobility. This is because using imputation in these cases can be problematic due to the use of values being imputed based on other values and then the same two variables being used to measure transition or stability between two different states that have been used to produce imputations. To give an example, if I include geographical data from 1986 in a model to impute values on 2000 geographic variables, and then at a later point in the analysis create a variable looking at geographical mobility (i.e. the movement around the country between 1986 and 2000) then this could cause problems with an underestimation of mobility because a significant chunk of the 2000 data will be imputed from models based on the 1986 data. I do not, therefore, include versions of these particular analyses using imputed data in Appendix 1.

This decision to primarily rely upon list-wise removal is defensible not only because of methodological and epistemological concerns but also through reference to other comparable analyses employing 1970BCS data. This is because it is common practice for researchers using the 1970BCS to rely on list-wise removal. For example, Chan and Bolliver, (2013), Cheng et al (2013), and Viner and Cole (2006) all noted the impact of missing data but relied on list-wise removal to deal with the issue (albeit they had less severe missing values problems than myself).

4.5 Overview of the research process

There are three main stages of analysis which are each described in the three

main empirical chapters that immediately follow after this chapter. The research process is described in more detail in these chapters although a brief summary is first given here.

In Chapter 5, I begin with an examination of the data that I am working with, taking into account how the data came to be in the form that it is. The food consumption data is then statistically summarized through the use of cluster analysis, a case-based classification method that groups similar individuals together into 'clusters' according to what they report eating. The analysis reported in this chapter provide cluster membership variables that are carried forward to the rest of the analysis and as such can be viewed as an important 'stepping stone' that enables further analysis, reported in chapters 6 and 7. Additionally, the identification of 'types' of eaters through a classification process also allows an engagement with some of the relevant health and nutritional science literature using 1970BCS data. I end the chapter by discussing my initial findings in the context of the main theories of cultural consumption identified in the literature review chapters.

The next stage of my analysis (Chapter 6) involves an investigation of the relationship between cluster membership (eating patterns) and social class using a combination of descriptive (cross-tabulation) and predictive (multinomial logistic regression) methods. In this chapter, the main substantive focus is on exploring the extent to which arguments from homology are supported by the analysis. Additionally, different theoretical positions regarding the conceptualization and operationalization of 'class' are explored and the extent to which different 'social class' variables show associations with eating patterns is investigated in order to inform a discussion of the merits of each of these positions.

In Chapter 7, I move on to explore the geographic patterning of different types of eaters and the interactions that occur between geography, life course and class. This analysis is conducted through the use of descriptive, predictive, and visual (GIS) methods. Part of the substantive focus of this chapter is on exploring

different aspects of individualization theory. I investigate the extent to which people in urban and rural areas eat differently to one another and explore the idea that London may increasingly be a 'special case' as far as adherence to certain eating patterns is concerned.

Each of the three chapters also includes a longitudinal component. In Chapter 5, this takes the form of an analysis of the longitudinal progression of cohort members from clusters in one wave of the survey to clusters in a second wave of the survey. In Chapter 6, I compare individuals' social position in their childhood with their social position at 30 in order to identify individuals who have been upwardly mobile, downwardly mobile and stable. The relationship between social mobility and eating patterns is then investigated. The analysis in Chapter 7 includes a section that focuses upon geographical mobility in the form of intra-national migration and the impact that moving around the country has on eating patterns. It is these components that constitute the main methodological innovation in the thesis.

Throughout the thesis I endeavour to present results in a manner that is intuitive and easily understandable. I am interested in producing analysis that is understandable beyond the realm of academia and that will be of interest to members of the lay public. In particular I believe the use of visual methods, or at least visualisations of quantitative data / analysis are useful in this regard. I therefore try to employ these methods where possible, even if this means using unconventional methods in parts.

4.6 Conclusions

I hope it is clear to the reader at this point what it is I am trying to achieve both theoretically and methodologically. I wish to engage with cultural sociology theory by investigating cultural taste and practice through the lens of the field of food and eating. In this chapter I have set out the way I have done this through the application of the 1970BCS and explained how both this use of the particular

survey and the way I have engaged epistemologically and methodologically allows me to simultaneously focus upon eating patterns, class, space, and time. I have argued that a unique and interesting aspect of this project is the decision to engage with longitudinal data in order to investigate cultural consumption, taste and class over time in relation to one particular cohort 'growing up' because this type of analysis is actually very rarely attempted in the area of cultural consumption. Additionally, as I have shown, the investigation of geographical patterning of types of consumers is also rarely conducted. Hence, the empirical analyses I describe over the next three chapters break new ground substantively and methodologically, and as will be shown, contribute to the literature base in a number of important ways.

5 Clusters: Identifying Types of Eaters in the UK

In this chapter I meet two broad objectives. First, I uncover the relations between the consumption levels of different foods in 1986 and 2000. This provides an idea of the structure of the cultural domain of food and allows me to explore the first set of research questions outlined below. Second, the foundations are laid for further analysis of the link between cultural taste and practice (in the form of eating patterns) and class and geography in the next two chapters. I describe the initial exploratory research process and report the results of various cluster analysis specifications before moving on to look at the relationships between cluster membership and various measures of health and health related practices, and examine the longitudinal links between eating patterns at age 16 and age 30. I conclude by discussing the potential usefulness of the typology created for investigating the theoretical issues identified in the literature review chapters. I can sum up some of the issues that are addressed in this chapter through the use of the following research questions:

1. In what way was cohort members' food consumption patterned in 1986 and 2000?
2. How might we describe the patterns that show up in the data?
3. In what ways, if any, does the dominant nutritional science discourse of healthy versus unhealthy foods show up in the data?
4. Do any of Warde's four antinomies of taste show up in the data? If so, how?
5. What are the health-based characteristics of the different types of eaters?
6. How do people's formative eating patterns influence what they eat later in life?

5.1 Introduction

Each individual has his or her own personalised idiosyncratic relationship with food and eating. However, when these individual eating preferences and practices are aggregated, relationships between certain specific foods and the people who, on average, tend to eat them, are uncovered. As was described in the Chapters 2 and 3, these differences manifest themselves in quantitative data analysis as relationships between foods and types of people (such as socio-economic class groups) but also, when food preference data is analysed in a certain way, between the foods themselves, as similar kinds of people tend to eat similar kinds of foods in similar ways. Sociologists of culture have embraced methods that uncover these relations between forms of cultural taste and practice, the most notable being Bourdieu, whose use of Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) uncovers these relations and gives empirical support to his concept of field. Following this, in the present study, the first research aim of this study is to assess how eating patterns in the UK are structured.

To address this, I focus on describing the relational structure of the domain of food and eating through analysis of the food preferences data from the 1970BCS, without biasing my analysis with any a priori assumptions about how it may be structured. To begin to understand the significance of the links between different types of foods, and different types of 'eaters' at each of the three different points in time (1986 and 2000), Cluster Analysis is employed.

5.1.1 Cluster Analysis

The term 'Cluster Analysis' (CA) refers to a family of statistical methods that are used for separating cases into different 'types', 'groups' or 'clusters'. This is a process of categorization, whereby cases in a heterogeneous sample are grouped into homogeneous clusters (Everitt and Dunn, 1983). The aim is to create clusters that not only consist of similar cases, but also contain cases that are distinct from the cases in other clusters (Kettenring, 2006). Cormack (1971) uses the terms "internal cohesion" and "external isolation" to describe these two

desirable properties of a clustering solution. The various methods that make up the family of methods known as CA use statistical measures of difference to keep different cases apart and measures of similarity to group similar cases together. CA is increasingly being employed in spheres outside of academia, most notably in commercial data mining (Burrows and Gane, 2006, Hastie et al., 2005, Savage and Burrows, 2007) but also in other areas of business and technology (Kettenring, 2006).

A method such as CA that achieves classification through statistical means is appropriate in this study because it helps to address the research aims and questions in a variety of ways. As well as providing a method through which the large dataset can be statistically summarized, the question of whether there are any broad ‘types’ of ‘eaters’ within the sample fits in neatly with a variety of the different theoretical debates surrounding food and eating and culture in general. As was discussed in Chapter 3, explanations of the nature of food and eating in the UK are often oppositional, whether these are the dominant nutritional science opposition of ‘healthy’ / ‘unhealthy’ foods, Warde’s (1997) four antinomies of taste, or the dominant oppositions in cultural sociology between highbrow / lowbrow or the univore / omnivore. CA groups similar cases together and keeps different cases apart so it is an excellent tool for identifying the most important or *primary* oppositions within the data. As such it helps me unravel the dynamics of the field of food and eating in the UK and help me to explore oppositions in the data.

A further reason why CA was chosen is that it fits with recent calls within sociology for a move away from methods that attempt to deterministically show causality towards methods that prioritize classification and description (see Abbott, 2000, Savage, 2009, Savage and Burrows, 2007). Whilst I agree with Uprichard (2013) that the concept of causality in the social sciences should not be abandoned entirely but rather understood in terms of complex emergent change, and that “description provides the soil from where causal modes of inquiry can germinate and grow” (pg. 8), such an epistemological position is one that must embrace the general proposition that classification and description

play an increasingly central role in sociology. CA is one of the family of 'case-based' methods that privileges the case above the variable (Byrne and Ragin, 2009) and as such fits in with this recent 'turn' towards classification and description.

Related to this focus on the individual or case is a further reason why the methodological choice to use CA was made. CA lends itself to prospective longitudinal analysis, as each individual in the sample is classified into one of a number of clusters. The examination of cluster membership variables at several points in time can allow for the trajectory of individual's lives to be explored over time. The transition of individuals from one cluster to another over time therefore allows for an engagement with the life course, which is one of the aims of this thesis. CA allows for this while still simultaneously uncovering the relational structure of the data.

The clustering process and the clusters themselves are often revealing in their own right, although as Uprichard (2013) suggests, and is shown in this study, such exploratory methods can be used as a starting point to address further questions. Although CA is not widely employed within cultural sociology, Savage and Gayo-Cal (2009) do provide an example of this type of research process; after deriving clusters showing types of musical 'listeners', they continue their analysis by examining the proportions of different socio-demographic groups who make up each of the clusters. Such a 'supplementary' analysis is conducted in the present thesis, through descriptive analysis, logistic regression modelling and spatial analysis, that is described in the next two chapters.

Interestingly, one field that has embraced CA is nutritional science. Within this area of research, the practice of using CA to understand eating patterns has become increasingly common over the past 20 years. Only a small number of articles were published before 1990, but the flow of articles produced in this area has been steady since then. Newby et al. (2004a) take stock of the situation in their review article, where they identify 35 articles that report using CA of sample survey data to empirically derive eating patterns. Since then, there have

been further similar studies (e.g. Mishra et al., 2006), including studies that have derived eating patterns from the sister survey of the 1970BCS, the 1946NSHD (Pryer et al., 2001, Prynne et al., 2010) although CA has not been used previously to derive eating patterns using 1970BCS data.

In the majority of existing studies where CA has been used to empirically derive eating patterns, it has been employed by nutritional or health scientists to both compare and contrast the characteristics of the clusters generated but then also the clusters themselves have become a part of a further analysis (see Newby and Tucker, 2004a, Togo et al., 2001) There are many examples of studies where CA is used as a 'foundation' (Kettenring, 2006) for further work. This means that in the case of food and eating research, CA is most often a means to an end – as it is in this study - although in the vast majority of papers, the clusters are explored with the aim of showing links to health and illness. Nutritional scientists generally use the clusters generated in two main ways. These are cross-sectional comparisons of cluster membership with medical measurements (see Newby et al., 2004b) and longitudinal analyses of eating patterns with long term health outcomes (e.g. Millen et al., 2004). Despite the different aims of these studies and the fact that the aim of this thesis is not to investigate the health outcomes of eating patterns, I nevertheless explore the health-based characteristics of any clusters generated in this chapter, as this helps facilitate an engagement with relevant health science literature.

5.1.2 MCA versus CA

Having discussed the advantages of using a categorization method in the form of CA in the present study, it is worth pointing out that the other way in which this analysis could have been conducted is through the use of some form of data reduction technique from the factor analysis family, of which an obvious choice might be MCA, given its use of categorical data and that it has been already been very successfully employed by Bourdieu (1984) and Bennett et al. (2009) to uncover the relations between different forms of cultural taste, practice and

knowledge, and their relations with social class. The differences and similarities between MCA and CA, as well as their relative advantages, are therefore briefly discussed.

MCA can be understood conceptually as a method that involves two main steps. The first of these steps works by mapping the correspondence of x number of variables / modalities onto multidimensional Euclidean space. These correspondences can be graphically presented in two dimensional space and interpreted visually and also can be understood through examination of various accompanying statistics. When used in cultural sociology, the end result of this first step is a series of graphical and statistical outputs that show the relations between different forms of cultural taste or participation or knowledge. In the second step, supplementary variables such as social stratification measures are 'laid on top' of this initial output and their relation to the structure of cultural taste can be understood. This means that the structure of cultural relations is derived from the data, allowing for a statistical (and visual) description of the field/s of empirical interest without any reference to any other sociological bases, but that the relation of sociological concepts such as class and gender to the 'space of lifestyles' can be analysed when the supplementary variables are added.

The methods used in this thesis bear some conceptual similarity to the MCA process (although in a statistical sense the methods come from different 'families'), in that in both the first step of MCA and in CA, the aim is to try to sort cases into identifiable groups based on their respective variables. In this thesis the cultural practices to be explored are the variables that record the (self-reported) frequency of the consumption of various types of foods. Importantly, this is done without making any a priori assumptions about the relationship of food preferences with class or any other structuring forces and also without any empirical effort applied to identifying any postulated oppositions within the data, such as Warde's (1997) four antinomies, a highbrow / lowbrow divide, or indeed the healthy / unhealthy dichotomy endorsed by nutritional science.

The second stage of the analysis in this thesis (presented in Chapters 6 and 7 and comprising the use of descriptive analyses, some basic logistic regression modelling, and through the graphical display of the distribution of types of eaters across the country), where the clusters are investigated in the context of class, time, and space, can be compared to the second step of the MCA process where the simplified structure of the cluster solution is understood in terms of sociological structuring forces. The main difference is that CA privileges the individual case and the relational structure that is created is in the form of a closed classification system based on all the cases, rather than positioning of cases (or variables) within an abstracted multidimensional space. While this means that CA loses some complexity in terms of the relational structure of the different cultural practices (notably the multidimensionality is absent), this is made up for by a focus on the case at the expense of the variable, and a good synergy with the research aims and questions. There are two main ways in which this synergy is especially achieved. Firstly, this thesis' theoretical focus on oppositions and classifications (e.g. Warde's antinomies of food, the 'healthy' / 'unhealthy' divide, the cultural omnivore / univore debate, and the postulated existence of post-Fordist cultural consumption patterns) fit well with the use of classification techniques and secondly, such a process allows an increased opportunity to assess the relative importance of structural forces through modelling techniques (e.g. the relative importance of different forms of capital can be addressed).

5.2 *Analysis*

5.2.1 Inspection and Description

The first steps of any robust secondary quantitative analysis must be to understand the provenance of the data with which one is working. Working with secondary data has many advantages in terms of the scope of the data-sets available for analysis but there are also complications and problems that must be addressed. As the likes of Desrosieres (2001) have pointed out, all quantitative data is the product of a series of social processes, whereby

historically and politically influenced decision making has led to the construction of survey questions in the form that they are.

One of the main aims of the cohort studies has always been to collect information about health - one of the primary strengths of cohort data is the ability to link lifestyles to health and illness outcomes (indeed the causal links between smoking and negative health outcomes were uncovered partly through analysis of UK cohort data - see Yerushalmy, 1964). As the concepts of 'healthiness' and 'unhealthiness' play a key role in this thesis, it is necessary to reflect on how this underlying aim of the 1970BCS may have influenced the design of the food preference variables in 1986 and 2000. It is likely that the specific foods that were selected for inclusion may have been selected primarily because of their relevance to debates about health at the point in time that the survey was designed. Inspection of the variables in question seems to confirm this (see Table 5.1). The distinction between wholegrain bread and other bread in 1986 and 2000 is one example of variables that may have been inspired by health concerns, as is the distinction between different types of fat used for frying.

The reason that this focus on health is important is that my research aims include the attempted identification of oppositions within the data. One such opposition postulated as important by nutritional scientists and sociologists alike is a 'healthy' / 'ascetic' versus 'unhealthy' / 'indulgent' opposition. It was therefore important that I bore in mind that, if such an opposition was found to be the dominant one within the data, then this might perhaps be related to the design of the survey, which was attempting to measure the intake of 'healthy' and 'unhealthy' foods. As with all secondary research, I am forced to work with the data that are available. That said, as will be shown, the issue of the impact that the survey design itself may be having on results is referred to throughout this thesis.

The actual food frequency consumption data that forms the backbone of the analysis in this thesis comes from two different waves of the survey 1986 and

2000.¹⁰ In the later wave participants were asked how often they ate 15 certain foods. In the 1986 wave of the survey, a much larger selection of questions were asked, and they came from a variety of different sources, including questionnaire and interview data. Participants were asked how many days a week they ate 19 certain foods, as well as what they ate and drank the day previously. Cohort members' mothers (or guardians) were also asked a number of questions about how often their teenager ate certain foods and how often they served certain foods to their teenage children. In this thesis, I rely on the self-report data from both years although some of the information from the maternal questionnaire (such as the extent to which cohort members eat in family groups) is used in supplementary analyses.

I made the decision to rely on cohort members' own food frequency data. This has the disadvantage that the number of cohort members who filled in this part of the questionnaire was significantly lower than the number whose mothers / guardians filled in the equivalent proxy variables (in the case of the questions on white bread consumption, $n = 4177$ compared to $n = 6902$). Despite this, I decided that using maternal data in one year and then self-report data in another year would be less than ideal for 2 reasons. First, as there is a longitudinal component to this thesis, it makes sense to attempt to use data from both waves that is somewhat similar and the self-report data is the data that has the most consistency across both years. Second, although I do not accept that any food frequency data derived from questionnaires gives a

¹⁰ It is worth noting that an attempt was also made to derive clusters using the food data from 1980. After exploratory clustering attempts were made, no valid clustering solution was identified. Although many cluster solutions were experimented with, and the processes described by Milligan (1996) and Kettnering (2006) were followed, no reliable clustering solution could be identified. In situations such as this, it is important to bear in mind that CA will always provide clustering solutions, even if the starting point is a dataset with no coherent patterns within the data (see Bottomley and Nairn, 2004). The only reliable patterning that was identified seemed to relate to a divide between butter and margarine eaters. Two and three variable clustering solutions including butter and margarine did seem to cluster to a small extent but the validity and usefulness of such clusters is questionable. I therefore decided to test the validity of these clusters through examination of associations with supplementary variables as suggested by Skinner (1981) and found that the cluster solutions generated did not have particularly strong associations with social class measures. Bearing in mind Bottomley and Nairn's (2004) demonstration of the very real risk of artefactual clusters being generated through methodological carelessness, and also because of concerns about the utility of such clusters within this analysis, no 1980 clusters were carried through to the next stage of the analysis.

completely valid representation of what the respondent is eating (see Mohammed, 2004 for an in-depth discussion), it seems likely that the proxy information provided by participants' mothers / guardians is likely to give an even less valid picture than is the case with self-specified data. This is especially true given the age of the cohort members (around 16) where they may have quite a large degree of autonomy in what they eat; whether at school or work it is likely that parental estimations of the frequency with which certain foods are eaten are unlikely to constitute as valid a measure as information from cohort members themselves.

Bennett et al. (2009) point out that data relating to all three of the key areas of consumption (practice), taste, and knowledge is ideal in analyses of culture so it could be seen as a problem that in this case we have only information relating to actual consumption. This is true to an extent but Chan and Goldthorpe (2007c) are correct when they suggest that of these three, consumption is the most important as it shows what individuals actually do. These food frequency variables serve the purpose because they give us information about *practice* and I would suggest that the frequency with which someone eats something also provides us with proxy information about their *tastes*. I therefore believe that these variables can be viewed as adequate proxy measures of the foods that cohort members have eaten, and also of their tastes. This means that two out of three of the main measures of cultural engagement are addressed in this study. In Table 5.1, the variables that describe frequency of food consumption, and that form the basis of this analysis, can be seen.

Table 5.1. Variables Showing Cohort Members Food Consumption in 1986 and 2000

	Year	
Year	1986	2000
n*	4167	11223
How was the question phrased?	How many days a week do you eat each of the following foods?	How often do you eat the following?
Foods	White bread Whole bread Fruit Chips Fish Poultry Meat Sweets Cakes Pulses Cereal Butter Margarine Cheese Eggs Crisps Sweets Chocolate Puddings Biscuits	Other bread Whole bread Fruit Chips Fish Poultry Red meat Sweets Cake Cooked vegetables Salads Food fried in hard fat Food fried in vegetable oil
Answers they could have given	Every day About 6 days a week About 5 days a week About 4 days a week About 3 days a week About 2 days a week About 1 day a week About once a month Rarely Never	More than once a day Once a day 3-6 days a week 1-2 days a week Less than 1 day a week Never Don't know**

Note. * Approximate numbers – there were slight differences for different variables.

Note. ** Cohort members who answered 'Don't know' were excluded from analysis

5.2.2 Categorization and classification

Kettenring (2006) suggests good CA practice involves exploring the data in different forms, identifying the most appropriate metrics and distance functions to use, and experimenting with alternatives. The results should then be closely interrogated to make sure they are both stable and valid. Milligan (1996) suggests a similar framework that consists of the following steps: Deciding on the objects to cluster, choosing variables to be used, making standardization decisions, choosing proximity measures and clustering methods, selecting a number of clusters and replicating, testing and interpreting the results. Many authors (e.g. Cormack, 1971, Everitt et al., 2001, Kettenring, 2006) suggest that often the appropriate steps are not always followed in the empirical literature. In this thesis, the research process frameworks suggested by Milligan (1996) and Kettenring (2006) was considered and followed where appropriate in generating cluster solutions. A condensed description is given in this methods section.

Cohort members in the 1970BCS answered questions about the frequency at which they ate certain foods at ages 16 and 30 (see Table 5.1 for frequencies). Each year was treated separately so a separate clustering process was followed for both year's food consumption frequency data. By clustering the participants' answers to questions at each age, an attempt was made to create clusters of food preferences at age 16 and 30 separately. PASW 18 (formerly and latterly known as SPSS) and SPSS 21 were used for the majority of the data management and analysis described in this section although Stata Se 11 was also employed during the exploratory clustering stage.

The clustering process followed for each of the two years was as follows: The sample was first split into sub-samples and explored through hierarchical clustering. Two 10% sub-samples of the dataset were analysed using Euclidean distance as the distance function and Ward's method as the clustering algorithm. Following this, a preliminary analysis of the appropriate number and size of clusters was conducted with reference to stopping rules and using dendrogram

inspection (see Figure 5.1 for a dendrogram showing 2 and 4 cluster solutions in a sub-sample of the 2000 data) An iterative procedure was then followed to discover whether any variables were 'masking' a more appropriate cluster solution (see Everitt, 2004). If a variable appeared to be 'masking' the cluster solution then it was considered for removal from the final cluster solutions.

Part of this exploratory process included the application of SPSS's two-step clustering method. Two-step clustering is a model-based clustering method that allows clustering of datasets that are too big for traditional clustering methods to be effective. The name refers to the two separate steps in the analysis. Firstly, the cases are sequentially clustered into 'sub-clusters', and secondly, these sub-clusters are clustered hierarchically into a certain number of clusters. This number is either decided automatically using statistical criteria or manually specified by the researcher. The SPSS two-step clustering method is similar to the BIRCH two-step system that was originally developed by Zhang et al. (1996). As well as being able to cluster very large datasets, it has other additional advantages to traditional clustering methods. One of these advantages is that a silhouette measure is included in the output of the two-step analysis. This is a measure of intra-cluster cohesion and inter-cluster separation and was initially developed and tested by Kaufman and Rousseeuw (1990). A silhouette score below 0.2 suggests that there is poor evidence of a reliable cluster structure, a score between 0.2 and 0.5 gives fair evidence of clustering and a score above 0.5 suggests strong evidence of underlying clustering structure in the way specified by the model. A combination of this statistic, dendrogram inspection from the hierarchical clustering, and as well as reference to what seemed likely to be useful in later analyses, were used to select the final number of clusters selected.

The exploratory clustering processes as described above were followed for the entire sample for both the 1986 and 2000 clusters. When an optimum clustering specification for both waves was identified (this involved the retention of 11 variables in the 1986 and 9 variables in the 2000 – details of these given below), the cases where data was available for all the retained variables for both waves were included in the analysis. This sub-sample

consisted of a total of 3383 cases that form the basis of the analyses throughout this thesis, which I refer to throughout this thesis as the 'working sample'.

The working sample was chosen so that the cluster solutions produced would have the most potential for subsequent analyses. Only the cohort members who completed the relevant portions of the survey in both 1986 and 2000 were included in the final clustering solutions. By using the exact same sample for each year in this way (n=3383), there is the drawback that all the participants who filled in the food frequency survey in 2000 but not in 1986 (n = approx. 7840), as well as a much smaller number of the participants who filled in the survey in 1986 but not 2000 (n = approx. 784) are not included in the analysis. However, such a process ensures that when comparisons are made between the characteristics of eaters in 1986 and 2000, the same individuals are investigated in each year. Selecting a working sample in this way also means that prospective longitudinal analysis, such as the tracking of eating patterns over time, can be conducted using the same sample throughout.

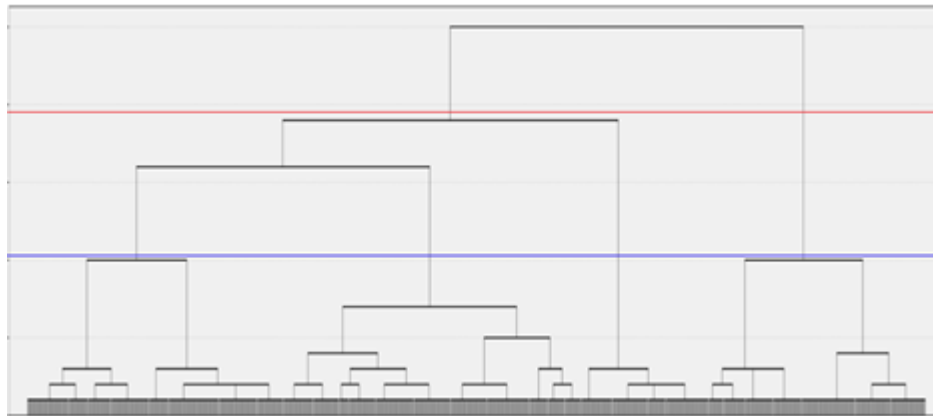
The low sample size in 1986 has previously been identified as an issue with 1970BCS data and is due in part to a teacher's strike that was in operation at the time of data collection. Additionally, Ketende et al (2010) suggest that non-response in the 1970BCS is highest amongst men and amongst manual class groups. Comparisons of the demographic characteristics of the sub-sample of 3383 participants with the overall make-up of the entire cohort do indeed show that men and, to a lesser extent, manual class groups are under-represented in this particular sub-sample (see Table 4.1 for a comparison of the demographic make-up of the sub-sample and the full cohort). Although this is an undesirable situation, it is unavoidable given the amount of missing data in the 1986 food frequency questions that I have selected to use. It is also common practice for researchers to use such restricted samples in longitudinal research, where attrition is often a problem that has to be dealt with. Viner and Cole (2006), for example, employed a comparable sub-sample of 4461 using data from the same 1986 and 2000 waves of the 1970BCS, when investigating BMI changes over time.

2000 clusters

I first report the results of the year 2000 analysis. During the course of the iterative research process, it became clear that the variables 'pulses', 'fat-fried', 'oil-fried', 'eggs', as well as variables representing alcoholic drink consumption, were having a negligible effect on the formation of clusters, and may have been working as 'masking' variables. This conclusion was reached because different scores from these variables were evenly spread between clusters and because their removal from the analysis increased the silhouette score. These variables were therefore not included in the final clustering solution. Fruit, Salads, Whole bread, Other bread, Chips, Red meat, Poultry, Sweets, Cakes were the variables included in the final model. The distance measure used was log-likelihood.

When attempting to select the most appropriate number for the final number of clusters, Schwarzze's Bayesian Criterion was used to automatically determine the number of clusters. The output suggested that the ideal solution was two clusters of fairly equal sizes that I decided, following Warde (1997) could best be described as 'Ascetic' and 'Indulgent'. This clustering specification has a Silhouette average of above 0.3. This statistic suggests the clusters are of a 'fair' quality. Individuals in the 'Ascetic' cluster ate more wholegrain bread, salad and fruit than the 'Indulgent' cluster. They ate less other (white) bread, chips, red meat, poultry, sweets, and cakes.

Figure 5.1. 2000. Dendrogram Showing **Two** and **Four** Cluster Solutions Generated using Wards Method Applied to Random 10% Sub-sample

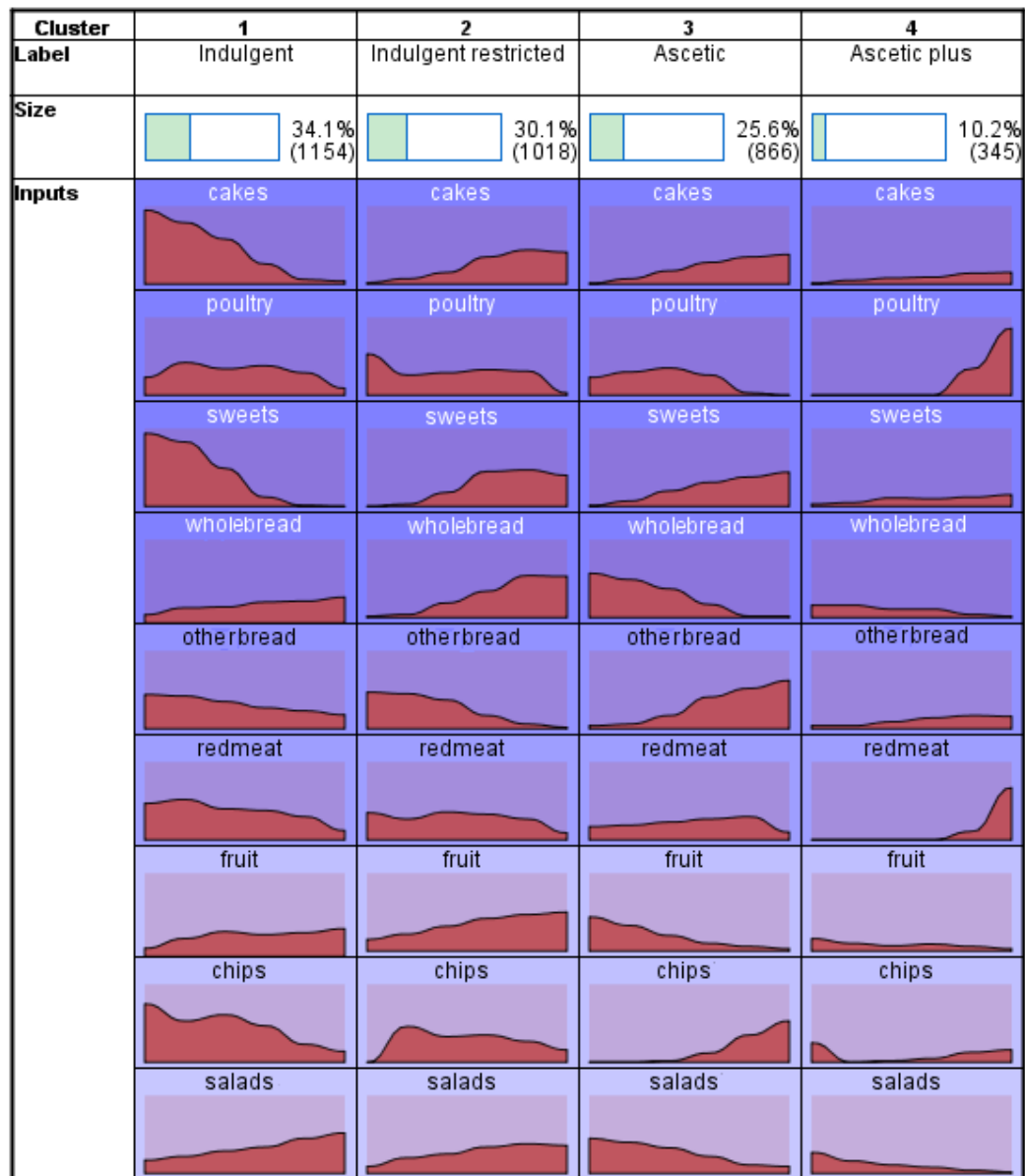


The two cluster solution described above is, strictly technically speaking, the most appropriate solution. However, a four cluster solution was also identified through the exploratory research process as a valid, and possibly more theoretically interesting way of understanding the patterning within the data. In order to produce a four cluster solution, it was necessary to manually specify the number of clusters. This was in contrast to the two cluster solution where Bayesian Criteria were used to select the number of clusters. The average Silhouette score for the four cluster solution is above 0.2, which also suggests a 'fair' clustering solution has been found, and is above the cut-off point suggested as acceptable by Kauffman and Rousseauw (1990), as well as SPSS's own cut off point. This four cluster specification is potentially more useful than the two cluster specification because it provides greater discrimination between cases, whilst still being statistically robust. This specification is therefore carried through to the later stages of the analysis.

Figure 5.2 shows the cluster sizes and the individual contributions that each variable makes to the model. The four clusters are similar in their overall make-up to the four cluster solution identified in the exploratory stage of the analysis (see the blue line in Figure 5.1). When interpreting Figure 5.2 (and Figure 5.3), the reader should bear in mind the way in which variables were coded. '1'

corresponds to people who ate a certain food every day and the code '7' corresponds to people who never ate a certain food. In the graphs in Figure 2, if there is a horizontal line then individuals in that cluster are evenly spread; some individuals in the cluster frequently eat the food and some individuals rarely eat the food. If the line is sloping downwards from right to left, this means that more individuals are eating that food frequently than people are eating that food infrequently (i.e. people in that cluster eat lots of that food). If the line is sloping upwards from right to left, then individuals in that cluster tend to report eating a small amount of that food. The relative importance of each variable in generating the model is denoted by the shade of blue used in the small graphs. Darker shades of blue indicate that the variable in question is important in defining cluster membership, and lighter shades of blue indicate the variables that have been given less weight in the model.

Figure 5.2. Specification 2. 2000. Cluster Sizes and the Individual Contribution of each Variable



Each cluster was given a name according to the eating characteristics of the members of that cluster. The clusters were given the following names: ‘Ascetic’, ‘Ascetic plus’, ‘Indulgent’, and ‘Indulgent restricted’. As can be seen in Figure 5.2, the ‘Indulgent’ cluster is the largest cluster (N=1154, 34.1% of the sub-sample): it contains people who eat normatively unhealthy diets that include the consumption of relatively high amounts of cakes, chips and sweets. The ‘Ascetic’ cluster (N=866, 25.6%) contains individuals whose diets are largely the

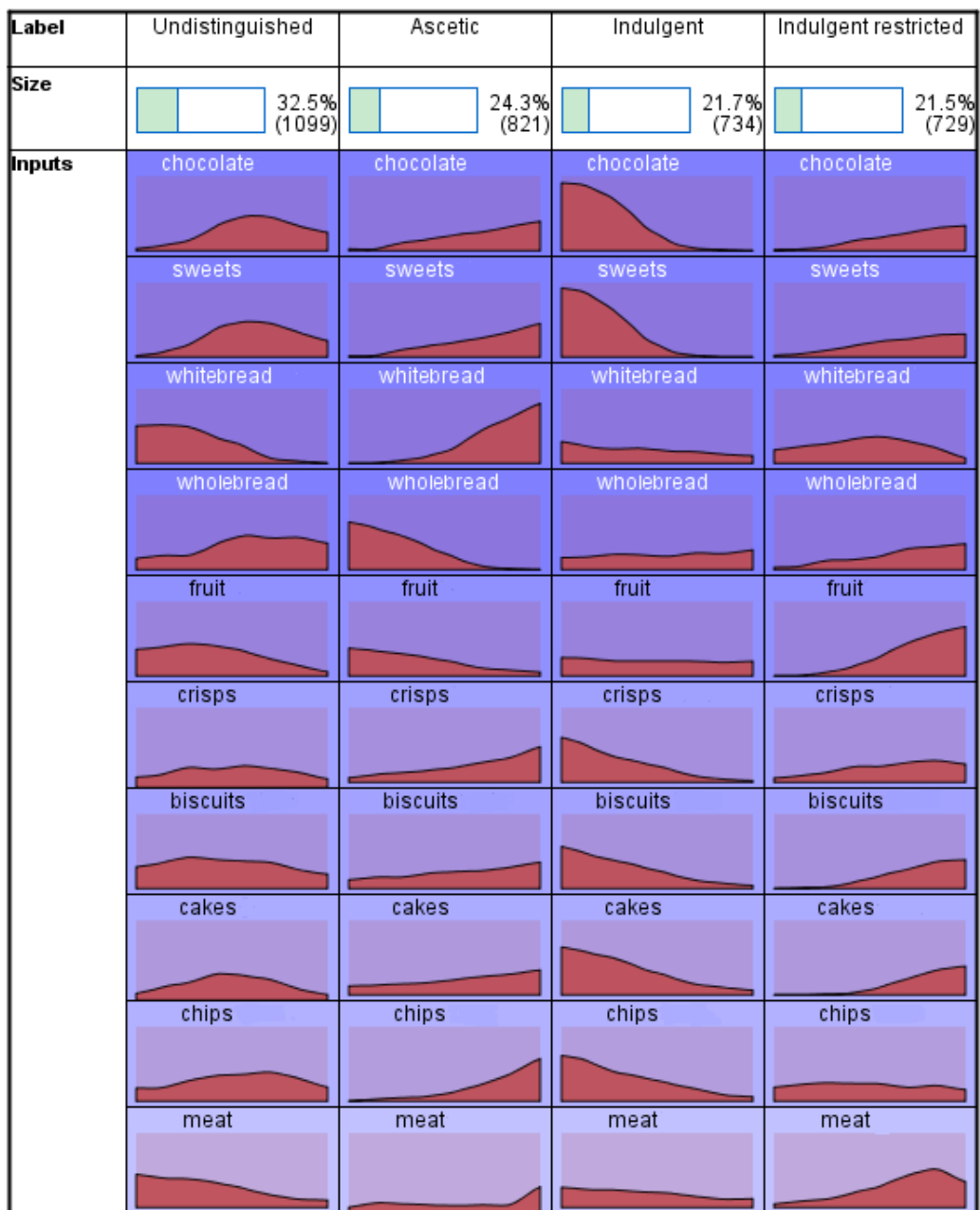
opposite of this - they are more likely to consume relatively high amounts of fruit, salad and whole bread, with a low frequency of consuming chips, cakes and sweets. People in the 'Indulgent restricted' (N=1018, 30.1%) cluster seem to eat in a similar way to the people in the 'Indulgent' cluster, although they report eating cakes and sweets infrequently, and are particularly likely to consume 'other' bread (which in this case can be read as white bread as it is opposed to whole bread). One group is significantly smaller than the others (N=345, 10.2%). I have termed this the 'Ascetic plus' cluster because the people within this cluster rarely consume normatively 'unhealthy' foods and everyone in the group eats very little or no meat and poultry.

1986 clusters

The same iterative research process was followed to categorize the cohort members' food preferences in 1986 into clusters representing eating patterns from that wave of the study. In this case, a four cluster solution was identified as appropriate in the exploratory stage, and also through Bayesian criteria in the final two-step cluster analysis with the working sample. See Figure 5.3 for the graphical representation of the four cluster solution.

Again, not all the available variables were included in the final clustering solution as not all contributed sufficiently to the model. The variables used in the final cluster solution described here measured the frequency with which the 16 year old participants reported eating chocolate, sweets, white bread, whole bread / granary bread, biscuits, crisps, fruit, cakes, chips, and meat. Other foods that were included in the original process but rejected for adding little to the cluster solution were margarine, cheese, fish, and poultry. It is possible that some of these categories are just so broad that they do not allow for distinctions to be drawn between different 'types' of people. For example, 'fish' represents such a large number of different foods that differences that when they are all amalgamated together, any patterning that might apply at a higher level of distinction between types of fish is lost in the noise.

Figure 5.3. 1986. Cluster Sizes and the Individual Contribution of each Variable



As can be seen in Figure 5.3, broadly ‘healthy’ and ‘unhealthy’ clusters that I have termed the ‘Ascetic’ and ‘Indulgent’ clusters have again been identified, as well as two other clusters that I have termed ‘Indulgent restricted’ and ‘Undistinguished’. Members of the ‘Ascetic’ cluster (n= 821, 24.3% of the sub-sample) are relatively likely to consume high amounts of whole bread and fruit and low amounts of the other foods. They are especially likely to avoid or consume relatively small amounts of chocolate, sweets and white bread. Cohort

members classified as 'Indulgent' (n=73.4, 21.7%) eat a diet that is characterised by a high frequency of consumption of high fat and high sugar foods. They are likely to eat disproportionately large amounts of chocolate, sweets, crisps, biscuits, cakes, and chips. The 'Indulgent restricted' (n=729, 21.5%) cluster is characterized by the infrequent consumption of most of the foods included in the clustering process and bears some resemblance to the 'Indulgent restricted' cluster in 2000, in that chips and white bread are consumed most frequently. The main difference between the 1986 'Indulgent restricted' cluster and the 2000 'Indulgent restricted' cluster is that the 2000 cluster includes frequent meat and poultry consumption, whereas the 1986 cluster does not. An 'Undistinguished' (n =1099, 32.5%) cluster is also present – participants categorized as 'Undistinguished' in 1986 typically eat middling amounts of most of the foods included in the analysis.

The cluster solutions described above have been shown to be relatively stable (due to similar solutions being identified using multiple clustering methods, and also sub-samples of the full samples available) and they show some interesting properties that could have some relevance for discussions of the research questions. For example, two of the clusters in each year appear to be representing opposite ends of the ascetic-indulgent opposition specified by Warde (1997) and, from the perspective of those working within the field of nutritional science, health science or in policy circles, these two clusters would no doubt be understood in terms of 'healthy' vs 'unhealthy' consumption. In the next section, closer inspection of the make-up of these clusters is discussed, to address these issues and hopefully demonstrate construct validity.

5.2.3 Exploration and validation of the clusters

In order to better understand what types of people are actually making up each of the clusters, a series of bivariate analyses were run (see tables 5.4 and 5.5). Supplementary analyses of the eating patterns variables essentially form the basis of the rest of the empirics within this thesis (mostly with the aim of exploring social class and geographical inequalities in the field of food and

eating) but this initial exploration serves two different purposes. Firstly, it is possible to assess the construct and external validity of the clustering solutions through reference to other variables in the dataset (Skinner, 1981). If clusters show relationships with other variables that are in line with, or complement, existing theoretical and empirical evidence, then this provides further evidence of the validity of the cluster solution. Secondly, as there are clusters that could be described as representing 'healthy' and 'unhealthy' eating patterns (the 'Ascetic' cluster in both years and the 'Ascetic plus' cluster in 2000, as well as the various 'Indulgent' clusters), it makes sense to investigate the health characteristics of the members of each of the clusters. This will allow some links to be made with some of the research completed by nutritional and health scientists.

Health variables

A series of different variables that relate to health were derived and cross-tabulated with membership of the clusters. These can be separated into two groups – those that attempt to measure aspects of health in some way and those that relate to other aspects of lifestyles that are sometimes thought of, or have been shown to be, beneficial or detrimental to health and that could be expected to cluster with either healthy or unhealthy eating practices. The variables included that *directly* relate to health are BMI scores, measures of psychological morbidity (the Rutter Malaise scale), the presence of eating problems, and measures of self-reported general health. The variables that relate to aspects of lifestyle that are postulated to impact upon health are alcohol consumption, smoking, and exercise.

BMI scores were calculated for cohort members in both 1986 and 2000¹¹. The

¹¹ BMI is calculated by dividing mass in kilograms by height in metres squared. In 1986, measurements were taken by school medical staff, whereas in 2000, BMI was derived from self-report data. These are the same measurements of height and weight that were used by Viner and Cole (2006). In the case of the 2000 data, some cohort members had given their height in feet and inches and others in metres and centimetres so conversion was conducted to allow the derivation of BMI scores. Self-report measures of height and weight are sometimes seen as problematic because of social desirability issues, and indeed there are known issues with under-reporting of weight and over-reporting of height (Gorber et al, 2007) but this data is the best

higher a person's BMI score, the greater their weight relative to their height. If a person's BMI is above 25 they are classified as overweight and if it is above 30 they are classified as obese. Due to the fact that being overweight and, in particular, obese have been linked to a variety of negative health outcomes including Type II diabetes and heart disease (Hubert et al., 1983, Mokdad et al., 2003), measuring BMI provides a useful proxy for the likelihood that health problems such as these will occur in later life. Due to links with these illnesses, high BMI scores are also associated with relatively early death (Katzmarzyk and Ardern, 2004). Some authors have also begun to suggest that obesity is itself a disease (see Heshka and Allison, 2001, Katz, 2014) although this debate is ongoing. The inclusion of BMI in this study allows an investigation of the extent to which the clusters identified, and which appear to represent 'healthy' and 'unhealthy' eating patterns, are related to body weight, as well as also examining whether BMI and eating patterns are related in the same way at different points in the life course.

I also include a measure of mental health. Previous research investigating the link between unhealthy eating and mental health issues has found that 'unhealthy' eating practices (measured through food frequency questionnaires) are associated with mental health problems (Conry et al., 2011) and, similarly, existing studies looking at the relationship between mental health and obesity have shown that there is a weak relationship between the two, with obese people slightly more likely to suffer from depression and anxiety disorders (Scott et al., 2007). The mechanisms behind this link are no doubt complex and varied. To give an example of the different possible explanations of this link, it could be suggested that people who eat an 'unhealthy' diet are more likely to have mental health issues because of a direct link; consumption of certain foods (or the lack of consumption of certain foods) could have a psycho-physiological effect on systems in, or linked to, the brain, that could lead to mental health problems. Alternatively, the link between obesity and diet could be explained by

available and should still give a good approximation of BMI. Two BMI variables have been derived for each year. The first separates all the cohort members into two equally sized groups and the second places individuals into the following categories based on commonly used conventions: Underweight (BMI<18.5), Normal (18.5 – 24.99), Overweight (25 – 29.99), Obese (BMI>29.99)

the clustering of cultural practices that go alongside unhealthy eating – it is often said, for example, that exercise releases dopamine in the brain (although this assertion is perhaps not backed up as fully as might be expected in the literature – see Wang et al, 2000) and people who eat healthily also exercise more. I would argue that there is no need to apply a medicalized lens to explain this association – it could be the stigma attached to fat bodies, and the social sanctions that are imposed on people with fat bodies that are responsible for the higher rates of depression and anxiety amongst those whose bodies do not conform to social norms.

A further complicating issue here are the possibilities in terms of direction of causality. In the scenarios outlined above, it is suggested that people become obese as a result of consuming food in such a way that it causes them, via whatever mechanism, to develop mental health issues. It is also possible that the causal pathway works the other way - that existing mental health issues lead people to eat too much or too little of normatively acceptable foods as a form of coping strategy. One good way to address these issues is through the use of longitudinal research to try to identify whether there is a pattern of problematic eating that develops before any mental health issues. Some research in this area has shown that depression in adolescence is linked to high BMI's later in life (Richardson et al., 2003) but evidence from the 1970 BCS (Viner and Cole, 2006) does not support this view, showing no link between measures of psychological morbidity at 16 and BMI in later life. Viner and Cole (2005) also show that obesity limited to childhood does not have an impact upon psychological health later in life. Taken together it would seem that obesity and mental health, if they are related, appear to show cross-sectional, rather than longitudinal links although further research in the area is required.

I explore a related issue here through examining the repeated cross-sectional links between the eating patterns I have derived and measures of mental health in both 1986 and 2000. To assess mental health, I employ the Malaise scale in both years. The Malaise inventory (see Rutter et al., 1970) is a scale derived from the participants' responses to a 24 item self-completion questionnaire.

The scale has been shown to be internally consistent and is often referred to as a proxy measure of depression, psychological morbidity (Rodgers et al., 1999), or psychological distress (Gale et al., 2008). In the normal formulation of the scale, individuals can score between 0 and 24. A score of 7 or 8 or higher is taken as an indicator that someone is suffering psychological distress or said to be at risk of depression (Rodgers, 1999). The Malaise inventory could be argued to be a good tool in the context of this thesis because the relevant questions were asked in both childhood and adulthood (at ages 16 and 30), meaning Malaise Inventory scores have been derived to provide a proxy measure of mental health at both ages 16 and 30.¹² Other researchers working within Health Sciences and Nutritional Science using the same 1970BCS data have employed it as measure of mental health (Gale et al., 2008, Ternouth et al., 2009, Viner and Cole, 2006, Viner and Cole, 2005) so my use of the measures here is consistent with its use in other existing literature.

I also include a variable that records whether individuals have ever had an eating problem in both years, so as to investigate patterns of under-consumption at the other end of the scale from obese and overweight people. Eating problem variables are included to try to measure medicalized eating disorders such as anorexia nervosa and I include separate variables for both 1986 and 2000¹³. These variables are useful for showing whether certain of the eating patterns are associated with under-eating.

¹² The way that the questions were asked actually differed between waves. In 2000, all of the 24 questions were asked in the conventional yes-no manner and the scale was constructed through the summation of the resulting dummy variables. A dichotomous variable separated people with a score above 8 from people with a score of 8 or less was then derived. In the case of the 1986 Malaise inventory, only 22 of the questions were asked and there were also three different options used (Rarely/Never = 0, Some of the time = 1, Most of the time = 2. This change in the format of the questions and possible responses meant that the scale had to be produced in a different manner. In this case, the scale was again produced through summation of the 22 variables. A score of 14 or higher was taken as indicative of a risk of depression / 'psychological distress' (Gale et al, 2008). In the 1986 Malaise variable, 15.3% of the working sample were classified as 'at risk', this compares to 12.7% of the sample in the 2000 Malaise inventory variable.

¹³ The 1986 variable is derived from questions in the mothers' questionnaire, which ask whether cohort members have ever had an eating problem and what that problem was. I selected only the cases where the eating problem was 'refusing to eat' and 'not eating enough' and these cases were coded as having had an eating problem, while all others were coded as not having done so. In the case of the 2000 variable, again a dichotomous variable was derived. Participants were asked if they had ever had an eating problem and those who reported having bulimia, anorexia or another eating problem were coded as having had an eating problem, whereas the remainder of the sample were coded as not having done so.

I also investigate the relationship between food consumption and participants' self-reported health.¹⁴ Measures of self-assessed health are commonly used across a variety of different surveys including the 1970BCS (eg Gale et al., 2008, Wardle and Steptoe, 2003) and although their reliability has been shown to be less than perfect (in particular there may be differences between how different social class groups answer such questions - see Crossley and Kennedy, 2002), they are interesting in this context because they provide an indication of participants' own subjective understandings of their physical and mental health and therefore allow an engagement with health as it is understood by the cohort members themselves in everyday life.

In terms of measures of different aspects of lifestyle, I include variables that record cohort members' smoking¹⁵ and alcohol¹⁶ consumption patterns, the extent to which they exercise¹⁷, their attempts to lose weight¹⁸ and whether or

¹⁴ In 1986, participants were asked to report "how well (they) felt compared to others of (their) own age and sex" and in 2000 they were asked "How is your health generally?" Although these questions are different in form from each other, they are similar in that they both ask participants to give a subjective rating of their general health. I recoded these variables so that they both had 3 categories.

¹⁵ In the case of the 1986 variable I have followed Crawley and White (1995), who categorized people as regular, occasional or never smokers using the same data from the 1970BCS. In the case of the 2000 variable, I recoded the question on smoking to make it comparable, creating the same three categories of regular, occasional or non-smoker.

¹⁶ Following Viner and Taylor (2006) the 1986 alcohol consumption variables were designed to measure two different aspects of alcohol consumption. The first was binge drinking – cohort members were categorized as binge drinkers if they had 2 or more episodes of consuming four or more drinks in a row in the past two weeks. The second (again the same as employed by Viner and Taylor, 2006) was frequent regular consumption – anyone who reported consuming alcohol 2 times a week or more over the past year was classified as a regular alcohol consumer.

In the case of alcohol consumption variables for the year 2000, two different variables were derived. The first was an estimation of alcoholic units imbibed in a week. This variable was derived from individuals' responses to questions about how often they drank many different kinds of alcohol. The second is a problem drinking scale. In the 2000 survey, respondents were scored on a number of variables in which they described how often they experienced certain phenomena that could indicate alcohol addiction problems. Using these variables, a summated scale was constructed so that respondents who had experienced many of these phenomena scored highly on this scale and people who had experienced them only infrequently or never scored lower. This summated scale was tested for internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha=.664, $p < 0.001$) and although the figure was below the usual cut off point of 0.7, it still came within limits close enough for it to be considered reliable. A dichotomous variable was then derived from this scale where people who answered yes to 2 or more of the questions were coded as 'at risk' of alcohol dependency.

¹⁷ In 1986, cohort members were asked whether they had ever attempted to lose weight and whether they had attempted to do this through exercise. I derived a dummy variable identifying the people who had attempted to lose weight through exercise. In 2000, questions were asked about exercise

not they were a vegetarian¹⁹. These variables have been included firstly because they have previously been shown to cluster together with certain eating patterns, the consumption of certain types of foods, or with obesity, and secondly because they have been shown to have associations with other health problems.

I have included these variables that describe other aspects of lifestyle primarily to allow for links to be drawn with the health science literature. Although the aim has not been to uncover longitudinal links between eating patterns and health 'outcomes' per se, it is still useful to include such variables in an exploratory way mainly to acknowledge the underlying 'health' element intrinsic to the food variables I am using. Furthermore, the data I am working with are similar to those used in the health science fields and there may be interesting links that can be made between the two areas.

Clustering of 'healthy' and 'unhealthy' lifestyle practices

One health science body of work that is certainly of some relevance is the literature on the clustering of 'unhealthy' lifestyle practices. Clustering in this context refers to the idea that certain 'unhealthy' practices tend to occur alongside each other. The phenomenon has been empirically identified through

with no reference to weight loss. Cohort members were asked whether they partook in regular exercise and how often they did so. I have created two dichotomous variables – one recording whether participants get regular exercise and the other showing whether or not participants exercised more than once or week or not.

As well as asking questions about exercise for its own sake, in 1986 there were a series of 43 questions recording the amount of sport completed by the cohort members. Following Viner and Cole (2006), I constructed variables that provide an estimate of the amount of sport cohort members did in 1986. Summated scores for the amount of sport played both inside and outside of school were included in the data-set provided by the original depositors. 1 point was given if a student reported playing the sport 'at least once a month'; and two points if the cohort members reported playing 'at least once a week'. I summed these scores to produce a new variable that recorded total sport played inside and outside of school. A dichotomous variable was then constructed that separated cohort members into high and low sports participation, with high sports participation being defined as any score greater than the mean for each sex. There was no comparable data available in the 2000 wave.

¹⁸ These variables were only available in 1986. As I suggested in the previous footnote, the participants were asked whether they ever tried to lose/avoid putting on weight – I include a dichotomous variable to reflect this. Cohort members were also asked if they had tried to lose weight through dieting - this dichotomous variable is also included.

¹⁹ Participants were asked about vegetarianism in both 1986 and 2000. I recoded these variables to create simple yes-no variables in both years.

bivariate analyses (Castro et al., 1989, Poortinga, 2007) but also through the use of CA (Dodd et al., 2010). Poortinga (2007), for instance, suggests “smoking, alcohol use, an unhealthy diet and physical inactivity (are) the ‘big four’ modifiable causes of morbidity and mortality” (pg 124) and suggests these four ‘behaviours’ are the most worthy of exploration in terms of clustering together. I have included variables operationalized as measures of each of these ‘big four’ and I am therefore able to investigate the links between these variables and eating patterns in 1986 and 2000.

Some associations between ‘unhealthy’ lifestyle ‘choices’ are very well established in the literature. Smoking in particular seems to be strongly correlated with other ‘risk factors’. Perhaps the most clear cut example is the link between smoking and drinking (Castro et al., 1989, Emmons et al., 1994, Poortinga, 2007) but further research (some using 1970BCS data - eg Crawley and White, 1995) has also shown that smoking clusters together with various ‘unhealthy’ eating ‘behaviours’ including a high calorie intake (Emmons et al., 1994), a low vitamin and fibre intake (Woodward et al., 1994), a high consumption of chips (Crawley and White, 1995) and a low consumption of fruit (Chiolero et al., 2006), fruit juices (Crawley and White, 1995) and breakfast cereal (Crawley and White, 1995).

However, some studies have shown that the clustering of health related practices is not necessarily straightforward. To give examples, Poortinga (2006) and Schuit et al (2002) both report that people who are physically active are *more* likely to smoke and drink excessively than people who are not physically active, a finding that is perhaps counter-intuitive given heavy smoking and drinking are normally seen as ‘unhealthy’ practices and high amounts of physical activity is seen as ‘healthy’. This anomaly can be explained through reference to various different mechanisms, one of which is that people who tend to play sport may drink and smoke after doing so.

Another explanation of this phenomenon could be related to the fact that different groups of people are more likely to show patterns of clustering of

practices – for example clustering of Poortinga’s ‘big four’ practices appear to be more likely to occur amongst men than women (Schuit et al., 2002) and some of the anomalies identified in clustering of ‘healthy’ and ‘unhealthy’ lifestyle practices have been explained through reference to gender and social class differences. For example, Schiut et al (2002) suggest that lower class groups may be more likely to participate in sport but also drink and smoke more, meaning that these groups may be responsible for the positive association we see between sport participation and smoking and drinking across the population.

In turn, while the clustering of ‘unhealthy’ and ‘healthy’ practices together is a commonly identified phenomenon, this area of investigation is complex. Comparison of different studies with one another is also made difficult because of the different ways that aspects of lifestyle are measured. Often only small aspects of practice are measured in surveys – for example Poortinga (2006) and Schuit et al (2002) employ fruit and veg consumption, only a very small component of what any given person will eat, as a proxy for poor diet whereas Crawley and White (1995) use this measure plus fruit juice (which incidentally has recently been losing some of its previously held ‘healthy’ reputation due to high sugar content) and cereal. In this study I am employing empirically derived eating patterns, which although having obvious advantages over more narrow measures, are not necessarily directly comparable with these other studies. Another example is the different ways alcohol consumption can be measured. If a variable measuring total volume of alcohol consumed is employed rather than a variable looking at the frequency at which binge drinking occurs, then certain fractions of the middle class may appear to drink more in the former case, compared to the latter, due to the patterns of consistent moderate drinking (in particular of wine) common amongst these groups (Tjønneland et al., 1999).

Health problems, clustering of ‘risk factors’, and obesity

Health problems such as diabetes and heart disease are often understood to be the result of obesity, which is itself a health problem that is often linked to

'unhealthy' food 'choices' made by significant segments of the population. Indeed there is plenty of evidence that people who eat more 'unhealthy' food weigh more and are more likely to be have higher BMIs / be obese (Fan and Jin, 2013, Newby and Tucker, 2004a, ONS, 2004, Williams et al., 2000). However, because of the clustering together of 'risk factors' described above, the full extent to which it is patterns of eating, rather than increases in, for example, sedentary lifestyles (Fan and Yin, 2013), that are primarily responsible for increases in obesity, and indeed related health problems such as heart disease, is still a matter of some debate, particularly since it is clear that unhealthy eating is associated with a lack of physical exercise (Poortinga, 2007, Pronk et al., 2004).

This issue is further complicated by the fact that the links between 'risk factors' and BMI, similarly to the links between different 'risk factors', are not consistent across different groups of people, or across the life course. Through an analysis of 1958NCDS (the sister survey of the 1970BCS) food frequency data, Parsons et al (2005) show that among 33 year olds, across all gender and class groups, people who are physically active have lower BMIs. The same is not the case, however, for different types of eaters. Women who eat a high frequency of chips and fried foods have higher BMIs but, somewhat surprisingly, high consumption of these foods makes no difference to men's BMI. Another interesting finding from this study is that both men and women who reported a high frequency of fruit and vegetable consumption tended to have higher BMI's. In this study I explore to what extent findings such as these can also be identified in the 1970BCS cohort.

As I suggested in Chapter 4, the food frequency data I employ in this chapter is previously unexplored from a sociological perspective although related data on BMI has been explored in some depth, notably by Viner and Cole (2005; 2006). The analyses reported in this chapter allow a link with this existing epidemiological work to be investigated, as the links between various relevant health related variables and eating patterns are investigated. Although the majority of this work is be cross-sectional in nature, links between different aspects of lifestyle and health

outcomes will be investigated. This has not been done before with the 1970BCS data, where the focus has often been on BMI or other measures that are related to, but are clearly distinct from, actual food consumption. I am not repeating the longitudinal modelling methodologies employed in epidemiological studies such as Viner and Cole's (2005;2006) as this goes beyond the remit of this thesis, which as noted earlier, is primarily a work of cultural sociology, and not concerned with showing the links between lifestyle and health outcomes. Having said this, there may still be some important ways in which links can be made with this body of work. Indeed, it may be interesting to look at the clustering of the health-related practices alongside eating patterns as evidence from the 1970BCS (eg Viner and Cole, 2006) suggests that some of the relationships between health-related practices may not be exactly as one would expect.

How people eat

I also include a number of variables that provide information about eating practices, or *how* people eat. These variables come mainly from the 1986 wave of the survey, as fewer suitable variables were available from the 2000 wave. I include variables that show how often participants eat meals with their families²⁰, how often they eat out at cafes or restaurants with their parents²¹ as well as a variable that records how often participants get food from a takeaway²².

These variables are interesting because, although the main focus of this study is

²⁰ In 1986, cohort members' mothers were asked how many weekdays the cohort member ate breakfast and dinner with their parents. Following Viner and Cole (2006) I derived two separate variables that separated cohort members into three groups: those who ate a meal together 0 times a week, those who ate together between 1 and 3 times and those who ate together daily. Although this data came from the mother's survey (and I have previously rejected the use of the mother's data for estimating the consumption levels of certain types of food) in this case I believe it is acceptable because this variable refers to an activity where cohort members' parents would actually be present – in order to answer this question, parents would have to be there. In 2000, cohort members were asked how often they eat together as a family. The question was only put to cohort members who had at least one child. I have therefore created a 'has no children' category. The remaining data was recoded in to the following categories: More than once a day, Once a day or less but more than once a week, Once a week or less, Has no children.

²¹ This question was asked of cohort members themselves and also was recoded to a trichotomous classification – this time of Rarely/Never, Less than once a week, Once a week or more.

²² Participants were asked how often they get something at or from a takeaway. This variable was recoded to create more equal categories than in its original form – these categories were 0, 1, 2 and more than 2 times a week.

to look at *what* foods people eat, this section of my analysis provides an opportunity to look at the relationships between questions of *what* and *how*, as they relate to food consumption. This question of *how* could arguably be said to have predominated in discussions within the sociology of food in the UK since the sub-discipline's formation at the beginning of the 1980's, with scholars focusing on issues such as the gendered nature of food preparation and other food-related labour (Charles and Kerr, 1988, Murcott, 1982), the existence and then postulated decline of 'family' and 'proper' meals (Cheng et al., 2007, Kemmer, 2000, Kemmer et al., 1998, Murcott, 1982, Murcott, 1988) and the sociological significance of eating out (Martens and Warde, 1997, Warde and Martens, 2001). The inclusion of variables that examine eating together in 'family' groups and eating out allows an engagement with these last two areas of interest within the sociology of food literature, as well as providing further information about the people who make up each of the clusters.

'Tracking' of eating patterns over time

The empirically derived eating patterns described in this chapter also lend themselves well to a prospective longitudinal analysis that investigates the movement of individuals from one cluster to another over the period from 1986 to 2000. Longitudinal analyses of this sort, where some aspect of food / nutrient consumption is measured at two points in time and then the relationship between consumption at the two different times is investigated, are common within the nutritional science literature (Lake et al., 2009a, Oellingrath et al., 2011) and researchers have consistently found evidence to support the idea that 'unhealthy' and 'healthy' eating 'behaviours' 'track' across time (Craigie et al., 2011). However, despite the presence of food frequency variables in 1970BCS data, there have never been any analyses of this sort conducted using 1970BCS data. The question of the extent to which foods eaten as a child are related to foods eaten in later life also has significance for discussions of socialization and habitus.

Bivariate analyses, showing the cross-sectional links between the eating

patterns and demographic variables, including educational level in 2000 and parents educational level in 1975²³, health related variables, as well as eating practices variables, and the longitudinal links between eating patterns in 1986 and 2000 can be seen in Tables 5.4 and 5.5.

²³ A variable recording parent's highest educational qualification in 1975 is employed. Although an equivalent variable was available in 1980, this had larger numbers of missing values and the two variables showed a high association so the 1975 variable was selected. The original 1975 variable was recoded to combine categories that only contained a small number of cases. In 2000, Cohort members were not asked directly about their highest educational qualification so the variable had to be derived from their 1990 and 1996 answers to questions regarding their qualifications. The SPSS code for this derivation was written by Jenkins and Parsons and provided in the same working paper as the income variables described above (Shepherd, 2001).

Table 5.2 Supplementary characteristics of different types of eaters in 1986

	1986 Eating Patterns			
	Ascetic	Indulgent	Indulgent Restricted	Undistinguished
Total				
N	821	734	729	1099
% Total	24.3	21.7	21.5	32.5
Gender (%)***				
n	821	734	729	1099
Male	15.4	23.5	23.9	37.1
Female	30.1	20.5	20.0	29.4
Parent's highest qualification (%)***				
n	669	634	590	934
Degree	35.9	18.7	12.9	32.4
A Levels	33.8	21.2	14.0	31.0
O Levels	24.0	20.4	19.6	35.9
Vocational quals	16.8	28.4	23.4	31.4
None	13.9	24.5	28.9	32.8
Subjective health relative to peers (%)				
n	799	699	700	1062
More healthy	25.8	20.8	20.7	32.7
Same	23.0	22.1	21.7	33.2
Less healthy	26.2	21.3	23.8	28.7
Malaise score (%)***				
n	715	633	636	983
Not at risk	24.7	20.7	20.2	34.4
At risk	20.6	24.8	28.4	26.2
BMI score (%)**				
n	495	409	386	682
Low	22.9	23.0	17.8	36.2
High	27.3	18.5	21.3	33.0
BMI Obese? (%)**				
n	495	409	386	682
Obese (n= 30)	20.0	20.0	26.7	33.0
Other	25.2	20.8	19.5	34.6
Ever had eating problem? (%)				
n	685	575	603	911
Yes (n=152)	24.3	23.7	27.6	24.3
No	24.7	20.6	21.4	33.3
Ever tried to lose/avoid putting on weight? (%)***				
n	665	576	558	906
Yes	32.8	16.6	20.8	29.7
No	17.7	25.2	20.5	36.6
Tried to lose weight through dieting? (%)***				
n	665	576	558	906
Yes	33.2	16.7	20.4	29.3
No	17.8	24.9	20.9	36.8
Tried to lose weight through exercise? (%)**				
n	665	576	558	906
Yes (n=240)	33.8	18.8	17.5	30.0
No	23.7	21.5	20.9	33.8
Sports participation (%)				
n	670	581	567	916
% Low	24.2	20.6	21.6	33.6
% High	25.0	22.2	19.5	33.3
Smoker? (%)***				

n	665	576	560	902
Yes	18.0	27.8	24.4	29.8
Occasionally	25.4	23.0	19.3	32.3
No	26.2	18.7	20.3	34.9
Binge drinker? (%)				
n	788	697	697	1045
Yes	20.2	23.1	24.1	32.5
No	25.2	21.3	21.1	32.4
Regular alcohol consumption (%)				
n	772	684	683	1028
2 or more days a week	22.9	23.5	22.3	31.2
1 or less days per week	24.8	21.1	21.4	32.8
Vegetarian? (%)***				
n	786	690	687	1047
Yes (n=148)	51.4	11.5	25.7	11.5
No	23.2	33.6	21.2	33.6
Family eat weekday evening meal together (%)***				
n	673	566	568	883
Never (n=213)	23.9	18.3	28.2	29.6
1 to 3 days a week (n=328)	21.3	18.6	29.3	30.8
4 to 5 days a week	25.7	21.7	19.2	33.5
Family eat weekday breakfast meal together (%)***				
n	597	482	492	790
Never	25.4	18.5	22.9	33.2
1 to 3 days a week (n=263)	20.5	29.7	17.5	32.3
4 to 5 days a week	27.3	21.7	16.2	34.8
Eat out at café/restaurant with parents? (%)***				
n	811	722	719	1089
Rarely/Never	23.0	19.5	25.6	31.9
Less than once a week	25.8	22.3	16.1	35.8
Once a week or more	24.0	27.1	24.5	24.5
Takeaway consumption per week (%)***				
n	785	692	687	1044
None	34.2	15.6	18.9	31.3
Once	21.4	20.6	21.7	36.4
Twice	13.1	30.8	26.8	29.3
Three or more	9.8	41.4	24.2	24.6
2000 Eating patterns (%)***				
n	821	734	729	1099
Ascetic	36.8	15.9	17.7	29.6
Ascetic +	44.3	10.1	16.8	28.7
Indulgent	16.4	31.3	19.9	36.3
Indulgent restricted	15.7	19.6	28.3	32.4

Note. Chi square and one-way ANOVA tests were conducted to gauge statistical significance, as appropriate. * p< 0.05, ** p< 0.01, *** p< 0.001

Table 5.3 Supplementary characteristics of different types of eaters in 2000

2000 Eating Patterns				
	Ascetic	Ascetic plus	Indulgent	Indulgent restricted
Total				
N	866	345	1154	1018
%Total	25.6	10.2	34.1	30.1
Gender (%)***				
n	866	345	1154	1018
Male	21.0	6.9	36.4	35.6
%Female	28.6	12.3	32.6	26.5
2000 Highest qualification (%)***				
n	866	345	1154	1018
Higher Degree	33.8	24.1	24.1	18.0
Degree	31.5	16.9	26.2	25.4
Sub-Degree	29.6	11.9	27.6	30.9
2 or more A-Levels	23.3	9.2	42.7	24.8
Good O Levels	25.1	6.6	36.6	31.7
Bad O Levels / CSE's	15.4	7.5	40.8	36.3
No quals	18.9	4.7	40.5	35.8
Subjective health (%)**				
n	866	345	1154	1018
Excellent	29.4	10.4	31.4	28.8
Good	24.1	9.8	35.1	30.9
Fair/Poor	20.5	11.1	37.9	30.4
Malaise score (%)				
n	863	343	1140	1013
Not at risk	26.0	10.0	33.7	30.3
At risk (n=314)	22.3	12.4	36.6	28.7
BMI score (%)***				
n	848	329	1125	985
Low	25.8	13.2	34.6	26.4
High	25.8	6.8	33.8	33.6
BMI Obese? (%)**				
n	848	329	1125	985
Obese (n=353)	23.5	5.9	34.8	35.7
Other	26.1	10.5	34.2	29.3
Ever had eating problem? (%)**				
n	866	345	1154	1018
Yes (n=103)	27.2	20.4	21.4	31.1
No	25.5	9.9	34.5	30.1
Regular exercise?(%)***				
n	866	345	1154	1018
Yes	27.7	11.2	32.0	29.1
No	17.3	6.1	42.7	34.0
Frequency of exercise (%)***				
n	749	304	865	788
More than once a week	29.8	12.4	31.0	26.8
Once a week or less	23.3	8.9	33.9	33.9
Smoker? (%)***				
n	866	345	1154	1018
Yes	18.6	9.4	32.7	39.4
Occasionally	32.3	10.8	28.1	28.8
No	18.6	10.4	35.2	27.5
Units alcohol per week (%)***				

n	754	284	908	846
Above recommended limits	28.2	8.9	26.2	36.7
Within recommended limits	26.4	10.8	35.6	27.2
Drinking problem scale (%)***				
n	854	338	1131	1006
2 or more problems	27.6	11.7	26.4	34.3
1 or less problem	25.1	9.7	36.3	29.0
Vegetarian? (%)***				
n	866	345	1154	1018
Yes (n=184)	0.0	89.7	7.6	2.7
No	27.1	5.6	35.6	31.7
Family Meal? (%)				
n	866	345	1154	1018
More than once a day	20.5	5.2	41.8	32.5
Once a day	21.0	5.7	39.9	33.4
Once a week or less	20.4	4.5	41.7	33.4
No children	28.6	13.2	30.1	28.2
1986 Eating Patterns (%)***				
n	866	345	1154	1018
Ascetic	38.9	18.6	23.0	19.5
Indulgent	18.8	4.8	49.2	27.2
Indulgent restricted	21.0	8.0	31.6	39.5
Undistinguished	23.3	9.0	34.0	33.7

Note. Chi square and one-way ANOVA tests were conducted to gauge statistical significance, as appropriate. * p< 0.05, ** p< 0.01, *** p< 0.001

To sum up these results, there appear to be links between eating patterns and a variety of supplementary variables in both years under investigation. I address the two years separately in what follows.

1986 Clusters

The 1986 'Ascetic' cluster contains a high proportion of women and people with highly educated parents. In terms of the health characteristics of this cluster, mental health (measured through the Rutter scale) and BMI both act as discriminating factors - members of the 'Ascetic' cluster are relatively unlikely to be 'at risk' of depression and despite being likely to have slightly higher BMI's than the average person, they are relatively unlikely to be obese. They are likely to report trying to lose weight at some point in their lives, either through dieting or through exercise and they are likely to smoke only occasionally or not at all. There is no relationship between following this eating pattern and regular alcohol consumption or binge drinking. This cluster contains a very high proportion of the vegetarians in the sample, with over 50% of the vegetarians

following this eating pattern. People within this cluster are likely to eat takeaway food relatively infrequently. Based on the findings using this particular set of data and approaches, there seems to be a normatively healthy lifestyle which is common amongst this group, in more ways than the foods that they eat.

In contrast, the 1986 'Indulgent' cluster contains more men than women (although the split is not nearly as noticeable as in the case of the 'Ascetic' cluster) and is disproportionately comprised of people whose parents have relatively few, or no, qualifications. This group are slightly more likely than the average person to suffer from mental health issues and somewhat surprisingly, BMI scores in this group are likely to be relatively low. They are unlikely to have tried to lose weight through dieting and they are likely to smoke regularly. Members of this cluster tend not to self-identify as vegetarians. In terms of their social eating practices, they tend to consume fast food frequently and to eat out with their parents frequently. It is fair to say that this cluster is clearly opposed to the 'Ascetic' cluster in terms of demographic and health characteristics.

Similarly to the 'Indulgent' cluster, the 1986 'Indulgent restricted' cluster also contains more men and seems to indicate a clear social class gradient of sorts, insofar as those whose parents are highly educated are relatively unlikely to follow the diet, whereas people with no qualifications are likely to do so. People following this diet are even more likely to be at risk of suffering mental health problems and are likely to be obese and to report having had an eating problem at some point. They are relatively likely to smoke. Members of the 'Indulgent restricted' cluster seem relatively standard in terms of how often they eat breakfast in family groups although they tend not to eat evening meals in family groups. They consume more fast food than the 'Ascetic' cluster but significantly less than the 'Indulgent' cohort members. This cluster could be described as following a normatively unhealthy diet and show evidence of clustering of other 'unhealthy' 'behaviours' alongside their eating.

Members of the 'Undistinguished' cluster are those that tend to be undistinguished in more ways than their eating patterns. While the cluster is comprised mostly of men, the cohort members come from a variety of social class backgrounds. Members of this cluster aggregately seem to show low levels of risk of depression but other measures of health seem to be more evenly distributed. They are unlikely to try to lose weight through dieting and unlikely to report ever having had an eating problem. They also tend to be non-smokers and or to self-identify as vegetarian.

2000 clusters

The 2000 'Ascetic' and 'Ascetic plus' clusters share many similarities, not just in terms of what they eat, but also in terms of their demographic and health characteristics. Both contain a disproportionate number of women and highly educated people. Members of both these clusters also seem to have relatively low BMI's and tend not to exercise regularly and frequently. They seem to be fairly standard in terms of their drinking and smoking practices compared to the other groups. In sum, both 'Ascetic' and 'Ascetic plus' could be described as representing the lifestyle of individuals who follow a normatively healthy lifestyle that runs alongside their normatively healthy eating patterns.

Having said this, there are still five key differences between members of the 2000 'Ascetic' and 'Ascetic plus' clusters that I wish to highlight. First, the 'Ascetic plus' eaters are even more likely than the 'Ascetic' cluster to be women and are, as I explore in more depth next chapter, also more likely to be educated to a high level. Second, in terms of their self-reported health, while 'Ascetic' members are the most likely to report feeling in 'excellent' health, 'Ascetic plus' cohort members do not differ from the average person in this regard. Third, 'Ascetic plus' eaters are also much more likely to report having had an eating problem at some point. Fourth, while members of both clusters report relatively

standard aggregate drinking patterns, there is an interesting anomaly in the 'Ascetic' cluster in terms of smoking – members following this eating pattern are disproportionately likely to report smoking occasionally. Fifth, and finally, members of the 'Ascetic plus' cluster tend to be vegetarians. Almost all (89.7%) of the vegetarians in the sample were classified as 'Ascetic plus' through the cluster analysis process. This is perhaps unsurprising given the make-up of the 'ascetic plus' cluster, which involves the consumption of little or no meat and poultry, and hence provides evidence to support the validity of the original clustering process.

The 'Indulgent' and 'Indulgent restricted' clusters are also clearly comparable in terms of their supplementary characteristics. Both are likely to get low levels of exercise although this lack of exercise is more extreme in the case of the 'Indulgent restricted' cluster. One key difference between the 'Indulgent' and 'Indulgent restricted' cluster members is that the 'Indulgent' eaters are relatively unremarkable in their obesity levels whereas the 'Indulgent restricted' eaters are likely to be obese. 'Indulgent restricted' eaters are also more likely than the average person to smoke and drink whereas the 'Indulgent' cohort members' smoking and drinking habits are fairly standard when compared to the working sample as a whole. It therefore appears that while the 'Indulgent' eating pattern could be described as normatively less 'healthy' in terms of eating patterns, members of the 'Indulgent restricted' cluster show more unhealthy 'behaviours' other than eating.

Links between the two sets of eating patterns

There are two ways that I can reflect on the links between the two years. The first is in terms of the similarities between the two cluster specifications in each year through a repeated cross-sectional comparison of the supplementary characteristics of the clusters. The second is through prospective longitudinal analysis – looking at the eating trajectories individuals follow as they age from

16 - 30 in the years 1986 to 2000.

I have already made the point that the 2000 clusters are somewhat comparable to the clusters in 1986 in that the foods that members of certain clusters eat in 1986 are similar to the foods that members of certain clusters eat in 2000 (for example the 'ascetic' clusters in both years are similar). To an extent, the supplementary analyses presented in Tables 5.3 and 5.4 add to this impression by showing that other aspects of cohort members' lifestyles, particularly aspects that relate to health, are similar for members of the clusters in different years.

Perhaps the most obvious similarities are between the 1986 'Indulgent' cluster and the 2000 'Indulgent' and 'Indulgent restricted' clusters. Members of all three of these clusters are more likely to be men than women and more likely to be from lower down the socio-economic spectrum. Members of all of these clusters are more likely than the average person to smoke and relatively unlikely to exercise (although it is worth noting that there are significant differences in how this question was asked in both years – with the 1986 variable being derived from questions asking about exercise explicitly for the sake of weight loss). It is also possible to draw comparisons between the 1986 'Indulgent restricted' cluster and the 2000 'Indulgent restricted' cluster. Both are more likely than average to be men and to be less educated. Both also tend to be obese and smokers. These findings suggest that it is possible to cluster those with 'unhealthy' 'behaviours' alongside those presenting normatively unhealthy eating patterns.

There is also some evidence for similarities between the 1986 'Ascetic' cluster and the 2000 'Ascetic' and 'Ascetic plus' clusters. The 2000 'Ascetic' and 'Ascetic plus' and the 1986 'Ascetic' cluster show a similar patterning of demographic and health related factors. That is, they are both more likely to be women and to be highly educated, as well as being unlikely to smoke and being relatively likely to participate in exercise. Again, this could be suggestive of a clustering of

'healthy' lifestyle practices.

One area where the links between clusters across years are potentially less obvious is in the links between eating patterns and the measurements of different aspects of health. For example, there appears to be no significant relationship between participants' own subjective rating of their health in the 1986 'Ascetic' cluster, whereas cohort members in the 'Ascetic' cluster in 2000 are relatively likely to report feeling in good or excellent health and members of the 'Ascetic plus' cluster report feeling healthy to a similar degree to the working sample as a whole. Consumption of alcohol also seems to show different links across the different years. That is to say, there seems to be a link between different eating patterns and alcohol consumption in 2000 ('Ascetic' and 'Ascetic plus' eaters drink in a way not too dissimilar to the average, whereas there is a large difference between 'Indulgent' and 'Indulgent restricted' alcohol consumption) but no significant difference between the clusters in 1986.

The prospective longitudinal links between eating patterns in 1986 and 2000 can also be seen through the cross-tabulations included in Tables 5.3 and 5.4. I concentrate here on describing the results in the latter. Table 5.4 reveals that that 38.9% of people within the 'Ascetic' group in 1986 were in the 'Ascetic' group in 2000. Although the 'Ascetic' clusters at age 16 and 30 are not identical in terms of the variables contributing to the clusters, their key components (wholemeal over white bread and a low intake of high fat, high sugar foods) are very similar. Furthermore, 18.6% of the 1986 'Ascetic' individuals were classified in the 'Ascetic plus' cluster in 2000. The 'Ascetic plus' cluster is also normatively healthy, with a low intake of meat. This means that close to 60% of the individuals who were categorised as 'Ascetic' at 16 were either in the 'Ascetic' or 'Ascetic plus' clusters at age 30, far above what would be expected if the cohort members were evenly distributed among the different clusters.

An equivalent finding can be found in the case of the respondents who have

been classified as 'Indulgent' in 1986 and 2000 and 'Indulgent restricted' and 'Indulgent restricted' in 2000. That is, people who follow normatively unhealthy diets in 1986 are likely to continue to do so in 2000. Cohort members classified as 'Indulgent' in 1986 were most likely to be classified as 'Indulgent' in 2000 and second most likely to be classified 'Indulgent restricted': 49.2% of 'Indulgent' eaters in 1986 went on to be in the 'Indulgent' category in 2000 and a further 27.2% were classified as 'Indulgent restricted'. Again, the proportion of people following either of these two diets in 2000 having followed the 'Indulgent' diet in 1986 is higher than is the case for members of the other three clusters in 1986.

'Indulgent restricted' eaters in 1986, whose diet is defined by a relatively low frequency of consumption of all the foods included in the analysis, with the exception of chips and white bread, were most likely to follow the 'Indulgent restricted' eating pattern at age 30 (39.5% of the whole did so – significantly higher than would be expected by chance). As I have outlined, the 2000 'Indulgent restricted' eating pattern shares similarities to the 2000 'Indulgent restricted' eating pattern in that it too involves high levels of consumption of these two foods, as well as sharing similar supplementary characteristics. Perhaps unsurprisingly, given this, 'Indulgent restricted' eaters were the most likely cohort members to go on to follow the 'Indulgent restricted' eating pattern at age 30.

As can be seen in Table 5.3, people who are classified as 'Undistinguished' eaters in 1986 do not show any particularly strong patterning in terms of the eating patterns that they follow in 2000. Participants are marginally more likely to follow the 'Indulgent' and 'Indulgent restricted' eating patterns but these differences are smaller than in the case of the other 1986 eating patterns. In other words, the distribution of 1986 'Undistinguished' eaters across the four clusters at age 30 is similar to the distribution seen across the sample as a whole.

5.3 Discussion

In this section, I begin by discussing the nature of the patterning I have uncovered using CA, before linking this patterning to existing research health-based supplementary characteristics of the clusters identified. This allows a discussion of the links with existing relevant nutritional science and health science literature using the 1970BCS. I then move on to reflect on the clusters that have been generated and how they may fit in with the theoretical ideas outlined in Chapters 2 and 3, before finishing the chapter with a discussion of how I further explore these issues in Chapters 6 and 7.

5.3.1 'Healthy' versus 'Unhealthy' eating patterns

One of the main aims of this chapter was to identify dominant or *primary* oppositions within the data. I aimed to examine the relationships between the consumption levels of the different foods and see if the patterns I identified fitted into either the 'Healthy' / 'Unhealthy' description of affairs that is predominant in Nutritional and Health Science or any of Warde's (1997) four oppositions identified in *Consumption, Food and Taste*. After conducting the analysis, it is clear that a primary opposition between 'healthy' and 'unhealthy' diets in the UK seems to account best for the patterns we see in the data, in both 1986 and 2000. Every single food in the sample that could normatively be described as 'healthy' (whole bread, salad, fruit) is typically consumed in high amounts by people within the 'Ascetic' cluster in 1986 and the 'Ascetic' and 'Ascetic plus' clusters in 2000 and every food that could be normatively described as 'unhealthy' (including sweets, chocolate and white bread) is disproportionately consumed by people in the 'Indulgent' clusters in 1986 and 2000.

Other clusters identified also fit into this 'Healthy - 'Unhealthy' system of classification. The 1986 and 2000 'Indulgent restricted' clusters are both

characterized by a low frequency of consumption of fruit and salad and relatively high frequency of consumption of chips and of white, rather than wholemeal bread. These are patterns of consumption that could easily be placed on the 'unhealthy' end of the scale if one was interested in trying to classify diets solely by their adherence to healthy eating norms and/ or official healthy eating guidelines.

It is worth striking a note of caution at this point – as I elucidated at the beginning of this chapter, the design of the survey itself may play a role in the way that the cluster results appear. The fact that the number of foods that the participants were asked about was very limited and that the questions in 1986 and 2000 were designed with issues of health in mind may have led to 'Healthy' / 'Unhealthy' opposition being identified as the most important opposition in the data. If the survey had been designed differently, perhaps a different opposition would have been identified as important. Imagine if, instead of these foodstuffs being selected, participants were surveyed on a variety of very expensive foods and very cheap foods. It is not unreasonable to suggest that a two cluster solution showing an opposition between caviar, lobster and truffles on the one hand and potatoes, margarine and offal on the other might have been found.

Having said this, I would suggest that the fact that high frequency of consumption of *every* food that could be described as normatively healthy were clustered together and high frequency consumption of *every* normatively unhealthy food were clustered together suggests that an important relational divide does actually exist between the 'healthy' and 'unhealthy' foods. Given these findings and the extent to which 'unhealthy' and 'healthy' eating patterns are implicated in the genesis, and prevention, of a variety of illnesses and health problems, it is appropriate at this point to reflect on the links with the health science and nutritional science literature, paying particular attention to relevant research conducted using the 1970BCS and sister studies.

The extent to which consuming the normatively healthy 'Ascetic' eating pattern

in 1986 and 'Ascetic' and 'Ascetic plus' eating patterns in eating patterns are actually associated with beneficial health outcomes is less straightforward than might perhaps have been expected. In terms of self-reported health, in 1986 there appears to be little impact of eating pattern on how well people feel, compared to their peers, whereas in 2000 people who follow the 'Ascetic' eating pattern are more likely to report having good or excellent health and members of the 'Indulgent restricted' cluster are also more likely to report having poor health. These age 30 findings are in line with existing findings such as those of Whichelow and Prevost (1996) and Osler et al (2001) who report that people who have 'health-conscious' diets are likely to rate their health more highly. These findings could be taken to suggest that at age 16 diet is not seen as important to health as it is at age 30, or that over the period of 1986 to 2000, diet became seen as more important to health. Alternatively, it could be the case that these measures of self-reported health give an accurate proxy measure of health and diet has less impact on health in adolescence than it does in adulthood.

In 1986, the distribution of BMI scores are, at first glance, somewhat unexpected. Cohort members who follow the 'Ascetic' eating pattern have a higher BMI on average than the individuals in the 'Indulgent' group. The 'Indulgent restricted' eaters are the most likely to be obese / have BMI's higher than average. It is worth remembering that the term restricted refers here to the low number of different foods that are reported to be consumed frequently and that the foods that this group do suggest they consume frequently are chips and white bread. In 2000, the results regarding BMI and obesity are more in line with what might be expected given their diets. The 'Ascetic' cluster and the 'Indulgent' cluster show typical BMI values but people within the 'Indulgent restricted' cluster are relatively likely to have high BMIs and to be obese, and people within the 'Ascetic plus' cluster are relatively likely to have low BMIs.

These 1986 BMI findings can be explained in a number of ways. The first thing to note is the very low sample size in the case of the 1986 data – 41.7% of the cohort members in the working sample were not measured by school medical

staff. This is a significant chunk of missing data and although the imputed data (see Appendix 1) shows similar patterning to that shown in Table 5.3, caution should still be taken in interpreting this data because of this large amount of missing data. Additionally, at 15/16 years old, BMI is not necessarily a particularly effective metric in this case because women are likely to have higher BMIs on average at this age (Daniels et al., 1997).

One finding that is consistent across the two waves is the way that the participants who consume high levels of chips and white bread but who eat low levels of other 'unhealthy' sweeter foods such as cakes and sweets (members of the 'Indulgent Restricted' clusters in both years) are likely to have high BMIs. It therefore appears that a diet high in fat but low in sugar is associated with the highest BMIs in both years. This argument of fat vs sugar is of course a long running one and there is some research that has shown similar findings to what I report here (in that high BMI scores in men are related to high fat intake rather than high sugar intake - see eg Macdiarmid et al., 1998) although other research (e.g. Parsons et al., 2005 - using the 1958NCDS) has shown that chips consumption in men is not associated with high BMI scores. I do not, however, wish to overstate the significance of this finding or make claims about the relative importance of fatty and sugary foods for BMI, as the aim of this study is not to attempt to comment on these issues, and the analysis I present here is not suitable to do so anyway, due to various reasons, including a lack of detail on many aspects of diets in my clusters.

However, one related issue that I believe this analysis does allow me to comment on with some confidence is the extent to which other health-related practices occur alongside 'healthy' and 'unhealthy' food consumption. In the health sciences, this is known as the 'clustering' of 'unhealthy' 'behaviours' and is of importance because of the way that the different forms of practice could plausibly interact and complicate the issue of identifying causal links between certain 'behaviours' and 'health outcomes'. My aim here is not to make causal claims about the links between food consumption and morbidity or mortality so I have not produced a series of longitudinal models attempting to pin down

what factors in childhood are important for the developing of certain eating patterns in later life; rather my aim in this chapter is to explore the field of food and eating. The concepts of 'healthiness' and 'unhealthiness' are interesting as they have a strong resonance in contemporary discussions around food and it is in this context that the extent to which cluster membership is related to other health-related variables is of interest to me.

As I have explained above, clustering 'unhealthy' practices seems feasible because the majority of health-related practices cluster together. For example, in 1986, the 'Indulgent' and the 'Indulgent restricted' cluster members are relatively likely to smoke, and the 'Ascetic' cluster members are unlikely to smoke and much more likely to report exercising and trying to lose weight. These health-related practices therefore cluster together. However, the one exception in 1986 is alcohol consumption, which appears to be the only one of the remainder of Poortinga's (2007) 'big four' 'unhealthy' 'behaviours' that is not associated with cluster membership. One possible explanation for this is the age of the cohort member's at this point in time - alcohol consumption patterns at this age may not yet have crystallised to the extent that it may do later in life.

Certainly, in 2000, alcohol plays a much stronger role as a predictor of eating patterns. As well as being disproportionately likely to smoke, 'Indulgent restricted' eaters are likely to drink heavily and show signs of alcohol dependence. The 'Indulgent' cluster, on the other hand, is fairly standard in terms of how often cohort members drink and smoke. 'Ascetic' and 'Ascetic plus' eaters are disproportionately likely to take both frequent and regular exercise, although the extent to which they smoke and drink is not strikingly different from the sample as a whole. While the 'Ascetic plus' eaters are unlikely to smoke at all, there is an interesting pattern amongst the 'Ascetic' eaters. While they are unlikely to classify themselves as full-blown 'smokers', this group are disproportionately likely to report smoking 'occasionally' - suggesting an adherence to an 'Ascetic' lifestyle may not preclude the odd indulgence. Here, one relevant point of reference could be Savage et al.'s (1995) conception of the 'Champagne and Jogging' consumer - a particular type of middle class individual

who predominately follows an ascetic lifestyle but complements this with the occasional indulgence. If the 'Ascetic' cluster represents, say, such a group then the 'Ascetic plus' cluster could potentially represent a more committed ascetic group – a suggestion that makes sense given that vegetarians are overwhelmingly likely to be in the 'Ascetic plus' cluster. The socio-demographic make-up of these two clusters are explored further in the next chapter, in order to further describe this possible fragmentation of middle class taste.

In terms of comparisons between the two years, one interesting finding is the high levels of clustering of 'unhealthy' 'behaviours' by members of the 'Indulgent restricted' eating patterns in both years. These eating patterns are characterized by high levels of chips and white bread consumption and low levels of fruit and vegetable consumption. Cohort members following this particular diet show high levels of smoking in both years, drinking in 2000 and low levels of exercise in both years. On the other hand, the 'Indulgent' clusters, which in terms of foods eaten, are perhaps more normatively unhealthy than the 'Indulgent restricted' clusters (in both years, biscuits and cakes were consumed disproportionately frequently by members of this cluster and in 1986 members of this cluster also consumed disproportionately high levels of sweets and chocolate) but members of these clusters show average scores on the other of Poortinga's 'big four' 'risk factors'.

This finding could well have implications for the practice of using single foods or other small aspects of food consumption as proxies for 'unhealthy' or 'low quality' diets, as is common in the health science literature (Emmons et al., 1994, Poortinga, 2007, Schuit et al., 2002, Woodward et al., 1994). Within such studies, the links between such proxy variables and other forms of 'unhealthy' 'behaviour' are investigated. I have shown here that two different empirically derived patterns of eating, that could both be described as normatively unhealthy or 'low quality' show very different relationships with other 'unhealthy' practices. Of course, this area requires further investigation – the methods I have chosen to use are descriptive and I have not produced any

models that would be required to further test this assumption. Furthermore, because of the prospective longitudinal nature of the data, although we see this type of patterning at two different points in time, it is impossible to say whether this is a pattern (of high-fat, high-sugar diets showing less association with other 'unhealthy eating practices than high-fat low-sugar diets) may be unique to this particular generation or whether it can be applied to a wider group of people.

To summarize this health-related investigation, there are interesting patterns of relationships between eating patterns and measurements of health / illness, although some factors appear to be more strongly related to food consumption than others. In terms of the evidence for the clustering of 'unhealthy behaviours', there is strong evidence that this is occurring, although not for all people following diets that could be characterized as 'unhealthy' - people in the 'Indulgent restricted' clusters in both years were likely to be indulgent in more than just their food consumption, despite the fact that, of the two eating patterns, the 'Indulgent' eating pattern could be described as of a 'lower quality' than the 'Indulgent restricted eating pattern (in both years) .

5.3.2 Stability over the life course

By and large, the cohort members who followed a normatively healthy lifestyle at age 16 continued to eat according to healthy eating norms as 30 year olds. The same can also be said to be the case for normatively unhealthy diets – members of the normatively unhealthy 'Indulgent' and 'Indulgent restricted' clusters at 16 were relatively likely to follow 'Indulgent' and 'Indulgent restricted' eating patterns at age 30. Taken together, these findings provide some evidence of 'tracking', not necessarily in terms of the exact foods eaten (such a question could not be directly addressed using this methodology, due to the different food groups included in the 1986 and 2000 analyses and the aggregated nature of the analysis which looks at patterns rather than individual foods), but in terms of the maintenance over the life course of similar types of

eating patterns. This supports existing findings elsewhere which suggest that early life eating very much impacts upon (or at least is statistically associated with) food consumption later in life (Craigie et al., 2011). It is also interesting in the context of the theoretical debates that underpin this thesis, as I discuss in the next section.

5.3.3 Implications for the relevant sociological theories

In the next two chapters, I explore the socio-demographic breakdown of these clusters in detail and until I do that it is hard to comment on the extent to which these results fit in with the three main theoretical viewpoints outlined in Chapters 2 and 3. There are, however, some tentative observations that can be made. In terms of their relevance to arguments from homology, it seems that level of education, a variable that is clearly measuring an aspect of social inequality / social class, is associated with eating patterns, and that highly educated individuals, in particular, are likely to consume in an ascetic manner. The fact that food patterns track across time from childhood to adulthood is also interesting because it has implications for discussions of *habitus*. Bourdieu's (1984) theory of *habitus* suggests that dispositions towards culture are learnt in childhood and that these dispositions continue to influence consumption throughout life. The evidence I present here would certainly seem to support the idea that consumption patterns learnt in childhood continue to influence eating in later life. Bourdieu (1984) underlines the importance of shared preferences and dispositions within *class* groups when discussing *habitus* so the analysis presented in the next chapter allows for a fuller investigation of this topic.

The empirical findings from the CA conducted here seem to be also consistent with certain aspects of individualization theories. The 'Ascetic plus' cluster, for instance, appears to represent a cohesive group of individuals whose eating patterns are similar to those within the 'Ascetic' cluster but with the added full or partial rejection of meat. This group, whether they self-define as vegetarians or not, could possibly represent some form of post-Fordist group because their

consumption patterns appear so distinctive. Again, further analysis in the next chapter can help shed further light on this – individualization theorists such as Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002) suggest the adoption of identities based upon consumption is a consequence of dis-embedding from traditional class structures.

I am also interested in the finding that certain patterns of consumption appear to be more stable over time than others. If, as Savage (2000) and Skeggs (2004) suggest, reserves of reflexivity are distributed unevenly across the population, then perhaps this could be one way of explaining these findings. Perhaps certain ‘types’ of people are more likely to possess the necessary reflexivity to make changes in their consumption patterns whereas others are ‘locked in’ to consumption patterns to a greater extent. Recent work by Archer (2009) concerning reflexive modes of agency over time also seems to support such a proposition. In other words (and this is important for discussions of *habitus* too), socialization could actually be more important for some groups than for others. Further investigation of this issue is conducted in the next two chapters. In other words (and this is important for discussions of *habitus* too), socialization could actually be more important for some groups than for others. Further investigation of this issue is conducted in the next two chapters.

In terms of the omnivore – univore theory, the 1986 ‘Undistinguished’ cluster could be interpreted as a ‘cultural omnivore’ group because members of this cluster appear to be the most likely to report consuming a wide array of different foods. However, I would suggest that it is likely that the ‘Undistinguished’ category represents a less cohesive group of people than the other categories. I suggest this because of the clustering methods used, and the results of the longitudinal analysis. As a key component of CA is that all cases are ‘forced’ into a cluster, it is often the case that one large cluster contains the majority of the middling or ‘left over’ cases that do not fit into any of the more well defined or ‘distinct’ clusters. In the context of this study, this ‘left over’ cluster may well be the ‘Undistinguished’ category in the 1986 wave of the study.

This 'left-over' cluster is a common issue that can arise both in general applications of CA and specifically in relation to deriving eating patterns. For example Togo et al. (2001), in the context of clustering food preferences data, suggest it is common to find "a few distinct clusters with very few people and one or more large left over cluster" (pg. 1748). While I have avoided any very small clusters, the 'Undistinguished' cluster is the largest in the 1986 specification. It is also less well defined, suggesting it may be fulfilling the 'left over' role. Members of this cluster report eating the majority of the foods relatively frequently so this category will contain people who mostly report average consumption of most of the foods.

The conclusion that the members of the 'Undistinguished' cluster are not a good candidates for 'omnivores' of the 'omnivore – univore' dichotomy is further reinforced by the fact that the 'omnivore' as originally conceived by Peterson and colleagues is a middle class consumer. The results of this analysis show that 'Undistinguished' eaters are also undistinguished in their average level of education, suggesting they are unlikely to be representing a middle class group, who would be highly educated. The type of eaters who consumed most omnivorously do not therefore appear to be a good fit for the 'cultural omnivore' archetype.

It should be noted that I am not suggesting that the evidence shown here discounts the possibility that an omnivore / univore divide is operating within the domain of food and eating in the UK. The number and type of foods included in this analysis are not sufficient to rule out this possibility. Due to the large and growing number of different foods, types of cuisine, and ways of eating that exist in the UK (see Warde, 1997) it is certainly possible that higher class groups are consuming a wider variety of foods than lower class groups and that an 'omnivore by composition' class of eaters may exist in the UK. More detailed in-depth food data would be required in order to confirm or deny this. Nevertheless, it is safe to conclude that within the analysis presented here, no highbrow omnivore group appears to have been identified.

Having said this, it is worth reflecting on the fact that two clusters showing ‘omnivorous’ tendencies were identified, in the context of recent literature. As Bellavance (2008), Ollivier (2008), and Atkinson (2011) have suggested, the application of some quantitative methods can cause ‘omnivorous’ groups of people to be identified as a homogenous group of people when in fact they are actually relatively diverse. My repeated findings of undistinguished consumers in the data should therefore be taken as further evidence that omnivorous patterns of consumption may show up in quantitative analyses of consumption regardless of whether they are representative of a distinct group of homogenous people in the real world.

5.3.4 Limitations of the methodology employed

There are some limitations with the research I present here which are important to acknowledge. Firstly, in deriving eating patterns for the working sample, I have relied solely upon participants’ food frequency data, which is limited in scope in that it only includes a relatively small number of variables in both years. Although my choices in this regard were limited by what is available in the 1970BCS dataset and by the focus upon participants’ own food frequency data (rather than the mothers’ proxy food frequency data in 1986), had it been possible, it would have been preferable had the number of variables used to make up the cluster solutions been larger and more varied. It is certainly feasible that the small number of input variables might have concealed important differences in eating. Larger cluster analyses conducted using dedicated food surveys such as the NDNS and the LCFS could provide interesting findings to further differentiate between different types of eaters and might be an interesting way of extending and cross-validating the findings produced here.

Another issue with the analysis presented in this study is that it is not possible to draw conclusions about the extent to which any of the changes observed between 1986 and 2000 are due to changes that are occurring across society as a whole or whether they may be due to changes occurring across the life course

of the participants. This is an issue common to longitudinal research in general and given the sheer extent of change that has taken place in the food industry in terms of local and global production and consumption, it is a problem that is especially exacerbated in this particular study on food and eating practices over time. Indeed, we see this problem also reflected in the data itself, insofar as the questions and answers changed according to the wider social changes to food and eating more generally. I have attempted to minimise this issue by not attempting to draw firm conclusions that would pre-suppose either of these forms of change to be in operation. It would be possible to begin to pick apart these forms of change through analysis of a wider body of data than is focused upon here. Again, analysis of multiple waves of the NDNS and LCFS could be useful (in particular the NDNS holds potentially useful data in this regard since moving to a rolling annual schedule) and analysis of other cohort surveys in tandem with the 1970BCS could also show whether certain changes (such as the emergence of the 'Ascetic plus' or a similar eating pattern) are occurring in all cohorts or are limited to this cohort that aged from adolescence to adulthood in the period under investigation.

5.4 Conclusions

The main aims of this chapter were to uncover the structure of the field of food and eating using the 1970BCS and to produce a system of classification of eaters that would be useful for carrying through to further analyses; both of these aims have been achieved. In the case of the first aim, the two cluster solutions that I have presented in this chapter reveal information about the structuring of the field of food and eating in the UK, and clearly demonstrate the existence of an ascetic – indulgent opposition in the field. These cluster solutions represent a stable empirical description of the relational patterning that exists between different types of food frequency variables in 1986 and 2000.

Note that I refer to the cluster solutions as 'stable' because similar cluster solutions were revealed when I repeated the cluster analysis using the full

available sample, 10% sub-samples of that sample, and the working sample that I am employing for the analysis in this thesis. In turn, they are arguably valid for three key reasons. First, the aforementioned stability suggests it is not inappropriate to attribute a certain reliability to the clustering solutions. Second, the cross-sectional supplementary analysis presented in this chapter shows that these clusters are linked to other aspects of lifestyle, in particular parts of people's lives that relate to health and/or indulgent and ascetic consumption. Third, the longitudinal links identified show that those surveyed who appear to eat according to certain patterns of consumption at age 16 are likely to follow the equivalent patterns at age 30 – such a finding suggests the classification system I have derived is picking up on a similar relational system in both 1986 and 2000.

As well as providing useful information about the structuring of the field of food and eating in the UK, I would also suggest that the closed classification systems that are represented by the 1986 and 2000 cluster membership variables provide an excellent tool to further explore the key theoretical concerns of this thesis. The initial exploratory analysis focusing on the health-related variables I have reported in this chapter shows the potential for further analysis and I have already outlined some of the ways in which these results could be interpreted in accordance with the three main families of theories set out in Chapters 2 and 3. These theoretical discussions should be seen as tentative at the moment because the main achievement of this chapter has been to set a solid platform from which to progress the analysis. In the next chapter, both of the four cluster solutions are carried forward and the social class make-up of each of the clusters is explored, in order to further understand the significance of inequality in patterning food preferences. The eating patterns discerned here are treated as patterns of cultural taste and practice, and the nature of their relationship with measures of social stratification and mobility allows for a more complete engagement with the theories of cultural consumption and class outlined in Chapters 2 and 3.

6 Capitals: Exploring the Social Class Profiles of the Clusters

The main aim of this chapter is to assess the merits of arguments from homology in the context of food consumption. I explore the extent to which the eating patterns followed at ages 16 and 30 are related to a number of different empirical measures of social inequality. As a part of this process, a comparison of the predictive power of a multidimensional Bourdieusian model of class with a neo-Weberian model of inequality based around the Goldthorpe occupational schema is conducted.

The following research questions are addressed:

- 1 To what extent is class an important structuring factor in terms of what people eat?
- 2 What form do the differences between class groups take? E.g. Is a healthy / unhealthy perspective helpful for understanding food preferences in the UK?
- 3 What forms of capital are most associated with socially stratified eating patterns?
- 4 Do middle class groups actively reject the foods eaten by working class groups?
- 5 Are eating patterns at age 30 related to levels of capital at 16 or 30, or both?
- 6 What is the relationship between (upward and downward) social mobility and eating patterns?
- 7 Are eating patterns statistically associated with social and political attitudes?
- 8 Are eating patterns statistically associated with the Goldthorpe class schema?
- 9 To what extent is the patterning of eating patterns consistent with a neo-Weberian perspective on class?
- 10 What is the relationship between measures of 'intelligence' and locus of control and eating patterns?

6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I have shown that there is a key divide in the UK between 'Ascetic' and 'Indulgent' consumption patterns and that these patterns of consumption develop in an individual's formative years and to a large extent persist into later life. I have also shown that social position (measured through education) is associated with eating patterns. Following on from this, the analysis presented in this chapter is conducted with the main aim being to explore the extent to which the distribution of membership of eating patterns across the whole sample is consistent with arguments from homology. In terms of exploiting the longitudinal nature of the data at hand I also examine the impact of social mobility on eating patterns.

6.1.1 Arguments from homology

Crudely speaking, arguments from homology posit that individuals in higher social strata consume in a certain manner and that individuals in lower strata consume in a different and also internally consistent manner. Therefore, if there is any merit in arguments from homology then class should play an important role in structuring eating patterns. There is already significant evidence to suggest that this is the case in the UK (Darmon and Drewnowski, 2008, DEFRA, 2011, ONS, 2004, Warde, 1997) and the initial exploratory work I reported in the previous chapter, where I showed educational achievement to be associated with eating patterns in both waves of the survey, suggests that the data from this survey is consistent with this existing research.

In this chapter, I further explore this issue in order to provide a platform for a discussion of whether or not arguments from homology can be applied to food. However, in order to truly interrogate such an argument, it is important to explore the arguments made by specific authors. In this case, Pierre Bourdieu's work examining cultural taste and practice, outlined primarily in *Distinction* (1984), is the most sophisticated and commonly cited form of an argument from homology. One of the main aims of this chapter is therefore to concentrate on

Bourdieu's specific version of an argument from homology.

To recap, Bourdieu's multidimensional theory of class (Bourdieu, 2001, Bourdieu, 1984, Bourdieu, 1987) underlines how in certain areas of cultural and social life ('fields') different amounts of different forms of capital are required to resist domination and progress through social life. In cultural fields such as art, music, and indeed food, Bourdieu (1984) shows that levels of cultural capital are very important in discerning between (occupational) class groups' cultural consumption. He also highlights how levels of economic capital are often less important than cultural capital in some fields – for example Bourdieu's analysis shows that foremen eat more like manual workers than they do like white collar workers whose pay is similar to, or even less, than their own. This provides evidence that cultural factors may be more important than economic ones in patterning cultural consumption within certain fields, including food and eating. In this chapter I examine the capital make-up of the different clusters in order to investigate this issue in a contemporary UK context.

This question of the relative importance of different forms of capital is also interesting because it is relevant to existing debates within nutritional science. There are some authors within nutritional science (e.g. Smith and Bruner, 1997) who suggest that 'unhealthy' eating patterns among the poor are due to material hardship (i.e. the most unhealthy foods are the most energy dense and also the cheapest so their consumption among working class groups is due to the prohibitive cost of more healthy foods). Essentially, food is a vital commodity that everyone must consume so perhaps this means economic capital is particularly important in this particular domain of cultural consumption. The comparison of different types of capital and their relationships with eating patterns allows for this idea to be investigated in this chapter.

The *form* that class differences take is also important because, according to Bourdieu, some tastes and practices are valorised by groups or 'fractions' of the middle classes that have dominance within certain fields and hence have the power to classify particular forms of cultural taste and consumption as

'legitimate' or otherwise. This classification of certain cultural forms as superior allows these groups to maintain distinction from the lower classes. This means that a symbolic dividing line exists between working class culture and middle class culture. Although this symbolic dividing line is constantly shifting in nature as class groups' consumption patterns change over time, it is reasonable to suggest that if Bourdieu's theory on this is correct, it should be possible to empirically identify certain cultural forms (foods) that are consumed by the working classes and rejected by the middle classes. Therefore, during the course of this analysis, I attempt to identify particular forms of culture that may fit into this category.

A further area of interest that I investigate is the link between eating patterns and social and political attitudes. If similar types of people tend to consume culture in similar ways, it is likely that they will have other things in common. I have already shown how this is the case with regards to health-related forms of cultural practice (for example drinking and smoking), but in this chapter I go further than this by investigating whether different types of eaters share similar perspectives on the world. This will be interesting for contextualising discussions around class-based consumption, as it may be the case that some eating patterns are closely linked to both a certain class position and to a certain eating pattern.

As an example of how this could be relevant from a cultural sociology perspective, we can consider the argument in Peterson and Kern's (1996) seminal paper on the 'omnivore', where the authors suggest that cultural omnivorousness may be the result of a more open, tolerant view towards previously marginalised groups on the behalf of the middle classes, that in turn leads to a more tolerant perspective towards a broader range of foods (foods, for example, from other cultures, whether these be class cultures or geographically-based cultures). Although it appears unlikely that any of the clusters in this analysis could be thought of as a 'cultural omnivore' grouping, an exploration of the links between what social attitudes, in particular attitudes that relate to tolerance and progressiveness, could still be enlightening. This is because it is

plausible that the 'Ascetic plus' cluster (which is comprised of people who largely avoid meat and poultry) could be understood as indicative of a broader 'ethical' lifestyle that may be playing a role contemporary processes of distinction. Investigating whether or not members of this particular group show progressive attitudes therefore provides a context for debates over how we can understand patterns of 'ethical' eating.

A further aim of this chapter is to explore the intersections of capital and *habitus* as they relate to the domain of food and eating. Bourdieu (1977; 1984) suggests that all social agents or individuals are to a large extent guided through their lives by their *habitus*. Inscribed within the *habitus* are a set of dispositions (predominately learnt in childhood) that provide each individual with a sense of the structure of social and cultural space (or for certain fields within social space) and a *feel* for their position within it. In the context of discussions surrounding cultural consumption, the *habitus* designates the types of cultural tendencies and proclivities that each person will have, but the way that these dispositions manifest themselves in cultural taste and practice will differ depending on the reserves of economic and particularly cultural capital that they possess and the field in which they are operating. The *habitus*, then, does not force individuals to follow class-based consumption practices in a deterministic sense but what it does do is provide individuals with a *sense of the (social) game which 'structure structures'* in which they are operating.

The concept of capital is linked irreconcilably to *habitus* because within any given field, the volume and composition of capital will influence the ways that the dispositions inscribed in the *habitus* are manifested as cultural taste and practice. However, whereas aspects of multidimensional capital can be operationalized in empirical research (as I do in this chapter), *habitus* cannot be directly measured so instead its mediated impact on individuals practice must instead be observed. The first way in which I aim to investigate capital and *habitus* is therefore through an investigation into the extent to which eating patterns at 30 are related to measures of multidimensional capital of the parents of cohort members in the cohort members' childhood. If Bourdieu's description

of *habitus* is accurate then one might expect to find a clear link between class background (measured through their inherited capital resources – cultural capital is of particular interest here) and eating patterns in later life.

Bourdieu (1984) reports empirically identifying such a link in a variety of fields in *Distinction* and given the strong evidence from the previous chapter and existing research (e.g. Parsons et al., 2005) showing the links between eating in childhood and later in life, as well as the evidence showing consistent links between eating patterns and social class, it would be surprising if there is no evidence for a link between socio-economic background and eating patterns in later life. However, the strength of such a link and the extent to which it persists after taking into account cohort members' own levels of capital at age 30 is still of interest, as this allows a comparison of the importance that inherited cultural capital (dispositions towards certain forms of culture form a key part of the *habitus*) and acquired cultural capital play in structuring eating patterns. In turn, this allows for a discussion of the way that the *habitus* evolves – it could be the case that socialization to class conditions in childhood is very important in structuring eating patterns in later life or alternatively that dispositions formed later in life are of greater importance.

This issue of the relative importance of acquired and inherited cultural capital can be linked to discussions of social mobility, as the basic aim behind social mobility studies is to investigate the link between social position in childhood and social position in adulthood (see Goldthorpe and Jackson, 2007, Goldthorpe et al., 1980, Van Eijck, 1999). Van Eijck's (1999) study is particularly relevant in the context of this thesis because it specifically focuses upon mobility in the context of cultural consumption. Van Eijck (1999) suggests two competing empirical outcomes that could conceivably be found in investigations into cultural consumption and social mobility. Referring to cultural consumption in adult life (*after* mobility has occurred), these are the 'status maximilization' hypothesis and the 'socialization' hypothesis.

The 'status maximilization' hypothesis refers to the idea that individuals will

modify their consumption patterns as they move up or down the social order whereas the 'socialization' hypothesis suggests that mobility is not important and that what matters is how one is socialized when young. There are two formulations of the 'status maximalization' hypothesis – weak and strong versions. Van Eijk suggests that, in the 'weak' version, upwardly mobile people will consume in a manner broadly consistent with their new peers but that downwardly mobile individuals will consume in a manner more consistent with their background. The 'strong' version suggests that downwardly mobile individuals will also consume in a manner similar to their new peers, rather than how they were socialized.

It is possible to link these hypotheses to Bourdieusian thought. Although *habitus* is often thought of as a synonym for socialization (Moore, 2008) each individual's *habitus* as Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1984, Bourdieu, 1977) describes it is actually not a stable structure - the *habitus* and the 'feel for the game' that it provides continues to evolve throughout the life course despite the permanent influence of assimilation of dispositions in childhood. Therefore, from such a perspective, I would suggest that social mobility (or the acquisition of capital above what would be expected given an individual's starting levels of capital) is likely to have some influence on eating patterns, as individuals who acquire higher amounts of cultural capital after childhood will simultaneously be modifying their *habitus* and hence their dispositions towards culture (including food).

Essential to Bourdieu's theory of culture is the idea that some cultural forms are generally accepted as superior to others. The 'structured structure' (1984) of the *habitus* means that individuals are aware of this hierarchy of culture on some level. This being the case, combined with the idea that superior 'legitimate', or 'highbrow' forms of culture comprise a component of cultural capital that allows individuals to progress through their social lives (i.e. gives them an advantage), suggests to me that socially mobile groups may differ in the way that they employ their inherited and acquired cultural resources depending on the direction of their mobility. This is because they may use their tastes and

practices (in the case of downward mobility) to compensate for their loss of status by consuming in a manner consistent with their initial class position or (in the case of upward mobility) confirm / consolidate their movement up the social hierarchy by consuming in a manner more consistent with their new higher class position, maybe even to a level above and beyond people who have similarly high levels of multidimensional capital but who have remained stable in mobility terms. The situation I describe here would be expected to show up in the empirical data as results that are consistent with one of the versions of the status maximalization hypothesis. An investigation into social mobility, eating patterns and the different hypotheses suggested by Van Eijck (1999) therefore provides an opportunity to study the way that *habitus* is operating within the domain of food and eating.

6.1.2 Bourdieu versus Goldthorpe

As the main aim of this chapter is to assess the applicability of arguments from homology for understanding eating patterns in the UK, and arguments from homology are intrinsically linked to discussions of social class, it is worth empirically investigating the relationship of eating patterns with social inequality from positions other than a Bourdieusian one. For this reason, within this chapter I also outline the most common alternative perspective towards class in contemporary European sociology and examine the extent to which thinking about class in this different way allows for a better, or different, understanding of cultural consumption and class.

Aligned against Bourdieu's multidimensional perspective on class are class measures that place their focus purely upon economic matters. Occupational class measures (also known as 'employment aggregate' measures (Crompton, 2008)) are championed by the likes of neo-Weberian John Goldthorpe and neo-Marxist Erik Wright and define and measure social class in relation to occupation. Under such approaches, all working people are categorized into 'classes' based upon their occupation. Presently, various versions of the CASMIN or Goldthorpe schema are dominant across much of Europe. Advocates of this

way of thinking about class argue that the occupational structure that exists in the modern industrialized world is such that all occupations can be meaningfully classified relative to each other and that the Goldthorpe classification scheme provides the best example of such a system of classification. The 7-class Goldthorpe schema is conceptualised to be categorising individuals into classes who have similar 'life chances' and is argued to be an excellent tool for informing us about the division of labour and economic inequality in society (Goldthorpe and Erickson, 1992).

The Goldthorpe schema has been shown to be internally consistent and strongly associated with a variety of variables, including voting patterns and unemployment risk (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007a, Goldthorpe and McKnight, 2006). Its most successful application has been in the study of social mobility, where analyses of the link between father's occupational class and their children's occupational class have demonstrated the stability of social mobility in the UK (Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1992, Goldthorpe et al., 1980). So dominant was the Goldthorpean perspective in the 1980's and 1990's that authors working within the Goldthorpe paradigm of thought suggested that the Goldthorpe occupational classification schema is a direct conduit through which the concept of class can be measured. Indeed Marshall (1997) suggests the Goldthorpe research programme has discovered the "bedrock of class inequalities" (pg. 6).

However, as Savage et al. (2005b) suggest, the Goldthorpe model of class is not so much a measure of 'social' class as it is of purely 'economic' class – a position that is endorsed by Goldthorpe himself (Goldthorpe and Marshall, 1992). As I have outlined, Bourdieu's understanding of class, on the other hand, focuses more on culture (alongside economics) as a driving force in creating and maintaining class differences. This difference in emphasis means that the Bourdieusian and Goldthorpean perspectives are, to some extent, at odds with one another. This is particularly the case in regards to culture so there is an opportunity here to investigate the extent to which a neo-Weberian perspective on class is consistent with the data, and to compare this analysis to the capitals-based analysis described above.

If the domain of food and eating is comparable to other areas of cultural consumption then it is likely that the Goldthorpe schema will show little association with eating patterns. This is because one key area where the Goldthorpe schema has been shown to have less impressive explanatory power is in relation to cultural consumption, practice and taste – membership of particular Goldthorpe classes is not particularly strongly associated with cultural consumption or taste (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2005, Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007b, Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007c, Savage, 2006), especially when compared to alternative predictors measuring social inequality in a different way.

This lack of predictive power for understanding cultural aspects of inequality has been suggested by some authors (e.g. Savage et al., 2013) to be one of the main weaknesses of occupational class schemas but to be fair to scholars such as John Goldthorpe and Tak Wing Chan, they do not suggest that inequality is a one dimensional construct and in recent years they have made moves to reflect this in their empirical work. Weber (Weber and Turner, 1991, first published 1920) suggests a three-component theory of stratification, identifying class (economic relations in labour markets and production units), status (the regard in which individuals are held by society), and power as separate aspects of inequality. Perhaps in response to criticism pointing out the relative weakness of the Goldthorpe schema for understanding cultural phenomena, Chan in particular has re-engaged with the concept of status (see Chan, 2010, Chan and Goldthorpe, 2005, Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007a, Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007b). The general conclusion from these studies is that various forms of cultural consumption are better understood as patterned by status differentials than inter-class differences.

As I go into later in the chapter, the empirical measurement of status employed by Chan – his ‘status order’ (see Chan and Goldthorpe, 2004) is similar to how some Bourdieusian scholars (e.g. Savage et al., 2013) measure social capital – through the use of the Cambridge scale. Both Chan’s status order and the

Cambridge scale are occupationally based, empirically derived, measures of which types of people are most likely to be associated with other types of people. There is therefore a very close correspondence between the two scales. It is also true that there are conceptual similarities between the idea of social capital and that of status although Bourdieu's social capital is narrower in scope – focusing on the social advantages that people can gain through social networks (social capital can be transferred to other forms of capital and allows an easy progression through the social milieu) whereas status refers to the broader idea of social prestige, whereby each individual in society can be placed within a social hierarchy that is generally recognised by society as a whole. Status therefore refers to the prestige that can be gained from a variety of different aspects of social life, including occupation, lifestyles and culture. It is this latter aspect of the concept of status that Chan and Goldthorpe (2007c) have suggested explain the associations seen between the 'status order' and cultural consumption patterns.

However, as well as underlining the importance of status, Chan and Goldthorpe, in the same series of articles, also consistently show that educational achievement is highly associated with these same forms of cultural consumption to a level far beyond that of occupational class and also of status. Chan and Goldthorpe (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2005, Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007b, Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007c) dedicate only a small amount of space to explaining this finding although they do suggest that progress through education is a measure of individual psychological 'information processing capacity' and that people who are successful in the education system will favour more complex forms of intellectual stimulation and hence consume more sophisticated 'highbrow' culture.

This perspective can of course be contrasted to a Bourdieusian interpretation of the link between education and cultural consumption, where educational achievement is conceptualized as a measure of cultural capital and the link between education and cultural consumption is due to class-based differential in cultural capital reserves. The information processing capacity argument is

also interesting because somewhat comparable arguments have been suggested in the narrower discussions of food consumption. As I described in Chapter 4, health scientists employing the 1970BCS have suggested that ‘intelligence’ may also be linked to certain eating patterns. For example, Batty et al (2007) and Gale et al (2007) find evidence to suggest that high levels of ‘intelligence’ are linked to the adoption of ‘healthy’ and ‘vegetarian’ eating patterns respectively. Gale et al (2007, pg 246) suggest that the mechanisms behind this link are unclear but that:

“the ability to learn, reason and solve problems may be important in determining how people respond to information on risk”.

In a later paper, Gale et al (2008) suggest two plausible mechanisms. It could be that ‘intelligent’ people are better able to work out what is healthy and what is not (i.e. they are more ‘health literate’) or alternatively, higher level reasoning and problem solving may lead to a “greater sense of control over one’s life – in other words a more internal locus of control” (pg 397). In their subsequent empirical analysis Gale et al (2008) show that an internal locus of control at age 10 is indeed implicated in a number of health-related ‘behaviours’ and ‘outcomes’ in adulthood, including overweight and obesity) and that this relationship is only partly attenuated by the inclusion of educational achievement *and* childhood IQ in models.

I am therefore investigating locus of control alongside educational achievement in this thesis so as to provide some linkage with the relevant health science literature. It is also plausible that a neo-Weberian perspective on class could be well complemented by health science and implicitly RAT-based understandings of the link between education and cultural consumption, in the form of food. This is the case because it is my contention that an information processing capacity argument does not translate well to the field of food and eating.

An argument *could* be made that more complex, subtle tastes (for food) are associated with high levels of intelligence because information processing

capacity is required to appreciate these foods. The problem with this explanation is that what constitutes the tastes of highly educated people changes over time. Historical studies of food preferences and consumption patterns have shown that the typical socioeconomic groups who consume certain foods change over time (for example oysters, now renowned as a foodstuff consumed by the elite were once a working class staple (Clayton and Rowbotham, 2009). Because of this constant fluctuation in what constitutes middle class and working class tastes it is hard to make the argument that increased information processing capacity on the part of the gourmand or healthy eater is responsible for class differences in tastes, because what is 'good' to eat changes over time. However, arguments from health literacy, and in particular, locus of control, could be used within a neo-Weberian model to explain the link between educational achievement and eating patterns without recourse to the concept of cultural capital.

In summary, the following empirical analyses are undertaken in this chapter. I examine the cross-sectional and longitudinal links between forms of capital and eating patterns so as to investigate the links between multidimensional social class, social mobility, and eating. This comprises the Bourdieusian inspired aspect of the analysis. I also include Goldthorpe class in the modelling process, so as to allow an engagement with a neo-Weberian model of the link between stratification and cultural consumption. I also investigate the links between eating patterns and 'intelligence', locus of control and social and political attitudes. These supplementary analyses inform further discussions about the applicability of the two different models of the link between cultural practice and social class, and also allow me to engage with existing empirical work from the field of health science, particularly the relevant research using the 1970BCS.

6.2 *Operationalizations*

Although most of the research in this area conducted from a ‘culturalist’ slant employs MCA as its main method of data analysis (e.g. Bennett et al., 2009, Bourdieu, 1984, Friedman, 2011, Le Roux et al., 2008), a methodological strategy similar to what I describe in this chapter (i.e. some form of CA complemented by a series of supplementary analyses using the cluster membership variables as dependant variables and socio-demographic information as independent variables) is sometimes employed by Bourdieusian scholars (e.g. Savage and Gayo-Cal, 2009). Such a methodology is also similar to the strategy employed by neo-Weberians Chan and Goldthorpe in their series of articles investigating cultural consumption (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2005, Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007b, Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007c). This means that the analyses I present in this chapter are consistent with existing epistemological positions from both schools of thought and likely therefore to be of interest to both Bourdieusian and neo-Weberian scholars.

Having said this, the independent variables I input into the analysis, that all measure socio-economic stratification in some form, are likely to be interpreted differently by scholars on different sides of the debate. In the next section therefore I discuss operationalizations of these variables, first from a Bourdieusian position and secondly, from a neo-Weberian one.

6.2.1 Capitals

Bourdieu’s three main forms of capital – economic, social and cultural – are not straightforward to operationalize, especially using secondary data that was not originally designed for this purpose, as is the case in this thesis. Capitals are hard to operationalize because, with the exception of economic capital, they represent concepts that are not only hard to measure quantitatively but that are used in a variety of different ways by different authors, and sometimes by Bourdieu himself. In Bourdieu’s defence he wrote for many years and his ideas changed subtly over this time. He also suggests, alongside Loic Wacquant in *An*

Invitation to Reflexive Sociology that his theoretical concepts are ‘polymorphic, supple and adaptive, rather than defined calibrated and used rigidly’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

Most likely due to this ambiguity and flexibility in the use of this theoretical architecture, the operationalization of capitals has been conducted in different ways by different researchers and there is a significant body of work showing a variety of different operationalizations of capitals (Silva and Edwards, 2004, Sullivan, 2001, Warde et al., 2000). One particularly relevant piece of research work is Warde et al.’s (2000) exploration of cultural omnivorousness in the UK. This is an interesting study because, similarly to the current analysis, Warde and colleagues were also constrained by the fact that they were using secondary data (the UK Health and Lifestyle Survey) and they discuss the strengths and weaknesses with the operationalizations that they do employ, as well as suggestions for how they could be improved. I therefore refer to Warde et al.’s paper throughout the next sections where I discuss my own operationalizations of capitals.

Each form of capital is measured at two different points in time so as to take advantage of the longitudinal nature of the data and provide information about the socio-economic circumstances of cohort members in both childhood and adulthood. There are therefore two measures each of economic, social and cultural capital employed. Levels of capital in the cohort members’ childhood can be thought of as inherited capital because these measurements are based upon their parents’ levels of capital rather than their own whereas levels of capital at age 30 are treated as individual cohort members’ own acquired cultural capital.

It is important to note that the parents’ socio-demographic data is taken from different years for different capitals variables. Although 1986 data would have been preferable to the 1980 and 1975 variables used here (so as to allow a direct comparison with 1986 eating patterns), these earlier variables are used because they have higher sample sizes and / or they were the only appropriate

variables available. Such a strategy is nevertheless adequate because these variables still record the socio-economic characteristics of the parents of the cohort members, between 5 and 10 years after the cohort members were born. As such, they still act as 'proxies' for the levels of capital that the cohort members were likely to inherit from their parents.

Economic capital

The ideal way to empirically measure economic capital might be through measurement of economic wealth in its broadest sense, through a calculation of the income, savings, and value of the material goods of each individual or household under investigation. In this case, this is impossible given the restrictions put in place by the secondary nature of the data so some form of proxy or estimation is required. Warde et al. (2000) operationalize income as economic capital but suggest that a measure of already acquired wealth such as a home ownership variable would also be useful for understanding inherited / wealth that was accumulated at an earlier point in time. I use a similar operationalization in the current study; measures of household income are operationalized as measures of economic capital, both for the cohort member's family when they were children and for the cohort members own household at age 30. There are therefore two main variables that are employed in this analysis – the first describes parents' income in 1980 and can thus be thought of as a measure of the economic capital available to the cohort members' family in childhood. The second variable records cohort members' household income at age 30 and thus represents economic capital in adulthood. Both of these variables have been split into three groups of people to represent people with high levels of economic capital, medium levels of economic capital and low levels of economic capital.²⁴

24 Income variables in the 1970BCS are somewhat messy in that the questions that were asked about income vary significantly from wave to wave. In 1980, participants' parents were asked about their weekly household income. This variable was recoded into three roughly equal groups for use in the present analysis. In order to create the 2000 economic capital variable, variables recording cohort members and their partners incomes in the year 2000 was derived using STATA code provided by Dearden and Goodman (see Shephard, 2001). This syntax cleaned the data and provided a reasonable estimate of the annual income of the cohort member and their partner after accounting for tax. An annual household income variable was created by

I also include a variable that indicates whether or not cohort members own their own house in 2000 – this allows me to identify people who are amongst the richest in society and are likely to have significant inherited wealth. Furthermore, I also include variables that identify the very poorest people in the sample in both childhood and adulthood²⁵. This is interesting because it is possible that the very poorest people in the sample have consumption patterns that differ from the poorest third. If any people are suffering from excessive material hardship that is restricting their food consumption to a great extent then they will probably be found within this classification.

Social capital

The measurement of social capital is more complicated than economic capital. This has led to the topic of operationalizing social capital receiving significant attention in the sociological literature (Li et al., 2008, Prandy and Lambert, 2003, Putnam, 1995, Savage et al., 2013, Teney and Hanquinet, 2012, Warde et al., 2000) although the best way to measure it is still not agreed upon. Social capital, as conceived of by Bourdieu (2001), refers to the people that one knows, or the contacts that people have that may be able to provide them with an advantage in social life. Warde et al. (2000) employ an occupational class measure, specifically the Registrar General Social Class schema, as a proxy of

summing the cohort members and their partners' income. If cohort members had no partner then their income was taken as their household income. The scale variable that resulted was then recoded into a trichotomous variable using visual binning in SPSS, placing a third of the participants in each of the three groups. I have employed this system rather than continuous variable to ensure some modicum of comparability across the two years because a scale variable was not available in the earlier waves of the survey.

25 A dummy variable was also created to select the people with the very lowest amounts of economic capital in the sample. This was done to test the hypothesis that material hardship may be responsible for the eating patterns of a small proportion of the population. In the case of the 1980 data, the family income variable was recoded to create a variable that selected cohort members whose family income was below £50 a week. This equated to 6.34% of the sample. In order to create a comparable variable in 2000, the bottom 6.34% of the cohort members in the continuous scale household income variable were selected (this was any household with an annual income of less than £8790) and categorized as having very low economic capital income.

social capital but suggest that a more appropriate metric might be the Cambridge scale, an alternative measure that is also based upon occupation.

The CAMSIS / Cambridge scale (see Stewart et al., 1983; Prandy and Lambert, 2003) is a measure of who one is likely to know, given one's occupational position. Essentially, all occupations are ranked on a scale according to the likelihood that people within each occupation will be friends with (Stewart et al., 1973), or married to (Prandy and Lambert, 2003) people in each other occupational group. So in order to generate the Cambridge scale in the first place, cases are categorised by the highest resolution occupational code available and then the groups that each group are usually associated with are calculated through cross-tabulation. This produces a ranking system or one dimensional scale in which there is no clustering of categories (occupations) together – instead there is a fairly even spacing of occupational unit groups along the single dimension (Prandy and Lambert, 2003). This lack of clustering means that the scores on a single dimension can be statistically standardized and the rank of each occupation can be taken as a Cambridge 'score'.

The Cambridge scale been repeatedly validated using different datasets and different measures of association (i.e. a similar ranking remains whether you use marriage or friendship to produce the scale) but what exactly the scores represent in a conceptual sense is a theoretical question upon which there is some disagreement. Prandy and Lambert (2003) suggest it would be interpreted by neo-Weberian scholars as a measure of status (social prestige) and indeed Chan and Goldthorpe (2004) have developed a similar schema that they do conceptualize as such. However, as Warde et al. (2000) suggest, from a Bourdieusian perspective, the Cambridge scale can be treated as a measure of social capital – or who one knows. Social capital, as conceived of by Bourdieu (as opposed to Putnam, 2000) is specifically referencing this very concept. A high Cambridge score represents a person who is likely to have high status friends and a low score represents someone who is likely to have low status friends. In this study Cambridge scores are therefore used as a proxy measure

for social capital reserves.²⁶

Cultural capital

Cultural capital is perhaps the hardest of the three forms of capital to operationalize. The problem is that the term is so diffuse and wide ranging that any attempted measurement of the phenomenon will fail to capture all aspects of it. Following Bourdieu (1984), Warde et al. (2000) operationalize educational achievement / highest educational qualification as cultural capital. This is argued as appropriate because, from a Bourdieusian perspective, education is

²⁶ As Cambridge scores for each cohort member were not included in the data as it was downloaded from the ESDS archive, it was necessary to derive both the 1986 and 2000 CAMSIS scores using Standard Occupational Classification (SOC) code variables and Employment Status (ES) code variables. The 1991 version of the CAMSIS scale is employed in both years. This was derived using the SOC and ES codes from the parents in 1986 and from cohort members own SOC and ES codes in 2000. As recommended by Prandy and Lambert (2003) and on the website that provided the derivation matrix (CAMSIS, 2013a) codes need to be derived separately for both men and women so the process of derivation was completed separately for each.

In the case of 1986 data, I have used only Father's Cambridge score. The other option would have been to take an average of mother's and father's Cambridge score but the problem with this is the issue of pseudo-diagonals. Some people with certain occupations tend to have partners who have other specific occupations. A classic example is that farmers are often found to be partnered with agricultural workers. On the Cambridge scale, the former is a relatively high status job and the other low status (there is sizeable space between these two occupations in terms of their Cambridge scores). This suggests that the link between (mostly husband) farmers and (mostly wife) farm labourers cannot be understood in the normal sense – i.e. the measure of stratification that underlies the make-up of the Cambridge scale is not being mirrored in the link between these two occupations in this case – instead a different explanation is more likely – the farm labourer in this case does not live a comparable life to the average farm labourer. Therefore, if I average out the Cambridge scores of the mother and father, the presences of such pseudodiagonals will distort the extent to which the scale is measuring the aspect of inequality it is normally measuring and (as I conceive of it) the theoretical concept it is supposed to be measuring (i.e. social capital). For this reason I use fathers Cambridge score and only include mothers Cambridge score if fathers Cambridge score is missing.

In 2000, I derived Cambridge scores separately for men and women but then combined these scores to give a single CAMSIS score for each cohort member in 2000. Technically the scale should only be used within single gender groups, but on the CAMSIS website (CAMSIS, 2013b) they suggest using men and women's scores together in the same analysis is 'defensible' because although separate scales were derived for men and women (i.e. each individual score on the female scale represents the relative position of an occupation for women relative to other women, and each occupation on the male scheme represents the relative position of that occupation amongst men), these scales have then been standardized to have the same mean (50) and S.D (15). This means that using the scales for men and women in the same analysis is not necessarily invalid practice.

irreconcilably linked to cultural capital accumulation – indeed Bourdieu refers to educational qualifications as a form of institutionalized cultural capital in *The Forms of Capital* (1986). The links between the education system, the accumulation of cultural capital, and the transmission of privilege from generation to generation have been repeatedly spelled out by Bourdieu and colleagues (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; Bourdieu, 1984), who essentially propose that the supposedly meritocratic system of education is actually an excellent tool through which the middle classes can give their children an advantage in life. Such a perspective would suggest that, as cultural capital is required to succeed in education and also acquired partly through the education system, then level of education is an important way of measuring cultural capital. In this study therefore I employ highest qualification variables as proxy measures for cultural capital. Again, there are two variables employed as suggested by Warde (2000), one from the cohort member's childhood and one from when they were 30 – these represent inherited and acquired institutionalized cultural capital respectively.

Others have operationalized cultural capital in different ways. Sullivan (2001), for example, focuses on how Bourdieu (1984) suggests that tastes for 'legitimate' culture are an important component of cultural capital and measures cultural capital levels by creating scales that describe the extent of respondents' engagement with highbrow cultural activities, as well as of their cultural knowledge and use of language. Such an operationalization could be described as a measurement of objectified cultural capital. Although the data in the 1970BCS is limited in this regard, I do employ one variable that measures cultural capital through the consumption of legitimate cultural forms. In the 1986 wave of the survey, cohort members were asked how often they partook in a variety of different cultural activities, including going to museums / galleries, going to the theatre, playing a musical instrument, and going to the library. I selected these activities as the activities from the list that could be defined as 'highbrow' (certainly the first two have been shown to be heavily favoured by middle class, highly educated people – see Bennett et al. (2009)) and as such they provide a good opportunity to investigate cultural capital through the

measurement of actual cultural consumption. I have created a scale variable that records whether or not cohort members consume these forms of culture and this inherited highbrow cultural capital scale variable is also included in the analysis.²⁷

As it is such a diffuse concept, it is clear that aspects of cultural capital are not included within the operationalizations I have described here. For example, important components of embodied cultural capital, such as the way that a person uses language and carries themselves, are not covered by the measurements used here. However, despite these issues I must work with the data that is available. One consistent finding within the cultural sociology literature has been that cultural capital accumulation through socialization in childhood is related to educational attainment (DiMaggio, 1982, Scherger and Savage, 2010, Sullivan, 2001) and another is that cultural consumption in a variety of fields or domains is consistently highly associated with educational achievement (Bourdieu, 1984, Chan and Goldthorpe, 2005, Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007b, Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007c, Savage, 2006). Taken together, I suggest these two findings provide evidence that my use of educational achievement, complemented by the inherited highbrow cultural capital variable, is an appropriate operationalization of institutionalized cultural capital and can be used to explore the relationship between cultural capital and eating patterns, albeit tentatively.

Limitations of these operationalizations

I have spelt out some of the issues with these operationalizations above but it is

²⁷ In their original form, the variables that were used to construct the scale were in ordinal form, with '1' representing 'rarely or never', '2' representing 'less than once a week', '3' representing 'once a week', and '4' representing 'more than once a week'. The obvious problem with this is that very few people go to art galleries or the theatre once a week or more so some form of recoding was required. I recoded the variables into dummy variables that separated people who 'rarely or never' consume a certain type of culture ('0') and people who consume it sometimes ('1'). These new variables were then summed together. The 'highbrow' variable therefore takes the form of a summated scale variable that ranges from 0 to 4 where a high score represents an engagement with 'high' / legitimate culture and a low score represents little or no engagement with legitimate culture.

also worth considering two further issues with the operationalizations applied here. Firstly, as the different forms of capital are measured through proxy (or at least only certain aspects of each concept measured), it could be the case that some of these variables function as better measurements of forms of capital than others. Secondly, in the case of the inherited capital variables the data comes from different years for the different variables. These two problems, combined, mean that any differences we see between their influences could be due to differential rates of error in measurement, rather than differences in the importance of the concepts they are postulated to be representing.

Unfortunately, this possibility that differences between capitals in terms of their predictive power could be due to operationalization rather than any actual differences in the importance of these variables is something that cannot be avoided. I have, however, as I have described, made decisions about what variables to use carefully, with the justification that similar operationalizations are often applied in the relevant literature. I am restricted here by the secondary nature of the data but have sought to produce the most sensible and relevant set of operationalizations possible, within the context of this particular study, which are arguably stronger than those used in other comparable research (eg Warde et al, 2000).

6.2.3 Attitudinal scales

In order to investigate whether concerns with ethical and moral issues are important to people within this cluster, and also to provide further information about the make-up of the clusters, I include an analysis that shows the associations between cluster membership and a series of attitudinal scales. The attitudinal scales I include here are Left-Right beliefs, characterized by what could be described as traditional economic left-right boundaries (for example ideas about redistribution of wealth on the one side and support for business on the other); Political cynicism, characterized by the futility / utility of the political status quo; Antiracism, the rejection or tolerance of other ethnic groups; and Libertarian-authoritarianism, the extent to which people do or don't accept the

rule of law / draconian punishment for breaking it.²⁸

6.2.2 Occupational class, status, intelligence, and locus of control

The relationship of the Goldthorpe class schema with eating patterns is also investigated in this chapter. Variables that record both the cohort members' own Goldthorpe class at age 30 and their parents' class during their childhood are included in the analysis.²⁹ This is done to compare the merits of a neo-Weberian model of social stratification with the Bourdieusian capitals approach. For the inclusion of Goldthorpe class in the model to make any conceptual sense, it is not appropriate to treat variables such as educational achievement and income as Bourdieusian capitals because this would constitute a mixing of incompatible theoretical positions. This means that, when exploring the relationship of Goldthorpe class with eating patterns, different operationalizations apply.

One difference in the interpretation of the significance of these variables is in relation to the Cambridge scale. Prandy and Lambert (2004) suggest that Weberian theorists may conceptualize Cambridge scores as a measure of status and given the nature of the CAMSIS scale, which provides a single dimensional 'ranking' of people by occupation according to their likely friendships, this seems like a reasonable position to take. As I have already noted, Chan and Goldthorpe's (2004) empirically derived 'status order' was also produced

²⁸ The attitudinal scales I employ were all derived using syntax provided by Preston in Bynner et al (2000). There were originally 10 scales derived as a part of this process but I selected these four for two reasons. Firstly, they had among the highest Alpha scores, with some of the other 6 having Alpha scores of below .5, suggesting low internal consistency. Secondly, because these variables are very similar to a series of variables from the 1970BCS employed by Dreary et al (2008) in which progressive and liberal attitudes were found to be linked to intelligence in early life.

²⁹ Again, it was necessary to derive these variables as no variables were included in the original dataset that recorded Goldthorpe class. Father's occupational class was derived using variables from 1980 data using the same process as outlined in Goldthorpe and Jackson (2007). This involved downloading the appropriate derivation matrix from the CAMSIS website (CAMSIS, 2013a), merging it with the 1970BCS dataset and deriving an 11 class Goldthorpe class schema from the SOC and ES codes contained within the BCS data. This classification system was then manually recoded to a 7 class schema. A 7 class version of the scheme was also used for the 2000 variable, again following the procedure outlined by Goldthorpe and Jackson (2007).

through an analysis of friendship ties using a similar method to Prandy and Lambert, and they report that this status order shows a strong correlation with the CAMSIS scale. For this reason, when I am discussing the merits of a Goldthorpe model of class I discuss it alongside the Cambridge scale as a proxy measure of status.

This idea that certain patterns of eating could be linked to innate levels of 'intelligence' is one that is worthy of investigation in this thesis so I include a measure of intelligence at age 10 in the exploratory analysis conducted in this chapter.³⁰ I also investigate the impact of the related concept of locus of control, which has been suggested as being linked to intelligence.³¹

6.3 Analysis

The first stage of the analysis comprises a series of bivariate analyses showing the relationship between the various measures of social stratification and eating patterns at age 16 and 30. I also include analyses showing the bivariate associations between intelligence, locus of control, and social and political attitudes and eating patterns. Tables 6.1 and 6.2 show the results of these analyses. These descriptive statistics are referred to throughout this analysis

³⁰ Following Breen and Goldthorpe (2001), Batty et al (2007), and Gale et al (2007) I employ the British Ability Scale (BAS), which is based on a set of tests administered to cohort members at age 10, as a measure of 'intelligence'. This scale has been shown to have a close relationship with IQ scores (Elliot et al, 1982) and is comprised of the results of school-administered tests examining word definitions, recall of digits, similarities (cohort members were asked to provide examples of items that fitted with a pre-selected group of items) and matrices (cohort members had to work out relationships within patterns). The syntax used to derive the z-score standardized scale variable was provided on the CLS (2014) website. As IQ-type measures are conceptualized as measuring innate mental capacity, it is not necessary to include both childhood and adulthood measures.

³¹ The main measure of locus of control that I employ is the CARALOC scale. This is the same measure employed by Gale et al (2008) and was derived from 15 different questions in the 1986 wave of the survey. For each of these questions, the cohort members had to suggest whether they agreed with a statement that was operationalized as either representing an external or internal orientation. I reversed the scores for the internal orientation questions and then summed the variables to create the scale. The scale has a Cronbach's alpha score of .648. High scores represent a more externally oriented locus of control.

I also included a measure of locus of control from the 2000 wave. I initially attempted to construct a scale from the relevant variables but Cronbach's Alpha tests revealed it was not internally consistent (Alpha= 0.482). I therefore decided to use a single variable as indicative of an internally or externally oriented locus of control. This variable separates all the cohort members as either believing that 'I usually have a free choice and control' and 'Whatever I do has no effect'.

section and the discussion that follows.

Table 6.1. Social Stratification and Different Types of Eaters in Britain in 1986

	1986 Eating Patterns			
	Ascetic	Indulgent	Indulgent restricted	Undistinguished
Total (%)				
N	821	734	729	1099
Total	24.3	21.7	21.5	32.5
Gender (%)***				
n	821	734	729	1099
Male	15.4	23.5	23.9	37.1
Female	30.1	20.5	20.0	29.4
1980 Family Income per week (%)***				
n	821	734	729	1099
> £200	38.0	21.4	13.5	21.4
>£100 & <£200	24.5	20.5	20.0	20.5
< £100	18.3	24.2	28.0	24.2
< £50 (very poor) (n=28)	17.9	14.3	35.7	32.1
Parent's highest qualification (%)***				
n	821	734	729	1099
Degree	35.9	18.7	12.9	32.4
A Levels	33.8	21.2	14.0	31.0
O Levels	24.0	20.4	19.6	35.9
Vocational quals	16.8	28.4	23.4	31.4
None	13.9	24.5	28.9	32.8
1986 Cambridge score				
n	821	734	729	1099
mean	59.3	53.0	49.3	54.0
1986 Highbrow CC score				
n	821	734	729	1099
mean	1.38	.90	.80	1.08
1980 Fathers 7 class Goldthorpe SC (%)***				
n	821	734	729	1099
I	33.4	18.9	11.8	35.9
II +Iva	33.0	21.0	15.8	30.2
III	23.0	23.5	14.2	39.3
IVb +c	25.0	17.8	25.0	32.2
V	17.5	23.2	25.6	33.7
VI	15.4	23.3	29.0	32.3
VII	16.7	28.5	24.8	30.0
1980 British Ability Scale***				
n	821	734	729	1099
mean (Z score)	.30	-.14	-.27	.04
1986 Locus of control***				
n	821	734	729	1099
mean	2.27	3.20	3.22	2.64

Note. Chi square and one-way ANOVA tests were conducted to gauge statistical significance, as appropriate.
* p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Table 6.2. Social Stratification and Different Types of Eaters in Britain in 2000

2000 Eating Patterns				
	Ascetic	Ascetic +	Indulgent	Indulgent restricted
Total (%)				
N	866	345	1154	1018
Total	25.6	10.2	34.1	30.1
Gender (%)***				
n	866	345	1154	1018
Male	21.0	6.9	36.4	35.6
Female	28.6	12.3	32.6	26.5
2000 Yearly Household Income (%)***				
n	682	266	876	775
> £30000	31.9	10.6	29.8	27.7
> £18000 & <£30000	25.1	10.6	33.4	30.9
< £18000	19.7	9.2	39.6	31.4
Very poor identifier (%)				
< £8790 p/a (very poor)	23.2	12.3	33.7	30.9
2000 Housing Tenure (%)				
n	828	329	1106	969
Own house outright (n=148)	27.0	7.4	39.2	26.4
2000 Cambridge score***				
n	745	298	958	850
mean	60.5	61.8	54.1	55.4
2000 Highest qualification (%)***				
n	866	345	1154	1018
Higher Degree	33.8	24.1	24.1	18.0
Degree	31.5	16.9	26.2	25.4
Sub-Degree	29.6	11.9	27.6	30.9
2 or more A-Levels	23.3	9.2	42.7	24.8
Good O Levels	25.1	6.6	36.6	31.7
Bad O Levels / CSE's	15.4	7.5	40.8	36.3
No quals	18.9	4.7	40.5	35.8
2000 Goldthorpe SC Men (%)***				
n	215	72	409	394
Total	19.7	6.6	37.5	36.1
I	29.1	5.7	28.0	37.2
II & IVa	20.4	11.2	33.3	35.1
III	18.6	5.3	44.2	31.9
IVb & IVc (n=64)	18.8	0.0	48.4	32.8
VI	8.9	5.9	38.6	46.5
VII	18.4	4.1	40.8	36.7
VII	8.3	5.3	53.4	33.1
2000 Goldthorpe SC Women (%)***				
n	443	195	450	377
Total	30.2	13.3	30.7	25.7
I	37.8	18.0	18.0	26.2
II & IVa	31.1	17.1	28.7	23.1
IIIa	30.1	9.5	36.3	24.1
IVb & IVc	20.0	13.3	46.7	20.0
V	27.7	12.8	23.4	27.7
VI	23.8	4.8	47.6	23.8
VII + IIIb	23.7	7.9	36.8	31.6
1980 British Ability Scale***				
n	670	251	868	773
mean (Z score)	.17	.21	-.12	-.08
1986 Locus of control***				
n	745	294	1005	871

mean	2.34	2.54	2.92	2.80
2000 Locus of control (%)**				
n	821	330	933	1045
'I have control over my life'	95.2	96.2	91.9	91.9
'Whatever I do has no effect'	4.8	3.8	8.1	8.1
2000 Attitudinal scales				
n	745	298	958	850
Left-right*** (mean)	2.93	2.81	2.79	2.85
Political cynicism*** (mean)	3.84	3.79	3.93	3.96
Antiracism*** (mean)	4.21	4.46	4.14	4.12
Lib-auth*** (mean)	3.61	3.31	3.71	3.69

Note. Chi square and one-way ANOVA tests were conducted to gauge statistical significance, as appropriate.
* p< 0.05, ** p< 0.01, *** p< 0.001

From an examination of the bivariate relationships shown in Tables 6.1 and 6.2, it is shown that what people eat is structured to some extent by notions of social class and that this patterning can be observed in both 1986 and 2000. Regardless of which measure of social position is employed, people from different positions in the class structure seem to be unevenly distributed across the different clusters.

In 1986 (Table 6.1), the 'Indulgent restricted' eating pattern is disproportionately followed by 16 year old cohort members from the lowest socio-economic groups. Using economic capital (family income) as an example here to illustrate this, 28.0% of the 16 year olds whose parents earn under £100 a week are 'Indulgent restricted' eaters, whereas less than half this proportion (13.5%) of the people whose parents earn over £200 are classified as such. On the other hand, the 'Ascetic' cluster is disproportionately comprised of people from groups with higher levels of economic capital. For example, 38.0% of the 16 year olds whose parents earn £200 or more a week consume in this manner whereas only 18.3% of the people families earning under £100 do so. All forms of capital / class appear to be related to membership of these two clusters in the same way, in that the higher the reserves of capital that an individual has, the more likely they are to follow the 'Ascetic' eating pattern and the less likely

they are to follow the 'Indulgent restricted' eating pattern. Membership of the 'Indulgent' and the 'Undistinguished' eating pattern seems to show the weakest relationship with socioeconomic position; the socio-economic patterning of these groups is less striking than with the 'Ascetic' or 'Indulgent restricted' category.

Similarly, in 2000 (Table 6.2), regardless of which form of social stratification is measured, it is clear that people from higher up the social hierarchy are more likely to be found in the 'Ascetic' and 'Ascetic plus' clusters and that people further down the scale are more likely to be classified as 'Indulgent' and 'Indulgent restricted'. Using educational achievement as an example, 33.8% of the individuals with a higher degree follow the 'Ascetic' eating pattern, compared to only 18.9% in the case of people with no qualifications. In the case of the 'Indulgent' eating pattern, 24.1% of people with higher degrees are classified as 'Indulgent' compared to 40.5% of the people with no qualifications. Again, similar patterns can be seen with the other measures of capital and social position so there is no way to tell for sure from this Table alone which is most important in patterning eating patterns.

6.3.1 Multivariate analyses

Having conducted bivariate analyses, the next step is to conduct multivariate analyses to attempt to pick apart the relative impact of the socio-demographic variables included in Tables 6.3 and 6.4. Treating eating patterns in 1986 and 2000 as separate dependent variables, there are four models estimated for both the 1986 and 2000 eating patterns. The first two models in Tables 6.3 and 6.4 are designed to investigate eating patterns from a Bourdieusian capitals perspective and the second two models in both of the tables are designed with a neo-Weberian perspective in mind.

Bourdieusian perspective

The first analyses (Specification 1 in both Tables 6.3 and 6.4) inform us about

the extent to which the eating patterns are related to multidimensional capitals (plus gender is included as a control). Model 1 in Table 6.3 shows a comparison of the different forms of capital in predicting eating patterns in 1986 and Model 1 in Table 6.4 shows the equivalent analysis for the 2000 eating patterns. Interpretation of these tables can therefore provide some sort of indication of which of the forms of capital is most important in terms of patterning cluster membership at ages 16 and 30 respectively.

In the case of Model 2 in the 1986 analysis (Table 6.3) the highbrow cultural capital variable is also included. This allows an investigation of the extent to which the two proxy variables of cultural capital (parents' highest qualification - *institutionalized* cultural capital) and the summated scale variable showing participants' own highbrow cultural consumption (*objectified* cultural capital)) explain the same variance in the model. Some cross-over would be expected between these two variables as they are operationalized as measuring different aspects of the same concept. In the case of the 2000 eating patterns (Table 6.4), Model 2 adds a longitudinal component - introducing the variable representing inherited cultural capital to the model. This allows for the importance of an individual's inherited cultural proclivities (part of what Bourdieu would describe as *habitus*) to be compared to the importance of their own acquired cultural capital.

Neo-Weberian perspective

The third specifications in Tables 6.3 and 6.4 include the same variables as the first two specifications but also include relevant variables that allow engagement with a neo-Weberian perspective, with the key difference being the inclusion of Goldthorpe class variables and measures of 'intelligence' in the form of a BAS variable. These further specifications have been constructed in a way that I would suggest is consistent with Chan and Goldthorpe's (2007c) methodological process. I include appropriate controls, a measure of

Goldthorpe class³², the Cambridge scale (which was derived in a similar way to, and has been shown to be highly correlated with, Chan's 'status order (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2004, Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007a, Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007c, Prandy and Lambert, 2003)), as well as a variable measuring 'intelligence', a concept not directly invoked by Chan and Goldthorpe but that I suggest can be directly related to the information processing capacity argument employed by Chan and Goldthorpe (2007c) to explain the link between educational achievement and cultural consumption patterns.

In the fourth specifications in Tables 6.3 and 6.4, I also include a locus of control variable. This is included in a separate step so as to investigate the extent to which it is explaining similar variance in the model to the BAS measure, as it is sometimes portrayed as a component, or partly the result of, 'intelligence' (in, for example, Gale et al, 2008). I use the 1986 locus of control variable in the 2000 specification, rather than the 2000 variable, for three reasons. Firstly, under an RAT-inspired understanding of food 'choice', locus of control is presented as being related to intelligence, which is itself an innate trait so using an early measurement makes sense conceptually. Secondly, the measure used in 1986 is the CARALOC scale, a recognized and empirically validated measure of locus of control, whereas my variable in 2000 is based on a single survey question. Thirdly, and possibly related to these first two factors, the 1986 scale shows higher association with 2000 eating patterns anyway.

³² Goldthorpe class should technically be employed separately for men and women, as different occupational class groups are combined together for different genders. For example, in the case of women, class IIIb should be combined with class VII, whereas in men, class IIIb is classified as equivalent to class IIIa. However, as Chan and Goldthorpe (2007c) use a single model to investigate both genders, I follow their practice in this regard. In the combined variable, women in class IIIb are classified as class 7 but men classified as such are in class III.

Table 6.3. Multidimensional Class and Eating Patterns in 1986

		Specification 1 (n=1777)			Specification 2 (n=1764)			Specification 3 (n=1353)			Specification 4 (n=952)		
		Ascetic	Indulgent restricted	Undistinguished	Ascetic	Indulgent restricted	Undis	Ascetic	Indulgent restricted	Undistinguished	Ascetic	Indulgent restricted	Undis- tinguished
<i>16 year olds in 1986</i>													
Gender	Male	-.92***	.15	-.03	-.93***	.11	-.05	-.89***	.22	.08	-.89***	.13	.10
Parents Highest qualification	Degree	.77**	-0.41	.16	.68**	-.41	.11	.33	-.50	.04	.35	-.65	-.06
	A-Levels	.81*	-0.55*	.06	.74**	-.55*	.11	.59*	-.74	-.03	.66*	-.87*	-.01
	O Levels	.52*	-.09	.20	.51*	-.09	.06	.62*	-.01	.35	.47	-.31	.15
	Voc quals	.05	-.23	-.33	-.17	-.28	.18	-.17	-.33	-.18	-.15	-.54	-.24
Economic Capital (Household income)	Above £200	.19	-.20	-.26	.12	-.20	-.38	.21	.11	-.36	.02	.12	-.54
	£100 - £200	.36*	.02	-.30*	.36*	.03	-.25	.43*	.18	.31	.38	.31	.19
Cambridge Score	Cambridge score	.01	-.01	.00	.01	-.00	-.30	.01	.00	-.00	.00	.00	.34
Objectified CC (Highbrow scale)	Highbrow score				.23***	-.17*	.12	.15*	-.20*	.05	-.13	-.27**	-.05
Father's Goldthorpe Class	I							-.02	-.13	.24	.14	.11	.34
	II							.17	.07	-.11	.15	-.03	-.05
	III							-.18	.20	.32	-.23	.53	.42
	IV							.77	.71	.55	-.71	.67	.56
	V							-.00	.24	-.14	-.05	.38	-.13
	VI							-.21	.31	.04	-.25	.43	-.05
British Ability Scale	BAS z score							.33*	-.03	.17	.24*	-.01	.11
1986 Locus of control	CARALOC score										-.07	-.02	-.11**

Model 1 Pseudo Rsquare = .105 (Nagelkerke). Percentage correct: 36.6% Model Xsquare (24) = 211.311, p < 0.001.
 Model 2 Pseudo Rsquare = .127 (Nagelkerke). Percentage correct: 37.8% Model Xsquare (27) = 224.602, p < 0.001.
 Model 3 Pseudo Rsquare = .164 (Nagelkerke). Percentage correct : 39.2% Model Xsquare (48) = 225.965, p < 0.001.
 Model 4 Pseudo Rsquare = .169 (Nagelkerke). Percentage correct : 40.5% Model Xsquare (51) = 545.768, p < 0.001.

Note. Dependent reference category is Indulgent. Independent reference categories are No quals, under £100, class VII. * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Table 6.4. Multidimensional Class and Eating Patterns in 2000

		Specification 1 (n=2595)			Specification 2- (n=2178)			Specification 3 (n=1556)			Specification 4 (n=1334)		
		Ascetic	Ascetic +	Indulgent restricted	Ascetic	Ascetic +	Indulgent restricted	Ascetic	Ascetic +	Indulgent restricted	Ascetic	Ascetic +	Indulgent restricted
<i>30 year olds in 2000</i>													
Gender	Male	-.58***	-1.04***	.21*	-.58***	-1.00***	.26*	-.69***	-1.01***	.12	-.73***	-1.02***	.02
Highest qualification	Higher Degree	.795**	2.36***	-.13	.51	2.07***	-.30	.89*	1.91**	-.16	1.02*	2.29**	-.17
	Degree	.44*	1.52***	-.12	.22	1.29***	-.21	.19	1.41***	-.42	.18	1.64***	-.53*
	Sub-Degree	.59**	.24*	.09	.34	.89*	-.18	.21	1.00*	-.37	.21	1.13*	-.35
	2 or more A Levels	-.22	.50	-.47*	-.57*	.08	-.46	-.59	.16	-.76*	-.52	.54	-.76
	Good O Levels	.17	.93*	-.02	.11	.35	.10	.16	.33	-.10	.21	.66	-.19
	Bad O Levels	-.15	.23	-.04	-.30	.95*	-.05	-.37	.78	-.08	-.29	.70	-.28
Economic Capital (Household income)	Top Tertile	.45**	-.08	.14	.59*	-.03	.14	.30	-.27	-.00	.16	-.31	-.09
	Middle Tertile	.26	.06	.14	.53*	.11	.10	.27	.00	.11	.23	-.06	-.06
Cambridge Score	Cambridge Score	.02***	.01*	.01	.01***	.01	.00	.02	.02	.00	.01	.01	-.00
Fathers highest qualification	Degree				.59**	.11	.40*	.59**	.21	.42	.60*	.30	.47*
	A Levels				.53*	.41	.13	.57*	.19	.19	.69	.29	.31
	O Levels				.42*	.18	.28	.50**	.26	.31	.36	.24	.29
	Voc quals				.18	.16	-.04	.40	.19	.07	.28	.33	.11
Goldthorpe Class	I							.48	-.06	.66	.76*	-.01	.81*
	II and IVa							.22	.17	.36	.55	.23	.49
	III							-.06	-.20	.05	.16	-.20	.15
	V							.15	.26	.55	.40	.18	.71
	VI							.32	.22	.19	.73	.36	.23
British Ability Scale	BAS z score							.02	.02	.04	-.03	.06	.06
1986 Locus of control	CARALOC score										-.04	.07	.03

Model 1 Pseudo Rsquare = .113 (Nagelkerke). Percentage correct: 37.1% Model Xsquare (30) = 287.192, p < 0.001.

Model 2 Pseudo Rsquare = .114 (Nagelkerke). Percentage correct: 38.2% Model Xsquare (42) = 242.161, p<0.001.

Model 3 Pseudo Rsquare = .133 (Nagelkerke). Percentage correct: 40.6% Model Xsquare (60) = 205.110, p<0.001.

Model 4 Pseudo Rsquare = .136 (Nagelkerke). Percentage correct: 39.4% Model Xsquare (63) = 181.172, p<0.001.

Note. Dependent reference category is Indulgent. Independent reference categories are Female, no quals, bottom tertile, no quals, class VII. * p< 0.05, ** p< 0.01, *** p< 0.001

Capital Distribution

From a Bourdieusian perspective, inspection of the regression output reported in Tables 6.3 and 6.4 provides an opportunity for a comparison of the relative predictive power of the different forms of capital. The immediate thing to note about the results from the first specifications reported in these two tables is the importance that cultural capital appears to be playing. In both years, reserves of cultural capital, measured through parents' or cohort members' own educational qualifications, appear to be closely linked to eating patterns. Furthermore, in specification 2 of Table 6.3, the inclusion of the 'highbrow' cultural capital scale variable also has a significant impact on the model and partially attenuates the impact of the highest qualification cultural capital variable. Participants with high levels of cultural capital seem particularly likely to follow the 'Ascetic' pattern in 1986 and the 'Ascetic plus' eating pattern in 2000.

In terms of social capital, although the measures of social capital (based upon the Cambridge scale) have been shown to be associated with eating patterns in bivariate analyses in Tables 6.1 and 6.2, their importance in the multivariate models is less striking – in 1986 social capital plays no statistically significant role as a predictor (Table 6.3) although in 2000 it does appear to be playing a role - cohort members with high reserves of social capital are more likely to follow the 'Ascetic' and 'Ascetic plus' eating patterns than the 'Indulgent' ones (Table 6.4).

Moving on to the average economic capital distribution between clusters, in 1986 there is an interesting finding in that the relationship with eating patterns is non-linear. In the comparison of 'Ascetic' and 'Indulgent' clusters (Table 6.3), although the middle group of the trichotomous variable included in the model are more likely to belong to the 'Ascetic' cluster than the poorest third, the richest group show no statistically significant difference from the poorest group. In other words, after controlling for other forms of capital, the children of the

rich group are no more likely to be classified in the 'Ascetic' cluster than the children of the poorest group of the trichotomy are. In 2000 (Table 6.4), a more predictable linear relationship can be seen, with the individuals possessing higher levels of economic capital more likely to be following the 'Ascetic' and 'Ascetic plus' eating patterns.

Potentially one of the most interesting comparisons of groups is between the 'Ascetic plus' and 'Ascetic' clusters in 2000, both of which are normatively healthy eating patterns and both of which are followed by the people with higher reserves of multidimensional capital. After controlling for other factors in the model, the 'Ascetic Plus' cohort members are significantly more likely than the 'Ascetic' cohort members to be in the highly educated groups but less likely to be in the higher income groups. It would therefore appear that the 'Ascetic plus' eating pattern is, on average, being followed by the groups with the very highest reserves of cultural capital but that, all other things being equal, the 'Ascetic' cluster contains people with higher levels of economic capital. This observation can also be seen in Table 6.2, where membership of the 'Ascetic plus' cluster is evenly spread amongst the three income variables but distributed extremely unevenly amongst people with different levels of cultural capital, whereas there is a clear economic capital gradient in terms of membership of the 'Ascetic' cluster. The possible theoretical significance of cultural capital's key role in explaining membership of the 'Ascetic plus' cluster is important in terms of arguments from homology and is discussed later in this chapter.

Inherited and acquired cultural capital, social mobility, and eating patterns

The second model in Table 6.3 allows a comparison of the importance of inherited and acquired cultural reserves. It can be seen in this table that that the inherited cultural capital variable (parent's highest qualification) seems to play a role as a predictor for eating patterns at 30, even after taking into account acquired cultural capital. There is therefore some tentative evidence that the cultural capital reserves that individuals inherit from their parents influence

eating patterns in later life, but that acquired cultural capital may be playing the more important role. Furthermore, it appears that some eating patterns are more influenced by reserves of inherited cultural capital than others. Specifically, high levels of inherited cultural capital are related to membership of the 'Ascetic' cluster in later life, but not to membership of the 'Ascetic plus' cluster, where only levels of acquired cultural capital are important. This raises the possibility that the 'Ascetic plus' cluster may be disproportionately followed by people who are upwardly mobile (in terms of acquisition of cultural capital) because it is followed overwhelmingly by people with high levels of acquired cultural capital but people with high levels of inherited cultural capital are no more likely to follow it than people with low levels of inherited cultural capital.

In order to further investigate the importance of social mobility in structuring eating patterns, I conduct further analyses, the results of which can be seen in Tables 6.5 and 6.6. The first stage of this analysis (see Table 6.5) is conducted with the aim being to identify individuals whose social position at 30 varied greatly to the social position of their parents. As I am interested in the relative importance of inherited and acquired cultural capital, I followed the example of Van Eijck (1999) and employed educational achievement as the measure of social position used to generate each cohort member's mobility status.

I have classified each individual in the sample as upwardly mobile, stable or downwardly mobile. This classification is based upon the relationship between each individual's parent's highest qualification and their own highest qualification. The process I have followed is similar to those employed by researchers working in the field of social mobility (e.g. Goldthorpe and Jackson, 2007, Goldthorpe et al., 1980, Valentine, 1999) and is best illustrated through reference to mobility tables such as the one seen in Table 6.5. This table shows the cross-tabulation of parents' highest qualification (cohort members' inherited cultural capital) and cohort members own highest qualification at 30 (cohort members acquired institutionalized cultural capital) and the colour coding demonstrates the way in which each case has been categorized. The basic idea is that a person who achieves a higher level of education than their

highest qualified parent is classified as upwardly mobile (coded as **green** in Table 6.5), an individual who achieves a similar level of education to their parents as stable (**black**), and a person who achieves less academically than their highest qualified parent is classified as downwardly mobile (**red**).

Such a process is not unconventional but it is worth bearing in mind some of the issues associated with it. Inflation has occurred in educational qualifications over the period of interest from 1975 to 2000 (more people acquire each of the highest levels of qualification in 2000 than did in 1975 (DOE, 2013), so there may be some bias towards categorizing cohort members as upwardly mobile). Furthermore, the two highest qualification variables employed also differ in the way that they are categorized (the most important difference being the presence of a 'higher degree' classification in the 2000 variable). This means that it was not possible to construct a 'symmetrical' mobility table as can be done with, for example, the Goldthorpe occupational class schema.

I attempt to take inflation in qualifications into account by making conservative decisions about who is classed as upwardly mobile. For example, cohort members whose parents have no qualification but who themselves achieve 'bad' G.C.S.E's were categorized as stable rather than upwardly mobile because a higher percentage of people stayed in school to 16 and achieved some GCSE's in 1986 than will have in the preceding years when their parents were at school. Also, as can be seen in Table 6.5, people with higher degrees in 2000 are essentially classified as the same as people with undergraduate degrees. Although this removes some information that could have been interesting from the analysis, it is necessary to ensure validity because there is no information on higher degrees in earlier waves so it is impossible to identify if these individuals are upwardly mobile or stable. There are therefore some minor issues and assumptions involved in this process of identifying mobile and stable individuals but nonetheless, this strategy allows me to identify individuals whose levels of educational achievement (institutionalized cultural capital) are significantly greater than, or less than, their parents has access to when the cohort members were children.

In the next stage of the analysis I conduct three further analyses, the results of which can be seen in Table 6.6. Again, I follow Van Eijck's (1999) methodology and separate individuals into groups with equivalent levels of acquired cultural capital and then compare the differences between the eating patterns of the different mobility groups within these groups. Splitting the sample in such a way works as a form of control and allows for an investigation into whether mobility impacts upon consumption patterns differently for groups with different levels of cultural capital. Table 6.6 shows the distribution of types of eaters by people with different social mobility profiles. The results are presented separately for the highest acquired cultural capital individuals (those with a degree or higher), individuals with middling reserves of acquired cultural capital (those with 'good' O Levels, A Levels or a sub-degree qualification) and the individuals with lowest levels of acquired cultural capital (those with 'bad' O Levels / CSEs or no qualifications).

Table 6.5. Cohort Members' Educational Achievement and Parents' Educational Achievement

	Cohort member's highest qualification						
	Higher Degree	Degree	Sub-Degree	2 or more A-Levels	Good O-Levels	Bad O-Levels, CSE 2-5	None
Parents highest qualification							
n	243	1523	593	423	2920	752	2471
% Degree	9.0	40.9	7.9	6.8	22.7	2.6	10.1
% A Levels	4.7	26.6	8.3	7.4	31.8	4.7	16.5
% O Levels	2.0	18.2	8.4	5.5	36.1	7.4	22.5
%Voc Quals	1.5	9.6	6.8	5.1	35.7	9.9	31.3
% None	0.6	6.9	4.6	2.6	33.8	11.9	39.7

Note. Green indicates classification as upwardly mobile. Red indicates classification as downwardly mobile. Black cohort members are stable.

Table 6.6. The Distribution of Socially Mobile and Socially Static Individuals by Different ‘Types’ of Eaters in Britain in 2000

	Eating Pattern			
	Ascetic	Ascetic +	Indulgent	Indulgent restricted
<i>Total</i>				
Mobility status***				
n	751	278	972	85
% Upward	26.7	13.3	32.9	27.2
% Stable	25.5	8.2	34.8	31.5
% Downward	23.7	7.3	36.0	33.0
<i>High CC individuals</i>				
Mobility status*				
n	154	140	147	119
% Upward	29.7	18.6	28.4	23.0
% Stable	35.7	13.5	23.8	27.0
<i>Medium CC individuals</i>				
Mobility Status				
n	323	99	475	403
% Up	23.5	7.4	37.6	31.5
% Stable	24.7	7.1	36.5	36.5
% Downward	27.5	8.8	34.9	34.9
<i>Low CC individuals</i>				
Mobility Status				
n	133	39	276	250
% Stable	17.6	5.1	42.0	35.2
% Downward	20.5	6.1	37.0	36.4

Note. Chi square and one-way ANOVA tests were conducted to gauge statistical significance, as appropriate.
* p< 0.05, ** p< 0.01, *** p< 0.001

The first section of Table 6.6 allows a comparison of upwardly mobile and stable individuals with the highest levels of cultural capital. Downward mobility cannot be investigated within this group because these are the cohort members with highest levels of acquired institutionalized cultural capital. Amongst this group, upwardly mobile individuals are relatively likely to be following the 'Ascetic plus' eating pattern, when compared to their immobile peers (18.6% of upwardly mobile people compared to 13.5% of stable people). However, the opposite patterning can be seen in the case of the 'Ascetic' eating pattern – people who inherited large amounts of cultural capital from their parents are more likely to follow this eating pattern than the upwardly mobile (35.7% compared to 29.7%). The differences between membership of the other clusters are smaller than what we see for the 'Ascetic' and 'Ascetic plus' eating patterns.

In the case of the group with middling levels of cultural capital (middle part of Table 6.6), there are no significant differences but the downwardly mobile are the most likely to consume in a normatively healthy manner. There are also no significant differences in the low cultural capital group but again the downwardly mobile people are more likely to follow the 'Ascetic' and 'Ascetic plus' eating pattern than their immobile peers. The theoretical significance of these results are discussed in the discussion section of this chapter but to sum up the results shown in these tables, mobility is not related to eating patterns in the same way across the different groups.

6.3.2 Neo-Weberian Perspective

In the bivariate analyses reported in Tables 6.1 and 6.2, the Goldthorpe class schema can be seen to be associated with eating patterns in both years. In 1986 (Table 6.1), it is particularly evident that a relatively high proportion of the lower occupational groups are consuming the 'Indulgent restricted' diet and that relatively high numbers of the higher class groups are following the 'Ascetic' eating pattern.³³ In 2000 (Table 6.2), again the relationship between eating

³³ It is worth noting that, strictly speaking, the Goldthorpe occupational class schema is not

patterns and occupational class is similar to what is seen in the capitals approach. The people in the higher social classes are following normatively healthy 'Ascetic' and 'Ascetic plus' diets and the people lower down are following the 'Indulgent' and 'Undistinguished' eating patterns.

However, when further socio-economic variables are controlled for, Goldthorpe class appears to have less relevance for understanding eating patterns. The results of the 1986 multivariate analysis (Table 6.3) show that neither parent's occupational class nor parent's status (measured through the Cambridge scale) are related to eating patterns at 16, although parent's highest qualification is – individuals whose parents are highly qualified are likely to follow the 'Ascetic' eating pattern. In 2000 (Table 6.4), the impact of occupational class is greater – individuals in class I are likely to follow the 'Ascetic' and 'Undistinguished' eating patterns, instead of the 'Indulgent' one. To sum up the results of these analyses, the association shown by Goldthorpe schema with eating is largely attenuated by other socio-demographic variables. Goldthorpe class and status do appear to be playing a role, as does income, although it is clear that educational level is most important measure of stratification in both years in terms of predicting eating patterns.

The impact of 'intelligence', as measured through the use of the BAS scale was different in both years, although not particularly striking in either wave. Whereas in 1986, cohort members scoring highly on the BAS were more likely to follow the 'Ascetic' eating pattern (and the inclusion of the BAS score slightly attenuated the impact of education in the 'Indulgent'-'Ascetic' comparison), in 2000 there was no link between BAS score and eating patterns, once class, status, and education had been factored in. The inclusion of locus of control measures in the 1986 had a small impact. People with an external locus of control were more likely to follow the indulgent eating pattern than they were to follow the 'Undistinguished' one. While there is no difference between the 'Indulgent' and 'Ascetic' cluster in the non-imputed data, it is worth noting that

conceptualized as a linear scale but as a relational structure. In practice however, it is fair to say that it does represent an imperfect hierarchy – the salariat, for example, can be found in the top groups and the bottom groups are made up of unskilled and manual workers.

in the analysis based on imputed data (see Appendix 1) an external locus of control is associated with following the 'Indulgent' rather than the 'Ascetic' eating pattern. This partly attenuates the impact of BAS score, although has little impact upon the parental qualification and highbrow scale scores, which retain their predictive importance for membership of the 'Ascetic' cluster. In 2000, locus of control has no role to play in explaining eating patterns.

Attitudinal scales

The 'Ascetic plus' category stands out as the most distinctive eating pattern in that they have the most liberal attitudes. Members of this cluster were particularly likely to be placed on the Libertarian side of the Libertarianism – Authoritarianism scale. They are also the least cynical about politics and the most anti-racist group (by some margin). The 'Ascetic' cluster was the most left wing in terms of their scores on the Left-Right scale and scored second below the 'Ascetic plus' cluster in terms of the other measures of progressive attitudes. 'Indulgent' and 'Indulgent restricted' eaters scored similarly to each other, displaying relatively high levels of distrust in the political system and more conservative views in general.

6.4 Discussion

In this discussion, I begin by considering the empirical findings reported in this chapter from a Bourdieusian perspective. I discuss the extent to which this exploratory analysis allows an exploration of the research questions I have set out regarding arguments from homology, discuss the results in the context of other relevant research within the field, and consider how our understanding of cultural taste and class are impacted upon by this analysis. I then move on to appraise the results from a neo-Weberian perspective. In particular I focus upon how a neo-Weberian viewpoint might interpret the findings regarding the primacy of educational achievement as a predictor of eating patterns. Finally, I relate my findings to the relevant health science literature.

6.4.1 The relative importance of the different forms of capital

In general, the findings in this chapter describing the general social class characteristics of people following different kinds of eating patterns are consistent with the mass of nutritional science literature showing a 'social class gradient' in terms of 'healthy eating' (see Darmon and Drewnowski, 2008). People with high reserves of multidimensional capital tend to follow the normatively healthy 'Ascetic' or 'Ascetic plus' eating patterns in both 1986 and 2000. On the other end of the social scale, in 1986 people with low levels of capital were likely to be following the 'Infrequent' eating pattern in 1986 and the 'Indulgent' diet in 2000. This finding that class groups are consistently consuming differently from one another provides some tentative evidence to support arguments from homology.

This finding was expected given the large amount of evidence already showing the existence of such a gradient so it is important to take this analysis further through a focus upon different forms of capital in order to gain a more sophisticated understanding of the dynamics of inequality as they operate within the domain of food and eating. In particular, cultural capital and economic capital are of interest as comparing their importance allows for an exploration of the extent to which my data fits in with Bourdieu's (1984) ideas regarding class differences in food consumption (social capital is of less theoretical importance in this area - Bourdieu makes only one reference to social capital in the whole of *Distinction*), as well as provide an opportunity to engage with alternative theories (e.g. Smith and Bruner, 1997) that stress the importance of 'material hardship' (a lack of money) in structuring eating patterns.

Cultural capital, economic capital and cultural change

It would appear that cultural capital is playing a very important role in patterning food preferences. This finding is consistent with other findings from

relatively recent studies examining cultural consumption in a variety of different cultural fields (e.g. Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007c, Savage, 2006, Van Eijck, 1997, Warde et al., 2000), which have also underlined the importance of educational achievement (whether operationalized as cultural capital or not) above measures of economic capital. Savage (2006), for example, reports that graduates are 6 times more likely to like classical music than people with no qualifications. Similarly, in the present study, people with a higher degree are nearly 5 times more likely to be in the 'Ascetic plus' cluster than people with no qualifications (Table 6.2). I would suggest that this not only demonstrates the explanatory power of institutionalized cultural capital for understanding eating patterns but also provides some evidence that my treatment of food as a domain of cultural consumption analogous to these other areas of cultural consumption is justified.

Additionally, it appears that regardless of how cultural capital is measured (whether through acquired or inherited institutionalized cultural capital in the form of educational achievements or through highbrow consumption) high levels of cultural capital are strongly associated with consuming in an ascetic manner. Individuals with high levels of cultural capital are likely to follow the 'Ascetic' cluster in 1986 and 2000 and, in particular, the 'Ascetic plus' cluster in 2000. These individuals are likely to largely reject indulgent foods and demonstrate restraint in their day to day eating in both 1986 and 2000. This suggests to me that consuming in an ascetic manner *constitutes* an important component of cultural capital and is therefore in this regard consistent with Bourdieu's own findings in *Distinction* - Bourdieu (1984) reports the class fractions high in cultural capital consume "health-giving" "light", and "non-fattening" (pg. 182) foods.

What is more, the 'Ascetic plus' cluster don't actually have particularly high reserves of economic capital. Tables 6.2 and 6.4 both show that the 'Ascetic plus' eaters are no more likely to be on high incomes than they are on middling ones. This finding is consistent with recent health science findings specifically looking at vegetarianism. Gale et al (2007), also using 1970BCS data from the year

2000, report that although vegetarians were “more intelligent, better educated, and of higher occupational social class than the non-vegetarians, these advantages were not reflected in their income”. It is therefore safe to conclude that this group have high cultural capital reserves but not particularly high economic capital reserves. For this reason, it is not unreasonable to suggest that, in Bourdieusian terms, this group are a fraction of the middle class who are particularly reliant on cultural capital, and could therefore be described as a ‘cultural elite’.

However, Bourdieu also suggests that other class fractions of the dominant middle class - the groups with the highest levels of economic capital but modest levels of cultural capital - consume in a different manner, preferring instead a combination of “rich”, “strong”, “fatty”, “salty” (pg. 182) foods that I would suggest could be described as ‘indulgent’ or ‘unhealthy’. The 1986 analysis I present in this chapter is not entirely inconsistent with such a position. After controlling for other factors, the middle income group are the most likely to follow the ‘Ascetic’ diet, whereas the richest group of people are no more likely to follow the ‘Ascetic’ eating pattern than the poorest group. In fact, this is strikingly similar to Bourdieu’s (1984) own findings where he suggests that, in the context of food, the rich follow “a lifestyle which remains very close to that of the working classes as regards economic and cultural consumption.” (pg. 183). For Bourdieu, in the case of the rich, such conspicuous consumption constitutes a flaunting of wealth whereas for the working classes it is a result of the ‘tastes of necessity’ that are inscribed within the working class *habitus*.

In 2000 however, the nature of the class differences that can be seen are less consistent with what is reported by Bourdieu. Although the groups with the lowest levels of cultural capital continue to follow the ‘Indulgent’ and ‘Indulgent restricted’ eating patterns and a cultural elite (the group with the highest qualifications but middling reserves of economic capital) continue to follow ‘healthy’ eating patterns, the economic elite no longer embrace indulgent eating, and have moved towards the ‘Ascetic’ eating pattern. It can be seen in Table 6.4 that, in 2000, the top economic tertile are the *most* likely group to follow the

'Ascetic' diet. There is therefore some strong evidence that in the domain of food and eating, for this cohort at least, the rich appear to have moderated their consumption patterns over the period between 1986 and 2000. It is also the case that the highly educated cultural elite have also modified their consumption patterns – and consume in an even more ascetic manner.

The forms of eating that are associated with the dominant groups within the field of food and eating have therefore changed over the period of 1986 to 2000. Whether this change is due to broader cultural shifts or is associated with the life course is hard to gauge for sure with reference to only the analysis presented in this thesis but given the broad move towards vegetarianism over this period (see Beardsworth and Keil, 1992, Beardsworth and Bryman, 2004, Belasco, 2007), I would suggest it is likely that at least some of this change is attributable to factors beyond life course effects. Regardless, it is clear that for this cohort of people, multidimensional change has occurred. As the economic elite have consumed more like the cultural elite (moved towards asceticism), the cultural elite have themselves changed (moved further in the same direction towards the 'Ascetic plus' eating pattern).

Any theory of culture must have a component that allows for change and these findings fit in well with Bourdieu's (1984) formulation of cultural change whereby "upward displacement...of the appropriation of cultural products" (229) occurs. If the proportion of people from a non-dominant class or class fraction (in the field of food and eating this would include the economic elite, as *cultural capital* is the dominant form of capital, as Bourdieu suggests and as my analysis indicates) who consume a certain cultural product goes up, then the rarity of the product decreases, meaning it plays a smaller part in distinction / "loses its distinctive value" (pg. 229). Featherstone (2007) also discusses this 'inflation' that occurs in consumer tastes. Over time, dominant tastes or 'positional goods' become possible for lower class groups to acquire. When this occurs, the relative cultural value of goods decreases and the 'cultural producers' at the top of the cultural hierarchy must then adapt in order to retain a position of advantage and stay ahead of the curve.

The 'Ascetic' eating pattern can be thought of as an example of a cultural form that is losing its 'distinctive value' and the adoption of the 'Ascetic plus' eating pattern amongst the people with the very highest levels of cultural capital can be seen as a response to this. It is worth returning here to the work of Savage et al. (1995), who showed us that at the beginning of the 1990's, all the different fractions of the middle class were beginning to consume in an ascetic manner. However, they identify one particular fraction, the intellectuals, and suggest that they "act as a vanguard for a new 'healthy' lifestyle" (pg. 113). In this thesis, I have used levels of capital rather than occupational classifications to identify different fractions of the middle class but the equivalent term for the 'intellectuals' would be what I am terming here the cultural elite – the group with middling levels of economic capital but high levels of institutionalized cultural capital. By 2000, consuming healthily according to the 'Ascetic' eating pattern did not set any one class fraction apart, as this eating pattern was followed by large portions of the middle class. The cultural elite, therefore, in order to maintain dominance and their position as the cultural 'vanguard', had to change in order to continue to distinguish themselves – we can see the empirical evidence to support this change in the form of the emergence of the 'Ascetic plus' eating pattern.

The question of whether middle class groups actively reject the foods eaten by working class groups is also relevant here. As I have described, in 2000 the 'Indulgent' and 'Indulgent restricted' clusters (that contain the highest average frequency of meat consumption) were followed to the highest extent by people from the lower end of the socio-economic spectrum. The rejection of meat by middle class individuals within the 'Ascetic plus' cluster can be interpreted as potential evidence of rejection of a type of food that was then, and still is now, often associated with the working classes. It can therefore be argued that the rejection of meat by the high cultural capital individuals might be seen as a logical endpoint of meat losing its 'distinctive value'. After all, meat is now readily available and cheaper than ever before and therefore affordable to more people. Vegetarianism / extreme asceticism can thus be viewed as a new form of

symbolic violence by which the cultural elite might be said to maintain distinction from the lower classes who now consume meat indulgently.

One interesting issue that arises if the position described above is adopted is 'Why Meat?' There are plenty of other foods or food groups that could have been rejected by the middle classes yet meat is the one that stands out in this analysis. Why does it appear that the cultural elite abandoned meat rather than other foods eaten by the working classes? Obviously, given the quantitative macro level of the data I have at hand I cannot attribute causality with anything approaching certainty but there are a number of possible explanations - firstly, it could be the case that the ability of the working classes to afford to consume copious amounts of meat is a relatively new phenomenon that means the 'distinctive value' of meat has fallen dramatically - perhaps a relatively quick change in the general availability of a form of culture causes a very sudden realignment of middle class perceptions towards it.

Bourdieu's ideas relating to 'tastes of freedom' and 'tastes of necessity', are perhaps the aspects of Bourdieu's theories that travel worst across time and space but nevertheless, the second option (and none of these explanations are mutually exclusive) is that perhaps meat fits in particularly badly with the 'tastes of freedom' and mediation from necessity that form a part of the middle class aesthetic inscribed in the *habitus*. Meat is arguably a simple nutritious food that provides the necessary nutrients with little fuss. Bourdieu (1984) suggests that such foods are precisely the types of foods that the working classes consume and could be described as 'tastes of necessity' in the contemporary western world where meat is now affordable to the vast majority of people.

One further possibility is that the existence of an ethical justification for avoiding meat (the treatment of animals in industrial food production is the most often cited reason for vegetarianism (Beardsworth and Keil, 1992, Fox and Ward, 2008)) allows for the groups with high reserves of cultural capital to avoid a working class food, without overtly displaying an exclusionary attitude. Sayer (2005) suggests all class groups use moral boundary drawing as a way of

maintaining distinction and it may be the case that these kinds of boundaries are particularly important in the case of food and eating. Bennett et al. (2009) describe an increasingly *inclusionary* aesthetic as playing a key role in contemporary middle class taste and there are a number of examples of recent changes in cultural taste and practices that might be relevant in this case. The first, and most obvious is omnivorousness (Peterson and Kern, 1996), which Bryson (1996), amongst others, has suggested may be a new 'strategy' through which the middle classes can maintain distinction without appearing snobbish. In the specific context of food, Johnston and Baumann (2007) suggest that discourses of tolerance and democracy have led to a move away from traditional hierarchies towards more sophisticated forms of distinction, such as the increasing middle class focus on authenticity in food.

These new emerging forms of distinction are interesting because they are not based upon a highbrow / lowbrow divide – in fact a rejection of snobbishness plays a key role in how they manifest themselves, and it is conceivable that taking a moral stance could be a further example of this move away from overt snobbery – and could comprise a new sophisticated emergent form of distinction. Skeggs (2004) maps out how the systems underlying symbolic exchange have developed over a long term period and suggests that it was in the 18th and 19th century that the middle classes began to differentiate themselves from the classes both above and below them. Skeggs (2004) suggests:

“Dirt and waste, sexuality and contagion, danger and disorder, degeneracy and pathology, became the *moral (emphasis added)* evaluations by which the working class were coded and became known and are still reproduced today.”
(pg. 4)

Similarly, I would suggest that one of the newest negative moral judgements to be foisted upon the working classes might be said to be gluttony. This negative characteristic somewhat ironically used to be applied negatively to the groups at the top of society but is now a marker of working class taste, which again seems ironic, because until 50 years ago, the majority could not afford to eat a

nutritionally sound diet, yet alone appear gluttonous. Accompanying this more old-fashioned moral flaw of gluttony are a whole raft of new 'lifestyle' moral judgements that relate to food, of which vegetarianism is just one. There are of course, many other examples of such morally based decisions within the field of food and eating, including the decisions to eat organic food and local food, both of which are also followed disproportionately by middle class groups (Padel and Foster, 2005).

Of course these are all possible suggestions which help to better understand the findings. However, they remain purely hypothetical and are mainly mentioned here as a way of further exploring why the findings might be as they are. The empirical data themselves and the analysis conducted here are necessarily descriptive and therefore it is not possible to infer more widely about why the findings are what they are (and not another way). However, the analysis presented in this chapter that relates to social and political attitudes shows that members of the 'Ascetic plus' cluster are indeed very likely to ascribe to progressive ideals. For example, they particularly stand out in their rejection of racism, which is an ideological position that ascribes an intrinsic superiority to one group over another one. The adoption of such inclusionary attitudes is the type of finding that Peterson and Kern (1996) would likely predict would be associated with a 'cultural omnivore' archetype and similar attitudes have indeed been previously shown to be associated with broad cultural tastes (Lizardo, 2006, van Eijck and Lievens, 2008). However, here these attitudes are highly associated with 'Ascetic plus' eaters – a middle class group who stand out not because of their wide-ranging adoption of cultural forms but for the rejection of a cultural form associated with a less privileged group!

The picture that we have of the 'Ascetic plus' cluster members is therefore one of a group of highly educated individuals, who have embraced inclusionary, progressive attitudes and who would therefore struggle to claim cultural superiority / display distinction over marginalized social groups in the way that has previously been the case (i.e. a high-low divide based upon the superiority of 'legitimate' tastes). It could therefore be argued that the increasing adoption

of vegetarian eating patterns can be justified on moral grounds and that it therefore serves very well as a form of distinction that does not clash with contemporary middle class inclusive sensibilities.

Perhaps then, the question of 'why meat?' can be answered, albeit tentatively, through reference to a number of hypothetical reasons. Vegetarianism / adherence to the 'Ascetic plus' diet can be seen as an extreme form of restraint that takes asceticism to a new level and rejects a cultural form now associated with working class preferences. Furthermore, this rejection of meat can be justified without recourse to exclusivity as the justification for consuming in such a manner is often justified as a moral, rather than an aesthetic, judgement.

Social Capital

It is now appropriate to turn briefly to social capital – the one form of capital I have not yet discussed in this section. I have left the discussion of social capital to the end because theoretically, from a Bourdieusian perspective, this should be the least important form of capital for understanding cultural consumption. This is because the way that social capital allows one to progress through social space and resist domination is not linked to cultural consumption in a straightforward sense, although one important way in which it has postulated to be important is through an argument that has been made by Erickson (1996) and Warde et al. (2000).

Erickson (1996) suggests that social capital may be important in the context of the omnivore-univore hypothesis because people from higher social classes may consume culture in different ways according to the situation that they are in – so for example managers can use a diverse knowledge of culture to interact successfully with superiors, peers and employees. In this study, there has been no identifiable group that could be described as consistent with the 'cultural omnivore' archetype so the social capital variable is perhaps not as theoretically interesting as it might have been. However, it is worth noting that it appears that social capital is unimportant in 1986, but does play a minor role in

patterning eating patterns in 2000 – people with more social capital are more likely to follow the ‘Ascetic’ and especially the ‘Ascetic plus’ eating patterns. One possible explanation for this, that links in with the arguments I have made regarding cultural capital in the previous section, is that people with high reserves of social capital are likely to have friends with high reserves of cultural capital so may consume in similar ways.

Change over the life course – evidence for habitus?

The results of the prospective longitudinal analysis can provide further insight into the dynamics of inequality as they operate in the domain of food and eating. The analyses I have conducted show that the impact of social mobility on eating patterns is not straightforward, although one thing that is clear is that levels of both inherited and acquired cultural capital are important in structuring what people eat. This means that both an individual’s social position when they are growing up and their social position when they are older are important. Socialization in childhood continues to have an impact on eating patterns at age 30 but people are by no means locked in to consuming in a way that is consistent with their class background. Indeed, their multidimensional class position (and in particular their reserves of acquired cultural capital at age 30) are equally, if not more important than their class position in childhood. This finding is broadly consistent with what has been found in other areas of cultural consumption (e.g. Bourdieu, 1984; Van Eijk, 1997).

Van Eijk (1999) outlines a typology of the different possible ways in which cultural consumption and social mobility could conceivably be linked and at this point it seems appropriate to discuss the results in this context. This is because I would suggest that the results of this analysis are most consistent with one of Van Eijck’s positions – the ‘weak’ version of the status maximalization hypothesis. Upwardly mobile individuals who acquire the highest levels of cultural capital are more likely to follow the eating pattern of the cultural elite (the ‘Ascetic plus’ diet) than people who inherited and have maintained the highest levels of cultural capital. In this case, acquisition of cultural capital in

adulthood is more important than inheritance. However, for 'stable' high cultural capital individuals it appears that inherited cultural capital is more important – these people are more likely to follow the 'Ascetic' eating pattern than their upwardly mobile peers. This suggests that these individuals are consuming as might be expected given their backgrounds rather than what might be expected given the social position they have ended up with.

I would therefore argue that that the results reported in Tables 5 and 6 support a weak version of the status maximalization hypothesis, which proposes that "people gravitate towards the highest status" (Van Eijck, 1999 p 332). This goes against Van Eijck's own findings who found evidence to support a 'socialization' hypothesis in their analysis of the cultural consumption of museums, art and reading. This suggests that there is either a difference between the way tastes for culture are formed in the UK and the Netherlands or that tastes for food are structured, and evolve through the life course, in a different manner to other more 'legitimate' forms of cultural consumption. I believe the second option is more likely because it is perhaps not surprising that fields of culture that are not normally viewed through the highbrow / lowbrow lens (such as food and eating) operate in a more dynamic fashion, although further research is required in this area.

What then, of *habitus*? A simplistic reading of the concept might suggest that because people don't always consume in a way that is consistent with their class background that the concept of *habitus* is not useful in this regard. However, just because we see patterns of consumption that are not consistent with socialization in the case of one group (the upwardly mobile with high reserves of cultural capital), it is still the case that there is a link between the (social or eating) background of the vast majority of the cohort members and their food consumption in adulthood. As I have shown in the previous chapter, there is a strong correspondence between eating in childhood and eating in later life which suggests that dispositions learnt in childhood are very important in many cases.

It is also the case that just because the stable high cultural capital individuals are not as likely as the upwardly mobile individuals to follow the 'Ascetic plus' eating pattern, this does not mean that the stable high cultural capital individuals are consuming indulgently – on the contrary they are very likely to follow the 'Ascetic' eating pattern – 35.7% of them are doing so and another good chunk (13.5%) are following the 'Ascetic plus' eating pattern. This means that the people who were born into middle class families are very likely to follow one of the two normatively healthy eating patterns, in particular the 'Ascetic' pattern. Inheriting large volumes of cultural capital is therefore associated with following the 'Ascetic' eating pattern and it is the 'Ascetic' eating pattern that could be described as the 'standard' eating pattern for the established middle classes. The shared class *habitus* of the middle classes (that they have learnt through childhood) is to consume in an ascetic manner. On the other end of the scale, the socially static low cultural capital group are also likely to follow the 'Indulgent' and 'Indulgent restricted' eating patterns and hence are likely to consume in a way that is consistent with their own class-based *habitus*. It is therefore only a very small group of people who are actually likely to actively move away from class-based consumption practices in later life.

This means that for the socially mobile groups, examination of the interaction of *habitus* and capital becomes more complex and potentially more interesting. The change I have described, where upwardly mobile individuals embrace the 'Ascetic plus' eating pattern is of particular interest because it is relevant to discussions of cultural change. It looks like, at least in the field of food and eating, inheriting cultural capital only takes you so far – it is the people who are *acquiring* relatively high cultural capital reserves who are really the standard bearers for emerging culture. In other words, it might be the case that these upwardly mobile individuals, who have middling reserves of inherited cultural capital and economic capital but very high reserves of acquired cultural capital, whose lives have undergone the biggest transformations, are the people who are driving cultural change forward. The fact that they have to rely on their acquired cultural resources (rather than inherited economic and cultural resources in the case of other fractions of the middle class) means that they may

be more likely to push the boundaries of distinction to a greater extent than other more established groupings.

6.4.2 Class and status differentials in eating patterns

In this section I discuss the results of the analyses that examine the role that occupational social class (measured using the Goldthorpe schema) plays in structuring eating patterns and discuss its usefulness for understanding consumption within the domain of food and eating in the UK. I then broaden the discussion to consider the neo-Weberian perspective on inequality as a whole, and outline how neo-Weberian scholars might interpret the results of this analysis. I then discuss the relative merits of such a viewpoint when compared to a Bourdieusian capitals approach.

The Goldthorpe Schema and Eating Patterns

After controlling for other measures of social stratification, Goldthorpe class shows little association with eating patterns. This is consistent with Chan and Goldthorpe's own findings in a variety of different cultural domains in the UK including music, theatre, dance and cinema attendance where Goldthorpe class has repeatedly been shown to be a weak predictor of cultural consumption, taste and practice (Chan, 2010, Chan and Goldthorpe, 2005, Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007b, Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007c).

A Neo-Weberian model

This point (that the Goldthorpe schema should not be solely relied upon for understanding inequality in the food and eating domain) is not particularly problematic for neo-Weberian scholars, who would suggest that the focus should be placed upon an individual's *status* position for understanding cultural consumption. This is because, for Weber (1978, first published 1922), class refers to the *economic* relations between individuals in society whereas *status / stand* is conceptualized as representing a *hierarchical ordering of social relations*

where certain acquired or inherited attributes provide information about each individual and allow other agents to understand the relative positions of different people within the 'status order'. Importantly, different *lifestyles* are associated with different positions on this social scale and it is for this reason that authors such as Chan (2010) argue that status, rather than class, should theoretically be the key driver behind lifestyles, cultural taste and practice, and that therefore in empirical analyses class should predict outcomes related to economic interests and that cultural consumption should be predicted by social status.

Chan and Goldthorpe (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2005, Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007c) have indeed found that social status has a role to play patterning cultural consumption, (although it is worth noting that in these studies the role of status is still often subsidiary to education) but in the current analysis, status (measured through the Cambridge scale) appears to be a somewhat weak predictor in 2000 and a non-existent one in 1986, once other important factors are taken into account. This fact that the measure of status employed here (that shows a strong correlation with the measure of status used by Chan and Goldthorpe themselves (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007a)) shows no significant association with eating patterns in 2000 is problematic and suggests that the status concept may be of limited use for understanding eating patterns. This is because status is conceptualized as *the* key factor for understanding lifestyles and culture (of which the foods one eats surely play a part) and its weakness as a predictor for a whole half of the sample suggests it is not the driving force behind cultural consumption that Chan (2010) suggests it is.

Instead it is educational achievement, a form of social inequality that sits outside the crucial Weberian class-status distinction, that plays the biggest role in structuring eating patterns. Chan and Goldthorpe (2007c) suggest that educational differentials in cultural consumption can be explained with reference to innate individual psychological differences - they propose that there is a difference in information processing capacity between groups with different

levels of education. The mechanism by which this translates into different cultural tastes is explained in terms of complexity – so for example, in music, people who have higher cognitive functioning will be more likely to listen to complex forms of music such as classical because this appeals to their superior intellect.

Given the key role that education plays in patterning food consumption in this study, it is possible that a similar explanation could be given in this case. However, as I have outlined in Chapter 3, the analogy between eating patterns and other forms of cultural practice is an imperfect one for a number of reasons. In this case, the extent to which the information processing capacity argument transfers to the domain of food and eating is debatable because, as I pointed out in the introduction, what is ‘good to eat’ is entirely culturally contingent so any argument about complexity would not seem to apply here. I therefore maintain that a direct translation of the ‘information processing capacity’ argument is not appropriate in the domain of food and eating. There are, however, perhaps other similar arguments (with roots in the nutritional and health sciences) that might be made, such as those suggested by Batty et al (2007) and Gale et al (2007). These authors suggest that ‘intelligence’ may well be linked to ‘healthy’ food consumption, an idea that is comparable to the information processing capacity idea in that it explains any link between cultural consumption and education with reference to innate psychological characteristics.

Gale et al (2008) suggest two plausible mechanisms for explaining how high level intelligence could lead to ‘healthier’ eating. These are ‘health literacy’ and ‘locus of control’ arguments. Health literacy arguments suggest that more ‘intelligent’ people are simply more knowledgeable about what foods are ‘healthy’ and what foods are ‘unhealthy’ and are therefore better able to make rational decisions regarding their eating. Locus of control arguments suggest that more intelligent people are better able to understand the impact that their own actions can have upon the world (specifically in this case, their health in later life) and can therefore take long-term decisions about eating that people who feel they have little impact over their lives would not be able to take.

The analysis presented in this chapter would appear to suggest that the impact of 'intelligence' on eating patterns, measured through the BAS at 10, is mixed. While there is some evidence in 1986 that 'intelligence' is related to uptake of the 'Ascetic' eating pattern, and that the intelligence variable is attenuating the impact of the parental education variable to some degree in the comparison between 'Ascetic' and 'Indulgent' groups (although this attenuation is not as great in the analysis based on imputed data), it is also the case that this variable does not attenuate the impact of educational achievement on eating patterns to any great degree in 2000.

Of particular interest with regards to the relevant health science literature is the finding relating to the 'Ascetic plus' eating pattern, the eating pattern that contains 89.7% of the vegetarians in the sample. When taken individually, both BAS scores and educational achievement are highly associated with membership of this cluster, but when included in a regression model alongside other measurements of (inherited and acquired) social position, 'intelligence' shows no link with following this eating pattern. This would therefore suggest that scoring highly on the IQ-type test does not have any impact upon following this eating pattern and hence that adoption of such an eating pattern is not linked to 'intelligence'. This finding would therefore appear to be at odds with Gale et al.'s (2007) suggestion that people with higher IQs are likely to adopt 'healthy' vegetarian diets.

The findings relating to the locus of control variable are similar. While the locus of control and BAS scores do appear to be explaining some shared variance in the 1986 model, and there is some evidence of a link between locus of control and eating patterns at age 16 (importantly, an internal locus of control is related to membership of the 'Ascetic' cluster), these links disappear entirely at age 30. Additionally, the locus of control variable does not attenuate the impact of educational achievement in either model to any great degree. These findings are therefore somewhat mixed across the two years. They suggest that locus of control is playing a role at the younger age, but that in later life locus of control

is not a particularly promising candidate for explaining the consistent links we see between 'healthy eating' and education. This finding is largely at odds with Gale et al.'s (2008) study showing that health-related 'behaviours' and 'outcomes' at 30 are linked to an internal locus of control at 16.

Taken together, the links between high level 'intelligence' and an internal locus of control with ascetic consumption show cross-sectional, but not longitudinal links. While the fact that higher levels of 'intelligence' and an internal orientation at 16 are linked to the normatively healthier eating patterns at 16 (after controlling for a whole raft of measures of social stratification) is encouraging for arguments explaining food consumption through reference to psychological differences, the same cannot be said of the findings from 2000. This is because if one takes the position that these variables are valid measurements of innate cognitive characteristics, then measurements taken in early life should retain validity throughout the life course.

I would therefore suggest that it is hard to explain the primacy of educational achievement in structuring eating patterns with a focus on innate psychological concerns. The information processing capacity argument does not transfer well to the cultural domain of food and eating and the related arguments that I have (unilaterally) declared compatible with a neo-Weberian model do not show explanatory power comparable to educational achievement. This does not, however, mean that an acceptance of a Bourdieusian cultural capital explanation is inevitable. The concept of locus of control, re-imagined as not strongly linked with 'intelligence' but instead learnt through life, could perhaps be one explanation. Martikainen (2003) suggests such an argument, in which the differences in class attitudes towards 'healthy' foods are the result of middle class groups seeing their long term efforts, and the long term efforts of people they know, coming to fruition. Working class people, on the other hand, have less direct experience of long term strategies successfully paying off in the long run. These differences in experience give the average members of these classes different expectations of the extent to which they can influence their own lives. These expectations then influence the extent to which they apply the same long

term logic to their eating and hence there is a 'healthy' / 'unhealthy' differential between the consumption patterns of working class and middle class groups.

Education is a very good example of a long term strategy employed by the middle classes that has tangible and reasonably reliable benefits down the line. People who have successfully acquired high levels of education will presumably have seen some benefits and hence be more willing to sacrifice short term indulgence for long term health. From a contemporary neo-Weberian perspective influenced considerably by Rational Action Theory, this seems like a plausible explanation of the link between education and normatively healthy eating patterns identified in this study. It could also be argued that this explanation could go some way towards explaining another of the key findings of this chapter - that the economically richest people in the country have increasingly followed an ascetic eating patterns as they aged from 16 to 30 over a period in which information about 'healthy eating' (1986 to 2000) proliferated massively. There is a need for further research in this area - one possibly interesting path would be to look at the cross-sectional link between measurements of locus of control in adulthood and eating patterns in adulthood, conceptualizing locus of control not as an innate trait related to intelligence, but as something that is learnt through life, as more and more of one's long-term goals come to fruition.

I would therefore suggest that while the importance of educational achievement as a predictor for understanding eating patterns is somewhat awkward for a neo-Weberian position, it is not necessarily incompatible. While the information processing capacity argument does not transfer well to the domain of food and eating, it is plausible that more educated people have other things in common that help them to remain healthy in the long run.

Bourdieu vs Goldthorpe

To summarize, one of the key differences between Bourdieusian and neo-Weberian perspectives explaining cultural consumption is the theoretical

significance that is assigned to educational achievement. Under a Bourdieusian perspective, both education and cultural consumption are seen as components of cultural capital so, in the context of this study, the 'Ascetic' and 'Ascetic plus' eating patterns that are followed by individuals with high levels of education can be seen as forms of objectified cultural capital. As Savage and Barlow (1995) have suggested, it appears that adopting a 'healthy' lifestyle, including in diet, has become increasingly valorized among middle class groups since the time when Bourdieu was writing. In this thesis, I suggest that the empirically derived 'Ascetic plus' eating pattern could be an example of a further emerging form of cultural capital in which symbolic superiority is justified on moral, rather than aesthetic grounds. The fact that this particular eating pattern is disproportionately followed by the cohort members with the highest levels of acquired institutionalized cultural capital is taken as supporting evidence to this argument.

Within a neo-Weberian perspective (eg Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007a), cultural consumption is seen as being primarily patterned by status differentials. Under such a theoretical architecture, each individual has a position on the 'status order', a scale within society that is generally perceived, and agreed upon, by members of that society. Lifestyle is conceptualized as the consequence of a person's position on the status order – people close to each other on the scale consume culture in similar ways. Educational achievement, on the other hand, is important because it acts as a proxy for information processing capacity. In the present study, the Cambridge scale, which is operationalized as status, does not appear to be playing the important role in patterning food consumption that would be anticipated by neo-Weberian theory, and while measures of 'intelligence' were associated with ascetic food consumption in 1986, the impact of the educational achievement variable is not attenuated by 'intelligence' (or locus of control) in either year.

I therefore contend that the Bourdieusian position is more consistent with the empirical analysis presented in this chapter. The main reason for this is that the consistent importance of educational achievement in patterning cultural

consumption (at the expense of status) can be seen as problematic for neo-Weberian theory, as it is elucidated by Chan and Goldthorpe.

6.5 *Conclusions*

To sum up this chapter, I have shown that multidimensional class retains a very important role in structuring what people eat. Through an examination of the socio-demographic make-up of the different clusters, the derivation of which was described in the previous chapter, I have shown that educational achievement is the most important predictor for understanding eating patterns and suggested that, by proxy, cultural capital appears to be the dominant form of capital within the field of food and eating in the UK. People with high reserves of cultural capital are likely to consume in a normatively healthy manner and people with low reserves of cultural capital are correspondingly likely to consume in a normatively unhealthy manner.

Furthermore, there is evidence that over the period between 1986 and 2000, cultural changes have occurred. An 'Ascetic plus' diet characterized by the partial or full rejection of meat and poultry has emerged as dominant amongst the cultural elite, and the economically rich but culturally poorer fractions of the middle classes have moved away from an indulgent diet to an ascetic one. Although these changes all occur among the same cohort of people, so it is hard to say whether these represent a movement across society or just within this generation, this finding is still particularly interesting as it involves the rejection of meat - a foodstuff that has increasingly been consumed by the working classes over the same period. Given that the form of asceticism uncovered here is often explained through moral justification, it is possible that distinction in the domain of food and eating may therefore be evolving to include an increasingly moralistic component. Lamont (1992) reports that moral boundaries are more likely to be drawn in US than France - this study provides some tentative evidence that perhaps distinction in the UK is increasingly becoming based on moral rather than aesthetic boundaries, as far as taste for food is concerned.

My analysis into social and cultural mobility and *habitus* has revealed a complex picture that is consistent with a weak status maximalization hypothesis as outlined by Van Eijk (1999). Not surprisingly, socialization in childhood is important for structuring eating patterns in later life. However, there is some evidence that upwardly mobile individuals modify their consumption patterns to suit their new social position. Such a pattern is consistent with a conception of a dynamic complex *habitus* that can evolve through the life course, and in which the importance of childhood socialization is variable depending on the trajectory of each individual agent's life course.

In the final empirical section of this chapter I investigated the relative merits of a neo-Weberian position on social inequality (which comprises a separation of class, measured through occupation, and status, measured through a status scale) with a Bourdieusian capital approach. I showed that a multidimensional capitals perspective facilitates a richer understanding of inequality within the domain of food and eating than is possible working from a neo-Weberian ontological position. I argued that the main problems with a Weberian approach to studying cultural consumption (when compared to a Bourdieusian approach) is that despite Chan's (2010) attempts to explain cultural phenomena through reference to status, status was found to be playing a relatively minor role as a predictor of eating patterns, whereas education played a major role.

I have shown in this chapter then, that acquired and inherited multidimensional capital are very important in the structuring of eating patterns. In the next chapter, I move on to investigate one further structural factor – space.

7 Space: Investigating the Geographical Distribution of Types of Eaters

In this chapter, the main focus is upon the geographic patterning of different 'types' of eaters. The distribution of members of each cluster across the UK is explored and the extent to which geographical differences persist after controlling for multidimensional social class is investigated. The impact of living in, and migrating to or from, London, on eating patterns is assessed. The findings are discussed in the context of homology and individualization theories. The following research questions are addressed in the course of the chapter:

- 1 Is geography an important structuring factor in terms of what people eat?
- 2 Is there any evidence for the development of post-Fordist eating patterns in the data?
- 3 If post-Fordist eating patterns are identified, are they associated with social class?
- 4 Are eating patterns associated with residing in urban or rural areas?
- 5 What is the relationship between geographical mobility and eating patterns?

7.1 Introduction

There are two main reasons why the geographic patterning of ‘eaters’ across the UK is being investigated here. Firstly, the geographic distribution of different types of cultural consumers is an area that has received scant attention from within the cultural sociology literature. This is despite the fact that there has been a relatively recent ‘spatial turn’ within sociology (see Burrows and Gane, 2006, Savage et al., 2005a) that has underlined the importance of space, and its interactions with inequality, in contemporary society. Even the most significant work mapping cultural proclivities in recent years, *Culture, Class, Distinction*, does not include any *geographical* mapping of cultural tastes in the UK. Secondly, an investigation of geography allows for various research questions (of particular interest here are the questions relating to individualization) introduced in Chapter 3 and outlined again above to be investigated.

In Chapters 5 and 6, I demonstrated that among the cohort of individuals born in 1970, eating patterns at age 30 are strongly related to eating patterns in childhood. Furthermore, class as a structuring factor in patterning food tastes and practices retains its importance, especially if one takes a multidimensional perspective that understands class as more than just a position in the occupational structure. It is therefore fair to say that social inequalities in childhood are likely to lead to a fairly orderly set of eating patterns at 16 and that these differences continue to be important once the cohort has reached 30. While people are not *certain* to eat in such a way as might be expected by their social background or early eating patterns, it is the case that people are *likely* to continue to follow the eating patterns that might be expected given their social and eating backgrounds. In a way that can be seen as analogous to patterns of social mobility, there is no completely stable groups of eaters over time, just as there are no completely stable class groups. It is possible to break the mould and move away from the eating patterns that might be expected but people who do so are the minority. A disproportionately large proportion of middle class participants maintain ‘healthy’ eating patterns from ages 16 to 30 and the same applies to working class participants – they are more likely to follow the

'Indulgent' eating pattern than the 'Ascetic' pattern early in life and continue to eat in such a way later in life.

Due to the continuing importance of class, and indeed socialization in childhood, as key factors for understanding eating patterns, this finding does not appear, on the face of it, to not be particularly encouraging for arguments positing an epochal shift towards individualized eating patterns. However, it is necessary to be very careful when drawing conclusions from the analysis of one cohort because any change that has occurred could be the result of age effects rather than any general change that is occurring across the whole of society. This means that the central tenet of individualization theories (that traditional structuring forces in society are becoming less important) is impossible to investigate using only a single cohort of individuals, as is the case here. Because of this, it may seem like individualization is not a good topic to investigate using this data but, as I outlined in the literature review and recap on in the next section, there are other aspects of these theories which can be usefully explored empirically using this data.

7.1.1 Post-Fordist consumption

One idea that Warde (1997) classified as different and separate to individualization arguments but that has been subsumed under the umbrella of individualization arguments within this thesis is the idea of increasingly post-Fordist consumption. Under a post-Fordist conception of cultural change, groups of increasingly reflexive individuals consume in similar ways to each other but not because they have some kind of shared background. Rather, identity begins to be defined in terms of consumption or lifestyle choices. So, people who consume in similar ways are sharing a symbolic act of consumption that defines group identities rather than practice and identity being defined by traditional structural bases such as class (see Giddens 1991).

A proponent of such an argument could make the point that the empirical identification of a distinct 'Ascetic plus' diet within this thesis is a good example

of such a change. This is because the empirical existence of the 'Ascetic plus' cluster is partly due to the proliferation of vegetarian and vegan lifestyles³⁴. A vegetarian diet is an excellent example of a lifestyle choice that allows people to define themselves and others according to their consumption choices. People who consume no meat are not described only as following vegetarian or potentially vegan diets but are actually defined and labelled as 'vegetarians' and 'vegans'. In other words, they *are* their particular consumption choices. Defining oneself and other similar individuals according to a long term cultural consumption choice or lifestyle could be argued to be key evidence that post-Fordist change is in fact occurring, especially when there is evidence, such as that presented by Beardsworth and Kiel Beardsworth and Keil (1992) and Fox and Ward (2008) that there is an increase in the adoption of that particular lifestyle.

The idea that the growth of vegetarianism can be viewed as a post-Fordist development has been suggested by the likes of Warde (1997). It seems like a sensible contention in the context of this thesis, given the distinctiveness of the 'Ascetic plus' group. Other scholars (e.g. Beardsworth and Keil, 1992) have also pointed out how vegetarians appear to have other things in common with each other – in particular they share an 'ethical' lifestyle. In the current study, I show that 'Ascetic plus' consumers share very distinctive social and political attitudes. It therefore seems likely that vegetarians, sharing much the same lifestyle choices as one another, as well as similar attitudes towards the world, would feel some sort of sense of shared identity. The relevance of this change to individualization arguments is that the adoption of such a lifestyle requires a break from the past, a break from existing structures, and a movement away from consuming according to the ways in which one was socialized when young; after all vegetarianism is a relatively new phenomenon that has grown significantly over the period of investigation within this thesis.

However, this does not mean that all social groups can just as easily break away

³⁴ As can be seen in Table 5.2, 44% of the cohort members empirically classified as 'ascetic plus' eater self-define as vegetarians.

from class-based bonds. On the contrary, as an example of a non-class based cultural movement, vegetarianism is not particularly useful. The reason for this is that membership of the 'Ascetic plus' eating pattern is highly associated with multidimensional (particularly cultural) capital resources and also with upward social mobility. If you want to find a vegetarian, then the best bet might be to find a person with large reserves of acquired institutionalized cultural capital in the form of higher educational qualifications. As Savage (2000) and Skeggs (2004) have suggested, levels of reflexivity are not equally divided among the population but rather middle class groups have greater access to the resources with which they can make changes to the trajectories of their lives. It is for this reason that middle class individuals can adopt post-Fordist consumption patterns but that there is less evidence for similar patterning amongst working class groups. The shared identity that is gained through consuming in a similar way to other people may be an example of post-Fordist change occurring but it simultaneously remains a class-based phenomenon.

7.1.2 Why geography?

In this chapter, the geographical distribution of different types of eaters is investigated. Space has been chosen as an appropriate area of study here because although the relationship between eating patterns and geography has been explored at macro (Crawley, 1997, Whichelow and Prevost, 1996) and meso (Hackett et al., 2008) levels by nutritional scientists in the UK, sociologists' examinations of food consumption and space have largely been limited to examinations of local geographies of 'eating in' or 'eating out' (e.g. Beriss and Sutton, 2007, Warde and Martens, 2001). The same point could also be made on a more general level – to my knowledge cultural sociologists have also largely ignored the investigation of high-level UK geography in empirical investigations of cultural tastes and practices. Although cross-cultural (as in international) comparison of cultural consumption patterns are fairly common (e.g. Chan, 2010, Lamont, 1992) intra-national comparisons are notable in their absence from the literature base. One exception is Savage et al.'s (1995) comparison of

cultural consumption levels across the UK, although this analysis is limited to only middle class consumption.

The main reason that the focus in this chapter is on geography is therefore because it is such an underexplored topic with a lot of potential for exploration. It is also the case that some aspects of individualization theory are explicitly linked to discussions of space. For example, Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002) maintain that processes of individualization occurs at different rates in different socio-spatial environments, stating that “individualization means, implies, urbanization” (pg. 5).

There are also some ways in which the issues discussed in the previous chapter can be explored further through empirical investigations into space. In particular, it is interesting how social mobility is related to food consumption as this tells us about the possible importance of upwardly mobile groups as a cultural ‘vanguard’. It is also plausible that socially mobile people have particularly high reserves of reflexivity. A similar investigation of geographical mobility provides further context to discussions of this issue, so is also investigated in this chapter.

7.1.3 Distinct local cultures of food?

As I stated earlier, analyses that focus upon the geographic patterning of different types of consumers are rare within cultural sociology, with Savage et al.’s (1995) analysis being one exception. Savage et al.’s aim within their brief examination of the geographic patterning of consumption was to answer the following question:

“To what extent can we speak of distinct local cultures, once the social specificity of places is taken into account?”
(pg. 124)

In this chapter, I aim to ask the same question, but with regards to food. Savage

et al. (1995) found that even holding their proxy measure of class (based upon market research occupational classifications) steady, there were significant differences between different types of consumers depending upon where they live. Their most striking finding is that middle class people in London were in general much more engaged with many forms of both traditional and 'post-modern' emerging forms of culture, including eating out at various types of restaurants. With no longitudinal component, Savage et al. (1995) fail to investigate the impact of the life course on consumption and geography, whereas in the present study I take advantage of the data recording both eating patterns and geographic location over time.

Although this type of geographical mapping of cultural tastes and practice is rare among academic sociologists, geographical analysis of consumption has been taken to extreme lengths by market research companies in the private sector that produce software such as Acorn and Mosaic (Burrows and Gane, 2006, Savage and Burrows, 2007). These geo-demographic classification systems allow the consumption characteristics of people in the UK (and everywhere else across the Western world) to be sorted and for every 7 digit post-code to be classified according to the likely consumption characteristics of the people who live there. These systems are at such a high level of granularity that regional analyses such as the ones reported in this chapter seem like gross simplifications. However, there are benefits to primary macro-level analyses such as the ones I present here. I am interested in investigating whether 'distinct regional cultures' exist in the context of food and eating and although geo-demographic classifications do show what sort of people eat some types of food, they also cover all consumption practices at once, meaning that it is not possible to use them to focus on a single field of cultural consumption such as food.

It is worth noting that nutritional and health scientists have touched upon many of the issues that I am investigating here. Whichelow and Prevost (1996) analysed the 1984-85 Health and Lifestyle Survey in Britain and report that demographic factors explain a high proportion of the variation in patterns of eating. Geographic life course stage factors were found to be more important

than traditional class measures. Another important study to note in this area is Crawley's (1997) analysis of the same 1970BCS data I am employing. Crawley (1997) examines the differences between Scottish 16 year olds diets and the diets of 16 year olds in England and Wales and reports that after controlling for Registrars General Social Class (RGSC) and education, as well as a number of lifestyle factors, the differences in intake levels of a variety of foods are not mediated by class- in particular the Scottish were very likely to consume more alcohol and fizzy drinks and less green vegetables and fruit. This was taken to provide evidence that there was a significant cultural difference in consumption patterns between people in Scotland and people in the rest of the UK. In other words, Scottish people are more likely to consume 'unhealthily' even after socio-economic differences have been taken into account.

I would suggest that there are problems with this study. Firstly, although Crawley did control for class, RGSC is an outdated measure of class that has been shown to have poor predictive power (Bartley et al., 1996, Marshall, 1988). Although Crawley did include educational achievement as a predictor, he also did not take into account economic capital (other than in terms of housing tenure) or social capital. This means that the findings that show a difference between Scotland and the rest of the UK persist after controlling for class do not necessarily hold if one is taking a multidimensional perspective of social class. RGSC has been shown to be a poor predictor in comparison to the Goldthorpe schema but even the Goldthorpe schema has been shown to be a relatively poor predictor of cultural consumption patterns (see Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007c, Savage, 2006, Warde et al., 2000) and given that I am treating food consumption as a form of cultural consumption in this thesis, I would argue that controlling for social class using 'traditional' class measures is not sufficient to capture all aspects of social inequality. Therefore, Crawley's finding that differences in eating between Scotland and England / Wales persisted after controlling for class deserves additional investigation. A similar critique could also be made of Whichelow and Prevost's (1996) work, which again may have underplayed the importance of class through failing to take a multidimensional perspective.

In this chapter therefore, the following empirical analyses are undertaken. Firstly, I investigate the geographic patterning of the eating patterns followed by cohort members in both 1986 and 2000 through graphical display of the distribution of different types of eaters in the UK. I move on to consider the importance of class alongside geography through a modelling strategy. The aim here is to try to understand if different regions do have 'distinct local cultures' of eating and whether this has changed over time. Furthermore, I also investigate whether London or other notable areas of the UK seem to be following certain eating patterns to a greater degree than others, and investigate whether any differences between areas are related to an urban / rural divide, as well as looking at the impact of geographical mobility on eating patterns.

7.2 Analysis

7.2.1 Mapping eating patterns

Figures 7.1, 7.2, 7.3, and 7.4 show the proportions of people in each of the 11 'regions' of Britain who were following each of the four eating patterns in 1986 (Figures 7.1 and 7.2) and in 2000 (Figures 7.3 and 7.4). The maps were produced using ARC GIS 10 using data derived from 1970BCS County at Interview data. The raw data behind these visualisations can be seen in Appendix 2.

The county at interview variables show the county in which cohort members lived in 1986, 1996 and 2000. This is excellent data for the purposes of this thesis as two of these years correspond directly with the years in which dietary data was recorded. The variables used were derived from postal codes provided by participants or their parents or guardians at interview in the years 1986, 1996 and 2000. Because of issues with changing county boundaries over time there are some missing values (within the working sample there are 47 missing cases in 1986 and 58 in 2000) although CLS (2006) report the percentage of cases matching successfully to a county at over 98.5%. For more information on the County at Interview data used see the survey documentation (CLS, 2006).

In its original form, the county level data classified each cohort member into one of 65 English and Welsh 'counties' or Scottish 'regions' as they existed in the year 2000. I then converted this 'county' level data to 'regional' level data. The NUTS 1 statistical regions of England were used, plus Wales and Scotland were treated as 'regions' of Britain³⁵. Northern Ireland is not included in the analysis due to no cohort members living there in 1986 and only two cohort members living there in 2000. Although such high level / low resolution analysis only allows for a macro-level engagement with the data, this was unavoidable due to problems with low sample sizes that arise if county level data is used.

³⁵ I am aware Scotland and Wales are not technically 'regions' but from this point on in this chapter the term 'region' will be used in this sense.

Figure 7.1. 1986. Geographic Distribution of 'Ascetic' (green) and 'Indulgent' (red) Eaters

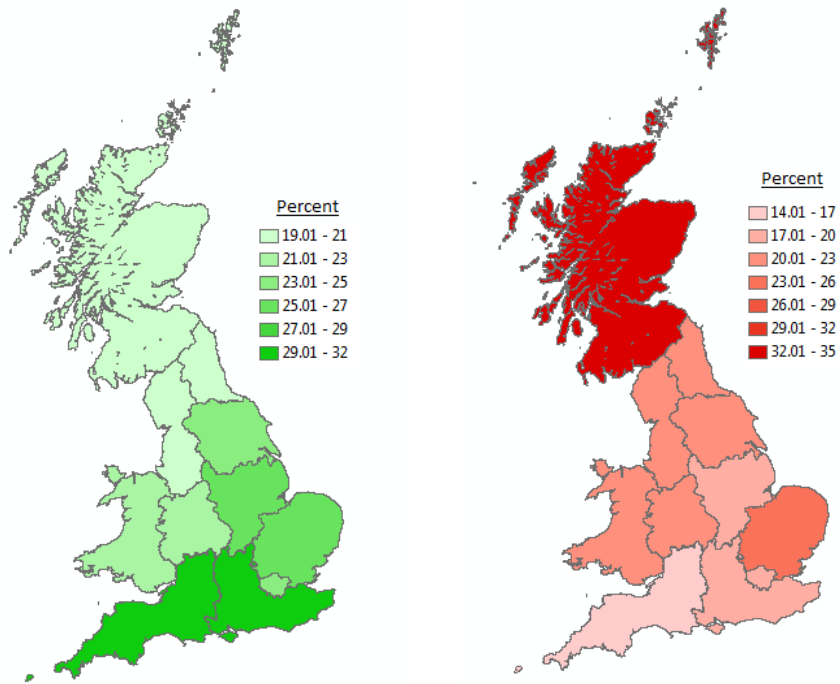


Figure 7.2. 1986. Geographic Distribution of 'Indulgent restricted' (Purple) and 'Undistinctive' (Orange) Eaters

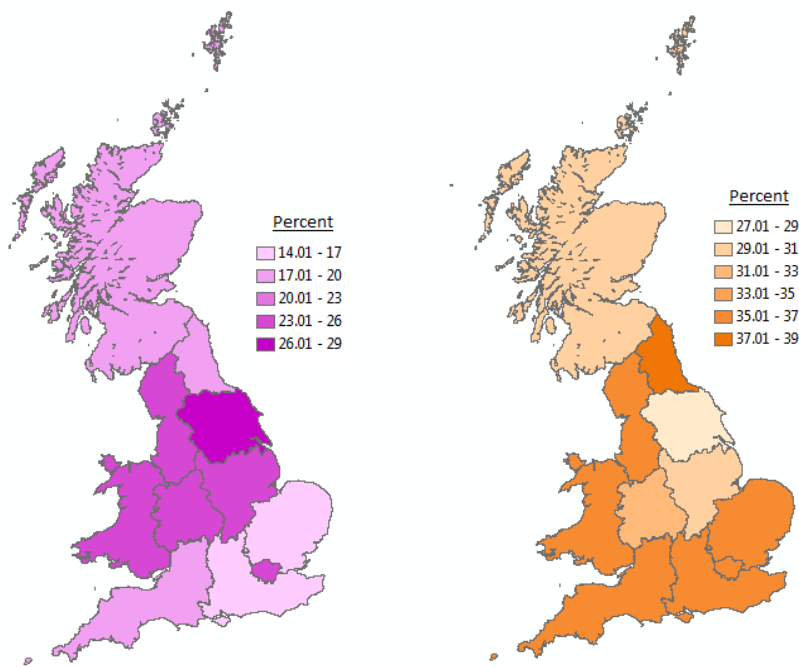


Figure 7.3. 2000. Geographic Distribution of 'Ascetic' (blue) and 'Indulgent' (red) Eaters

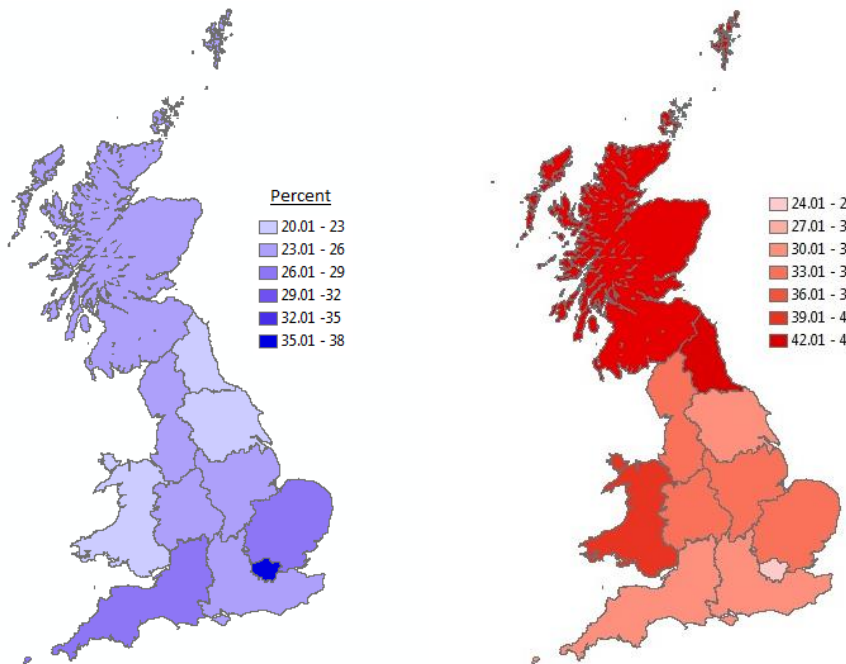
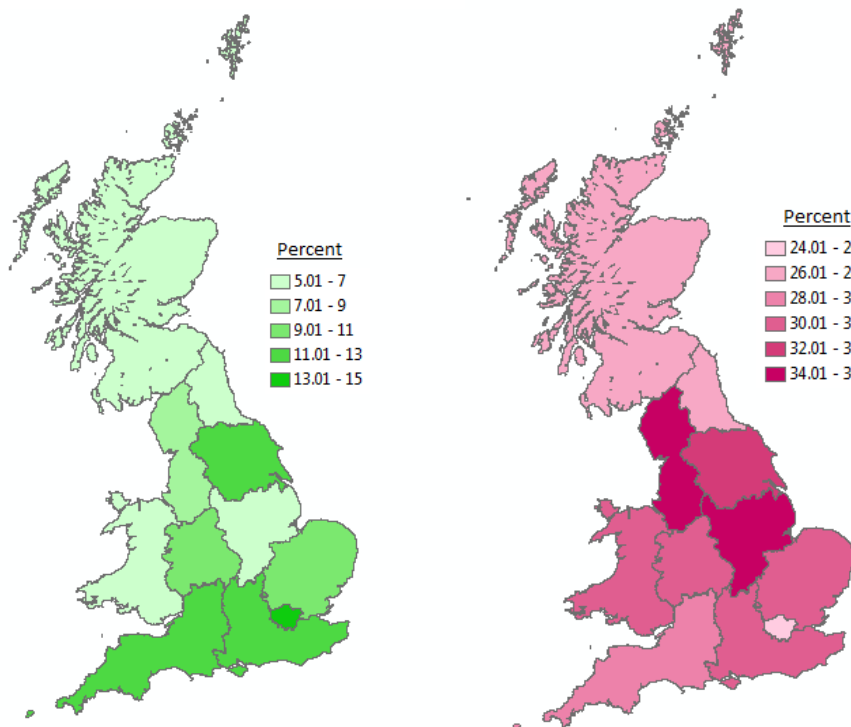


Figure 7.4. 2000. Geographic Distribution of 'Ascetic Plus' (green) and 'Indulgent restricted' (Pink) Eaters



These maps show that the 'healthy' / 'unhealthy' divide identified in the previous chapter, and that I have shown is linked to a person's position in social space (i.e. it is related to social class), is also linked to physical space in the form of regional geography. In 1986, the regions in the North of England, as well as Scotland and Wales, contain a relatively low proportion of people following the 'Ascetic' eating pattern, whereas the regions in the South contain many 'Ascetic' 16 year olds and relatively few 'Indulgent' and 'Indulgent restricted' eaters. In Figures 7.3 and 7.4, it can be seen that the same broad pattern has continued to 2000.

Other than the clear North / South divide, probably the most immediately noticeable finding that arises on inspection of these maps is the difference between Scotland and the rest of the country in terms of the proportion of people following the 'Indulgent' eating pattern. Scotland shows as a deep red in both Figures 7.1 and 7.3 – this is because, in Scotland in 1986, 32.8% of 16 year olds were following the 'Indulgent' eating pattern, whereas across the country as a whole the figure was 21.5%. By 2000, those living in North East seem to have caught up, although those in Scotland are still significantly above the rest of the regions: 42.6% of the cohort members living in Scotland were following the 'Indulgent' eating pattern compared to a national average of 34.1%. At the other end of the country, the South West and the South East show high proportions of those included in the cohort survey following the 'Ascetic' pattern in 1986 and the 'Ascetic' and 'Ascetic plus' patterns in both years, whereas London has a low proportion of 'Ascetic' eaters in 1986 but a high proportion of 'Ascetic' eaters in 2000.

To sum up what these maps show, at least in terms of this 1970BC data used in this study, there seems to be a difference in the distribution of eating patterns between Scotland, Wales and the North of England on the one hand and the South of England on the other. There also appears to be a particularly large number of those sampled in London in 2000 following the 'Ascetic' and 'Ascetic plus' eating patterns. However, the question of the extent to which these differences are due to local cultural differences between parts of the UK or

merely an artefact of the particular cohort sampled is debatable. As I have shown in the previous chapter, there is a socio-economic gradient operating alongside the 'healthy' / 'unhealthy' divide in the UK. These maps demonstrate that this divide is accompanied by a geographical one but what they do *not* take into account is the fact that different parts of the UK have different socio-economic make-ups. It is possible that the North / South divide shown in these maps, and indeed the difference between Scotland and the rest of the UK is in fact due, at least to a significant degree, to social class differences.

7.2.2 Taking class into account

It is therefore necessary to continue to investigate social class differences alongside spatial ones. In the previous chapter, I suggested that a multidimensional model of social class better accounted for the patterns identified in the data than a neo-Weberian model based upon a separation of class and status. For this reason, within this chapter, I am working within a Bourdieusian framework throughout, carrying forward the model of social class being represented by reserves of economic, social and cultural capital. Therefore when I need to control for class or discuss the interactions of class with space, I do this through such a framework as this allows me to carry the most useful insights from the previous chapter through to this one, as well as maintaining a narrative that runs throughout the thesis. In Tables 7.1 and 7.2, bivariate cross-tabulations between forms of capital, as operationalized in the previous chapter, as well as the Goldthorpe schema, and place of residence in the UK in both 1986 and 2000 are reported.

Table 7.1. The Distribution of Multidimensional Capital across Mainland British Regions in 1986

	Parents highest qualification ***				Highbrow Cultural Household income***					Cambridge	Father's	
	Degree	A Levels	O Levels	Vocational Quals	None	C.C scale score	Over £200	£100- £200	Under £100	Score***	I	VII
Total												
N	518	420	682	334	873	3114	384	1498	921	2555	482	330
Total (%)	14.9	14.9	24.1	11.8	30.9	1.05	13.7	53.4	32.9	54.3	17.5	12.0
Region (%)												
n	512	412	672	328	861	2523	381	1475	919	2523	473	324
Britain	18.4	14.8	21.97	11.8	30.9	1.06	13.8	53.4	32.9	54.2	17.3	11.9
North East	14.3	18.2	22.7	9.7	35.1	.93	11.5	54.1	34.4	48.9	11.9	12.6
North West	17.5	13.4	23.7	13.4	32.0	1.02	13.1	53.1	33.8	53.5	19.5	12.9
Yorkshire and the Humber	18.1	14.8	19.2	10.3	37.6	1.00	10.7	52.9	36.4	52.5	18.9	11.3
East Midlands	14.0	13.0	21.2	12.4	39.4	.90	8.4	61.6	30.0	53.1	9.8	16.1
West Midlands	17.9	10.4	24.4	11.4	35.8	.94	9.8	54.7	35.5	52.9	13.8	11.6
East of England	18.0	13.7	25.3	14.7	28.3	1.07	17.2	51.7	31.1	55.6	19.5	11.7
South East	22.9	19.1	23.2	12.4	22.4	1.24	20.0	53.1	26.9	57.5	24.9	8.3
South West	18.9	16.2	34.6	9.6	20.6	1.15	12.7	51.8	35.5	55.9	17.7	10.0
Greater London	28.3	11.7	19.3	13.1	27.6	1.22	20.4	54.6	25.0	57.3	15.7	13.7
Wales	16.7	14.0	28.0	9.1	32.3	.97	10.8	52.3	36.9	53.2	15.2	12.4
Scotland	15.0	17.3	17.3	11.0	33.5	1.06	14.2	49.8	36.0	54.2	15.5	14.0

Note. Chi square and one-way ANOVA tests were conducted to gauge statistical significance, as appropriate. * p< 0.05, ** p< 0.01, *** p< 0.001

Table 7.2. The Distribution of Multidimensional Capital across Mainland British Regions in 2000

	Highest qualification***				Household income***			Cambridge Score***		Goldthorpe Class***	
	Higher Degree	Degree	A Levels	None	Top group	Middle group	Lower group	£***	Cambridge score	I	VII
Total											
N	133	882	222	639	997	918	694	2599	2851	563	386
Total (%)	3	26.1	7.2	18.9	38.0	35.3	26.7	30277	57.0	23.0	15.8
Region (%)											
n	133	873	199	622	969	898	687	2554	2800	557	377
Britain	4.0	26.3	6.0	18.7	37.9	35.2	26.9	30134	57.0	23.2	15.7
North East	2.6	24.4	1.9	21.8	29.4	40.3	30.3	25326	54.8	20.0	20.9
North West	1.5	24.7	4.2	16.0	35.7	37.6	26.8	30319	56.9	18.3	15.8
Yorkshire and the Humber	2.7	25.3	3.3	18.0	30.7	35.5	33.8	25244	55.6	20.7	20.3
East Midlands	3.9	21.0	3.5	23.1	33.5	36.2	30.3	28958	54.3	20.2	20.2
West Midlands	3.0	24.9	4.7	22.6	28.2	41.0	30.8	26405	55.3	21.9	19.9
East of England	2.8	22.8	4.9	17.0	40.3	35.2	24.6	29330	57.1	22.9	13.9
South East	7.6	26.2	7.2	16.1	45.5	31.5	23.0	31127	58.5	26.3	12.9
South West	2.7	25.8	4.7	20.3	37.4	33.7	28.9	32972	56.0	22.2	18.7
Greater London	6.1	42.9	5.8	12.2	58.7	27.6	13.8	42605	62.3	36.6	6.7
Wales	5.2	23.4	2.1	23.4	37.1	29.3	33.6	29425	57.3	19.9	14.7
Scotland	4.2	23.7	18.9	22.4	31.2	40.1	28.7	26343	55.9	20.5	14.4

Note. Chi square and one-way ANOVA tests were conducted to gauge statistical significance, as appropriate. * p< 0.05, ** p< 0.01, *** p< 0.001

Although the patterns in these tables are somewhat messy, there appear nonetheless to be differentials in terms of access to different forms of capital across different areas of the country. In terms of economic capital, for instance, those located in the north of England, as well as Wales and Scotland, are shown to be relatively poor compared to the South of the UK. In 1986, the regions of East England, the South East and Greater London show much higher proportions of households in the highest income group and more households in the Northern English regions, as well as Scotland and Wales, are found within the lowest income group. A very similar pattern can also be seen in the 2000 data (see Table 7.2). This evidence from the 1970BCS data is consistent with previous analyses of income based upon the Family Expenditure and Labour Force Surveys (see ONS, 2001, ONS, 1987)

The poorest region in terms of economic capital is Wales, with the highest proportion of households living on under £100 a week (36.9% compared to a national average of 32.9%) although it is closely followed by Scotland and Yorkshire and the Humber. It is worth bearing in mind that this finding should be treated with some caution as comparing income across the UK is complicated by the fact that the standard of living is varied across regions, and especially high in London and surrounding areas for example.

In terms of access to cultural capital, though, whether measured through education or through the 1986 highbrow consumption scale described in the previous chapter, there seems to be a relatively clear North / South divide within the cohort. That is to say, in 1986, the North East, the Midlands, Wales and Scotland have relatively low numbers of participants residing there whose parents have advanced educational qualifications and more parents in these regions were likely to have no qualifications whatsoever, suggesting very few cohort members will have inherited high levels of cultural capital. On the other hand, more parents of cohort members living in the South (particularly the South East and London) have degrees and relatively few have no qualifications at all. These patterns map quite neatly onto the maps we can see for eating

patterns in 1986 in that the regions with high levels of cultural capital (with the exception of London) show the highest levels of adherence to the 'Ascetic' diet. Later in 2000, it is possible to examine the participants' own acquired cultural capital reserves through their academic achievements up to the age of 30. The fact that there appears to be a North / South divide in terms of educational qualifications and Scotland is again an interesting case.

As regards social capital, the average Cambridge score of people living in the East of England, the South East of England, the South West of England and Greater London are higher than all of the other regions in both 1986 and 2000. The North East has the lowest average Cambridge score, followed by Yorkshire and the Humber and the Midlands, in both 1986 and 2000. This suggests that those captured in the 1970BCS in these Southern counties seem to have more diverse social networks and more friends and relatives in relatively prestigious occupations than those located in Northern counties. Given that the Cambridge score in 1986 was calculated using Fathers' occupation and the 2000 score was calculated using the cohort members' own occupation, this is a remarkably consistent finding - more consistent at least than the other forms of capital where we see more variance across the different regions over the two waves. This consistency could be argued to demonstrate the relative stability of social inequality as a whole across the UK although as these results report aggregate data it is probably also attributable to the Southern regions having more diverse job opportunities across the board. That said, given that the maps are only based on the actual 1970 cohort, we need to be cautious about the extent to which the findings reflect trends across the UK in general or trends that are quite specific to this particular cohort of individuals.

Taken together then, though, the three main forms of capital can be said to follow a similar pattern to the one we can see in patterns of food consumption; that is, those captured by the cohort study and located in the South of England have greater reserves of all three main types of capital and are also more likely to follow the 'Ascetic' / 'Ascetic plus' diets, which could themselves be said to form a component of cultural capital. However, one interesting thing to note

about the differentials between regions in terms of capital reserves is that those located in London stand out in terms of reserves of *all* forms of capital, and not just in terms of scores among the highest in all forms of capital in both 1986 and 2000. As well as having higher than average capital composition in these two years, it is clear from examining this table that London has accelerated away from the rest of the country, including the rest of prosperous South East, over the period from 1986 to 2000. The fact that London appears increasingly distinctive for this cohort is investigated in more depth later in this chapter.

In summary, it is possible that at least some part of the North / South divide in eating patterns may be due to social class differences rather than purely due to cultural differences between regions. However, in order to investigate this issue further and tease apart the relative importance of these different factors, a multivariate modelling process is required. I have therefore estimated two new multinomial logistic regression models to predict 1986 and 2000 eating patterns. These models include measures of multidimensional social class and region as independent variables in order to investigate the extent to which class and geography are related. This strategy involved two steps: first I estimated two regression models that predict 1986 and 2000 eating patterns using only region as a predictor. In the second step, variables representing social, cultural and economic capital were introduced into the models. These results can be seen in Tables 7.3 and 7.4.

Table 7.3. Regional Geography, Class and Eating Patterns in 1986

		Model 1- 1986 Eating Pattern (n=3336)			Model 2- 1986 Eating Pattern(n=1878)		
16 year olds in 1986		Ascetic	Indulgent restricted	Undistinguished	Ascetic	Indulgent restricted	Undistinguished
Region	North East	.47	.41	.64**	.44	.60	.40
	North West	.52*	.62**	.55**	.52	.51	.44
	Yorkshire and the Humber	.71**	.87***	.43*	.81**	.98**	.41
	East Midlands	.85**	.83*	.54*	1.26****	.99**	.69*
	West Midlands	.61**	.78***	.55**	.58	.65*	.48
	East of England	.64**	.17	.52*	.79**	.11	.48
	South East	1.05***	.40	.68***	.95**	.62	.74*
	South West	.122***	.74**	.87***	1.34***	.87*	1.08**
	Greater London	.81**	.86**	.72**	.86*	.99*	.61
	Wales	.59*	.68*	.61*	.75*	.77*	.47
Parents Highest qualification	Degree				.69**	-.43	.17
	A Levels				.78**	-.56*	.04
	O Levels				.42*	-.10	.15
	Voc quals				-.04	-.21	-.38
Household income	Above £200				2.4	-.11	-.21
	£100 - £200				.33*	.05	.32*
Cambridge Score	Cambridge Score				.01	.01	.00

Model 1 Pseudo Rsquare = .025 (Nagelkerke). Percentage correct: 32.8% Model Xsquare (30) = 79.986, p < 0.001.

Model 2 Pseudo Rsquare = .102 (Nagelkerke). Percentage correct: 36.6% Model Xsquare (51) = 188.165, p < 0.001.

Note. All coefficients shown are statistically significant at at least the 0.05 level. Dependent reference category is Indulgent. Independent reference categories are No quals, under £100, Scotland. * p< 0.05, ** p< 0.01, *** p< 0.001

Table 7.4. Regional Geography, Class and Eating Patterns in 2000

		Model 1- 2000 Eating Pattern (n=3325)			Model 2- 2000 Eating Pattern (n=2550)		
<i>30 year olds in 2000</i>		Ascetic	Ascetic +	Indulgent	Ascetic	Ascetic +	Indulgent
				restricted			retricted
Region	North East	-.11	-.09	-.04	-.30	-.18	-.09
	North West	.23	.50	.51**	.10	.40	.45*
	Yorkshire and the Humber	.14	.91**	.52**	-.03	.80*	.54*
	East Midlands	.20	.26	.50*	.16	.04	.41
	West Midlands	.28	.59	.36	.14	.27	.21
	East of England	.35	.57	.41*	.26	.67	.41
	South East	.37*	.94**	.46*	.34	.84**	.49*
	South West	.41	.95**	.40	.25	.59	.33
	Greater London	.97***	1.35***	.48*	.53*	.90**	.40
	Wales	-.03	-.31	.18	-.13	-.24	.08
Highest qualification	Higher Degree				.63*	2.11***	-.10
	Degree				.35	1.39***	-.15
	Sub-Degree				.68**	1.29**	.09
	2 or more A – Levels				-.38	.27	-.45
	Good O Levels				.17	.46	-.09
	Bad O Levels				-.23	.83*	-.12
Household income	Top group				.36*	-.22	.14
	Middle group				.19	-.05***	.14
Cambridge Score	Cambridge Score				.02***	.02*	.00

Model 1 Pseudo Rsquare = .026 (Nagelkerke). Percentage correct: 35.4% Model Xsquare (30) =81.386, p < 0.001.

Model 2 Pseudo Rsquare = .097 (Nagelkerke). Percentage correct: 38.3% Model Xsquare (57) = 239.312, p <0.001.

Note. All coefficients shown are statistically significant at at least the 0.05 level. Dependent reference category is Indulgent. Independent reference categories are No quals, lower income tertile, Scotland. * p< 0.05, ** p< 0.01, *** p< 0.001

One way to explain the output of these regression analyses is to say that the patterns that can be seen in Figures 7.1 – 7.4, showing the observed percentages of ‘types’ of eaters living in each of the regions, are in some cases reduced but not completely attenuated by the inclusion of multidimensional social class variables in the analysis. This means that class and macro-level geography can both be said to be impacting upon eating patterns in some way and that these two structuring factors are largely independent of each other in terms of their relationship with eating patterns.

After class has been taken into account, large differences remain between Scotland (the reference group) and most of the other counties in both 1986 and 2000 even after controlling for multidimensional social class. Even after adjusting for class, those located in Scotland seem to consist of very high proportion of those following the ‘Indulgent’ eating pattern. However, this high proportion of people eating ‘unhealthily’ is not accompanied by a low proportion of people eating ‘healthily’. This is especially the case in 2000 where people in Scotland are no less likely to follow the ‘Ascetic’ or ‘Ascetic plus’ eating patterns than people in the Northern regions of England and Wales (see Table 7.4). Instead, in these regions, there are a larger number of ‘Indulgent restricted’ eaters. This suggests that everyone captured in the cohort study and living in Scotland is not eating more unhealthily across the board; rather there is a minority within Scotland eating ‘unhealthily’, just as there are in all the other regions, but that this subsection of the population seems to be following the ‘Indulgent’ rather than the ‘Indulgent restricted’ eating pattern.

There are some other patterns that emerge from this data. London, for example, as it so often does wherever it is included in geographical analyses within the UK, stands out as an outlier in both 1986 and 2000. In 1986, those surveyed and living in London are no more likely to be following the ‘Ascetic’ diet than those located in Scotland and the North West and are actually less likely to be following this pattern than those individuals located in Yorkshire and the Humber, among other regions (see Figure 7.1 and Table 7.3). This is perhaps

surprising given the high multidimensional class scores of people living in London in 1986 (Table 7.1). However, by 2000, the 1970BC London residents are far more likely to be following the 'Ascetic' and 'Ascetic plus' eating patterns than their peers across all of the other regions, even after taking into account the extremely high levels of multidimensional capital of people living there.

As well as accelerating away from the rest of the country in terms of the average levels of capital, it appears that, in the case of consuming food 'healthily', the 1970BC London residents might be said to be further distancing themselves from the rest of the UK. This 'London effect' could be of significant theoretical interest for reasons that are discussed shortly but two further pieces of empirical analysis are required to inform this discussion. First, while it could be the case that London is a special case and that residence in London is related to the adoption of an ascetic lifestyle, it could also be the case that it is urban living in general that is related to the adoption of such a lifestyle. Almost everyone who lives in Greater London lives in an urban environment, whereas the other regions in Britain have a more varied combination of both urban *and* rural areas – this 'London effect' could therefore be an artefact of a broader 'Urban effect'; this issue therefore requires further investigation.

Second, as the dominant city within the UK, London, may be attracting intra-national migrants for a wide variety of reasons including occupational, social and cultural ones. In other words, people may come to London for work, and / or to make and expand friendships and contacts, and / or because there is more for them to do there – more culture (including food) to consume. It is reasonable to suggest that such migration may be particularly popular among people of the age in this survey in 2000 – 30, as this is an age where they may be working before having children and where they may be particularly keen to live and work in the city. So, the change in consumption patterns of the 1970BCS Londoners may be due not to the people living there changing what they eat, but rather to different people living in London in 1986 at age 16 to the people living there in 2000 at age 30. The longitudinal nature of the cohort data allows this movement of people to be investigated and may shed light on some of the

patterning that we see in these maps.

7.2.3 'London effect' or an artefact of urban life?

In order to investigate whether London is a special case or in fact it is urban living that is related to the adoption of eating in an ascetic manner, it is necessary to attempt to classify cohort members according to whether or not they are likely to live in urban or rural areas. In order to do this, I return to the higher resolution county level data from 1986 and 2000. In the case of the data in this format, the DEFRA Local Authority Urban / Rural classification schema can be applied. This classification system is based upon the premise that anyone living in a conurbation larger than a 'large market town' is considered to be living in an urban area. One possible approach to proceed with this investigation could be to apply the trichotomous classification scheme suggested as appropriate by DEFRA (see ONS, 2013), in which each county in England can be classified as Predominately rural (Over 50% rural) Significantly Rural (between 25% and 49% rural), or Predominately Urban (more than 74% urban). The relationship of these classifications with eating patterns *could* be investigated but there is a significant problem with employing such a method. This problem is the possibility of attributing aggregate level characteristics to individuals (the 'Ecological Fallacy') – for example it is impossible to say for sure whether the people classified as living in 'predominately urban' areas are actually living in the urban parts of those areas. This would be especially problematic in areas where there were a relatively equal number of people living in rural and urban areas. A different method of analysis is therefore required.

The method that is used is the isolation of the counties that form the most extreme cases of urban or rural living with the aim of comparing them to each other and to London, which is classified as over 99% urban. In the case of urban areas, the counties that are employed are the West Midlands (the county, rather than the NUTS 1 region, which covers a much larger area) and Greater Manchester. Although these counties are not as overwhelmingly urban as

London, they include the cities of Birmingham and Manchester, the second and third largest cities in Britain respectively and they have a high proportion (over 80%) of people living in urban areas (ONS, 2013). In addition, three overwhelmingly rural areas are also investigated. As rural counties tend to have relatively low numbers of people living in them and this leads to problems with low sample sizes I have combined several geographically close counties to create these three new areas. These three areas are Cornwall and the English Isles (comprised of Cornwall, the Isles of Scilly and Isle of Wight – over 90% rural (ONS, 2013)), the Highlands and Orkney and the Shetlands (in total over 80% rural (NRS, 2010)) and Rural Wales, which is made up of Gwynedd (including Anglesey – over 90% rural) and Clwyd (over 85% rural) (ONS, 2008). Despite these amalgamations, the sample sizes for these areas are still an order of magnitude smaller than for the data related to the three main urban areas. Of all the people in the working sample who provided information on their diets in 2000, 329 lived in London, 159 in Greater Manchester and 124 in the West Midlands, whereas in Cornwall and the English Isles the equivalent figure was 30, in Highland and the Scottish Islands it was 17, and in Rural Wales it was 53. The equivalent figures for 1986 are somewhat similar and can be seen in Tables 7.5 and 7.6.

As well as examining the differences and similarities between the distributions of eating patterns in these areas, the three urban areas are combined to form a single group and the three rural areas are also combined to form a single group. This allows for a comparison of the most urban areas in Britain to the most rural. The cross-tabulation of membership of these areas with 1986 and 2000 eating patterns can also be seen in Tables 7.5 and 7.6. Furthermore, a logistic regression model has been estimated in order to measure the extent to which each 2000 eating pattern is linked to living in urban and rural areas in 2000, after controlling for measures of multidimensional social class. This model includes only individuals living in the six regions identified as the three most rural and three most urban areas. An equivalent 1986 model has not been included due to low sample sizes caused by large numbers of missing values. In the model (see Table 7.7) a dichotomous variable in the form of an urban / rural

variable is included alongside the three measures of capital. This allows for the importance of living in urban or rural areas to be investigated.

Table 7.5. The Distribution of Types of Eaters across Urban and Rural Counties in 1986

	County							Total	
	London	West Midlands	Manchester	Cornwall and English Islands	Rural Wales and Anglesey	Highlands and Scottish Islands	Combined urban		Combined rural
1986 Eating Pattern (%)									
n	195	125	154	41	60	14	474	115	590
Ascetic	23.6	16.8	22.7	26.8	21.7	35.7	21.5	25.2	22.2
Indulgent	18.5	24.0	22.7	19.5	21.7	42.9	21.3	23.5	21.7
Indulgent restricted	24.6	28.8	23.4	29.3	28.3	0.0	25.3	25.2	25.3
Undistinguished	33.5	30.4	31.2	24.4	28.3	21.4	31.9	26.1	30.7
2000 Eating Pattern (%)									
n	195	125	154	41	60	14	474	115	590
Ascetic	32.8	26.4	25.3	26.8	25.0	28.6	28.7	26.1	32.27
Ascetic +	7.2	12.0	7.8	12.2	5.0	14.3	8.6	8.7	9.01
Indulgent	35.9	35.2	33.8	31.7	41.7	50.0	35.0	39.1	28.39
% Indulgent restricted	24.1	26.4	33.8	29.3	28.3	7.1	27.6	26.1	28.39

Note. This is based on a sub-sample of the working sample. The same individuals are included within the sub-sample for both 1986 and 2000

Table 7.6. The Distribution of Types of Eaters across Urban and Rural Counties in 2000

	County (%)								Total
	London	West Midlands	Manchester	Cornwall and English Islands	Rural Wales and Anglesey	Highlands and Scottish Islands	Combined urban	Combined rural	
1986 Eating Pattern (%)***									
n	329	124	159	30	53	17	612	100	712
Ascetic	30.1	18.5	21.4	24.5	24.5	23.5	25.5	25.0	25.4
Indulgent	18.2	18.2	25.8	23.3	26.4	47.1	20.3	29.0	21.5
Indulgent restricted	19.5	29.8	22.6	30.0	24.5	11.8	22.4	24.0	22.6
Undistinguished	32.2	33.1	30.2	20.0	24.5	17.6	31.9	22.0	30.5
2000 Eating Pattern (%)***									
n	329	124	159	30	53	17	612	100	712
Ascetic	36.2	25.8	25.2	33.3	28.3	41.2	31.2	32.0	31.3
Ascetic +	14.9	14.5	6.9	16.7	5.7	5.9	12.7	9.0	12.2
Indulgent	24.6	34.7	33.3	26.7	43.4	47.1	28.9	39.0	30.3
Indulgent restricted	24.3	25.0	34.6	23.3	22.6	5.9	27.1	20.0	26.1

Note. This is based on a sub-sample of the working sample. The same individuals are included within the sub-sample for both 1986 and 2000

Table 7.7. Urban / Rural Geography, Class and Eating Patterns in 2000

2000 Eating Pattern (n=550)

<i>30 year olds in 2000</i>		Ascetic	Ascetic +	Indulgent Restricted
Highest qualification	Higher Degree	-.19	3.34*	-.22
	Degree	-.05	3.10**	-.11
	Sub-Degree	.23	2.20*	-.36
	2 or more A – Levels	-.89	1.9	-.79
	Good O Levels	.12	2.0	-.02
	Bad O Levels	-.92	1.8	-.29
Household income	Top Tertile	.79*	-.26	.21
	Middle Tertile	.53	-.34	.02
Cambridge Score	Cambridge Score	.02	.00	.01
Urban / Rural	Rural	-.17	.50	.35

Model Pseudo Rsquare = .105 (Nagelkerke). Percentage correct: 37.6 Model Xsquare (30) =56.18, p < 0.001.

Note. Dependent reference category is Indulgent. Independent reference categories are No quals, lower income tertile, urban. * p< 0.05, ** p< 0.01, *** p< 0.001

Examining the cross-tabulations in Tables 7.5 and 7.6 to start, the first thing to note, again, is the issue with sample size – this applies especially to the rural areas, in particular the rural areas of Cornwall and the English Isles and the Highlands and Scottish Islands. This means that caution is needed when drawing conclusions about these areas. For example, there are some striking numbers describing proportions of types of eaters in the Highlands and Scottish Islands in 1986 but it would be methodologically unsound to conclude too much on the evidence of those figures because in the case of the 1986 analysis, these numbers only actually refer to 14 people.

Despite this, there is some evidence that could be taken to indicate a growing difference between rural and urban areas. The figures that describe the combined proportions of eaters in all three of the urban areas and all three of the rural areas clearly show that in both years, more people were following the ‘Indulgent’ diet in rural counties in both years and that the reverse is true for the ‘Ascetic’ pattern in both years (see Tables 7.5 and 7.6). The gap seems to have grown between those located in urban and rural areas over the period 1986 to 2000, as the cohort members aged from 18 to 30. This can be illustrated with reference to the 1986 and 2000 ‘Indulgent’ eating patterns. In 1986, 21.3 % of

people in urban areas and 23.5% in rural areas were following the 'Indulgent' eating pattern, yet by 2000 a far larger proportion of people in rural areas are following the 2000 'Indulgent' eating pattern (in urban areas 28.9% of people are following this pattern compared to 39.0% in rural areas).

This above analysis could be taken to indicate an increase in differences between urban and rural areas. However, this is not the only way to interpret this. An inspection of the county level data that was amalgamated to create the 'Combined urban' columns in Tables 7.5 and 7.6 reveals that there is actually less homogeneity across the different areas in 2000 than there was in 1986. The three urban areas contain somewhat similar proportions of different 'types' of eaters in 1986, although the West Midlands has the highest proportion of 'Indulgent' eaters (24.0% compared to 22.7% in Manchester and 18.5% in London), and London has the highest proportion of 'Ascetic' eaters (23.6% compared to 16.8% in the West Midlands and 22.7% in Manchester). However, in 2000, the differences between these counties have increased. 24.6% of those captured by the cohort survey located in London are following the 2000 'Indulgent' eating pattern, compared to 34.7% and 33.3% of West Midlanders and Mancunians respectively. This suggests that those living in these cities have become less alike in terms of the average food consumption patterns inhabitants and certainly does not provide evidence to support the contention that people in urban environments are eating more similarly.

Given that the 'combined urban' data is constructed from this data, it could be argued that the relatively high proportion of people in urban areas following the 'Ascetic' and 'Ascetic plus' eating patterns in 2000 is likely to be due to the high numbers of people in London following these eating patterns rather than anything relating to urbanity per se, and that there is actually very little stability across space or time as regards the proportions of different eaters in urban areas within the cohort.

Table 7.7 suggests that there is no support for the contention that urban areas are qualitatively different from rural areas in terms of the proportions of those

adhering to certain eating patterns. Importantly, once multidimensional social class is controlled for, there is no significant difference between the eating patterns of people in urban and rural areas (although it is worth noting, that in the analysis based on imputed data, people living in rural areas are significantly more likely to follow the 'Indulgent restricted' eating pattern when compared to the 'Indulgent' one). It seems that the 'London effect' identified in the previous section is exactly that: there is a difference between those within the cohort living in London and those living in the rest of the UK. In the next section, the possibility that it is geographically mobile people who are responsible for this difference is investigated.

7.2.4 Migration into and out of London

The results of the analysis into intra-national migration patterns in and out of London and their relationship with eating patterns are presented in three tables in this section. Only cohort members whose 'county at interview' data was available in both the 1986 and 2000 waves of the survey are included in this phase of the analysis. This means that international migration into London, that is of course a significant and interesting phenomenon in the context of food and eating, is not taken into account. Table 7.8 shows the levels of migration among the cohort from region to region in the UK over the period of 1986 to 2000. Table 7.9 shows the proportions of intra-national immigrants, emigrants, and long term London 1970BCS residents who followed each of the eating patterns in 2000, and also the socio-demographic make-up of these different groups. Table 7.10 shows the results of a multinomial logistic regression model that investigates this same relationship between migration and eating patterns but also controls for class, through the inclusion of educational achievement.³⁶

³⁶ This regression has a relatively low number of cases. In order to avoid over-fitting the model, only educational achievement is included, rather than income, education and Cambridge score. I also combine the Bad O Levels and No quals categories, as well as the Higher Degree and Degree categories. In the imputed data version of this model (see Appendix 1), where including further variables does not reduce the sample size, I also include income and Cambridge score as continuous variables. This has little effect on the relevant coefficients.

Table 7.8. Regional Intra-national Migration in Mainland Britain between 1986 and 2000

	Region 2000 (%)										
	North East	North West	Yorkshire and the Humber	East Midlands	West Midlands	East of England	South East	South West	Greater London	Wales	Scotland
Region 1986											
n	155	401	297	227	335	317	478	252	325	191	301
North East	90.3	1.5	1.0	0	.6	.9	1.7	.8	3.7	0	1.0
North West	.6	87.5	4.7	2.6	3.0	1.3	2.5	1.2	5.5	1.6	1.0
Yorkshire and the Humber	5.8	3.2	82.5	4.4	2.4	.6	1.5	1.2	4.0	1.0	1.0
East Midlands	0	1.5	4.4	78.4	1.2	3.5	2.3	.8	2.5	0	.3
West Midlands	.6	1.7	2.7	4.8	84.5	.9	3.8	3.2	4.9	1.0	.7
East of England	0	0.5	1.3	3.1	1.8	81.1	3.1	2.0	8.0	.5	0
South East	.6	1.5	1.0	2.2	2.1	7.3	74.3	8.7	13.2	1.6	1.0
South West	.6	1.0	1.0	1.8	1.8	.9	4.2	78.6	5.8	2.1	.3
Greater London	0	.2	0	0.9	.3	2.5	4.8	1.2	47.1	.5	0
Wales	1.3	0	1.0	0.4	1.5	.6	1.7	2.0	1.5	91.6	.3
Scotland	0	1.2	0.3	1.3	.9	.3	.2	.4	3.7	0	94.4

Table 7.9. The Distribution of Multidimensional Capital and Eating Patterns across London's Intra-national Migrant Groups

	Intra-national migrant status (%)				Working sample
	Immigrant	Long term resident	Emigrants	All London residents (in 1986 and/or 2000)	
Total					
n	159	153	39	351	3383
% All London residents	43.6	45.3	11.1	100	n/a
Parent's highest qualification*					
n	127	111	32	270	2827
Degree	33.1	26.1	34.4	30.4	18.3
A Levels	21.3	10.8	15.6	16.3	14.9
O Levels	25.2	19.8	15.6	21.9	24.1
Vocational quals	10.2	13.5	12.5	11.9	11.8
None	10.2	29.7	21.9	19.6	30.9
1986 Highbrow CC score*					
n	150	135	37	322	3144
mean	1.47	1.13	1.60	1.34	1.05
1980 Family Income per week					
n	133	117	32	282	2803
% > £200	27.1	18.8	25.0	23.4	13.7
% >£100 & <£200	54.9	53.8	56.3	54.6	53.4
% < £100	18.0	27.4	18.8	22.0	32.9
1986 Cambridge score**					
n	130	103	27	260	3114
mean	62.0	55.1	64.4	59.5	54.25
1986 Eating Patterns*					
n	159	153	39	351	3383
Ascetic	37.7	19.6	38.5	29.9	24.3
Indulgent restricted	13.8	26.1	17.9	19.7	21.5
Undistinguished	30.8	34.6	28.2	30.8	32.5
Indulgent	17.6	19.6	15.4	17.6	21.7

2000 Eating Patterns***					
n	159	153	39	351	3383
Ascetic	37.7	33.3	30.8	35.0	25.6
Ascetic +	22.0	8.5	2.6	14.0	10.2
Indulgent restricted	24.5	23.5	28.2	24.5	30.1
Indulgent	15.7	34.6	38.5	26.5	34.1
Highest qualification***					
n	159	153	39	351	3383
Higher Degree	8.2	3.9	7.7	6.3	3.9
Degree	59.7	24.2	33.3	41.3	26.1
Sub-Degree	7.5	5.9	10.3	7.1	7.2
2 or more A – Levels	6.3	4.6	7.7	5.7	6.1
Good O Levels	13.8	34.6	25.6	24.2	31.9
Bad O Levels	.6	5.9	2.6	3.1	5.9
None	3.8	20.9	12.8	12.3	18.9
Household income**					
n	125	115	31	271	2599
Top Tertile	69.6	49.6	51.6	59.0	38.0
Middle Tertile	22.4	28.7	41.9	27.3	35.3
Bottom Tertile	8.0	21.7	6.5	8.0	26.7
Cambridge Score***					
n	136	128	33	297	2851
mean	66.4	58.5	60.0	62.3	57.0

Note. Chi square and one-way ANOVA tests were conducted to gauge statistical significance, as appropriate. * p< 0.05, ** p< 0.01, *** p< 0.001

Table 7.10. Intra-national Migration into and out of London between 1986 and 2000, Class, and Eating Patterns in 2000

2000 Eating Pattern (n=351)

<i>30 year olds in 2000</i>		Ascetic	Ascetic +	Indulgent restricted
Highest qualification	Higher Degree / Degree	.24	1.25	-.12
	Sub-Degree / A Levels	-.21	1.22	-.29
	Good O Levels	.65	1.40	.05
Migrant Status	Long term resident	-.97**	-1.58***	-.90*
	Emigrant	-1.1*	-2.98**	-.78

Model Pseudo Rsquare = .111 (Nagelkerke). Percentage correct: 38.7% Model Xsquare (15) =38.339, p < 0.001.

Note. Dependent reference category is Indulgent. Independent reference categories are Bad O Levels / No quals, intra-national immigrant. * p< 0.05, ** p< 0.01, * p< 0.001**

As shown in Table 7.8, migration into all the other regions occurred at a significantly lower level than was the case for London. Individuals are more likely to move to London between the ages of 16 and 30 than they are to move to any of the other regions. In fact, adding up all the those who lived in London in 2000 but not in 1986 demonstrates that 53.1% of all Londoners in the cohort at age 30 lived outside of London at age 16. This figure demonstrates the magnet-like effect that London has among this age-group and raises the possibility that the unique consumption patterns we see in London at age 30 could be related to movement around the country. It seems likely that people of this age move to London in order to begin and further their careers (this movement for economic reasons has been described as moving to an escalator region– see Fielding, 1992), and perhaps also to embrace the cosmopolitan lifestyle. If they are moving for cultural reasons then perhaps they would already be following the accompanying ascetic lifestyle, or adopt it once they arrived.

The analysis presented in Table 7.9 provides some evidence that this might be the case. The migrants moving into London have very high levels of multidimensional capital. As well as being significantly richer in monetary terms, with over 60% in the top income group, they also have higher average Cambridge scores suggesting a wide ranging social network. In terms of institutionalized cultural capital reserves, they are three times more likely to have post-graduate degrees than the national average and over twice as likely as

the long term London residents. Not surprisingly this culturally engaged group is also extremely likely to follow the 'Ascetic plus' diet, with 22.0% following this eating pattern. This figure is striking – it can be compared to 8.5% among the long term residents of the cohort based in London and 2.6% among their peers who in contrast have migrated away from London over the period of 1986 to 2000. It appears that the high proportion of people we see following the 'Ascetic plus' eating pattern in London in Figure 7.4 might be due not to the long term London residents but to the impact of immigrants – those within the cohort who have moved into London over the period from 1986 to 2000. Indeed, the proportion of long term residents within the cohort living in London following this eating pattern (8.5%) is actually lower than the national average (10.2%).

Looking at the typical life course of this group of intra-national migrants (Table 7.9) we can see that a relatively large proportion of this group was following ascetic eating patterns at age 16 (37.7% followed the 1986 'Ascetic' eating pattern compared to the national mean of 24.3%) and that by the time they were aged 30 and also had moved to London, they can be seen to have had accumulated high levels of multidimensional capital and maintained a similar eating pattern (41.35% followed the 2000 'Ascetic' pattern), or alternatively adopted the even more restrictive 'Ascetic plus' eating pattern as described above. The long term residents of London within the cohort, on the other hand, have rather unremarkable reserves of capital when compared to the rest of the UK (with the exception of economic capital where they score highly although this money will of course not go as far as it would elsewhere) and their eating patterns are also far closer to the norms seen in the rest of the UK population. We might conclude, therefore, albeit tentative, that this group of rich, geographically mobile individuals is likely responsible for the 'London effect' identified earlier in the chapter.

In the case of migrants moving out of London, there is significantly more variance – this is likely to be due to the relatively low number of people these

figures represent (n=39), although some patterns can still be identified.³⁷ Emigrants are likely to have richer than average parents, high levels of inherited and acquired social and cultural capital, and higher income than the national average. They are relatively likely to follow the 'Ascetic' eating pattern and also the 'Indulgent' eating pattern but actually much less likely than average to follow the 'Ascetic plus' eating pattern. This finding is interesting when considered alongside the fact that migrants within the cohort moving into London are very likely to follow the 'Ascetic plus' eating pattern. Although both these groups appear to be middle class, their consumption patterns differ considerably.

The results of the regression reported in Table 7.10 are also enlightening. This analysis shows that the adoption of the 'Ascetic plus' eating pattern in London by the largely middle class individuals that have migrated there is a phenomenon that can be attributed to more than just their positions within multidimensional social space. Levels of cultural capital are shown to be important in discerning between cluster membership but migrating to London is shown to be a significant predictor of membership of the 'Ascetic plus' cluster to a level above and beyond what could be expected given the cohort members reserves of cultural capital. These findings therefore suggest that the 'Ascetic plus' cluster is followed closely by an elite middle class group moving into London.

7.3 *Discussion*

In this section, I draw together the evidence presented above regarding the extent to which different geographical areas of the UK have different 'types' of eaters living in them, whether or not these areas have 'distinct local cultures' and discuss this evidence in the context of both the health science and cultural sociology literatures. I first discuss the relevance of the findings relating to the geographical patterning of 'Indulgent' and 'Indulgent restricted' eaters. I then

³⁷ Although this analysis is based on small numbers of cases, these findings are very similar to findings that were produced in previous analyses that included cases outside of the working sample (in which there were 826 people who had lived in London in total, 111 of which were emigrants).

move on to talk about the other end of the scale, the middle class diets known as 'Ascetic' and 'Ascetic plus' eating patterns and discuss the groups of people who are following these diets, particularly with reference to migrants moving in and out of London.

7.3.1 Geography versus Class

In broad terms, the divide that runs across society between the indulgent working classes and the ascetic middle classes might be said to be accompanied by a geographical North / South divide. This divide appears to be partly due to the fact that, generally speaking, regions in the North of Britain, including Scotland, contain significantly larger populations of people from lower socioeconomic groups. However, analysis has also shown that geographical differences, although attenuated to a small extent by social class differences, are also related to eating patterns independently. These findings are not surprising and are in fact consistent with existing research from nutritional surveys (Crawley, 1997, DEFRA, 2011, ONS, 2004) .

7.3.2 Local cultures of food

There are two geographic areas that stand out as being most significantly different from the other areas of Britain. The first is Scotland – perhaps unsurprisingly it was found that the Scottish are much more likely to consume according to the 'Indulgent' diet, when compared to the rest of Britain. However, it is also worth noting that the 'Indulgent restricted' diet, which, as I show in Chapter 5 is actually accompanied by a more 'unhealthy' lifestyle in other regards apart from food, is actually the diet that cohort members in Scotland are least likely to follow, relative to other regions. The second distinctive area is London. London is a special case because not only does it have the highest proportion of 'Ascetic' and 'Ascetic plus' eaters living there in 2000 but it also is the area that showed by far the greatest change over the period of 1986 to 2000. These two areas are therefore the best candidates for having their own 'distinct

local cultures’.

‘Indulgent’ eaters in Scotland

The idea that the Scottish residents within the cohort eat a more ‘unhealthy’ diet may be familiar to the reader; the assertion appears often throughout the UK media (often through tales of deep fried mars bars) and is backed up by regular findings from surveys such as the National Food Survey and the Living Costs and Food Survey (MAFF, 1989) and the National Diet and Nutrition Survey (see ONS, 2004, DEFRA, 2011) as well as studies using the 1970BCS that examine the differences between the Scottish and English diet (e.g. Crawley, 1997).

Crawley (1997), in the specific context of Scotland, and also Whichelow and Prevost (1996) in a more generalized analysis, found that regional differences in eating persist even after controlling for socio-economic differences, in the form of occupational social class. My analysis in this chapter investigated the same issue although using a Bourdieusian model of class. In one sense, the results confirm that Crawley’s findings regarding the differences between Scotland and England still hold. There is a long-standing and persistent difference between Scotland and the rest of Britain in terms of adherence to the 1986 and 2000 ‘Indulgent’ eating patterns, which are characterized by high frequency of consumption of all the foods that could be described as ‘unhealthy’ and low levels of consumption of all the foods that could be described as ‘healthy’. Scotland had higher proportions of cohort members adhering to the ‘Indulgent’ diets than any other region (with the exception of the North East in 2000) and this finding persisted, even after controlling for multidimensional class. It appears therefore that tastes and practices in relation to food by those located in Scotland may be somewhat separate from the rest of Britain (again with the exception of the North East) in that more people are more likely to consume an ‘Indulgent’ diet.

The evidence therefore supports Crawley’s (1997) conclusion but also allows it to be expanded upon – this is because the same finding still holds in 2000 that

did in 1986. As the cohort members aged, Scottish residing members of the 1970 cohort maintained the very high proportion of people following 'Indulgent' diets. Closer inspection of the data reveals further interesting details about the differences and similarities between those located in Scotland compared to the rest of Britain. Whereas those who reside in Scotland are more likely to follow the 'Indulgent' eating pattern, they are not particularly likely to follow the other normatively unhealthy eating pattern – the 'Indulgent restricted' diet. In other words, there seem to be distinct local cultures in operation in the UK, at least within this cohort. The way that the 1970BCS individuals eat 'unhealthily' in Scotland is different to the way that people tend to eat 'unhealthily' in the rest of the UK.

Interestingly though, the analysis in Chapter 5 shows that the 1986 and 2000 'Indulgent' eating patterns, which disproportionately high numbers of those located in Scotland tend to follow, are not the eating patterns that are associated with the most problematic health measures (such as high BMI), or with other 'unhealthy' cultural practices such as smoking and drinking. Neither, as is shown in Chapter 6, are the 1986 and 2000 'Indulgent' eating patterns followed by the groups with the very lowest levels of cultural and economic capital. In both cases, in both years, it is the 'Indulgent restricted' eating patterns that fit this bill.

In terms of food policy, this is potentially very interesting. If one takes the currently dominant perspective that 'healthy eating' education is an effective means for dealing with health problems related to diet (which is far from certain) then policy interventions should not be broad-brush campaigns, but rather, as other previous authors have pointed out (e.g. Schwartz et al., 2011) should be aimed at specific identifiable groups of people. In this case the group that may need to be targeted is a certain type of 'unhealthy' eater living in Scotland.

Ascetic eaters in London

Scotland stands out as one of the most important areas where geography seems to be playing a role in shaping eating patterns but London also appears to be a special case. There are two interconnected ways in which the London 1970 cohort appears to be somewhat unique. The first refers to change over time and the second to the extremely ascetic eating patterns followed by Londoners in 2000.

A cursory glance at Figures 7.1 – 7.4 demonstrates how the average consumption patterns in London, unlike the rest of Britain, changed dramatically between the period from 1986 to 2000. In 1986, London appeared unremarkable, with a fairly high percentage of ‘Indulgent restricted’ eaters but not a particularly large amount of ‘Indulgent’ or ‘Ascetic’ eaters. By 2000, the situation had transformed, with extremely high numbers of ‘Ascetic’ eaters and, relatively speaking, an even higher proportion of ‘Ascetic plus’ eaters. Supplementary analysis presented in this chapter shows that this change was almost entirely due to those sampled moving out of, but more importantly, into, London during this period. This means that the figures representing the distribution of different types of eaters in London that were used to create Figures 7.1 and 7.2 may actually be referring to a very different group of people to the figures represented in Figures 7.3 and 7.4. This is interesting and slightly counter-intuitive because it suggests that the best example of a distinctive ‘local culture’ of food is actually the one place where the individuals who live there are most transient. Having said this, it is also worth bearing in mind that there are a significant group of people who remained in London between the two waves of the survey, although this group does make up a smaller proportion of those who live in London than the long-term residents based in any other region.

Both the immigrant and emigrant cohort members could be described as middle class although their relative capital profiles and likely eating patterns differ. The former are likely to have very high levels of all types of capital but also show high levels of accumulated cultural capital in the form of educational qualifications whereas the latter are likely to have high levels of inherited

highbrow cultural and economic capital but to have acquired lower levels of multidimensional capital on their own accord. The immigrants are likely to follow the 'Ascetic' or 'Ascetic plus' eating pattern and the emigrants are likely to follow the 'Ascetic' or the 'Indulgent' eating pattern and actively reject the 'Ascetic plus' diet.

This is interesting because it perhaps fits into the contemporary sociological discussion surrounding different forms of cultural capital. In particular the divide between traditional, or highbrow forms of cultural capital as originally conceived by Bourdieu (1984) and newer *emergent / emerging* forms of cultural capital described by the likes of Bennett et al. (2009), Savage et al. (2013) and Priouer and Savage (2012). It appears that, in the case of the emigrants, the emerging cultural capital associated with the extreme asceticism that can be seen in the people moving into London between the age of 16 and 30, is rejected for the more modest form of asceticism or indeed for a more indulgent diet. Perhaps the high scores on the *inherited highbrow* cultural capital scale of the emigrants are relevant here – at a young age this group were inculcated with a disposition for highbrow culture and as such are likely to take a more old fashioned elitist attitude towards consumption of food, which according to Bourdieu (1984) would involve eating in a more indulgent manner. This is what we actually see in the data and it is accompanied by a rejection of the more modern, restrictive, 'Ascetic plus' diet. It seems plausible that this group represents a more established middle / upper class elite who grew up in London but who have moved away from the city to rural / suburban areas in their twenties. The fact that they actually earn a relatively small amount of money could be taken to indicate that some of this group are reliant on their inherited wealth.

The sub-group of people who have moved into London appear to be exemplary examples of the 'cultural elite' I identified in the previous chapter. This group of people are concentrated in the South East and especially London and as such fit in well with Savage et al.'s (1995) description of the concentration of middle class groups following ascetic lifestyles in the South. Savage et al. (1995)

describe an adherence to a 'post-modern' lifestyle that is particularly prevalent in London and the South East, closely linked to a social and cultural hierarchy, but also adhered to at a level above and beyond what could be attributed solely to social class differences. In this current study equivalent findings were identified. This group of migrants moving into London reject indulgence and instead embrace the more radical form of asceticism, and as such could also be described as engaged with an emergent form of culture. The most likely reasons for this move into London are to take advantage of the economic, social, and cultural opportunities offered to those living there. Eating in this distinctive manner could well comprise a part of their adherence to a certain type of cosmopolitan lifestyle that prioritises emerging forms of cultural capital.

It is clear then that the prevalent situation within London in 2000 was one of a two-tier city where the culturally engaged elite are likely to be intra-national immigrants into the city. On the other side of the same coin, are the long term residents of London, who have entirely unremarkable reserves of capital when compared to the rest of the UK and whose eating patterns are also far closer to the norms seen in the rest of the UK population than they are the migrants into the city.

7.3.3 Individualization

The analysis of the differences between urban and rural regions of the UK did not seem to provide evidence for ongoing processes of individualization. Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002) in *Individualization* suggest that individualization is an urban phenomenon – that, as an ongoing process it will progress faster within urban areas than it will in rural ones. The analysis described in the results section of this chapter suggest that the eating pattern that would perhaps be associated with the breaking down of existing ways of eating (the 'Ascetic plus' eating pattern) was found to be very prominent in one conurbation (London) and not others (Manchester and Birmingham) but also very prominent in some rural areas (e.g. Cornwall and the English Isles) and not others (e.g. Rural Wales and Anglesey). A modelling process investigating these

same areas also found there were no significant differences in eating pattern membership between rural and urban areas. In short, the urbanity of an area seems to have little to no impact upon the way that people eat there.

In the previous chapter, I showed that both middle class and upwardly socially mobile people are likely to follow the 'Ascetic plus' eating pattern. In the context of debates around individualization and reflexivity, this is relevant because the 'Ascetic plus' cluster could be conceptualized of as an example of a post-Fordist eating pattern, due to its association with vegetarianism. The fact that this eating pattern is followed by high cultural capital middle class groups could be taken as evidence for the idea that rather than viewing individualization as an epochal change occurring across the whole of society, (or indeed a change occurring in some types of spatial areas rather than others as suggested by Beck), it is actually much more helpful to think of increasing reflexivity as a classed phenomenon, as argued by the likes of Savage (2000), Skeggs (2004), and Atkinson (2010), whereby middle class individuals are more likely to be able to have reserves of reflexivity available to them.

The fact that this same eating pattern is followed by upwardly mobile groups could be seen as important because a movement up the social hierarchy requires a change or a progression from one state to another, a break from existing structures and therefore some level of reflexivity. From such a perspective, adoption of post-Fordist eating patterns among such a group should not be seen as surprising. A similar argument could also be made about spatial mobility. The cohort members who moved into London have shown, through their geographical mobility, that they have a certain level of reflexivity, that they possess the 'freedom' to move around, they have made a break from the extended network of friends and/or family that presumably existed in their original places of residence, and they have also shown the same 'freedom' with their eating habits – many of them have demonstrated their ability to break away from other structural moorings; in this case adopt a 'post-Fordist' lifestyle that appears to require a deviation from 'traditional' forms of food consumption.

Whether such a pattern of consumption develops prior to, or after moving to London is impossible to say given the current data. It is possible that a certain lifestyle is associated with London and therefore draws people who consume in such a way there, or alternatively, the concentration of similar types of people within London may lead to a closer adherence to such a lifestyle amongst migrants who move there. This is an interesting topic for further research – an investigation into the cultural consumption characteristics of geographical migrants could nicely complement the work currently focusing on the importance of social mobility for understanding cultural practice (Friedman, 2012, Friedman, 2013)

Whereas middle class groups are arguably able to move around and make choices about where they will live (and this is illustrated strikingly by the socio-demographic make-up of the people who both migrated into and out of London between the ages of 16 and 30) and also what foods they eat), it appears that, to a much greater extent, the working class groups are stuck, both geographically and in the sense that their food consumption practices appear less likely to change over time. This can be observed both from the distribution of eating patterns in London for the long-term residents (they barely differ from the national average) and also from the analysis of movement between regions (Table 7.8) – the three regions that contain people who are least likely to move away from where they lived at 16 are Scotland, Wales and the North East. These are the same areas that show the among the highest adherence to the ‘Indulgent’ and ‘Indulgent restricted’ diets and are also some of the areas that have the lowest multidimensional capital reserves. It therefore could be suggested that eating in an indulgent manner is associated with low levels of reflexivity and that this situation applies relatively more often to working class groups.

7.4 *Conclusions*

To sum up, I have made two main points within this chapter. Firstly, macro-level geography, in both 1986 and 2000, shows strong links with eating patterns, to a level above and beyond what would be expected if it was simply reflecting social class differences. There appear to be two obvious 'distinct local cultures' operating within Britain. The first is in Scotland, where there are a high proportion of 'Indulgent' eaters. This observation had already been noted by scholars working within nutritional science although I have extended and provided further evidence to support their conclusions through applying a multidimensional perspective on class. The other interesting example of a 'distinct local culture' is that of London, where the 'Ascetic plus' eating pattern is followed by many of the people living there in 2000. However, these people are overwhelmingly middle class and they are very likely to have moved into London from other parts of the UK.

Secondly, as regards individualization arguments, it is impossible given the nature of the current data to comment on the extent to which broader processes of individualization are occurring but I can comment on some narrower aspects of the theory. While there is no evidence for a greater involvement in post-Fordist consumption *across* all class groups nor are there any major differences in consumption patterns between urban and rural areas, there are some aspects of individualization theory that can complement our understandings of contemporary class and cultural consumption. There seems to be some tentative evidence for class based differentials in access to reflexivity – middle class cohort members seem to show greater proclivities for being at the forefront of cultural change through their adoption of the post-Fordist 'Ascetic plus' eating pattern. It is also important to note that both socially mobile and geographically mobile individuals seem to disproportionately follow the 'Ascetic plus' eating pattern, suggesting that breaking away from traditional structural moorings may lead to the adoption of emerging cultural forms.

Finally, it is worth reflecting on the usefulness of focusing on geographic data

more in future. This area of research (i.e. investigating the geographical patterning of different types of eaters, and more broadly different types of cultural consumers) is under-researched. Sociological work has focused upon the mapping of tastes and practice across social space (e.g. Bourdieu, 1984; Peterson and Kern, 1996; Bennett et al, 2009) but the way that inequality relating to class interacts with geography (*within* a national context) has been neglected. Comparison of the different ways in which different cultural fields do or don't show evidence for 'distinct local cultures' is a potentially powerful way of expanding the scope of current debates in cultural sociology. In the next, and final, chapter I discuss this and some of the other directions that research in the future could take, as well as drawing together the substantive findings from the whole of the thesis.

8 Conclusions

The main overarching substantive aim of this thesis has been to investigate the links between cultural consumption and class through the lens of the field of food and eating. I have condensed the main theories linking class, cultural consumption, and cultural change into three main theoretical positions and then, through a quantitative analysis of the 1970BCS, I have conducted an exploratory analysis of the field of food and eating so as to facilitate a discussion of these theories. The majority of this chapter is therefore dedicated to summarizing these findings and discussing their theoretical implications.

However, there are two other areas that are also worth discussing and that I cover prior to the final theoretical conclusions. The first of these are the methodological implications of the thesis. I discuss the methods I have employed and describe how these could be used in other research within, and beyond, cultural sociology. The second relates to how the findings of this study have relevance beyond cultural sociology. My main area of interest in this study, food and eating, is of course, important *beyond* cultural sociology so within the second section of this discussion chapter I also include some comments on the implications of this thesis for food policy. Thereafter, I end the thesis by summarizing the theoretical conclusions from the three empirical chapters, draw them together and describe how there are aspects of homology, individualization and the omnivore / univore hypotheses that can help us to understand contemporary cultural taste and practice.

8.1 *Methodological conclusions*

In this thesis, I have employed an innovative research process that has taken advantage of the rich source of data that is the 1970BCS. In each of the three empirical chapters I investigated different aspects of food consumption. As the 1970BCS data is a very rich source of data, with multiple questions asked about food and other theoretically relevant issues at different times, I was able to

conduct analysis that looked at single points in time (as one may do with a cross-sectional survey) and provide a rich view of eating at that point in time. Furthermore, in each of the chapters I was able to complement these analyses with some form of analysis that exploited the prospective longitudinal nature of the data, therefore taking advantage of both the depth of information available in the BCS1970 *and* making use of its prospective nature. I think this strategy was successful and that there are other areas of research within cultural sociology where similar methods could be employed.

The methodological strategy I have employed here, and some of the insights gained through the research process, could be usefully turned to three other areas of research relating to class and cultural consumption. Firstly, in terms of prospective quantitative analyses of cultural consumption, there is scope for similar studies to be conducted. The longitudinal aspects of the methodology I have employed, or similar methodologies could be adapted to examine other domains of culture. The longitudinal links between cultural practice in early life and cultural practice in later life are certainly underexplored, and an engagement with these issues through analysis of surveys such as the 1970BCS would provide an opportunity to explore the key issues of life course and change as they relate to consumption. This type of research is needed in a field of study that is currently overwhelmingly focused upon single snapshots in time.

Secondly, one further area where I have shown there is potential for further exploration is in the investigation of the links between social mobility and cultural consumption, an underexplored topic in UK cultural sociology. One of the substantive findings of this thesis; that upward social mobility is related to individualized food consumption practices normally associated with high status groups, is a unique finding and it would be interesting to see if this phenomenon, or other similar findings, could be replicated in other fields of cultural consumption. The topic of cultural consumption and social mobility is one that is, as I have previously asserted, underexplored in the UK (although see Friedman (2013) for an example of a culturalist perspective on social mobility) and research that closes this gap would greatly add to the literature base,

allowing more empirically grounded engagement with concepts such as *habitus*.

Thirdly, studies that provide a geographic mapping of the patterns of cultural consumption across the country are arguably long overdue. The substantive finding from this thesis relating to the uniqueness of London and how it relates to food consumption patterns over the life course also raises further interesting issues. These relate to cosmopolitanism and the rise of the global city and are worth investigating in other fields of culture. Although it is fairly common to see international ('cross-cultural') comparisons of cultural consumption patterns (e.g. Lamont, 1992, Chan, 2010), studies engaging with geography at higher level of resolution are rare. In the UK, Savage et al. (1995) report consumption differences between regions of the UK but their analysis is now dated and is restricted only to middle class consumption. This study has shown the potential for investigating the geographic distribution of different 'types' of people. The proliferation of the use of clustering methods within cultural sociology in recent years, alongside more sophisticated and easy-to-use GIS mapping applications, means that these kinds of analysis could be readily employed to provide greater understanding of cultural taste and practice *within* nation states.

8.2 *Implications for nutritional science / policy*

One of the threads running throughout this thesis has been the aim of considering how the methods employed, and the findings outputted, might relate to debates around nutrition, obesity and associated health problems. There are two ways in which this thesis has relevance in this particular regard. Firstly, the substantive findings of the thesis have implications for understandings of health and eating; and secondly, the research process I have followed is in many ways similar to what has been employed by nutritional scientists so there are also methodological implications for work conducted in the field of nutritional science.

In terms of the substantive significance of this thesis, I have produced evidence to show a class, gender, and geographically based 'unhealthy - healthy' divide is

in operation in the UK. Although I have focused mostly on the class and space based differentials in this study (because these were the aim of the research), from a nutritional science perspective the findings relating to gender are just as significant, if not unexpected. Just as has been shown repeatedly in nutritional studies of food consumption (Crawley, 1997, DEFRA, 2011, ONS, 2004), middle class individuals, individuals in the South of England, and women are more likely to follow normatively healthy diets. From a policy perspective, if the current individualistic paradigm focused around nutritional education is to continue (and it is worth noting that this policy has not been successful so far, particularly among less privileged groups – see Warde, 1997), then a focus on particular groups of individuals, rather than a broad-brush approach, is important. This recommendation is already commonly made in the relevant literature (Schwartz et al., 2011).

Close inspection of the cluster make-up, and the lifestyle and health variables that are associated with each cluster, reveal that the patterning of 'unhealthy' and 'healthy' diets is complex in more than just demographic terms. Two separate 'unhealthy' eating patterns ('Indulgent' and 'Indulgent restricted') were identified in both years under study, and the associations between these particular eating patterns and health-related variables were different for each of these eating patterns. The 'Indulgent restricted' diets identified in both 1986 and 2000, at ages 16 and 30, both include a relatively high consumption of white bread and potato chips and both are cross-sectionally associated with high BMIs and levels of obesity, as well as high levels of drinking, smoking, and low levels of exercise. The 'Indulgent' clusters, on the other hand, were comprised of individuals who reported high frequency of consumption of all the normatively unhealthy foods and low frequency of consumption of all the normatively healthy foods but the other aspects of their lives were not as 'unhealthy' as the individuals following the 'Indulgent restricted' eating patterns.

This finding is relevant to work within nutritional science surrounding the 'clustering' together of 'unhealthy' practices. While one of the 'unhealthy' eating patterns (the 'Indulgent restricted' eating pattern) was found to be associated

with the other three of the 'big four' "modifiable causes of morbidity and mortality" (Poortinga, 2007; pg 124), another one of the 'unhealthy' eating patterns (the 'Indulgent' eating pattern in both years) only showed modest associations with these health-related variables. One conclusion that could be taken from this, from a health science / policy perspective, is that the 'clustering' of unhealthy practices is complex. Different types of people lead different lifestyles and it does not always follow that just because someone is 'unhealthy' in one sense does not mean that their other cultural consumption 'choices' are necessarily more likely to be 'unhealthy'. Again, if the 'education' strategy for dealing with public health issues relating to lifestyle is to be persevered with, then this finding could be taken to indicate that a careful selection of different groups of people for interventions is important, as some groups appear to have problematic consumption only in relation to eating and for other groups, the full battery of health-related lifestyle practices seem to co-occur.

To turn to the methodological implications of the thesis for the health science literature, I have shown the effectiveness of a CA methodology for grouping together different individuals according to their consumption using food frequency data. This is already a technique that has been growing in popularity in the nutritional science literature, whether through the empirical derivation of eating patterns using CA or similar techniques (Newby and Tucker, 2004a, Pryer et al., 2001, Prynne et al., 2010), or through the identification of people following certain types of pre-specified eating patterns (such as the 'Mediterranean' diet high in olive oil and red wine) (Martínez-González and Sánchez-Villegas, 2004), replacing the traditional strategy of examining the relationship between single foods, or single nutrients, and health outcomes. This 'eating pattern' strategy has been endorsed by health and nutritional scientists (eg Jacques and Tucker, 2001), who suggest that nutrients could have synergistic or antagonistic effects when combined and therefore that a strategy of deriving eating patterns and looking at the relationships between such patterns and health outcomes may be more powerful and less likely to produce artefactual findings than the 'traditional' approach.

I concur with such a position but also point out that, there is an added benefit of working in such a manner that should be acknowledged. This relates to the way that lifestyles are structured. As shown by the likes of Bourdieu (1984) and others since (eg Bennett et al, 2009), as well as by the researchers working in the health sciences (Poortinga, 2007) there are relational links between different forms of consumption beyond just different types of food that should be taken into account. Any one particular aspect of eating is likely to be related, to a lesser or greater degree, to other aspects of eating, and other aspects of lifestyle (albeit not necessarily in a linear, straightforward sense, as I have suggested above). A strategy whereby each individual aspect of practice is treated as a separate possible 'cause' of health outcomes later in life does not take into account this relational perspective.

One further way in which this thesis is relevant to nutritional science is that it demonstrates the importance of a multidimensional perspective towards social inequality and relatedly, the importance of carefully considering the measurement(s) of social inequality that are employed when investigating class differences in food consumption. I have shown that combinations of economic, cultural, and social factors are important if one is to understand UK eating patterns. In some nutritional and health science research, social class is controlled through by the use of occupational class measurements, such as the Goldthorpe class schema. I have shown that the Goldthorpe class schema seems to have little explanatory power in explaining eating patterns present within this 1970 cohort, especially after controlling for other factors. Marshall (1997) suggests that the Goldthorpe research programme has uncovered the "bedrock of class inequalities" (pg. 6) yet when it comes to factors relating to cultural consumption (including food), at least within the context of this particular cohort, I would suggest that the use of such schemes for identifying class differences may lead to an underestimation of the differences between class groups.

Indeed there is already good evidence that this type of error has already been made. Beardsworth et al. (1999) for example, report that there is no significant

relationship between occupational social class and vegetarianism in the UK, and conclude that social class has little impact on vegetarianism. Other research (Gale et al., 2007) and the results presented in this thesis would seem to contradict this finding. Beardsworth et al.'s (1999) methodological process is by no means unusual practice but I would suggest the empirical focus on the economic dimension of class at the expense of the cultural, has led to some of the intricacies in the socio-demographic make-up of vegetarians being missed.

I have not selected an isolated case here - the use of occupational social class as a catch-all measure of social inequality in studies investigating the differences between types of eaters is common (Beardsworth and Bryman, 1999, Billson et al., 1999, Lindstrom et al., 2001; Viner and Cole, 2006). Given the results of this thesis could be taken to suggest that the use of multidimensional models of class, such as the capitals approach followed here, may be a more appropriate way of investigating social class differences in research that relates to cultural consumption, and this includes research looking at food. Even if researchers are not framing their work within a Bourdieusian perspective, it is important that multiple measures of inequality are used, including a measure of educational achievement and a measure of economic position; economic and cultural factors are related to eating patterns, as they are to all forms of cultural consumption, in complex multidimensional ways.

8.3 Theoretical conclusions

8.3.1 Homology

People with similar multidimensional class positions tend to consume in similar ways to each other and these class-based differences are relatively stable over the life course. In a broad sense, these continuing inter-class differences and intra-class similarities can be taken as evidence to support arguments from homology such as those suggested by Bourdieu (1984). However, the extent to which specific parts of Bourdieu's formulation of a homology argument are supported by the analysis in this thesis is more open to debate.

Cultural Capital and Educational Attainment

What this thesis has suggested, however, is that as a predictor or 'determinant' of eating patterns, educational attainment is very important. But the way to interpret this finding is not a 'taken for granted' position within contemporary sociology. From a Bourdieusian perspective, educational attainment is often treated as a measure of institutionalized cultural capital but other scholars would suggest that educational attainment variables should be operationalized in different ways. Some would view educational achievement as a proxy measure of individual merit (e.g. Saunders, 1995) or a function of 'information processing capacity' (e.g. Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007c), and as such would not accept a Bourdieusian operationalization is appropriate.

This being the case, I attempted to compare the merits of a capitals approach with a class / status approach, and, after concluding that the capital approach was superior for explaining the patterning in the data, largely accepted the cultural capital operationalization as appropriate. While the idea that culture and education are intrinsically linked is sound and empirically backed by consistent findings from a wide array of cultural fields showing consumption is linked to educational achievement, I accept that the results presented in this thesis, taken on their own, do not provide conclusive evidence that a Bourdieusian operationalization in this matter is valid - and indeed I accept the use of educational achievement on its own as a measure of cultural capital is not ideal. However, in this particular circumstance, as is always the case in secondary research, it is necessary to work with what is available. It is for this reason that I have used educational achievement, complemented by a highbrow objectified cultural capital variable, in order to measure cultural capital. Although it might be said that many of the claims made in this research rest upon this choice to read educational attainment as form of cultural capital, it is also the case that educational attainment has been a key variable within the various analyses I have conducted in this thesis, which has repeatedly been intrinsic to interpreting the different findings, including those relating to

different accounts of cultural capital.

Capital and habitus

I have suggested that cultural capital may be one of the most important forms of capital in terms of structuring eating patterns and that the foods that people eat comprise an important component of objectified cultural capital. As cultural capital appears to be so important (more important even than economic capital), this implies that the food 'choices' that people make are symbolically important and the foods that people eat play an important role in signifying the social standing of different 'types' of people.

Furthermore, especially in 2000, the different consumption patterns that I have identified (and that are followed disproportionately by different social groups) are, in many senses, oppositional to each other. According to Chan and Goldthorpe (2007c) one of the most important pieces of evidence to support arguments from homology would be that higher class groups should actively reject the culture of lower class groups because this suggests the existence of a strong symbolic dividing line. Likewise, in this thesis I have found evidence for precisely this. The best example is the comparison of the 'Ascetic plus' and 'Indulgent' diets. The 'Ascetic plus' diet, followed by fractions of the middle class with high reserves of acquired institutionalized cultural capital but middling reserves of economic capital, is characterized by a rejection of red meat and poultry – the very same foods that are consumed heavily within the largely working class 'Indulgent' eating pattern in 2000. These oppositions could be taken as indicative of field tensions in operation and might be described by a Bourdieusian as a good example of symbolic violence in action.

The objectified form of the differences between class groups' consumption patterns change across time and space. As such it is perhaps not surprising that the form that the differences between class groups take is not completely consistent with Bourdieu's findings in *Distinction* (1984). A comparison with Bourdieu's findings (from 1960's France) suggest that whereas the cultural elite

do embrace 'healthy', 'light' foods and the working classes consume 'unhealthy' 'Indulgent' foods, the consumption patterns of the economic elite do *not* fit in with what Bourdieu would have expected. In 2000, this group is likely to follow a normatively healthy, 'Ascetic' diet, rather than an indulgent diet.

I have suggested, albeit tentatively, a variety of different and not necessarily mutually exclusive explanations for this change. It could be that the upward cultural displacement of what constitutes objectified cultural capital has led to economically rich middle class groups following the cultural elite 'vanguard' in an increasingly ascetic diet. Another possible explanation is that actually it is not the objectified form of cultural capital that is important, but the embodied form of cultural capital that is linked to food consumption. By this, I mean that one of the consequences of eating a healthy diet could be the maintenance of a desirable body shape that is itself, as Bourdieu (1984) has suggested, a form of embodied cultural capital. Alternatively, more overtly rational explanations could be correct, the most obvious of which is a desire to be healthy. Increasing concerns about health among the economically rich middle classes could be responsible for this change towards healthy eating - perhaps the middle classes are better able to take a long term perspective because they have experience of seeing long term aims being achieved.

The analysis described in Chapter 6 sheds some light on the importance that socialization in childhood plays in structuring eating patterns in later life. I have shown that levels of inherited cultural capital play a role in structuring consumption patterns at age 30 even after controlling for multidimensional class position in adulthood. However, it appears that levels of acquired cultural capital are also important: in fact acquired cultural capital (measured through educational achievement) appears to be significantly more important than inherited cultural capital.³⁸ This finding has relevance for discussions of

³⁸ It is worth noting here that there is an alternative, biological explanation for the finding that healthy eating in childhood is linked to better educational achievement in adulthood – it could be the case that eating healthily has an impact on the development of the brain and leads to better achievement in education.

Bourdieu's concept of *habitus*. Bourdieu (1984) suggests that children acquire certain dispositions towards culture in childhood and that these dispositions are inscribed in the 'structuring structure' component of the *habitus* and therefore continue to influence tastes and practice in later life. What I have found in this thesis is to some extent consistent with such an understanding of *habitus* in that socialization appears to be important but not the be all and end all when it comes to taste and practice in adulthood.

A crude reading of *habitus*, in which the term is treated as synonymous with socialization, cannot therefore be correct - socialization does play a role but social position in adulthood structures eating patterns to a greater degree. This suggests to me that, if the concept of *habitus* is to be retained, it ought not to be conceived of as a stable structure. The analysis of social mobility that I reported in Chapter 6 could be taken as evidence for this idea. Cohort members who are upwardly mobile are the most likely people to follow the 'Ascetic plus' eating pattern - the eating pattern of the cultural elite. This could suggest that dispositions learnt in childhood are less important for this group. In fact, out of all the different types of people with different class positions and mobility statuses, these are the people for whom dispositions learnt in childhood are the least important.

Taken together, these findings are interesting because they provide information about the variable perseverance of dispositions in the *habitus* for different mobility groups - hence my call for a more nuanced understanding of the *habitus* that takes change over the life course into consideration. These findings also suggest that people who are socially mobile may rely more on their cultural resources to maintain or advance their position in the social milieu. This idea that some groups may be more reliant on cultural capital has been suggested previously for other groups of people. For example Savage et al. (1995) suggest that women are more likely to rely on cultural capital, as they may find it harder to progress through organisational or economic means. As far as I am aware, this is the first time it has been suggested that socially mobile people may do the same. The fact that upwardly socially mobile people adopted the cultural elite

'Ascetic plus' diet also has further possible ramifications for theories of cultural change and I discuss this in more depth in the section entitled *Theoretical Summary* below.

8.3.2 Individualization

In contrast to Bourdieu's (and Peterson and Kern's) empirically informed theories of culture, individualization theories do not have their origins in survey based analyses of cultural taste and practice, nor is there a sizeable existing body of work using empirical data to specifically test the extent to which developments in the observable world are consistent with the theories outlined by Beck, Bauman, and Giddens (see Warde, 1997, Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007c for exceptions). Instead, individualization theories have their origins in post-modernist inspired social theory. This being the case, identifying appropriate ways to empirically gauge the usefulness of the concept of individualization for describing changes in contemporary culture was more of a challenge than was the case with the homology or omnivore / univore arguments.

Nevertheless, I returned to the original texts in which the three key scholars outlined their theories and identified a number of assertions that were in some way testable, or at the least would allow me to consider the findings of a spatial analysis from an individualization perspective. Additionally I subsumed the idea that social collectivities not based around traditional structural bases are becoming increasingly important in contemporary society (Warde (1997) referred to this concept as 'post-Fordism') under the individualization umbrella. The analyses that I subsequently completed did not allow me to comment on the main tenets of individualization arguments versions but there are, I would suggest, some aspects of individualization theories that can be useful in explaining contemporary cultural consumption.

Contrary to what might be expected given Beck and Beck-Gernsheim's (2002) description of social class as a 'zombie category', class (when measured in a certain way) continues to play an important role in structuring eating patterns.

Furthermore, I have shown in this thesis that what people eat at 30 is to a large degree influenced by what they ate at 16, and that gender and geography play key roles in structuring eating patterns. All these findings add up to suggest that, as of the year 2000, for those captured by this 1970 cohort survey, eating 'choices' in the UK were not characterized by unbridled reflexivity and individual freedom. It is again worth striking a note of caution here - individualization is conceived of as a process and the prospective longitudinal nature of the data used in this thesis mean that I cannot directly compare one group of individuals in one year to an equivalent group of individuals in another year, as was, for example, done by Warde and Tomlinson (1993) and others, in order to investigate whether class based patterning is decreasing over time. Nevertheless, from the data I have available it appears that this domain of culture remains to a certain extent very much structured along traditional socio-demographic lines.

I have suggested that the identification of the 'Ascetic plus' eating pattern, on first glance could be seen as quite convincing evidence that cultural change as described by moderate individualization theorists is taking place. Such an ascetic eating pattern involves the rejection of meat (not a small thing to do given the cultural cachet that has been attached to meat in Western culture for hundreds of years) and in many cases forms a key part of a reflexive ethical 'lifestyle' that could be seen as an excellent example of part of, to use Giddens' (1991) terminology, a "reflexive project" (pg. 32) of the self. Vegetarianism could also be seen as an example of a neo-tribal / post-Fordist consumption pattern that people might re-embed into after dis-embedding from traditional class-based consumption patterns. This being the case, it is possible to view membership of this particular cluster as a marker for individuals who may have (or appear to have) greater individualized identities.

However, what is perhaps most striking about the socio-demographic make-up of the 'Ascetic plus' cluster is that it is overwhelmingly followed by middle class groups. From an individualization theory perspective, this has led to me arguing, following Savage (2000) and Atkinson (Atkinson, 2010), that self-

actualization and reflexivity, rather than increasing across the population, may form a key emerging component of the middle class *habitus*. As such, individualization might be seen not as a broad cultural change as elucidated by Bauman and Beck and to a lesser extent Giddens, but as a narrow one.

Furthermore, I have shown that, contrary to Beck and Beck-Gernsheim's (2002) assertion that individualization is an 'urban phenomenon' that is irreconcilably linked to the city, there appears to be no link between the post-Fordist 'Ascetic plus' eating pattern and living in urban areas. Instead it appears that it is those within this cohort living in London, and in particular those who have moved *into* London between ages 16 and 30, who tend to follow the 'Ascetic plus' eating pattern that I have suggested might be considered to be a marker of individualized (or at the very least post-Fordist) identity. As a cosmopolitan hub, it is perhaps unsurprising that this is the case; broadly speaking, London seems to be accelerating away / distancing itself from the rest of the country in a variety of ways. Yet in the context of this discussion what is important is that it is this one geographical area that seems to draw together similar people who are likely to have higher reserves of reflexivity.

It makes sense that someone with high levels of reflexivity would be more able to break away from traditional geographical bonds and it is possible to link this finding relating to geographical mobility to the finding regarding social mobility. Upwardly socially mobile people are also more likely to follow the 'Ascetic plus' eating pattern. Movement up through the class structure, or movement around the country requires a 'break' from existing social structures and it is perhaps not surprising that re-embedding within a new cultural collectivity such as vegetarianism accompanies movement away from existing social collectivities. Both socially mobile and geographically mobile individuals are disproportionately likely to dis-embed from traditional class-based cultural consumption practices and consume in a manner that allows them to construct and display their own personal identity. This thesis could therefore be said to provide further evidence, to add to Savage (2000) and Skeggs' (2004) contributions, that if the concept of individualization is to be useful as a

conceptual tool for understanding contemporary society and culture, then talk of an epochal change is not useful – rather a more appropriate focus might be on which types of people have access to reflexivity and which do not, as well as whether this is changing over time.

8.3.3 Omnivore / Univore

Of the three main theories I have focused on in this thesis, I have uncovered the least evidence to support the omnivore / univore theory. The omnivore / univore theory is very much a data-driven theory that has its roots in large scale quantitative survey analysis not too dissimilar to the survey analysed in this thesis, and as such the failure to identify any group of people that would fit the bill of ‘omnivore’ could be taken as surprising.

Although I have identified an ‘Undistinguished’ cluster in 1986 that could be interpreted as a group of people who are consuming in an omnivorous manner, there is no evidence to suggest the members of these groups are likely to hail from particularly high social class groups, as might be assumed according to omnivore / univore arguments suggested by scholars such as Peterson and Kern (1996). I have argued that this ‘Undistinguished’ group is therefore likely to be acting as a ‘left-over’ cluster, containing individuals who did not neatly fit into the ‘Indulgent’, ‘Ascetic’, or ‘Infrequent’ clusters in 1986. The individuals in these clusters are therefore better thought of as unremarkable rather than examples of cultural omnivores.

Bryson (1997) suggests that the univores of the ‘omnivore-univore’ dichotomy are equally as interesting as the omnivores but that they have not received an equivalent level of attention in the empirical literature. Interestingly though, in the case of this thesis, while there is no evidence for any group who could be described as cultural omnivores, the evidence is perhaps better in the case of the univores. The ‘Indulgent restricted’ clusters in both waves are characterized by a low frequency of consumption of many of the foods included in the analysis, and are also the clusters most likely followed by working class groups, in both

years. As such, this group could be described as 'univorous'.

Therefore, the failure to identify any 'cultural omnivore' clusters does not mean that the theory should be rejected. As well as the fact that members of the 'Indulgent restricted' clusters could be seen as univores, there are only a limited number of foods included in the present analysis and the foods that are included make up only a very small portion of what is available to be eaten in the UK. It is perfectly plausible that people who follow something like the 'Ascetic plus' eating pattern are likely to have more omnivorous eating patterns than people following the 'Indulgent' eating pattern. They have, on average, more economic and cultural capital that they can use to engage with a variety of different eclectic eating practices. Evidence from other fields of culture (eg Bennett et al., 2009) suggests that omnivorousness in the UK is a real phenomenon and despite the failure to identify any single group of 'cultural omnivores' here, this finding should not be understood by the reader as a rejection of all aspects of the omnivore / univore argument, but rather an admission that the data used in this study was not appropriate to fully explore the implications of the omnivore / univore theory. Of course, there is no way of knowing this using the present data – a further exploration of eating patterns, using a data source with more detailed information on foods eaten could provide a way of investigating this issue.

8.4 Theoretical Summary

There is tentative evidence to suggest a homology between what people eat and their position in a multidimensional class structure. The importance that cultural capital appears to play in discerning between types of eaters and the way that there are clear symbolic dividing lines in operation between working class and middle class eating patterns suggest that there are processes of distinction operating within the field of food and eating. However, the fact that the post-Fordist 'Ascetic plus' eating pattern might be said to have developed over the period of 1986 to 2000 suggests that the ability to be reflexive, to move away from traditional modes of consumption, and to 're-embed' within new

modes of consumption, is a middle class trait. While this is by no means an original idea (see Savage, 2000, Skeggs, 2004; Atkinson, 2010) I have uncovered further groups, which follow the neo-tribal eating pattern who one might perhaps expect to have access to high reserves of reflexivity – these are upwardly socially and geographically mobile people. Reflexivity in culture, then, appears to be related to reflexivity in other aspects of social life.

This observation can be linked to the omnivore / univore debate. Peterson and Kern (1996) argue that some middle class groups are consuming omnivorously because they are embracing increasingly inclusionary ways of thinking, that have their basis in *wider social life* (i.e. people are becoming increasingly tolerant and accepting of different ways of thinking), and hence applying an inclusionary aesthetic in their cultural consumption (see also Johnston and Baumann, 2007). However, Bryson suggests that a plurality of tastes could still act as a form of distinction if it is contrasted against univorous tastes (1997) and if certain tastes are off-limits even to the omnivorous consumer (for example, heavy metal music) (1996). It is possible to think about the results of this thesis in this context of the changing nature of distinction – just because eating patterns change over time and an inclusionary tone is increasingly adopted by the middle classes it is not necessarily the case that symbolic dividing lines do not still exist. Middle class groups may well have access to greater reserves of reflexivity as regards their attitudes and cultural practice, they may be consuming in an omnivorous manner (it is impossible to say given this data), they may also be less overtly snobbish and reject highbrow / lowbrow distinctions (the attitudinal evidence I present in Chapter 6 suggests this may well be the case) but none of these things necessarily means that processes of distinction have stopped operating.

In fact, these things could simply mean that symbolic violence has become more sophisticated and less easy to spot. An inclusionary aesthetic, that leads to an ‘enlightened eclecticism’ (Friedman, 2011) can be accompanied by moral dividing lines, such as the ones that are found in the field of food and eating (the rejection of meat found in this study; the consumption of only *local* foods, or any

number of other examples). It may be the case that some people (middle class people) on one side of this symbolic line are superior not only because of the 'misrecognition' of their tastes as intrinsically superior, as a classic Bourdieusian position would suggest, but because their choices are also morally superior – they can use their reserves of reflexivity to reflect on their own consumption practices, decide that eating meat is wrong and modify their lifestyles to reflect this.

The suggestion that differential access to reflexivity amongst different class groups may lead to the adoption of new eating habits is also important because it has relevance for how cultural change may occur. The evidence I have presented in this thesis could be taken to suggest that the groups with the highest levels of cultural capital are a 'cultural vanguard' driving cultural change forward and that this change has continued in the same direction that has been observed over the past 30 years in various studies (see Bourdieu, 1984; Savage, 1995; Bennett et al., 2009). That is, that there could be a continued move towards asceticism among the middle classes. It is possible that adoption of the 'Ascetic plus' eating pattern by highly educated groups could be taken to support the idea that 'inflation' occurs in what cultural forms are distinctive. I suggest this despite the fact that it is hard to talk about change over time using prospective longitudinal data because research external to this thesis (Beardsworth and Keil, 1992) shows that the number of non-meat eaters and self-defining vegetarians rose markedly across the population of the UK in the period between 1984 and 1990, a portion of the same period of time when the 'Ascetic plus' eating pattern emerged as a predominately middle class phenomenon among the 1970BCS cohort. It may therefore be the case that when other non-dominant fractions of the middle class began to consume in a 'healthy' manner (i.e. the economic elite started following the 'Ascetic' diet), the cultural elite responded by pushing 'asceticism' to new heights and rejecting meat.

It also appears that there may be other groups who are also acting as part of the 'vanguard' for cultural change. The candidates I suggest for this role are those

who appear to be (upwardly socially or geographically) mobile over the course of the period studied here. As I have described, these individuals could be conceptualized as having high levels of reflexivity and have adopted the diet that fits most closely with contemporary middle class dispositions that favour asceticism and healthiness. It is possible that these highly reflexive individuals may have an increased need to engage with emerging cultural forms in order to demonstrate distinctive forms of cultural capital, and that this engagement could buttress new forms of cultural capital as they emerge. Further empirical work into mobile groups of the middle class would be required in order to confirm the extent to which these groups do adopt emerging forms of objectified cultural capital, in the form of food consumption or otherwise. It would also be interesting to explore qualitatively the trajectory of such individuals' life courses, as they relate to mobility, change and stability in both social and cultural terms.

In conclusion, despite the three theories of social class and cultural change being presented as separate from one another, in actuality there are certain aspects of each of the three theories that are not necessarily mutually exclusive. In this thesis, through an exploratory investigation of the field of food and eating I have presented a broadly homologist explanation of the link between cultural consumption and social stratification and of cultural change, that is nevertheless complemented by aspects of individualization and omnivore / univore theories.

Appendix 1: Analysis with Imputed Data

Table 5.2 Supplementary characteristics of different types of eaters in 1986.
IMPUTED DATA.

	1986 Eating Patterns			
	Ascetic	Indulgent	Indulgent restricted	Undistinguished
Total (%)				
N	821	734	729	1099
Total	24.3	21.7	21.5	32.5
Gender (%)***				
Male	15.4	23.5	23.9	37.1
Female	30.1	20.5	20.0	29.4
Parent's highest qualification (%)***				
Degree	37.1	18.0	13.4	31.5
A Levels	34.2	19.9	15.0	30.7
O Levels	24.5	20.0	19.6	35.9
Vocational quals	17.2	27.8	24.5	30.5
None	14.1	30.0	30.0	32.1
Subjective health relative to peers (%)				
More healthy	25.5	21.0	20.8	32.6
Same	22.6	22.3	21.7	33.3
Less healthy	26.3	21.7	23.8	28.2
Malaise score (%)***				
% Not at risk	24.9	21.0	20.4	33.7
% At risk	21.0	25.4	28.0	25.7
BMI score (%)**				
Low	22.5	23.6	20.3	33.6
High	26.4	19.4	23.0	31.1
BMI Obese? (%)**				
Underweight	20.6	27.1	19.8	32.5
Normal	25.3	19.9	20.0	34.7
Overweight	24.8	22.8	21.4	31.0
Obese	24.3	21.0	26.5	28.3
Ever had eating problem? (%)				
Yes	24.3	25.7	25.4	25.0
No	23.9	21.4	21.3	33.0
Ever tried to lose/avoid putting on weight? (%)***				
Yes	31.2	17.4	22.3	29.1
No	18.5	25.2	20.9	35.3
Tried to lose weight through dieting? (%)***				
Yes	30.7	18.1	22.0	29.3
No	19.1	24.6	21.2	35.1
Tried to lose weight through exercise? (%)**				
Yes	28.8	21.1	21.7	28.4
No	23.4	21.8	21.5	33.3
Sports participation (%)				
% Low	23.7	21.3	22.6	32.4
% High	25.0	22.3	20.1	32.7
Smoker? (%)***				
Yes	17.0	26.9	25.9	30.2
Occasionally	25.1	23.4	20.3	31.3
No	26.2	19.2	20.8	33.8

Binge drinker? (%)				
Yes	20.0	23.4	24.2	32.3
No	25.1	21.4	21.0	32.5
Regular alcohol consumption (%)				
2 or more days a week past year	22.8	23.5	22.5	31.2
1 or less days per week past year	24.7	21.2	21.3	32.8
Vegetarian? (%)***				
Yes	48.8	11.9	26.0	13.3
No	22.9	22.2	21.3	33.5
Family eat weekday evening meal together (%)***				
Never	23.9	18.6	28.6	28.9
1 to 3 days a week	21.2	19.4	29.5	29.9
4 to 5 days a week	24.8	22.4	19.5	33.3
Family eat weekday breakfast meal together (%)***				
Never	24.4	19.4	23.7	32.5
1 to 3 days a week	19.8	31.8	17.7	30.7
4 to 5 days a week	26.4	22.9	17.3	33.4
Eat out at café/restaurant with parents? (%)***				
Rarely/Never	23.0	19.6	25.6	31.8
Less than once a week	25.7	22.3	16.2	35.7
Once a week or more	24.0	27.3	24.6	24.2
Takeaway consumption per week (%)***				
None	34.2	15.7	18.9	31.2
Once	21.1	20.7	21.7	36.5
Twice	12.7	30.6	27.5	29.2
Three or more	10.0	41.5	24.2	24.4
2000 Eating patterns (%)***				
Ascetic	36.8	15.9	17.7	29.6
Ascetic +	44.3	10.1	16.8	28.7
Indulgent	16.4	31.3	19.9	36.3
Indulgent restricted	15.7	19.6	28.3	32.4

Note. Chi square and one-way ANOVA tests were conducted to gauge statistical significance, as appropriate. * p< 0.05, ** p< 0.01, *** p< 0.001

Table 5.3 Supplementary characteristics of different types of eaters in 2000. IMPUTED DATA.

	2000 Eating Patterns			
	Ascetic	Ascetic +	Indulgent	Indulgent restricted
Total (%)				
N	866	345	1154	1018
Total	25.6	10.2	34.1	30.1
Gender (%)***				
Male	21.0	6.9	36.4	35.6
Female	28.6	12.3	32.6	26.5
2000 Highest qualification (%)***				
Higher Degree	33.8	24.1	24.1	18.0
Degree	31.5	16.9	26.2	25.4
Sub-Degree	29.6	11.9	27.6	30.9
2 or more A-Levels	23.3	9.2	42.7	24.8
Good O Levels	25.1	6.6	36.6	31.7
Bad O Levels / CSE's	15.4	7.5	40.8	36.3
No quals	18.9	4.7	40.5	35.8

Subjective health (%)**				
Excellent	29.4	10.4	31.4	28.8
Good	24.1	9.8	35.1	30.9
Fair/Poor	20.5	11.1	37.9	30.4
Malaise score (%)				
Not at risk	26.0	10.0	33.8	30.2
At risk (n=314)	22.1	12.5	37.0	28.4
BMI score (%)***				
Low	25.6	13.4	34.5	26.6
High	25.6	7.0	33.8	33.7
BMI Obese? (%)***				
Underweight	17.6	14.6	42.1	25.6
Normal	26.7	11.9	34.0	27.3
Overweight	25.0	7.8	33.2	33.9
Obese	23.4	6.4	34.7	35.5
Ever had eating problem? (%)**				
Yes	27.2	20.4	21.4	31.1
No	25.5	9.9	34.5	30.1
Regular exercise?(%)***				
Yes	27.7	11.2	32.0	29.1
No	17.3	6.1	42.7	34.0
Frequency of exercise (%)***				
More than once a week	27.7	11.3	33.5	27.5
Once a week or less	35.2	8.3	35.3	34.6
Smoker? (%)***				
Yes	18.6	9.4	32.7	39.4
Occasionally	32.3	10.8	28.1	28.8
No	18.6	10.4	35.2	27.5
Units alcohol per week (%)***				
Above recommended limits	27.2	8.9	27.3	36.7
Within recommended limits	24.9	10.8	37.1	27.2
Drinking problem scale (%)***				
2 or more problems	27.6	11.8	26.3	34.1
1 or less problem	25.0	9.7	36.5	28.8
Vegetarian? (%)***				
Yes	0.0	89.7	7.6	2.7
No	27.1	5.6	35.6	31.7
Family Meal? (%)				
More than once a day	20.5	5.2	41.8	32.5
Once a day	21.0	5.7	39.9	33.4
Once a week or less	20.4	4.5	41.7	33.4
No children	28.6	13.2	30.1	28.2
1986 Eating Patterns (%)***				
Ascetic	38.9	18.6	23.0	19.5
Indulgent	18.8	4.8	49.2	27.2
Indulgent restricted	21.0	8.0	31.6	39.5
Undistinguished	23.3	9.0	34.0	33.7

Note. Chi square and one-way ANOVA tests were conducted to gauge statistical significance, as appropriate. * p< 0.05, ** p< 0.01, *** p< 0.001

Table 6.1. Social Stratification and Different Types of Eaters in Britain in 1986. IMPUTED DATA.

	1986 Eating Patterns			
	Ascetic	Indulgent	Indulgent restricted	Undistinguished
Total (%)				
N	821	734	729	1099
Total	24.3	21.7	21.5	32.5
Gender (%)***				
% Male	15.4	23.5	23.9	37.1
% Female	30.1	20.5	20.0	29.4
1980 Family Income per week (%)***				
% > £200	35.1	20.7	15.5	20.8
% >£100 & <£200	24.2	20.4	19.8	20.4
% < £100	19.0	24.1	27.1	24.1
% < £50 (very poor)	24.3	20	21.3	34.4
Parent's highest qualification (%)***				
% Degree	37.1	18.0	13.4	31.5
% A Levels	34.2	19.9	15.0	30.7
% O Levels	24.5	20.0	19.6	35.9
% Vocational quals	17.2	27.8	24.5	30.5
% None	14.1	30.0	30.0	32.1
1986 Cambridge score mean	58.6	51.8	48.6	53.3
1986 Highbrow CC score mean	1.47	1.06	.96	1.06
1980 Fathers 7 class Goldthorpe SC (%)***				
% I	32.7	18.9	12.7	35.7
%II +Iva	33.2	21.0	15.9	30.0
%III	22.9	23.3	15.3	38.5
%IVb +c	26.1	17.1	26.0	30.0
%V	17.5	21.4	26.4	34.7
%VI	15.5	22.9	29.8	31.9
%VII	17.4	28.0	24.8	29.8
1980 British Ability Scale*** mean (Z score)	.30	-.14	-.26	.04
1986 Locus of control*** mean	2.17	3.11	3.11	2.55

Note. Chi square and one-way ANOVA tests were conducted to gauge statistical significance, as appropriate. * p< 0.05, ** p< 0.01, *** p< 0.001

Table 6.2. Social Stratification and Different Types of Eaters in Britain in 2000. IMPUTED DATA

2000 Eating Patterns				
	Ascetic	Ascetic +	Indulgent	Indulgent restricted
Total (%)				
n	866	345	1154	1018
Total	25.6	10.2	34.1	30.1
Gender (%)***				
Male	21.0	6.9	36.4	35.6
Female	28.6	12.3	32.6	26.5
2000 Yearly Household Income (%)***				
> £30000	30.1	10.5	30.8	28.6
> £18000 & <£30000	25.0	10.3	34.0	30.6
< £18000	20.0	9.7	38.8	31.4
Very poor identifier (%)				
< £8790 p/a (very poor)	22.3	9.2	33.3	29.9
2000 Housing Tenure (%)				
% Own house outright (n=148)	27.0	7.2	39.7	26.0
2000 Cambridge score				
mean	61.0	62.4	55.7	56.5
2000 Highest qualification (%)***				
Higher Degree	33.8	24.1	24.1	18.0
Degree	31.5	16.9	26.2	25.4
Sub-Degree	29.6	11.9	27.6	30.9
2 or more A-Levels	23.3	9.2	42.7	24.8
Good O Levels	25.1	6.6	36.6	31.7
Bad O Levels / CSE's	15.4	7.5	40.8	36.3
No quals	18.9	4.7	40.5	35.8
2000 Goldthorpe SC Men (%)***				
n	282	93	489	478
Total	21.0	6.9	36.4	35.6
I	28.6	5.9	28.3	37.1
II & IVa	20.7	11.1	33.8	34.5
III	18.8	6.3	43.1	31.8
IVb & IVc (n=64)	23.9	5.0	38.9	32.1
VI	16.4	5.9	35.8	41.7
VII	19.9	5.3	38.9	36.0
VII	11.2	5.1	49.5	34.1
2000 Goldthorpe SC Women (%)***				
n	584	252	665	540
Total	28.6	12.3	32.6	26.5
I	36.6	17.2	19.9	26.2
II & IVa	30.9	16.8	29.1	23.1
IIIa	29.9	9.5	36.5	24.1
IVb & IVc	22.8	11.2	45.6	20.4
V	26.1	13.3	27.6	32.9
VI	24.3	9.6	37.1	29.0
VII + IIIb	28.6	8.2	37.1	30.3
1980 British Ability Scale***				
mean (Z score)	.16	.24	-.14	-.06
1986 Locus of control***				
mean	2.46	2.64	3.00	2.91

2000 Locus of control (%)**				
'I have control over my life'	95.3	96.1	91.8	91.9
'Whatever I do has no effect'	4.7	3.9	8.2	8.1
2000 Attitudinal scales				
Left-right*** (mean)	2.92	2.80	2.79	2.85
Political cynicism*** (mean)	3.84	3.79	3.96	3.93
Antiracism*** (mean)	4.21	4.45	4.14	4.11
Lib-auth*** (mean)	3.62	3.31	3.71	3.69

Note. Chi square and one-way ANOVA tests were conducted to gauge statistical significance, as appropriate. * p< 0.05, ** p< 0.01, *** p< 0.001

Table 6.3. Multidimensional Class and Eating Patterns in 1986. IMPUTED DATA

		Specification 1 (n=3383)			Specification 2 (n=3383)			Specification 3 (n=3383)			Specification 4 (n=3383)		
		Ascetic	Indulgent	Undistinguished	Ascetic	Indulgent	Undistinguished	Ascetic	Indulgent	Undistinguished	Ascetic	Indulgent	Undist- restricted inguished
			Restricted			restricted		restricted					
<i>16 year olds in 1986</i>													
Gender	Male	-.88***	.07	-.03	-.87***	.06	-.07	-.92***	.08	.05	-.93***	.08	.04
Parents Highest qualification	Degree	.86***	-0.25	.16	.79***	-.26	.13	.61**	-.18	-.08	.59**	-.18	-.10
	A-Levels	.75**	-0.44	.06	.69**	-.42	.11	.52*	-.42	-.17	.53*	-.42	-.16
	O Levels	.56**	-.12	.13	.57***	-.12	.05	.43*	-.14	.08	.40*	-.16	.05
	Voc quals	.09	-.27	-.07	-.07	-.27	.18	-.17	-.34	-.32	-.18	-.35	-.33
Economic Capital (Household income)	Above £200	.24	-.20	-.17	.21	-.20	-.00	.16	.17	-.07	.16	-.18	-.07
	£100 - £200	.25	.04	.24	.25	-.05	.31*	.23	.04	.28	.21	-.05	.27
Cambridge Score	Cambridge score	.01**	-.01	.00	.01	-.01	-.00	.00	.00	-.00	.00	.01	.00
Objectified CC (Highbrow scale)	Highbrow score				.25***	-.07	.13*	.21***	-.07	.11*	.19***	-.07	.10*
Father's Goldthorpe Class	I							-.22	.18	.65**	.17	.17	.62**
	II							.25	.27	-.32	.22	.26	.30
	III							-.00	.01	.49	-.05	-.03	.45
	IV							.50	.81**	.58	.47	.81**	.56
	V							-.07	.46*	.36	.04	.46	.34
	VI							-.02	.49*	.00	-.06	.48*	.28
British Ability Scale	BAS z score							.33***	-.05	.13	.24**	-.06	.08
1986 Locus of control	CARALOC score										-.11***	-.01	-.08**

Model 1 Pseudo Rsquare = .112 (Nagelkerke). Percentage correct: 36.7% Model Xsquare (24) = 381.612, p < 0.001.
 Model 2 Pseudo Rsquare = .127 (Nagelkerke). Percentage correct: 37.8% Model Xsquare (27) = 428.282, p < 0.001.
 Model 3 Pseudo Rsquare = .153 (Nagelkerke). Percentage correct : 38.8% Model Xsquare (48) = 522.041, p < 0.001.
 Model 4 Pseudo Rsquare = .159 (Nagelkerke). Percentage correct : 39.0% Model Xsquare (51) = 545.768, p < 0.001.

Note. Dependent reference category is Indulgent. Independent reference categories are No quals, under £100, class VII. * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Table 6.4. Multidimensional Class and Eating Patterns in 2000. IMPUTED DATA

		Specification 1 (n=3383)			Specification 2 (n=3383)			Specification 3 (n=3383)			Specification 4 (n=3383)		
		Ascetic	Ascetic +	Indulgent restricted	Ascetic	Ascetic +	Indulgent restricted	Ascetic	Ascetic +	Indulgent restricted	Ascetic	Ascetic +	Indulgent restricted
<i>30 year olds in 2000</i>													
Gender	Male	-.45***	-.80***	.21*	-.46***	-.80***	.19*	-.53***	-.82***	.07	-.53***	-.83***	.07
Highest qualification	Higher Degree	.65**	1.96***	-.41	.46	1.91***	-.52	.37	1.86**	-.53	.32	1.93***	-.53
	Degree	.49**	1.50***	-.09	.33	1.44***	-.17	.17	1.30***	-.33*	.14	1.32***	-.36*
	Sub-Degree	.57**	.1.16*	.15	.48	1.11***	-.12	.44*	1.01**	-.08	.41	1.06**	.07
	2 or more A Levels	-.15	.44	-.53**	-.26	.39	-.58**	-.37	.27	-.67**	-.41	.33	-.68
	Good O Levels	.25	.36	-.06	.20	.33	.72	.17	.28	-.07	.16	.31	-.07
	Bad O Levels	-.16	.51	-.01	-.17	.49	.01	-.16	.48	-.01	-.15	.45	-.00
Economic Capital (Household income)	Top group	.34*	-.21	.09	.34	-.19	.08	.27	-.22	-.03	.26	-.21	-.04
	Middle group	.23	.03	.11	.22	.02	.10	.18	-.05	.05	.18	-.04	.05
Cambridge Score	Cambridge Score	.02***	.02**	.01*	.02***	.02**	.00	.01*	.02	-.00	.01*	.02	-.00
Fathers highest qualification	Degree				.46**	.08	.31*	.42*	.04	.31	.41*	.05	.31
	A Levels				.48**	.32	.03	.45*	.29	.03	.45	.29	.03
	O Levels				.25	.00	.16	.22**	.02	.15	.21	-.01	.14
	Voc quals				.03	.11	-.10	.00	.10	-.03	-.00	.10	-.03
Goldthorpe Class	I							.39	.02	.82**	.38	.05	.82**
	II and IVa							.07	.32	.31	.06	.34	.31
	III							-.04	-.19	.05	-.05	-.17	.05
	V							.08	.34	.56**	.07	.33	.56**
	VI							.03	-.20	-.04	-.03	-.19	-.04
British Ability Scale	BAS z score							.12	.01	.04	.11	.12	.04
1986 Locus of control	CARALOC score										.11	.05	-.01

Model 1 Pseudo Rsquare = .113 (Nagelkerke). Percentage correct: 37.2% Model Xsquare (30) = 338.482, p < 0.001.
 Model 2 Pseudo Rsquare = .111 (Nagelkerke). Percentage correct: 38.1% Model Xsquare (42) = 365.688, p < 0.001.
 Model 3 Pseudo Rsquare = .128 (Nagelkerke). Percentage correct: 39.1% Model Xsquare (60) = 428.234, p < 0.001.
 Model 4 Pseudo Rsquare = .136 (Nagelkerke). Percentage correct: 39.4% Model Xsquare (63) = 435.591, p < 0.001.

Note. Dependent reference category is Indulgent. Independent reference categories are Female, no quals, bottom group, no quals, class VII. * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Table 7.3. Regional Geography, Class and Eating Patterns in 1986. IMPUTED DATA

		Model 1- 1986 Eating Pattern (n=3336)			Model 2- 1986 Eating Pattern(n=3336)		
<i>16 year olds in 1986</i>		Ascetic	Indulgent restricted	Undistinguished	Ascetic	Indulgent restricted	Undistinguished
Region	North East	.46	.41	.64**	.53	.36	.64**
	North West	.52*	.62**	.55**	.53*	.62**	.55**
	Yorkshire and the Humber	.71**	.87***	.43*	.74**	.85***	.43
	East Midlands	.85**	.83*	.54*	.90***	.81**	.53*
	West Midlands	.61**	.78***	.55**	.65**	.76**	.53*
	East of England	.64**	.17	.52*	.63**	.20	.52*
	South East	1.05***	.40	.68***	.95***	.48*	.66*
	South West	1.22***	.74**	.87***	1.14***	.79**	.84***
	Greater London	.81**	.86**	.72**	.73**	.92**	.70**
	Wales	.59*	.68*	.61*	.61*	.66*	.60*
Parents Highest qualification	Degree				.79***	-.27	.16
	A Levels				.72**	-.43	-.02
	O Levels				.51**	-.13	.16
	Voc quals				-.09	-.26	-.29
Household income	Above £200				2.3	-.14	-.02
	£100 - £200				.21	-.03	.31**
Cambridge Score	Cambridge Score				.01**	.01	.00

Model 1 Pseudo Rsquare = .025 (Nagelkerke). Percentage correct: 32.8% Model Xsquare (30) = 79.986, p < 0.001.

Model 2 Pseudo Rsquare = .102 (Nagelkerke). Percentage correct: 35.4% Model Xsquare (51) = 333.556, p < 0.001.

Note. Dependent reference category is Indulgent. Independent reference categories are No quals, under £100, Scotland. * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Table 7.4. Regional Geography, Class and Eating Patterns in 2000. IMPUTED DATA

		Model 1- 2000 Eating Pattern (n=3325)			Model 2- 2000 Eating Pattern (n=3325)		
<i>30 year olds in 2000</i>		Ascetic	Ascetic +	Indulgent	Ascetic	Ascetic +	Indulgent
Region				restricted			restricted
	North East	-.11	-.09	-.04	-.14	-.05	-.12
	North West	.23	.50	.51**	.14	.52	.43*
	Yorkshire and the Humber	.14	.91**	.52**	.09	.92**	.45*
	East Midlands	.20	.26	.50*	.19	.32	.44*
	West Midlands	.28	.59	.36	.25	.64	.30
	East of England	.35	.57	.41*	.26	.58	.34
	South East	.38*	.94**	.46*	.24	.84**	.40*
	South West	.41	.95**	.40	.35	.98**	.33
	Greater London	.97***	1.35***	.48*	.70**	1.11***	.39
	Wales	-.03	-.31	.18	-.13	-.05	.11
Highest qualification	Higher Degree				.50*	1.74***	-.39
	Degree				.38	1.35***	-.13
	Sub-Degree				.60**	1.16***	.13
	2 or more A – Levels				-.27	.50	-.52*
	Good O Levels				.23	.28	-.12
	Bad O Levels				-.23	.43*	-.07
Household income	Top Group				.29	-.28	.09
	Middle Group				.19	-.11	.11
Cambridge Score	Cambridge Score				.02***	.02**	.00

Model 1 Pseudo Rsquare = .026 (Nagelkerke). Percentage correct: 35.4% Model Xsquare (30) = 333.556, p < 0.001.
 Model 2 Pseudo Rsquare = .097 (Nagelkerke). Percentage correct: 38.3% Model Xsquare (57) = 239.312, p < 0.001.

Note. Dependent reference category is Indulgent. Independent reference categories are No quals, lower income group, Scotland. * p< 0.05, ** p< 0.01, *** p< 0.001

Table 7.7. Urban / Rural Geography, Class and Eating Patterns in 2000. IMPUTED DATA

2000 Eating Pattern (n=712)

<i>30 year olds in 2000</i>		Ascetic	Ascetic +	Indulgent Restricted
Highest qualification	Higher Degree	-.26	1.65*	-.95
	Degree	-.02	2.03**	-.19
	Sub-Degree	.11	1.22	-.27
	2 or more A – Levels	-.74	1.37	-1.13*
	Good O Levels	.21	.92	-.18
	Bad O Levels	-1.1	.23	-.20
Household income	Top Group	.75*	-.25	.34
	Middle Group	.51	-.30	.09
Cambridge Score	Cambridge Score	.02	.00	.01
Urban / Rural	Rural	.09	.39	.60*

Model Pseudo Rsquare = .105 (Nagelkerke). Percentage correct: 37.4 Model Xsquare (30) =81.277, p < 0.001.

Note. Dependent reference category is Indulgent. Independent reference categories are No quals, lower income group, urban. * p< 0.05, ** p< 0.01, *** p< 0.001

Table 7.9. The Distribution of Multidimensional Capital and Eating Patterns across London's Intra-national Migrant Groups. IMPUTED DATA

	Intra-national migrant status (%)				
	Immigrant	Long term resident	Emigrants	All London residents (in 1986 and/or 2000)	Working sample
Total (%)					
N	159	153	39	351	3383
All London residents	43.6	45.3	11.1	100	n/a
Parent's highest qualification (%)*					
n	159	153	39	351	3383
Degree	34.8	23.5	31.8	29.5	18.3
A Levels	20.3	12.2	17.4	16.4	14.9
O Levels	24.7	20.1	18.5	22.0	24.1
Vocational quals	9.2	13.1	11.3	11.1	11.8
None	11.1	31.1	21.0	20.9	30.9
1986 Highbrow CC score*					
n	159	153	39	351	3383
mean	1.48	1.14	1.62	1.35	1.05
1980 Family Income per week (%)					
n	159	153	39	351	3383
% > £200	31.3	27.1	30.8	29.6	13.7
% >£100 & <£200	50.7	47.1	51.8	49.2	53.4
% < £100	18.0	25.9	17.4	21.3	32.9
1986 Cambridge score**					
n	159	153	39	351	3383
mean	61.1	53.9	61.2	58.0	54.25
1986 Eating Patterns (%)*					
n	159	153	39	351	3383
Ascetic	37.7	19.6	38.5	29.9	24.3
Indulgent restricted	13.8	26.1	17.9	19.7	21.5
Undistinguished	30.8	34.6	28.2	30.8	32.5

Indulgent	17.6	19.6	15.4	17.6	21.7
2000 Eating Patterns (%)***					
n	159	153	39	351	3383
Ascetic	37.7	33.3	30.8	35.0	25.6
Ascetic +	22.0	8.5	2.6	14.0	10.2
Indulgent restricted	24.5	23.5	28.2	24.5	30.1
Indulgent	15.7	34.6	38.5	26.5	34.1
Highest qualification (%)***					
n	159	153	39	351	3383
Higher Degree	8.2	3.9	7.7	6.3	3.9
Degree	59.7	24.2	33.3	41.3	26.1
Sub-Degree	7.5	5.9	10.3	7.1	7.2
2 or more A – Levels	6.3	4.6	7.7	5.7	6.1
Good O Levels	13.8	34.6	25.6	24.2	31.9
Bad O Levels	.6	5.9	2.6	3.1	5.9
None	3.8	20.9	12.8	12.3	18.9
Household income (%)**					
n	159	153	39	351	3383
Top group	63.1	47.5	48.7	54.7	38.0
Middle group	26.3	30.7	42.1	30.0	35.3
Bottom group	10.6	21.8	9.2	15.3	26.7
Cambridge Score (%)***					
n	159	153	39	351	3383
mean	65.8	57.9	59.8	61.7	57.0

Note. Chi square and one-way ANOVA tests were conducted to gauge statistical significance, as appropriate. * p< 0.05, ** p< 0.01, *** p< 0.001

Table 7.10. Intra-national Migration into and out of London between 1986 and 2000, Class, and Eating Patterns in 2000. IMPUTED DATA

2000 Eating Pattern (n=351)

<i>30 year olds in 2000</i>		Ascetic	Ascetic +	Indulgent restricted
Highest qualification	Higher Degree / Degree	.24	1.20	-.20
	Sub-Degree / A Levels	-.30	1.19	-.32
	Good O Levels	.67	1.40	.06
Household income	£	.00	.00	.00
Cambridge Score	Cambridge Score	.01	.00	.01
Migrant Status	Long term resident	-.92*	-1.58***	-.89*
	Emigrant	-1.05**	-2.98**	-.76

Model Pseudo Rsquare = .111 (Nagelkerke). Percentage correct: 38.2% Model Xsquare (15) =41.913, p < 0.001.

Note. Dependent reference category is Indulgent. Independent reference categories are Bad O Levels / No quals, immigrant. * p< 0.05, ** p< 0.01, * p< 0.001**

Appendix 2: Raw figures behind Figures 7.1 and 7.2

<i>16 year olds in 1986</i>	Ascetic	Indulgent restricted	Indulgent	Undistinguished
Total (%)				
n	811	725	718	1082
Total	24.3	21.7	21.5	32.4
Region (%)				
North East	20.4	19.5	22.3	37.7
North West	20.8	23.4	22.0	33.8
Yorkshire and the Humber	23.5	27.6	20.9	28.0
East Midlands	25.6	25.5	19.3	29.6
West Midlands	21.8	25.6	21.1	31.6
East of England	25.7	15.9	23.6	34.8
South East	31.1	16.2	19.3	33.3
South West	30.6	19.4	16.2	33.8
Greater London	23.6	24.5	18.5	33.4
Wales	21.8	23.4	20.9	33.9
Scotland	18.9	19.1	32.8	29.2

<i>30 year olds in 2000</i>	Ascetic	Ascetic +	Indulgent	Indulgent restricted
Total (%)				
N	849	338	1134	1004
Total	25.5	10.2	34.1	30.2
Region (%)				
North East	22.7	6.7	44.6	26.0
North West	23.7	8.7	33.7	33.9
Yorkshire and the Humber	21.0	12.8	32.7	33.5
East Midlands	24.0	7.1	34.8	34.2
West Midlands	25.8	9.8	34.2	30.2
East of England	26.4	9.2	33.8	30.6
South East	25.5	12.7	31.2	30.6
South West	26.7	13.1	31.2	29.0
Greater London	36.1	14.8	24.6	24.3
Wales	23.0	6.1	40.5	30.3
Scotland	23.9	6.9	42.9	26.3

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