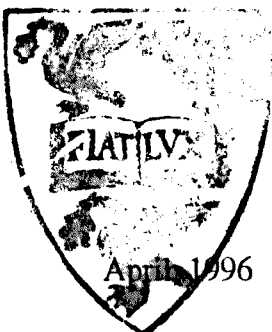


Living On The Heath
Lifestyle, Leisure and the Social Construction of Identity

Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the University of
Liverpool for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy by Derek Francis Wynne.

LIVERPOOL
UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY



Abstract

Living On The Heath: Lifestyle, Leisure and the Social Construction of Identity

by

Derek Francis Wynne

This thesis examines the social construction of identity within the new middle class. It does so within a theoretical context associated with the work of Pierre Bourdieu, particularly *Distinction* (1984).

The major thematic of the thesis considers the extent to which social identity within the new middle class can be considered to relate more to experiences associated with leisure and cultural consumption, rather than to experiences related to productive activity. This problematic is used to examine the degree to which class can still be seen as a primary determinant of identity.

Using Bourdieu's theoretical schema the thesis considers the extent to which: (i) the new middle class or service class can be considered an homogenous grouping; (ii) whose formation can be primarily understood through a social mobility accounted for by an increasing 'credentialism' (Goldthorpe, J. H. 1987); (iii) or whether other forms of social mobility associated with occupational change have resulted in a new middle class which is *essentially* fragmented (Roberts, K. et al 1976).

Following a discussion of previous work and a critical examination of the concept of class, the thesis reports the findings of a case study undertaken on a private housing estate located in the Cheshire 'green belt'. The study used both qualitative and quantitative methodologies; ethnography, interviews, and questionnaire. It is argued that the findings are supportive of a cultural heterogeneity within the new middle class(es) which itself raises questions of the wider 'Bourdieuian' thesis in *Distinction* and of the concept of class itself. Such findings lend support to more recent sociological theorising on both the formation of the new middle class and contemporary cultural change (Featherstone, 1991; Beck, 1992; Savage et al, 1992 and 1995; Lash and Urry, 1994).

Acknowledgements

I would like to record my appreciation of colleagues and friends who have given their help in many different ways over the period that this thesis was written. First to my supervisor, Professor Kenneth Roberts. His patience, support, good humour and insight are among the main reasons that this project got completed. No one could have had a better supervisor. Thanks Ken.

A number of friends and colleagues have also given generously of their time and knowledge. In alphabetical order they are; Dave Bennett, Justin O'Connor, Mike Featherstone, Phil Mole, Hans Mommaass, Dianne Phillips, Gary Pollock and Steve Redhead.

To all the people on The Heath, thanks for your time, and I hope that you find this an acceptable reflection.

Finally, where would I have been without Jenny, Mat and Kirsti - thanks for putting up with me.

Contents

Acknowledgements

Abstract

Chapter One	Introduction	7
Chapter Two	Locating The New Middle Class	34
Chapter Three	The Heath: setting and background	60
Chapter Four	The Social Space of Mobility	79
Chapter Five	The Social Space of Lifestyles	107
Chapter Six	The Social Space of Gender	140
Chapter Seven	The Clubhouse	171
Chapter Eight	Conclusion	201
	Bibliography	217
	Appendix One:	
	Questionnaire, Codebook and Data Analysis	233
	Appendix Two	
	From The Margins To The Centre	256
	City Cultures and New Cultural Intermediaries	292

Tables

3.1	Occupational Activity	70
3.2	Income	72
3.3	Educational Qualifications	73
3.4	Children in Selected Age Groups	75
3.5	Previous Residence	75
3.6	Number of House Moves	75
3.7	Length of Residence	76
3.8	Expected Length of Tenure	76
4.1	Social Origin	93
4.2	Occupational Activity (revised)	93
4.3	Education Level (revised)	94
4.4	Income (revised)	94
4.5	Social Origin x Occupational Activity	95
4.6	Educational Level x Occupational Activity	95
4.7	Income x Occupational Activity	96
4.8	Habitus x 'Occupation'	100
	Diagram One: The Social Space of Mobility	106
5.1	Location of Current Friends	115
5.2	Visiting Friends	116
5.3	Going Out: Some Indicators of Sociability	117

5.4	Visiting The Clubhouse and Attending Social Events	118
5.5	Using The Clubhouse Sports and Recreational Facilities	120
5.6	Sports Participation at School	122
5.7	Social Origin and Sports Activity	124
5.8	Participation in 'Clubhouse Sports' x Educational Level	125
5.9	The Habitus and Lifestyle Indicators	128
5.10	The Habitus and The Clubhouse	130
5.11	The Habitus and Sports Practices	132
	Diagram Two: The Social Space of Leisure	139
6.1	The Habitus, Gender, and Household Structure	146
6.2	Occupation, Gender, and Household Structure	147
6.3	The Habitus and Occupations of Women	148
6.4	Household Structure and Income	149
6.5	Incomes of Males and Females in Dual Earner Households	150
6.6	Male Participation in Domestic Labour	153
6.7	Male Participation in Domestic Labour 2	153
6.8	The Habitus and Male Participation in Domestic Labour	155
6.9	Husbands and Partners Leisure	160
6.10	The Habitus and aspects of Womens Leisure	165
	Diagram Three: The Social Space of Women	170

Chapter One: Introduction

This study consists of an empirical analysis of residents living on a recently constructed housing estate which contains its own private leisure and sports facilities. Without wishing to pre-empt a necessary discussion of these terms it can be characterised as a case study of the new middle class. It began as an attempt to monitor the use of the sports and leisure facilities which the residents of this large, private housing estate enjoy, and to discover whether the existence of such facilities produced greater levels of participation amongst them as compared to socio-economically similar populations whose access to sports facilities were less readily available. However in documenting the use of these facilities it soon became apparent that there were other, much more interesting activities to document in relating the role that such facilities played on The Heath.

There is a long history in community studies, and sociological investigation generally, of 'things not being quite what they first seemed'. Personal accounts of, and reflections on, the research process, are replete with stories of researchers finding themselves in situations which they had not planned for, and of reorienting their research activities (Wild, 1978; Bryson and Thompson, 1978). Indeed as Bell and Newby (1971) indicate in their review and discussion of the 'community study as method' such research *method* is best understood as a *process* during which the researcher(s) will inevitably be faced with decisions regarding the path to be

followed next, the relative importance of one set of observations over another, and the theoretical weight of the events that are recorded. However, rather than seeing this as a problematic feature of the community study as method, it should be understood as a strength - in that it allows for, and encourages, a continual reflection on the research activity itself. Although some would argue that the 'scientific' validity of such work is questionable, it is argued here that such 'reflexive' research processes as the community or case study, have the advantage of making the social world studied 'open' to others who would wish to examine the results produced. It is through such transparency of method that the research community can modify, reject, support and build upon the findings of others. Within this context the research shifted focus to examine the wider social practices of the residents of The Heath and their relationship to the use of the recreational and sports facilities. Such practices included first, the struggle over how the facilities should be used including the appropriateness of certain activities, and second, the relations between those who made use of the facilities and those who did not, including the perceptions of one by the other. Here the analysis of the leisure and recreational facilities on the estate can be likened to Wild's discussion of Grange and the role of the Golf Club in Bradstow (Wild, 1978), although, at the same time, it retains its focus on the contention that leisure, or more accurately, non-work practices, are becoming increasingly important in contemporary society.

Orienting Themes

As an introduction to what follows this study could be said to have four major orienting themes. First, to consider the empirical data in the context of the theoretical positions outlined in the work of Bourdieu (1977, 1984, 1985) and Giddens (1984, 1987, 1991); in particular Bourdieu's conceptualisation of the 'habitus' and the 'capitals', and Giddens' conceptualisation of 'structuration'. Second, it adopts, in part, a community or case study orientation. The research is located both physically and temporally, and examines the daily lives of subjects through ethnography, interview and questionnaire. Third it attempts to contribute to earlier British empirical work on the middle class undertaken by Bell (1968) and Edgell (1980). However, given the socio-economic changes that have recently taken place, certainly since Bell's work, it attempts to locate the emergence of a new middle class or service class within the context of what has come to be known as a 'realist' approach (Abercrombie and Urry, 1983; Lash and Urry, 1987; Savage et al., 1992; Crompton, 1993). Finally, the study concludes by pointing towards contemporary theorists of postmodernity (Lash, 1990, Featherstone, 1991) and reflexive modernity (Beck, 1992; Lash and Urry, 1994) to suggest that its findings can be further explored from an examination of these positions.

One reason for expanding upon my original objective relates to developments in social theory, in particular the attempts of Pierre Bourdieu and Anthony Giddens to provide a route out of the theoretical cul de sac associated with arguments of

primacy over structure and agency. On both the theoretical and empirical front Bourdieu's work has contributed much to an understanding of the stratification processes in contemporary social life, and his conceptualisation of the habitus and social practice provide a link with Giddens' concept of structuration which can be fruitfully explored. This study adopts a theoretical position closely associated with this body of work. It follows both Giddens and Bourdieu in attempting to examine the social world as created by agents located in time and space, and therefore located by, and productive of, particular sets of social practices. From a structuration position, these are considered as sometimes maintaining of, and sometimes modifying of, the systemic relations in which agents operate (Giddens, 1984). In addition to employing Giddens' formulations of structure and system, the analysis employs Bourdieu's concept of the 'habitus' in order to 'place' the varying social practices of agents in a wider social order. Such is considered elemental in attempting to understand not only the varying social practices observed, but also their cultural origins and the importance of the latter to social mobility.

This study can also be seen as a contribution to that tradition of community study associated with both American and British empirical sociology in earlier years.

Originally that produced by the Chicago ecological school developed by Park (1952) and then through the later 'ethnographic' Chicago school of Whyte (1943) and others in the first half of the twentieth century. Later, in the fifties and sixties, by writers such as Herbert Gans (1962), Bennett Berger (1969) and Seeley, Sim and Loosley

(1963) in North America, and Young and Wilmott (1960), Howard Bracey (1964), Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter (1969) and others in Great Britain. Such studies were read with as much a voyeur's eye as a sociologist's, although I would maintain that a propensity towards voyeurism is a necessary characteristic of much sociological work. From the community studies tradition it examines the day to day lives of the population, recording the way in which these daily experiences are structured, and examining the ways in which these experiences are made meaningful. The study documents the nature of the occupations in which residents are employed, together with the leisure practices which they construct, and the extent to which such practices are related to their working lives. It considers the nature of the place in which they live, and the way in which the "sense of place" they have constructed relates to the work and leisure activities in which they engage. The organisation and labour activities of the domestic household are scrutinised and commented upon with particular reference to the debate surrounding the concept of the conjugal role. Relations with the wider community, status divisions, geographical and social mobility are all considered in an effort to understand and comment upon their position in Britain's socio-economic structure.

Having re-focused my attentions from those with which I began, and having already been engaged in participant observation work, it soon became apparent that the people that I was studying occupied a place in the stratification hierarchy that was relatively under-researched, at least as far as empirical work is concerned. Although

Bell (1968) and Edgell (1980) have an empirical focus on the middle class, Bell's research took place over twenty years earlier, and Edgell's work is specifically concerned with a refutation of the conjugal role thesis. Given the undoubted social changes that have taken place since the sixties it appeared appropriate to re-examine the everyday lives of the middle class(es). While a number of authors including Goldthorpe, (1982, 1987, 1995); Abercrombie and Urry, (1983); Savage et al., (1992); Butler and Savage (eds.) (1995), have commented upon the rise of a service class, have statistically documented its emergence in British society, and have written of its significance with respect to capitalism in the late twentieth century, few have conducted empirical work on the everyday lives of its members. Others have made important contributions in suggesting what such investigations might consider at the cultural level, notably Lash and Urry (1987) and Featherstone (1987). In *The End of Organised Capitalism* Lash and Urry develop a thesis which suggests that contemporary western societies have entered a period significantly different to that which previously characterised them as industrial societies. They argue that considerable de-industrialisation has taken place in the western world over the past twenty years or so, and that this has been accompanied by significant changes in social organisation. Their book examines the decline in what they term 'organised capitalism', and the associated demise of an industrial economy together with the ordered, stable and regulated relations between the trades unions, employers and the State. It looks toward a future centring around an increasingly deregulated, largely service economy, in which a flexible labour force, volatile capital flows, and state

'withdrawal' from regulation characterises 'disorganised capitalism'. In chapter nine of their book they examine some of the socio-cultural implications of their claims and point towards the emergence of the new middle class as providing a challenge to the traditional cultural practices of the old bourgeois.

To the extent that the subjects of this study might also be seen as a part of such a new middle class or service class then it can also be seen as a case study which attempts to say something about a set of wider social processes associated with contemporary socio-economic and cultural change. However this study is not exclusively focused on such a service class as has been documented, but rather on a socially mobile class fragment, not all of whom have achieved their current socio-economic positions through 'credentialism', that form of capital, to borrow a term from Bourdieu, most effectively obtained through higher education by the new middle class. Indeed, the extent to which a distinguishable service class can be identified, with regard to occupational activity, educational qualifications and cultural homogeneity, is one of the orienting themes of this study.

The final 'orienting theme' of this study is the extent to which it might offer support to those developing positions associated with a sociology of postmodernism. Featherstone (1987; 1991) and Lash (1990) have been among the principle exponents of attempting to re-work the postmodernist claims of writers such as Baudrillard (1975; 1981) into a sociology of the postmodern. Rather than accepting

the postmodernist claim that the commodification of culture signifies the 'end of the social', Featherstone's insistence that we ask the, 'who, when, where and what questions' of sociological investigation has led him to argue that much of this postmodernist claim can be understood as the work of an emergent social group of 'cultural intermediaries' associated with emergent 'professions' in the new middle class, such as those involved in the media, advertising, fashion and broadcasting industries. As such 'postmodern culture' can be understood not in Baudrillard's terms as signifying the end of the social, but rather as a 'new move in the game' where the cultural interests of these new social groups are expressed and promoted by such cultural intermediaries. To what extent such intermediaries can be identified as being part of a new middle class is again an empirical question for sociological investigation (Wynne and O'Connor, 1995; O'Connor and Wynne, 1996).

In this context we attend to the claim that this new middle class marks a significant re-ordering with respect to such fundamental changes as the reorienting of a social world in which status position relates as much, or even more, to relations of consumption rather than production. Here the extent to which identity relates to a lifestyle based more upon leisure than work is scrutinised, as is the claim that a new "leisure age" is upon us. The role of this supposed new class as the new cultural arbiters is considered, and their cultural 'productions' and 'consumptions' are identified in an effort to explore this possibility.

Methodology and Data Collection

Clearly the methodology employed in any study will reflect the theoretical interests and concerns of the investigation. However, to assume that research methodologies lay themselves at the feet of the researcher, to be chosen solely on the grounds of efficacy or appropriateness to the investigation at hand is to disregard the varied epistemological positions associated with the discipline, and the ontological views that such positions both form, and are formed by. Nowhere is this more clearly in evidence than in the distinction between qualitative and quantitative research. The former stresses the importance of an 'understanding' or *verstehende* approach in its epistemology, and an ontological view which sees human action as the principal concern of the researcher. As such research methodologies associated with obtaining an understanding of everyday life are paramount to such investigations.

Ethnography, participant observation, life history and unstructured interviewing are the principal modes of data collection for such approaches. In contrast, quantitative research methods, particularly those associated with the mathematical or statistical modelling of data have tended to become associated with a sociology whose epistemological position sees human beings as operating within the constraints of institutional and organisational structures, and whose ontological view sees the examination of the relations between such structures as the researchers prime concern. (Berger, 1966; Berger and Luckmann, 1971; Dawe, 1970). This study rejects such singular methodologies and argues for what Jenkins (1983:24) has termed a 'methodological promiscuity'. Indeed given the theoretical orientation of

this study, it is argued that such promiscuity is a necessary requirement of an analysis which attempts an understanding of social practices through a history of class composition and occupational restructuring, and in the context of contemporary cultural change.

Essentially the data was collected in three ways; by ethnography, interview and questionnaire. The ethnography was conducted over a period of two years, from 1985 to 1987, during which time I and my family were resident on the estate. In fact I had lived on the estate for a number of years prior to my embarking on the ethnography and as such none of the problems of entree were experienced. Indeed the primary difficulty with the ethnography was perhaps more related to my family's immersion in the everyday life of The Heath rather than to entree or acceptance. We had participated in the social life of the estate and had enjoyed, and still enjoy, the friendship of some residents. Such participation included helping to staff the club for young people, playing tennis and squash, and drinking at the clubhouse bar. However, for many I was simply another resident of The Heath, who, because he was a sociologist, was particularly interested in what 'people got up to in their spare time' and the history of the Heath. Fortunately I was able to avoid the dangers of 'total immersion' by the regular discussions I had with colleagues about my research, which provided a reality very different from that in the ethnographic locale.

The ethical questions pertaining to this type of work are, in the final instance, only resolved by the ethnographer, but for the most part I believe that nothing that I did compromised the subjects that I was investigating. Some were interested in what I was doing, others thought it to be of not the slightest concern, either to themselves or anyone else. None, however, expressed any hostility to my work. I encouraged introductions to those whom I did not know, to present me as a resident, but also as someone with a professional interest in the study of the social life that took place in the community. As such the activity was overt, in that many knew of its existence, and covert, in that they didn't often think about it. One of the early publications that I produced, a brief description of the estate which appeared in *The Builder*, a professional magazine for the construction industry, was obtained by one resident and put on show in the 'clubhouse' for all to see. It described the pioneering nature of the recreational facilities that existed, and was greeted with a certain amount of pride by some, in the sense that they lived in a community considered interesting enough to be reported upon.

Initially I had envisaged undertaking a number of formal, structured interviews with residents, in part to examine some of the ideas that were emerging from the ethnography. However as the ethnography proceeded it became more and more obvious that such interviews could be undertaken more successfully as a part of the ethnography itself. As such, unstructured, in depth interviews, were undertaken, more as conversations in a series of natural settings. These included group

interviews with women at 'mother and toddler' club; squash and tennis players, sometimes between or after matches; and in both the clubhouse bar and in the homes of residents. Indeed on many occasions the ethnographic work and interviews became inseparable, particularly when members of group conversations began, without any prompting from myself, to reflect upon their own and each others biographies.

The questionnaire was administered in the spring of 1987 after most of the ethnographic work had been completed. A total of seventy six questions were asked in order to obtain information in a variety of areas of interest including information on demographic detail, socio-economic origin, and quantitative information regarding participation in leisure activities and membership of voluntary associations. In addition I attempted to quantify the nature of friendship networks and sociability by asking a series of questions relating to visits to and from other households. Finally the questionnaire contained a series of questions exclusively for women, and these were compared with the information obtained from the interviews conducted.

The questionnaire was constructed after examining a number of questionnaire and interview schedules used in previous investigations including those undertaken by Goldthorpe et al., (1968); Edgell, (1980); Bell (1968); Bracey (1964); Berger (1969); Pahl's (1971). Each of these published studies contain appendices of the questionnaires used and/or the interview aide memoir developed, and all, to a

greater and lesser extent were used in the construction of the questionnaire used in this study. Three points regarding the questionnaire need to be made. First, due to lack of resources and to my relationship with many respondents the questionnaire was designed to be self-completed. In addition, and because of the different emphases in this study compared to the emphases of those referred to above, many of the questions were developed because of the situation and location peculiar to this research setting. This certainly included the existence of the clubhouse, sports and leisure facilities. Finally, the sometimes idiosyncratic nature of the questions, and terms of address, also reflected my prior knowledge of the setting and the respondents. Although the response or completion rates of self-completion questionnaires are traditionally low, response rates are generally higher, and can be increased, if respondents have an interest in its completion (Hakim, 1987). Given my relationship to many of the respondents, and given the interest that the questionnaire generated, I felt that a self-completion questionnaire accompanied with a letter from my department assuring anonymity, offered the best opportunity of a successful response rate.

The data was coded for analysis using SPSS and following an initial run of frequency distributions, the data was analysed through a series of cross tabulations which included variables such as; parental occupation, occupation, income level, educational level. In this way it was possible to gain some measures of social origin, social mobility, educational and economic capital; occupational status. Following an

analysis of these variables, and informed by both the ethnography and the interviews, the analysis which produced the diagrammatic models of the social spaces of mobility, lifestyle and gender was undertaken. The diagrams are simply graphical representations of the relative positions of the social groups which make up The Heath. Taken together the diagrams show the 'homologies' associated with these differing social groups.

Given the relatively small number of households on the estate, its clear geographical boundaries, and the known size of the population parameter, the questionnaire was administered and conducted through a census of households rather than a sample. The advantages of the sample in regard to time and labour costs through the reduction in the size of those investigated were unnecessary considerations given the size of the population parameter of four hundred households. As Moser and Kalton indicate the required sample size for small populations of a few hundred may easily approach the population size given that the precision of sample results depends on the size of the sample itself, rather than the population covered.

"In such cases complete coverage is commonly aimed at, for it is not worth while to introduce the complexities of sampling in order to obtain the marginal savings created by leaving out a small number of the population units." (Moser and Kalton, 1970:55).

In this way problems relating to the statistical reliability of the results from sampling were overcome. As such the questionnaire data reported upon are clearly

representative of the residents of The Heath apart from, of course, the relatively small number of residents who did not complete the questionnaire.

The questionnaire was delivered, by hand, to each one of the 400 households on the estate and was collected by two colleagues, rather than myself, between one and two weeks later. The decision to use colleagues in this exercise was again in a belief that the response rate might be increased. A total of 261 completed questionnaires were collected, indicating a response rate of 65%. At the same time it was ascertained that 14% of households were either unoccupied, or that residents were in the process of an imminent house move, therefore having less of an interest in responding. As such a truer response rate could be estimated to be closer to 80% of households living on The Heath. It should also be remembered that the housing development was not quite complete when the questionnaire survey was undertaken and that some of the properties had not been sold by the developer at the time.

Occupational codings were made on the basis of the Hope-Goldthorpe modified 'thirty six point' scale of occupational ranking (Goldthorpe and Hope, 1974:134-143). This was later modified for ease of analysis into a five point scale reflecting the frequency distributions obtained in the initial analysis. An extended discussion and review of the construction of the scale is contained in both Goldthorpe and Hope (1974) and Goldthorpe (1987). The scale was developed for the Oxford Mobility Studies and has been used by Goldthorpe and his colleagues throughout their enquiries in the past two decades. Although the scale is not without its critics,

(Crompton, 1993: 55-60) such criticism is primarily related to the epistemological problems associated with using quantitative research instruments designed to measure occupational status or position and then invariably use them to make theoretical statements, for example the attempted link between occupation and class. Similar re-coding was also undertaken in the construction of the variables relating to parental occupation, income and education. The questionnaire developed for the study, together with the variable list produced, the modified Hope-Goldthorpe scale, and the re-coding operations undertaken are provided in Appendix I.

Other sources of information that the study has made use of include documentary information from the voluntary associations and clubs that residents have created. Indeed the creation and membership of such has been noted elsewhere as a hallmark of membership of the middle class (Williams, 1956). However in addition to this possibility, the existence of such clubs and associations provides the investigator with particularly relevant materials for examining the nature of sociability that such associations afford, and they can therefore be seen both as a topic of, and resource for, such investigation.

Outline

Following this introduction, Chapter Two provides an overview of some of the more pertinent work on the emergence of the new middle class in British society.

Essentially it identifies three areas of interest. The first is primarily oriented around Goldthorpe's, *Social Mobility and Class Structure in Modern Britain* (1987). The second is concerned with what has been termed 'realist' or 'relational' conceptualisations of class and the debate which includes and surrounds both that and Goldthorpe's work (Crompton, 1993). The third outlines the 'post industrial society' thesis (Bell, 1974), and examines views of the changing relations between work and leisure (Parker, 1971 and 1983).

In the discussion of Goldthorpe's work attention is paid to examining a number of different positions that have been developed from both neo-Marxist and Weberian perspectives including those of Bottomore (1965), Parkin (1979), Urry and Abercrombie (1983), Braverman (1974) and Roberts et al., (1977). Here the discussion focuses on the extent to which social mobility can be seen as having been essentially created through the development of credentialism, or whether other factors also need to be examined. Such a discussion is considered particularly important in any attempt to discuss the degree of homogeneity associated with the new middle class especially in attempting to examine the cultural practices of such a group(s).

Other work on social mobility, Payne (1987) has stressed that the changing nature of the occupational structure itself has to be seen as part of the process of class structuration. Such a position is implicit in the work of Giddens (1984), and has also

been made in a somewhat different context by Przeworski (1985). The development of a 'realist' conceptualisation of class is examined through the work of Abercrombie and Urry (1983), Lash and Urry (1987), and Savage et al., (1992). The argument is that in order to understand the emergence of the new middle class(es), and the possible divisions or 'fragmentation', (Roberts et al., 1977), within the new middle class, then attention must be paid to historical processes associated with economic and occupational change, and associated changes in spatial and social mobility and possible cultural differentiation.

The third part of this chapter considers some of the more recent attempts to examine the role of leisure in contemporary society. It critically evaluates these efforts and argues that leisure needs to be understood as increasingly forming part of the 'central life interests' of the new middle class. Indeed if there were one central theme which underpins this work it would be that. However, rather than see such a discussion as involving a thesis which places work and leisure at two opposing poles, an attempt is made to explore leisure as one of the social practices of the new middle class which helps define their identity(s), and locates them in these new social positions.

Chapter Three introduces the setting for the empirical investigation and analyses the socio-structural characteristics of the estate's residents. It is suggested that The Heath can be seen as an example of a 'new countryside' related, in part, to the spatial

restructurings of a changing social structure (Relph, 1976; Gregory and Urry, 1985; Thrift, 1989), and an economic re-orientation from production to consumption (Saunders, 1984; Thrift and Williams, 1987). As such it is argued that the relationship to, and identification with, The Heath by its residents is problematic when considered in any traditional rural-urban context.

The analysis of socio-structural characteristics of residents includes features such as social origin, occupational status, educational level, age, gender and geographical mobility. The picture presented is of a new middle class of young/middle age 'nuclear' families. Many are highly educated and the majority of men are employed at the higher reaches of the occupational structure in managerial and professional occupations. Having established the theoretical concerns of this work in the previous chapter, the examination of the demographic structure and social origins of residents lays the foundation for further analysis of the relationships between these variables.

Such analysis is undertaken in Chapter Four with particular reference to Bourdieu (1977, 1984, 1985) and his conceptual schema of social practice, the habitus, economic and cultural capital. Here an attempt is made to locate Bourdieu's work alongside the 'realist' positions in the work of (Abercrombie and Urry, 1983; Lash and Urry, 1987; Savage et al., 1992; Butler and Savage, 1995). In analysing the quantitative data further it is shown that education, social origin and gender provide important distinguishing characteristics amongst residents, and that these are further

compounded when resident's occupations are examined. Rather than an homogenous social grouping based on 'credentialism', the results suggest that it is heterogeneity rather than homogeneity that characterises the new middle class.

In Chapter Five patterns of sociability are examined, and the role of leisure in the social construction of identity is analysed. Here particular attention is given to: the social practices associated with the use of the recreational facilities available on the estate; the creation and membership of a variety of clubs and associations; the diversity of resident's leisure lifestyles. The concern is to discover and assess the extent to which the heterogeneity discovered in the previous chapter can be related to resident's leisure practices, and to further examine the contention that social position amongst the new middle class is best understood as being formed from processes associated with consumption rather than production. The analysis finds important differences in the 'leisure lifestyles' of residents according to social background, education and occupation. Following Bourdieu (1984:170), it is argued that a series of relationships or homologies, best understood as forming a part of the habitus, have been discovered, which further support claims of fragmentation.

The nature of the domestic household is examined in Chapter Six, and a sustained debate over gender differentiation is held. At the same time the problems of using male occupational indices as indicators of class position is examined. With respect to Goldthorpe's work a number of writers (Crompton, 1989) criticise the failure to

examine the role played by females in the occupational structure and the effect that this may have on class location. Further, given the major changes associated with the move towards service industries and the relative decline of heavy manufacturing industry, together with the increasing paid female labour force, dual incomes may be an important feature of social mobility for the new middle class.

It has been suggested elsewhere (Edgell, 1980) that if the concept of the conjugal role has any validity, then it will be amongst the middle classes where traditional divisions of labour are most likely to begin to disappear. Edgell's work was unambiguous in its refutation of this thesis. Similarly recent work in the sociology of leisure (Deem, 1986; Green, Hebron and Woodward, 1987 and 1990) has also argued that the domestic division of labour effectively reduces women's experience of leisure. The evidence from this study also supports the position that much of women's leisure can be considered 'secondary', and that, for the most part, the domestic divisions of labour discovered in other studies are replicated here.

However at the same time it is argued that differentiations do exist, that they relate to those differences previously discovered, and that they provide further evidence for the cultural fragmentation and heterogeneity of the new middle classes.

Chapter Seven presents the findings of the ethnography conducted at the clubhouse on The Heath which contains the sports and leisure facilities, and acts as the major public site for interaction amongst residents. The previous distinctions observed in

the earlier chapters are contextualised within the ethnography of the clubhouse site and its facilities. It is argued that it is the 'practices of use' (Bourdieu, 1984; de Certeau, 1984) of these facilities, and, of course, their non use, which helps residents to position themselves and each other, within the setting. As such, the leisure practices outlined are practices by which these class fractions announce and establish their positions, and they reflect the positions of these class fractions in the changing economy.

Chapter Eight reviews the orienting themes of the thesis which are restated and examined in the light of the previous discussion and analysis. It is argued that the structural and cultural fragmentation of the middle class is best understood, not solely as productive of a 'new middle class' but should rather be understood as a process which has implications for the very concept of class itself. In this context the argument is not that social mobility has made the middle class 'larger', but rather that it has destroyed any common elements previously possessed by, or understandable as, the middle class. This implies that Bourdieu's hierarchical struggle for cultural capital and 'full membership' (acceptance) is simply no longer relevant. To understand this we need to consider what he himself has termed a new emphasis on consumption rather than production (Bourdieu, 1984:310). Such a new emphasis involves a challenge to the 'cultural' requisites of middle class-ness in which deferred gratification and the other 'virtues and sensibilities' of middle class life are challenged by more 'hedonistic' concerns associated with consumption. These are expressed via

an increasing commodification and 'aestheticisation of everyday life' (Featherstone, 1991), associated with the 'making', and commodification of the cultural, and involving an increasing de-differentiation of the previous distinctions between 'high' and 'popular' culture, a differentiation which was fundamental to the cultural proclamations of the bourgeoisie (Wynne and O'Connor, 1991). In relating the above to the relationship between the concept of class and contemporary theorising (Giddens, 1991; Beck, 1992; Lash and Urry, 1994), it is suggested that the processes illustrated in this case study indicate a more complex cultural transformation than can be understood simply as a recomposition of the middle class.

A note on Appendix II

Two recently published papers are offered as support for this thesis. They indicate the development of my work on contemporary cultural change and the new middle class since the case study of The Heath was undertaken. The data on which they are based comes from an empirical investigation of Manchester city centre conducted between 1991-94. The methodology employed in these investigations is similar to that developed for the study of The Heath, and the theoretical concerns of these papers can, in part, be seen as building upon that investigation. Such concerns include;

- (i) a further examination of Bourdieu's work in *Distinction*
- (ii) an attempt to locate emergent 'fractions' of the new middle class within the gentrification process - 'the yuppie'
- (iii) investigating cultural commodification in the context of urban regeneration schemes (Wynne, 1992; Wynne and O'Connor, 1992)
- (iv) considering processes of 'individualisation' (Beck, 1992) in the context of the decline of 'class cultures'.

Together these papers examine those issues outlined above in the context of the debate associated with the increasing fragmentation of the class structure and the nature of contemporary cultural change.

The title of the first paper, 'From the Margins to the Centre', refers to three related themes that have run closely together in the debates around postmodernity and the city. First, the notion of gentrification, whereby a reversal of the movement out of the city centre by the affluent results in a 're-centralisation' of previously 'marginal' areas of the city centre. Second, a process of restructuring in which many of those activities previously deemed peripheral to the activity of the 'productive' city - culture, consumption and image - have now become major concerns. Third, the process whereby previously 'marginal' groups have been made central to the city and have made the city centre central to themselves.

This paper looks at these debates more closely, and at the claims that this transformation towards the 'postmodern city' can be tied to the operations of a designate class or class fraction who, more than any other social group, are concerned with the promotion of a 'postmodern lifestyle'. The paper draws on empirical research to argue first, that some of the claims made about 'gentrification' and the social groups involved are over generalised, and that any characterisation of this process must acknowledge the local context in these 'global transformations'; second, to suggest that the attempt to tie the emergence of postmodern lifestyles to the distinction strategies of a particular class fraction may need to be seriously modified.

The second paper, 'City Cultures and New Cultural Intermediaries' was presented at the annual conference of the British Sociological Association, 'Contested Cities' held at the University of Leicester, April, 1995. The paper examines contemporary theories of cultural change with particular regard to 'city centre' regeneration through residential and culturally-led development. This paper employs the theoretical ideas of Bourdieu, together with more recent postmodernist theorising of contemporary cultural change. The research project on which the paper is based used quantitative (questionnaire) and qualitative (interviews and ethnography) methodologies, together with correspondence analysis for interrogating the data. The findings of the study allow for four points to be made. First, the stereotypical image of the 'yuppie' promoted in the 1980's is not supported by the research. Second, the increasing commodification of culture has important implications for Bourdieu's conceptualisation of cultural capital. Third, in conceptualising space it is argued that 'place' in the local/national/global context is important and places an important proviso on any understanding of global cultural and economic flows. Fourth, observation of an increasing 'individualisation' amongst those studied, is suggestive of a dissolution in importance of some of the more traditional forms associated with social integration in the political, institutional and cultural spheres.

It is suggested that the conclusions developed from these investigations offer further support for the view that contemporary British society is currently experiencing social and cultural transformations which go beyond that of a recomposed middle class.

The empirical study on which these papers are based was conducted by myself, Mike Featherstone, Dianne Phillips and Justin O'Connor who was the Research Fellow on the research project. Both of the papers were written by myself and O'Connor, and the statistical analysis in the second paper was conducted by Dianne Phillips.

Chapter Two. Locating The New Middle Class

Chapter two provides an overview of some of the more pertinent work on the emergence of the new middle class in contemporary British society and is primarily oriented around the debate concerning the relationship between changes in the class structure and changes in the occupational structure as they pertain to social mobility (Goldthorpe, 1987). Here the intention is not to claim or offer this case study as a contribution to that debate as such, but rather to review contemporary work in this area and comment upon its relevance to this project.

Clearly one could not hope to provide a definitive examination of the considerable variety of positions which have developed with regard to the changing nature of the British class structure. Recent authoritative work which reviews the many competing claims has been completed by a number of authors, notably Goldthorpe (1987) and Crompton (1993). By way of an introduction to our own concerns we can note those claims which relate to a changing class structure, social mobility and occupational change. The ideas of particular interest are fourfold. First, the amount and degree of social mobility in Britain since the 1950s. Second, the competing explanations of such mobility. Third, the degree to which changes in the occupational structure can be used to formulate explanations of change within the class structure. Finally, the degree of fluidity and openness in the contemporary class structure.

There is a consensus among writers concerned with the above that the contemporary occupational structure of British society has undergone profound

change, and that this change can be characterised by an increase in non manual, white collar and service occupations, and a decrease in blue-collar, manual occupations. It is here that the agreement ends; in accounting for and commenting on such change a variety of competing explanations are offered which have their origins in classical social theory. For the most part such debate has centered around two related issues. First, the extent to which occupational change has affected the class structure, and problematised particularly Marxist but also Weberian theory (Bottomore, 1965; Braverman, 1974; Giddens, 1973 & 1981; Goldthorpe, 1980; Roberts et al., 1977). Second, the appropriate conceptualisation of a new middle or service class, and its potential for either fragmentation or homogeneity (Goldthorpe 1980, 1982, 1987 & 1995, Roberts et al., 1977; Abercrombie & Urry, 1983; Lash & Urry, 1987; Savage et al., 1992; Butler & Savage (eds.), 1995). Of course to adequately account for such work would require more space than is available here, nevertheless an understanding of these debates is essential if we are to make sense of the emergence of the new middle class.

class and the occupational structure

The principal concerns expressed can be summarised by examining some of the more prominent contributions to these debates. Such contributions would include first, what has come to be known as the 'buffer zone' thesis expounded by Bottomore (1965). Second the 'closure' thesis associated with the work of Parkin (1971). Third, that associated with the Oxford Social Mobility Group (Goldthorpe, 1980 and 1987). Fourth, that of 'proletarianisation' and 'deskilling' developed by Braverman (1974). Fifth, the work associated with notions of

'credentialism' and argued by both Urry (1981, 1983) and Giddens (1973). Finally, the thesis of 'pluralist fragmentation' developed by Roberts et al., (1977).

Of course not all of the above positions are mutually exclusive and it would be wrong to associate any one author's view with a singular thesis, or indeed any one thesis with a singular author. However, for the purpose of clarity I think it is reasonable to suggest that certain writings could be said to be characterised primarily by one or more of the above positions.

The Buffer Zone Thesis

Essentially this thesis argues that, in spite of the movement from an occupational structure based on a manual/non manual divide to one which has seen the growing emergence of non manual work at the expense of manual work, nevertheless that the social mobility which has taken place will be of primarily short range. This provides a view of the occupational structure in which the offspring of manual workers, while they may find themselves in non manual work, will be employed at the lower rungs of the non manual work hierarchy. As such, although working conditions, pay and other work related features may have improved in comparison to those enjoyed by manual workers, such improvements will have been relatively slight. The buffer zone between manual and non manual work operates in such a way as to limit social mobility and, as Goldthorpe points out,

“it proposes the division between manual and non manual occupations as a fundamental line of cleavage within both the occupational hierarchy and the class structure, and as one which is of major importance in preventing mobility of a long range kind.” (Goldthorpe 1987:48)

Such a position has become almost a truism in theorising social stratification and can be discovered unchallenged in the work of a number of authors including both Giddens (1980) and Parkin (1971). Both offer Miller's analysis of comparative social mobility (1960) in suggesting that movement between the manual and non-manual sector is of relatively short range.

“We could sum up these remarks by suggesting that there is what might be called a social and cultural 'buffer zone' between the middle class and working class proper. Most mobility, being of a fairly narrow social span, involves the movement into and out of this zone rather than movement between the class extremes.” (Parkin, 1971:56)

“It will suffice to emphasise here that the division between non-manual and manual labour in terms of inter- and intragenerational mobility, continues to be, through the operation of the 'buffer zone'.” (Giddens, 1980:199).

However after an analysis of the data collected, in which both inter and intragenerational mobility were examined, Goldthorpe concludes,

“.....our findings appear as a conspicuous exception to the argument advanced in expounding the buffer zone thesis that ‘it is very generally the casethat the chances of intergenerational mobility out of the working class are heavily concentrated within the skilled manual category’.” (Goldthorpe 1987:48)

and later,

“Our own conclusions would be that attempts to comprehend currently observable mobility flows and their implications for class formation in any way which can be summed up in some simple metaphor (the buffer zone thesis) are unlikely to be very enlightening.” (Goldthorpe 1987:55)

Class and Closure

The essential argument behind the closure thesis is that social practices engaged in by those occupying the highest positions in the stratification hierarchy are employed in order to effectively close recruitment to those positions from below. Such an argument was originally advanced by Bottomore in both *Classes In Modern Society* (1955) and *Elites In Society* (1964), and similar positions have been offered by others. More recently it is in the work of Frank Parkin where this thesis has been expounded. He presents the essence of the thesis thus,

“ In modern capitalist society the two main exclusionary devices by which the bourgeoisie constructs and maintains itself as a class are, first, those surrounding the institutions of property; and second, academic or professional qualifications and credentials.” (Parkin, 1979:47)

However after examining the ‘inflow’ of males to the highest positions in the occupational hierarchy from his own data Goldthorpe is led to conclude,

“For our present concern, what is immediately striking in Table 2.1 is that, directly contrary to any notion of closure at the highest levels of the class structure, Class I of our schema displays, on any reckoning, a very wide basis of recruitment and a very low degree of homogeneity in its composition.” (Goldthorpe 1987:44)

Of course one could easily point to a number of problems with respect to this analysis. First, that the degree of refinement of the scale employed by Goldthorpe is inadequate, in that those writers referred to above are primarily concerned with an analysis of elites existent within Class I which Goldthorpe takes to be the elite class. The argument would be that while Class I *contains* the elite class, it *does not* represent that class. Second, Goldthorpe’s analysis does not in itself refute the closure thesis. Social practices of closure may well operate

in the recruitment to Class I but, due to particular demands over a relatively short run period, recruitment into class I has been 'opened', but may, in the future 'close' again. Third, the closure strategies employed may, again over a relatively short period, have been inadequate to prevent a degree of long range mobility. Future strategies of closure may prove to be more successful. What is interesting with respect to the closure thesis is the extent to which we may witness alternative strategies of closure which respond to the changing nature of the occupational system as manufacturing and primary industrial activity gives way to an economy having a greater reliance on a service sector, high technology industries, and intellectual capacity than ever before. Indeed, the examination of cultural practices amongst what Roberts (1977) has termed the fragmentary middle mass may well reveal the formation of 'closure' practices as competing social groups attempt to maintain the positions that they currently occupy. Of course such strategies are directly implicated in the formation of classes, or what Giddens (1980) has termed, class structuration.

"The major problems in the theory of class, do not so much concern the nature and application of the class concept itself, as what, I shall call the *structuration* of class relationships to focus upon *the modes in which* 'economic' relationships become translated into 'non-economic' social structures." (Giddens, 1980:105).

Goldthorpe and Social Mobility

While for Parkin,

"Strategies of exclusion are the predominant mode of closure in all stratified systems." (Parkin, 1979:45).

for Goldthorpe,

“.....there is in fact no possibility of service-class positions in present-day British society being largely confined to men of service class origins: rather, some substantial degree of ‘recruitment from below’ has been inevitable.....although very wide inequalities exist in chances of access to the service class, in particular as between men of service-class and working-class origins, this still does not prevent the latter from forming a large component of all service-class entrants.” (Goldthorpe 1987:331)

Goldthorpe’s discussion of the new middle class, understood primarily as a ‘service class’, focuses on the extent to which social mobility can be seen as having been essentially created through the development of credentialism, or whether other factors also need to be examined. Such a discussion is considered particularly important in any attempt to discuss the degree of homogeneity associated with the new middle class especially in attempting to examine the cultural practices of such a group(s). Goldthorpe provides considerable evidence to indicate that a substantial amount of social mobility is not the result of a growing credentialism in British society and indeed argues that,

“The rate of expansion of the service class in modern Britain, outstripping that of the institutions of higher education at least until the later 1960s, has meant that indirect routes into service-class positions have remained of considerable importance up to the present day.” (Goldthorpe 1987:333)

However his concern with developing the concept of a ‘service class’ leads him to suggest that credentialism is in the process of becoming the dominant factor in structuring class relations.

“.....the last half century or so has witnessed in Britain not only a significant expansion of professional, higher technical, administrative, and managerial positions; but further, the emergence of the service class as a new social formation: that is, as a collectivity of individuals and families that maintains its

identity as a class - its location within the structure of class positions - over timeits members, despite their diverse origins, display a high degree of both intergenerational stability and work-life continuity.” (Goldthorpe 1987:333)

While such a prediction may be correct; given his own emphasis on the amount of social mobility that cannot be accounted for by credentialism it is perhaps warranted to consider alternative scenarios - scenarios acknowledged by Goldthorpe himself,

“Another consequence of the growth of the service class has been that structural divisions within it - in terms say of *situs* or sector or occupational groupings - have become more apparent, and this, it should be noted, has also prompted speculation on possible socio-cultural, and political diversity.” (Goldthorpe, 1987:341)

Of course, any analysis aware of the importance of historical and economic factors in the structuration of classes, would recognise the possibility of alternative scenarios to that implicit in Goldthorpe’s account. The reliance on credentialism as the singularly favoured explanatory factor could be said to be more accommodative of the industrialisation thesis than of any other explanation of social change to the extent that it sees the development of technology as the driving force, requiring an ever increasingly educated work force. Only if credentialism is seen as one strategy employed amongst others can it be understood in any historical context, and, as Parkin (1979) has argued, credentialism is a peculiar strategy to embark upon given the competition it produces for places, even though the educational system favours members of this social group.

Fragmentation

In *The Fragmentary Class Structure* Roberts et al (1977) are primarily concerned with examining peoples' images of class according to the relative positions that they occupy, and the relationships between occupation, politics, education and class consciousness. Their main conclusion from this analysis is that the changes that have taken place in the occupational structure are not evidencing either processes of embourgeoisement (Zweig, 1961) or proletarianisation (Braverman, 1974).

“..... contrary to immediate post-war fears, far from declining, the middle class has grown in size as the development of the economy has created new white-collar jobs in the professions, administration, management, science and technology. Since the nineteen-fifties it has been more common to hear claims that we are becoming a middle class society. But in the process of growing the middle class has become a different type of social formation than the middle class with which Lewis and Maude (1949) sympathised..... They were men of substance and independence who represented an ideal that other persons could admire and emulate. No one who has examined the middle class during the last twenty years has used these as representative figures. There has been general agreement that the middle class is changing. But in what direction? And is it any longer possible to identify a core middle class culture comprising a coherent set of values and an associated style of life?” (Roberts et al., 1977:107).

They suggest that we are witnessing an increasing fragmentation of the class structure based on an emergent 'middle mass' whose market and status situations can be differentiated in at least three ways. First those employed in large organisations similar to those examined by Whyte (1956), although, significantly, such employees are characterised very differently from those in the Whyte thesis. Whereas Whyte characterises such employees as being on a treadmill - embarked upon a rat race, Roberts et al. suggest that today's 'organisation man' is more concerned with his family and extra-work activities

than his career. Second, a white-collar, low skill level, clerical grouping appropriate, in part, to Braverman's analysis of an increasingly de-skilled, proletarianised labour force. Third, a traditional middle class *petit bourgeois*. Finally, a professional, upwardly mobile group of 'credentialists' (Goldthorpe, 1987; Urry 1981 and 1983).

This picture of the shape of the class structure has much to commend it. It recognises the decline in manufacturing and primary industries in which traditional working class communities were found and it recognises the importance of geographical mobility, educational opportunity, technological change and the growth of white collar trade unionism among the factors which have contributed to the decline of the traditional class structure and the emergence of an increasing heterogeneity. However, in spite of presenting a picture of increasing heterogeneity, the fragmentation which it suggests is one which relies on what could be described as a vertical model or hierarchy of occupations which clearly distinguishes one grouping from another.

".... our interpretation of the evidence suggests that Within the white-collar strata The days when it was realistic to talk about *the* middle class are gone. The trends are towards fragmenting the middle class into a number of distinguishable strata, each with its own view of its place in the social structure." (Roberts et al., 1977:143).

In this model social mobility is still primarily understood as achieved by a growing credentialism, which, although it favours the traditional middle class, has allowed for social mobility amongst working class youth in the fifties and sixties to the extent that (a) they did well at school (the working class grammar school boy), and (b) the expansion in non - manual work which *required* entry into these new 'middle mass' occupations. As such, experience of social mobility

is primarily understood as short-range, with a series of closures at the varying levels of an emerging, fragmentary class structure. Such a picture, although clearly presented, does not allow for the range of mobility discovered by both Goldthorpe (1987) and Payne (1987), whose findings are also supported by my own, albeit limited, data. Important, particularly for my own argument which follows, this fragmentation thesis allows for the emergence of a new middle mass, fractions of which may well express a variety of alternatives concerning cultural life, attitudes to work, domestic life and leisure. However, the problem with the formulation provided by Roberts et al. is their presentation of these alternatives in a pre-given hierarchy based on occupational position, rather than as potentially contradictory cultural forms, the hierarchical outcome of which is continually struggled over.

Realist and Relational Positions on Class

In *Mobility in Modern Society* (1987) Payne argues that much previous work on social mobility has failed to differentiate between changes in the class structure and changes in the occupational structure. The essence of his argument is that in much sociology, particularly empirical work, social class is inevitably understood in terms which relate it to a series of placements in the occupational structure.

“Social or ‘class’ mobility is normally thought of as a movement between social classes, whereas it is often operationalised in occupational terms and what is actually measured is movement between broad groupings of occupations. It is therefore often forgotten that social mobility is in fact occupational mobility, and so it is a product of employment processes which have taken place in specific historical and economic circumstances.” (Payne 1987:ix)

In principle, when operationalising the concept of class, occupational divisions are created by investigators which can be as complex or as simple as is seen fit.

For the most part the divisions which are operated tend to relate to *manual labour*; unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled: and *non-manual labour*, clerical, administrative, professional and managerial. The working class are inevitably defined through the former categories, and the middle class through the latter. From those who adopt a Marxist position, and in spite of attempts to understand class as a relational concept, eventually, when empirical data is examined, it is usually done so with reference to location in the occupational structure for those under scrutiny. As such, the debate over the existence or otherwise of a new middle class is reduced to the task of claiming the petit-bourgeois or service worker either as members of a proletariat or bourgeois. Membership of the proletariat is claimed either as a form of self employed labour aristocracy or as workers involved in the means of mental production, or even as non-productive workers, in the sense that they are seen as a drain on surplus value rather than creators of it. Membership of the bourgeois, on the other hand, is usually argued for either in terms of any self employment status constituting ownership of the means of production, or in terms of the identification of certain non-manual workers' "class interest" as lying closer to that of the bourgeois in capitalist society. Such analyses, for the most part, produce a view of contemporary British society in which *closure* rather than *openness* is seen as best fitted to explaining the occupational, *and* class system. In contrast, the industrialisation thesis views the changes associated with movement from manual to non-manual work as evidencing social fluidity characteristic of an *open* structure.

Such analyses are problematic on a number of counts, but especially so because of their implicit failure to operationalise adequately the concept of class in relational terms, to adopt a more historical approach to class formation, and to

recognise the inappropriateness of an attempted understanding through the occupational structure, which class relations could themselves be said to have produced. Such production, or structuration to borrow a term from Giddens, can be evidenced in a variety of ways, but would include: the social practices of collective struggle; the development of credentialism and professionalisation; and the continued creation of new occupations such as, most recently, those developed through high technology and including computer personnel and technicians of varying kinds. To claim that such occupational change results from the logic of capitalism, or the development of industrial society, says little of the relations between employers and employees, the trades unions and growth of professional associations, of changes in occupational culture, of the developing relationship throughout the twentieth century between education, training and professionalisation, and finally, of the competing claims, resources of, and struggles between each and all of the above. In short such claims say little of the *specific historical and economic circumstances* productive of such change.

Any analysis of the social group(s) currently understood as the new middle class or service class therefore requires their historical emergence to be accounted for, not in order to place them (ultimately) as members of a proletariat or bourgeois, but rather to consider their emergence as a class structured by the mediation of particular socio-economic and historical circumstances (Thompson, 1963; Stedman-Jones, 1983; Przeworski, 1977). A similar position is taken by Wacquant, when, after reviewing the 'boundary problem' associated with the middle class, he states,

“One cannot understand class structure (i.e., the bases and forms of interclass systems of material and symbolic relations) without, at the same time,

understanding class formation (intra-class relations). Therefore, we must forsake the essentialism implied in the will to decide in abstracto, by pure theoretical fiat, what group is what and where its 'boundaries' lie. groups and boundaries are made and unmade in history, not in theory." (Wacquant, 1991).

Such analysis, what has been termed a 'realist' analysis (Crompton, 1993:42-45), has been developed by Urry and others (Abercrombie & Urry 1983; Lash & Urry, 1987; Bagguley et al 1989; Savage et al 1992). This form of analysis has been characterised by Bagguley et al. thus,

"Realist models of the social world distinguish between relatively enduring social entities which have causal properties, and specific, contingent events to which the social entities give rise. The relations between causal entities are highly complex, however, in that the realisation of their causal properties is not guaranteed but often depends upon the realisation, or partial realisation, of the causal properties of other entities; or, indeed, upon the blocking of the realisation of the causal properties of other entities whose effects may otherwise be contrary. The way in which empirical phenomena arise, then, reflects the intricate relations between entities, with the mutual realisation, part-realisation or blocking of their causal powers." (Bagguley et al 1990:3).

This socio-historical approach informs Abercrombie and Urry's, *Capital, Labour and the Middle Classes* (1983) in which the development of the Service Class - generally attributed to Renner (1953), (see also Goldthorpe, 1982; Lash and Urry, 1987) is understood to have had a destabilising element within contemporary capitalist society.

"..... in modern capitalist societies the 'causal powers' of the service class have become significantly enhanced - powers reflected in various kinds of economic, political and social struggles which have increased the development of the socialisation of unproductive labour, forced mental and manual labour further apart, increased the credentialisation of both places and persons, concentrated capital functions within the service class, deskilled the white-collar labour process, separated the service class from deskilled white-collar workers in respect of their market and work situations, and transformed the political

position of labour. They have, in other words, transformed the very structure within which the service class is to be seen as a 'class-in-struggle'." (Abercrombie and Urry, 1983:153).

In contrast Goldthorpe sees the service class as,

"a primarily conservative force within modern society, so far at least as the prevailing structure of class inequality is concerned." (Goldthorpe, 1987:341).

Whereas Lash and Urry (1987) contend that the service class can be seen to be an important driving force behind contemporary cultural and political change, Goldthorpe has recently restated his original view that the service class can be understood as essentially conservative.

"members of the service class, occupying, as they do, the more rewarding and generally desirable positions within the social division of labour, are unlikely to be attracted to movements or parties that uphold egalitarian values or policies, but will rather seek to preserve the status quo within which their positions of relative power and advantage are established." (Goldthorpe, 1995:322).

Savage et al (1992) is also informed by a socio-historical, realist approach. The concern with middle class formation, and the analysis of the middle classes access to 'assets' - the 'property, bureaucracy, and culture' of the title, can be seen as hallmarks of such an approach.

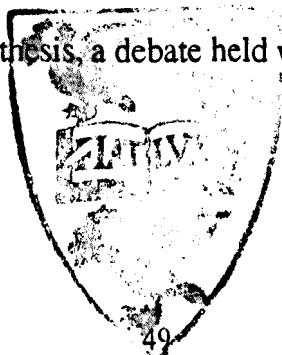
"To anticipate and simplify, we see middle class formation as being based around three causal entities: property, bureaucracy and culture. these are not symmetrical in the properties they possess, and indeed much of our argument rests upon the differences between these three assets: organisations do not convey the same degree of security as cultural assets, while cultural assets can only be effective in allowing exploitation when used in organisations or enterprises. Property assets, however, are more robust in conveying exploitative potential. However it is central to the realist argument that causal properties are only activated in certain contingent conditions. We cannot assume that, because

there are three different assets affecting middle class formation, people can be neatly slotted into one of three middle classes, each with different attributes. Classes are only formed in particular historical and spatial circumstances, and an elaboration of these is vital to show how middle classes actually emerge as distinct social collectivities.” (Savage et al 1992:xiii).

Although the emphasis on contingency and multidimensionality of the realist approach can be understood as a source of both strength and weakness, it must be recognised that the approach has provided a rich source of material in recent years (Keat and Urry, 1975 and 1981; Abercrombie and Urry, 1983; Lash and Urry; 1987; Bagguley et al., 1989; Savage et al., 1992).

“the realist approach has sometimes resulted in a certain vagueness which 'takes everything into account' *therefore* (my italics) it is difficult to provide empirical tests of association and causal relationships.... However, the realist approach is a flexible one and has provided a number of important insights into contemporary social developments.” (Crompton, 1993:45).

The approach can also be seen to be one which lies easily alongside the work of Giddens (1987) and Bourdieu (1984) both in terms of the analysis of potential fragmentation within notions of contingency and multidimensionality - linking to Bourdieu's conceptual schema of the 'capitals' and 'habitus'; and the emphasis on processes of formation - linking to Giddens' differentiation of structure and system, and Bourdieu's emphasis on social practices. Bourdieu's work operates with a quite distinct definition of class in which cultural factors are seen to operate alongside economic ones with primacy given to neither. In this regard his work could be said to echo that of Thompson (1963) who argues against economic determinist or structuralist explanations. However while Thompson was undoubtedly a significant contributor to the 'culturalist-action' thesis versus the 'economic-determinist' thesis, a debate held within Marxist theory in the



1960s-70s, Bourdieu's work sits uneasily within this debate. Rather he may be best seen as developing a position which denies primacy to structure or action.

As Wacquant has indicated in discussing Bourdieu's work,

“The work of Pierre Bourdieu (1978, 1979, 1984a, 1988) exemplifies this shift from abstract theorizations of "objective" class boundaries flowing from economic structures to a focus on the structured formation or self-production of class collectivities through struggles that simultaneously involve relationships between and within classes and determine the actual demarcation of their frontiers. Bourdieu replaces the concept of class structure with that of social space, understood as the multidimensional distribution of socially effective forms of power (or capital, be it economic, cultural or social) underlying social positions. To speak of social space, he says, means that "one cannot group anyone with anyone while ignoring fundamental differences, particularly economic and cultural ones. But this never entirely excludes the possibility of organizing agents in accordance with other principles of division". (Bourdieu 1984a, p. 9). For social space is at once a field of objective forces and a field of struggles over the very criteria of group formation In this perspective, the nature, composition and dispositions of the middle classes cannot be directly "deduced" from an objectivist map of the class structure; their boundaries cannot be "read off" objective (i.e., theoretical) criteria of classification. Rather, they must be discovered through analysis of the whole set of creative strategies of distinction, reproduction and subversion of all agents.” (Wacquant, 1991:52).

Such a position can also be found in Giddens' development of structuration theory.

“Human agency and structure are logically implicated with one another Understood as rules and resources implicated in the 'form' of collectivities of social systems, reproduced across space and time, structure is the very medium of the 'human' element of agency agency is the medium of structure, which individuals routinely reproduce in the course of their activities.” (Giddens 1987:220-1 in Crompton, 1992:184)

For Bourdieu 'capital' is not understood solely in economic terms. Rather it should be seen as the possession of a variety of resources, the possession of

which endows actors (or agents - Giddens), with the capacity to act in the social world. Such resources, or capitals, include for Bourdieu cultural, social and symbolic capital, in addition to economic capital. Endowment of such capital, the struggle to acquire it, together with analyses of the use to which it is put, is the defining characteristic of Bourdieu's sociology. As such the occupational structure is not understood as a concretised feature of the social world, but rather as one which is in continual flux and change. The immediate links to Giddens are obvious as are the links to notions of contingency and multidimensionality associated with the 'realist' positions of Urry, Savage and others.

My own data adapts Bourdieu's concept of capital to examine social mobility and the formation of the new middle class. It compares the social and cultural practices of those of different social origin, educational level, and occupation. It finds that there has been similar recruitment patterns into the new middle class irrespective of educational capital, but that those with the highest levels of educational capital have been recruited via professional employment (not surprisingly) and those with low levels have 'worked their way up' into managerial positions in manufacturing, distribution and other service occupations associated with the new middle class.

However, in spite of their homogeneous housing tenure and residential conditions, there are marked differences in socio-cultural life which relate to the degree of educational capital possessed, social origin, gender and occupation. Further, it is suggested that it is 'life outside of work' which acts as the major orienting feature of subjects lives. Using Bourdieu's terminology, social origin,

educational background, gender and occupation combine to form part of the *habitus* which provides a frame of reference fundamentally different to that of those who have not had such experiences.

Changing Relations between Work and Leisure

What has come to be understood as the 'post industrial society' thesis (see below Bell, 1974; Toffler, 1970; Gorz, 1982; Touraine, 1971) and associated views regarding the 'declining importance of work' (see below, Kaplan, 1975; Best, 1976; Dumazadier, 1974; Kelly, 1983; Roberts, 1978) shares some aspects of the themes which have informed contemporary theorising associated with a sociology of postmodern culture, particularly the relationship of postmodern culture to the formation of the new middle classes or service class. As we have seen, in these analyses it is increasingly consumption rather than production which is seen as the primary locator of contemporary identities. Whether this can be understood as a process occurring primarily with the emergence of a new middle class(es) or service class as outlined in that work, or whether this can be understood as symptomatic of more widespread social and economic changes in the latter half of the twentieth century (Beck, 1992; Giddens, 1991, 1992; Bauman, 1992; Featherstone, 1995; Lash and Urry, 1994), has been one of the debates amongst those attempting empirical analyses of the implications of the 'postmodern thesis' (Sulkunen, 1992; Sulkunen et al., (eds) 1996; Wynne & O'Connor (eds) 1996; Henry (ed) 1993). In such analyses the sociology of leisure refocuses its attention from the work-leisure couplet exemplified in the work of Parker (1971 & 1983), to examine not just other social criteria such as gender (e.g. Deem, 1976; Green et al 1990) and ethnicity (Hebdige, 1979 & 1987; Gilroy, 1987) but rather to problematise the very concept of leisure itself.

In this reading it is suggested that traditional analyses have attempted to locate leisure practices through an understanding of their relationship to the occupational structure in which leisure, understood as free-time activity, is then 'read-off' from the subjects occupation.

In British sociology perhaps the most well known theorist of this position has been Stanley Parker (1971 & 1983). Parker's work is fundamental in relating the importance of work to an understanding of leisure practices. Indeed Parker's position contends that the very nature of leisure as a social construction can only be understood in relation to work. Without work there is no leisure, in the sense that the work practices of industrial society provide the counterpoint to the development of associated leisure practices. Certainly any attempt at an understanding of the emergence of modern leisure needs to recognise its emergence alongside the processes of industrialisation (de Grazia, 1962; Roberts, 1978; Clarke and Critcher, 1985; Rojek, 1995). As each of these writers have shown industrialisation brought an increasing fragmentation to everyday life which had amongst its consequences an increasing differentiation in the relationship between work and non-work time. Such observations are of course central to the emergence of sociology itself with the fragmentation of the social, or the increasing division of labour, being a central theme of the founding fathers (Durkheim, 1933).

However Parker's principal contribution to the study of leisure is his construction of a typology of work and leisure practices in an attempt to theorise the relationships between types of leisure patterns and occupations. He

identifies three dominant patterns: extension, opposition and neutrality (Parker, 1971:99-110).

The extension pattern suggests a relationship between work and leisure in which the two are almost indistinguishable. The dominance of work as central to life produces a pattern of leisure practice in which work interests predominate.

Parker suggests such a pattern can be associated with those whose occupational position requires the highest levels of educational achievement and professional training.

In the oppositional pattern leisure practices are engaged in in sharp contrast to those associated with work. The two sets of practices are largely distinct, and work is essentially engaged in in order to provide the opportunity for leisure. As such work possesses relatively little importance for such social actors, whose primary investment is in their leisure practices. Parker suggests such a pattern can be associated with those whose occupational position is in the least skilled of occupations - factory and assembly line work are offered as primarily characteristic of such a pattern.

The neutrality pattern is offered as an explanation for those whose leisure practices are entirely independent of their work practices. In the extension pattern leisure practices become, or are, a part of working practices themselves. In the oppositional pattern the leisure practices undertaken, although in opposition to work practices, are primarily understood or are given meaning and structure by such work practices. In this third category leisure practices are understood to be independent of work practices.

Notwithstanding the feminist critique of Parker's work (Deem, 1986; Green et al., 1990) as 'gender blind', a further major deficiency can be levelled at the implicit theoretical position that he takes in locating leisure as an addendum to work. As Clarke and Critcher point out,

“the model relies on a species of functionalism ... assuming that the existence of any social pattern or activity can be explained by the function it performs ultimately he is explaining leisure as a function of work.” (Clarke and Critcher, 1985:20).

In addition, as Roberts has argued,

“Although work certainly influences leisure, it creates a false impression to dwell solely upon the positive relationships that can be discerned while ignoring other data. Scrutinising *all* the evidence leads Dumazedier to the conclusion that on balance the sociology of leisure has been '... hampered by its derivation from the sociology of work'.” (Roberts, 1978:112-113).

More recently a number of authors have developed a substantial critique of the dominant modes of investigation in the study of leisure. Underlying much of this critical work is a fundamental questioning of the very concept of leisure itself. Amongst the most vociferous of these critiques is that offered from a feminist perspective which has argued that the very definition of the concept is an essentially gendered one (e.g. Deem, 1986; Green et al 1990). Here it is argued that definitions of leisure understood as activity regarded as a counterpoint to work invariably fail to understand the relationship which most women have to both work and leisure. Numerous studies have shown that for women, leisure is an essentially hidden activity (Deem, 1986; Glyptis et al 1987; Green et al 1987) - hidden alongside a plethora of domesticity and household activity associated

with domestic labour and child rearing. Indeed Deem (1986) has argued that if women wish to experience greater degrees of freedom and more opportunities for leisure then entering the full time labour force is perhaps a first starting point for it is only then that men recognise a woman's right to free time. From a feminist perspective the history of leisure is understood as a history of patriarchy, one in which the development of free time, time free from paid labour, has been an essentially exclusive preserve of men rather than women in a capitalist labour force. As such, to the extent that such free time is time free from paid labour, Deem and others are surely correct to argue that women's experience of leisure is essentially a second class experience.

A further challenge to taken for granted definitions of leisure as free time has been established in critical theory. From a Marxist tradition an approach has been developed by a variety of authors who have argued that leisure, as we understand the term today, is a concept associated with the emergence of wage labour in capitalist society. To the question, free time - free from what? - has come the response, free from wage labour. As such, it is argued that it is with the growth of the factory and an industrialised urban proletariat that modern leisure emerges. For these writers a continuing struggle over free time and associated activities has been the history of leisure for this proletariat. Studies, from a variety of traditions have documented the nature of this struggle. Socio-historical studies have provided an understanding of the 'fears of the dangerous classes' espoused by the developing bourgeois nation state. In this tradition we have a number of studies documenting the legal regulation of proletarian leisure including that relating to football, drinking habits, gambling and gaming (for example; Corrigan and Sayer, 1985; Jones, 1986; Hargreaves, 1982; Walvin,

1979). From a Gramscian or hegemonic tradition (Gramsci, 1971) other authors have pointed to the hegemony associated with the development of modern leisure. Of particular importance has been that work associated with the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies. Here, particularly under the directorship of Stuart Hall, a number of authors engaged primarily with a cultural mapping of working class adolescent activity, showed in a series of influential pieces, the ways in which such activities, although regulated and controlled, acted as a form of 'resistance' to a dominant culture (Hall and Jefferson (eds) 1976). In these studies, sometimes more explicit than others, the very concept of leisure has been subject to scrutiny. Rather than seeing leisure as an addendum to work, to be understood and analysed alongside such work, leisure itself became a central site for conflict and challenge and to be seen as increasingly important in the construction and shaping of identities (Hebdige, 1979).

This theme is taken somewhat further in Rojek's work (Rojek, 1985 & 1995). In his discussion of the development of modern leisure Rojek argues that the developing bourgeois' relationship to leisure produces a form of leisure more concerned with a control of the emotions and the body than with an unfettered enjoyment of pleasure. Along with the neo-Marxist analysis, he too sees the development of the rational recreation movement and the creation of organisations such as the Scouts and Boys Brigades as being primarily concerned with control and restraint rather than desire or 'jouissance'. Rojek then develops his argument through a discussion of the concept of modernity rather than through the neo-Marxist analysis associated primarily with the CCCS. It is through this discussion of the role of leisure in modernity, and its association

with bourgeois identity that we can observe the increasing importance that leisure has in contemporary society.

Nowhere is this argument more developed than in Bourdieu's work, *Distinction*. Essentially, as Bourdieu himself states in the introduction, *Distinction* is concerned with the development of the Weberian concept of *Stände* or status. Bourdieu argues that social distinctions can be observed in a variety of social practices including those traditionally associated with leisure such as holiday making, sports, reading, musical, cinematic and other tastes. These fields, he argues can be examined for the degrees of cultural and economic capitals possessed by those who inhabit them and that the social positions and trajectories of such individuals can be socially and culturally mapped in society. This in itself is not particularly new or dramatic, and more than one commentary has compared Bourdieu's *Distinction* with Veblen's *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1925) given their similarity with regard to an analysis which emphasises the symbolic importance of leisure to status. However in *Distinction*, Bourdieu begins the development of a theme which has had important implications for the debates on class, consumer culture and postmodernity.

As with all attempts to encapsulate in a few pages the sometimes dense and sophisticated arguments presented it is inevitable that any gloss over these developments is itself fraught with criticism. Notwithstanding such critique it would appear that such debate can be said to centre around attempts to understand contemporary cultural change through an analysis which develops Bourdieu's concerns with the alleged move from a social world centred on the relationships of groups, classes and individuals to the means of production,

towards one in which the principal explanatory features centre around relationships to the means of consumption (see below Chapter Four).

For our purposes here the primary interest in this debate is the increasing concern given to those fields of social life which lie outside the world of work, and the increasing importance given to leisure in the development of social identity. Rather than seeing the field of leisure as subsumed to and by work, essential to Parker's analysis, this approach would suggest that for many work is becoming increasingly less significant in the production of social identity, and that, at least for significant sections of the new middle class, new value systems maybe replacing those traditionally associated with the Protestant ethic.

If we relate the above to what Roberts has termed the 'fragmentary class structure' then we should be able to engage in an analysis of this fragmentation which relates as much to social fields outside of work and occupation as it does to those fields themselves. Furthermore, by employing Bourdieu's concepts of economic and cultural capital and operationalising them in a way which allows for an analysis related to 'trajectories of social mobility' then it becomes possible to analyse the degree to which these different accumulations of capital may relate to different forms of mobility and differentiation in lifestyles. In short, it becomes possible to examine the degree to which we may be witnessing the emergence, not of a new middle class per se, but rather the emergence of new middle classes and the increasing fragmentation of a traditional bourgeois, challenged by both forms of capital accumulation.

Chapter Three. The Heath: setting and structure

This chapter provides an overview of the setting for the empirical investigation together with an analysis of the socio-structural characteristics of the sample in which features such as occupational status, educational level, age, gender and geographical mobility are discussed.

The locale or places associated with traditional working class community studies has largely rested on the nature of the industrial settings in which these communities existed, and the corresponding occupational activities of those studied. As such the settings of such studies have tended to be taken for granted. Similarly, the suburban context of many middle class community studies have not seen the construction of 'place' as an important factor in the study of these communities. Rather the places have acted as the backdrop in which social life has been 'played out'. This lack of reflection can be associated with the historical emergence of such communities in the developing geography of the village, town, city and suburb, broadly understood as a passage through modernisation and industrialisation, a pattern of development primarily associated with industrial or 'production oriented' change (Thrift & Williams, 1987; Lash & Urry, 1987).

More recently, new 'communities' such as The Heath, have emerged not so much from an orientation to production, but rather from one related to consumption (Saunders, 1984; Thrift & Williams, 1987). In part this is illustrated by the marketing of contemporary housing developments as a commodification of the countryside, offering what might be considered a 'choice' of not simply

where to live, but an invitation to construct a sense of place where non previously existed. Such possibilities have become increasingly available as a result of changes associated with the automobile and road transport infrastructure; a movement towards a service based occupational structure, and the 'lighter' industrial economy of high technology. All have contributed to a decline in those communities developed around extractive industry and industrial production. In short, no longer are places as necessarily embedded in the natural resources or physical features associated with industrialisation. Just as the emergence of the great industrial cities produced a new geography of place based upon industrial production and saw the relative decline of the 'county' and 'market' town associated with an agrarian economy; so a new geography of place is emerging as extractive and productive capacities have declined and the spatial limitations of older, urban industrial districts have suffered disinvestment. (Relph, 1976; Newby, 1979, Elliot, 1984; Gregory & Urry, 1985; Savage, 1989). Such a geography is associated with the 'no place' places of the satellite towns and the M4 corridor, and more recently with 'no place' places such as The Heath, the existence of which owes more to where it is not, rather than to where it is, other than its nearness to wherever one needs to be.

These 'imagined communities' (Anderson, 1983; Pahl, 1987) Thrift argues, can, alongside the 'creation' of heritage (Hewison, 1987), and 'consumer culture' (Featherstone, 1987), be seen as one of the major hallmarks of the emergence of the service class.

“the countryside and heritage traditions provide images which can produce cultural cohesion in a time of rapid economic and social change..... The countryside also provides..... an imagined community of the past to fall back into when the real community of the present seems to be falling apart.....

Secondly, the countryside and heritage traditions have met and blended with consumer culture. Countryside and heritage *sell* products, and in turn these products strengthen the hold of these traditions.” (Thrift in Hamnett et al., 1989:30)

Thrift argues that such 'tradition' is also used by members of the new service class to define themselves and exclude others. By adopting such traditions they dignify themselves with the trappings of the past and gain kudos in the present - a short cut to legitimacy.

“..... the essential service-class character of places replete with manicured countryside and/or heritage is strengthened as more and more members of the service class move into them..... census and other figures show that, especially around London, it is the service class which is leading the urban-rural push.”(Thrift in Hamnett et al., 1989:34).

The Heath shares many similar features to those new residential estates which are advertised in the 'quality' Sunday newspapers, usually set in the home counties 'green belt' and offering potential purchasers not a house, but a home in a new 'community' close to 'thriving market towns' and within 'easy reach' of London, either by road or rail. Such developments, the builders preferred term, are being produced in a variety of post-modern pastiches with echoes of both Georgian and Victorian styles; or occasionally with features traditionally associated with the architecture of the old counties in which they are constructed. 'Mellow Cotswold' stone, 'Kentish oast' style, or the long-sloping rooflines associated with Suffolk and Norfolk 'tithe' barns. Two, three and four bedroom houses with 'every modern convenience', a choice of kitchen appliances and tiling, and 'ensuite facilities' to the 'master' bedroom; double garages, patio doors, and 'L shaped' living rooms are other features typically found in the houses on such estates. The names of these properties construct

and evoke the idea of tradition and the rural idyll; the more popular include, the Pembrokeshire, the Winchester, the Langdale and the Henley. Street names and street furniture and landscaping are also common, again evoking images of a country life - Hollow Oak Lane, Fawns Leap, the Dell and Longacre. What such developments point towards is the increasing importance of 'place' as a symbolic commodity, evoking images of a 'golden past' increasingly lost in the 'modern world'. The introductory comments from the developer's marketing brochure amply illustrate this attempt to commodify an imagined and symbolic past.

a new concept in residential living..... *The Heath*.

Majestic centuries old trees line the ambling lanes and footpaths. Thickly wooded copses crown the uplands. Soft running streams and meres sleep in the hollows.

Close by stands the ancient hunting forest of Delamere from which the new village takes its name. once the exclusive preserve of kings and Nobles, its remaining 4,000 acres are a natural sanctuary for wildlife are a truly unique feature of an environment unparalleled in its beauty.

Its 93 acres form a self-contained island wilderness
Bounded to the south west and south east by winding country lanes and to the north by open farmland, the land was originally an old country estate from which the family had long since departed. left to reign supreme, nature had taken full advantage. hundreds of mature trees, shrubs of many varieties and wild flowers of every description combined with the overgrown formal gardens and orchards to produce an almost impenetrable thicket. In such a long undisturbed environment wildlife abounded.

Such estates are marketed not so much at a 'traditional' or 'established' middle class, but rather at the new middle class of the recently socially mobile, who, in many cases, in order to achieve such social mobility have also had to become geographically mobile (Bell, 1968). These types of estates have come to

characterise much of the contemporary private house-building programmes and have created a new relationship between home and workplace and a changed relationship to time and space. No longer are these wedded together given the speed of modern commuting which increasingly divorces previous relationships associated with work, community and locale. As Savage points out in commentating upon apparently divergent trends in local labour market studies, (Allen & Massey, 1988),

“Those local labour markets which have seen the most rapid economic growth are normally in rural or suburban areas, and they have benefited from the movement of employment and people out of central urban locations many of the residents of these buoyant local labour markets continue to work in central urban locations..... The point here is that this evidence implies that the changes should not be conceptualised in terms of (relatively) self-contained local labour markets, but as part of the expansion of central urban labour markets.” (Savage in Hamnett et al., 1989:258).

These changing temporal and spatial relationships are not lost on the developers who have used them to market The Heath:

Although occupying a peaceful, secluded setting at the end of a quiet country lane, *The Heath* is most conveniently located for major towns and cities..... The motorway network of the North West is indisputably the finest in the country and from *The Heath* it is possible to travel quickly and with ease across the whole region.

Part of the appeal that such developments have is both their anonymity, produced by the thoughts of being one amongst many ‘newcomers’ and therefore ‘fitting in’ to an established locale becomes less of a problem; and also, at the same time, the thought of ‘being in at the start of something’, of learning ‘homemaking’ together with others, or of having children together etc. -

the common project of the new house is shared. This newness, together with the sense of a 'return' to a mythic community life of an imprecisely designated past is represented by the developer thus:

A new residential community which offers a quality of life unsurpassed in its standards and unique in its concept..... Although the expectation of living in the 80s is necessarily more affluent, there is much to be gained by returning to the fundamental principles of life in the agricultural village communities of the last century. People today, whilst they deserve and can afford a far more luxurious lifestyle, still in a sense like to belong to a community with a positive identity and neighbourly spirit.

Amongst other factors which account for the appeal of such developments is the 'fear of the city' - an important part of contemporary life. A flight from the city first undertaken by the established middle class at the end of the last century from which suburbia developed, is now being repeated by this new middle class, as perceived dangers from crime, poor schooling and health care are seen to be the cities' lot. These developments are seen as the ideal location for raising children, particularly when they include traffic management systems which ensure that motorised vehicles are separated from the immediate vicinity of the houses and play areas.

The Heart of the Village

Just as in the rural community of long ago the focal point was the village street, so too on *The Heath*. Luxurious cottage-style homes, grouped around a meandering pedestrian way, look out to pleasant grass verges, linked by a chain of shallow ornamental pools which make a most attractive feature.

The Village Suburbs

Gently curving roads flanked by expansive open greens, lead off into quiet, informal culs-de-sac to reveal a range of executive homes of the very highest standards..... Almost every property differs from its neighbour to give a pleasing visual variation and a strong sense of individuality. And yet each home blends perfectly into the magnificent landscaped surroundings of *The Heath*.

Such estates have become an ideal to be aspired for amongst the families of the new middle class, and are rapidly turning the rural hinterlands of our major cities into a 'new countryside'. As such, this construction of 'place' has become an important feature associated with new estate development in the hinterlands between cities and towns.

The spatial changes involved in the development of this 'new countryside' are productive of temporal changes also. Time taken to travel to work does, in some cases, add many hours to the working week and leaves this 'new countryside' devoid of much activity during the week-day time apart from those who are not in full time paid employment, which on these 'nuclear family' estates of child raisers are almost always women. 'Coming home' to *The Heath* invites residents to view their social world as demarcated between 'on' and 'off' *Heath* activities, an issue discussed more fully in Chapter Seven.

Your Place in the Country

Fresh air and freedom, beautiful verdant surroundings, luxury and space, a great social scene - these are just some of the many promises of life on *The Heath* Almost certainly you'll discover your own special place in the country and decide that you belong in the new community of *The Heath*.

The empirical investigation was conducted during the late 1980s on the newly built private residential development referred to above. The estate is situated in mid Cheshire, within four or five miles of three market towns, twelve miles south of Warrington and twelve miles east of Chester. It is approximately some thirty miles from both Liverpool and Manchester. The M6 and M56 motorways are about five miles from the estate. The main Liverpool - London railway line is within three miles, and the Chester-Manchester railway is within one mile of the estate. These communication networks were stressed by the developers in their promotional materials, and are always provided by estate agents when marketing property available for sale.

The development also contains leisure facilities for the exclusive use of residents and their guests, illustrative of an increasing privatization or 'self-servicing' of leisure associated with the social and political changes of the past twenty years, particularly those related to the role of local authorities in Britain (Bramham & Henry, 1990). Common in the USA, such developments were relatively unknown in the United Kingdom when this study was begun, although more recently a number of other residential developments have begun to incorporate facilities of the kind found on the Heath. Construction work began in the late 1970s, and from the beginning it was planned as a 'new community'. Initially both a small church and primary school were part of these plans, but were not

developed. The leisure facilities include common landscaping and a large 'village green' area; a 'clubhouse' containing a licensed bar, a larger meeting room and sports facilities. The latter include a sauna, indoor swimming pool, fitness room, two squash courts and changing rooms. Adjacent to the 'clubhouse' and alongside the 'village green' are two floodlit, all weather tennis courts.

When purchasing property on the Heath all property owners sign a legally prescribed contract agreeing to pay an annual fee for the upkeep and maintenance of these facilities. In addition this combined fee also supports the employment of a licensed bar steward, bar staff and cleaning staff.

Overall management of the facility is by a committee of 'trustees', elected by the residents themselves at an annual general meeting of householders. When the development was first begun, the company 'paid' this fee for each of the properties it had plans to build. and, during this period, three of its own employees who lived on the estate, sat on the management committee for the running and maintenance of the facilities. When building was completed these 'facilities' were handed to the elected trustees.

In reporting the results of the empirical study undertaken an attempt is made to answer the questions 'who lives on the kind of estate described above?' and 'what is living there like?'. One way of providing an initial illustration is through the data obtained from the questionnaire distributed.

Here I will be chiefly concerned with providing an overview of the structural characteristics of the sample, before embarking on a more detailed analysis of the socio-cultural features associated with life on the Heath.

Structural characteristics:

The questionnaire consisted of some seventy-two questions on a variety of aspects of social life including the nature of friendships, membership of voluntary associations, where people went for entertainment and the type of holidays they took, in addition to data traditionally associated with social demography, such as age, gender, educational level, income and occupational status.

The rest of this chapter provides an overview of the results obtained from the questionnaire with regard to social origin and occupation, income, education and geographical mobility.

An indication of the social origins of the Heath's residents can be obtained by the comparison of their occupations with those of their father's (Table 3.1). The occupational categories used were those devised by Goldthorpe and Hope (1974). This grading system is based on the Census, but also uses material collected from a questionnaire and interview sample in order to more precisely categorise occupational activity. The scale was initially developed as part of the wider investigation into social mobility undertaken by the Oxford team led by Goldthorpe. The scale used in this study is a slightly revised version of the smaller thirty-six point categorisation developed by them.

Table 3.1 Occupational Activity

Occupation	Males n=217	Females n=224	Fathers n=195
Self-employed professionals	1.4	0.9	1.6
Salaried professionals (higher grade)	21.7	0.4	11.2
Administrators and Officials (higher grade)	18.4	1.8	5.5
Industrial Managers	8.3	0.9	
Administrators and Officials (lower grade)	0.5		2.9
Technicians (higher grade)	5.1	0.4	3.2
Large Proprietors			
Industrial/Business Managers (small)	14.7	0.4	6.0
Self-employed professionals (lower grade)		0.4	1.6
Salaried Professionals (lower grade)	7.4	20.1	6.5
Farmers and farm Managers	0.5		2.3
Supervisors of non-manual employees		0.9	0.5
Small Proprietors	1.4	0.9	5.5
Managers: services and small admin units	1.8	1.8	2.9
Technicians (lower grade)	1.4		5.8
Supervisors of non-manual employees (lower grade)	0.9		1.0
Supervisors of manual employees (higher grade)	0.5		2.3
Skilled Manual (higher grade)			4.2
Self-Employed Workers (higher grade)		0.4	3.4
Supervisors of manual workers	0.5		1.6
Clerical Workers, Cashiers, Sales Representatives	3.7	16.1	6.7
Skilled Manual Workers (intermediate grade)	0.5	0.4	2.1
Skilled Manual Construction			5.1
Smallholders - no employees			0.5
Cooks, Stewards, Hairdressers	1.4	0.4	0.5
Semi-Skilled Manufacturing		0.4	0.8
Skilled Manual in transport			2.3
Shop Sales and assistants		1.8	0.5
Taxi drivers, Carriers, Cafe Owners	0.5	0.9	0.5
Skilled Manual (lower grade)	0.5		3.4
Agricultural Workers			1.6
Semi-Skilled Manual, Construction/Extractive			
Semi-Skilled Manual, Transport			4.2
Caretakers, guards, doormen		1.8	1.1
Unskilled Manual general labourers		0.4	2.9
Self-Employed (lower grade, street vendors)			
Housewives		44.6	

Unemployed	0.5	
Retired	7.8	3.6

From the data in Table 3.1 it can be seen that although the modal category for fathers is two, salaried professionals, the median is fifteen, comprising of lower grade technicians. Further analysis indicates that forty-five per cent of males have fathers with occupations traditionally associated with the working class: supervisory manual, skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled manual work. The data on the current occupations of the Heath's residents shows a marked contrast between their occupations and their fathers and provides a clear indication of the levels of occupational mobility experienced. Clearly males are located in the very highest reaches of this occupational index. Fifty per cent are located in the categories one through to four which comprise:

- 1 Self-employed professionals such as doctors, lawyers, accountants and architects
- 2 higher grade salaried professionals as above but also including others such as university lecturers, company secretaries, airline pilots and town planners
- 3 higher grade administrative officials such as senior managers in large commercial enterprises and public services
- 4 industrial managers in large enterprises such as engineering and general manufacturing

By category ten, lower grade salaried professionals such as school teachers and social workers, almost eighty per cent of the male population of the Heath has

been accounted for. Clearly, a considerable amount of upward occupational mobility has taken place.

The occupations of females fall into three main categories. The most common categorization is that of housewife which was indicated by forty four per cent of female respondents. Twenty per cent have occupations in category ten, lower grade salaried professionals such as primary and secondary school teachers, social workers and civil service officers; and sixteen per cent in category twenty one, non manual employees in administration and commerce such as clerical workers. Approximately fifteen per cent of both males and females were in self-employment.

Further indications of the nature of the sample can be gained by looking at the levels of income shown in Table 3.2 and noting that over seventy per cent of males had incomes in excess of £15,000, and forty per cent of these had incomes in excess of £20,000 per annum.

Table 3.2 Income

Income	Males n=196 percentage	Females n=130 percentage
Under £10000	10.7	76.9
£10-14999	19.9	17.7
£15-19999	30.1	00.8
£20-24999	18.4	02.3
£25-29999	08.2	01.5
Over £30000	12.2	00.8

Educational qualifications are clearly important for many of this population, and are suggestive of the 'credentialism' associated with the work of other authors.

Table 3.3 presents the results obtained from the question, What is the highest educational qualification that you obtained?

Table 3.3 Educational Qualifications

Education	Males n=214 percentage	Females n=215 percentage
None	06.5	14.4
School Certificate	09.8	10.2
O levels	10.7	29.3
ONC	07.0	02.3
A levels	05.1	09.3
HNC	17.3	
Degree	29.4	27.4
Higher Degree/Prof. Qual.	14.0	02.3

Relatively few respondents have no educational qualifications, and a similar number, ten per cent, have not been educated beyond the school certificate level. Almost sixty per cent of males have educational qualifications beyond 'O' level, and at the highest reaches thirty-five per cent have degrees and postgraduate degrees or professional qualifications. When we examine female educational qualifications, a number of differences emerge. Approximately fifty-four per cent of females are not educated beyond 'O' level, compared to twenty-six per cent of males. Both of what one might call primarily technical qualifications, the ordinary national certificate (ONC) and the higher national certificate (HNC), are dominated by males, around twice as many at ONC level, and over three times as many at the HNC level. Such results are not surprising and correspond to that obtained elsewhere. Although a similar number of females as males obtain degrees, twenty-seven and twenty-nine per cent respectively, there is a noticeable gender differentiation at the postgraduate and professional level, three per cent of females compared to fourteen per cent of males.

It is not my intention to comment in any detail upon these gender divisions. Other writers have documented these in considerable detail elsewhere (Wainwright, 1984). Nevertheless it is perhaps worth noting that both the 'marriage market' and 'jobs market' may play an important role in the educational qualifications of females. Three levels of educational qualification, 'O' level, 'A' level and 'degree', occurring at approximately sixteen years of age, eighteen years, and the early twenties, provide 'opportunities' to leave full time education and enter these 'markets'. To the extent that success in these 'markets' relates not only to educational qualifications, but also to other factors such as 'caring responsibilities', age and geographical mobility, then in some circumstances the decision to leave or 'drop out' of full time education may not always be a solely negative decision.

During the observational work, and throughout a number of interviews it became obvious that one important reason for living on The Heath for many respondents was that it is an 'ideal place to raise a family'. As can be seen from the quantitative data presented here The Heath has a large number of children living on it, and the vast majority of households can be defined as nuclear families. Table 3.4 indicates the percentage of households with children in selected age groupings.

Table 3.4 Children in Selected Age Groups

Age Groups in Years	Percentage n=242
under 2	06
2 - 5	14
6 - 11	25
12 - 16	27
17 - 19	16
over 19	28

A feature commented on in previous research, initially that by Watson (1964) and Bell (1968) relates to the geographical mobility of the middle class. Bell was particularly concerned to show the differences in geographical mobility experienced by those, following Watson, termed as 'burghers' and 'spiralists'. Burghers were defined as the local middle class, established as shopkeepers and small business entrepreneurs. Spiralists refer to those professionals for whom geographical mobility is inextricably related to occupational advancement. Edgell (1980) builds upon Bell's work on 'geographical mobility quotients' to provide an indication of such mobility for the professionals which he studied. Although the data collected here does not allow for an exact comparison to be made with Edgell's work, the following tables help provide a general indication of the geographical mobility of the Heath's residents.

Table 3.5 Previous Residence

Previous residence	Percentage n=248
local	27
north west	32
south	18
north	11
midlands	09
abroad	04

Table 3.6 Number of House Moves

Number House Mov	Percentage n=249
one	34
two	30
three	19
four	06
five	04
6+moves	08

Table 3.7 Length of Residence on The Heath

Length of residence	percentage <i>n=248</i>
0-2 yrs	28
2-4 yrs	30
4-6 yrs	12
over 6 yrs	30

Table 3.8 Expected Length of Tenure

Expected length of tenure	percentage <i>n=248</i>
permanent	50
expect to move	37
don't know	13

Together these tables on previous geographical location, number of years lived on the Heath, expected length of stay, and the frequency of moving house in the previous ten years, help provide a summary picture of the geographical mobility of the Heath's residents. Table 3.5, on previous geographical location, shows that a considerable number of the Heath's residents previously lived in a variety of locations throughout the UK. Local residents, comprising twenty seven per cent, are those defined as previously living within a ten miles radius of the Heath. This would include the three market towns nearest to the Heath together with a number of small villages and hamlets. The thirty two per cent from the North West includes those from the major cities in the region. As such it can be seen that over forty-one per cent come from elsewhere, including eighteen per cent from the south, defined loosely as south of Coventry, and four per cent from abroad. These latter are invariably white British returning either from the white Commonwealth, or from short term employment in the Gulf States.

Without longitudinal data, it is almost impossible to give any definite indication of length of stay, and this is made even more difficult by the fact that when this data was collected the Heath had only existed for ten years. However some indication of the nature of housing tenure can be gained from tables six and

seven by noting that only just over thirty per cent of households had been resident for six years or more, and twenty eight per cent had been resident for two years and less (Table 3.7). While over fifty per cent did not expect to move from the Heath, almost thirty per cent were sure that they would be moving, and just over ten per cent were unable to say (Table 3.8). If these results are understood in the context of household's satisfaction with living on the Heath, over ninety per cent of households were 'very pleased' and 'liked very much' their current location, then geographical mobility could be said to be primarily driven by the nature of the main occupations of the household, primarily held by male partners/husbands (Bell, 1968).

Just how much geographical mobility is a necessary feature of social mobility is indicated in Table 3.6 which charts the number of house moves made by respondents in the previous ten years. Although the majority of households had only moved one or two times, (62%), many had moved more frequently, with four or more house moves, (18%) not uncommon. Indeed nineteen families (7.6%) reported that they had moved house eight times in the previous ten years! When one considers the amount of time taken over house moving procedures this presents an indication of geographical mobility of the highest order! Invariably those households experiencing the highest number of house moves were those in which the major breadwinner had gained a series of promotions within a large, multinational company, or was employed as a specialist professional abroad. For the most part these findings are similar to those obtained by Edgell (1980), in his discussion of geographical mobility and echo those of the 'spiralists' discovered by Bell in Swansea (Bell, 1968).

In conclusion to the above the picture presented is one of a new middle class of nuclear families in middle age and 'young' middle age. Many are highly educated, although almost half of the women define themselves as housewives involved in child rearing. Males are primarily employed in well paid jobs at the higher reaches of the occupational index in both managerial and professional occupations. Geographical mobility is high, associated with occupational promotion and the accompanying desire to 'improve' living conditions for the nuclear families which dominate this estate.

Chapter Four. The Social Space of Mobility

The subjects of this study then are the middle class, and within that social grouping a particular fragment of that class, the new middle class. They are new in both senses in which this term has been sociologically employed. First, forty-five per cent of the sample are recent entrants in that they have fathers employed in skilled and semi-skilled occupational categories. Second, over ninety per cent are employed in the service industries as identified by Goldthorpe in *Social Mobility in Britain* (1987). However to assume that they comprise a homogenous grouping simply because of an upward trajectory (i.e. those for whom social mobility has been a feature of their current social positions) or because they are located in similar occupational positions (the service industries) is to ignore two important features; first, the differences involved in the acquisition of that mobility, and second, the degree of heterogeneity characteristic of the occupations in which they are employed. Failure to recognise the above involves a failure to recognise the differing pathways to social mobility that have been taken, and second, the potential impact of these differing pathways for leisure activity and other non work areas of social life. Both of these deficiencies can be highlighted and illustrated by employing the conceptual framework developed by the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. It is not my intention to add yet another contribution to the vast literature which has grown up around Bourdieu's work in recent years (Jenkins, 1992, Calhoun, 1993), however an outline of Bourdieu's conceptual schema is provided below in order to relate the importance of Bourdieu's work to this research.

The reception of Bourdieu's work in the English speaking world, was until relatively recently, focused on his *Reproduction* (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977), a text primarily, though not exclusively, given to an examination of the ways in which systems of education can be understood as reproducing an existing social order. For the most part, this text was received relatively uncritically and 'placed' as an Althusarian commentary on the nature of contemporary capitalist educational systems. Little attention was given to Bourdieu's developing ontology and his conceptualisations of the 'habitus' the 'capitals' and 'practice' in both the above and *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Bourdieu, 1977) until the publication of *Distinction* (Bourdieu, 1984).

In *Distinction*, Pierre Bourdieu presents an analysis of the social world of status differentiation in terms of the social capitals accumulated. In an analysis of the correspondencies between variables such as, income level, occupational activity, levels of educational qualification and residence, Bourdieu argues that the accumulation of social capital is differentially distributed throughout society and that the degree (type) and amount of capitals inherited or achieved can be 'mapped' onto the differentiations in income, occupation, education and residence.

Importantly Bourdieu is not arguing for the primacy of any one of these variables, but is simply presenting a picture of the status differentiations present in French society during the period of his investigations. This point is particularly important given the nature of some of the critiques of, (and claims for), Bourdieu's work. Bourdieu's ontology would not claim any particular primacy for the variety of conditions which together inform the degree of social capital or

the habitus of those whom he is investigating. The following provides a brief exposition of the conceptual schema developed by Bourdieu.

Capital and Class

Bourdieu employs the concepts of capital and class in a significantly different sense to that associated with Marxist theory. Unlike Marx, Bourdieu uses capital to signify the acquisition of status which represent differing positions in a series of social fields. In Marxist theory the ownership of economic capital is the underlying factor in the analysis of a capitalist social formation, and the concept of class possesses explanatory power through the relationship of economic capital to class. As such the concept of class is objectified in Marxist theory, and objectified empirically in secondary analysis. For Bourdieu, economic capital is one form of capital among others which allows for the formation of classes and class fractions (social groups). This position, which runs throughout Bourdieu's work, is perhaps most clearly stated in, '*The Social Space and the Genesis of Groups*'. In the introduction to this paper Bourdieu outlines his own position thus:

“Constructing a theory of the social space presupposes a series of breaks with Marxist theory. First, a break with the tendency to privilege substances - here the real groups whose number, limits, members, etc., one claims to define - at the expense of relationships; and with the intellectualist illusion that leads one to consider the theoretical class, constructed by the sociologist, as a real class..... Secondly, there has to be a break with the economism that leads one to reduce the social field, a multi-dimensional space, solely to the economic field, to the relations of economic production, which are thus constituted as co-ordinates of social position. Finally, there has to be a break with the objectivism that goes hand in hand with intellectualism, and that leads one to ignore the symbolic struggles of which the different fields are the sight, where what is at stake is the very representation of the social world and, in particular, the hierarchy within each of the fields and among the different fields.” (Bourdieu, 1985).

Social Field

Bourdieu argues that a variety of forms of capital (the relative accumulation of resources), can be seen to exist in a variety of social fields such as those of education (educational capital), economic wealth and income (economic capital) and aesthetics and taste. (cultural capital). Acquisition of such capitals within these social fields allows for the formation of social groups. Although Bourdieu does not provide any definitive list of the social fields, in principle one would expect such a list to correspond to the forms of distinction available to social actors in the social worlds occupied. He also suggests that within social fields types of capital will also be evaluated according to the conditions pertaining in other social fields - for example the distinction between 'old' and 'new' money which distinguishes the nouveau riche from the traditional bourgeois and acts not only to indicate the source of economic capital but also carries with it a social evaluation. Similarly in the educational field while qualifications clearly count, they may count less if achieved at one institution rather than another, such as 'Oxbridge' as opposed to the 'new campus universities'.

Again, from *'The Social Space and the Genesis of Groups'* Bourdieu argues;

“..... the social world can be represented as a space (with several dimensions) constructed on the basis of principles of differentiation or distribution constituted by the set of properties active within the social universe in question, i.e., capable of conferring strength, power within that universe, on their holder. Agents and groups of agents are thus defined by their relative positions within that space..... The social field can be described as a multi-dimensional space of positions such that every actual position can be defined in terms of a multi-dimensional system of co-ordinates whose values correspond to the values of the different pertinent variables. Thus agents are distributed within it, in the first dimension, according to the overall volume of capital they possess and, in the second dimension, according to the composition of their capital - i.e., according

to the relative weight of the different kinds of assets within their total assets.” (Bourdieu, 1985).

In the analysis to be developed here these conceptualisations of capital, class, and social field will be used to examine the pathways of social mobility experienced by the subjects of the study by locating the acquisition of capitals within social fields through the operations of the habitus. Such an analysis allows us to examine the degree of homogeneity existant within the new middle class or service class.

Habitus

Bourdieu’s concept of the habitus, and in particular that part of the habitus associated with an actor’s past, is employed as an explanatory factor in looking at these pathways to social mobility. The habitus acts for Bourdieu as a structuring structure and a structured structure. By this terminology I understand Bourdieu to mean that the habitus, operating as a system of dispositions both recognised and unrecognised by agents, forms the basis for action in the social world, and is, in part, also constructive of that social world. As such the Habitus, the ‘backbone’ of the individual’s social body, supplies a set of resources and constraints; both the norms and values which shape action in a way that can be understood as being similar to processes of socialisation, but also the provision of the constitutive rules for action, in a way reminiscent of the work by ethnomethodologists, and also explored further by Giddens (1984). The habitus then provides a classificatory schema which allows individuals to classify the social world, and to be classified by others in that social world.

Brubaker describes the habitus,

"as the system of internalized dispositions that mediates between social structures and practical activity, being shaped by the former and regulating the latter....Adequate explanations must therefore take account of the habitus - the system of dispositions that mediates between inert structures and the practices through which social life is sustained and structures are reproduced or transformed." (Brubaker, 1985:758).

The habitus then can be seen to comprise both a member's knowledge in the ethnomethodological sense, and in the sense used by Giddens who sees agents as possessing not only the practical knowledge to repair indexicality (ethnomethodology), but also plans, projects, and a cognitive knowledge of the nature of the social practices in which they engage. For both Giddens and Bourdieu, structure refers not to an external reality separate from the subject, but to sets of rules and resources which allow for the production and reproduction of social systems, defined as,

"reproduced relations between actors or collectivities, organised as regular social practices." (Giddens, 1984:25).

It is this recognition of the knowledgeable agent which allows for the ethnographic analysis of social practices as being both structured by and structuring of social position.

Symbolic Power

The fourth part of Bourdieu's analytical schema relates to the relative power of individuals and social groups in ensuring that their social practices, and 'definitions of the situation' are those which hold stay in any given social field.

Here Bourdieu employs his concept of 'symbolic power' to indicate that definitions of reality are struggled over by social groups. As such the power of 'naming', of constituting social reality with regard to any given social field, is a power struggled over in social space.

“... through properties and their distributions, the social world achieves, objectively, the status of a symbolic system..... organised according to the logic of difference, differential deviation, thereby constituted as significant distinction. The social space, and the differences that 'spontaneously' emerge within it, tends to function symbolically as a space of life-styles or as a set of Stande, of groups characterised by different life-styles..... While the structure of the social world is defined at every moment by the structure of the distribution of the capital and profits characteristic of the different particular fields, the fact remains that in each of these arenas, the very definition of the stakes can be called into question. Every field is the site of a more or less overt struggle over the definition of the legitimate principles of division of the field..... The social world is, to a large extent, what the agents make of it, at each moment; but they have no chance of un-making and re-making it except on the basis of realistic knowledge of what it is and what they can do with it from the position they occupy within it.” (Bourdieu, 1985).

Taken together this conceptual framework provides a powerful analytical tool for examining the construction of social reality. In some ways Bourdieu's position can be likened to that theoretical tradition associated with the work of Berger and Luckmann (1966), and associated with the phenomenological tradition in sociology. However Bourdieu's work also contains a strong link with the realist tradition through his location of the habitus and social practice in the objective conditions which structure everydaylife. It is this dualism of structure and agency in Bourdieu's ontological position which places him more in the structuration camp than in either the traditions of a phenomenological or structuralist sociology.

Similarly, Bourdieu's methodology also breaks with the traditions associated with both the empiricism of a quantitative sociology primarily concerned with the measurement of discrete variables, or that of a qualitative sociology over-reliant on the actor's construction of the social world. The former operates with a model of man as determined by his social environment, as a puppet whose strings are pulled by a social system in which the actor plays no constitutive part. The latter neglects the social forces both of historical reality and those inscribed in and through the shape of the social institutions in which actors operate.

Bourdieu's ontology then, offers a view of the social world as determined and determining, and his epistemology provides both a methodological schema and a conceptual apparatus with which to analyse this view of social reality.

In *Distinction* (1984), Bourdieu develops this analytical schema to explain the differences observed in a variety of both ethnographic and statistical enquiries into social life in contemporary France. He produces a model of lifestyles and cultural practices related, through the habitus, to social origin and education. His threefold hierarchy of taste, 'legitimate', 'middlebrow' and 'popular' are seen to relate to social origin and educational level such that social groups or 'class fragments' will possess differential amounts of 'cultural capital', the possession and ownership of 'legitimate' taste. However, in spite, or perhaps because, of the authority with which Bourdieu writes, together with his comprehensive analysis of French social structure in *Distinction*, one is left with the view that Bourdieu's model says little about contemporary social change. Certainly he offers an illuminating discussion of the French petite bourgeois and the new bourgeoisie, but inevitably these remain, in his discussions, wedded to a fruitless search for

legitimacy which is confined to amassing a knowledge of, and imitating, the existing 'legitimate' tastes of the dominant class.

However there resides within *Distinction* a recognition of contemporary change when Bourdieu, prefacing contemporary debate around the new middle class, symbolic consumption, and postmodernity in social theory asserts that,

"The new bourgeoisie is the initiator of the ethical retooling required by the new economy from which it draws its power and profits, whose functioning depends as much on the production of needs and consumers as on the production of goods. The new logic of the economy rejects the ascetic ethic of production and accumulation.....in favour of a hedonistic morality of consumption, based on credit, spending and enjoyment. This economy demands a social world which judges people by their capacity for consumption, their 'standard of living', their life-style, as much as by their capacity for production." (Bourdieu, 1984:310).

nb. Here Bourdieu appears to suggest that the new service economy is productive of a new middle class which rejects the standards of an 'old' bourgeois ethic of duty and obligation, in favour of a hedonistic morality based more upon enjoyment.

However, as we have indicated above, his theoretical model is more comfortable in explaining social stasis than it is in explaining social change. Notwithstanding these difficulties, the implications of the above for the emergence of the new middle classes have been taken up by a number of authors in recent years, including Featherstone (1987, 1991), Lash and Urry (1987), Wynne (1990) and Savage (1992). Attention has been paid to the emergence of fragmentation within the new middle class and the consequences of these for class formation and social change.

Cultural Change and The new Middle Classes

For Featherstone, Bourdieu's work allows for an investigation of the practices of a new petit bourgeois who can be seen to promote alternative cultural forms to those enshrined in a 'virtuous' middle class culture, and to be involved in a struggle with that traditional middle class.

“A perspective informed by the work of Pierre Bourdieu will be developed to argue that the new conception of lifestyle can best be understood in relation to the habitus of the new petite bourgeoisie, who, as an expanding class fraction centrally concerned with the production and dissemination of consumer culture imagery and information, is concerned to expand and legitimate its own particular dispositions and lifestyle. It does so within a social field in which its views are resisted and contested.” (Featherstone in Meijer (ed), 1987:158).

In similar vein Lash and Urry's discussion of what they term a 'postmodernist sensibility' and its link to 'new class fractions' also employs the conceptual ideas of Bourdieu.

“Our central claims in this section will be that it is the developing service class which is the consumer *par excellence* of post-modern cultural products; that there is a certain 'hegemonizing mission' of the post-modern tastes and lifestyle of significant sections of this new middle class; and that there are certain structural conditions of the service class that produce a decentered identity which fosters the reception of certain post-modern cultural goods. The best way to address these points is via Pierre Bourdieu's notion of the 'habitus'.”(Lash and Urry, 1987:292)

With regard to our concerns over the emergence and constitution of the new middle class, perhaps the most pertinent to this study is that by Savage et al, (1992). Here Savage attends to two major questions associated with the formation of the new middle class. First, the relevance of the marketing stereotypes which emerged in the 1980s pertaining to 'yuppies' (young, urban

professionals) 'dinks' (dual income/no kids) and 'career women'; all suggestive of values associated with the enterprise culture, home ownership, degendering, and increased social mobility. Second, the degree of fragmentation within the middle class, and the extent to which economic restructuring can be seen as an explanation for the emergence of such fragmentation. This work reviews and extends the previous work of the authors, Savage (1987, 1988, 1991), Barlow (1986, 1989, 1990), Dickens (1988) and Fielding (1987, 1989), to argue that we can indeed see an increasing fragmentation of the middle class which introduces serious doubt of its previous characterisation as an homogenous grouping based solely on the emergence and growth of 'service' occupations.

Using data from the British Market Research Bureau's 'Target Group Index' they attempt a secondary data analysis 'of consumption behaviour by the contemporary middle classes' (Savage et al, 1992:104) in an approach similar to the secondary data analysis contained in Bourdieu (1984).

“..... it is indeed the rapidly rising professional workers who are now adopting a version of the 'healthy' lifestyle previously espoused mainly by the 'education and welfare professionals'. These seem close to Bourdieu's 'new petite bourgeoisie', except that they also include older, more established professions, and are not as economically marginal as in Bourdieu's framework.” (Savage et al 1992:115).

Their analysis suggests at least three distinct groups. First, public sector professionals having 'ascetic' lifestyles characterised by sport, healthy living, and high culture pursuits. Second, managers and bureaucrats with below average consumption of high culture pursuits and sports activities, and with an otherwise undistinguished consumption profile. Finally, a group identified as exhibiting the

characteristics of a 'postmodern lifestyle', defined as one lacking in any organising principle in terms of the direction of taste, but rather expressing an interest in both high and popular cultural pursuits - what Lash (1991) has termed a process of de-differentiation characteristic of postmodern cultural and economic practices (see also Wynne & O'Connor, 1991 & 1992).

As Crompton (1993) has noted, Savage's findings correspond broadly to those identified by Wynne (1990) in an earlier version of the analysis presented here, and offer some support for those claims of cultural fragmentation within the middle class which,

"reflects the economic and spatial fragmentation within these groupings which had already been identified by those working within more orthodox frameworks of 'class analysis' (Savage et al, 1988, 1992, Crompton 1992)." (Crompton, 1993:182).

By adopting Bourdieu's line of enquiry, and employing his concepts of capital and the habitus, we can investigate the emergence and formation of social groups on The Heath by examining the extent to which their social practices differentiate them from others, allowing for a far more sophisticated analysis than one predicated either upon the statistical analysis of discrete variables, or the over-reliance upon actor's views of social reality.

However, in drawing these outlines we must be aware that the recent history of class structuration in British society cannot be understood as evidencing the emergence of a new middle class whose constitution is solely based on the accumulation of educational capital. As Goldthorpe (1987) indicates (see above), occupational mobility has been achieved by some through the accumulation of

educational capital and by others who have not progressed via educational credentialism.

“The rate of expansion of the service class in modern Britain, outstripping that of the institutions of higher education at least until the later 1960s, has meant that indirect routes into service-class positions have remained of considerable importance up to the present day.” (Goldthorpe, 1987:333).

Goldthorpe suggests a possible cultural fragmentation within the new middle class when he writes;

“Another consequence of the growth of the service class has been that structural divisions within it - in terms say of *situs* or sector or occupational groupings (class fractions)- have become more apparent, and this, it should be noted, has also prompted speculation on possible socio-cultural, and political diversity.” (Goldthorpe, 1987:341).

Featherstone (1991) commenting on Bourdieu's work and its possible application to an understanding of contemporary Britain also shows an awareness of this when he comments,

“the new conception of lifestyle can best be understood in relation to the habitus of the new petite bourgeoisie, who, as an expanding class fraction centrally concerned with the production and dissemination of consumer culture imagery and information, is concerned to expand and legitimate its own particular dispositions and lifestyle.” (Featherstone, 1991:84).

However,

“It does so within a social field in which its views are resisted and contested and within, in Britain, especially, an economic climate and political culture in which the virtues of the traditional petite bourgeoisie have undergone a revival.” (Featherstone, 1991:84).

Consequently, any analysis of this emergent social grouping needs to be aware of possible fragmentation, at the socio-cultural level. It is in this sense that we can employ Bourdieu's schema to investigate possible socio-cultural differentiation in the new middle class.

The social space of mobility on The Heath

In analysing the social worlds of our subjects then, the concept of the habitus is employed to suggest that the new middle class(es) needs to be understood, not as a single group but rather as a set of fragmented groupings, fragmented according to the different paths of social mobility followed, and structured around these paths and therefore indicative of the different habitus they possess. In addition, the relative amounts of economic and educational capital possessed can be employed in order to discover possible differentiations in social practices and cultural preferences.

In order to examine some of the possibilities outlined above, the data on father's occupation, education and income was explored using SPSS, recoded to facilitate the investigation, and subjected to further analysis. Table 4.1 shows the results of recoding father's occupation into four categories; 1 'professional and senior management', 2 'administrative and middle management', 3 'technicians, small proprietors and supervisors', 4 'manual workers'. As we can see from this table, almost 50% of our sample have father's in manual occupations, traditionally associated with the working class.

Table 4.1 Social Origin

Fathers Occupation	percentage n=192
1 Professionals and Senior Managers	18.5
2 Administrative, Middle Managers and Officials	22.6
3 Technicians, Small Proprietors and Supervisors	15.2
4 Manual Workers	43.7

Respondent's occupation was recoded into 1 'professional' 2 'managerial' 3 'technical, sales, clerical and other', 4 'unemployed and retired', 5 'housewife'. The rationale for this coding scheme relates both to the occupational distribution originally obtained from the Goldthorpe-Hope classification (see above, table 3.1), together with the theoretical concerns of our argument. Clearly the majority of males in the sample are employed in either professional or managerial occupations, and the majority of females are employed either in professional occupations, clerical, sales and lower-level administrative work, or define themselves as housewives.

Table 4.2 Occupational Activity (revised)

Occupation	Males n=217 percentage	Females n=224 percentage
Professionals	31.3	21.8
Management (privste secto	43.3	04.9
Technicians, Supervisors &	17.1	25.1
Clerical		
Unemployed and Retired	08.3	03.6
Housewives		44.6

Given the results obtained in table 3.3 'highest educational qualification obtained', this variable was recoded into a threefold categorisation, 'high' 'medium' and 'low'. 'High' includes all those with degrees and post-degree

qualifications; 'medium' all those with 'A' level/ONC/HNC qualifications; 'low' 'O' level and less than 'O' level qualifications.

Table 4.3 Educational Level (revised)

Education	Males n=214 percentage	Females n=215 percentage
low	27.1	54.0
medium	29.4	16.3
high	43.5	29.8

As with the previous variable the data on income, (see above table two), was recoded into 'high', 'medium' and 'low'. 'High' incorporates all those with incomes of £20,000 or more; 'medium' those with incomes of £10,000 or more, but less than £20,000; 'low' those with incomes of less than £10,000 per year.

Table 4.4 Income (revised)

Income	Males n=196 percentage	Females n=130 percentage
Low	10.8	76.9
Medium	50.3	18.5
High	39.0	4.6

Importantly the coded descriptions of both educational qualifications and income is less important than our examining the potential relationship between them and other variables, and how this may relate to other social practices of our subjects. These interrelationships are examined below in order to explore possible links between them.

Table 4.5 shows the effects of social origin on occupation for males. Although the results indicate that professional occupations are associated with social origin, they are less strong than might have been anticipated. Certainly the figures indicate that a sizable minority of those with origins in the working class have achieved considerable mobility. When it is remembered that entry into

professional occupations is primarily guarded by educational qualifications, these results suggest that around 30% of those from working class origins have achieved this mobility through educational credentialism, or the accumulation of educational capital. Entry into management is even less strongly associated with social origin with 42% of those from working class backgrounds and just under 50% of those from middle class backgrounds being employed as managers. The technicians/sales and other category, accounting for only 17% of males in our sample (see above table seven), is comprised mainly of those from working class and lower middle class backgrounds and suggests evidence of some short range upward social mobility for those from working class backgrounds.

Table 4.5 Social Origin x Occupational Activity (percentage. n=183)

social origin	professionals	managers	techs/sales/othr	
w/c	30	42	28	100
lower m/c	24	48	28	100
m/c	40	49	11	100

Table 4.6 shows the effects of educational level on occupational position.

Table 4.6 Educational Level (males) x Occupational Activity (percentage. n=205)

education	professionals	management	techs & supervisors
low	10.6	30.3	41.7
medium	19.7	33.7	36.1
high	69.7	36.0	22.2
	100	100	100

The results in Table 4.6 suggest a clear relationship between the types of occupation entered and the educational level of respondents with professional occupations being clearly associated with graduate levels of education, and general management positions being associated more with non-graduates. 52% of graduates are employed in professional occupations, compared to only 21%

and 12% respectively, of those with medium (A-level), and low (sub a-level), qualifications. In contrast, 36% of graduates are employed in the management category, compared to 49% of those with medium-rated educational qualifications, and 48% of those with low-rated qualifications. We can extend our analysis by examining the relationships between occupation and income.

Table 4.7 Income (males) x Occupational Activity (percentage. n=189)

income	professionals	management	techs & supervisors
low	06.8	01.1	22.9
medium	57.6	42.9	62.9
high	35.6	56.0	14.2
	100	100	100

Table 4.7 shows that only 35.6% of those in professional occupations are in the highest income category, compared to 56% of those in management. These figures suggest both the increasing importance of the management and administration of a service economy and the relative decline of the 'professional' as educational credentialism becomes increasingly related to 'specialist' occupational activities. The suggestion is that to the extent that educational credentialism becomes associated with occupations involved in 'professionalisation' so those occupations become increasingly 'down graded' with regard to economic reward. A further factor related to the above may well be the 'feminisation' of certain occupational activities. As we have seen in our examination of respondents' occupations, table seven, the professional category accounts for over 20% of female occupational activity.

Clearly statistical differences appear when we examine the inter-relations between occupation, gender, education, income and social background. Such differences echo those suggestions that the new middle class, rather than being

an undifferentiated middle 'mass', display considerable fragmentation associated with social origin, educational level and occupation. Adopting Bourdieu's conceptualisation of the capitals and the habitus, and employing them here it is argued that The Heath, and social relations upon it, may represent *some* of the distinctions within an emergent new middle class.

Informal interviews conducted with residents are illustrative of the routes taken resulting in their current occupational positions. The comments reproduced below result from my asking for a brief picture of social background and education, and they reveal interesting differences between occupational destinations.

it wasn't a conscious decision in the sense that I ever said I am going to become a teacher but my father teaches English at and while at university it seemed natural, you know, to do the cert ed (post grad teaching qualification). That's where we met (wife) both got teaching jobs in the same area where we stayed for four years, and then moved here about two years ago. My parents are pleased but I wouldn't say that they pushed me into it or anything like that, rather it just seemed a natural thing to do, and I enjoy it, we both do, in spite of all the changes.

Secondary school teacher - middle class background and higher education

To be honest I was hopeless at school, a real pain I suppose but I enjoyed it and got on well with some of the teachers because I was good at sports, played for all the teams. I know my parents are proud, the idea of me being a school teacher, there aren't many from where I come from. I just got fed up with the work when I left school so I did some o levels part time then got a place at training college. I'm happy enough, I get on well with the kids, its fine.

Secondary school teacher - working class background and higher education

After leaving school I joined a foods company and eventually became a salesman, travelling an area, working in an area, around here (the north west, Liverpool and environs). Obviously you meet lots of people doing that, different shops, different people and I decided to start my own business selling jewelry, if you can call it that! I got an old transit van and Prince (a dog) to protect the stock, bought it (the stock) with a cheque on a Friday which I knew would bounce if I didn't sell the stuff by Tuesday. So it was all over here, and the coast around Rhyl over the week end. That's how I started and it just grew to where I am today. Even know the works the same but its more stable because I've got regular clients, but I still have to be there, as you've found out. I suppose it could grow but for what, employing people is different altogether, I've tried it before and unless you get the right person it can be a proper pain. No, things are good enough as they are, at least I know what I'm doing.

Small proprietor, wholesale low cost jewelry distribution to small shops - working class background and 'low' education

The degree was in Town and Country Planning and I joined straight from university. I had about four weeks holiday after my degree, started with and was with them until last year. The decision to start on my own wasn't easy, but I wanted to do it because I could see all these opportunities I was dealing with these people for and knew I could do it too given the money we were paying out you'd only need half a dozen clients to make it work and earn far more than I was getting. Yes its worked, in fact I'm busier than I want to be, well I can please myself about that, its not really a problem (time for other things such as tennis etc.). No. I'm glad I did it, new car new house, new baby, yeah new racket too.

Recent self-employed planning professional specialising in preparation of clients' legal work prior to application for planning permission.

Previously employed by medium sized property development company - middle class background and higher education

Night school to start with, the degree was full time. The first job was with the Midlands (electricity generation), then we moved here five years ago when I moved to (?). Most of the time I monitor dials and ensure we have the capacity we need, those figures are national and we contribute, whatever's required really, obviously to our own capacity.

I've never enjoyed the shifts, I suppose you get used to it but I don't really, its always difficult but The children, holidays, standard of living, being here if it wasn't for the shifts I'd play even more.

Professionally qualified electrical engineer - working class background and higher education

Well its a good job, it pays well, the travel is great, we have some fun, and all the perks, flights, holidays, all over the world that you only ever read about. What else could I do, no brains, well no qualifications. The shifts aren't a problem, you can always swop with someone its good.

Airline steward - working class background and 'low' education

I'm responsible for everything that leaves as far as the service is concerned, not just food, all aspects of the service. I started straight from school, no qualifications really, other than a few picked up on the way yes internal in that sense. just by being promoted, being good at it. Well yes the travel, or rather the destinations, especially if (wife) comes, but its really administrative work now, managing and planning, overall responsibility well, because of the standard of living, that's why I do it.

Airline Catering Manager - middle class background and 'low' education

I was training to be quantity surveyor, left school with three o levels. Do you remember those adverts on the tube, the underground, 'if you can do this equation then contact us'..... It was one of those, so I contacted them and got the job, trained as a computer programmer then got into sales - right at the beginning I suppose. At first it was very good because of the commissions structure we had. Then that changed and salaries were much more predictable, and not as good as before, well they were good, but the large bonuses disappeared and the job became more of a grind, day in day out. also the computer industry began to change with PC's and software became more important. Three of us made the decision together, we'd planned it and shared our bonuses, pooled them together to provide some of the capital, and we knew we would have clients, from our jobs. That's it really, lots of hard work to start with, doing everything but now we specialise and plan software packages for specific areas of need, solicitors, estate agents and the like, all small businesses at first, now particular types. Oh yeah, the works lovely, you're joking ... its just, just work a particular kind of

work, but work. I don't enjoy the work, although specifying a clients requirements is OK, but then you have to do it, that's the work.
Recently self-employed computer software specialist previously employed in computer sales for a multi-national computer manufacturer - working class background and 'low' education

In an effort to explore the above, and to further employ Bourdieu's concepts of the capitals and habitus, Table 4.8 combines the social origin and education variables to show how these, in combination, relate to occupational position. This variable was constructed by combining social origin (father's occupation) with the educational level of respondents. Social origin was dichotomised into 1 'working class' (fathers in supervisory manual and manual occupations) and 2 'middle class'. Education level was dichotomised in to 'high' (degree level and higher) and 'low' (sub-degree level). The construction of this variable produces a four fold classification associated with social origin and educational level; 1 'working class/low education', 2 'working class/high education', 3 'middle class/low education, 4 'middle class/high education'. In combining these variables in this way we are able to provide for some of the principle 'structuring' features of the habitus in influencing entry into certain types of occupation. Given the theoretical concerns of this investigation, the relationship between educational capital, social origin and occupation, together with the overwhelming predominance of managerial and professional employees living on The Heath, it is these two categories which have been subject to analysis.

Table 4.8 Habitus: (Social Origin/Educational Leve) x Occupation

social origin & education level	Professional Occupations percentage	Management Occupations percentage	Other Occupations percentage	
w/c 'low' education n=48	13	48	39	100
w/c 'high' education n=32	56	34	10	100
m/c 'low' education n=53	22	55	33	100
m/c 'high' education n=50	50	40	10	100

The table shows the importance of 'credentialism' or educational capital at the highest levels of education for entry into professional occupations. While only 13% of those of working class origin and 'low' education are in professional occupations, 56% of working class origin and 'high' educational level are employed as professionals. Interestingly the management category is more evenly spread with regard to social origin and educational level. It can be noted however that 'management' is clearly the area of employment for a considerable number of those from both working class and middle class origins with relatively 'low' educational levels. As such it may be that a possible cultural cleavage between 'professionals' and 'managers' may exist produced by the relative amounts of educational capital possessed.

Conclusion

The results of these investigations are mapped in Diagram 1 (p 106) and illustrate what we can call the social space of mobility with regard to social origin, gender, income, education, and occupation. The diagram summarises the results above to provide an outline of the relative social make up of our sample. Importantly the diagram should be seen as attempting to provide a framework around which other social practices in everyday life associated with leisure and other non-work activities can be understood. Clearly the diagram indicates that social mobility from within the working class has been achieved through both educational credentialism, and through promotions and other opportunities associated with an emergent service economy such as new occupations. The changed political climate of the late seventies through to the present day will also

have had an important effect on widening income differentials between occupations, particularly between those in the public, compared to the private sector. The gendered nature of occupational activities can be noted in that while 22% of females are employed as professionals, compared to 31% of males, only 5% of females are employed as managers, compared to 43% of males. The proportion of female professionals working as teachers and social workers (20%) outnumbers the proportion of male professionals in these categories (7%). The lowest status work, clerical and other low level administration, is also dominated by females (16% females compared to 4% males).

The diagram provides information on the social origins of the sample, showing that 44% had fathers in traditional working class occupations, and yet only 3% of the sample are employed in such occupations. Social mobility from the working class has occurred both through credentialism (30%) together with increased opportunities for new forms of managerial and technical activity within the service industries (65%). Of those with social origins in the traditional middle class, 55% of the sample, 40% of these are employed as professionals and 49% as managers.

The income distributions between professionals and managers show that only 35% of professionals are located in the highest income categories, compared to 56% of managers, findings which may be related to gender inequalities, income differentials between parts of the private and public sector, and a decline in economic reward for certain types of educational credentialism. As we have noted above, 22% of females are employed as professionals, compared to only 5% who are employed as managers. Second, public sector professionals such as

teachers and social workers, are relatively poorly paid given their levels of educational capital.

With regard to the relationship between education, social origin and occupation while 70% of professionals are graduates, this applies to only 36% of managers. Relating this to the finding that the highest levels of educational qualification are obtained by 30% of those from working class backgrounds and 40% of those from middle class backgrounds leads to the suggestion that any cultural cleavage within the new middle class may relate more to educational level and its corresponding effects upon occupational choice, rather than to initial class of origin.

Given the divisions apparent with regard to the type of occupational activity undertaken according to educational level, the gendered nature of the occupational structure, and the changed relationship in the occupational structure between those of differing social origins, it may well be that we can identify forms of cleavage within the new middle class which together may produce important variations in social practice with regard to leisure and other non work activities. The suggestion is that it is educational and other forms of capital, in combination with occupational activity which differentiate within the new middle class. It is these differing combinations which may produce the cultural cleavage referred to by Goldthorpe (1987).

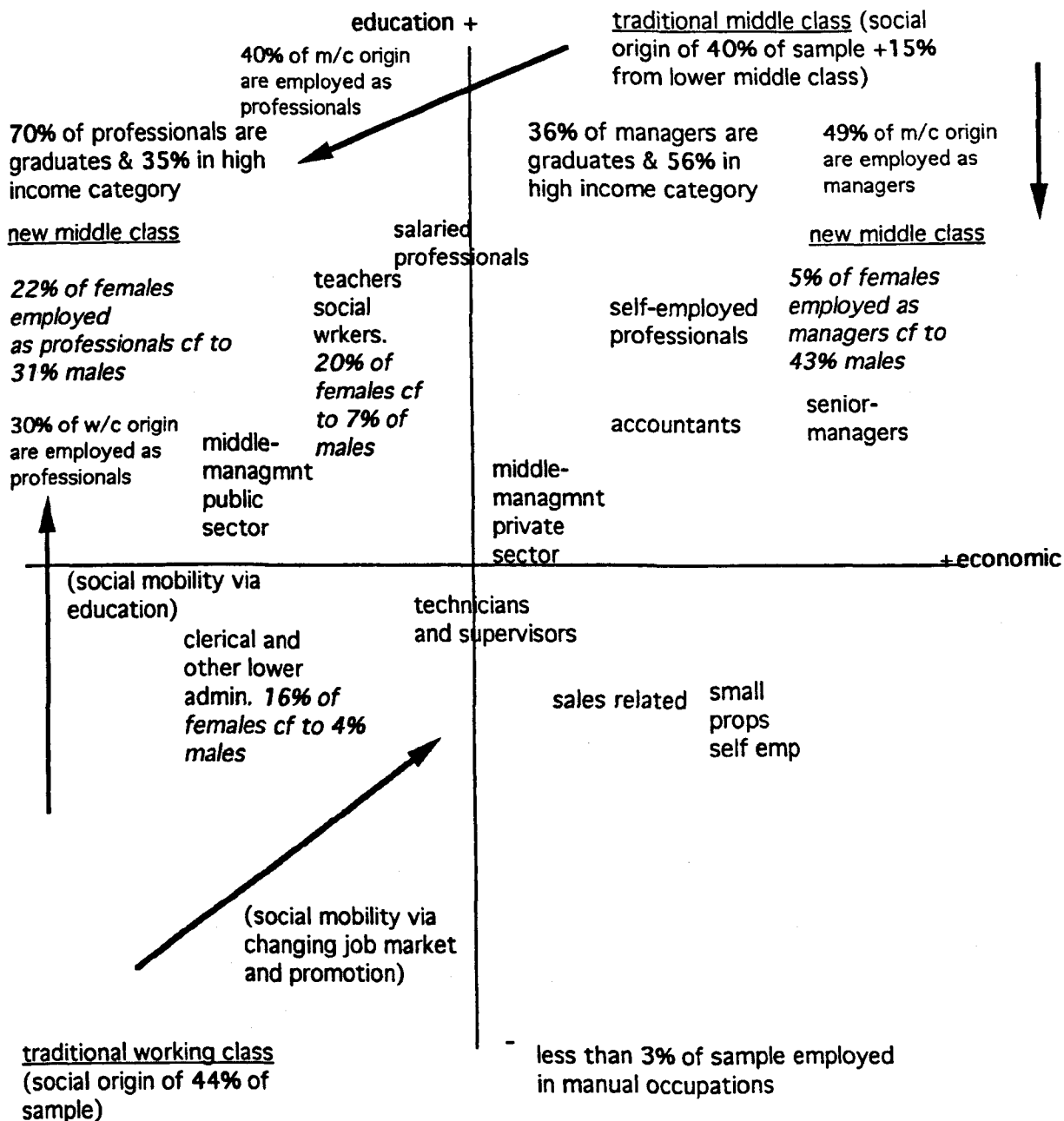
Although those subjects with an upward social trajectory share a habitus formed in the past through working class culture, the formation of the habitus since leaving the parental home has been very different for those whose social positions have been obtained through the accumulation of educational capital.

For these the links to their roots have been stretched not only in time and geographical space, but most importantly in social space. The spatial features of graduate education are important, particularly in the UK where it is common for undergraduates to leave the parental home on beginning their studies. Indeed the spatial relocation associated with 'going to college' has become an important 'rite de passage', particularly for the children of parents in low socio-economic groups. It is during these college years, where new friendships are made and new 'homes' created, that those of lower socio-economic origin begin their movement in both physical and social space from that of their parents. This is not to suggest that they are welcomed into higher socio-economic groupings but rather to point out that what was perhaps once most meaningful to them in viewing a future life course, becomes less so as potential alternatives emerge. The maxim that 'education broadens the horizons' is nowhere more true than here - where it has been used quite literally to accomplish this feat. By contrast, those whose current positions did not require the same degree of movement in physical space, at least at the crucial time of late adolescence and early adult life, may have retained an identity associated with that of their forebears, even though the conditions under which that is expressed are considerably more materially comfortable. However even here the marks of their travel through social space will have been made upon the habitus.

Using Bourdieu's terminology, this educational experience forms a part of the habitus which allows the individual to make a different sense of work, and to locate it in a frame of reference which is fundamentally different to that employed by those who have not had such an experience. In short, such differences as we have observed may be associated with important cultural

differences such that they give rise to 'a struggle in the social space' of the new middle classes which can be evidenced in other arenas of their everyday lives.

Diagram One: The Social Space of Mobility



Note: (i) 44% of women described their occupation as housewife

(ii) 54% of women are in the lowest educational category cf to 27% of men

44% of the sample have w/c origins; 15% have lower m/c origins; 40% have m/c origins

43% have degrees and/or professional qualifications

33% are employed as professionals; 46% as managers; 18% as technicians and supervisors

30% of w/c origin are employed as professionals; 42% as managers; 23% as technicians

40% of m/c origin are employed as professionals; 49% as managers; 11% as technicians

24% of lower m/c origin are employed as professionals; 48% as managers; 21% as technicians

Chapter Five. The Social Space of Lifestyles

The previous chapter introduced the empirical setting for the research and examined the interrelationships of the socio-structural characteristics of the sample. The conclusion offered was that there appeared to be important differences within the new middle class with regard to social origin and education. It was suggested that such differences related to the occupational activities within the sample and offered a broad distinction between professionals and managers. Bourdieu's conception of the habitus was employed, together with his conceptualisations of economic and cultural capital in order to make sense of these distinctions.

In this chapter we examine friendship patterns and social networks, together with some of the leisure and sports practices of residents of The Heath. Of considerable importance will be the analysis of the use made of The Heath's Clubhouse and associated recreational facilities, especially as this is seen by many residents of The Heath, and some of those in the village, as being an important defining characteristic of the estate and its residents. Conversations with residents reveal that these facilities are for some the major reason for living on The Heath, and they make extensive use of them. For others it is more the exclusivity associated with both the private nature of the recreational facilities, together with the physically bounded nature of the estate itself, rather than the use they make of the available facilities. As has been indicated above, apart from two entrances to the estate from two small country roads, The Heath is surrounded by 'green belt' farming land. Once 'on' The Heath one has entered a private housing estate whose 'gatekeepers' - the residents themselves - in

addition to the 'clubhouse' steward that they employ, perform their neighbourhood 'watching' with varying degrees of vigilance. Following both Bourdieu (1984), and more recent contemporary commentators on changing lifestyles (Featherstone 1991, Rojek 1992) it will be argued that the use of The Heath's recreational facilities, and the way that they are organised by residents, provides a crucial indicator into what we can term 'the social space of lifestyles' (Wynne, 1990). Furthermore, the differential use of these facilities and their management helps to provide us with an understanding of what Bourdieu has termed the 'struggle for legitimation in social practice' (Bourdieu 1977).

The developing tenet of this thesis is that the new middle class or service class is not a homogenous social grouping, and that this lack of homogeneity can be evidenced at the cultural level. As Goldthorpe suggests,

"Another consequence of the growth of the service class has been that structural divisions within it - in terms say of *situs* or sector or occupational groupings - have become more apparent, and this, it should be noted, has also prompted speculation on possible socio-cultural, and political diversity." (Goldthorpe, 1987:341)

Related to the above it is also argued that non-work practices are becoming an increasingly salient feature of this new middle class(es). In saying this it is not intended to suggest that work itself has become unimportant for this social grouping(s) but rather that the role it plays in the construction of identity cannot be assumed to be as salient for the new middle class as it is or was for both the traditional middle and working classes. Whereas it can be supposed from an earlier community studies tradition that the nature of work forms the basis for all other types of sociability (Dennis et al. 1969) that relations to the means of

production are the essential determining features, it is suggested here that relations to the means of consumption are becoming an increasingly important defining characteristic of new social groupings. While it is recognised that such an argument is primarily an epistemological rather than an empirical one, the primary concern here is to provide some empirical indicators to support that contention. We can examine this possibility by an examination of the patterns of sociability of the sample, together with their recreational and leisure practices, particularly their use of the recreational facilities at the residents' clubhouse.

The analysis begins with an examination of the frequency distributions discovered in the responses to the questionnaire and the interview data is used to show in more detail the ways in which the statistical findings can be understood as an overall representation of the everyday practices of residents. It is suggested that there are indeed crucial distinctions to be drawn, particularly with regard to some of the findings presented in the previous chapter, and that these play a significant role in understanding the heterogeneity of the new middle classes. With regard to the empirical site of this study it is suggested that it reveals a contestation in the construction of the everyday lives of residents which can be seen in their leisure practices and understood with regard to their social origins, educational background and their occupations. Following Bourdieu, it is argued that these are best understood as together forming that part of the habitus - a structured structure - which then acts as a structuring structure in everyday life. The contests referred to can be witnessed in the way in which accepted social practices associated with the use of the recreational facilities are produced, particularly in the definitions of each other developed by the residents themselves. Clearly, I am not suggesting that these socially

constructed categories are mutually exclusive, nor am I claiming that such distinctions can be observed in sites other than the one I have examined.

However, I would contend that similar 'practices of distinction' will be produced elsewhere amongst the new middle classes and that the indicators identified are perhaps the most salient features associated with these 'cultural' distinctions.

However before developing this theme further it is necessary to examine the data collected. Among the indicators examined in this study are those relating to friendship patterns, club and voluntary association membership, sports and wider leisure activities.

Friendship Patterns

First, with regard to friendship patterns it can be seen that very few residents visit work colleagues, and few claim friendships with those living in the nearby villages, despite the fact that it is in these that the nearest shops, local library, primary and junior schools are located. Similarly, three nearby churches, two Anglican and one Methodist are also located in these villages. Corresponding social activities and voluntary associations also exist in the local villages and these range from clubs for children such as cubs, brownies, guides and scouts, to other 'adult' associations connected to the schools, churches, library and pubs. Very few of The Heath's residents either contribute or make use of these facilities. Indeed conversations with the local junior school headmaster reveal images of The Heath's residents as making virtually no contribution to the life of the school in terms of membership of parent teachers associations or school helpers at fund raising events. A similar pattern emerged from other conversations with the local librarian, and Chair of the Playing Field's Association - neither could remember more than one or two visitors to either the

'hobby/interest' clubs which took place in the evenings and afternoons at the library (librarian); or membership of any of the sports clubs which used the village playing fields (Chair of Playing Fields Association).

An indication of the relationship of The Heath to at least some of those living in the village is evidenced in the differing approaches taken to a charitable, 'It's A Knockout!' competition. The Village Playing Fields Association advertised the event some months in advance as part of its centennial celebrations. The formation of local teams was encouraged and various groups entered the competition including the village football team, two teams drawn from local public houses, a team of primary and junior schoolteachers, and teams formed from groups of neighbours in the village. The team that entered from The Heath had received a written invitation to do so from the Chair of the Playing Fields Association. The letter had been addressed to the Clubhouse manager who had passed it to the squash first team captain. For three weeks prior to the event trials were organised on The Heath for prospective participants and events similar to those planned on the day were run, with the winners making up The Heath's team. Needless to say, on the day of the competition itself The Heath's team were the overwhelming winners, coming first in all but one of nine events. At one period of the competition I overheard one of the villagers shouting at the top of his voice,

'come on come on come on, anybody as long as it's not the bloody Heath again!'

Rather than through integration into the village, friendships are associated primarily with other residents of The Heath, or with friends made in previous

residential locations. Neighbourliness, as opposed to friendships however does not appear to be a particularly important feature of The Heath with fewer than 20% of households expressing an intimate relationship with their neighbours. Rather, it would appear that the friendships that are made on The Heath are made through the social construction of communities of interest, rather than of necessity, echoing previous differences observed between working and middle class friendship patterns rather than any privatisation thesis (Devine, 1992). It is not so much that residents of The Heath are privatised, but rather that their friendship choices depend less on any necessity for 'good relations with neighbours' and more on a choice of 'who to mix with' according to criteria of interest relating to leisure preferences. In conducting the interviews it became clear that friendships were far more related to such leisure preferences which included activities such as the use made of the clubhouse, and membership of various 'activity associations'.

we moved here four years ago, just before Becky was born and after Jim had become distribution director. Well, you know the best estate around here, the houses are well built and different, and the club convenient, safe, pleasant surroundings, nice type of people, just, well... good. Neighbours, we know them but that's not the point, we don't mix in the sense of spending time with them, they're there but we're not close, most of our friends are people we've met in the bar, a good lot, we have a lot of fun.

It just seems the right place to be. We did well over the previous few years and were living in Middlewich before we moved here. A reward really, for a lot of hard work ... running a business. We knew of this place from some friends who live here and we wanted to move here for a while - we've had a lot of good times with friends here - smashing. The idea's a good one (clubhouse) and there's no rif raf - the prices see to that well it is not cheap is it? and there's the annual fee but it's a good idea

For the many households with children, they also become an important part of the 'friendmaking' process.

I suppose most of my friends have been made either through the tennis, or the car run. Our closest friends both play tennis and that means we see them a lot playing, have barbecues together in the summer, go to the same dinner parties, and occasionally go to things off The Heath such as the theatre the car run involves taking the children to school and picking them up. One of us will do the morning run and someone else the afternoon. There are five of us involved altogether and it means that we don't have the strain of doing it all the time. Once they're gone in the morning I've got the rest of the day to myself for cleaning and shopping, cooking or whatever. Sometimes, well quite often really - I think it was everyday last week, X came round with Y after dropping the children at school and we drank coffee and chatted for an hour or so

..... (we talk) about lots of things, how the children are doing, if we are going anywhere (out for the evening), tennis, women's things ooh, I don't know. Last week x and I asked y if she and (husband) were interested in coming to France with us in June. We're going to the Dordogne again, can't wait..... well look at the weather. We'll stay in the same place as before, a gite rented from 'interhome'. It's just a holiday company really, but I think it began as an owners thing, renting out cottages that they owned - but they got bigger and now I think some of the places are owned by companies rather than individuals as before. The travel is the worst, last year the children were awful, but once we're there its wonderful. Walking, eating drinking sleeping - and the sun! I take lots of books and read about ten novels in three weeks, I ran out last year and bought two in France, in English of course!

One interesting feature to come from these conversations was the way in which these women, home based and not in full time employment, saw the 'car run' and looking after their children and the home as an alternative to full time employment, which for them had been given up immediately prior to the birth of their first children.

I think all of us worked originally. I was a civil servant working for the DHSS until Emily was born. I supposed I enjoyed it work and the money was handy then, X hasn't always been

When asked the location of their current friends (table 5.1) relatively few respondents indicated that their friends were the people that they worked with (15%). That most indicated that their friends came from 'elsewhere' (46%), is perhaps primarily indicative of the fact that many of the respondents had lived on The Heath for a relatively short period of time. Even so The Heath remained the next most popular category for 'friends' location (36%), suggesting that geographical proximity, when coupled with social proximity, remains an important indicator of friendship patterns. The local village accounted for few of the friends of The Heath's residents (8%), which is almost certainly related to the fact that in the immediate area residents of The Heath were invariably seen as people who thought themselves 'better than' the local population, although many of the residents of this dormitory village were employed in similar occupations themselves. Almost certainly the physical distance of The Heath from the village, together with the 'self -servicing' of leisure activities provided by The Heath's 'clubhouse' amenities is a major factor associated with the results obtained.

Table 5.1 Location of Current Friends $n=243$



A further indication of the nature of the friendship patterns enjoyed is provided in table 5.2 which shows the frequency of visits to friends in different locations. Almost sixty per cent of respondents rarely visited work colleagues, and less than ten per cent indicated that they visited such colleagues often. Clearly the most frequent visits to friends were either with friends made from previous residential locations (32%), or with friends from The Heath itself (22%).

Table 5.2 Visiting Friends *n*=243

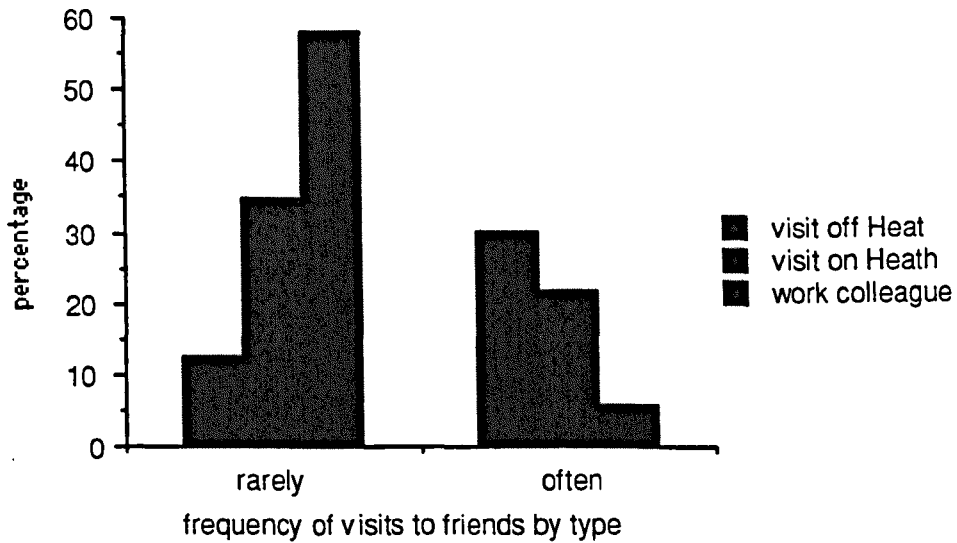
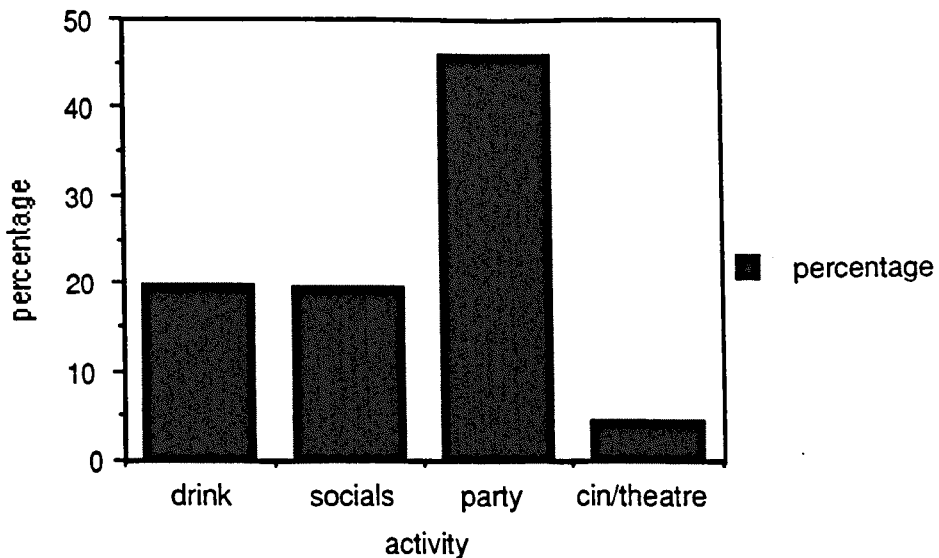


Table 5.3 provides an indication of one of the types of sociability particularly popular amongst residents of The Heath, namely that of the ‘dinner’, or ‘dinner party’; inviting friends around for a drink and meal at the weekends. Almost fifty per cent of households engaged in this form of home entertaining at least once every six weeks. When one remembers the custom and practice of reciprocity and that, on The Heath at least, such dinner parties usually comprised of between four and eight guests, one can see that the dinner party formed an important part of the nature of sociability for many of The Heath’s residents. Indeed, obtaining or not obtaining regular and frequent invitations to dinner parties is a particularly salient feature of life on The Heath for many, a feature which is further supported in table 6.4, where ‘the party’ is clearly the most popular form of the leisure activities reported.

Table 5.3 Going Out: Some Indicators of Sociability $n=241$

Table 5.3: Some Indicators of Sociability



Going out? Well it depends what you mean with the children at this stage we tend to stay on The Heath, rather than go out, but oh yes we have regular dates, and they come round here. I suppose we are somewhere most weekends, in fact we've been somewhere every weekend for as long as, at least the past five weeks, and on the 25th (two weeks time) we're having them round here.

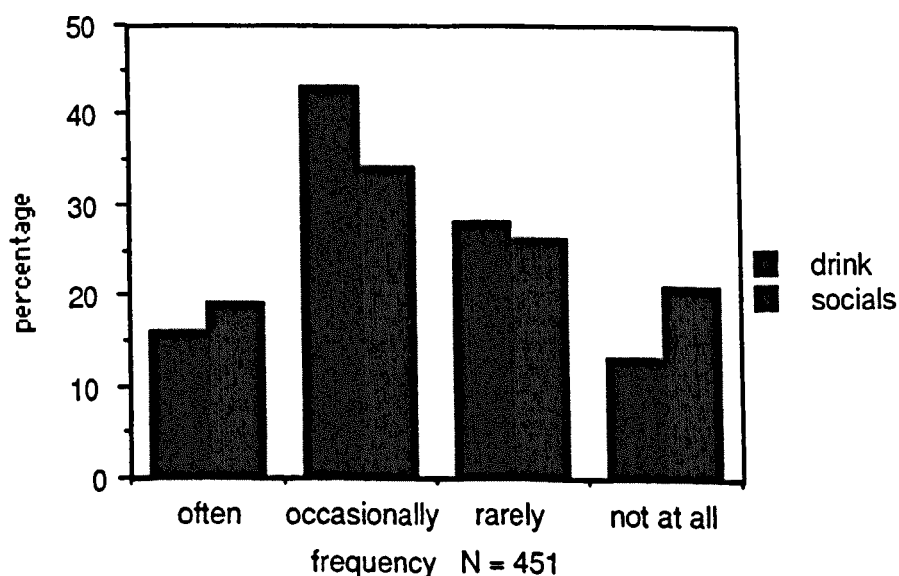
Sometimes we have parties where each couple bring a course, we all contribute to the meal, you know, starters, main course, desert, cheese, and the drinks. Its good because it doesn't put all that pressure on one person. Cooking a meal for eight people can be very fraught so doing it like this makes it easier, and more friendly, less formal, less of a show.

The Clubhouse

An important distinguishing feature of The Heath as a residential estate is the existence of the recreational and leisure facilities available to residents. Such facilities, although unusual when this estate was first built are becoming

increasingly common. They can perhaps be seen as part of the increasing commodification of leisure facilities and could also be seen as part of a self servicing economy (Pahl 1990). In an interview undertaken with the managing director of the company responsible for the development of this estate he suggested that people were increasingly looking for the provision of facilities such as these, particularly in areas such as that in which The Heath is located - predominantly rural with few local facilities for residents. The clubhouse, built in the centre of the estate, on the 'village green' houses a licensed 'lounge bar' with a capacity for approximately 150 people; a small adjacent room containing a 'pool table'; and a hall or meeting room which is also used to increase the size of the bar for social events. The clubhouse overlooks the 'village green' to the side of which is a patio or outside seating area. A small car park separates the clubhouse from the 'youth club' a building initially used by the developers as a sales office, which was extended and given to residents as the development was completed. Table 5.4 indicates the frequency of attendance at the clubhouse bar and at the social events which take place in the Clubhouse.

Table 5.4: The Clubhouse and Social Events



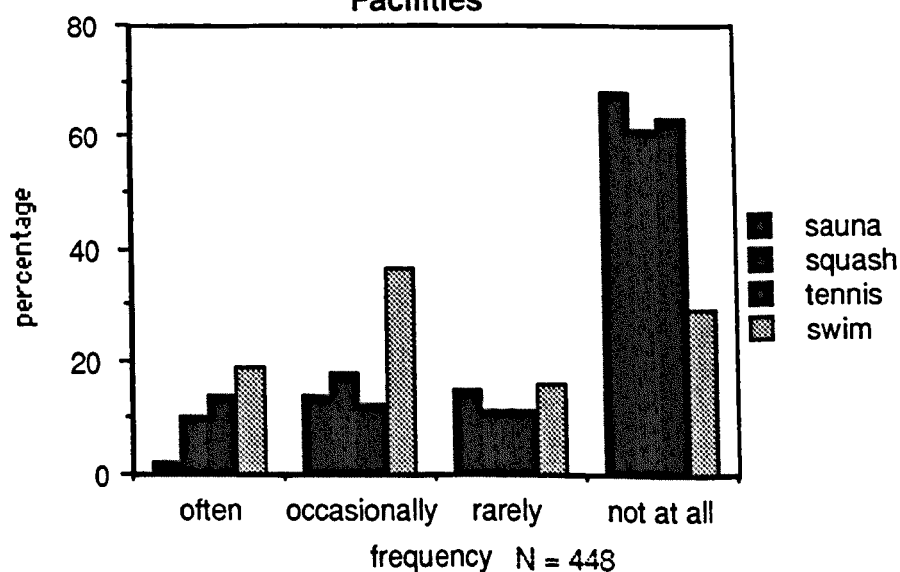
Clearly, gender differentiation is an important factor in the social practices associated with drinking in pubs and clubs (Griffen 1987). Although not shown in this data, but certainly apparent from the observational work and interviews, the majority of females, apart from a very small number, are invariably accompanied by men when they attend the clubhouse bar. Here we can note that less than fifteen per cent of respondents do not use the lounge bar for drinking, sixteen per cent drink there often, and almost forty-five per cent describe themselves as occasional drinkers at the lounge bar.

This table also provides an indication of attendance at the variety of social events held in the clubhouse bar. The social events are primarily related to seasonal festive occasions and fund-raising activities for the clubs and associations developed by residents. Amongst these are; Christmas, New Year, and Valentine's Day dances, an annual Summer Barbecue, a bonfire and fireworks display in November on Guy Fawkes night, and a number of fund-raising discos for clubs and associations. The frequency distributions are very similar to those discovered for drinking. Only twenty per cent of respondents do not attend social events at all, nineteen per cent attend often, and thirty-four per cent describe themselves as 'occasional' attenders. More than anything else, these figures appear to suggest some differentiation between those who make use of these facilities and those who do not. Like those 'often' and 'occasional' drinkers (59%); 'often' and 'occasional' attenders at social events (53%) comprise over fifty per cent of the respondents. At the same time there is a substantial proportion of 'non and rare users' of these facilities.

Further data which provide some indicators of the styles of life of the sample are the figures indicating possession of a variety of consumer durables associated with leisure activities and other pastimes. These include ownership of three television sets or more (20%); two cars or more (74%); video recorders (60%) and computers (38%); expenditure on major items of leisure equipment such as boats, caravans and second homes (22%). Clearly the residents of The Heath enjoy an affluent lifestyle with considerable expenditure on consumer durables and leisure goods.

In addition to the lounge bar, pool room and meeting room the clubhouse contains two squash courts; an indoor heated swimming pool; a sauna and changing rooms. In addition the recreational facilities include two hard floodlight tennis courts. Table 5.5 provides an overview of the frequency of use of these sports facilities.

Table 5.5: Use of Clubhouse Recreational Facilities



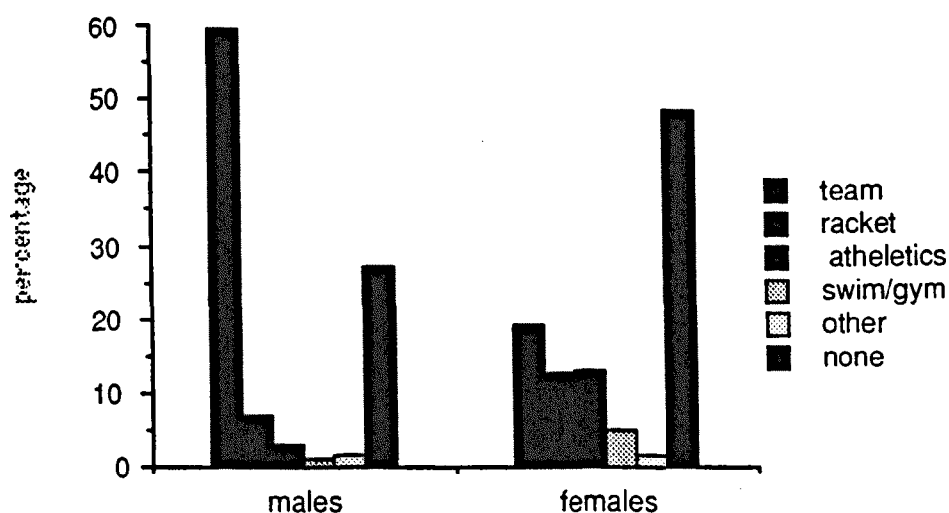
Clearly swimming is by far the most popular activity, defined in terms of the frequency of participation and in terms of the numbers of participants. Almost

twenty per cent of respondents are frequent users of this facility and over thirty-five per cent classify themselves as occasional users. Fewer than thirty per cent say that they do not use the facility at all. In contrast very few respondents, less than three per cent use the sauna frequently, and almost seventy per cent of respondents say that they do not use the sauna at all. With respect to the two racket sports, tennis and squash, we can note that just over ten per cent say that they play squash often, and fourteen per cent play tennis often. A further nineteen per cent (squash), and seventeen per cent (tennis), describe themselves as 'occasional' users. In short, approximately thirty per cent of the sample are either 'often' or 'occasional' users of the tennis and squash facilities.

However in order to understand the way in which these sports facilities are used, or what we can call, from de Certeau (1984) and Bourdieu (1984), their 'practice of use', it is necessary to look at the history of sporting activity of residents, in addition to their current sporting practices. Table 5.6 provides an indication of residents participation in sports at school.

Table 5.6 Sports Participation at School

males n=217 females n=224



From the data presented above it is clear that team games were the predominant form of sports activity for both males and females, although it should be noted that three times as many males 60%, participated in team sports compared to females, 20%. It is also worth noting that fewer males 27%, than females 50%, did not participate in sport at school, other than compulsory physical education. Although the other sports which appear above tend to have higher participation rates amongst females than among males this might be explained by the fact that schools, especially state schools, have tended traditionally to concentrate upon team activities, football, cricket, hockey, rugby, netball as compared to non team sports. Consequently, given the much higher participation rates in team sports by males over females, it is perhaps not surprising that females appear to engage in these other sports more frequently than males. At the same time it should be remembered that racket sports, the principal school sport being tennis, require considerable investment in terms of time and coaching in order for an individual to become reasonably proficient, and again it is perhaps no surprise that such

sports do not figure particularly highly amongst this population, approximately 50% of whom come from manual working backgrounds. Consequently, although sports activity at school was relatively popular, it is not surprising that most did not play racket sports whilst at school.

Sports, well not really, not at school apart from PT and games. But when we arrived here it seemed that all the people we were introduced to either played squash or tennis so we joined in well squash, not tennis that's more for the experts, but with squash its not so difficult; you can have a good game even if you're not good yourself by playing with people of the same standard. That's why the leagues are so good; you get at least six games a month plus others, and it keeps you fit. In the leagues I go up and down, up and down, all the time, but I really enjoy it, and I've, we've made a lot of very good friends through the squash

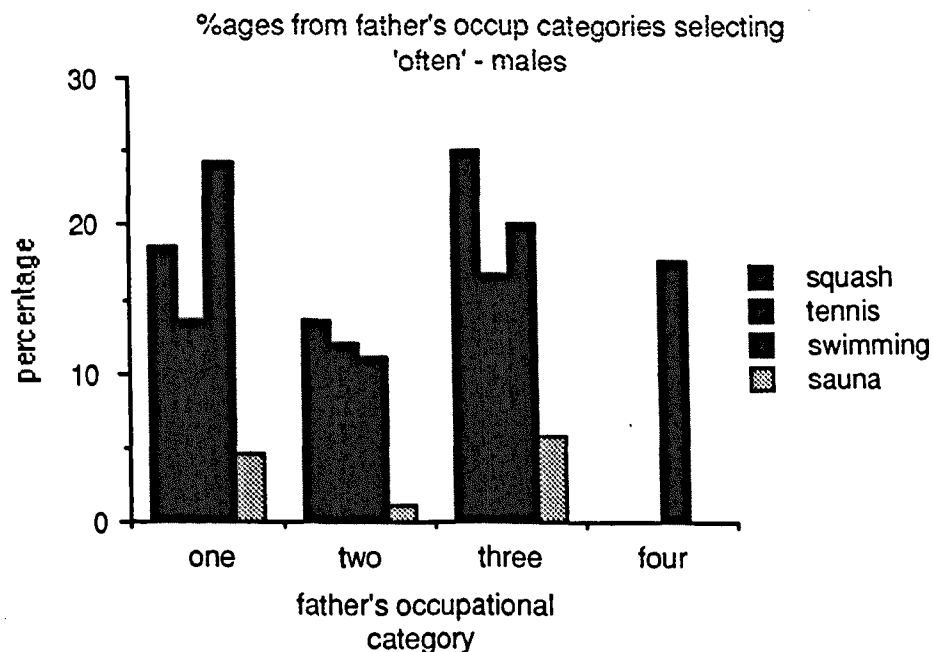
I'd played some tennis at school, I suppose a lot really, yes it was wonderful, long sunny days, tennis yes and lots of school friends; really halcyon days, just like Schoolfriend! Not so much at university, not at all. I thought I'd left it behind until we moved here. Now its become a large part of my life again, along with the golf. I suppose it is difficult to learn, but I haven't really noticed that when you're young you learn without any effort really, like riding a bicycle.

Thursday is squash night, league night. At the moment I'm in the second team, and that's largely due to position in the internal leagues - the squash ladder that we have here. Well there are some players, one or two, who don't play all their internal games, but are so good that they play in the first team, well one is with us now in the second team. Anyhow, if I can just hold it a bit more, a bit longer I'll be in the firsts soon - right now that's what I'm aiming for. I've played for them once or twice but I really want a regular place. It's very competitive but so it should be, what's the use of playing if it isn't?

Waste of good drinking time we're waiting for the first heart attack anyhow, bloody fools, and they think they're so good. We don't have that much to do with them. Some of them will have a drink in here but a lot you never see, they just go straight home. Well he's (.....) different, he does play but not like

they do, he enjoys it, for a bit of exercise, something to do, then he's in here with us.

Table 5.7: Social Origin and Sport (males)
 squash n=34; tennis n=26; swimming n=40; sauna n=7

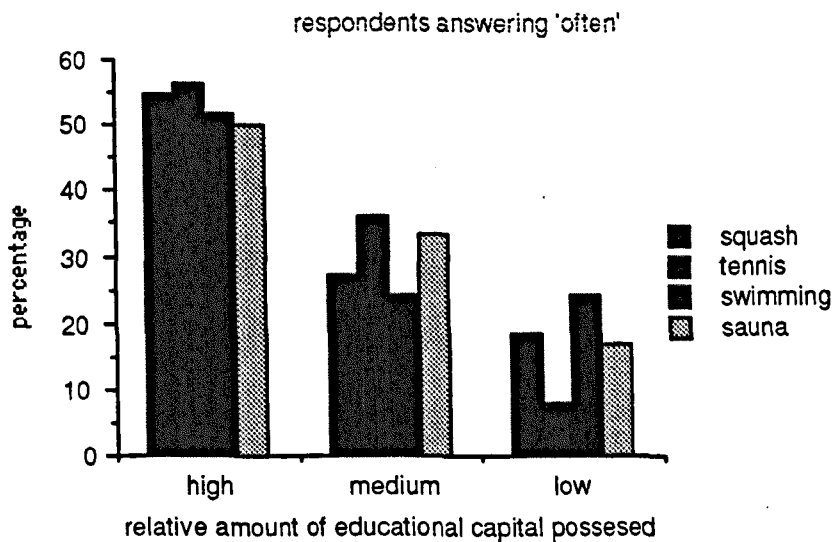


For the most part social origin, measured by father's occupational position, table 5.7, does not appear to have a major effect on the most frequent sports players, other than those from the lowest socio-economic backgrounds. Those from occupational category four only appear amongst the more frequent users of the swimming pool where approximately 18% of them 'frequently' engage in this activity. This compares with 24% in category one, 12% in category two and 21% in category three.

Use of the sauna is very much a minority activity for all, irrespective of social background. Approximately 18% of those from category one are frequent squash players, 14% from category two, and 25% from category three. Tennis is

a frequent activity for approximately 13% of those in category one, 12% in category two, and 17% in category three.

Table 5.8: Participation in Clubhouse Sports by Educational Level (males)
 squash n=34; tennis n=26; swimming n=40; sauna n=7



However, when controls are introduced for 'educational capital', table 5.8, a quite different picture emerges. Here we can clearly see the effects of such capital with regard to the most 'frequent users' of the recreational facilities. The higher the educational capital, the greater the likelihood of 'frequent' participation. In each of the four recreational practices over 50% of the most frequent users can be found to possess the highest amounts of such capital. Those with the lowest amounts of educational capital are least likely to be frequent users of the recreational facilities. Approximately 17% of the most frequent squash players have the lowest amounts of educational capital, 7% of the tennis players, 24% of swimmers, and 17% of the sauna users.

Leisure, Lifestyle and The Habitus

It was suggested in the previous chapter that the population of The Heath can best be described as belonging to a new middle class which has emerged from

the occupational changes associated with both an increasing credentialism and, importantly, from the emergence of an increased managerialism in a changing economy which has outstripped the supply of graduate labour to the work force. Our examination and analysis of the social characteristics of residents of The Heath suggested that rather than being understood as an homogenous social grouping, there were rather significant differences in types of occupational activity which corresponded to differences in both social origin and educational level. By employing Bourdieu's concepts of capital and the habitus it has been argued that the differences observed are such that we can distinguish between those employed in professional occupations and those in management occupations with regard to their social origins, education, income and gender. The picture that emerged was one which showed that:

(i) mobility for males of working class origin had come about primarily through occupational advancement and promotion (65%), rather than through educational advancement into professional activity

(ii) almost half of the women in our sample defined themselves as housewives and that occupational activity for the highest educationally qualified females was primarily as professionals, with only 5% employed as managers

(iii) those with origins in the traditional middle class were more evenly spread between professional employment (40%), and managerial employment (49%)

(iv) income differentials between professionals and managers were such that managers more than professionals were most likely to be found in the highest income category (56% cf 35%)

(v) those with the highest educational levels were better represented in the professional category (70%), compared to the management category (36%).

Given the above it was argued that the new middle class, rather than being understood as a relatively homogenous class fraction, might display characteristics of cultural cleavage as suggested in Goldthorpe's *Social Mobility in Britain*.

Given the differences associated with social origin and educational achievement observed in the previous chapter, and how these related to occupational activity, we can now turn to an examination of the frequency distributions presented above in an attempt to account for these leisure characteristics by the same process.

Tables 5.9; 5.10; 5.11; provide a series of indicators with regard to social networks and the leisure and sports activities associated with the use of the 'clubhouse'. Table 5.9 provides a series of indicators regarding the friendship patterns of The Heath's residents.

Table 5.9: The Habitus and Lifestyle Indicators (percentage) *n*=185

<i>social origin & ed capital</i>	visiting friendsoff' <i>The Heath</i>	visiting friends on' <i>The Heath</i>	visiting work colleagues	majority of friends on Heath	know neighbour 'well'	'entertain' at home (every 6 weeks)	attending parties on Heath (every 12 weeks)
<i>All</i>	30	19	08	36	16	47	35
<i>w/c high ed n=32</i>	22	11	18	18	15	17	20
<i>m/c high ed n=50</i>	15	05	05	21	13	31	25
<i>w/c low ed n=49</i>	48	30	05	27	35	26	37
<i>m/c low ed n=54</i>	35	30	05	34	32	26	18

Together with the interview materials, and the ethnographic data which is presented in Chapter Seven, the table helps construct a picture of the nature of these friendships and their relationship to social origin and educational capital. The figures do suggest some differences according to educational capital possessed and indicate that those with the least amounts of such capital (managerial and other non-professional occupations) are more likely to construct friendships around residential location (columns 2 and 3) and associated 'neighbourliness' (columns 5 and 6) than are those with the highest levels of educational capital (university graduates and professional occupations). For the former it can be seen that friendships tend to be made with those 'on The Heath' and at previous residential locations, while for those of working class origin with the highest amounts of educational capital friendship patterns are more than three times as likely to be associated with work colleagues (18% cf 5% column 4).

Table 5.10 is constructed from a series of indicators associated with the use of The Heath's clubhouse, other than for sports activities. In this table the primary concern is to establish the use of the clubhouse for social activities such as parties (the Summer Barbecue and Christmas Dance) and the more casual 'going for a drink' at the clubhouse bar.

TABLE 5.10: The Habitus and the Clubhouse (percentage) $n=185$

<i>social origin & ed capital</i>		attending social activity at club	organising 'events'	social event elsewhere with prtnr		drink clubhouse (males)	drink clubhouse (females)	visiting club with partner (often)
<i>All</i>	often	21	14	25	often	22	14	20
	rarely	47			rarely	36	45	
<i>w/c high ed n=32</i>	often	22	24	17	often	22	17	23
<i>m/c high ed n=50</i>	often	11	24	26	often	20	08	08
<i>w/c low ed n=49</i>	often	38	38	13	often	33	42	40
<i>m/c low ed n=54</i>	often	30	14	43	often	25	33	29

Again it can be seen that it is those with the least amounts of educational capital who are the most frequent users of the non-sports facilities at the clubhouse, with those of working class origin being particularly prominent in attending and organising the social calendar and using the clubhouse to 'go for a drink', while the most highly educated of those with middle class origins are the least likely participants in these activities.

Table 5.11 examines the sports histories and current sports practices of residents with regard to their social origins and educational level.

Table 5.11: The Habitus and Sports Practices (percentage) $n=185$

<i>social origin & ed capital</i>	sport at school	school sport type	sports since school	new sport type	members of sports clubs	swim at Heath wom/men	tennis at Heath wom/men	squash at Heath wom/men
<i>All</i>	73	63 team 14 racket	60	34 racket 09 golf 08 kf 01 team	20	33/34	29/25	17/30
<i>w/c high ed n=32</i>	73	66 team	66	44 racket 13 golf 06 kf	10	35/40	40/39	26/40
<i>m/c high ed n=50</i>	76	67 team 10 racket	73	40 racket 10 kf 08 golf	29	27/35	23/27	12/36
<i>w/c low ed n=49</i>	69	63 team	53	26 racket 12 kf 12 golf 2 team	14	40/30	23/15	9/20
<i>m/c low ed n=54</i>	72	55 team 15 racket	49	26 racket 11 golf 04 kf	25	27/32	24/19	9/25

The table shows the frequency results from a series of questions relating to sports activities at school, new sports taken up since leaving school, current membership of sports clubs other than on The Heath, and finally, the use of sports facilities provided on The Heath. Each of the above is examined according to the social origin and educational level of the respondent. The figures are suggestive of a link between social origin/educational capital, and sports histories and the use of the recreational facilities provided on The Heath. Clearly the majority of male respondents, irrespective of social origin/educational level (column one), played sports at school, other than compulsory physical education (column two). The appearance of racket sports in column three, the type of sports played at school, is less important for its frequency than it is for its presence amongst those with middle rather than working class social origins - its presence indicating that racket sports are primarily associated with children of middle rather than working class origins (see below). Columns four and five present the data on sports that have been taken up since leaving the school system and show that those who did not enter higher education are less likely to have taken up new sports than those who did enter higher education, although the difference is less marked for females (column four). The types of new sports taken up are indicated in column five and indicate differences in response particularly in regard to racket sports. Although in each category racket sports, golf and keep-fit have been taken up, the differences in the take-up rates of racket sports are considerable for those in the highest educational category for males. Again these differences are less marked for females. The frequency distribution on membership of sports clubs, other than those established on The Heath (column six), are important in that the figures indicate that it is those of middle class social origin, more than those of working class origin, who are most

likely to join 'off Heath' sports clubs. Such figures suggest that those of middle class origin are less likely to use The Heath's facilities as their sole source of recreational activity. Columns seven, eight and nine provide an indication of the use of The Heath's sports facilities amongst the most frequent users, defined as those using these facilities at least twice a month. Although differential use of the swimming pool is not particularly high, differences in the use of the squash and tennis facilities are notable. For males the figures indicate that those with working class origins who have experienced higher education are twice as likely to play squash or tennis as those with working class origins who have not experienced higher education, and are more likely to be regular swimmers. Although the differentials are less strong, a similar situation pertains for those males of middle class backgrounds who have experienced higher education, compared to those who have not. Although the 'direction' of these findings is similar to those for females, again it appears that the relationships are less strong (see below Ch.6).

With regard to the above data the tentative suggestion is that non-work practices, particularly those associated with The Heath's clubhouse facilities are an important defining characteristic of residents and help form lifestyle distinctions between them. When we recall the data examined in the previous chapter it becomes possible to relate the variables examined there, and the differences associated with professional and managerial occupations to the observed differences in the non-work practices of residents indicated in tables 5.9; 5.10 and 5.11.

Conclusion

The data that has been examined presents a picture of our sample suggestive of heterogeneity rather than homogeneity and lends support for the developing central tenet of this thesis. Alongside the homologies discovered in the previous chapter, associated with social origin, occupational position, educational and economic capital, we have found a number of defining characteristics which suggest a cultural heterogeneity within the sample. In addition to differentiation in friendship patterns and social activities which form part of the everyday lives of residents, our analysis has also found distinctions in the 'recreational/sports' histories and current 'recreational/sports' practices of the sample. Amongst the observed differences were the following:

- (i) Although the numbers expressing friendships with work colleagues were generally low, those with social origins in the working class with the highest educational levels were three times more likely to have friendships associated with work colleagues than others (18% cf 5%).
- (ii) Dinner parties were one of the most popular forms of 'entertainment' (47%), yet were least popular amongst those with working class origins and high educational levels (17%).
- (iii) The use of the clubhouse bar (non sports facilities) was overwhelmingly associated with those of working class origin and low educational levels (38% cf 11% of middle class origin with high educational level. Only 8% of women with middle class origins and of high educational level attended the clubhouse, cf 40% of women with working class origins and low educational levels).

(iv) Squash and tennis are primarily associated with those of working class origin and high educational levels (39% tennis & 40% squash cf to 15% & 20% of those with working class origins and low educational levels).

(v) Membership of sports clubs (golf?) not on The Heath was primarily associated with those of middle class origin (27% cf 12%).

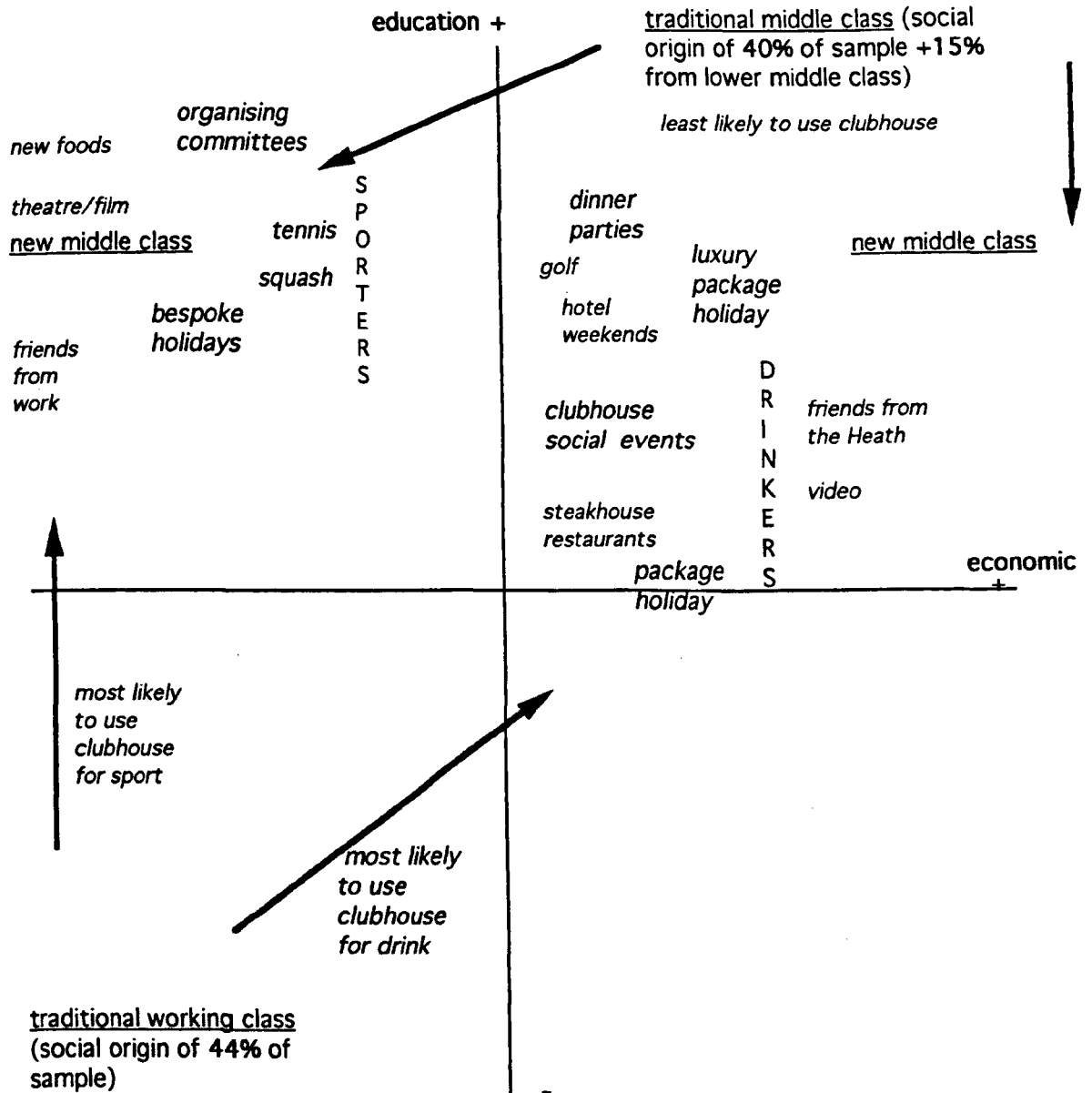
More generally we can also acknowledge distinctions uncovered in the observational and interview data which, in combination, provide evidence to substantiate those claims which would argue that there is indeed differentiation within the formation of the new middle class. On The Heath it appears that it is those of working class origin who are the prime users of the recreational facilities, the bar being primarily associated with those who have the lowest educational levels, ('drinkers') and the sports with those who have the highest educational levels ('sporters') (Wynne, 1991). The picture presented allows for the construction of what might be termed the social space of lifestyles on The Heath through a model similar to that constructed at the end of the previous chapter. The results of these previous investigations into social origin, occupational position, educational and economic capital have been represented in a model of what we termed the 'space of social position' (Diagram 1). By relating the results of the investigations in this chapter to that model of 'social position' we can construct a second diagram of what could be termed the 'social space of lifestyles', (Diagram 2). In this diagram the horizontal and vertical axes of economic and educational capital are retained, as are the socio-economic origins of the new middle class(es); both the traditional working and middle classes.

Occupational positions are replaced by the lifestyle indicators examined in this chapter. Such a model indicates that the new middle class exhibits a series of lifestyle choices, structured by, and structuring of, their habitus. If this map of lifestyles is placed over our map of social mobility then it can be seen that there are important differences associated with those mobility paths. These include the nature of friendship patterns, the use of the recreational facilities available to residents, their sports histories and their current sports participation. By overlaying diagram 1 with diagram 2 in this way, we can see the developing homologies within the new middle class(es). Together the diagrams illustrate those differences discovered in our investigations between what one might broadly describe as professional and managerial workers. Such observations have been supported by recent work (Savage et al, 1992:141-44) who, on the basis of research conducted by the British Market Research Bureau, a Target Group Index analysis of a limited number of consumer items, has also suggested that there may be developing lifestyle distinctions between professional and managerial fractions within the middle class.

However to understand these distinctions more fully it is necessary to examine what de Certeau (1984) has termed the 'practices of use' associated with these discovered differences, i.e. the ways in which everyday life is constructed and maintained through the activities of individuals and social groups such that particular activities come to be understood as having a particular nature or organisational form. What this requires is ethnographic material which attends to the ways in which these differences emerge and are maintained to produce the differing habituses associated with these class fractions. Such an analysis needs to uncover the ways in which 'going for a drink', or 'playing tennis or squash' are

accomplished, such that they become defining characteristics of those who participate in and organise such activities. To that end chapter seven examines the ways in which the clubhouse and recreational facilities are used and organised, and the ways in which such use is responded to by others.

Diagram Two: The Social Space of Leisure



(i) Although the numbers expressing friendships with work colleagues were low, those with social origins in the working class with the highest educational levels were three times more likely to have friendships associated with work colleagues than others (18% cf 5%).

(ii) Dinner parties were one of the most popular forms of 'entertainment', yet were lowest amongst those with working class origins and high educational levels.

(iii) The use of the clubhouse bar (non sports facilities) was overwhelmingly associated with those of working class origin and lowest educational levels (38% cf to 11% of middle class origin with high educational level. Only 8% of women with middle class origins and of high educational level attended clubhouse, cf to 40% of women with working class origins and low educational levels).

(iv) Squash and tennis primarily associated with those of working class origin and high educational levels (39% tennis & 40% squash cf to 15% & 20% of those with working class origins and low educational levels).

(v) Membership of sports clubs (golf?) not on the Heath primarily associated with those of middle class origin (27% cf 12%).

Chapter Six. The Social Space of Gender

In previous chapters our analysis of individual subjects has led us to argue that the new middle class cannot be understood as a homogenous social group.

Rather, we have outlined a series of 'boundaries' associated with social origin, education and occupation which can be seen to relate to the interests, tastes and leisure preferences of particular social groups. Clearly such findings need to be examined in the context of the households through which our subjects lives are lived. In this chapter then we will examine the structure of the households on The Heath with regard to our thesis of fragmentation within the new middle class. Of particular importance will be the relationship between gender differentiation, domestic labour and leisure, and the degree to which they can be located in social origin, education and occupation.

The Heath is a place for nuclear families; a place for new families to plan children, and for families with children. It is not a place for young single people, or single parent families. Data from the questionnaire reveals that only 29 households (11.6%) are single households. Clearly a number of factors mitigate against such household formation. First, the houses themselves are designed for families, with two, three or four bedrooms, 'working' kitchens and 'utility' rooms. Second, the pricing structure of the properties also places them out of the reach of all but the most wealthy of single, young people. Third, their location, in the countryside green belt, and the ambiance associated with the development are additional features which make The Heath unattractive to young, single persons.

Nor is it a place, as yet, for the retired. Although at first glance The Heath may appear attractive to the elderly, on closer inspection this is perhaps less than would first appear. The absence of everyday facilities such as local shops and ancillary services are perhaps important factors which would discourage the elderly from moving onto The Heath. However it must be noted that for those who are still relatively mobile, in good health and only recently retired, it does perhaps offer some of the facilities associated with 'retirement communities' similar to those which have recently appeared in the United States.

However for the most part The Heath is dominated by nuclear families with relatively young, school age children. Certainly it is for such people that The Heath was built and to whom it is marketed - as a place where the family can retreat from the pressures of everyday urban living, where children can play in safety and where the family can offer succor and support for those who ensure its financial provisioning. This is why The Heath was built, and this, in large part, is who it attracts. As such, The Heath provides an excellent opportunity to examine the structure of the new middle class household and the extent to which gender differentiation is becoming less salient in understanding this part of everyday life. Indeed, given the importance of the new middle class as an indicator of the changing nature of contemporary British society (Featherstone, 1987,1991), it is perhaps on The Heath, as much as anywhere, that we might witness examples of the changing nature of household structures and gender relations. In this chapter we will consider such changes in the context of the analyses previously undertaken, namely their location within the new middle class, and the differentiation already observed with regard to educational level, social background, and occupation. In examining the relationship between leisure

practices and the social construction of identity, we have suggested that for the new middle class work is becoming a less salient feature in identity construction and that as working conditions and income become increasingly less differentiated within the new middle class or 'middle mass' (Roberts et al., 1977), so leisure practices will become increasingly important. This, of course, begs a serious question for that part of the new middle class whose relationship to paid work can at best be defined as problematic. Here, of course, I am referring to women, the majority of whom, in the middle classes, have traditionally acted as an unpaid domestic work force, primarily involved in the reproduction of the middle class household.

As such this chapter will pay particular attention to gender divisions, household structure and domestic labour and the ways in which these mitigate the differences in leisure lifestyles between males and females. In doing this we will examine the ways in which paid employment affects women's leisure, a feature which Deem suggests may be important in 'allowing' women the right to a leisure space.

Commenting on her own study of women's leisure practices and the relationship between leisure and employment she writes,

“What does seem to emerge is that female employment may be as important in structuring women's experience of leisure as male employment is in organising and determining men's leisure. Women in employment frequently, although not always, have greater control and autonomy over their own lives and hence greater control over their leisure, than women who are not in employment.” (Deem, 1986:116)

In addition to examining women's use of the 'clubhouse facilities' on The Heath we will also examine some of the other activities associated with domestic labour and the creation of 'leisure spaces' by women around this domestic labour. Examples of such leisure spaces are associated with child rearing, 'coffee breaks' and membership of voluntary associations. As both Deem and Green et al., have indicated many women who are not involved in work outside the home often construct their own leisure spaces in and alongside the routines of domestic labour. Deem makes the point in her discussion of definitional problems,

"Whilst the problems of defining women's leisure are immense anyway, home-based leisure is if anything harder to determine than out-of-home leisure, since it is even more likely to overlap with, or occur concurrently with non-leisure activities." (Deem, 1986:34).

In similar vein Green et al in reviewing their own earlier research, comment,

"The leisure activities which women do most frequently and on which they spend the majority of their free time are those that can be done at home; that can be done in the bits of time left over from doing other things, or that can be easily interrupted if necessary." (Green et al, 1990:84)

As such, Deem argues,

"Women's home based leisure and enjoyment is often based on or derives from, the same activities and tasks which form part of their work in the household No wonder then that much of women's household leisure consists of needlework, knitting, cooking, reading, TV watching All of these activities can be fitted into a fragmented time schedule, don't require large blocks of time and can be quickly disposed of or stopped when work obligations intervene." (Deem, 1986:81)

In addition to the above we will also discuss the degree to which men contribute to this everyday domestic labour. While the conjugal role thesis (Parsons, 1952; Goode, 1970; Young & Wilmott, 1960) has received increasing criticism

(Oakley, 1974 & 1976; Edgell, 1980), there is, nevertheless, some confusion over male participation in domestic labour. As Brannen and Moss (1991) indicate,

“A few British studies (Newson and Newson, 1963; Oakley, 1974; Graham and Mckee, 1979) have reported that men in higher status occupations generally do more childcare and domestic work. Other studies, in Britain and elsewhere (for example, Richards et al., 1977; Entwistle and Doering, 1980; Beail, 1983; Russell, 1983; Moss, Bolland and Foxman, 1987) report no difference.” (Brannen and Moss 1991:182).

However as Green et al., point out in commenting upon the differences observed by Sharpe, (1984) in comparison with the earlier community studies of Slater and Woodside, (1951) and Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter, (1969),

“Certainly, significant changes have taken place over the last thirty years in norms about male participation and childcare, and in terms of the tasks which husbands and fathers now do.” (Green et al., 1990:92)

Importantly, for our purposes, although we will examine differences in the contributions to domestic labour made by men and women, this chapter will be primarily concerned with locating 'gender' within the model previously outlined, pointing towards social and cultural differentiation within the new middle class and the increasing importance of leisure in the construction of identity. As such our concern will be to uncover any differences with regard to the social origins, educational levels and occupational positions of our subjects.

First we provide a brief outline of the structure of the domestic household obtained from an analysis of the questionnaire.

As we saw earlier there are some notable differences in the structural characteristics between males and females, particularly with regard to occupation (Table 3.1), income (Table 3.2) and education (Table 3.3). While over 40% of males are employed as managers, and over 30% as professionals, only 5% (managers) and 22% (professionals) of women are employed in these categories; a further 16% are employed in lower level white collar work including clerical/admin and sales. Over 45% of women described themselves as housewives. Such results are reflected in the income differentials between males and females. Only 5% of women earn more than £15,000 per year compared to 70% of males, and 77% of women earned less than £10,000 per year, compared to only 11% of males. While the number of 'housewives' in the sample clearly affects these figures, they do not solely explain the income differentials between males and females, for example those between male and female professionals are almost certainly related to the types of profession in which females are predominantly found - lower grade salaried professionals in, for example, junior and primary school teaching, social work and other local authority and public services. Differences in educational qualifications obtained indicate that 54% of females are not educated beyond 'o' level compared to 26% of males and that postgraduate/professional qualifications are obtained by only 3% of females in spite of the fact that a similar percentage of males (29%), and females (27%), obtain undergraduate degrees.

We can now turn to an examination of the household in order to see how the gender differences reviewed above are reflected in its composition, and how this composition itself relates to those factors we examined earlier in the context of a new middle class fragmented and differentiated by economic and cultural capital.

In the conclusion to chapter 4 it was suggested that the structural divisions uncovered identified forms of cleavage or fragmentation within the new middle class such that it could not be considered a homogenous grouping, and that rather, social origin, education and occupation combined to produce differentiation in habitus and social practice. Similarly we will now consider the extent to which these divisions are reflected in the household structures on The Heath, and the possible differentially gendered nature of these households.

Tables 6.1 shows the relationship between the 'habitus' variable (social origin and educational level) for males and females. The crosstabulation reveals the links between these variables in the structure of the households on The Heath.

Table 6.1 The Habitus, Gender and Household Structure (percentage)
men n=185; women n=179

	w/c le (women) n=49	w/c he n=28	m/c le n=74	m/c he n=28
w/c le (men) n=49	48.9↓ 51.2→	16.7↓ 9.3→	24.2↓ 34.9→	8.7↓ 4.7→
w/c he n=32	8.9↓ 14.8	37.5 33.3	14.5 33.3	21.7 18.5
m/c le n=54	28.9↓ 29.5	12.5 6.8	40.3 56.8	13 6.8
m/c he n=50	13.3↓ 15	33.3 20	21 32.5	56.5 32.5

The table shows the importance of both social origin and educational level on the structure of the household. Almost half (48.9%), of women located in category one, working class origin and lower educational level have partners with the same social background and educational level. Those women in category one with partners from different social backgrounds overwhelmingly have partners

with similar educational levels - fewer than 14% of such women have partners from a higher social background and higher educational level. Other categories in this table reveal a similar story with regard to social origin and educational level. Over 70% of the highest educated women from both working and middle class backgrounds have partners with the same educational levels, and few households contain women with men of a lower educational level. Households that are divided with regard to social origin and education appear to mostly involve men and women of working class origin with high educational levels. The highest educated women of working class origin with the highest educated men of middle class origin (33.3%), and the highest educated men of working class origin with the lower educated women of middle class origin (33.3%). Table 6.2 examines the relations between occupation, gender and the household.

Table 6.2 Occupation, Gender and Household Structure (percentage) $n=202$

<i>Male</i>	Female				
	profs n=43	managers n=9	tech/clercl/ sales n=50	unemployd/ retired n=7	housewife n=93
<i>profs</i> n=64	58.1↓ 39.1→	33.3↓ 4.7→	20↓ 13.6→		28↓ 40.6→
<i>managers</i> n=86	32.6↓ 16.3	44.4 4.7	52 30.2		45.2 48.8
<i>tech/clercl/ sales</i> n=35	9.3↓ 11.4	22.2 5.7	26 37.1		17.2 45.7
<i>unemployd/ retired</i> n=17			2 3.9	100 41.2	9.7 52.9

Although 46% of women classed themselves as housewives and therefore represent the largest single 'occupational' category, the location of other working women shows that almost 60% of professional women have partners in professional occupations (58.1%). Given the extremely small number of women

in managerial positions (5%) although the majority are married to men in similar positions, such men are most likely to be partnered by housewives (48.8%), an important defining characteristic of the household, particularly with regard to male performance of domestic labour (see below).

These developing relations between education, occupation, social origin and the household are explored further in table 6.3 which examines the links between the habitus associated with (social origin and education) and women's occupations.

Table 6.3 Habitus and Occupation (women) (percentage) $n=178$

top row in italics indicates differences within capitals

bottom row indicates differences between capitals

	profs $n=48$	managers $n=7$	tech/clercl/ sales $n=47$	unemployd/ retired $n=2$	housewife $n=74$
w/c le $n=49$	<i>4.1</i> → 4.2↓	<i>6.1</i> → 42.9↓	<i>38.8</i> → 40.4↓		<i>51</i> → 33.8↓
w/c he $n=28$	<i>67.9</i> 39.6↓	<i>3.6</i> 14.3	<i>7.1</i> 4.3		<i>21.4</i> 8.1
m/c le $n=73$	<i>12.3</i> 18.8↓	<i>2.7</i> 28.6	<i>31.5</i> 48.9	<i>1.4</i> 50	<i>12.1</i> 51.4
m/c he $n=28$	<i>64.3</i> 37.5↓	<i>3.6</i> 14.3	<i>10.7</i> 6.4	<i>3.6</i> 50	<i>17.9</i> 6.8

As can be seen from the table 85% of those classed as housewives are located in the lowest educational categories - category one, those with working class origins (33.8%), and category three, those with middle class origins (51.4%).

Professional women are overwhelmingly from the highest educational category but are almost equally represented with regard to social origin - category two (39.6%) and category four (37.5%). Clearly little reliable can be said with regard to managerial occupations given the very small numbers present. Those women

in category three are primarily working in clerical/administrative and sales positions (see Table 3.1).

Due to the structure of the questionnaire and the way in which the data was coded it is impossible to provide precise details of household income.

Nevertheless with some re-coding of the income variables for males and females it is possible to provide some indication of household income and the structure of its distribution. The table below provides an indication of the income levels of individuals and households.

Table 6.4 Household Structure and Income (percentage) n=193

	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH	
SINGLEHH				
male	0→	60→	40→	n=10
female	46→	54→	0→	n=11
DUAL HH				
single earners:				
male	3→	46→	51→	n=59
female	100→	0→	0→	n=2
dual earners:				
male	14→	53→	33→	n=111
female	80→	15→	5→	n=111

As can be seen from the table some 193 households provided data on income.

The table shows that single households accounted for only just over ten per cent of the households on The Heath, confirming the view that The Heath is essentially a place for families. Of the dual households which make up almost 90% of households on The Heath 32% were single earner, dual households, and almost all of these were male. The majority of households, 111 of those responding (67%) were dual earner households. As can be seen from the briefest examination of these figures, women, irrespective of household structure, are found in the lowest income category, under £10,000 per annum, whereas large numbers of men can be found in the highest income category, with very, very few in the lowest. The figures clearly suggest that in the majority of households,

women's incomes are significantly less than men's. This can be seen more clearly in Table 6.5 which shows the relationship between male and female incomes in dual earner households. The figures show that in these dual earner households fewer than 5% of women earn more than their male partners. The two largest of the dual earner household combinations are the 'medium-low income' (male-female), accounting for 41% of dual earner households, and the 'high-low income' (male-female), accounting for 29% of dual earner households.

Table 6.5 Incomes of Males and Females in Dual Earner Households n=111

male	female	percent
low	l	11
l	m	3
l	h	1
medium	l	40
m	m	10
m	h	3
high	l	28
h	m	3
h	h	1

We have now examined the major social indicators of household formation with regard to the developing thesis of fragmentation and cultural diversification within the new middle class. From the data examined it would appear that there is support for this thesis and that differentiation in household structure within the new middle class can be supported. Similar to the analyses previously undertaken it appears that structural distinctions can be drawn between households according to the social origin and educational level of its members. Such

variables can be seen to relate both to the nature of household occupations, and the structure and amount of household income.

In short it appears that partners tend to have similar educational and socio-economic backgrounds; those males in professional occupations with partners working outside the home are most likely to have professional partners (39%), whereas males in managerial positions are most likely to have partners working as housewives (49%), or in clerical/admin or sales (30%). Household income levels between what one might term 'managerial' and 'professional' households can be seen to be structured around the distinctions between dual and single income households. In this context only 28% of housewives are in professional households, whereas 45% are found in managerial households. While the lowest income-earning households will be those single earning households in occupational category three, technical, admin, sales (8%); the single earning households in occupational category 2, senior and middle management (21%), will be amongst the highest of income earning households, along with some of the dual professionals (12.4%).

Amongst those factors illustrative of the conjugal role thesis, male contributions to everyday domestic labour surely provide an important indicator. For the conjugal role thesis to have any validity one would expect an increasing de-differentiation in the traditional roles accorded to gender in domestic labour activity. Tables 6.6 and 6.7 illustrate the myth of conjugal roles in the domestic labour arrangements for households on The Heath: households of the new middle class, the supposed carriers of the new lifestyles which include those most

likely to exhibit the traits associated with the perceived breakdown of gender divisions.

Tables 6.6 and 6.7 summarise the results obtained from the question:

In the last seven days how many times has your husband or partner:

made a meal for the family
'cleared away' after a meal
washed clothes for the family
done general housework
ironed clothes
made beds

This question appeared at the end of the questionnaire and was based on some of the interviews conducted. Rather than an impressionistic response to the idea of domestic labour being performed by men I wanted information on the actual domestic activities undertaken by them. Given the repetitive nature of much of this work asking how many times such tasks had been performed by husbands or partners in the previous seven days seemed the most appropriate way of obtaining this information. The tasks themselves deliberately range from the archetypal 'clearing away after a meal', the repetitive 'unskilled' general housework, to the semi-skilled work involved in ironing and washing, through to the skilled 'making a meal'. Where prompts were necessary to these questions it was pointed out that 'making a meal' was understood to involve preparation and cooking, rather than the 'heating up' of previously prepared or 'tinned' foods.

Table 6.6 Male Participation in Domestic Labour

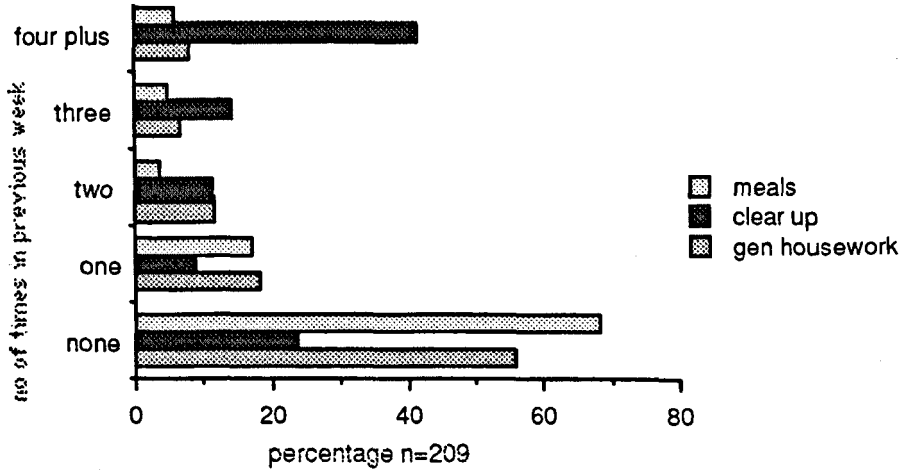
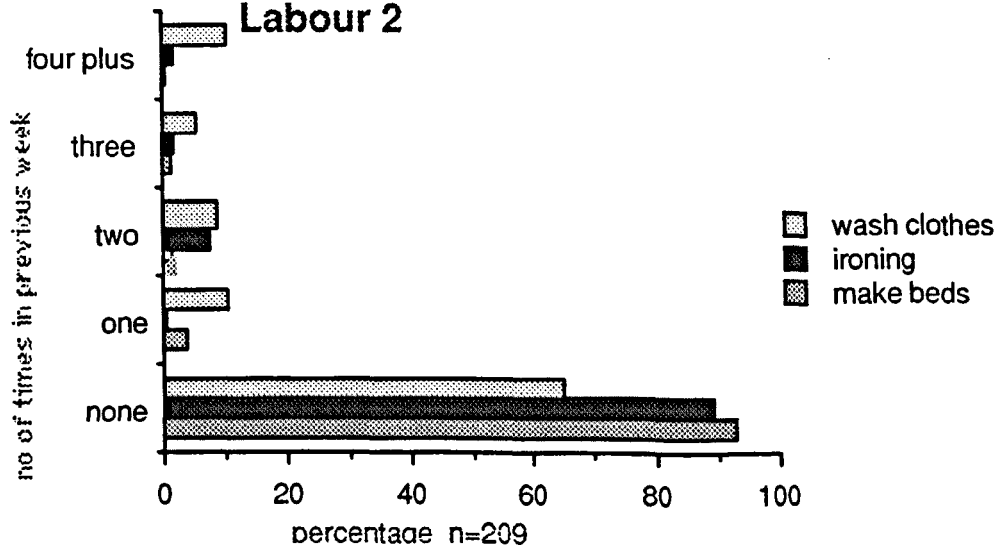


Table 6.7 Male Participation in Domestic Labour 2



As table 6.6 illustrates, apart from ‘clearing away’ after a meal, perhaps the archetypal domestic labour activity engaged in by males (over forty per cent had ‘cleared away’ four times or more), almost seventy per cent of husbands/partners had done no general housework, and almost sixty per cent had not made a meal in the previous seven days. Table 6.7 shows the percentage of husbands/partners who had ironed or washed clothes and made beds in the last seven days. Again

the figures provide a similar picture to those from Table 6.6. Over sixty per cent had not made beds, and ninety per cent and more had not been involved in either washing or ironing clothes. Such findings are broadly similar to those of Brannen and Moss;

“Fathers were most likely to contribute to household shopping and clearing away after meals; 40-60% did these tasks at least weekly (for shopping) or most days (for clearing away). Their contribution was lower on the other tasks, particularly preparing meals, ironing and washing clothes..... Non-employed mothers scored higher on the total domestic work score than mothers in dual earner households; this difference held when households with 'domestic help' were excluded..... Fathers in dual earner households were also reported to do all tasks more frequently than fathers with non-employed partners..... [Nevertheless] Although our data shows that men with employed partners did more 'family work' than those without, the most striking reality was that on every indicator studied, mothers with full time jobs did the main part of this work.” (Brannen and Moss, 1991:175-177, 179)

These results will, of course, come as no surprise to those familiar with the work completed by researchers adopting a broadly feminist perspective. Many of those researchers mentioned above have provided ample evidence which points to the burdens of domestic labour as one of the principle features which maintains the gender divisions in the experience of leisure. Again Green et al., argue that,

“Other studies have similarly found that married women's employment, whether part-time and temporary or professional and permanent, is not associated with any significant redistribution of housework tasks or domestic responsibilities from the traditional sexual division of labour (see for example Young and Wilmott, 1973; Edgell, 1980; Hunt, 1980; 1986a).” (Green et al 1990:93)

To what extent however can variations be observed with regard to the backgrounds and educational levels of respondents similar to those that have already been discovered? Given our observations of the fragmentary nature of the new middle class, and the differences in experience between households

associated with professional occupations and higher educational qualifications compared to those associated with managerial occupations and lower educational qualifications, might not differences in the gendering of domestic labour be observed here? Table 6.8 reproduces the responses to the questions above, but in the context of the social background and educational level of males.

Table 6.8 The Habitus and Male Participation in Domestic Labour *n=185*

habitus	wash		meal		iron		clear		beds	
	1+	3+	none	1+	3+	none	3+	none		
1w/c low ed <i>n=49</i>	6	13	61	7	49	28	11	61		
2w/c high ed <i>n=32</i>	15	20	54	23	50	35	23	46		
3m/c low ed <i>n=54</i>	4	15	52	7	54	23	14	69		
4m/c high ed <i>n=50</i>	12	8	42	25	80	4	29	50		

Although the figures indicate primarily that it is women who are mainly responsible for the domestic labour indicated above, they do support some of the distinctions associated with social origin and educational level that we have previously discovered. With only two minor exceptions associated with 'making a meal' and 'clearing away' for men in category three, (m/c low ed); it is invariably those highest educated, categories two and four, that are most likely to have participated in domestic labour. When one remembers the earlier relationships suggested by this type of analysis, particularly with regard to the relationship between this variable and the occupations of both males and females,

it clearly suggests that it is in the more highly educated, professional households, where both partners are most likely to be working that domestic labour is shared more evenly. Even here however, it is invariably women who take the responsibility for such labour. Again our findings coincide with the work done on dual earner households by Brannen & Moss;

“the evidence does suggest that mothers in 'high status' occupations or with partners in such jobs did rather less domestic work and that fathers, by implication, took a rather greater share - at least in dual earner households.” (Brannen and Moss, 1991:183)

In their study of women who return to work after the birth of children, *Managing Mothers*, Brannen and Moss developed a 'domestic work score' from their data analysis (p175). The 'score' is associated with male incidence of domestic tasks similar to those in this study, housework, preparing meals, washing clothes and ironing. Again women were asked to indicate how often their partners engaged in such tasks. From a maximum possible score of 28 the 'mothers' in Brannen and Moss's study scored on average 19.4. The figures for those families without 'domestic help', the vast majority, being higher (20), than those few with domestic help, (14.9). In virtually all cases these working mothers engaged in significantly more domestic labour than their partners, although the working mothers did less than those who were not in full time employment outside the home.

Similarly, in chapter ten of *Divisions of Labour* (1985), Pahl goes to considerable lengths in constructing his DOMDIV (division of domestic labour) classification. Based on extensive fieldwork this is an attempt to measure the degree of participation in domestic labour by gender. The classification is particularly

complex and overarching in that it attempts to measure the aggregate participation scores for the sample, and then, through using a series of controls, offers indications of domestic labour participation according to a series of variables such as position in the occupational structure for males and females, family life-cycle and ages of children. As one would expect in a society in which membership of the paid labour force overwhelmingly discriminates against women, and one in which certain tasks, such as childrearing, are still predominantly considered a female activity, the households which Pahl examined make use of a series of strategies which reflect and help reproduce this state of affairs. Not surprisingly Pahl discovers that the life-cycle, particularly that part associated with child-rearing and non-paid employment amongst women, results in DOMDIV scores which show that females are engaged in considerably greater domestic labour activity than their male spouses or partners. Unfortunately, as Deem also points out,

“Pahl's analysis of the Isle of Sheppey material, after all this, still allows him to say little more than that “it is overwhelmingly obvious that women do most of the work in the household” [Pahl, 1985:270].” (Deem, 1986:76)

Clearly, both from my own data and that of other research examined here domestic labour, in spite of participation in the paid labour force, is still predominantly understood as a gendered activity primarily undertaken by females. When one removes what might be described as ‘singular productive activity in domestic provisioning’ - the kind of activity which although regular is relatively infrequent in the domestic labour cycle, such as home decorating and structural maintenance - the kinds of domestic labour activity more associated with males, the relationship between domestic labour and gender is even

stronger. For the most part it is women rather than men who take responsibility for the day-in, day-out, domestic labour activities. And even when men regularly participate in such tasks, the managerial schedules are inevitably set by women. The following material is taken from three interviews conducted with women. Together they illustrate a range of approaches and positions with regard to gender and domestic labour, but nevertheless show how the *responsibility* for housework resides with the woman in each case.

The first interviewee Joan, left school at 16 with three 'o' levels. She has had a variety of full and part-time jobs and currently works part-time as a sales representative for a cosmetics company. She and her husband (an engineer for Shell Petrochemicals) have two teenage children.

Dave's good in the house - he'll do anything I ask and he always washes up. He'll do the shopping if I give him a list, and he always helped with the children when they were younger - putting them to bed, reading stories, bathtime and so on. Sometimes he'll wash clothes, like his sports kit, but not iron, he doesn't know how. As you know we're both very keen squash players and we help organise the teams - we're both out quite often, some weeks every night between us, what with playing and organising we sometimes see very little of each other.

My work is really for the extras - I quite enjoy it part time, Dave sometimes says I should give it up if I want to, but it helps with things like holidays or whatever.

The following interview material neatly illustrates a point made by Deem. In her study she found that women not in paid employment,

“were the most likely to have organised their housework into a routine, which both structured their day and possibly allowed them a small amount of space for themselves.” (Deem, 1986:90)

Pat does not work outside the home, and has not done so since her children were born. She left school at fifteen with no formal qualifications. Prior to the birth of her children she worked as a secretary/clerical assistant for a food distribution company. Her husband Peter is a senior manager in a medium sized engineering company.

I'm pretty organised as far as housework is concerned, Peter? - oh no, well I'm sure he would if I asked, if I needed him to, but he works hard and I see housework as my area, to keep the home. Of course there's a plan, different things get done on different days, a bit like the old saying 'Mondays is wash days.....' and so on. Its mainly all done in the mornings - with shopping in the afternoons.

There's no fixed routine as far as breakfast is concerned. Peter leaves at around 7.30 on most days and makes some tea for me before he leaves. I'll be up by eight and then do one of the main jobs - washes are at least three each week, then it all has to be pressed and ironed. Dusting, vacuum and general cleaning on two mornings. Then there are beds, windows and floors - it is a full time job if its done properly. I really don't see how some people can manage - those who are working.

We'll go to some of the social events but usually we go somewhere else at week ends, a country restaurant, or maybe into Chester or Manchester, it depends on who we are with.

Julie is a secondary schoolteacher of biology and is married to Tony, a civil engineer. Both have been educated beyond degree level. They have two children at the local junior school.

Housework? I do as little as possible, in some ways I suppose I'm not a wife at all in the traditional sense. Some days Tony will cook - it depends on whose home first - I'll pull something out of the freezer in the morning before I go to work and whoever gets back first starts it off. In the week we eat at around 6.30 - 7.30. Now the kids are a little older they look after themselves when they get home but of course they know that they can always go to Barbara or Helen (homes of close neighbours/friends) with any problems. I'm usually back myself by 5.30, or Tony is so that's not really a problem.

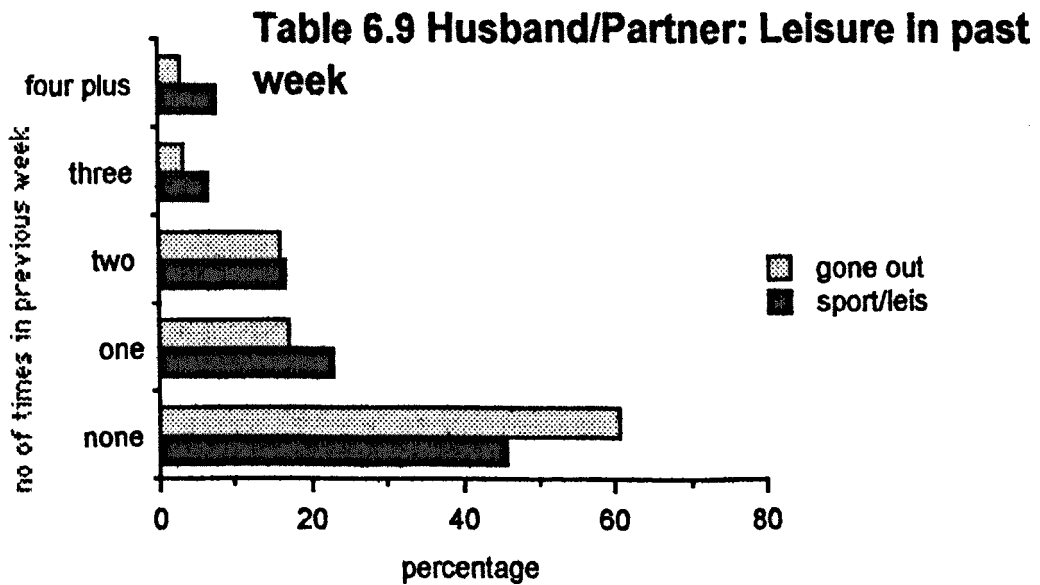
All the housework gets done on either Saturdays or Sundays apart from that in term time I'm just too busy - as you can see (looking around the room) its not a priority (laughs).

We both play a lot of squash, and I play tennis so that's how we spend a lot of our leisure time, and of course all the socials and parties with the tennis. Tony is more likely to stay for a drink (at the clubhouse after squash) than I am, I sometimes stay but in the week I'm just too tired.

The corollary of the domestic labour arrangements illustrated above can be seen in table 6.9 which shows the responses to the questions:

In the last seven days how many times has your husband /partner:
'gone out' in the evening for two hours or more
played a sport or engaged in a leisure activity with someone other than yourself or your children

n=208



Here it is worth noting that almost forty per cent of the respondent's husbands/partners had 'gone out' in the evening at least once for two hours or more, and twenty-three per cent had 'gone out' in the evening on more than one occasion. Similarly, almost fifty-five per cent had engaged in a sporting or

leisure activity with someone other than their wife/partner, and almost thirty per cent had done so on more than one occasion. For males, domestic labour is clearly a minority activity and leisure practices would appear to be under little constraint for the men in this sample. The extent to which this is indeed the case will, of course, be important in shaping and constructing the nature of the leisure practices available to both males and females on The Heath. In short, if leisure practices are dominated by men, then the shape and structure of those practices will, of course, reflect their own interests. As Green et al point out in their review of previous research,

“A key point that emerges from feminist theories of social control and available empirical data, is the extent to which male social control of women is unexceptional; *it is a part of normal everyday life* [my emphasis] This has clear implications for how, when and where women spend their leisure time and is a major factor in promoting and perpetuating gender inequalities in leisure.” (Green et al., 1990).

Dempsey's research into the social organisation of a sports club in a Sydney suburb illustrates this point. He shows that it is the men's agenda which dominates, leaving women to act in subservient roles as 'servicers' of the men - providing teas and lunches and cleaning and serving in the sports club bar (Dempsey, 1987). In our study women played an essentially similar role for the men's squash team. One requirement of entry into the leagues in which the squash teams played was the provision of a cooked meal after matches. Notably it was invariably the wives of male players who provided these meals, whereas for the women's squash team such meals were always provided by the players themselves - to the extent that certain matches were re-arranged in order to ensure that a meal could be provided. Again Green et al., make the same point,

“Women's housework and childcare responsibilities do not fit neatly into a conventional working day, and many women are almost constantly 'on call', which makes it difficult to plan leisure in advance with any degree of certainty.” (Green et al 1990:25).

Further support for the above can be found in the very way in which access to certain facilities is made available. For example in the use of the squash courts at The Heath's clubhouse a fortnightly timetable, with one week changed on a weekly basis, is used for residents to book squash courts in advance. A complicated system of rules applies to ensure that individuals do not abuse the system by 'overbooking' courts for themselves. In essence these include a mixture of 'prime time' limitations on the booking of courts together with a maximum number of courts that are 'bookable' by individuals in the first few days of a 'new' week. Essentially, in attempting to produce a 'fair' system for all, this system mitigates against female use exactly because women find it more difficult to plan their own leisure because of the nature and demands of domestic labour. Interviews with women about their use of the squash facility invariably produced comments such as,

'it's so difficult to book a court'

'whenever we look to get a court the times that we can make always seem to be booked'

'it's impossible! The men get over there as soon as the booking sheets go up - leave it for a couple of days and you'll find that playing before 10pm is impossible.'

Such comments are reproduced in the statistics on women's use of the clubhouse squash facilities in Table 6.10 below. By contrast the numbers of women who use the swimming pool are considerably higher and show little difference with

that of men's usage. Similar findings were made by Green et al (1987). On this however Green et al (1990), in offering an explanation as to why mothers appear to have more opportunities for sport than childless wives suggest,

“ it may be that much of a mother's physical recreation is not so much independent leisure as family leisure. Given the popularity of swimming, for example, it could be that what we are counting as instances of women's participation in sport may in practice be mothers' opportunities to spend an hour bent double in lukewarm water helping their children to swim!” (Green et al., 1990:68)

Again, the use of The Heath's swimming pool for three hours on Sunday mornings for a children's 'learn to swim classes' may also reflect this state of affairs.

The recreational facilities may therefore be used in such a way that in part, at least, the rules and 'practices of use' (de Certeau, 1984), associated with them come to reflect a gendered definition of appropriate use. Having established such definitional practices the use of these facilities will then come to reflect these definitions (see Chapter 7).

As we discovered in an earlier chapter when we examined leisure and sporting practices and the use of The Heath's clubhouse facilities there are significant differences between respondents. In summarising our discussion of this data (Tables 5.10 and 5.11), we concluded that The Heath's clubhouse facilities were an important defining characteristic and that they helped form and maintain lifestyle distinctions between residents according to their social origins, educational level and occupation. By paying closer attention to female participation we can examine both the differences in men and women's

participation patterns, and, indeed, some of the variation within women's participation itself. Table 6.10 below brings together some of the data examined previously but specifically presented to show these differences.

Table 6.10 The Habitus and aspects of Womens Leisure n=179

social origin & ed capital		attending social activity clubhouse	social event elsewhere with ptr	drink at clubhouse	swim at clubhouse	squash at clubhouse	tennis at clubhouse
All	often	22	25	14	33	17	29
w/c high ed n=28	often	21	17	17	35	26	40
m/c high ed n=28	often	13	26	8	27	12	23
w/c low ed n=49	often	34	13	42	40	9	23
m/c low ed n=74	often	32	43	33	27	9	24

Initially it can be seen from the figures above that the greatest variations between males and females appear to occur in attending the clubhouse for a drink, and in playing squash, rows three and five respectively. The use of the swimming pool and tennis courts do not appear to be differentiated by gender, although a slightly greater percentage of women respondents appear to play tennis. Here it should be remembered that these figures refer to the most frequent users of these facilities, defined in terms of their use/attendance on at least three occasions each month.

However, as in our previous analyses it is perhaps more interesting to consider the differences between women according to their social origins and educational levels. When differences in use and participation with regard to these 'capitals' are examined then further support for the thesis of fragmentation is discovered. With regard to the squash and tennis facilities it is the women of working class origin and the highest educational levels who are the most frequent users of these facilities, whereas it is the women with the lowest educational levels, irrespective of social origin, who are least likely to play tennis or squash, and most likely to attend social activities, and to drink regularly at the clubhouse. When we remember that the structure of the households on The Heath shows considerable homogeneity with regard to the educational levels and social origins of partners (Table 6.1), the above data further supports the fragmentary thesis, suggesting that these divisions also cut across the gendered use of the clubhouse and its recreational facilities.

Conclusion: The social space of gender and the household

Diagram Three like those in the previous chapters provides a representation of the social space of the new middle class with regard to gender and the household. As with our previous analyses the suggestion is one of a developing fragmentation within this new middle class, rather than of homogeneity, and when examined alongside the previous diagrams it suggests a set of homologies which incorporate gendered differences within this fragmentation.

In many ways our analysis of the domestic household on The Heath has revealed little that was not already known from previous research. Broadly the findings with regard to domestic provisioning, gender and domestic labour, together with gender and leisure are similar to previous investigations. Like these earlier investigations both our quantitative and qualitative data reveal that it is primarily women rather than their male partners who plan and manage the day to day work activities in the household, and it is primarily women who accomplish these tasks.

Unlike some of this previous research differences have however been observed with regard to the divisions previously established within our sample, namely, social origin and educational level, and the associated occupations of both males and females. As far as domestic labour is concerned it is in those households with members educated to degree level, irrespective of social origin, who are most likely to share domestic tasks. When we recall the relationship between education and occupation it further suggests that it is primarily amongst professionals that domestic labour is most likely to be shared. Previous research which has examined dual income families such as that of Brannen and Moss, is

further supported by our findings which suggest that it is women who work outside the home who are most likely to share domestic tasks with partners.

Leisure spaces also indicate strong gender differentiation associated with their construction. Features of social life associated with the use of the recreational facilities indicate that The Heath and the new middle classes living there construct social lives in which gender provides an important differentiating characteristic. However in looking at the use of The Heath's clubhouse and sports facilities, again our data suggests that the gendered differentials observed are modified with regard to the social origin, educational level, and occupation of both the respondent and the household in which the respondent is located. Clearly, while much of the use of the clubhouse and sports facilities are associated more with males than females, the relationships discovered earlier are maintained, though to a lesser degree amongst females. In short, although the differences between females are less apparent, they do nevertheless exist. When one remembers the importance of work outside the home in giving women 'the right' to leisure (Deem, 1986), then it is perhaps the status of housewife which accounts for some of the differences observed. Here, however, it should be noted that such a status, is itself a part of the wider fragmentation of the new middle class and can be mapped onto those divisions (Diagram Three).

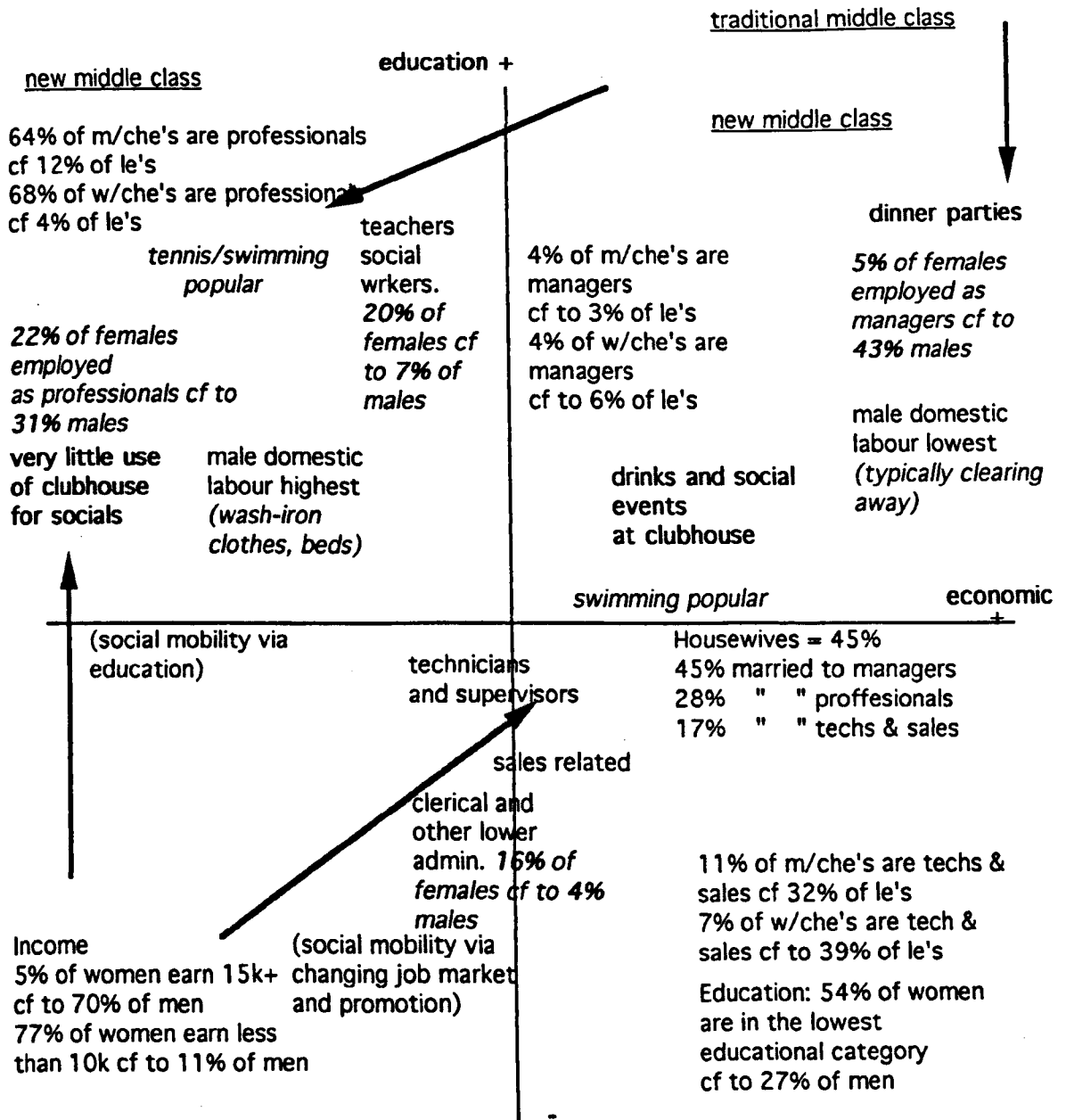
In conclusion then while we have been able to document significant differences in the leisure lifestyles of men and women it must be remembered that such differences impinge upon women quite differently according to, in our analysis, their social origins, educational qualifications and occupations. Such an analysis questions those who would argue a position based on the 'essentiality' of a

'common world of women' associated with some of the feminist researches examined above. As Rojek has recently argued,

“..... there are dangers in accepting the 'common world' view at face value. Much research shows that differences in status, class and type of household affect women's subjective experience of leisure (Glyptis et al. 1987; Bolla et al. 1991).” (Rojek, 1995).

Similarly, the conclusion from examining my own data on women in the new middle class(es), is that while the majority can be seen to operate under similar constraints with regard to domestic labour, and that differences in constraints and opportunities can also be related to occupation, childcare and the life cycle, nevertheless important differences *between* women can be observed. Further, such differences can be seen to relate to the principle concerns of this thesis, namely, the cultural fragmentation and heterogeneity of the new middle class(es).

Diagram Three: The Social Space of Women



Chapter Seven. The Clubhouse.

The clubhouse and other facilities which exist for the exclusive use of residents of The Heath provide for one of the most salient characteristics for understanding the social lives of residents. It is the practices of use and non use of these facilities which distinguishes them from each other and which serves the residents themselves with the material with which to identify each other.

The property development company responsible for The Heath felt that in order to ensure a market for their development, facilities in addition to the houses themselves would be needed. Located as it is in the heart of the Cheshire countryside, features additional to the houses together with the ease of motor way and rail connections were amongst the primary marketing characteristics seen as necessary to attract potential purchasers. The surrounding villages offered little other than solitude, and country walks. Local library facilities were poor, schools relatively small, post offices and local shops were virtually non-existent. Sports facilities, apart from one small tennis club, a golf course, and village playing fields, were also lacking. For the most part, the indigenous local community is best characterised as rural, with a work force closely associated with arable and dairy farming, and sand quarrying. Having said this, it should also be pointed out that a dormitory estate had been developed in one of the two closest villages, some two miles away, and a small country town was able to cater for most of the needs of the surrounding population. Significant centres of population existed to both the East and North West, less than an hour drive away, and many of The Heath's residents were employed, or had businesses in these locations. However, as far as daily life is concerned there is little outside of

The Heath itself to which residents would be attracted. As such, the development of inclusive leisure facilities became a major marketing tool of the property development company. In addition, due to the pressure on amenities and resources provided by the local council, the builder's ideas to provide such self contained leisure facilities helped to ensure the necessary planning permission for the estate. Interviews with the company Chairman and senior employees of the property company also revealed an interest in producing a residential facility similar to those found in parts of North America. The company Chairman, an archetypal self made man, revealed a concern with providing something different from competitors, together with a desire to 'make a statement' for his company. Background research at the initial stages of the investigation revealed the existence of few other developments of this type. What did exist were either much smaller, or approached the far larger developments associated with the 'new town' movement of the London satellites and Milton Keynes. No single private developer had yet attempted to produce a development similar to The Heath, although subsequently several have been developed. Although the marketing materials suggested the creation of a 'traditional village community', initial house purchase prices, and the continued maintenance of their commercial values has ensured that The Heath is available to only the most affluent of first time buyers.

On purchasing a house on The Heath one also contracts shared ownership of the communal facilities, together with a contractual obligation for their upkeep. Payments for this are made on an annual basis either through a single payment or monthly order.

Leisure Practices and Social Identity

Leisure practices are the primary ways in which residents of The Heath mark themselves from one another. They are the primary practices in which the work of 'distinction' is accomplished between different social groups, and the practices by which individuals come to identify with others. However, lest the above suggest a positive flurry of activity by all and sundry, it should be immediately pointed out that non-engagement, just as much as engagement, can be seen as a social practice important to 'distinction'. In addition the 'style' of non-engagement is also important in processes of distinction in the sense that a *disinterested* mode carries a differentiated meaning to a non-engagement based upon a challenged rejection of certain practices. Here we can note an important distinction between the positive boycotting of an event because it does not conform to one's wishes, in contrast to a non-engagement based upon *disinterestedness*. Such differences are immediately apparent in the interview material reproduced below which record responses made to questions about the use of the clubhouse facilities.

I don't believe these facilities should be used by people who are not residents of The Heath - apart from the occasional guest. Yet the very existence of the teams requires this. It's just not right, and certainly not in keeping with idea of exclusive facilities for residents. And of course it means that with these teams it becomes impossible to get a court for the occasional game. There are plenty of tennis clubs in this area for people, just a lack of consideration for other residents.

We have very little to do with the club. We certainly don't play any sports and hardly ever use the bar there. I spend a lot of time traveling, and I'm sure Elizabeth has no need of any of these facilities. We like the countryside and the quiet, but the facilities are irrelevant to us. Most of our friends live elsewhere and when we do get together with friends for dinner or the theatre or whatever ... (going) usually far away from here.

The clubhouse recreational facility available to all residents and charged to each household on an annual basis is the principle site around which distinctions have emerged on The Heath. Originally managed by the property developers, this facility was 'handed' to an elected residents committee approximately three years after the development had begun, at which time some 250 properties were occupied. Prior to this an elected residents committee had acted as 'advisors' to the development company on matters regarding the development and maintenance of the clubhouse and sports facilities. One of these representatives explained his role to me thus;

The trustees ensure that the facilities are maintained adequately, that the landscaped areas are kept up and that the place is generally treated with the respect it deserves - and most people are perfectly accepting of that. We have very few problems with non payers, its not that kind of place is it, after all given the house prices, and the cost of golf club fees nowadays, the fees here are pretty minimal - and remember it includes the whole family. There was one occasion when a group of people attempted to introduce fee paying for using the facilities - their argument was that maintenance would obviously increase the more the facilities were used and therefore the users should pay. Happily their efforts were defeated, although we have introduced fees for use of the lights for tennis and squash.

As others have noted elsewhere (Bracey, 1964; Bell, 1968), the voluntary association has become one of the hallmark characteristics of the middle class, ranging from village clubs and societies to international aid and care organisations, and on The Heath it is voluntary associations that have emerged to take control of the management of the facilities. Essentially these associations have emerged as a way of managing the physical spaces and recreational opportunities provided by the clubhouse. At the same time other associations, primarily associated with child care, hobbies and pastimes have been developed

by residents. To date there are at least six voluntary associations which serve to manage and co-ordinate The Heath's facilities. These include user groups and associations for the following activities; social events committee, squash, tennis, youth club, mother & toddler group, and aerobics.

While participation in each of the above is potentially available to all, it is clear in the development of these groupings that they exhibit considerable powers in defining the social practices which construct the particular activities that they are associated with. Furthermore, such practices serve to identify how certain activities should be undertaken, how the physical and social spaces of the facilities are interrelated, and how inclusion and exclusion of residents in particular groupings is accomplished. As such the incorporation of residents into the various associations, and therefore, their participation in the sports and leisure facilities available, produces a complex web of relationships through which residents identify themselves to others. Further, it is through the development of these associations, known as 'user groups' that 'legitimate' participation is developed. The interview material below relates to the development of the tennis and squash 'user groups' and indicates how the 'legitimizing practices' of such groups have initiated certain conflicts amongst residents, hinted at in the trustee's reference to the introduction of fees for tennis and squash lighting.

when we first moved here very few people played, in fact no one really played tennis, apart from a few people with their children - but it wasn't really playing tennis. Then Helen and I were playing one day and a couple came onto the other court and began to knock up. It was obvious, I'm sure he won't mind me saying this, obvious that he had not really been coached, whereas Jane (his wife) obviously had. It's very easy to tell with tennis whether someone's been coached

- you can even tell when they were coached to the nearest five years or so.... all to do with changes in the game, more top spin and wrist today, less slice. Anyway Jim played a lot of squash and was very fit so his enthusiasm and eye for a ball meant that he could give his wife a reasonable game. We met afterwards in the bar and began talking about how no one used the courts and arranged to play with them. Within a few months Jim's game had improved tremendously and more and more people began to use the courts. By this time three or four others were obviously reasonable players and we began a men's four - every Sunday morning rain or shine and carried it on into the winter. By that time there were two men's fours going and Jim had made some inquiries about a winter league which we joined. After that it just took off and now we have two men's and two women's fours in the leagues, winter and summer. In the beginning you just turned up and played, but now we have a booking system for the courts - copied from the squash really. In fact I think there are as many if not more people playing tennis than there are squash.

The teams have become a bit of an issue over the years because of the lights and the time that they take. Some people argue that the facilities should be available to residents only, but of course when we play league matches the opposition is obviously from elsewhere. The thing is the majority of people here don't play anyway and I don't see why we should have to give up the teams just on the off chance that others might want to use the courts. Before we started no one played at all - it was the same with squash.

The only way this place makes money is through what passes over their (the bar). Without us everyone would be paying more fees, so I don't see why those who play tennis and squash shouldn't pay some extra. Swimming is different, that's for the kids, you know learning to swim and so on. Other things, well you can't charge for everything can you.

The previous chapters have identified different leisure experiences associated with a heterogeneity in the sample discovered in our analysis of social origin, educational background and occupation in Chapter Four. In Diagram One, 'The Social Space of Mobility' it was shown that the occupational structure within the new middle class could be differentiated according to social origin and educational capital. Different 'mobility paths' were identified for both the

traditional working and middle classes which indicated that divisions between managerial and professional workers, technicians and the self employed were apparent. Our developing model also indicated that gender differences and income levels were also associated with these divisions. In chapter five the model was further developed to show some of the recreational and non-work differences between these social groupings (Diagram Two). Of particular interest for this study was the observed differences in the use of the clubhouse facilities. Clearly indicated in this analysis were the differences associated with the use of the clubhouse bar (Drinkers) and participation in social events, and the use of the sports facilities (Sporters). For the most part the former could be identified as being primarily associated with those of working class origins having the least amounts of educational capital, and the latter with those of working class origin having the highest amounts of educational capital. However at the end of chapter five we argued that in addition to the statistical representation what was also required was an analysis of the 'practices of use' associated with these facilities. The statistical observations which have identified the homologies between social origin, educational capital, occupational position, leisure and recreational practices need to be located in the social construction of the everyday lives of our sample if we are to show how these divisions are both structured by and structuring of social position. How is the clubhouse bar and how are the sports facilities used by our identified social groupings in order that these facilities, and their use, become a 'part' of that which allows for (and produces) both the identification of them by others, and allows for (and produces) their own identification practices? In short, how does the legitimate, and legitimating use of these facilities become a part of the habitus of these groupings. In the description and analysis which follows, the case study material

looks at some of the more general features associated with the leisure lifestyles of these groupings and examines their use of the recreational facilities on The Heath.

Observational notes and case study material on the leisure lifestyles of the former grouping, 'drinkers', indicates a series of preferences which Bourdieu finds amongst the French petite bourgeois. This group exhibits a preference for the hotel based family holiday in the Mediterranean or North America at the height of summer; weekends away at country hotels; horse racing; football matches and a minority interest in golf, although this is played by occasional visits to a variety of clubs, rather than by specific club membership. Eating out is a favoured weekend activity, although choice of restaurants is primarily the steak house.

In the home emphasis is placed on comfort and tidiness rather than design, and their homes are furnished with the 'solid' furniture of the established company - heavily upholstered and cushioned, fitted carpeting and 'heavy' curtains. Visits to the theatre or cinema are rare, the video is more popular, but when taken such visits are usually to see the spectacular film, or star vehicle, and theatre visits are to see shows and musicals at venues such as the Palace in Manchester, a favourite venue for promoters of 'West End' productions. With respect to such visits, it is not uncommon for this group to organise themselves into a 'coach party' to attend the latest musical revival, or other 'off The Heath' entertainment. On one occasion I was invited to accompany them on a trip to a Liverpool brewery that had been arranged by someone who worked for a company that had supplied the brewery with electrical fittings. I was under the impression that

the visit would consist of a tour of the company but when we arrived I discovered that the evening consisted of being entertained, free drinks, food and live music, in one of the brewery company's executive suites.

In comparison with some of the leisure activities engaged in by other residents, membership of voluntary associations is very small and none of those I spoke to had ever been invited or expressed a desire to join any of the groups created by other residents, such as the gardening club, or those associated with the sports facilities. In spite of the fact that their children make up many of the members of the young residents club, only two adults were members of the 'help rota' created for the club's supervision.

By contrast, the second grouping, 'sporters', exhibit what Featherstone has termed,

“a learning mode to life....consciously educating [themselves] in the field of taste, style, [and] lifestyle.” (Featherstone, 1987:65).

Their homes are more likely to exhibit style as opposed to comfort. The leather chesterfield or sofa grouping, rather than the three piece suite - the feature coffee table and magazine rack, even the magazines themselves - parquet or tiled flooring, rather than the fitted carpet - component hi fi rather than the 'one piece enclosed system', associated record collections are likely to be of a particular style of music rather than compilations of popular music or established classics. Taste in holidays is for the a la carte, a 'gite' or campsite in France, rather than the tour company construction.

Rather than the 'star vehicle' or 'musical', they are more likely to attend the established or avant garde theatre, associated in Manchester with the Royal Exchange or Cornerhouse. The adoption of a learning mode to their leisure activities can be seen in their attendance at evening centres to take courses such as those offered in foreign languages, musical or artistic appreciation, and games such as Bridge. Other indicators relate to their membership of the voluntary associations that they have been primarily responsible for creating, such as the clubs associated with the sports facilities, the care of children, the swimming, and aerobics clubs.

A Night At The Club: 'Drinkers':

I entered the clubhouse bar at 6.15 pm and found six or seven people stood or 'bar stooled' at the front of the bar, the early evening drinkers stopping off 'for a quick one' on their way home from work. Significantly all are male and included some well known regulars - Kevin, Jonesy, Alec, Neil and Phil.

Phil is an airline steward and was not working today - he had been playing squash with Helen - a regular partner who had left for home after a 'quick drink'. I later discovered that her husband Daniel was playing 'first team squash' away from home, and she felt that she ought to be at home before he left to play.

Tonight Neil, a late thirties business man from southern England, managing director of a plastics moulding company, was bemoaning the difficulties of raising venture capital in the UK compared with the rest of Europe. Neil can be found in the bar on most week day evenings between six and seven pm, sometimes staying until closing time, in which case his wife usually joins him at

around 9.30pm, or he will leave and return with his wife later. Neil's primary use of the facilities on The Heath is his regular drinking in the bar, as it is with the others mentioned above. Although he plays the occasional game of squash such games are relatively infrequent compared to those I would identify as members of the sporting clique. Indeed this is not my categorisation but rather that offered by the 'drinkers' in their own conversations when categorising other residents of The Heath. The conversations moved from one topic to another with apparent ease, and Phil, taking his cue from the mention of other European countries, began describing the problems associated with airline discounting methods, how cheap seats are obtained, which destinations and flight times are most likely to be available, and how they may be taken advantage of. He works for a major airline and regularly flies to all parts of the world spending a considerable amount of time away from home. These trips always seem to produce incidents which he gregariously relates to his drinking friends on his return. He is happy to be defined amongst these as an 'all action male' engaged in a series of escapades associated with his work - expenses paid hotels, duty free goods, 'fake' Rolex watches are made available to his friends in this clique, and when 'home' he can be found in the bar on most evenings. Phil has lived on The Heath for over ten years, and is recognised as one of the stalwarts of the drinking clique. Like other 'scousers' living on The Heath Phil has been one of those instrumental in maintaining certain traditions associated with being a member of the drinking clique, such as the male dominated rituals of pool competitions, Saturday lunch time drinking, or the provision of TV in the bar for major sporting events. Whenever a pool competition is taking place, or a 'book' is run on events such as the Grand National or other famous horse race, Phil, more often than not, will have some involvement with it.

Alec too is strongly identified with this clique, although in a different way. For the clique Alec performs a role as something of a mascot. Guaranteed to regularly have drunk more than he should, to stay in the bar, when, by his own admission he ought to be at home, to be impervious to suggestions that he should be any different than he is, identified as someone always willing to talk, or rather to listen painlessly to what anyone else might wish to talk about. Although Alec does not enjoy either the occupational status or income of some of the drinking clique, these potential difficulties are overcome by the fact that he is somewhat older than most of the others, enjoys a stable family life, and is able to regale the rest with stories of his matriarchal household, run, as he sees it, by his wife and two teenage daughters. He keeps his position in the clique by his longevity, his willingness to defer in argument to others, his legendary drinking activity, and the occasional story of 'hound dog' shopping trips with his family. Nothing is discussed intently and virtually everyone would have something to say about any topic that another mentioned.

It is noticeable that at any time the 'club' door opened heads were turned to discover who might be arriving. Suitable candidates were invited to join the group with appropriate signals, a raised hand or eye contact in recognition and welcome, an exclamation of someone's arrival with comments such as, 'here he comes', or, 'what's kept you?', or an immediate offer with, 'what are you having?'. On some occasions not even such greetings are necessary as it will be obvious to the group of 'drinkers' that this new arrival will join them and his 'drink' will be provided without anyone asking what he would like. In some cases the bar steward's knowledge of the group allows him to participate by simply

serving the drink at the bar and waiting for one of the group to produce the money for payment. From my knowledge of the group I would estimate that such status is conferred on around thirty males.

Anyone entering the bar at this time, known by the group as 'early doors', that they do not consider appropriate company is ignored - the door opens - the group looks - and then averts its gaze. During one typical observation period twelve arrivals were dealt with in this way within an hour.

One way in which the group solidifies relationships is in the collective finishing of drinks and 'the round'. Participants are encouraged to finish their drinks together so that 'the round' is not lost - should one or two be not quite ready then a sign of their collective belonging is to leave the drink 'in the pump' - a drink which has been paid for, but not served. Standing one's round, or being 'in a round' is a feature which allows for and produces collectivity, and at the same time indicates to others not 'in the round' who is and is not excluded. As stated above, this form of entry to the group is not necessary as they will be immediately included in a 'round' as soon as they enter the bar; for others, who exist on the periphery of a group temporary or potential membership can be obtained by appropriate timing in the 'buying of a round'. Indeed potential 'members' are sometimes 'vetted' in this way. On some occasions a recognised drinker may bring a new neighbour or acquaintance to the bar and through the buying of drinks both he and members of the group have the opportunity to 'vet' each other.

Early evening drinking, 'early doors', and Saturday lunch time drinking, as far as this group are concerned, is predominantly a male activity, and only on very few occasions have I observed women present. When this does happen, and it only happens through the presence of a female partner (invariably a spouse) the couple either drink together, somewhat apart from the group, or the group itself moves to the 'poolroom'.

Later in the evenings, after around nine pm, female partners (again invariably spouses), and other less frequent 'drinkers', together with other residents can be found in the bar. For the most frequent male 'drinkers', their female partners can be found sitting at a table together, with the men stood at the bar. Such women rarely buy their own drinks, rather the round, held by the men simply accommodates the women's drinks also. The women themselves only partially relate to the men, and appear to have their own conversations without any obvious reference to that of their partners (husbands). From the conversations I have managed to overhear, fashion, sex, holidays and eating out appear to be the main topics discussed, together with 'bitching' (their word not mine). In separate conversations with these women I was told that 'bitching' or gossip, about topics related to their husbands, neighbours and friends is not seen as a vindictive activity, but rather as a series of petty moans which women share. Indeed concern is only expressed when another woman does not share the same 'petty moans'. This kind of social talk (conversation) rather than being understood as the expression of serious dissatisfaction, appears rather as a form of talk which is produced by and is productive of, the establishment of common identities.

During one observational period in the bar during the middle of the evening, four couples and two 'wives' joined an established 'drinking' group at around nine thirty pm., and stayed until the bar closed. By ten pm this group numbered approximately ten males and six females - all known to each other. Such a number, situated at the edge of the left corner of the bar were unable to share one conversation together and split into one main group of males and females and two single sex groups. For most of the rest of the evening these interconnected groups were joined and left by their members. As this was a Monday evening conversation included the weekend's activity - who had been out with whom, where to, and how much had been drunk. Two couples had been to a restaurant together and they told the others how they had danced with each other during the evening. Another couple had spent a, 'quiet Saturday in', but stressed that this was unusual and that they had found themselves visited by another couple with whom they had 'finished Saturday evening/Sunday morning drinking 'Hine' brandy - stressing the name of the drink to let everyone know that they knew and could afford the best.

In examining the use of the lounge bar in the recreational complex, observation work clearly indicates that it is these 'drinkers' who are predominant in the production of this social space. The group is comprised of both sexes, but is primarily constructed by the practice of 'males only drinking' on returning 'home' from work. As we have seen, this develops shortly after opening at five-thirty pm on weekday evenings when a small but regular number of males enter the lounge bar. Their drinking is done at the bar itself, rather than at one of the tables, a practice which allows for the development of sociability amongst those who drink at this time. Joining a group standing at the bar is more easily

accomplished than taking one's drink over to a table. When any of the tables are in fact occupied this is usually taken as a sign that those at such tables are engaged in conversational projects unsuited to the development of casual group drinking. The tables then, for those involved in these drinking practices, confer the status of privacy for those using them. Conversation at the bar for 'the drinkers' might relate to the nature of the work day experienced, a review or preview of a national sporting event, or conversation around an aspect of recent news. Such conversations however tend not to be discursive, in the sense that varying points of view are expressed. Rather, such conversational work encourages the expression of commonly held beliefs with respect to either working practices, opinions on items of news, or more general confirmatory talk regarding current concerns. This group tends to develop in size until about seven pm after which the men tend to leave for dinner, returning later in the evening with their spouses and partners. By ten pm many have returned and can be seen occupying similar positions at the bar to those they had vacated some two or three hours earlier. Sitting at tables close by are their spouses and partners. This gender segregation appears related to beliefs pertaining to what is deemed proper conversation, and proper drinking practices for the sexes. Drinks are bought for all in turn, but it is invariably the males who are responsible for purchasing these. Implicit in such practices are a set of normative expectations regarding gender roles (see Chapter Six).

For the most part members of this group do not avail themselves of the other recreational facilities of the complex. Most have not played a sport since leaving school and do not make regular use of the sports facilities available, apart from

games of pool in a small room annexed from the bar. Indeed this room is almost the sole preserve of males belonging to this group.

I would suggest that members of this group are a petite bourgeois created from the ranks of the traditional working class whose advancement has occurred without the development of what Bourdieu terms cultural capital. Their position has developed primarily from the economic field, and their leisure practices can be understood as an amplified version of those traditionally associated with the urban working class. Attendance at football matches is still important for some males, although they are more likely to be sitting in season-ticket stands, or the executive boxes owned by companies, rather than the terraces they stood on as children. Other sporting events likely to be visited include golf matches, horse racing, snooker and motor sports events, but such visits are likely to be made via company 'complimentary tickets' rather than as enthusiasts for the particular sport. With respect to such visits to these sporting occasions, being at a sporting occasion is perhaps more important for the status it confers, rather than any intrinsic enjoyment of the sport itself.

The guarded animosity which exists between 'drinkers' and 'sporters' is illustrated in the conduct of the annual raffle for Wimbledon tickets run by the 'tennis section'. Affiliation to the Lawn Tennis Association provides the 'tennis section' with a number of tickets for the Wimbledon Championships, and one way of raising funds to pay for 'match balls' and league affiliation fees is to hold a raffle for these tickets. However in order to raise as large a sum as possible the purchase of such tickets is open to any member of the community. I have been present at two of the annual occasions when the 'draw' for these tickets has

taken place and on both occasions have witnessed scenes of dismay and disgust amongst 'sporters' when the 'finals day' tickets have been won by 'drinkers'.

Muffled comments such as,

'God, would you believe it!'

and,

'They don't deserve them'.

being drowned by shouts of glee as members of the 'drinking' group realise that the 'sporters' have failed to obtain one of the major rewards for their organisational efforts.

However, the leisure practice most visible to other residents is their drinking, which is described by others as turning the bar into a 'working men's' club'. Their preference for standing at the bar, ordering large rounds of drinks at 'last orders', and the sexual segregation practices associated with their drinking are evidenced by others as indicative of their social origins and the kind of people they are seen to be. Such 'drinking practices' ensure a high visibility for this group of regular drinkers. They represent for less frequent and non users 'what the bar is like', in that their domination of both the physical and social space of the lounge bar helps determine how the rest of the population use this facility. Some of the less frequent users have commented that the atmosphere in the bar reminds them of,

'a posh working mens club.'

Others have said that obtaining a drink at the bar is so difficult, because its whole length is always full with the same people,

'why can't they sit at one of the tables and make it easier for everyone?'

Sitting at one of the tables however would present 'the drinkers' with a number of problems. As we have seen this group develops during the course of the evening, beginning when the bar opens at five-thirty pm with male only drinking. At this time men will mainly enter the bar alone, waiting the arrival of other male drinking partners. Standing at the bar not only facilitates the serving of drinks by the steward but also allows for the development of the group via a series of 'recognition practices'. Later in the evening when mixed sex company is the norm, males and females may be separated by the practice of the latter sitting at the nearest table to the bar. It is their utilisation of the bar frontage in this way that allows for, and is part of, their drinking practices.

In response to the views held of them, members of this group claim an authenticity for their actions which they deny to others. Those who don't engage in regular drinking are defined variously as being 'under the thumb', understood as wanting to but not being allowed by family commitments; 'living in hoc' - a reference usually to the size of a mortgage, financial commitments not allowing some to 'enjoy themselves'; or 'miserics' - those who don't use the facilities yet complain about the behaviour of those who do. Such complaints are usually concerned with late drinking, but also with the style of drinking referred to

above. 'The drinkers' do not understand why anyone would buy a house on this estate and not avail themselves of this facility. Those who use the sports facilities but not the bar are seen as not being able to afford the drink that 'everyone needs after playing tennis or squash!'. 'The drinkers' evaluate most 'sporters' as poseurs, recognising a similarity in their working class origins and a realisation of the 'learning mode' in which 'sporters' are engaged, as expressed in such comments as,

'They're just trying to be something they're not'.

For this group then, social position is understood primarily in economic terms. It is constructed through an indulgence in activities associated with having more of the same rather than a reconstruction of lifestyle. The 'signs of arrival' associated with this group are the ability to pay cash rather than live on credit, to 'stand a round' without concerning oneself with the cost, to holiday abroad in a hotel rather than a tent, even if it is pitched for you, and generally to not have to worry about financial matters.

Such expressions are perhaps more embedded in certain aspects of respectable working class, rather than middle class culture. Their achievement has been a respectability by the standards of a working class that is fragmenting, rather than a move into what one might term the new middle class. They look back with satisfaction to their social origins and regularly bring parents to the bar so that they too can be shown the successes of their children. A belief in hard work, and being in the right place at the right time serve for them as an explanation of their material success.

Sporting Practices: 'Sporters':

By contrast, the most frequent users of the sports facilities could, in Bourdieu's terms, be said to relate more to the 'new bourgeois'. The 'signs of arrival' associated with this group are related to how and what one plays, and it is in this sense that I would argue that leisure is becoming increasingly important in the construction of their social position. The high visibility produced by the practices of the regular drinkers is replicated in the practices of the most frequent tennis and squash players. To understand the importance of these sporting practices it is necessary to examine their associated meanings, which as Bourdieu points out, requires an examination of a variety of variables such as,

“how long ago, and how, the sport was learnt, how often it is played, the socially qualified conditions (place, time, facilities, equipment) and how it is played (position in a team, style etc.).” (Bourdieu, 1984:211).

Three areas of investigation help provide an understanding of the sporting practices associated with the playing of tennis and squash. These are; team selection, clothing and equipment, and court management.

The Heath has four tennis teams which play in local tennis leagues. Three of these compete in the summer, two for men and one for women, and a winter team primarily composed of men, but which co-opts women on the relatively few occasions when not enough men are available to play. There are three squash teams, two for men and one for women. Although these numerical differences are understood by residents to reflect the demands they themselves make for competitive play, it is interesting to note that while quantitative data

might support this belief with respect to squash, it does not do so for tennis, where in fact slightly more women than men play on a regular basis.

An indication of the importance of team selection and its role in sociability can be gained from the following conversation that took place in the lounge bar of the recreational facility. I approached three squash players who were standing at the side of the bar opposite to that usually occupied by the 'regular drinkers'. Jon, Ray and Martin were talking about a forthcoming squash match in which Martin was unable to play. When asked why, he replied,

'I've got to be in a dinner jacket by eight-thirty'.

This turned out to be a reference to a business evening in Liverpool that he needed to attend on the same night as the squash match, from which Ray and Jon developed the conversation in terms of business meals they had eaten in various restaurants in the north west, each seemingly vying with the other to recount a story of more exclusivity and greater cost.

The conversation then returned to the forthcoming squash match and in what follows we can gain some insight as to the importance attached to social position and sports ability. Jon, the team captain, informed Ray that he was considering playing him at number three rather than two, his usual position. In effect this was demotion for Ray who appeared 'put out' by this possibility. Jon informed him that Harry was currently playing well enough to beat him at the moment. Shortly after this Harry and his opponent came into the bar, and the following conversation ensued;

Jon: we'll see how Harry got on against Alan
Ray: if he beat him 3-0 then I'll worry
Jon: (to both players) what was the score
Alan: (Harry's opponent) we're not talking about the score
(this was correctly taken to be an indication that he had lost the match.)
Ray: three - love?
(Harry nodded his head in confirmation.)
Ray: hmmm
Jon: (looking at Ray) I told you

Although moving down in the squash team ranking would not pose an immediate threat to Ray's membership of the team and the social scene afforded by such membership, should he find himself left out of matches for a period of time it would undoubtedly affect the quality of his wider social life with respect to the opponents he would then be playing against, and therefore the social group he might find himself associated with. It is certainly the case that two former team tennis players have, through serious injury, not only been unable to play in team matches but have also forfeited attendance at some of the social events associated with the 'tennis clique'.

With respect to the importance of clothing and equipment to the understanding of a sporting practice, in tennis one of the easiest distinctions is made with respect to the racket itself. For this 'new bourgeois' tennis is a recently discovered sport, and evident in the newcomers' approach is an acute awareness of the distinctions associated with the equipment. On 'The Heath' a tennis racket carries with it a symbolic meaning. The old wooden Dunlop Maxply has been almost completely replaced by a variety of mid heads and large heads in an exotic collection of materials ranging from magnesium alloy through fibreglass to carbon graphite. Such rackets carry not only a financial price tag but a

symbolic one too. They allow for a categorisation of the newcomer, even prior to stepping onto the tennis court, allowing distinctions to be made between someone who doesn't really play tennis (the old and cheap, or dug out of the cupboard wooden racket), the beginner (the metal or alloy Prince style large head), and the serious player (the carbon fibre graphite - indicating a financial investment of around £100, and therefore a likely measure of serious intent and ability in the sport itself).

The tennis courts themselves, in addition to providing the physical space in which the game is played, also act as stages on which reputations may be won or lost. Their importance as a symbolic arena can be gauged by one incident involving a 'handicap' tournament for women. Feeling confident of the outcome, two first team players agreed with their 'non-team playing opponents' to play their match off a revised handicap in order to quicken the outcome of the game. This resulted in a slight increase of the handicap, and the non team players duly won the match. The implications of defeat for the first team players were of such importance that after the game confusion reigned as to who had agreed to the revised handicap. Following frantic conversation with the tournament referee, also a first team player, the match was begun again and did not finish until eleven forty-five p.m. By this time the first teamers had secured their expected victory, establishing not only a win, but also what many saw as a 'correctness' in the result! Only those not immersed in the 'tennis playing practices' felt that the eventual winners had cheated.

The estate management, in order to facilitate court use and the maintenance of equipment such as tennis nets, measuring sticks, floodlights and backstop

netting, leave the everyday control of facilities to what are identified as 'user groups'. As such, a number of 'user group committees' have been created, for tennis, squash, 'mother and toddler', 'ladies circle' etc. Therefore effective control over how activities 'get done' resides in large measure with these committees, especially when such committees comprise the most prolific of users, which is certainly the case in the playing of tennis and squash. To the extent that the 'tennis committee' has created a set of practices as to how the game should be played this has had the effect of helping limit participation to those who play the game in this way. Consequently, although on occasion one does see 'rabbits' on court, the condescending phrase of 'those who play properly' used to describe those who don't, it is rare to see them playing at the same time that 'serious' players are on the adjacent court. When this does happen it is likely that the 'rabbits' will terminate their game, with explanatory comments such as,

'We'd spoil their game with our miss hit balls crossing their court all the time'.

Dressed in casual clothing rather than the designer wear of the 'serious' player, such 'casual' players appear intimidated by the arrival of the 'serious' player.

The system used to 'obtain' a tennis court also possesses consequences, particularly for children's use of the facilities. One of the most often voiced criticisms of the children relates to their relatively limited use of the facilities.

'I don't understand why the kids don't play more, they have everything they need here, but instead they just hang around saying they're bored.'

However this is not so surprising when one realises that in order to play a game of tennis, or squash, one needs to write one's name in an appropriate 'time slot'

on the 'booking sheets' located in the recreational centre. During the most popular seasons for these sports, spring and summer for tennis, autumn and winter for squash, this usually means booking at least one week in advance in order to obtain the most popular, early evening playing times. However for children, and the casual player, tennis or squash is not the organised activity that it is for the 'serious' player. As such when children do appear on the courts at these times it is invariably because a court has suddenly become available. On certain occasions when this has happened 'serious' players have entered the recreational centre, crossed out the name of the person who had booked the court but failed to play, and then returned to the court and dismissed the playing children for failing to comply with the rules for booking courts! When younger children do manage to successfully book courts at these times then the impatient 'serious' player will, on occasion, challenge those who they see as not playing the game 'properly'. Not wearing 'correct' clothes or footwear, not keeping score in the prescribed manner, or failing to change ends at the correct times, are reasons which 'serious' players give for challenging children to,

'either play properly or get off the court'.

An understanding of such behaviour would only be a partial understanding if it were to be simply seen as selfish. Attempts have been made by both 'serious' tennis and squash players to introduce children to their respective sports and for a very few children these have been successful in that they have taken up the sport in the manner deemed 'proper' by the 'serious' players. However I would suggest that it is the control of the facility, and the practices which maintain that control, which underlie the distinctions that can be observed with respect to the frequency of the facilities' use. Conversations with occasional players, and with

some of those who do not play at all, indicate the 'seriousness' with which the sports are played as one of the main obstacles which limit their involvement in the activity.

'the courts are always booked by the team players....I'd like to occasionally but its difficult to get a court..... It might be fun but I'd feel such a fool, I can't play properly'

are some of the comments that I have encountered in these conversations.

Conclusion

In conclusion I have attempted to describe the ways in which the recreational facilities are used and organised by residents of The Heath. The suggestion is that the two identified groups, 'drinkers' and 'sporters', can be understood to have their origins broadly within the social groups identified in the previous chapters, and that they engage in quite distinct leisure practices. Although 'drinkers' and 'sporters' share similar socio-economic backgrounds with respect to father's occupation, both their educational experiences and current occupational positions can be differentiated. By employing Bourdieu's concept of habitus and his differentiation between economic and cultural capital, I have attempted to examine the distinctions in the leisure practices of these two fractions of the new middle class, and have argued that such practices can be understood as one of the principal ways in which social position is constructed.

Both groups owe their existence to industrial and economic change in the post war period, and/or to the increase in higher education provision in the 1960s, although such provision has been relatively more important for 'the sporters'. In

moving through the social space both groups have had to be geographically mobile, but such geographical mobility is welcomed for the accompanying social mobility they see as having been attained. Indeed as Bell (1968) comments, such geographical mobility is perhaps a necessary condition of social mobility.

Both, in Featherstone's (1987) terms, could be said to be the perfect consumers although their consumption patterns are very different. 'The drinkers' could be understood as constructing social position based very much on the promise of material success held out to working class youth in the late fifties and early sixties, commented upon by Cohen (1972), albeit in different circumstances, in his analysis of Mod youth culture in the early sixties. They are the working class grammar school kids who 'made it'. Their sense of social position is constructed through a 'looking back' to their social origins. From where they are now - a detached house in the countryside, a company car and a suit for work - these, and their leisure practices become part of a statement which affirms change. However as an affirmation of change, such practices, to be recognised in the parent culture, need to stay the same.

'The sporters' engage in very different leisure practices, and construct social position through the promotion of a particular style of life related to the acquisition of cultural, rather than economic capital. This group, largely college educated, could be said to be searching more for the cultural requirements of middle class-ness such as those associated with an appreciation of culture used in this term's 'high or sacred sense'. As such their construction of social position concerns itself more with what is perceived as the 'correct' form of consumption rather than its amount. Their disposition towards certain leisure activities rather

than others, and more so the practice of such dispositions, lends support to Bourdieu's contention that this class fraction can be seen to promote itself through the acquisition of cultural capital. Rather than a 'looking back', their's is a 'looking forward' - a search to acquire the cultural hallmarks which they associate with a class they see themselves as entering. As such their leisure practices, particularly their involvement with the 'learning mode', are essentially attempts at 'becoming'.

The struggle in the social space between these two fractions is evidenced by the way in which the leisure practices of each subverts the use of the facilities by others. 'The drinkers' have constructed the lounge bar in a way which best accommodates their use, while 'the sporters', through their creation of various competitions and rules associated with the use of the facilities, provide themselves with a series of opportunities to construct what they take to be a 'middle class-ness'. Both have succeeded in eliminating others from effective participation - effective in the sense that these activities are done on the terms of the group which controls the practices of use by which the facilities are used.

What the above points towards is the requirement for an examination of leisure practices, not as appendages to an existent lifestyle, but towards an analysis of leisure seen as part of the construction and affirmation of social position. To observe that people drink and play tennis, or badminton, golf or rugby for that matter, is not enough. Neither is it enough to simply quantify the frequency with which these things are done. A sociology of leisure must locate such leisure practices within a wider social order if it is to explain the nature of the choices

made. The leisure practices outlined above are practices by which these class fractions announce and establish their positions, and they reflect the positions of these class fractions in the changing economy.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion

It has been argued that the sociological debate over the new middle class is one of the most pertinent to understanding the class restructuring currently taking place within British society. In addition we have argued that an examination of the changing cultural practices associated with this restructuring indicate that the new middle class cannot be understood as a single, unified collectivity, but rather must be seen as *essentially* fragmented. However, rather than see such fragmentation as grounded in an existing hierarchy associated with an 'economism' which sees the occupational structure as the locus or orienting thematic from which cultural, taste and leisure preferences are understood, it suggests, following Bourdieu, that such cultural practices and tastes have an economy of their own, associated with occupational position, but not determined by it. Indeed our analysis has suggested that a combination of variables, including social origin, education and gender, act to produce a 'structuring structure', a part of the habitus, in accounting for what has been termed the social spaces of mobility, lifestyle, and gender.

In the case study undertaken we have seen that the majority of households on The Heath can be described as a recently affluent, socially and geographically mobile grouping. For some, their educational qualifications are considerably higher than that of the general population, yet at the same time many have not amassed extensive educational credentials. Even so the occupational positions

and levels of income characterise the households as being materially successful. Predominantly comprised of families with young children, they enjoy a style of life associated with the possession of consumer durables of a consistently high material standard.

In reviewing the setting for this study it is clear that housing tenure is of the highest order. Virtually all are home-owners, with property in the highest priced categories. They are considerably more affluent than the majority of the population, and this affluence is displayed, both in the prices of their homes, and the consumer goods which they enjoy. For many, conspicuous consumption is their hallmark, associated with 'consumer grazing' trips to the three cities which lie less than thirty miles from the estate; Chester, Liverpool and Manchester, as well as those 'southern' townships located in the Cheshire countryside, the 'home' county of the North. They are, in many cases, the 'working class kids' of the fifties and sixties who have, in theirs and their parents words, 'made good' or 'done well for themselves'. They are also 'par excellence' members of what has come to be known as the new middle class.

For the majority of men occupations are predominantly of a professional and/or managerial nature. For women in employment outside the home it is either of a professional nature, for those with the highest educational qualifications, or it is of an administrative or clerical type. As we have seen in our discussion of the structural characteristics of the sample, the new middle class, exemplified by The

Heath's residents, can be seen to have developed from both the traditional middle and working classes, with almost fifty per cent of our sample having their social origins within the traditional working class. For this group educational qualifications alone provide only a partial explanation for their social mobility, obtained through entry into a variety of professions, but most commonly through those associated with the public sector. A larger number of males from working class backgrounds owe their membership of the new middle class to a mobility developed through a series of promotions in the workplace associated with a changing economy in which service industries and new technology have replaced traditional industrial activity, together with the emergence of a white collar middle management. The growth of these new occupations in the latter half of the twentieth century, together with their management and administration, has provided opportunities for relatively high ranges of social mobility, and such conditions have created the 'social space' for the development of the new middle class. In this context it has been shown that social mobility from the working class has been achieved through both educational credentialism, and through promotions and other opportunities associated with an emergent service economy. In examining occupational backgrounds and the relationship between education, social origin and occupation the data indicated that while the majority of professionals are graduates, only one third of managers have degrees. In relating this to social origin, the finding that the highest levels of educational qualification are obtained by 30% of those from working class backgrounds and 40% of those from middle class

backgrounds leads to the suggestion that any cultural cleavage within the new middle class may relate more to educational level and its corresponding effects upon occupational choice, rather than to initial class of origin. The suggestion is that it is educational and other forms of capital, in combination with occupational activity which differentiate within the new middle class. Further, that they are associated with important cultural differences such that they give rise to 'a struggle in the social space' of the new middle classes which can be evidenced in other arenas of their everyday lives.

Our findings on provisioning and leisure in the domestic household have revealed little that was not already known from previous research. It is primarily women rather than their male partners who plan and manage the day to day work activities in the household, and it is primarily women who accomplish these tasks. However observable differences are apparent in the relationship between education and occupation. As far as domestic labour is concerned it is in those households with members educated to degree level and working in professional occupations, irrespective of social origin, who are most likely to share domestic tasks. Similarly, in looking at the use of The Heath's clubhouse and sports facilities, our data suggests that the gendered differentials observed are modified with regard to the social origin, educational level, and occupation of both the respondent and the household in which the respondent is located. In short, although differences between females are less apparent than those between males, they do nevertheless exist. Consequently, while we have been

able to document significant differences in the leisure lifestyles of men and women it must be remembered that such differences impinge upon women quite differently according to their social origins, educational qualifications and occupations. While the majority can be seen to operate under similar constraints with regard to domestic labour, and that differences in constraints and opportunities can also be related to occupation, child care and the life cycle, nevertheless important differences between women can be observed. Further, such differences can be seen to relate to the principle concerns of this thesis, namely, the cultural fragmentation and heterogeneity of the new middle classes.

In our examination of the use of the clubhouse, together with other leisure and recreational activities, it appears that it is those of working class origin who are the prime users of the clubhouse. The bar being primarily associated with those who have the lowest educational levels, and sports with those who have the highest educational levels. The picture presented allows for the construction of what has been termed the social space of lifestyles, suggesting that the structuring characteristics of the habitus - social origin, education, gender, occupation, and previous 'sporting' histories, act in combination to produce differential responses in lifestyle choice. Following Bourdieu, the analysis undertaken suggested that such choices relate to everyday practices in which educational and other capitals operate to differentiate amongst this new middle class. It is in this way that we can see the habitus acting as a structuring structure - making everyday practices the taken for granted preferences - which result in the

differentiations observed in everyday life on the Heath, including the use made, and organisation of, the clubhouse and other recreational facilities. Such a model indicates that the new middle classes exhibit a series of lifestyle choices, structured by, and structuring of, their respective habitus.

However while these observations have been derived by employing a conceptual schema associated with the work of Bourdieu (1984), some of the results obtained place some question as to the convertibility of economic and cultural capital. As Savage et al (1992:101-2) have indicated, the relative importance of credentials in France for both professionals and managerial 'cadres', makes the convertibility of cultural into economic capital an important feature of the French class structure. Indeed it could be argued that such convertibility helps the French bourgeois to retain its homogeneity. However in the analysis undertaken here, and the emphasis placed on a cultural and economic restructuring of the middle class, it has been argued that the new middle classes cannot be understood as a homogenous grouping, precisely because of the different characteristics of those which occupy it. Given our findings pertaining to social origin, education and gender, it is not surprising that we should discover heterogeneity rather than homogeneity in their everyday social practices.

The end of class?

In chapter two we identified a number of themes associated with the established debate on the structural position of the middle class in British society. In essence it was argued that class and the occupational structure were often confused and that a failing of many analyses was to assume that one could simply 'read' class structure from occupational position. Rather it was argued that occupations, together with factors such as their emergence, working conditions, gendered nature, and professionalisation *were themselves* a part of class structuration. This theme was taken further when we criticised those theories of leisure which sought the explanation of contemporary leisure practices in a determinant relationship to type of occupation, or class position. In our examination of the data in chapter four we related our findings of fragmentation to the view that in a society characterised by an emphasis on hedonism and consumption (Bourdieu, 1984:310), leisure practices themselves become important locators of social identity. Such views have recently become associated with a number of authors who have begun to examine the implications of postmodernist theorising for sociological investigation.

Postmodernist claims for 'the end of the social', for the emergence of a world of hyper-reality may indeed have reflected a truth in the observation that 'the centre no longer holds', if, as sociologists, we locate that centre in 'relations to the means of production' (Baudrillard, 1981; Lyotard, 1984). Certainly, this study suggests that the inter-relations between work, leisure, place and class are disappearing.

However this of itself is only a partial story. Divisions around consumption and the social construction of identity may be taking the place of those previously associated with work. As such, new social groups may be being formed around aesthetic and cultural divisions, located in experiences outside of work. Indeed, as Featherstone (1987) has suggested, the new middle class(es), fragments of whom make up this study, may themselves have an interest in promoting such representations in order to promote themselves in the changing class structure of contemporary Britain.

At the same time it should be noted that there has been considerable discussion which has described the new middle class as 'new cultural intermediaries' (Featherstone, 1987 and 1991; Lash & Urry 1987; Lash, 1990; Savage, 1992). The arguments presented by the above run contrary to those of 'conservatism' suggested by Goldthorpe (1987; 1995). Rather their work suggests that a particular class fraction of the new middle class act as 'new cultural intermediaries' and can be seen to be involved in their own promotion, resulting from their emergence in the new 'service economy'. Featherstone's article, *Lifestyle and Consumer Culture* (1987), begins with an analysis of Baudrillard and the claim of postmodernism to signal the 'end of meaning', a move towards a society beyond fixed status groups, producing a proliferation of signs which cannot be ultimately stabilised. Such a move is constructed by Baudrillard's theorisation of the commodity-sign, the stripping of the referent's utility and exchange value, to leave only the sign. For postmodernism, such sign proliferation and instability is seen

to signify the end of any sociological attempt to examine the relations between the signifier and the signified. The modernist task of sociology as a classifying science is denied because the referent is argued to be so unstable, so ever-changing, as to make such a task at best impossible and at worst no longer worthwhile, if what is sought is an explanation of the relationships between sign consumption and their location within the social. However, rather than seeing such sign-consumption as producing the 'death of the social', Featherstone retrieves Baudrillard to suggest that,

"the [post-modernist] proclamation of a *beyond* [the social] is really a *within*, a new move within the intellectual game which takes into account the new circumstances of production of cultural goods, which will itself in turn be greeted as eminently marketable by the cultural intermediaries." (Featherstone, 1987:167).

This retrieval is accomplished by suggesting, a la Bourdieu, that social groups competing for control in particular social fields, use their relative amounts of economic and/or cultural capital accumulated to promote their own symbolic ordering in attempts to control such fields. For the new middle class it is argued that postmodernist cultural productions offer a schema whereby the new cultural producers together with other fractions of the middle class, the cultural intermediaries and 'service' professionals, combine to promote their own cultural and economic productions in order to establish their position in a changing social world,

"..... which judges people by their capacity for consumption, their 'standard of living', their lifestyle, as much as by their capacity for production." (Bourdieu, 1984:310).

As we indicated above (pp75-6) Lash and Urry (1987), Lash (1990) and Savage et al (1992) share this view that certain fractions within the new middle class act as new cultural intermediaries - promoters and interpreters of postmodern culture.

More recently it has been suggested that the social, economic and cultural changes witnessed in recent years have penetrated and restructured society much more fundamentally. As such, while fractions of the new middle class might be understood as the interpreters of such change, nevertheless the conditions wrought by such change have permeated all levels of the social structure (Wynne and O'Connor, 1992 and 1995; O'Connor and Wynne, 1993). It is here that we would argue that processes of cultural commodification have had a destabilising effect on the very nature of the cultural and the individuals relationship to it. Rather than a view of consumer culture as being solely concerned with the purchase and display of consumer durables, its full impact has to be understood in all its forms. These include the very making of culture itself, the legitimisation practices that it produces, together with its aesthetics. As such consumer culture or commodity culture provides, like other cultural forms, the means by which social structure is mediated to and by individuals. Consumer culture, like other cultures, provides the 'stuff' that allows for such mediation. Further we would argue that such a changed relationship casts some

doubt on the contemporary relevance of Bourdieu's original project in *Distinction*. This enterprise, the initial empirical work for which was undertaken some twenty-five years ago, was developed prior to those changes in the occupational structure reported by Goldthorpe (1981). In addition, as Bourdieu himself suggests in the preface, it may well be that the conditions pertaining in the French social structure are somewhat different to those pertaining elsewhere.

Consequently, we may make two points of departure from Bourdieu's thesis. First, that relating to the differences between French and British society, and second that relating to the temporal passage between the 1960s and the late 1980s and early 1990s. We have already suggested that our observations regarding distinctions in social mobility paths for the 'credentialed' and 'non-credentialed' create difficulties with Bourdieu's model (Chapter Four). Our second point of departure is related to this current discussion of the nature of contemporary culture. Bourdieu's work is concerned with an *economy of cultural practices* related to a hierarchical social order. However, given the argument developed above, if a *new cultural economy* is emerging, based on hedonism and enjoyment (Bourdieu, 1984:310) then to what extent may new cultural forms and productions challenge existing ones? To the extent that they do offer such a challenge then we can speak of a new middle class not as attempting to acquire the hallmarks of a traditional middle class, a la Bourdieu, but rather modifying and replacing such hallmarks through the promotion and creation of their own.

Further, to the extent that the social and economic changes referred to above have penetrated the whole of the social structure then Bourdieu's whole schema is threatened - the society in which cultural propriety is associated with an established cultural hierarchy engaged in a particular set of cultural practices which it has made its own disappears (or is challenged) by new cultural practices associated with the commodification of cultural forms which threatens the established economy of cultural practices. Under these conditions such a threat is not solely a preserve of the new middle classes, but rather a more pervasive form of cultural change which has been witnessed throughout western society and may have its roots in the post war world, and emergent throughout the latter half of this century. If we consider this scenario, then what has been described as 'the postmodern condition' (Lyotard, 1984) can be understood as having penetrated contemporary society generally, rather than just a certain class fraction of the new middle class. In this context, while postmodernism may have been taken up by a class fraction of cultural intermediaries, we still need to consider the conditions under which this class fraction has emerged, and the extent to which a postmodern culture may be said to have become a cultural dominant. Here the work of Bernice Martin (1981 and 1991) offers a persuasive argument in wedding cultural change to the social and economic conditions experienced by the post war generation. In *A Sociology of Contemporary Cultural Change* Martin argues that the 'counter culture' of the 1960s,

"was an index to a whole new cultural style, a set of values, assumptions and ways of living By the mid-1970s many things which had seemed traumatic, shocking, revolutionary in the previous decade had been incorporated into mainstream culture..... If it ever was truly a *counter* culture it had certainly ceased to be so by the mid-1970s because its most characteristic methods and messages had been appropriated by mainstream culture." (Martin, 1981:15-16).

We would argue that such changes have resulted in the destabilisation of cultural hierarchies and taste distinctions such that the social practice of distinction, and the resultant social edifice it helps to reproduce, is itself made problematic. As a result, social identities may no longer be 'read' from class or occupational position, but rather exist as a combination of individual choices made available by these destabilising processes. Such choices may not only be discovered in the bricolage of consumer goods, but also in,

"all the underpinning patterns of taste, modes of feeling, styles of understanding - including self-understanding - and presentation of identity which are involved in lifestyle construction." (Martin, 1991:22).

This 'individualisation' of the social has primarily been associated with the work of Ulrich Beck (1992:127-139). Essentially Beck argues that contemporary society, characterised by 'reflexive modernity' (Giddens, 1991), *requires* the individual to choose, precisely because of the commodification processes referred to above. For Beck,

"Individualisation means market dependency in all dimensions of living". (Beck, 1992:132).

The thesis of 'individualisation' is developed in part two of *Risk Society* (1992). Here Beck argues that the very processes involved in the rationalising project of modernity, contain the seeds of an increasing individualisation of the social. Through an examination of modernity's 'history' Beck argues that the 'causes' of increasing individualisation - reflexive modernity - can be seen in the following historical processes. First, the gradual disappearance of the traditional working class 'community'. Second, the transferal of what were traditionally 'family responsibilities' to the state, and therefore through the development of state welfare. Third, the destandardisation of labour, or what, in part, Lash and Urry (1987) have termed, 'disorganised capitalism'. Through such 'individualising' processes Beck argues that,

'The Individual himself or herself becomes the reproduction unit for the social in the life world..... Biographies too, are becoming reflexive. People with the same income level, or put in an old-fashioned way, within the same "class", can or even must choose between different lifestyles, subcultures, social ties and identities..... Individualisation of life situations and processes thus means that biographies become self-reflexive Under those conditions of a reflexive biography, "society" must be individually manipulated as a "variable" '. (Beck 1992: 130-1).

It has been argued that to understand the pertinence of this debate we need to examine the patterns of social mobility which have occurred in the latter half of this century, together with a recognition of the changing labour market and the social mobility experienced by significant numbers of what can be described as the traditional working class. As Goldthorpe (1987) has pointed out, such social mobility has

been considerable, particularly so for the generation born during and at the end of World War II.

In addition, the new occupations created by technological change, the decline of primary manufacturing and the extractive industries, together with the increase in non-manual, service sector work, has seen the emergence of large numbers of white collar workers. The geographical re-location of such work has also helped to bring about a decline in the strength of the relationship between class, occupation and residential location, and this too has contributed to the decline in traditional working class communities. The associated emergence of developments such as The Heath, located in the 'new countryside', outside of both the city and traditional suburbia, has also ensured a weakening of the relationship between work, community and place.

As such, it has been argued that these processes of 'individualisation', (Beck, 1992) have resulted in a reorientation of social and community life. No longer is it possible to conveniently 'read off' or locate leisure practices as integral and inter-related to work practices. Alongside the disappearance of traditional communities wedded to and formulated by work, by place and by social practice, we have, and are continuing to witness the emergence of new 'places' like The Heath, where this tri-lateral relationship no longer exists. When work 'places' are often situated some twenty miles from 'home', and when the defining characteristics of occupations are no longer so easily identifiable in working practices, then, it is argued, alternative practices, outside and

separate from work practices will come to play an increasingly significant role in the construction of social identity.

This study has suggested that it is leisure practices, rather than work practices, which are most pertinent in understanding the social divisions which exist within this new middle class. While a homogeneity of sorts might still be presented through statistical correlations of occupation, income, and residence, suggestive of a homogenous social grouping, close examination of leisure practices, together with a Bourdian analysis of cultural and economic capital, reveals significant differences which serve to fragment rather than solidify this new middle class. When these findings are allied to recent theoretical work on the cultural significance of the new middle class, and the suggestion that it is consumption rather than production through which social identities are increasingly formed, then many of the esoteric concerns of those living on The Heath - concerns relating to their dinner party invitations, or their positions on the squash or tennis ladders, may, on reflection, appear less esoteric or obtuse than first thought.

Bibliography

- Abercrombie, N. & J. Urry 1983 *Capital, labour and the middle classes*. London: Allen & Unwin.
- Allen, J. And D. Massey (eds) 1988 *The Economy In Question*. London: Sage.
- Anderson, B. 1983 *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso.
- Bagguely, P. 1992. Social Change, the middle class and the emergence of "new social movements": a critical analysis. *Sociological Review* 40, 26-48
- Bagguely, P., J. Mark-Lawson, D. Shapiro, J. Urry, S. Walby, A. Warde 1990. *Restructuring: place, class and gender*. London: Sage.
- Bauman, Z. 1987. *Legislators and interpreters: on modernity, post-modernity and the intellectuals*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bauman, Z. 1991. *Intimations of postmodernity*. London: Routledge.
- Beail, N. 1983; 'Father involvement in pregnancy, birth, and early parenthood' PhD Thesis, London University Institute of Education.
- Beauregard, S. 1986. 'The Chaos and Complexity of Gentrification' in Smith, N & P. Williams (eds) *The Gentrification of the City*. London: Allen & Unwin
- Beck, U. 1992. *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity* London: Sage
- Bell, C. 1968. *Middle class families: social and geographical mobility*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Bell, C. and H. Newby 1971 *Community Studies*. London: George Allen and Unwin.
- Bell, C. and S. Encel (eds) 1978 *inside the whale: ten personal accounts of social research*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Bell, D. 1974. *The coming of post industrial society*. New York: Basic Books.
- Bell, D. 1976 *The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism*. London: Heinemann.

- Berger, B. 1969 *Working Class Suburb*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Berger, P. 1966 *Invitation to Sociology*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- Berger, P. and T. Luckmann 1971 *The Social Construction of Reality*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- Berger, P., B. Berger and H. Kellner 1974 *The Homeless Mind*. Harmondsworth: Pelican Books.
- Berking, H & S. Neckel 1993 'Urban Marathon: The staging of individuality as an urban event' *Theory, Culture and Society* _Vol.10.
- Berman, M. 1983 *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air* London: Verso.
- Berman, M. 1992. 'Why Modernism Still Matters' in Lash, S & J. Friedman, (eds.) *Modernity and Identity*. Oxford: Blackwell
- Betz, H. 1992 'Postmodernism and the New Middle Class' *Theory, Culture and Society* Vol. 9.
- Bianchini, F. & M. Parkinson (eds.) 1994. *Cultural Policy and Urban Regeneration*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Bianchini, F. & H. Schwengel 1991. 'Re-imagining the City' in Corner, J & S. Harvey, (eds.) *Enterprise and Heritage*. London: Routledge.
- Bonner, F. & Du Gay, P. 1992 'Representing The Enterprising Self: *thirtysomething* and Contemporary Consumer Culture' *Theory, Culture and Society* vol 9.
- Bonner, F. and P. du Gay 1992 *thirtysomething* and Contemporary Consumer Culture: Distinctiveness and Distinction' in R. Burrows and C. Marsh (eds) *Consumption and Class*. London: Macmillan.
- Bottomore, T. 1965. *Classes in Modern Society*. London: George Allen & Unwin
- Bourdieu, P. and J. Passeron 1977. *Reproduction In Education, Society and Culture*. London: Sage.
- Bourdieu, P. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Bourdieu, P. 1984. *Distinction: a Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Bourdieu, P. 1985 'The social space and the genesis of groups', *Theory and Society* 14: 723-744.
- Bracey, H. 1964 *Neighbours: On New Estates and Subdivisions in England and U.S.A.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Bramham, P. and J. Spink 1994 'Leisure and the Postmodern City' in I. Henry, (ed) *Leisure: Modernity, Postmodernity and Lifestyles*. The Leisure Studies Association, Chelsea School Research Centre, University of Brighton.
- Brannen, J. and P. Moss 1991 *Managing Mothers: Dual earner households after maternity leave*. London: Unwin Hyman.
- Braverman, H. 1974. *Labour and Monopoly Capital: the Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Breen, R. and D. Rottman 1995 'Class Analysis and Class Theory' *Sociology* vol. 29 No.3:453-473.
- Brubaker, R. 1985 'Rethinking Classical Theory', *Theory and Society* (14):745-775.
- Bryson, L. and F. Thompson 1978 'Reflections on An Australian Newtown' in, *inside the whale: ten personal accounts of social research*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Burris, V. 1986 'The discovery of the new middle class', *Theory and Society* 15: 317-349.
- Burrows, R. and C. Marsh (eds) 1992 *Consumption and Class*. London: Macmillan.
- Burrows, R. and C. Marsh 1992 'Consumption, Class and Contemporary Sociology' in R. Burrows and C. Marsh (eds) *Consumption and Class*. London: Macmillan.
- Butler, T. & M. Savage (eds.) 1995 *Social Change and the Middle Classes*. London: UCL Press.

- Calhoun, C., E. Lipuma and M. Postone 1993 *Bourdieu: Critical Perspectives*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Chambers, I. 1990 *Border Dialogues*. London: Routledge.
- Clarke, J and C. Critcher 1985 *The Devil Makes Work*. London: Macmillan.
- Clarke, J., Modgil, C. and Modgil, S. (eds) 1990 *John H. Goldthorpe: Consensus and Controversy*. London: Falmer.
- Cohen, P. 1972 'Subcultural Conflict and Working Class Community' in *Working Papers in Cultural Studies*, 2. Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham.
- Cooke, P. 1988 'Modernity, Postmodernity and the City' in *Theory Culture and Society* 5(2-3).
- Corrigan, P. and D. Sayer 1985. *The Great Arch*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Crane, D. 1992 *The Production of Culture*. London: Sage.
- Crompton, R. 1989 'Class theory and gender.' *British Journal of Sociology* 40 (4), 565-87.
- Crompton, R. 1990 'Goldthorpe and Marxist theories of historical development', in Clarke, J., Modgil, C. and Modgil, S. (eds) *John H. Goldthorpe: Consensus and Controversy*. London: Falmer.
- Crompton, R. 1992. 'Patterns of social consciousness amongst the middle classes' in *Consumption and Class* R. Burrows and C. Marsh (eds.), 140-65. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Crompton, R. 1993. *Class and Stratification: an introduction to current debates*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Crompton, R. 1995. 'Women's employment and the "middle class". In *Social Change and the Middle Classes*. T. Butler and M. Savage (eds.), 58-75. London: UCL Press.
- Dawe, A. 1970 'The Two Sociologies' *British Journal of Sociology* Vol. 21:207-218.
- De Certeau, M. 1984. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- De Grazia, S. 1962. *Of Time, Work and Leisure*. New York: Twentieth Century Fund.
- Deem, R. 1986 *All Work and No Play?* Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Dempsey, K. 1988 'Mens Leisure, Women's Leisure: An Australian Case Study Of Appropriation And Exclusion'. Paper presented at Leisure Studies Association 2nd International Conference: June/July. University of Sussex.
- Dennis, N., Henriques, F., and Slaughter, C. 1969 *Coal Is Our Life*. London: Tavistock.
- Devine, F. 1992 'Social identity, class identity and political perspectives' *Sociological Review* 40: 229-252.
- Devine, F. 1992 *Affluent Workers Revisited: Privatism and the Working Class*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Dickens, P. 1988 *One Nation? Social Change and the Politics of Locality*. London: Pluto.
- Dumazadier, J. 1974 *Sociology of Leisure*. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Durkheim, E. 1964 *The Division of Labour in Society*. New York: Free Press.
- Edgell, S. 1980 *Middle Class Couples*. London: George Allen and Unwin.
- Edgell, S. and V. Duke 1991 *A measure of Thatcherism: a sociology of Britain*. London: HarperCollins.
- Edgell, S. 1993 *Class*. London: Routledge.
- Ehrenreich, B. 1989 *Fear of Falling: The Inner Life of the Middle Class*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Elliot, B., D. McCrone and F. Bechhofer 1988 'Anxieties and ambitions: the *petit bourgeoisie* and the New Right in Britain' in D. Rose (ed) *Social Stratification and Economic Change*. London: Hutchinson.
- Emmison, M. and M. Western 1990 'Social Class and Social Identity: A Comment On Marshall *et al.* *Sociology* Vol. 24:241-253.

- Entwistle, D. R. and S. G. Doering 1980 *The First Birth*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
- Epstein, A. L. (ed) 1967 *The Craft of Social Anthropology*. London: Tavistock Publications.
- Featherstone, M. 1987 'Lifestyle and Consumer Culture'. In E. Meijer (ed.), *Everyday Life: Leisure and Culture*. Department of Leisure Studies, University of Tilburg, The Netherlands.
- Featherstone, M. 1991 *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism* London: Sage.
- Gans, H. J. 1962 *The Urban Villagers*. New York: Free Press.
- Giddens, A. 1973 *The Class Structure of the Advanced Societies*. London: Hutchinson.
- Giddens, A., and D. Held (eds.), 1982 *Classes, Power, and Conflict*. London: Macmillan.
- Giddens, A. 1984 *The Constitution of Society*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Giddens, A. 1987 *Social Theory and Modern Sociology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Giddens, A. 1990 *The Consequences of Modernity*. Oxford: Polity.
- Giddens, A. 1991 *Modernity and Self Identity: self and society in the late modern age*. Oxford: Polity.
- Gilroy, P. 1987 *Ain't No Black in the Union Jack*. London: Routledge.
- Glyptis, S., McInnes, H., and Patmore, A. 1987 *Leisure and the Home*. London: Sports Council/ESRC.
- Goffman, E. 1969 *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. London: Allen Lane.
- Goldthorpe, J. H., D. Lockwood, F. Bechhofer, J. Platt 1969 *The Affluent Worker in the Class Structure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Goldthorpe, J. H. and K. Hope 1974 *The Social Grading of Occupations*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- Goldthorpe, J. H. 1982 'On the service class, its formation and future' in A. Giddens and G. MacKenzie (eds) *Social Class and the Division of Labour*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Goldthorpe, J. H. 1983 'Women and class analysis: in defence of the conventional view', *Sociology* 17: 465-88.
- Goldthorpe, J. H. 1984 'Women and class analysis: a reply to the replies', *Sociology* 18: 491-9
- Goldthorpe, J. H. 1987 *Social Mobility and Class Structure In Modern Britain*. 2nd Edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Goldthorpe, J. H. 1988 'Intellectuals and the working class in modern Britain' in D. Rose (ed) *Social Stratification and Economic Change*. London: Hutchinson.
- Goldthorpe, J. H. and G. Marshall 1992 'The Promising Future of Class Analysis: a response to Recent Critiques' *Sociology* Vol.26:381-400.
- Goldthorpe, J. H. 1995 'The Service Class Revisited', in T. Butler and M. Savage *Social Change and the Middle Classes*. London: UCL Press.
- Goode, W. J. 1970 *World Revolution and Family Patterns*. London: Collier-Macmillan.
- Gorz, A. 1980 *Farewell To The Working Class*. London: Pluto.
- Graham, H. and L. Mckee 1979 *The First Months of Motherhood*, Report on a Health Education Council Project concerned with women's experience of pregnancy, childbirth and the first six months after birth, Mimeographed report: University of York.
- Gramsci, A. 1971 *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Green, E., S. Hebron and D. Woodward 1987 'Women's leisure, constraints and opportunities' Leisure Studies Association paper. Eastbourne: Leisure Studies Association.
- Green, E., S. Hebron and D. Woodward 1990 *Women's Leisure, What Leisure?* Basingstoke: Macmillan Education.

- D. Gregory and J. Urry (eds) 1985 *Social Relations and Spatial Structures*. London: Macmillan.
- Griffen, C. 1985 *Typical Girls?* London: Routledge.
- Hakim, C. 1987 *Research Design*. London: Routledge.
- Hall, J. 1990 'Bourdieu, Cultural Capital, and Cultural Theories of Stratification: A Revisionist Critique', mimeograph, Department of Sociology, University of California, Davis, CA.
- Hall, S. and T. Jefferson (eds) 1975 *Resistance through Rituals*. London: Hutchinson.
- Hall, S. and M. Jacques (eds) 1989 *New Times*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Hammond, J & Williams, P (1988), 'Yuppies' in Public Opinion Quarterly 50
- Hamnett, C., L. McDowell and P. Sarre 1989 *The Changing Social Structure*. London: Sage.
- Hargreaves, J. 1986 *Sport, Power and Culture*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Harvey, D. 1989 *The Condition of Postmodernity*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Hatt, P. K. and A. J. Reiss, Jr. (eds) 1963 *Cities and Society* New York: Free Press.
- Hebdige, D. 1979 *Subculture*. London: Methuen.
- Hebdige, D. 1987 *Cut 'n' Mix*. London: Comedia.
- Hebdige, D. 1988 *Hiding In The Light*. London: Comedia.
- Henry, I. 1993 *The Politics of Leisure Policy*. London: Macmillan.
- Henry, I. (ed) 1994 *Leisure: Modernity, Postmodernity and Lifestyles*. The Leisure Studies Association, Chelsea School Research Centre, University of Brighton.
- Hewison, R. 1987 *The Heritage Industry*. London: Methuen.

- Hochschild, A. 1989 *The Second Shift: Working Parents and the Revolution at Home*. New York: Viking Penguin.
- Hoggart, R. 1958 *The Uses of Literacy*. Harmondsworth: Pelican Books.
- Holton, R. and B. Turner 1994 'Debate and Pseudo-Debate in Class Analysis: Some Unpromising Aspects of Goldthorpe and Marshall's Defence' *Sociology* vol. 28 No.3:799-804.
- Hunt, P. 1980 *Gender and Class Consciousness*. London: Macmillan.
- Jager, M. 1986 'Victoriana in Melbourne' in Smith, N & Williams, P (eds) *The Gentrification of the City* London: Allen & Unwin.
- Jenkins, R. 1983 *Lads, Citizens And Ordinary Kids*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Jenkins, R. 1992 *Pierre Bourdieu*. London: Routledge.
- Jones, S. 1986 *Workers At Play*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Keat, R. and J. Urry 1982 *Social Theory as Science* (2nd edn). London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Kellner, D. 1992 'Popular culture and the construction of postmodern identities' in S. Lash and J. Friedman (eds) *Modernity and Identity*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Kellner, H. and F. Heuberger, (eds). 1991 *Hidden Technocrats: the New Class and the New Capitalism* New York: Transaction Press.
- Kelly, J. 1983 *Leisure Identities and Interactions*. London: George Allen and Unwin.
- Kerr, M. 1958 *The People of Ship Street*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Kriesi, H. 1989 'New Social Movements and the New Class in the Netherlands' *American Journal of Sociology* Vol.94: 1078-1116.
- Lamont, M. 1990 'The Refined, the Virtuous, and the Prosperous: Exploring Symbolic Boundaries in the French and American Upper-Middle Class', paper presented at the 85th. meetings of the American Sociological Association, Washington D.C.

Lamont, M. 1992 *Money, Morals and Manners: The Culture of the French and of the Upper American Middle Class*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lash, S. and J. Urry 1987 *The End of Organised Capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity.

Lash, S. 1990 *Sociology of Postmodernism*. London: Routledge.

Lash, S. and J. Urry 1994 *Economies of Signs and Spaces*. London: Sage.

Lee, D. J. 1994 'Class As A Social Fact' *Sociology* vol. 24: 397-415.

Martin, B. 1981 *A Sociology of Contemporary Cultural Change* Oxford: Blackwell.

Martin, B. 1991 'Qualitative Market Research In Britain: A Profession on the Frontiers of Postmodernity' in Kellner, H & Heubeger, F (eds) (1991) *Hidden Technocrats: the New Class and the New Capitalism* New York: Transaction Press.

Marshall, G., H. Newby, D. Rose and C. Vogler, 1988 *Social Class In Modern Britain*. London: Hutchinson.

McNall, S. G., R. F. Levine, R. Fantasia 1991 *Bringing Class Back In*. New York: Westview Press.

Meijer (ed) 1987 *Everyday Life: Leisure and Culture*. Department of Leisure Studies, University of Tilburg, The Netherlands.

Miller, S. M. 1961 'Comparative Social Mobility', *Current Sociology* vol. ix.

Mitchell, J. C. 1967 'On Quantification in Social Anthropology' in Epstein, A. L. (ed) *The Craft of Social Anthropology*. London: Tavistock Publications.

Moorhouse, H. 1989 'Models of Work, Models of Leisure' in C. Rojek *Leisure for Leisure*. London: Macmillan.

Mort, F. 1989 'The Politics of Consumption' in Hall, S. and M. Jacques (eds) *New Times*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Moser, C.A. and G. Kalton 1971 *Survey Methods in Social Investigation*. London: Heinemann Educational Books.

- Moss, P., G. Bolland, and R. Foxman 1987 'The division of household work during the transition to parenthood', *Journal of Reproductive and Infant Psychology* Vol. 5.
- Murphy, R. 1986 'Weberian closure theory: a contribution to the ongoing assessment' *The British Journal of Sociology* vol.37: 21-41.
- Newby, H. 1979 *Green and Pleasant Land*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Newson, J. and E. Newson 1963 *Infant Care in the Urban Community*. London: Allen and Unwin.
- Oakley, A. 1974 *The Sociology of Housework*. Oxford: Martin Robertson.
- O'Connor, J. And D. Wynne 1991 'The Uses and Abuses of Popular Culture' *Loisier et Societe* Vol 14 No 2:465-482.
- O'Connor, J. and D. Wynne 1993 'From The Margins To The Centre'. Working Papers In Popular Cultural Studies No. 7. Manchester Institute for Popular Culture, Manchester Metropolitan University.
- O'Connor, J. and D. Wynne 1996 'Left Loafing' in O'Connor, J. and D. Wynne (eds) 1996 *From The Margins To The Centre*. Aldershot: Arena.
- Pahl, J. M. and R. Pahl 1971 *Managers and Their Wives*. London: Allen Lane.
- Pahl, R. 1984 *Divisions of Labour*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Pahl, R. and C. D. Wallace 1988 'Neither angels in marble nor rebels in red: privatization and working-class consciousness' in D. Rose (ed) *Social Stratification and Economic Change*. London: Hutchinson.
- Park, R. E. 1952 *Human Communities: the city and human ecology*. New York: Free Press.
- Parker, S. 1983 *Leisure and Work*. London: George Allen & Unwin.
- Parkin, F. 1979 *The Marxist Theory of Class: A Bourgeois Critique*. London: Tavistock.
- Parsons, T. 1952 *The Social System*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

- Payne, G. 1987 *Mobility and Change in Modern Societies*. London: Methuen.
- Payne, G. 1992 'Competing Views of Contemporary Social Mobility and Social Divisions' in R. Burrows and C. Marsh (eds) *Consumption and Class*. London: Macmillan.
- Przeworski, A. 1985 *Capitalism and Social Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Relph, E. 1976 *Place and Placelessness*. London: Pion.
- Richards, M. P., J. F. Dunn and B. Antonis 1977 'Caretaking in the first year of life' *Child: Care, Health and Development* Vol. 3.
- Roberts, K., J. Cooke, A. Clarke, E. Semeonoff 1977 *The Fragmentary Class Structure*. London: Heinemann.
- Roberts, K. 1978 *Contemporary society and the growth of leisure*. London: Longman.
- Roberts, K. 1980 *Leisure* (2nd. edition). London: Longman.
- Rojek, C. 1985 *Capitalism and Leisure Theory*. London: Tavistock.
- Rojek, C. 1994 'Leisure and the Dreamworld of Modernity' in I. Henry, (ed) *Leisure: Modernity, Postmodernity and Lifestyles*. The Leisure Studies Association, Chelsea School Research Centre, University of Brighton.
- Rojek, C. 1995 *Decentring Leisure*. London: Sage.
- Rose, D. 1984 'Rethinking Gentrification: Beyond the Uneven Development of Marxist Urban Theory' in Environment and Planning D: Society and Space 1: 47-74
- Rose, D. (ed) 1988 *Social Stratification and Economic Change*. London: Hutchinson.
- Rupp, J. 1992 'How mass is popular culture? Inconsistencies in Pierre Bourdieu's cultural capital theory', Mimeograph, The Amsterdam School For Social Research, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands.
- Russell, G. 1983 *The Changing Role of Fathers*. St. Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press.

- Saunders, P. 1986 *Social Theory and the Urban Question* (2nd. edition). London: Hutchinson.
- Saunders, P. 1990 *Social Class and Stratification*. London: Tavistock.
- Savage, M., J. Barlow, P. Dickens, T. Fielding 1992 *Property, Bureaucracy and Culture: middle class formation in contemporary Britain*. London: Routledge.
- Savage, M., P. Watt and S. Arber 1992 'Social Class, Consumption Divisions and Housing Mobility' in R. Burrows and C. Marsh (eds) *Consumption and Class*. London: Macmillan.
- Schulze, G. 1993 *Die Erlebnisgesellschaft: Kultursoziologie der Gegenwart* Frankfurt: Campus Verlag.
- Scott, J. 1994 'Class Analysis: Back To The Future' *Sociology* vol.28: 933-942.
- Seeley, J. R., R. A. Sim and E. W. Loosley 1963 *Crestwood Heights*. New York: Wiley.
- Sharpe, S. 1984 *Double Identity: The lives of working mothers*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Shields, R. 1991 *Places on the Margin* London: Routledge.
- Shields, R. 1992 'A truant Proximity: Presence and Absence in the Space of Modernity' Environment and Planning D: Society and Space 10
- Shields, R. (ed) 1992 *Lifestyle Shopping* London: Routledge.
- Simmel, G. 1963 'The Metropolis and Mental Life' in P. K. Hatt and A. J. Reiss, Jr. (eds) *Cities and Society* New York: Free Press.
- Smart, B. 1993 *Postmodernity*. London: Routledge.
- Smith, N. and P. Williams (eds) 1986 *The Gentrification of the City* London: Allen & Unwin.
- Smith, N. 1987 'Of Yuppies and Housing: Gentrification, Social Restructuring and the Urban Dream' in Environment and Planning D: Society and Space 5

- Stedman-Jones, G. 1983 *Languages of Class*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sulkunen, 1992 *The European New Middle Class*. Aldershot: Avebury.
- Thompson, E.P. 1963 *The Making of the English Working Class*. London: Gollancz.
- Thrift, N. 1987 'The geography of late twentieth century class formation', in N. Thrift and P. Williams (eds), *Class and Space*. London: Routledge.
- Thrift, N. 1989 'Images of Social Change' in C. Hamnett, L. McDowell and P. Sarre (eds) *The Changing Social Structure*. London: Sage.
- Thrift, N. 1993 'An Urban Impasse?' *Theory, Culture and Society* 10.
- Toffler, A. 1970 *Future Shock*. New York: Random House.
- Tomlinson, A. (ed) 1990 *Consumption, Identity and Style: Marketing, meanings and the packaging of pleasure*. London: Routledge.
- Touraine, A. 1971 *The Post-Industrial Society*. New York: Random House.
- Turner, V. 1969 *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* London: Allen Lane.
- Urry, J. 1981 *The Anatomy of Class Societies: the economy, civil society and the state*. London: Macmillan.
- Urry, J. 1985 'Social relations, space and time' in D. Gregory and J. Urry (eds) *Social Relations and Spatial Structures*. London: Macmillan.
- van der Poel, H. 1994 'The Modularisation of Daily Life' in I. Henry, (ed) *Leisure: Modernity, Postmodernity and Lifestyles*. The Leisure Studies Association, Chelsea School Research Centre, University of Brighton.
- Veblen, T. 1970 *The Theory of The Leisure Class*. London: Allen & Unwin.
- Vidich, A. J. and J. Bensman 1968 *Small Town in Mass Society: Class, Power and Religion in a Rural Community*. Revised Edition. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Wacquant, L. 1988 'From ideology to symbolic violence: Class, Culture and Consciousness in Marx and Bourdieu', mimeograph, Department of Sociology, The University of Chicago, Chicago.

Wacquant, L. 1991 'Making class: the middle class(es) in social theory and social structure' in S. G. McNall, R. F. Levine, R. Fantasia *Bringing Class Back In*. New York: Westview Press.

Walvin, J. 1978 *Leisure and Society 1830-1950*. London: Longman

Warde, A. 1992 'Notes on the Relationship between Production and Consumption' in R. Burrows and C. Marsh (eds) *Consumption and Class*. London: Macmillan.

Warde, A. 1994 'Consumption, Identity-Formation And Uncertainty' *Sociology* vol:28:877-898.

Watson, W. 1964 'Social Mobility and Social Class in Industrial Communities' in M. Gluckman and E. Devons (eds) *Closed Systems and Open Minds*. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd.

Weber, M. 1949 *The Methodology of the Social Sciences*. New York: Free Press.

Weber, M. 1964 *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. New York: Free Press

Whimster, S. 1992 'Yuppies: A Keyword of the 1980s' in Budd, L and S. Whimster (eds) *Global Finance and Urban Living*. London: Sage.

Whyte, W. F. 1943 *Street Corner Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Whyte, W. H. 1956 *The Organization Man*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Wild, R. 1978 'The background to Bradstow' in C. Bell and S. Encel (eds) *inside the whale; ten personal accounts of social research*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Williams, W. M. 1956 *The Sociology of an English Village: Gosforth*. London: Routledge.

Wirth, L. 1963 'Urbanism as a way of life' in P. K. Hatt and A. J. Reiss, Jr. (eds) *Cities and Society* New York: Free Press.

Wynne, D. 1990 'Leisure, lifestyle and the construction of social position', *Leisure Studies* 9, 21-34.

Wynne, D. (Ed) 1992 *The Culture Industry*. Aldershot: Avebury.

Wynne, D. and J. O'Connor 1992 'Tourists, Hamburgers and Street Musicians' in R. Reichardt and G. Muskens (eds) *Post-communism, the market and the arts: first sociological assessments*. Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Peter Lang.

Wynne, D., J. O'Connor, and D. Phillips 1995 'City cultures and the new cultural intermediaries' BSA Annual Conference, Leicester University. Forthcoming 1996 OPINIAO PUBLICA Vol. IV. No.1.

Young, M. and P. Willmott 1960 *Family and Class in a London Suburb*. London: Routledge.

Zukin, S. 1988 *Loft Living: culture and capital in urban change*. London: Radius.

Zukin, S. 1987 'Gentrification' Annual Review of Sociology.

Zukin, S. 1988 'The Postmodern Debate over Urban Form' *Theory, Culture and Society* 5(2-3).

Zukin, S. 1992 'Postmodern Urban Landscapes: Mapping Culture and Power' in S. Lash, and J. Freidman (eds) *Modernity and Identity* Oxford: Blackwell.

Zukin, S (1992), *Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disneyworld* University of California Press: Berkeley.

Zweig, F. 1961 *The Worker in an Affluent Society*. London: Heinemann.

Appendix One

Questionnaire	234
Codebook	248
Data Transformations	249

The Delamere Park Community Survey

A research programme supported by Salvesen Homes

Community Survey Unit
Department of Social Science
Cavendish Building
Manchester Polytechnic
Manchester
061-228 6171 Ex 2734/5

Dear Occupier

As you are no doubt aware Delamere Park has won a number of awards for its landscape design, architecture, and unique provision of recreational facilities.

Salvesen Homes, formerly Whelmar, are helping to fund research which is concerned with examining the patterns of recreation and community life of Delamere Park.

We very much hope that you will be able to help by completing the enclosed questionnaire, which is being sent to every household on Delamere Park. *The questionnaire is completely anonymous, please do not indicate your name or address.* It will be used for no other purpose than as part of a statistical analysis of this and other communities that the research is investigating.

Most of the questions simply involve a (✓) in an appropriate box and the questionnaire should not take you long to complete.

The questionnaire will be collected by our research assistant in approximately seven days time.

Your help will be gratefully appreciated.

Yours sincerely

D.J. Bennett

The Delamere Park Community Survey

Your assistance in completing this survey will be appreciated.

please tick appropriate box

1. Is this the only home you have had on Delamere Park? yes
no

2. Do you think of your home here as relatively permanent, or do you expect to move in the future? relatively permanent
expect to move
don't know

3. Have you done, or had done, any major improvement to your house, (eg extension for study, bedroom, utility, playroom). yes
no
if yes could you indicate what this improvement was

4. Do you own, or rent, a video recorder? yes
no

5. Do you have a computer in the home? yes
no

6. Do you have one or more items of major expenditure that you associate with your leisure? (ie boat, second home, caravan etc). yes
no

7. How long have you lived on Delamere Park?

8. Where did you live before moving to Delamere Park? (please state town and county, country if not in UK).

9. What are the occupations of your two closest friends?
1
2

Thank you for your co-operation

The Delamere Park Community Survey

Your assistance in completing this survey will be appreciated.

10. Have you had a summer vacation in the past twelve months?

yes

no

if yes, did you go abroad for this vacation?

yes

no

11. Do you have any pets?

yes

if yes, what kind(s)?

no

.....

12. Have you had a winter vacation in the past twelve months?

yes

no

if yes, did you go abroad for this vacation?

yes

no

13. How often do you attend household parties with friends on Delamere Park? (eg cocktail parties, dancing to records etc).

once every 2 weeks, or more often

once every 6 weeks

once every 3 months

less than the above

14. Do your two closest friends live on Delamere Park?

yes

no

one does; one doesn't

15. How many times have you moved house in the last ten years?

.....

16. How many televisions are there in your home?

.....

Thank you for your co-operation

The Delamere Park Community Survey

Your assistance in completing this survey will be appreciated.

17. How many friends do you have in Cuddington/
Sandiway village?

- none
- a few
- some
- many

18. How friendly are you with your two closest
neighbours?

- 1st neighbour - barely
- moderately
- very
- 2nd neighbour - barely
- moderately
- very

19. How many friends have you made since
moving to Delamere Park?

- a few
- some
- many

20. Of your current friends are they,

- mostly from Delamere Park
- mostly from Cuddington/Sandiway
- mostly from work, or spouses work
- elsewhere

21. How many motor cars are there in your
household?

22. What are the occupations of your two
closest neighbours?
(if you do not know please answer
not known)

- 1st neighbour
-
- 2nd neighbour
-

Thank you for your co-operation

The Delamere Park Community Survey

Your assistance in completing this survey will be appreciated.

23. How often do you entertain friends at home, (for occasions such as, meals, cocktails, parties, dancing to records).
- once every 2 weeks or more
 - once every 6 weeks
 - once every 3 months
 - less than the above

24. How many friends did you make in the area in which you lived before moving to Delamere Park?
- a few
 - some
 - many

25. Do you have children?
- if no please move to the bottom of the page*
- yes
 - no

26. How old were your children at their last birthday? (please indicate their sex with either F for female or M for Male, ie 19 yrs F; 13 yrs F; 10 yrs M).
-
-
-

27. How many of your children attend private school as day pupils?

28. How many attend boarding school?

29. How many attend University/Polytechnic

Some of the questions that follow require separate questions for husbands and wives, males and females. Husbands should answer (✓) in the boxes marked H; wives in the boxes marked W. Single persons, and unmarried couples, should answer (✓) in the box appropriate to their sex (ie H for males; W for females).

Thank you for your co-operation

The Delamere Park Community Survey

Your assistance in completing this survey will be appreciated.

30. How do you feel about the financial contributions that each household makes to the upkeep of the clubhouse, the employment of staff, and maintenance of buildings and amenity lands?

Do you feel that,

	H	W
each household should pay the same amount	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
people should pay for the facilities that they use	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
the clubhouse and facilities should be sold to private enterprise and run as that enterprise thinks fit.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

31. Approximately how many times in a month do you engage in the following activities:

Number of times per month

	Summer		Winter	
	H	W	H	W
(a) Playing squash at the Clubhouse	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(b) Playing tennis at the Clubhouse	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(c) Swimming at the Clubhouse	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(d) Sauna at the Clubhouse	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(e) Keeping fit at the Clubhouse (inc jogging)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(f) Doing any of the above at <u>another club</u> (please state activity(s) engaged in)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

H

W

(g) Any other activity (please name below) that you would define as Sport/Keeping fit	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
---	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

H

W

32. Did you participate in organised sports as a child? (other than compulsory PE at school)

	H	W
yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
no	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

if yes, what sports were these

H

W

Thank you for your co-operation

The Delamere Park Community Survey

Your assistance in completing this survey will be appreciated.

33. If yes, do you participate in any of the same sports now?
- | | | |
|-----|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| | H | W |
| yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| no | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

What sports are these

H

W

34. Do you participate now, in any sports which you have only regularly taken up since leaving school, or full-time education?
- | | | |
|-----|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| | H | W |
| yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| no | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

If yes, which sports?

H

W

35. Do you engage in any sports on a regular basis (other than those provided at the Delamere Park Clubhouse facility)?
- | | | |
|-----|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| | H | W |
| yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| no | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

If yes, what sports are these?

H

W

36. Did you engage in any sports before moving to Delamere Park which you no longer engage in?
- | | | |
|-----|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| | H | W |
| yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| no | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

If yes, what sports were these?

H

W

37. Are you a member of any sports club not associated with Delamere Park, and are you a regular user or member of that/those clubs?
- | | | |
|-----|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| | H | W |
| yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| no | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

38. Do you play Squash at the Clubhouse,
- | | | |
|--------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| | H | W |
| often | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| occasionally | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| rarely | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| not at all | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Thank you for your co-operation

The Delamere Park Community Survey

Your assistance in completing this survey will be appreciated.

39. Do you play tennis at the Clubhouse facility,

	H	W
often	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
occasionally	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
rarely	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

40. Do you swim at the Clubhouse,

	H	W
often	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
occasionally	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
rarely	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

41. Do you Sauna at the Clubhouse,

	H	W
often	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
occasionally	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
rarely	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

42. Do you drink in the Clubhouse bar,

	H	W
often	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
occasionally	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
rarely	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

43. Do you know where your nearest sports centre is?

	H	W
yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
no	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

44. Do you attend this sports centre regularly?

	H	W
yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
no	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

45. Do you attend social events at the Clubhouse,

	H	W
often	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
occasionally	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
rarely	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Thank you for your co-operation

The Delamere Park Community Survey

Your assistance in completing this survey will be appreciated.

46. The following is a list of some of the clubs and activities that exist on Delamere Park. Three lists are provided, two for adults, the other for children. Would you please

- (i) Strike a line through any that you have not previously heard of
- (ii) Add any that you are a member of, but do not appear on the list
- (iii) Put a tick (✓) against any that you belong to
- (iv) Put a (X) against any that you hold, or have held, office in
- (v) The third list is for any children that you may have. Please indicate with a tick (✓) whether they participate in any of the activities or attend any of the clubs.

<u>HUSBAND/MALES</u>	<u>WIFE/FEMALES</u>	<u>CHILDREN</u>
Playschool	Playshool	Playschool
Cubs/scouts	Cubs/scouts	Youth club
Youth club	Youth club	Cubs/scouts
Whist drives	Whist drives	Judo
Aerobics	Aerobics	Squash
Squash	Squash	Tennis
Tennis	Tennis	
Baby sitting	Baby sitting	
Social committee	Social committee	

47. How often do you go to the Clubhouse other than for a 'drink'?

	H	W
more than 3 times a week	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
more than 2 time a week	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
about once a week	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
about once a month	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
less than once a month	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

48. Are there any leisure facilities or activities not provided on Delamere Park that you would like to see provided?

	H	W
yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
no	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

If yes, what activities are these? H

W

Have you tried to do anything about the provision of these activities? H

W

Thank you for your co-operation

The Delamere Park Community Survey

Your assistance in completing this survey will be appreciated.

49. Have you been involved in the actual creation of a group, or in the provision of activities, that did not exist prior to your moving onto Delamere Park?

	H	W
yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
no	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

50. Below is a list of leisure activities and hobbies. Please indicate which, if any, you engage in on a regular basis for enjoyment as opposed to 'chore'. Husbands and males should indicate by placing a (✓) alongside the activity(s) concerned. Wives and females should indicate by placing a (X). You may indicate as many activities as you wish:

LIST

- | | | |
|--|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <i>fishing</i> | <i>embroidery/knitting</i> | <i>rambling</i> |
| <i>drama</i> | <i>cooking</i> | <i>collecting (stamps, coins etc)</i> |
| <i>pleasure rides in car</i> | <i>gardening</i> | <i>voluntary work</i> |
| <i>cinema</i> | <i>DIY</i> | |
| <i>theatre</i> | <i>reading</i> | |
| <i>club membership such as rotary or foresters</i> | <i>music (listening)</i> | |
| | <i>" (playing)</i> | |

51. Please indicate any other leisure activities not listed above in which you engage on a regular basis

H

W

52. Which two of the above activities would you be most reluctant to give up?

.....

.....

53. Please indicate any leisure activities that you no longer engage in since moving onto Delamere Park?

H

W

Thank you for your co-operation

The Delamere Park Community Survey

Your assistance in completing this survey will be appreciated.

54. Are you a member of a Public Library?

	H	W
yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
no	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

55. How often do you, and your spouse/partner if applicable, visit:-

*friends on Delamere Park:
(excluding work colleagues)*

<i>rarely</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>occasionally</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>often</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>

*friends off Delamere Park:
(excluding work colleagues)*

<i>rarely</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>occasionally</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>often</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>

work colleagues

<i>rarely</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>occasionally</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>often</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>

56. When you go out, with your spouse/partner if applicable, is this most likely to be:-

Please tick one

<i>to the Delamere Park clubhouse for a drink or social occasion</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>for a drink, but not at the clubhouse</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>to a social occasion, but not at the clubhouse</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>to the cinema or theatre</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>

57. Since moving to Delamere Park do you, and your spouse/partner if applicable, go out:-

<i>more frequently</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>less frequently</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>about the same</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>

if more frequently is this because of the clubhouse facility?

<i>yes</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>no</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>don't know</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Thank you for your co-operation

The Delamere Park Community Survey

Your assistance in completing this survey will be appreciated.

58. Are you currently employed outside the home
(please indicate p/t if part-time)

	H	W
yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
no	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

59. If yes, how many miles away from Delamere
Park is your work?

H
W

60. What is your main mode of transport
to work?

H
W

61. How long, to the nearest 15 minutes,
does it take for you to get to work?

H
W

62. Do you feel that you live a long way
from your work?

	H	W
yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
no	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

63. What is your occupation?
(passport description will suffice)

H
W

64. Are you self-employed?

	H	W
yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
no	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

65. What was your father's main occupation?

H
W

66. What age were you when you left
full-time education?

H
W

Thank you for your co-operation

The Delamere Park Community Survey

Your assistance in completing this survey will be appreciated.

67. Please tick the highest educational qualification obtained

	H	W
None	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
School Certificate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
O Levels	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ONC/OND or equivalent	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
A Levels	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HNC/HND or equivalent	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Degree or Teaching Certificate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Higher Degree	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

68. Would you please (✓) the box that approximates your income.

	H	W
Under £10,000	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
£10 - 14,999	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
£15 - 19,999	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
£20 - 24,999	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
£25 - 29,000	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
over £30,000	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

70. Where were you born, and what is your age?
(please state town and county, country if not UK)

H

W

71. Do you regard the Delamere Park Clubhouse and its facilities as a good idea?

	H	W
yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
no	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

72. Which of the following statements best describes how you feel about living on Delamere Park?

	H	W
I like it very much	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I quite like it	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I don't like it that much	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I don't like it at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Its much the same as anywhere else	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Thank you for your co-operation

The Delamere Park Community Survey

Your assistance in completing this survey will be appreciated.

FOR LADIES ONLY

1. How often do other women drop in on you during the day?

hardly ever

occasionally

often

2. In the last seven days how many times has your husband or partner (if applicable)

Number of Times

made a meal for the family _____

'cleared away' after a meal _____

washed clothes for the family _____

done general housework _____

'gone out' in the evening for 2 hours or more _____

played a sport or engaged in a leisure activity with someone other than yourself or children _____

ironed clothes _____

made beds _____

3. Would you say that the answers you have given above were typical of your husband/partners 'housework' performance?

yes

no

If no to question six, does he typically do more or less

more

less

4. Some ladies do not participate in sports either because they cannot find the time, or they do not enjoy participating. If you do not regularly participate in sport or physical recreation can you say why?

.....

Thank you for your co-operation

Questionnaire Codebook

Question numbers and variable names:

1 onlyhome **2** staying **3** improver **3b** himprove **4** video
5 computer **6** leisure£ **7** reside **8** preresid **9** foccup
9b fdoccupa/fdoccupb **10** sumhols **10b** sabroad **11**pet **11b** pets **12**
winhols **12b**wabroad **13** gooutdp **14** firends **15** homemove
16 tv **17** friendsc **18** neighba **18b** neighbb **19** mfriends
20 rfriends **21** car **22** noccup **22b** ndoccupa/ndoccupb
23 enthome **24** hfriends **25** kids **26a** numkids **26b** mkids
26c fkids **26d** unde2r **26e** unde5r **26f** unde11r **26g** unde16r
26h unde19r **26i** ove19r **27** pschool **28** bschool **29** unipoly
30 contribh/contribw
31a clubsqsh/clubsqsw/clubsqwh/clubsqww
31b ctensh/ctensw/ctenwh/ctenww
31c cswimsh/cswimsw/cswimwh/cswimww
31d csaunsh/csaunsw/csaunwh/csaunww
31e cfitsh/cfitsw/cfitwh/cfitww
31f oclubsh/oclubsw/oclubwh/oclubww
31f(i) ocsportsh/ocsportw
31g osporth/osportsw/osporthwh/osporthww
31g(i) osporth/osporthw **32** sportkh/sportkw
32b skoolsh/skoolsw **33** ssportsh/ssportw
33b samesh/samesw **34** snssh/snssw **34b** nusportsh/nusportw
35 sndph/sndpw **35b** rsportsh/rsportw **36** sbdph/sbdpw
36b lsportsh/lsportw **37** scmotdph/scmotdpw **38** sach/sacw
39 tach/tacw **40** swach/swacw **41**saach/saacw **42** dach/dacw
43 lonsch/lonscw **44** dyatsch/dyatscw **45** asech/asecw **46** vah/vaw **47**acotdh/acotdw

48 oladph/oladpw
48b vanewh/vaneww **48c** vadoneh/vadonew
49 cladph/cladpw **50** hobby1h/hobby2h/hobby1w/hobby2w
51 ohobbyh/ohobbyw **52** guphobh/guphobw
53 nmhobh/nmhobw **54** mplh/mplw **55a** vfondp **55b** vfoffdp **55c** vwc **56**
 gooutwsp **57a** fgoout **57b** fgooutch
58 emph/empw (workh/workw??) **59** wmilesh/wmilesw
60 travelh/travelw **61** timeh/timew **62** dyllwfw/h/dyllwfw
63 yoccuph/yoccupw **64** selfemph/selfempw
65 poccuph/poccupw **66** feduch/feducw **67** edqualh/edqualw **68** incomeh/incomew
69 there is no question sixtynine **70a** yageh/ybirthh **70b** yagew/ybirthw
71 dpcgoodh/dpcgoodw **72** lodpokh/lodpokw
women only
1 womvisit **2a** hmeal **2b** hclear **2c** hwash **2d** hhwork **2e** hout **2f** hsportva **2g** hiron
2h hbeds **3a** ans2t **3b** morl **4** nosportw

Data Transformations

The occupational codings used were based on the Hope-Goldthorpe 'thirty six point' scale of occupational ranking (see above Table 3.1) The original table appears in Goldthorpe and Hope, 1974:134-143. An extended discussion and review of the construction of the scale is contained in both Goldthorpe and Hope (1974) and Goldthorpe (1987). Changes to the scale, made for logistical rather than epistemological reasons, were as follows:

5 changed to retired

21 sales reps

38 unemployed

45 as in 5 of Hope-Goldthorpe scale

49 as in 9 of H-G scale

37 Housewife (self categorised by respondent)

Occupation	Males n=217	Females n=224	Fathers n=195
1 Self-employed professionals	1.4	0.9	1.6
2 Salaried professionals (higher grade)	21.7	0.4	11.2
3 Administrators and Officials (higher grade)	18.4	1.8	5.5
4 Industrial Managers	8.3	0.9	
45 Administrators and Officials (lower grade)	0.5		2.9
6 Technicians (higher grade)	5.1	0.4	3.2
7 Large Proprietors			
8 Industrial/Business Managers (small)	14.7	0.4	6.0
49 Self-employed professionals (lower grade)		0.4	1.6
10 Salaried Professionals (lower grade)	7.4	20.1	6.5
11 Farmers and farm Managers	0.5		2.3
12 Supervisors of non-manual employees		0.9	0.5
13 Small Proprietors	1.4	0.9	5.5
14 Managers: services and small admin units	1.8	1.8	2.9
15 Technicians (lower grade)	1.4		5.8
16 Supervisors of non-manual employs (lwr grd)	0.9		1.0
17 Supervisors of manual employees (higher grade)	0.5		2.3
18 Skilled Manual (higher grade)			4.2
19 Self-Employed Workers (higher grade)		0.4	3.4
20 Supervisors of manual workers	0.5		1.6
21 Clerical Workers, Cashiers, Sales Reps	3.7	16.1	6.7
22 Skilled Manual Workers (intermediate grade)	0.5	0.4	2.1

23 Skilled Manual Construction			5.1
24 Smallholders - no employees			0.5
25 Cooks, Stewards, Hairdressers	1.4	0.4	0.5
26 Semi-Skilled Manufacturing		0.4	0.8
27 Skilled Manual in transport			2.3
28 Shop Sales and assistants		1.8	0.5
29 Taxi drivers, Carriers, Cafe Owners	0.5	0.9	0.5
30 Skilled Manual (lower grade)	0.5		3.4
31 Agricultural Workers			1.6
32 Semi-Skilled Manual, Construction/Extractiv			
33 Semi-Skilled Manual, Transport			4.2
34 Caretakers, guards, doormen		1.8	1.1
35 Unskilled Manual general labourers		0.4	2.9
36 Self-Employed (lower grade, street vendors			
37 Housewives		44.6	
38 Unemployed	0.5		
5 Retired	7.8	3.6	

The scale was modified for ease of analysis into a five point scale reflecting the frequency distributions obtained in the initial analysis, along with the theoretical claims made in the thesis. After an initial frequencies run the occupational variables, question sixty three, were recoded into five categories as follows:

(1,2,10,49=1) - professionals

(3,4,8,14,46=2) - senior - middle management private sector

(6,11,12,13,15 thru 35, 42,45,50=3) technicians, skilled manual and supervisors)

(5,38=4) unemployed and retired

(37,70=5) housewives

Occupation Recoded	Males n=217	Females n=224
Professionals	31.3	21.8
Management (private sector)	43.3	04.9
Technicians, Supervisors & Clerical	17.1	25.1
Unemployed and Retired	08.3	03.6
Housewives		44.6

Parents occupations, question sixty five, were recoded as follows:

(1 thru 3 = 1); (6,8,10,11,45,49=2); (12 thru 16=3); (17 thru 35=4)

Fathers Occupation Recoded	percentage n=192
1 Professionals and Senior Managers	18.5
2 Administrative, Middle Managers and Officials	22.6
3 Technicians, Small Proprietors and Supervisors	15.2
4 Manual Workers	43.7

The 'educational qualification' variables, question sixty seven, were recoded into three categories as follows:

(1 thru 3 =1) (4 thru 6 =2) (7,8 =3) 1= low, 2=medium 3=high

Education	Males n=214	Females n=215
1 None	06.5	14.4
2 School Certificate	09.8	10.2
3 O levels	10.7	29.3
4 ONC	07.0	02.3
5 A levels	05.1	09.3
6 HNC	17.3	
7 Degree	29.4	27.4
8 Higher Degree/Prof Qual	14.0	02.3

Education Recoded	Males n=214	Females n=215
1 low	27.1	54.0
2 medium	29.4	16.3
3 high	43.5	29.8

The income variable, question sixty eight, was recoded into three categories as follows:

(1=1); (2,3=2); (4,5,6=3): 1 is low 2 is medium 3 is high

Income	Males n=196	Females n=130
1 Under £10000	10.7	76.9
2 £10-14999	19.9	17.7
3 £15-19999	30.1	00.8
4 £20-24999	18.4	02.3
5 £25-29999	08.2	01.5
6 Over £30000	12.2	00.8

Income Recoded	Males n=196	Females n=130
1 Low	10.8	76.9
2 Medium	50.3	18.5
3 High	39.0	4.6

Bourdieu: Capital and Habitus

To employ Bourdieu's concepts of the capitals and habitus, data transformations were made to combine the social origin and education variables of respondents to show how these relate in combination. This new variable was constructed by combining social origin (father's occupation) with the educational level of respondents. Social origin was dichotomised into 1'working class' (fathers in supervisory manual and manual occupations) and 2'middle class'. Education level was dichotomised in to 'high' (degree level and higher) and 'low' (sub-degree level). The construction of this variable produces a four fold classification associated with social origin and educational level; 1'working class/low education', 2'working class/high education', 3'middle class/low education, 4'middle class/high education'. In combining the variables in this

way we are able to provide for two of the *principle* 'structuring' features of the habitus, while recognising, of course, that the concept of the habitus itself, cannot be solely reduced to these variables.

Social Origin/ Educational Level	percentage
w/c 'low' education n=48	26
w/c 'high' education n=32	19
m/c 'low' education n=53	28
m/c 'high' education n=50	27

Appendix Two

From The Margins To The Centre

'From The Margins to the Centre' was originally published as a *Working Paper In Popular Cultural Studies* No.7 1993. Manchester Institute for Popular Culture, Manchester Metropolitan University.

This published version of the paper appears as 'Left Loafing' in:

O'Connor, J. and Wynne, D. (eds) 1996 *From The Margins To The Centre: Cultural Production and Consumption in the PostIndustrial City*. pp 49-89. Aldershot: Arena. ISBN 1 85742 333 1

City Cultures and the New Cultural Intermediaries

A paper with the same title was presented at the British Sociological Association Annual Conference in April, 1995, University of Leicester.

The paper is published in *OPINIAO PUBLICA* Vol. IV No.1 1996 ISSN 0104-6276

From The Margins To The Centre

by

Justin O'Connor and Derek Wynne

In this chapter we will examine the claims that any transformation towards the 'postmodern city' can be tied to the operations of a designate class or class fraction who, more than any other social group, are concerned with the promotion of a 'postmodern lifestyle'. We will draw on our empirical research(1) in order to do two things. Firstly, to argue that some of the claims made about 'gentrification' and the social groups involved are mostly over generalized, and that any characterization of this process must acknowledge the local context in these 'global transformations'. Secondly, to suggest that the attempt to tie the emergence of postmodern lifestyles to the distinction strategies of a particular class fraction may need to be seriously modified.

Landscapes and the counter-culture

Gentrification, which was increasingly commentated on in the 1970s, carries the sense of a 'return' to the centre by the middle classes, but by a new fraction within this 'middle class' who are seen to be 'on the rise' and hence often 'new'; it also involves a sense of displacement of lower social groups. We describe gentrification as the 're-centralization' of areas that had lapsed into marginality. This implies a shift in power based on the economic, but also cultural power.

The economic explanation usually revolves around a notion of 'rent gap'. The gradual move out of the city by industry, followed by residents and offices, causes an undervaluing of the centre. The potential value remains, because of its centrality and the historic/aesthetic buildings in which capital was still tied. As rent and prices fall below this potential value capital moves back in. It has been argued that the withdrawal from industrial production in the late 1970s coupled with the undervaluation of the city centre meant that development capital began to pour into the centre, producing new buildings and a general rise in rents.

Gentrification was seen to be part of this cycle. The return was an economic move by an 'enterprising' middle class ready to defend their self-refurbished new homesteads in the midst of hostile social groups, ultimately to recoup their investments when social and economic 'health' returned to the centre.

However this direct economic argument cannot stand alone. Why should centrality be important, why did its value suddenly emerge as **undervalued**? Arguments centre on the revived symbolic importance of centrality for an increasingly globalized financial capital, now severed from a connection to specific locations of production and the importance of networking opportunities for higher management and associated business services. Be that as it may, central business districts underwent a rapid

expansion in many cities in the 1980s at a level that went beyond any advantages related to undervaluation.

The growth in professional-managerial employment associated with the expansion of the central business district (CBD) does not necessarily mean that all these employees will live in the centre. An alternate or associated explanation is to be found in the sphere of 'reproduction and consumption':

The consumption style of this urban, professional-managerial group is partly one of conspicuous consumption, the acquisition of commodities for public display. It is facilitated by the postponement of familial responsibilities, and the accumulation of savings ... In addition, more and more consumption takes place outside of the household in 'public' realms ... The postponement of marriage facilitates this consumption, but it also makes it necessary if people are to meet others and develop friendships (Beauregard, 1986, pp.43-44).

Thus for Beauregard whilst these new consumption habits are 'not dissimilar from those of other professional, middle-class individuals not in the city' (p.44) they crucially intersect with the postponement of marriage.

Conspicuous consumption is thus part of clustering. Centrality facilitates this clustering, hence the desirability of living in the city.

Those social opportunities, moreover, though possibly no more numerous in cities than in suburbs, are decidedly more spatially concentrated and, because of suburban zoning, tend to be more spatially integrated with residences (p.44).

The economic rationality is ever-present, as it is clear that to buy into a soon to be gentrified area is an investment, especially for young people at an early stage of their careers — it is also a statement of 'affluence and taste'.

But this sort of functionalist explanation is severely limited. The conspicuous nature of consumption is reduced to its ability to facilitate sexual and other social encounters. Many questions about why this group have no other rituals of encounter go unanswered, but it is the explanation of the importance of 'conspicuous consumption' and the centre as a site of such that is most lacking. It seems clear that there is more than the necessity of sexual encounter in operation in the following account.

Clustering occurs as these individuals move proximate to 'consumption item' and as entrepreneurs identify this fraction of labour as comprising conspicuous and major consumers ... these tendencies are also obviously important for the gentrification of commercial districts. The potential gentry represent an 'up-scale' class of consumers who frequent restaurants and bars, and generally treat

shopping as a social event. The objective for the entrepreneur is to capture the discretionary income of the consumer by offering an experience that is more than a functional exchange (p.44).

Sharon Zukin's work (1982; 1992) represents an extremely useful examination of the dynamics of gentrification. Put baldly, her contention is that the gentrification of the centre is about the shift from production to consumption, that this shift is, importantly, about the imposition of a cultural power, and the crucial role in this shift is played not by developers, nor even some general professional-managerial class, but by precisely those 'entrepreneurs' referred to above. We shall focus, firstly, on her account of the transformation of the landscape of the city centre, and, secondly, her account of the activities of these cultural entrepreneurs.

For Zukin the transformation of the city centre or downtown is located within a series of global economic shifts. These include the increasing abstraction of the market, the internationalization of capital and the centrality of consumption to the structuration of the economic system. The new city centre has been reorganized around consumption, but a consumption dominated by abstraction and internationalization. The restructuring of the centre is one not of the 'creative-destruction' (Harvey, 1986) of the built environment but one of the imposition of a new perspective on the city, a perspective based on cultural power. This cultural power emerges in a context of mass cultural consumption, giving rise to new mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion, and in a context of globalization, where the market of cultural consumption is increasingly abstracted from place based production and consumption, and driven by globalized flows of information, capital and cultural goods.

This cultural power acts upon the downtown area in a way that brings the fragmented vernacular of the old productive communities into an aesthetic landscape based on cultural consumption. Disputing the simple equation of centrality and power, Zukin argues that city centres have included both symbols of centrality — political and economic — but, as centres of industrial production, also contained a large working class population. The landscape was one structured by an opposition of the CBD, with its 'assertion of power at the centre', and the vernacular of the working communities. Both densely built and historically layered, downtown is the 'urban jungle' that pits the cultural hegemony of economic power against its alternative image of social diversity. It is also a fragmented landscape, where each section was organized around the social and cultural worlds of small scale production centres. As industry and wealthy residents began to move out capital in the centre declines, leading to 'its temporary abandonment as a landscape of power'.

Until the mid-70s ... downtown remained a patchwork of social and economic values. It included sedimentary concentrations of capital investment from the past, empty lots that formed a holding pattern — often under the aegis of publicly sponsored urban renewal — against the loss of economic value, and low rent quarters for local, declassé and traditional ethnic uses. These were all excluded from the landscape of power (Zukin, 1992, p.196).

It is this situation that allows for the economic and cultural project of gentrification. If it was undervalued in economic terms this value could not be realized as undervalue until the vernacular was reabsorbed into a landscape, made to reflect the economic, social and cultural priorities of power. These priorities were now written in terms of consumption, and the reformation of the fragmented vernacular into a single landscape achieved by a cultural labour.

Deindustrialisation, corporate decentralisation and real estate development are responsible for downtown's recent creative destruction. Unlike in Westchester County, however, they interact not to build a new landscape that looks different from what went before, but to impose a new perspective on it. They incorporate downtowns' segmented vernacular into a coherent landscape on the basis of cultural power (p.198).

This imposition is an aestheticization of both the buildings and of the vernacular associations of downtown. It is an imposition based on the cultural labour of a certain social group, though these may not be the main beneficiaries of this labour. This group Zukin calls the 'critical infrastructure', the cultural specialists who both promote and have expertise in the production and consumption of cultural goods. Sometimes this group are dupes of a game they thought they were in control of, sometimes they tend towards the role of 'necessary' (and thus functionally produced) agents of capital.

Relative autonomy

The transformation of the urban downtown vernacular is the focus of *Loft Living*. The argument is well known, though its complexities are not often spelled out. SoHo, as a downtown vernacular was next to the financial district intent on expansion in alliance with political forces that saw no future for manufacturing on Manhattan. The future lay with finance. The attempt at a classic 1960s style development was successfully resisted by the artist and ancillary community that had moved into the old 19th century

lofts, attracted by the cheapness and space in a New York now at the centre of the world art market. The victory, through an alliance of a growing communitarian and anti-development movement of the 1970s led to the designation of SoHo as an artists' zone. But the end result was that manufacturing and 'down market' retail was pushed out by this zoning, and the old vernacular became prime real estate as 'loft living' became a desirable commodity. Ultimately, many artists found it impossible to buy or rent, and any indigenous bohemian artist quality now became totally packaged, landscaped, for wealthy residents.

Global and local

The narrative in *Loft Living* is complex. Zukin wants to show how those dealing in cultural knowledge were responsible for the transformation of SoHo, creating a new value that could be recouped by development capital. Two forces are prominent. Firstly, the historic buildings' groups began to see the cast iron frontages as aesthetic objects that should be protected rather than torn down. This, along with a more general appreciation of Victorian and early 20th century industrial artifacts, represented an aestheticization of past use which immediately devalued current industrial usage (Smith & Williams, 1986). The current legitimate usage of these buildings was increasingly restricted to those who could appreciate this historical aesthetic. Secondly, often ignoring those other groups and users in the area, the artists' community claimed the central role in the revitalization of a 'derelict' district. The economic importance of the artists to New York was stressed, but it was their cultural impact on the area that was primary. The Loft was a metonym for an artistic lifestyle which, drawing on the bohemian and countercultural elements of the 1960s, would bring back a new vibrancy, to the downtown. However, although this vibrancy drew on the qualities of the downtown vernacular, it was now based on a 'lifestyle' no longer linked to a productive community. It was a lifestyle that could be consumed, whether in the form of the newly fashionable lofts, or the bohemian ambiance of the restaurants, bars, galleries and shops.

Thus the aestheticization of the vernacular achieved by cultural specialists mediated its emergence as an object of consumption. Once this cultural work had been done and the vernacular reabsorbed into the cultural landscape the cultural specialists lost ground to those wielding economic power. In *Loft Living* the outcome is paradoxical, where the victors ended up the losers. That developers quickly appreciated the importance of cultural consumption is the revalorization of undervalued downtown areas. After SoHo they became proactive. We will argue that the attempt to transpose this model has its problems. But it is clear in that

work (and more so in the postscript) that this mediating role of the cultural specialists was a more widespread phenomenon. As we move to the later book the dupes tend to become unwitting 'agents' of capitalist restructuring around consumption.

The growing popularization of the artistic-bohemian lifestyle was part of a much more widespread shift in cultural hierarchies and an increasingly reflexive construction of lifestyle. Consequent on the expansion of Higher Education and the cultural radicalisms of the 1960s, knowledge of cultural goods expanded enormously. At the same time the transgressions of the artist, the experimentation with new experiences, the desire to create the self as a work of art became absorbed into a wider culture. These changes fed into the growing incorporation of art and culture into the design of consumer goods, and into the techniques of advertising and marketing. In *Landscape* Zukin is much more explicit in linking the operations of the new groups of cultural specialists in both the promotion of consumption and the gentrification of the city.

Production units function best in clusters of customers and suppliers. Historically these clusters gave downtown its specialised aura of variety and innovation. But consumption units are increasingly spread out, diffused, standardised and reproduced. Decentralization reduces the power of consumption spaces: it requires conscious action to restore their specific meaning. Under these circumstances, mediating the dialectic of power and centrality depends on a critical infrastructure for cultural production and consumption. Here I am thinking of men and women who produce and consume, and also evaluate, new market-based cultural products. Like artists, they both comment critically on, and constitute, a new kind of market culture. Their 'inside' view opens up new spaces for consumption. They enhance market values even when they desperately want to conserve values of place (pp.201-2).

This is the tragic function of the counterculture. Ultimately, their concern with culture merely opened a new field of consumption, which, exposed to the forces of abstraction and internationalization, destroys the object of their desire.

The organisation of consumption thus has a paradoxical effect on downtown space. Initially treated as unique, the cultural value of place is finally abstracted into market culture (p.195).

For Zukin, the role of these cultural specialists is functional to social distinction in an age of 'mass produced and mass distributed culture' (p.203). In the absence of 'hierarchies based on personal networks and

social position' (p.203) cultural specialists, 'the critical infrastructure', emerge to promote and to guide us through the new landscape of consumption.

Today cultural consumption follows the lead of several mediators: the artist, the primary consumer, and the designer, who interpret desire and direct the consumer to equate awareness of consuming with awareness of life, and the line producer in new service industries, catering to a jaded consumer 'who yearns for homespun to ease the chintz' (p.204).

Zukin's work represents a severe indictment of the project of culturally based urban renewal, and of the role of cultural specialists as both mediators of the new consumption and as destructive of the values of place. This is crucial because it is precisely along these lines — the promotion of cultural production and consumption — of, and in, the city — and the attraction of cultural specialists, the creation of a critical infrastructure — that cities in Britain and Western Europe have attempted to engage with the problems of the 'post-Fordist' city. We would argue that these global shifts must be understood in terms of a specific spatialization, involving a complex mediation of the local/global nexus, and that the 'renewal' of the city centre around cultural production and consumption is open to a range of different outcomes and meanings.

We have seen above that the importance of cultural consumption in revalorization was quickly recognized by developers. The logic of standardization and repetition meant the rapid elaboration of regeneration models that could be sold to different city governments. By the late 1970s a number of large cities in North America, especially those in the north with historic centres, began to invest in these regeneration models (Wynne, 1992). It was clear that whilst the 'artists community' was often brought in to these local growth coalitions, it was the developer who held the upper hand. The transformation of historical and/or waterfront areas into retail/leisure and residential developments was based around 'up-market' consumption coupled with a high cultural input. This could include cultural animation programmes, artists residences, subsidized workshops and a public art that fitted well with a new 'postmodern' aesthetic. Such cultural input was encouraged by city governments employing 'percentage for art' programmes, and 'planning gain' initiatives. These areas thus had an 'up-market' ambiance of speciality shopping and 'designer' restaurants and bars. They also aimed at establishing the sense of vibrancy that once attached to downtown areas, but a vibrancy now mediated by a bohemian image represented by the presence of artists and 'artisans'. The vibrancy was one of an aestheticized 19th century, where the image of the downtown was reappropriated via the image of the artist-bohemian in the guise of *flaneur*. The new-old spaces of urbanity were not the ones of the

productive communities but the middle class stroller who had the time and the cultural knowledge with which to stroll through the landscape and absorb the vernacular as aesthetic.

It is this ersatz urban realm which was initially characterized as 'postmodern', in a way that confused the debate. Both admirers and critics seemed to see this as an incarnation of the postmodern *zeitgeist*, without inquiring as to how people used these places and to what extent, and on what basis, they were successful. It will be our argument that the transposition of the model of regeneration by developers is fraught with problems. If the imposition of a landscape of cultural power is to have any chance of success, even defined in narrowly economic terms, a critical infrastructure is necessary. Despite Zukin's occasional functionalisms this critical infrastructure cannot just be created as required. As specialists and insiders they have a relative autonomy and a close knowledge/relationship to place and it is in this context that a specific localization involves a series of negotiations around the new emergent landscape which can be laden with meanings very different to the standardized 'postmodernity' of the development models.

This model of urban regeneration, development around historical-cultural urban centres, was directly imported into Britain in the early 1980s. In this transposition the specificities of the local context were crucial. Firstly, the Thatcher Government, having won a resounding second term in 1983, made 'inner cities' its target, especially after the riots in 1981 had underlined these inner cities as symbols of the 'British disease'. Secondly, these cities were mainly held by the opposition Labour party. Central government was loath to give these credit for any possible success in these programmes, but also, they blamed these councils for the socialist-bureaucratic failures of the 1960s and 1970s. Urban regeneration was to be a symbol of Thatcherite Britain's escape from the cycle of post-war failure. Thirdly, the Government wanted to use a free enterprise approach which demanded deregulation and a more flexible planning system. To this end a whole series of legislative changes were enacted restricting local government, freeing private capital's access to public land and development contracts and creating new semi-autonomous bodies outside the control of local government. Fourthly, this was done at a time of massive and catastrophic de-industrialization. Apart from its social and economic consequences it was also a process of great cultural disruption, especially in the Northern industrial towns where identity, much more than in the south, was centred on work, on manual and industrial labour. Urban regeneration was based on a conscious and explicit shift of the economic base from manufacturing to service industries, symbolized by the redrawing of the old historical industrial areas in terms of leisure and consumption. Thus, fifthly, this work of urban regeneration was seen by many on the Left as a symbol of Thatcherism, and despised as such. The debate around the

yuppie, gentrification and 'postmodernity' in 1980s Britain cannot be divorced from this political context.

Manchester is England's third largest city, although in terms of its historical role as ideological centre of the industrial revolution, it could be considered the second city, capital of the North (Sheilds, 1991). In 1988 a large swath of land just south of the CBD and civic centre was given to Britain's first city-centre Urban Development Corporation. The Central Manchester Development Corporation (CMDC) a semi-autonomous body (responsible to London), was given a brief to cut through the socialist red-tape and bring private money into city centre regeneration by using public funds as leverage. Its initial task was to draw up a plan for the area, and to then present the image of the new city to developers, private entrepreneurs and the people of Manchester.

The CMDC's physical area can be seen as a crescent weighted towards one end. At either end is a canal basin linked to a wide canal network. A canal runs the length of the area between the basins. The eastern basin was to be a retail/office and residential development. The western basin, which was much larger, was a site of historic importance in terms of industrial archeology. It was here that the industrial revolution moved from the countryside into the town; Manchester was the world's first industrial city. The area already had a major industrial and science museum near the site of the world's first passenger railway station, and the whole area, Castlefield, was to become Britain's first urban industrial heritage park. Along with the museums went the promotion of waterway events on the canals and other animation programmes. The area also had a private residential development.

Between Castlefield and the centre a large area of disused land and parking lots was ear-marked for Manchester's 'cultural quarter', and nearby, some of the old 19th century warehouses would be converted for residential use, forming 'Whitworth Village' a 'village in the heart of the city'. It is this area that was seen to be a prime site for the 'arts and culture' led model of urban regeneration.

The Cultural Quarter was to be — in the words of one planning officer — 'Manchester's Montmartre'. It was clearly developer driven. Manchester's local authorities had already transformed a centrally located disused railway station into an exhibition hall and occasional concert venue. Next to this on CMDC ground was a huge, elaborately decorated late Victorian goods warehouse. This was to be developed into a 'Festival Shopping Centre' by the same development company responsible for others in North America. This has still to materialize. On the other side of the exhibition hall a concert hall on the site of a car-park was to be built, uncovering the old canal arm around which offices and apartments would be constructed, along with the inevitable restaurants, bars and retail outlets. The apartments, in a refurbished warehouse, together with some of the

office buildings have been finished for two years. The remaining projects began just after Christmas, 1993.

'Whitworth Village' is now completed. Whitworth Street runs more or less the whole length of the crescent, following the canal. The residential area includes five large building complexes, though two of these existed before CMDC was created. If we include the other residential developments in the CMDC area, and two others which were built in the early 1980s, we calculate that there are currently around 7000 people living in the city centre. Before 1978, there were almost none.

The CMDC attempted to use private developers to transform the landscape of the city centre. It is clear that this was to be around the consumption of the historical and cultural values of this landscape. The cultural quarter and the residential areas were directly linked to the promotion of Manchester as a cultural landscape, as a sight and a site of cultural consumption. The image of the city as a whole was tied up in this; it was crucial for the success of the landscape, but it also formed a justification for the project of transformation — Manchester's new image would have direct economic advantages.

That the CMDC recognized the crucial role of image, of perspective, can be seen in the promotional literature that was concerned not just to outline the plans of the Corporation, but to present the centre as an aesthetic object. The historical qualities of the Victorian city were brought out in terms of aesthetic qualities; detail and cropped shot photography de-contextualized the buildings to present them to the gaze. This is by no means new in terms of marketing strategies, what was new was that this was applied to the city. Warehouses, long time symbols of northern industrial gloom re-emerged as Renaissance Palaces, Greco-Roman Temples, brooding Gothic Piles. Images of night-time in the city, early morning, and aerial shots, all worked on the perception of a city built on anti-aesthetics.

The CMDC took the prime role in the above, and it is clear that it was the argument as to the economic value of cultural consumption that was uppermost in both its political orientation and in its approach to the developers. The old landscape of industrial production was to be offered up for aesthetic consumption, but also as 'investment opportunities'. Thus the Cultural Quarter with its 'flagship' concert hall would attract those with disposable incomes into the city after 6 pm to encourage spending on leisure and retail. Similarly the area's cultural profile would attract 'prestige' offices occupied by those business services and creative professions that both developers and sociologists believed to be intimately connected.

In order to enhance the Cultural Quarter, Manchester's artist community, was to be brought into consultation. The CMDC were to work closely with these in terms of public art, recognising the role of art in the image of

cities, their brochure using Barcelona and the Pompidou centre as examples. There was talk of subsidised artists workshops as a way of promoting the creative ambiance which would both attract the 'culture crowd' and the creative professions. As such it represents an attempt by the CMDC to bring in and direct the critical infrastructure (cultural intermediaries), which in Zukin's terms, was crucial for the creation of a cultural landscape in SoHo.

Discussion of the relationship between cultural intermediaries and capital is, as Zukin makes clear, also about the process whereby this capital learns about the value of culture. This is part of the story of post-Fordism, flexible specialization and the emergence of creative, designer-led industries from the mid-1970s onwards. It would also need to include the ways in which public agencies learned about this, and in what context. The CMDC as an organization and in terms of its personnel began to learn this model of cultural regeneration through seminars, fact-finding missions and consultancy reports all within the context of a Thatcher government explicitly hostile to 'intellectuals' — the 'chattering classes' as they were being dubbed. Both the counter-culture and the 'permissive society', symbols and causes of Britain's social and moral decline were laid at the door of the liberal cultural establishment. The CMDC, like this cultural establishment themselves, became a cultural intermediary cast in the role of justifying cultural value via its direct relationship to economic value. This also appealed to property developers, the local business elite, and the city council. Both culture and consumption had been marginal concerns. In this context, as the urban renewal programmes began to take hold, a wide range of cultural agencies were pushed to the fore, albeit through an economic justification of their activities.

For Zukin (1992) the two are run together:

Significantly, cultural value is now related to economic value. From demand for living lofts and gentrification, large property-owners, developers, and elected local officials realised they could enhance the economic value of the centre by supplying cultural consumption (p.194).

While the context in which it emerged in Manchester's urban regeneration was closely tied to economic arguments, this tends to undermine the cultural in two important areas. Firstly, as Bourdieu (1984) makes clear, cultural capital, whilst related to economic capital, must also stress its distinction from it. Too close a connection undermines the claim of culture to be disinterested, to be more than economics. Whilst we must ask the question as to what extent this is true in the context of any postmodern cultural field, and indeed whether Bourdieu's fields themselves are not tied to an older notion of aesthetic distinction(2), it is certainly true

that cultural value can suffer from too close a connection to the economic. Secondly, cultural intermediaries are precisely that: intermediaries. They are able to interpret, package, transmit and manipulate symbols and knowledge in a way that produces new value. As both producers and consumers they are able to claim an expertise, a close knowledge of the inner dynamics of the cultural field.(3)

The initiation of culture based urban renewal by a quasi-political body dominated by a 'free enterprise' ethos with an anti-cultural bias, and one that worked primarily with a development capital using tried and trusted models for the formation of a cultural landscape, was damaging. It meant that the resultant development, whilst based on images of leisure and consumption and aestheticization taken up by urban boosterists and sociologists alike (but with opposite intentions), had limited cultural resonance, and especially amongst those whose labour would be crucial to the transformation of the centre into a cultural landscape — the cultural intermediaries.

This can be illustrated by looking at some of our findings regarding the residential developments that we have studied. Three facts need to be stressed. One, there was no displacement of an existing population. Two, there was no tradition in Manchester, as in other non-metropolitan English cities, of living in the centre. Three, the majority of the residents moved in within a six year period, after urban renewal had begun. Thus, within a short period of time a large number of people moved into the centre precisely because it was the centre. The lack of a tradition of living in the centre meant that such a tradition had to be invented.

One current, but rejected image, was that of 'yuppie' gentrification. In the two areas where new build houses were located on old disused industrial land next to 'deprived' inner city estates — and both were modelled on the London docklands, already a symbol of the Thatcher dream — they took on an air of gentrification which many of the residents resented. The term 'yuppie' was always resisted by them because for a great number it disturbed the self image of what they were doing:

Accusation of gentrification I think is not really valid. Gentrification to me means the sort of thing that you see sometimes in London, where you've got housing which hitherto had been relatively cheap and there's a history of people living there in purpose built houses relatively cheaply and then suddenly you get the Volvos and the labradors and people start tarting it up, and whatever, and the prices rocket. That I would see as gentrification, and I can see the arguments both ways. But here, in all the ones I've seen, it's new developments and where it's not new it's doing up what was previously commercial buildings. Now I can see the point that some people would argue that if you're going to do that it ought to be done to

provide lower cost housing for people, and the answer is, yes, I can see that that could be done, but then again, you presumably have to accept the commercial argument that if a development company, speculative company, is going to do it they've got to get a return, and in order to get a return you need to be dealing in prices that are fairly high. If you want to do it for people who can't afford higher prices then it ought to be done through local government, and I think that's a separate question about whether the central government should be providing local government with additional funds to be able to do this. I mean, I think they should. I think it's a slightly separate question. Gentrification, if I was living in a converted artisans cottage in Islington or something, sometimes I would feel that perhaps I had taken away from somebody else by being part of an artificially increased market. That I'd perhaps deprived somebody else an opportunity. I don't feel that so much really (case 6 page 8 of transcript source material).

The 'village in the city' contained private and rented apartments, ranging from £38,000 to £140,000. There were five sites in this area (our study covered 11 in all), with a sixth, subsidised housing development, for people in housing need. The five were 'design and build', the developer using the in-house architect. 'Village in the city' indicates the ambivalence felt towards city living. The promotional images stress its protected, village scale. The convenience of central amenities were to be a part of this village atmosphere. The exteriors of the warehouses were protected by 'listed' status, but any leeway in the regulation was exploited to stress the developers' notion of prestige exclusivity for up-market consumers. Georgian style door furniture, plastic awnings and other 'individualized' features now become standardized in a manner that David Harvey (1990) has pointed to with regard to postmodern gentrification. The interiors were 'Laura Ashley', country-cottage style, mixed with a vague 'Victoriana'. Pictures of antique cars in brass frames lined the lobbies. All the communal areas were aimed at a similar 'suburban' style, which was the developers only image of what a prestige buyer could be.

The residents almost universally disliked the way that the apartments had been refurbished and decorated. Many scoffed at the mock-georgian elegance, others were angry at the missed opportunity to respect the historical integrity of the buildings, some redecorating against the original, 'new' interiors. One or two apologised for the areas that they could not redesign, such as the kitchen and bathroom fittings in 'glorious floral'. In some buildings pictures in the communal areas have been taken down and replaced. The 'yuppie' image picked up by the developers was seen to be completely misplaced. We would contend that people were attracted despite the presented image and with a mission to impose their own. This

indicates how far the imposed models of the developers stood outside the cultural field in which they were attempting to intervene. This could be illustrated in countless areas.

Zukin (1992) argues:

Gentrification received its greatest boost not from a specific subsidy, but from the state's substantive and symbolic legitimation of the cultural claim to urban space. This recognition marked cultural producers as a symbol of urban growth (p.194).

We have argued that this legitimation on the part of the CMDC and the developers was in exclusively economic terms, where cultural production has direct economic consequences. We have suggested that the imposition of a model in these terms denies the autonomy of the cultural field, excluding cultural specialists to the detriment of cultural value. We must go beyond this and suggest that the unavailability of an image of city living — of centrality, meant that it had to be created by cultural producers — and that this was done in a complex field in which the 'state's substantive and symbolic legitimation of the cultural claim to urban space' was far from fixed, and was indeed a product of negotiation and conflict.

City centres are periodically abandoned as landscapes of power. Manchester's landscape is paradigmatic of the way this occurred in the industrial cities of Britain. Industrial capital abandoned the centre after the second world war (residents had left before) leaving large swaths of the central area to decay. These abandoned areas, if reclaimed for the vernacular, were reclaimed in ambivalent fashion. In Manchester they became representations of northernness; industrial wasteland and old canals — old rails sunk into grassy cobbles. As sources of identity they were also an unwanted past, an unusable past — it is easy to forget this mix of attachment and redundancy. The vernacular of northern wasteland became a symbol of economic decline, which is why it became so central to Thatcher's economic miracle. Regeneration, however, worked on a vernacular that few were willing to defend. It coincided with a local cultural renegotiation of both northernness and the world of industrial work crucial to this identity. Very often presented as a devastating disorientation it was also taken as a possibility of change.

CAPITAL SCHEME FOR INVESTMENT IN CULTURE REALISES ITS HIGH POTENTIAL

Since the Cottonopolis boom in the 19th century Manchester has been seen as the cultural capital of the North-west region ... At last the cultural assets of the city are coming to be seen as a form of economic and social capital ... Until recently, local authority investment in the arts was justified as simply being good for the soul ... Then it became

fashionable to advance economic arguments ... Now as manufacturing declines the arts and culture industries are beginning to justify themselves in their own right, in hard cash terms ... The city is beginning to take its cultural assets seriously and learn to use them ... the city's bid to be the Arts Council's City of Drama in 1994 has brought together a range of arts organisations who previously hardly spoke to each other, and the city council has initiated a study of Manchester's cultural scene with the appointment of Consultants Urban Cultures Limited (Robin Thornber, *The Guardian*, 24 January, 1992).

If part of this change can be understood in terms of the emergence of a cultural landscape it is crucial to locate the precise meanings, functions and beneficiaries of this transformation in a specific spatialization of the global, national and local. There are a number of factors involved here. As we have seen, this cultural landscape was to be promoted in the context of a re-imagining of the city. This was part of a general recognition by councils throughout the country that their 'smoke stack' image would work against them in the attraction of inward investment, especially those centres around business services and 'high tech' industries. By the time CMDC was created, marketing consultancies were a common feature in Manchester's local councils. This re-imagining was initially centred on the offering of facilities that would attract professional-managerial 'executives' — golf-courses, waterfront leisure developments, 'high' cultural venues and museums. This was a simple and direct version of the equation of cultural production with urban growth. Like the CMDC, Manchester City Council entered a learning curve of how to operate within the field of symbolic knowledge. It began to establish links with cultural intermediaries. As this linkage of networks between council (and to a lesser extent the CMDC) and cultural intermediaries proliferated, operations within this symbolic field became more sophisticated. Though not stated in such terms, it was recognized that the obvious association of cultural strategy with the attraction of 'executives' was limited, precisely by this close link to economic rationale. Similarly, the consumption desires of these 'executives' had become standardized to such a degree that most cities could claim to offer them in abundance. Competing at a European and global level the city had to promote its cultural value in 'disinterested' fashion. Its cultural authenticity, and thus desirability, derived from its intrinsic and autonomous cultural production. The city as 'city of culture' had to present itself as a vernacular. The close association of Manchester's image with a distinctive historical and cultural tradition would, it was felt, be crucial to the future success of the city.

Thus the entry of relatively autonomous cultural intermediaries into the political and economic fields of local government saw a convergence of

interests within the cultural field. Whilst the abstraction and internationalization of global finance undermines place in the elaboration of markets, local government has an interest in attenuating this. Developers, imposing a formula, find it relatively easy to disinvest as profitability declines. Local governments, stuck in place, must look to the longer term. It is not in the interest of the local state to allow the abstracted global market to act too disruptively on local cultural capital. This is of course a matter of politics, education and often brute financial power, and is a project by no means guaranteed, in terms of either conception or execution, as the landscape of many British cities can illustrate. Local government needs a local cultural infrastructure with a specific expertise which gives it a relative autonomy from the circuits of abstracted global finance. Its expertise involves a knowledge and feeling for place, which is, despite Zukin's pessimism, crucial for the successful localization of capital in the form of cultural landscaping. Cultural intermediaries will be affected by the new networks and changing working practices; but if the dictates of this new cultural field presented new problems with regard to their negotiation of autonomy and creativity, it also gave them a new and expanded scope of operations. Previously distant from local politics and economics (in the larger 'strategic' sense) they are increasingly proactive in lobbying public agencies for the importance of cultural investment — a fairly obvious stance from their point of view — but also for the need to defend their autonomy from short term economic fluctuations, and to assert the particular *modus operandi* of this sector and its close relationship to the local sphere, as opposed to the larger and more abstract models transposed by globally financed cultural regeneration.

The relationship between market and place is, as Zukin (1992) rightly points out, a crucial component of the landscaping of cities. As we have seen, cultural intermediaries are crucial to this process.

Their 'inside' view opens up new spaces for consumption. They enhance market values even when they desperately want to conserve values of place (pp.201-2) ... Initially treated as unique, the cultural value of place is finally abstracted into market culture (p.195).

We have argued that this in itself can lead to a decline in value, especially if taken over directly by global finance. But the relationship between place and consumption in this context is much more complex. A sense of place can be negotiated precisely through the opening up of new spaces of cultural production and consumption.

Let us return to the residential developments. If they were not attracted by the images of 'prestigious exclusivity' presented by the developers, what did attract these residents? It was clear that, given the price of the apartments in relation to houses that could be bought not too far from the

centre, and not necessarily in 'boring' suburbia, that those who moved in were attracted by the central location. This was borne out by our questionnaires and in-depth interviews. Of what does this centrality consist?

If the English city lacked an image of centrality as a place to live then the model would be provided not by North America but by Europe. The new centrality that would replace the old vernacular was elaborated around the 'European city', a space of socialization, cultural and cultured consumption on a non-exclusionary basis. The reality of this image may be another question. It was also given different twists by different users, but was enough itself to give a unity to an image of cafes, restaurants, spaces for strolling and sitting, of diverse social interaction, of galleries and concerts. While cafes and croissants came to be the quintessential attribute of 'yuppie' consumption in the mid-1980s these sorts of images also provided ways in which various identities were being negotiated.

TOP OF THE TABLE!

CAFE SOCIETY IS URGED TO BACK OUTDOOR STYLE

Cafe society in Manchester is being urged to try a taste of the great outdoors ... all in the cause of being good Europeans of course ... Councillor Spencer Manchester's Planning Chairman — is urging more cafe and bar owners to set up open-air tables. Several have already set up street cafes with permission from the city council. But the town hall is keen to promote the European influence in Manchester with even more pavement tables (*Manchester Evening News*, June 1992).

The promotion of the 'European city' can be seen as part of a new globalized competition, and as an imposition of a specific habitus in the interest of cultural status for cultural intermediaries and the expansion of the cultural sector to which it is tied. Each of these are correct to an extent. But this idea of the 'European city' is also about identity. In a political context of economic and political domination from the centre, 'Europeanness' was a means of redefining the relationship of Northernness to Englishness in a way that by-passed London's cultural dominance. Thus Glasgow and Edinburgh stressed that they were European and not English cities. It was a negotiation of identity through a reworking of its location in the matrix of cultural space. 'Provincial' culture could now become semi-autonomous as it opened out into the 'Europe of the regions' and looked (enviously) to the great city-states of Europe. The 'European city' was about the possibility of new images of self, of the possibilities of transformation as Manchester attempted to map itself onto a transnational 'cosmopolitan' space. The Europeanization of centrality located this cosmopolitan space at the level of the local.

... in a city that's really international, in that it welcomes lots of groups, you can feel that what you're part of reflects the wider picture. The world, what's reflected in the world. So I like the idea of being something that's embracing wider issues rather than being somewhere where you could be getting a blinkered view but not realise you were. So it's more challenging in a way to live in a place that has many different cultures all interacting together and, you know, you can go to an Italian restaurant and it will be like a real Italian family; you go to a Jewish restaurant, you've got Jewish culture; you've got Chinese, you've got real Chinese; Indian, you have real Indian in Rusholme or somewhere. You wouldn't be having Deal's (Deal is a small town, previous residence of subject) version of an Indian, and then the shops and the same in the museums and stuff. Just you're getting, by mixing together like that, you get creative new things come out of it (case 1 page 11 of transcript source material).

This local was also one of northern culture. This was the industrial city with a strong sense of working class identity, in which even the local establishment portrayed itself as 'down to earth', 'straight speaking', concerned with work as opposed to the *rentier* elite of the South. Manchester's recreation as a cultural city was, as we have seen, deeply involved with de-industrialization and the re-imaging process associated with competition for inward investment. But it involved real cultural shifts, a real renegotiation of identity. While the specific dynamics of this are not yet clear to our research, Manchester, along with other northern cities, asserted its concern with culture and cultural production in terms of an authenticity derived from place, as opposed to what was seen as London's concern with money and hype. This was a traditional opposition to the 'unearned' incomes of the capital, but now mediated not through 'hard graft' but through culture. The community spirit deeply embedded in northern mythology transmuted into the vibrant public realm so desired by cosmopolitan Manchester, a European city of culture.

S. Yeah, I think it..that's obviously what they're trying to ... Manchester City Council or whatever are putting all their money into improving the city are probably trying to do that. They're trying to..Obviously if they got the Olympic bid that would be really good, and then they're building all these outdoor ... these cafes where you can sit outside. Very sort of Europeanised. So it does seem to be going that way.

D.M. Do you feel you've got a personal commitment towards that, in as a belonging to the city?

S. Yeah. I feel I do. I've lived in the city centre now for nearly two years and it's nice to see that they're trying to improve things here. I

feel sort of quite closely involved in that, and I'm glad that they're doing that (case 11 page 2 of transcript source material).

The nature of this 'cosmopolitan' could be considered in terms of the distinction strategies of a specific group, but again, whilst this is in part true it also ignores the political component of this image of centrality. The 1980s saw a general revaluation of the qualities of the urban across a wide range of cultural fields. Not just a site of decay and abandonment it was increasingly celebrated as a vibrant realm in which a wide variety of people rubbed shoulders. The complex sources of this re-evaluation cannot be explored here. However, the attempt to characterize this urban realm as that of the *flaneur*, floating signifiers, disembodied eddies of desire, etc. by sociologists either friendly or critical of some 'postmodern urban experience' tended to miss another crucial component of this re-evaluation. In an age of privatism, of the disappearance of the social (whether by Baudrillard or Thatcher) the urban realm was one of the few images of sociality remaining. The 'cosmopolitan city', the 'European city' were cities that would promote urbanity, a mixing and meeting of classes and groups and races in a way that would provide for an active citizenship.

To live in the suburbs of Manchester where there isn't anything..in Wythenshawe, (a council estate — subsidised housing on outskirts of city) which is where I come from, there's no, you know, it's very... Perhaps I don't really mind, but what I thought..I've found actually a little..they're not open-minded people — the people actually living in Wythenshawe and staying in Wythenshawe and spend their lives in Wythenshawe have almost tribalistic tendencies, and if you don't sort of..if you reject their values then they don't really accept you. You know, I find Wythenshawe, like I say I find Wythenshawe, I find it quite a hard place to live. It's not cosmopolitan enough for me... whereas I think if you live in say like Wythenshawe, or something, you tend to find that most people agree..I don't know whether that's fair or not. You know, they just seem to get entrenched in their own lifestyles, and don't sort of see outside that. Their own lifestyle is because of the poverty there, that's there as well. There's a lot of poverty, a lot of unemployment and if people are just faced with..I think they get 'Oh no' in those environments ... I mean I still like music, I still like clubs and most of the people my age in Wythenshawe don't..they don't go to clubs anymore, they tend to go to the pub, and then when they go to the Vaults and then play darts and that can be about the end of it, and it hadn't changed in twenty years. It's still the same as like when I left it twenty years ago.

D.M. Right. So the benefits of the city are that there's more diverse people, easy access to different cultural pursuits?

K. Yeah. There's less constrictions about like personal behaviour. I mean, you could get quite lot of people in Wythenshawe, for example, quite a lot of them tend to be homophobic, whereas if you come to the city centre then there's just a general acceptance of gay people. I mean, that's just an example, but it's like the way it is, yeah. There's no, er, I would think gay people in Wythenshawe probably have a very hard time whereas gay people who live in the city centre, it's more easygoing about them, you know. Except for the odd exception..you still see it around but it doesn't..they're not bigotted people. Whereas in Wythenshawe, by accident they become bigoted through ignorance really.

It was in this way that urban and cultural policy began to realign within the Left in the mid-1980s. This connection was less the work of the Labour party than that of the Greater London Council (GLC). At a time when the Thatcher Government looked to the United States, the GLC, across the water from Parliament, controlled by Labour, operating with an enormous budget and responsible for 6 million people, looked to Europe — especially the Italian cities (Bianchini, 1989). Again, the roots of this cannot be explored here but can be related to the growing recognition of the importance of cultural politics. Here the Gramscian politics of the Italian communist cities was taken as a model by the GLC, with the need to promote a sense of democratic citizenship around a post-proletarian, multi-cultural London. The use of culture here was taken at its widest, and 'popular culture' given a new priority. The shift from pedagogy to entertainment in subsidized culture is not just down to commodification, but a democratizing impulse towards popular participation.

Such an approach had its problems as 'the popular' fragmented into client groups. It also stressed cultural consumption rather than production, with a cultural industries strategy left to be developed by other local councils (Wynne, 1992). But the fact that it promoted popular cultural events, and that it opened up the spaces of the city to these events, transformed the relationship of large sections of cultural producers and consumers to these spaces, and to the possibilities of a locally funded cultural sphere. In terms of local cultural policies it was the single most influential statement of the first half of the decade.

Centrality then operates in a complex set of fields and at a number of levels of meanings. We cannot here examine the theories of spatialization that Zukin draws upon in the final section of her book. However, she argues that space is both structured and structuring. It is structured in that it reflects macro-level economic forces, but it is structuring in that it:

... structures people's perceptions, interactions, and sense of well being or despair, belonging or alienation ... Space also structures

metaphorically. Because they are easily visualised, spatial changes can represent and structure orientations to society. Space stimulates both memory and desire; it indicates categories and relations between them (p.268).

This is fine, but the problems emerge when Zukin reduces this to the fundamental opposition of landscape and vernacular. Shifts between these two are the result of **both structural changes in the economy and cultural strategies for social and spatial differentiation** (p.269).

But both are operating under the same logic and mesh ever closer together — the movement towards consumption and the incorporation of place into the market. She uses the word liminality to describe 'the cultural mediation of these socio-spatial shifts':

Liminality in our sense depicts a 'no-man's-land' open to everyone'' experience yet not easily understood without a guide. Defining the symbolic geography of a city or region, liminal spaces cross and combine the influence of major institutions: public and private, culture and economy, market and place. As the social meaning of such spaces is renegotiated by structural change and individual action, liminal space becomes a metaphor for the extensive reordering by which markets, in our time, encroach upon place (p.269).

This is surely a singular logic in which macro and micro combine to insert the local landscape into the global organization of consumption. It seems to ignore the **structuring** qualities of local space and the ways in which local action can intervene in such spatialization. It also ignores the fluidity by which landscape and vernacular — if we can separate the two out — interpenetrate in the city centre. The liminality of the centre need not be conceived as a one-directional move from vernacular to landscape. Thus areas of Manchester's abandoned landscape have become vernacular based around cultural production and consumption. This is certainly the case with at least two areas of the city that we have examined.

Manchester's 'rave' and 'house' scene emerged in certain clubs located throughout the city centre and beyond. However the Oldham Street area of the city centre has become an important meeting place for the style connoisseurs of this scene. A previously thriving working class area of the city both for work and residence, the area was neglected in the 1960s and 1970s as many workplaces closed and residents left. Today Manchester's 'youth cultural' scene has developed the area with shops, bars and clubs dedicated to promoting that 'scene'. Afflecks Palace, a previously disused three story building, has been converted into low rental units where producers and consumers of this 'pop' culture can be found. The building was due to be demolished to make way for the city's new tram and light

rail system but this decision was reversed when it was realised just how important Afflecks Palace had become to the developing image of the city as a place for consumption and play. Other instances which illustrate the degree to which 'pop' culture has been 'taken up' by the city can be seen in the development aid given to the creation of workspace units for the city's 'pop' cultural entrepreneurs, and in the support given to the *In The City* conference and convention held for the pop music recording industry in 1992 (Milestone, 1992).

Is one of the products of the cultural industries a cultural landscape, or does it give rise to production communities with an associated vernacular, in Zukin's sense? It could be argued that the new landscapes created by urban renewal, **precisely because** they attempted to invoke centrality, have invited new uses of the spaces that return them to the vernacular. This has already been argued in the case of shopping malls (Sheilds, 1992), those 'totally programmed spaces' which Zukin seems to concentrate on (Thrift, 1993). In Manchester, the cultural quarter and the residential 'village', presented as landscape, were taken up into spaces of pleasure, spaces of cultural production and consumption not foreseen by the planners and property developers. One of Manchester's most animated areas is around the 'Gay village' which was not a part of CMDC's cultural landscape, just as the colonization of one of the residential sites by gays was not foreseen by the in-house architect whose refurbishment included the 'Georgian door-knockers'.

What has now become known as the Gay Village is a small area of the city centre located around the Whitworth Street corridor and the adjoining canal. Previously neglected, apart from policing activities associated with club and bookstore 'raids', the area has become a vital site for the celebration of alternative sexualities. The refurbishment of old warehouses into studios and one or two bedroom apartments in the area has proved popular with many who choose to live there. Far from creating a 'power soaked' landscape the area now presents an open and unashamedly 'gay vernacular' to the city. Policing activities have changed from ones of confrontation to cooperation with the recent appointment of a 'gay liaison' police officer to the area (Whittle, 1994).

We must pose the question as to what is vernacular and what is landscape? How are we to define these, and do we not risk a nostalgia for a 'free' vernacular versus a 'power soaked' landscape. We could see them as different levels of intensity, different proximities to different flows of information and capital, different weavings of memory and desire. We must look at the liminality whereby the vernacular of gay or pop culture is taken up into the promotional image of the city, where once marginal activities now come to symbolize creativity and vitality. In Manchester the impact of the rave scene of the late 1980s completely redrew the cultural landscape of the city and the relationship of the local agencies to it.(4)

Whilst looking to the cultural flows of Olympics and symphony orchestras Manchester was briefly locked into the very centre of the global flow in the guise of 'Madchester'. The dialectic of vernacular and landscape runs close. Cultural power may depend on landscapes presenting themselves as vernacular, just as vernacular resent being taken up by landscape. Thus the 'gay village' is very ambivalent about gaining a respectability it has so long loved to shun (Whittle, 1994).

Cities are liminal places, ones structured by macro-forces, but macro-forces in complex interaction with local spatialities. These spatialities themselves must be seen to be liminal, not in the move from production to consumption, not in the united logic of macro and micro, but in a complex interaction of fields and meanings within which local (and non-local) actors intervene. The cultural landscape is heavy with contested meanings, with the eddies of memory and desire, well-being and despair; it forms a place within which global flows are localized, and in this lies the possibility of meaning and sense (*sens*) (Hodge, 1993).

Put more strongly, we would argue that the initiation of the process whereby Manchester was to be culturally landscaped actually created new spaces within which cultural contestation and exploration could emerge. Whether we call these landscape or vernacular or not, they represent complex conjunctions of cultural production and consumption, local and global, market and place. These spaces can be about hedonism and urbanity, civility and the frisson of anonymity; they can be the image of the social and the anti-social, the nomad and the villager. They are to be negotiated best by Berman's 'low modernism', the shout in the street (Berman, 1991).

Finally, centrality may produce new spaces not just in terms of power and exclusivity, but also as exposure, as stage, as theatre. In this one of the attractions of centrality may be its liminality, not in the sense of a transition between production and consumption, but in terms of the weakening of fixed roles. The recreation of the landscape of the centre, the very promotion of its status as centre, allows this centre to act as marginal, as *liminoid* in Turner's sense (Turner, 1969). The questions we must then ask are about the relations between marginality and habitus, and how they structure this centre.

Here it is worthwhile to examine some of the links which might be suggested between Zukin's conceptualization of the 'critical infrastructure' and our colleague Mike Featherstone (1991) in his use of Bourdieu's 'cultural intermediaries' and his examination of the relationship between these and postmodern culture.

In bare outline, he argues that rather than seeing the features associated with postmodernism as a general implosion of social structures and hierarchies, they may be seen to be a result of shifting power relations between social groups. His programme with respect to the 'aestheticization

of everyday life' undertaken by these cultural intermediaries appears close to Zukin's in spirit.

It is ... necessary to raise the stark sociological questions of the specific locations and degree of generality. Here we investigate the socio-genetic historical origins of particular cognitive styles and modes of perception which arise in the changing interdependences and struggles between figurations of people (Featherstone, p.71).

With reference to gentrified inner city areas and what he regards as some of the key sites of 'postmodernization' he argues:

... we also need to inquire into the process of the articulation, transmission and dissemination of the experience of these new spaces by intellectuals and new cultural intermediaries to various audiences and publics and examine the way in which pedagogies xx of these 'new' sensibilities are incorporated into everyday practises (p.70).

Side-stepping the new class debate he concentrates on these cultural intermediaries as the new petty-bourgeoisie — producers and distributors of a vastly expanded range of symbolic goods. They also promote the consumption of these with an emphasis on stylization, on the artistic life, on an openness to new experiences.

These are engaged in providing symbolic goods and service ... the marketing, advertising, public relations, radio and television producers, presenters, magazines journalists, fashion writers, and the helping professions (social workers, marriage counsellors, sex therapists, dietitians, play leaders etc.) ... They are fascinated by identity, presentation, appearance, lifestyle, and the endless quest for new experiences. Indeed, their awareness of the range of experiences open to them, the frequent lack of anchoring in terms of a specific locale or community, coupled with the self-consciousness of the auto-didact, who always wishes to become more than he/she is, leads to a refusal to be classified, with the injunction to resist fixed codes as life is conceived as open-ended (p.44).

Clearly this stylization of everyday life can be linked to the aestheticization of the vernacular in gentrification.

The process of gentrification is of interest because it not only points to the redevelopment of the cultural fabric of the inner city areas, it also provides a higher profile for groups within the new middle class who

are in many guises the producers, carriers, consumers of lifestyles which entail the culturally sensitive 'stylisation of life' and have developed dispositions which make them receptive to postmodern cultural goods and experiences. They therefore have direct and indirect interests in the accumulation of cultural capital both on a personal basis, and in terms of that of their neighbourhood and the wider city (p.108).

Zukin (1992) is clear on this. She quotes an Italian designer:

I knew that a new culture of consumerism was not the answer. Rather, I wanted to make the consumer aware that he is consuming. This shift in perspective is the principle product of the critical infrastructure ... [Thus] they play a critical role in a new organisation of consumption (p.204).

We have already seen the function of this role, it is to guide us through 'mass produced and mass consumed culture'. In the classic game of distinction to be guide is also to be gatekeeper; in acting as cultural intermediaries they establish their taste as the guide to taste. After destabilizing existing cultural hierarchies their taste, in the classic game of distinction, is presented as the taste of the social. Featherstone, following Turner, uses liminality in terms of a suspension of social roles at a point of transition to other social roles:

The liminal points to the emphasis within these essentially delimited transitional or threshold phases upon anti-structure or *communitas* (Featherstone p.22).

Following Turner's restriction of liminality in its full sense to 'traditional society' and using it in the sense of liminoid, Featherstone sees this concern growing in importance within the artistic and bohemian counter-cultures of the 19th and early 20th century, with their emphasis on the dissolution between art and life, and the heroic life as the artistic life. He sees the move to the postmodern as emerging from the vastly expanded volume and appeal of the goods and lifestyles associated with this transgressive liminality — a process associated with the distinction strategies of those groups who have most expertise in this field and stand to benefit most from its expansion.

This can be clearly related to Zukin's account of the emergence of the critical infrastructure from the counter-culture, and its central role in the shift to consumption. However there are a number of problems associated with this. One is the tension between difference and imitation central to fashion. As a style becomes more popular, it loses its distinctive power.

Distinction, here, is a zero-sum game. This is clearly the tension felt in Zukin's critical infrastructure, driven from one fad to the next in order to keep ahead in the game of tasteful consumption. But at the same time, if this new social group is concerned to destabilize fixed cultural hierarchies and promote a new attitude to lifestyle as such, it is difficult to see how they are to 'keep the lid' on the process. Featherstone sees this in terms of the prospects for re-monopolization. Can this new petty bourgeoisie, after 'blowing open' the hierarchies and introducing liminality into the heart of the system, then manage to remain as gatekeepers and guides in any meaningful sense? Featherstone becomes more doubtful as his book proceeds.

He argues that these techniques of destabilization have effects on groups above and below this new petty bourgeoisie. There is thus a general tendency to fluidity of lifestyle, to liminality. This we take to be the thrust of Bernice Martin's work (1981; 1991) who concurs with the above to the extent of seeing the crucial role played by the counterculture in destabilizing the cultural hierarchy and changing attitudes to lifestyle, but who sees this as a much more general and widespread process than the distinction strategies of a particular group. Essentially Martin argues that the post war generation of the 1960s engaged in an 'expressive revolution' which she sees:

... as an important catalyst of full grown consumer culture in Britain ... it was an enormous dramatisation of the protean possibilities of Desire. The counter-culture served to popularise, initially through shock and outrage, the apprehension that the narrow, ritual limits within which desires had been contained in the inter-war period of scarcity and unemployment, were seriously out of date by the affluent sixties (Martin, 1991, p.16).

The process whereby economic and emotional 'rationality' begin to penetrate across a wide range of professions, and not just 'the cultural' points for her, to a breaking down of the puritan subject. This goes beyond the distinction strategies of one particular class — it is seen to have a deepening social momentum of its own. Those areas in which this interpenetration of economic and emotional rationality is highest attract a wide range of people in a way that militates against the notion that one can call them a class which can 'rise' or 'pursue strategies'.

Moreover, this integration of the emotional into the field of reflexivity is in constant tension. Whimster's account of the 'yuppie' (Whimster, 1992) argues that their social operations, obviously deeply embedded in a 'capitalist rationality', are not part of some 'off-the-peg' postmodernist game but are often confusing and disturbing questions of identity. In many studies it has been found that this integration of the emotional is unstable,

whether manifested as guilt or transmuted into cultural compensation — '68 as an ur-world of dreams.

Featherstone attaches liminality to the spaces of the city by an identification of certain spaces as privileged sites of liminality. It is clear that gentrification and the new petty bourgeoisie can be linked in this way, as they can through aestheticization. The informalization and relaxation of these experiences can be seen as part of a 'controlled de-control of the emotions' in which rules, surveillance and mechanisms of exclusion operate for those without the cultural competence to exercise this control. The mixture of 'security' and 'liminality' in shopping malls is taken as an example.

As cities de-industrialise and become centres of consumption one of the tendencies in the 1970s and 1980s has been the redesigning and expansion of shopping centres which incorporate many of the features of postmodernism in their architectural design of interior space and simulated environments: use of dream-like illusions and spectacles, eclecticism and mixed codes, which induce the public to flow past a multiplicity of cultural vocabularies which provide no opportunity for distanciation (de-distanciation) and encourage a sense of immediacy, instanciation, emotional de-control and childlike wonder (Featherstone, 1991, p.103).

However, the establishment of new social spaces may provoke new uses which can be described as liminal and which go beyond the rules of controlled de-control of a specific habitus. The creation of the centre as a theatre of liminality may affect other groups and other forces in ways that go beyond this exclusionary habitus. As Featherstone suggests later, to what extent may these changes:

... mean that the conditions for dominant elites to exercise global hegemony over taste and culture are destroyed with the unlikelihood of foreseeable re-monopolization, thus pointing us towards a historical development in which some of the impulses detected and labelled postmodern may become more widespread? (p.111).

It is here we would argue that 'popular culture' becomes operative in ways that we have suggested earlier with regard to the emergence of the 'Gay Village' and 'Madchester'. In discussing what we take to be the importance of popular culture to Manchester it is necessary to consider the effects of an increasing commodification of culture, both high and popular. We would argue that it is this commodification, together with a pervasive liminality which is primarily responsible for the destabilization of cultural hierarchies and taste distinctions such that, not only is the game of

distinction itself threatened, but also that such a collapse invites the emergence of an 'articulation of alternatives'. As a result, social identities may no longer be 'read' from an individual's class or occupational position, but rather exist as a combination of choices, articulated from a series of possible alternatives made available by this collapse. Such alternatives may not only be discovered in the *bricolage* of consumer goods, but also in:

... all the underpinning patterns of taste, modes of feeling, styles of understanding — including self-understanding — and presentation of identity which are involved in 'lifestyle construction' (Martin, 1991, p.22).

As Beck (1992) has argued, albeit in a somewhat different context:

The Individual himself or herself becomes the reproduction unit for the the social in the life world ... Biographies too, are becoming reflexive. People with the same income level, or put in an old-fashioned way, within the same 'class', can or even must choose between different lifestyles, subcultures, social ties and identities ... Individualisation of life situations and processes thus means that biographies become self-reflexive ... Under those conditions of a reflexive biography, 'society' must be individually manipulated as a 'variable' (Beck, 1992, pp.130-1).

The aestheticization of everyday life may then be understood in terms of this 'articulation of alternatives' produced, in part, through self-reflexive biographies. Two of these 'alternative articulations', Madchester and the Gay Village, could be seen as cultural spaces which have become prominent in the city's new image.

In conclusion we have suggested that the position taken by Zukin, initially in *Loft Living*, and latterly in *Landscapes of Power* fails to grasp some of the complexities that our own research has uncovered, and to which Featherstone, Martin and others have pointed. Such an observation does not necessarily involve any questioning of the findings reported by Zukin, but does question the one-dimensional logic which ties cultural to economic capital in her account which allows for the transformation of a vital, culturally located 'vernacular' into a power soaked, economically located 'landscape'. Rather, as we have attempted to argue above, the work of Featherstone, Martin and others, together with our own research, suggests that any analysis of 'new cultural intermediaries' needs to consider important cultural shifts operative throughout contemporary societies which may not be contained solely within the distinction strategies of one particular class fraction, but instead signify a more complex process of contemporary cultural change.

Notes

1. We are grateful to the ESRC for the funding which allowed this project to be undertaken. The research was conducted by the authors, Mike Featherstone and Dianne Phillips. The work involved the collection of both quantitative and qualitative data and the transcripts and other materials presented here form part of that project. Further details are available from the authors, or the Economic Research Council of Great Britain quoting grant ref no. R00023-3075.
2. Here our suggestion is that Bourdieu's analysis may be less applicable today precisely because of the increased commodification of the cultural and the associated destabilization of cultural hierarchies. While it is always possible for distinction strategies to differentiate cultural practices, monopolization of the 'judgement of taste' may no longer allow for the kinds of 'capital conversion' available in the recent past. As Martin (1991) has observed: 'Bourdieu is notably reluctant to admit to any serious disturbance of basic class patterns' and:

One indubitable member of the old gentlemanly class (higher ecclesiastical branch) recently remarked to us that in order not to be mistaken for a Yuppie today it has become necessary to live among considerable decay, sagging 1920s sofas and the kind of ugly heirlooms that no self-respecting Yuppie would be caught dead **buying**.
3. Thus we can see the ad-hoc way in which these professions grew up often in the interstices of larger concerns in order to offer services that these often did not know they needed or could not understand why they consistently failed. There is a history of how these larger concerns both learned to recognise how much they needed this new expertise, the specific modus operandi of this new sector (flexibility, creativity, 'counter-cultural values' etc.) and how (to a degree) these could be reproduced within their own organizations. There is also a history of how large concerns could fail to recognise this, with damaging consequences. That is a history familiar in Britain.
4. In 1992 Manchester's local authorities launched the Greater Manchester Visitor and Convention Bureau. The launch was held, not in a hotel, exhibition or conference centre but in The Hacienda, which had become Manchester's premier club and discotheque for the rave and house scenes. The club, partly owned by one of

Manchester's most prominent 'pop' cultural entrepreneurs played a major role in articulating a 'pop' cultural bohemia centring on music, dance and fashion. In spite of a history of problems with regard to its relationship with authority; licensing, policing and the use of dance drugs such as Ecstasy, the club was chosen because it epitomized the changing image of the city from work to play. At this launch invited guests were treated to an entertainment collage which began with a 'Northern working class' tableau of 'cloth caps' and 'pigeon fancying' and ended with lycra clad dancers moving to the latest 'house' sounds.

References

- Beck, U. (1992), *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*, Sage, London.
- Berman, M. (1986), 'Take it to the Streets: Conflict and Community in Public Space', *Dissent* (Summer 1986).
- Berman, M. (1992), 'Why Modernism Still Matters' in Lash, S. & Friedman, J. (eds.) *Modernity and Identity* Blackwell, Oxford.
- Beauregard, S. (1986), 'The Chaos and Complexity of Gentrification', in Smith, N. & Williams, P. (eds.) *The Gentrification of the City* Allen & Unwin, London.
- Bianchini, F. (1987), 'GLC R.I.P. Cultural Policies in London', *New Formations*, 1.
- Bianchini, F. (1989), 'Cultural Policy and Urban Social Movements: the Response of the 'New Left' in Rome (1976-85) and London (1981-86)', in Bramham et al (eds.), *Leisure and Urban Processes*, Routledge, London.
- Bianchini, F. & Schwengel, H. (1991), 'Re-imagining the City', in Corner, J. & Harvey, S. (eds.), *Enterprise and Heritage* Routledge, London.
- Bianchini, F. (1991), 'Urban Renaissance? The Arts and the Urban Regeneration Process' in Pimlott, B. & MacGregor, S. (eds.) *Tackling the Inner Cities?* Open University Press, Milton Keynes.
- Bianchini, F. & Parkinson, M. (eds.), (1994), *Cultural Policy and Urban Regeneration* Manchester University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984), *Distinction* Macmillan, London.
- Chambers, I. (1990), *Border Dialogues* Routledge, London.
- Cooke, P. (1988), 'Modernity, Postmodernity and the City' in *Theory Culture and Society* 5(2-3).
- Crane, D. (1992), *The Production of Culture*, Sage, London.
- Ehrenreich, B. (1990), 'The Yuppie Strategy', in Ehrenreich, B. *Fear of Falling: The Inner Life of the Middle Class*.
- Elias, N. (1939), *The Civilising Process*, (reprinted 1994 Blackwell).

Fainstein, S. et al (eds.) (1986), *Divided Cities*, Blackwell, New York and London).

Featherstone, M. (1991), *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism*, Sage, London.

Fisher, M. & Owen, C. (eds.) (1991), *Whose Cities*, Penguin, London.

Frith, S. & Savage, J. (1993), 'Pearls and Swine', *New Left Review*, 198.

Haider, D. (1989), 'Marketing Places; the State of the Art', in *Commentary*, (Spring).

Haider, D. (1989), 'Making Marketing Choices', in *Commentary*, (Summer).

Hammond, J. & Williams, P. (1988), 'Yuppies', in *Public Opinion, Quarterly* 50.

Harvey, D. (1986), *The Urbanisation of Capital*, Blackwell, Oxford.

Harvey, D. (1988), 'Voodoo Cities', in *New Statesman and Society*, 30 September.

Harvey, D. (1989), *The Condition of Postmodernity*, Blackwell, Oxford.

Hodge, J. (1993), *Rethinking Temporality: Heidegger, Sociology and the Postmodern Critique*, Working Paper No 5, Manchester Institute for Popular Culture, The Manchester Metropolitan University.

Jager, M. (1986), 'Victoriana in Melbourne' in Smith, N. and Williams, P. (eds.), *The Gentrification of the City*, Allen & Unwin, London.

Kellner, H. & Heuberg, F. (eds.) (1991), *Hidden Technocrats: the New Class and the New Capitalism* Transaction Press, New York.

Law, C. (1988), 'Urban Revitalisation, Public Policy & Redevelopment: Lessons from Baltimore and Manchester' in Hoyle, B. et al, *Revitalising the Waterfront*, Belhaven Press.

Lewis, J. (1990), *Art, Culture and Enterprise*, Routledge, London.

Martin, B. (1981), *A Sociology of Contemporary Cultural Change*, Blackwell, Oxford.

- Martin, B. (1991), 'Qualitative Market Research In Britain: A Profession on the Frontiers of Postmodernity', in Kellner, H. & Heuberger, F. (eds.) (1991), *Hidden Technocrats: the New Class and the New Capitalism*, Transaction Press, New York.
- Myerscough, J. (1988), *The Economic Importance of the Arts in Britain*, Policy Studies Institute, London.
- Milestone, K. (1992), *Pop Music, Place and Travel*, Paper presented at Leisure Studies Conference, Department of Leisure Studies, Tilburg University, The Netherlands. Alternatively, the author is a former researcher at The Manchester Institute for Popular Culture, Manchester Metropolitan University.
- Mulgan, G. & Worpole, K. (1986), *Saturday Night or Sunday Morning?* Commedia, London.
- Robbins, K. (1991), 'Prisoners of the City: Whatever could a Postmodern City be?' in *New Formations* 15 (Winter).
- Robson, B. (1986), *Those Inner Cities* Manchester University Press.
- Rose, D. (1984), 'Rethinking Gentrification: Beyond the Uneven Development of Marxist Urban Theory' in *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 1 pp.47-74.
- Sassen, S. (1991), *The Global City* Princeton, University Press.
- Sassen, S. (1994), *Cities in a World Economy*, Pineforge.
- Savage, J. (1992), 'Structures of Feeling', *New Statesman & Society*, 18 September.
- Shields, R. (1991), *Places on the Margin*, Routledge, London.
- Shields, R. (ed.) (1992), *Lifestyle Shopping*, Routledge, London.
- Shields, R. (1992), 'A truant Proximity: Presence and Absence in the Space of Modernity', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 10.
- Schulze, G. (1993), *Die Erlebnisgesellschaft: Kultursoziologie der Gegenwart*, Campus Verlag, Frankfurt.

- Simpson, C. (1981), *SoHo: The Artist in the City*, University of Chicago Press.
- Smith, N. (1987), 'Of Yuppies and Housing: Gentrification, Social Restructuring and the Urban Dream' in *Environment and Planning D, Society and Space* 5.
- Smith, N. & Williams, P. (eds.) (1986), *The Gentrification of the City*, Allen & Unwin, London.
- Thornley, A. (1990), *Urban Planning Under Thatcherism*, Routledge, London.
- Thrift, N. (1993), 'An Urban Impasse?' *Theory, Culture and Society* 10
- Turner, V. (1969), *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*, Allen Lane, London.
- Walzer, M. (1984), 'The Pleasures and Costs of Urbanity', in *Dissent*, (Summer).
- Whimster, S. (1992), 'Yuppies: A Keyword of the 1980s', in Budd, L. and Whimster, S. (eds.) *Global Finance and Urban Living*, Sage, London.
- Whittle, S. (ed.) (1994), *Gay Culture and The City*, Arena, Swindon.
- Worpole, K. (1992), *Towns for People: Transforming Urban Life*, Open University Press, Milton Keynes.
- Wynne, D. (ed.) (1992), *The Culture Industry*, Avebury, Swindon.
- Zukin, S. (1987), 'Gentrification', *Annual Review of Sociology*.
- Zukin, S. (1982), *Loft Living* Johns Hopkins University.
- Zukin, S. (1992), *Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disneyworld*, University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Zukin, S. (1992), 'Postmodern Urban Landscapes: Mapping Culture and Power', in Lash, S. and Freidman, J. (eds.), *Modernity and Identity*, Blackwell, Oxford.
- Zukin, S. (1988), 'The Postmodern Debate over Urban Form', *Theory, Culture and Society*, 5 (2-3).

Appendix Two

City Cultures and the New Cultural Intermediaries

A paper with the same title was presented at the British Sociological Association Annual Conference in April, 1995, University of Leicester.

The paper is published in OPINIAO PUBLICA Vol. IV No.1 1996
ISSN 0104-6276

City Cultures and the 'New Cultural Intermediaries'

Derek Wynne and Justin O'Connor.

Statistical Analysis by Dianne Phillips.

Department of Sociology
Manchester Metropolitan University

Paper presented at the BSA Annual Conference April, 1995. University of Leicester

Published in OPINIAO PUBLICA Vol. IV no1. 1996 (forthcoming) ISSN 0104-6276

Note: We are grateful to the ESRC for the funding which enabled this study to be undertaken. Research Grant No. R000-23-3075

Introduction

We seek to attend to two current and related debates in the social sciences: first, that associated with urban regeneration and the changing role of the city; second, that associated with the construction and deconstruction of identities claimed by much of postmodern theorising (Featherstone, 1991; Harvey, 1986 & 1990; Lash, 1990; Shields, 1991; Smith & Williams, 1986; Zukin, 1982 & 1992;). In addition we are particularly concerned to relate our research to that undertaken by Bourdieu (1984). Given the impact of Bourdieu's work in the sociology of culture, and the debt owed to Bourdieu in the debates outlined above, our research has attempted to incorporate some of the concerns of his thesis into our own investigations. The last decade has seen a growing literature on this area of cultural change and on those groups which are seen to be central to the active dissemination and promotion of such change - the new cultural intermediaries (Betz, 1992; Bourdieu, 1984; Featherstone, 1991; Lash & Urry 1989?). In this context our research seeks to investigate the claims made by those who would use Bourdieu to characterise culturally based urban regeneration as integral to a distinction strategy of this fraction of the new middle class and that this class fraction can be identified as being among the prime bearers of postmodern lifestyles¹.

We examined these claims by choosing a study population which had recently moved into the new and refurbished residences in Manchester city centre, hypothesising that these would conform most closely to the above model. The residential developments were closely linked to a culturally based urban regeneration strategy. The lack of any recent tradition of city centre living, the particular quality and style of the developments, and the relatively condensed timespan in which these were occupied, suggested our survey would pick up a sufficiently homogenous group against which to test these claims. A further aim, was to use Bourdieu's questionnaire from *Distinction*, albeit considerably reworked and updated, in order to provide an extra dimension of

comparative purchase. Similarly, use was also made, as in *Distinction*, of statistical multivariate analyses, using correspondence analysis.

Our research attempted a limited comparison of Bourdieu's structural analysis with some of our own findings². This comprised:

- (a) Description, derived from a questionnaire, of structure, lifestyle and cultural consumption of these city centre residents.
- (b) Analysis of cultural capital variables against structural variables to discover any structural barriers within the sample itself.
- (c) Comparison of levels of cultural competence across different cultural fields such as music, film and art in order to assess the relative levels of cultural capital and its distribution within different cultural forms.
- (d) Assessment of the claims of theorists of the new middle class in the light of our survey results.

In addition we attempted to investigate our respondents at a qualitative level, to establish what we would regard as a crucial 'subjective' side to our analysis. In addition to conducting in-depth interviews we also engaged in an ethnography of 'new cultural spaces' that have recently emerged in the city.

Our interviews attempted to uncover:

- (a) the extent of reflexivity/individuation and concern with presentation of self.
- (b) the practices of sociability and concerns with play, leisure, and hedonism.

(c) how use of the city centre may or may not form part of a cultural capital; how the centre may represent a crucial choice/rejection in terms of a construction of identity; and how it is used as a cultural space.

Our ethnography investigated the changing uses of the city centre with regard to those agencies attempting to restructure these uses; the groups and agencies that responded to this shift, and the social networks which emerged from this. In addition we were concerned with the transformations of the image of place associated with the city centre and the changing spatial practices consequent upon these transformed images.

Methods

Data was collected by questionnaire (210 households), in-depth interview (50 households) and ethnography. The research design employed quantitative and qualitative approaches in an interactive and complementary way.

Preliminary investigations indicated that there were differences between the separate developments in terms of price. To provide an element of control, the initial sampling procedure adopted was a stratified random sample using the development sites as the variable for initial grouping. Lists of dwellings in each development were used to select units at random. The questionnaire asked respondents for information on 104 items (including the observation schedule). Essentially our questionnaire is similar to that developed by Bourdieu, but also includes a number of 'ethnographically developed' questions regarding such preferred choices of bars, clubs, shops, theatres and galleries and other venues in the city centre³.

Fifty in-depth interviews (average length 2hrs.) were undertaken with an aide-memoire, production of which was based on an analysis of some of the quantitative data, together with a concern to conduct interviews which would uncover information associated with the practices of use and reflexive monitoring which quantitative methods are less able to discover⁴. As such our in depth interviews attempted to provide us with extended discussion of:

- 1 Biography and Mobility
- 2 Goals and Life Structures
- 3 Living in the City
- 4 Using the City
- 5 The Apartments
- 6 Domestic Arrangements

Each of the interviews were tape recorded and transcribed⁵.

Our ethnography began with a mapping of the cultural and social facilities of the city centre which also assisted with the development of the questionnaire. The task of 'translating' Bourdieu's questionnaire proved difficult and demanded an extensive ethnographic knowledge of these facilities - an ethnographic knowledge which we argue is relatively unacknowledged in his work. This task was facilitated by the ethnographer's extensive formal and informal knowledge of the city; including involvement in its cultural life through membership of a theatre group based in the city centre, and formal and informal contact with proprietors and other providers and users of the city's bars, cafes and clubs gained through extensive participation.

In addition to this field work the ethnography was also concerned with uncovering emergent networks at the policy level, and the relationship between these and providers.

Results

Structural characteristics of our survey population

Age and household condition: the group were predominantly young and young middle aged with a mean average age of 36 years and a modal age of 27 years Fig 1. Only 17% of the sample were married and currently living together, current marital and household condition is shown in Figs 2a/2b.

Income: although a number of students in the sample led to some low income respondents and households, outside this category household income was fairly evenly distributed up to levels beyond £50,000 per annum.

Occupation: a quarter of the group were in managerial and professional occupations (RG1), and a further 34% in RG2, the largest single group being teachers. In comparison with Bourdieu's data, using his (unusual for British empirical sociology) definitions, 59% of our respondents could be identified as upper class, 35% as middle class and less than 10% as working class. In the context of more standard British classifications, a breakdown of occupations is provided in Fig 4.

Social Mobility: respondents were of varied social mobility. Some were clearly middle class in origin, others were from backgrounds which indicated substantial social mobility. A crude indication of social mobility, using RG classifications of respondents and their father's occupations, is provided in Table One. The usual levels of mobility over short ranges are notable, but nonetheless, eg 12 persons in (1) were of two ranks or more away. There was notable downward mobility (6/12 in 4, for example) and these observations are relevant in terms of our Bourdieu comparison⁶.

Education: respondents possessed relatively high levels of educational qualifications. 52% had first degrees or higher, and the majority of others had been educated beyond 'o' level.

Previous residence: the majority had moved within Greater Manchester and its suburbs, that is, they had traded living from somewhere within the Manchester area for the city centre itself. As we expected, they were overwhelmingly new residents, of under three years - see figs five and six.

Cultural consumption and lifestyle patterns:

The group are, in general, enthusiastic users of the city centre facilities. In summary of their level of usage our data reveal that they use the fashionable pubs and bars and the most popular of traditional pubs. Indeed bar and pub use was what they most had in common. One of the most popular bars, which had seen over 50% of the group, The Cornerhouse Bar, can be described as a 'designer style' bar located in the city's independent cinema/gallery. Other bars aiming at a new fashion in continental bottled beers and espresso coffee tended to attract around 35% of the group. Regular and frequent discotheque and club use occupied around 30% of our sample, and a further 30% were aware of, and made some use of, the club scene. However, 40% had limited knowledge, and made little or no use. In Club awareness and use, the Hacienda stood out, not surprisingly given its international reputation in the 'club scene'. Almost 40% of the group had visited it, and over 12% went often.

Classical music concert attendance was limited in comparison but still above the national average. 15% had been to Manchester's own Halle Orchestra in the last six months, although under 5% were regular visitors. The relative limitation of their consumption of classical music was also reflected in the scores on the question

involving knowledge of classical music. Only 19 people knew six or more composers of our concert works. This question was intended for easy comparison with Bourdieu's scores, which were much higher. Serious music users were widely distributed across the occupational structure, with notable numbers of teachers and managers.

Theatre Attendance was very much higher. In particular, the Royal Exchange, Manchester's major producing theatre, had been visited by 50% of the group in the last six months. The popular and varied diet of the Palace and Opera House receiving theatres had attracted over 30% of the group. However, attendance at the smaller, more specialist venues staging plays were lower; 14% for the Library Theatre, and 7% for the Contact Theatre - Manchester's youth theatre.

Gallery attendance was similarly high. 44% had visited the City Art Gallery, and 30% the Whitworth. 10-20% were clearly serious gallery users, with the major private galleries getting this level of attendance, as well as the Tate North (Liverpool) and the major London Galleries. Questionnaire responses on art were those which Bourdieu would take as safe - but we must admit that opportunities within the questionnaire to display advanced enthusiasm were limited. What characterised these answers could equally be represented as openness: they were willing to look, but not exactly seekers. Attendance at, for example, the Festival of Expressionism held in the city in September 1992 were relatively low, at 18%.

Film attendance and awareness (including some measure of knowledge) was medium or high for 50%, and high for the usual 10-20% of specialists. There was a quite substantial openness to new and varied kinds of cinema, 13% expressing interest in Experimental film, and 37% interested in 'Independent' Cinema. The baseline of video taste - horror - held little appeal, but thrillers and comedies (40-50%) were mainstream enthusiasms.

They are very clear about their choice of friends. They like them lively (50%), sociable (63%), and amusing (65%). They respond only minimally to them being refined,(8%) well-bred (8%) or artistic (15%), although the last one leaves room for argument. There is some support for the puritan virtues, conscientious (22%) and level-headed (24%). "Stylish" gets 12% (cf Bourdieu).

We would conclude that the group are enthusiastic users of the facilities of their city, but that the bulk of their use is what could be described as the 'open middle'. Where access is unfamiliar, or there is a threat of boredom or pretension, usage falls away. While it is correct to say that overall they are enthusiastic users, 25% make little or no use of cultural facilities, e.g. they go neither to galleries nor theatres. This could suggest some continuing socio-cultural boundaries in usage of a traditional and familiar kind.

Lifestyle Choice Indicators

At least 40% are readers of quality newspapers, daily and Sunday. The Guardian and Independent dominate, with The Times and Daily Telegraph lower. The Times dominates on Sunday, but is beaten by the combination of Independent and Observer. Highest magazine readership is City Life, Manchester's list-and-crit. Of the nationals, Viz (24%), Cosmopolitan (24%) and Private Eye (21%) are only just higher than the Economist (18%). Style magazines such as The Face and I.D. are an enthusiast taste. 'Q' is read by 11%, 'ID' by 9%. New Musical Express beats these, just, at 13%. The readership of City Life, 'a listings magazine' is clearly striking, as is the general preference in political and social analysis. The two favourite radio stations were Radios 1 (43%) and 4 (44%) Radio 3 got the "enthusiast" 13% (nb before Classic FM). The local pop commercial station, got 33%, and the local BBC station got 9%. Given the

character of the question, which did not limit the number of positive responses, the scores on kinds of TV programmes watched were all high, with particular interest in News Programmes, (71%), Films, (77%) and Documentaries,(67%). Soaps attracted half the sample, together with Alternative Comedy and Drama. Only classic serials and light sitcoms got relatively small interest, at 32% and 25%. News programmes, including analysis like Panorama, were popular, (over a third watched Channel Four News, and Panorama, with wildlife, popular science and travel favourite choices.

The questionnaire did not reveal exceptional tastes in popular music. Soul was the most popular category. Interestingly, the scene music of the time - Manchester independent, and House/Rave, only rated "enthusiast" scores, of around 18%. This was from a questionnaire administered at the height of "Madchester". Favourite artists (from an imposed list) were Madonna, Phil Collins, and Prince. 43% were active in sport, with the aerobic sports of swimming, cycling and running (21%) the most popular. Next were Athletics and Keep Fit, (8%) and Ball games (15%). In other leisure activities, other than those already mentioned, the most popular, by a striking margin, was walking, in which 30% indulged often and a further 30 sometimes. Cultural activities like learning an instrument or painting were in the "enthusiast" range. The mixture is not an unfamiliar or evidently novel one.

Their politics were altogether more striking. What got their support, passive rather than active, was the politics of the expanding circle, a "good-cause", new politics.

Organisations such as Greenpeace, Oxfam, and Friends of the Earth received levels of strong approval of 70% and above. 50% expressed clear support for Gay Liberation and for Women's Liberation. Orthodox political parties got altogether lower levels of approval and support. Membership, generally, was pretty low - with 70% support, Greenpeace got 4% membership. 41% would support Labour, but only 3% were members - the lowest membership of each of the main parties. Similarly, 58% supported the Greens, but membership was under 2%. The Conservatives were

supported by 24%, and 5% were members of this party. This group in general, (but remembering the quarter who were Conservative supporters) were hence not classically political but leftish, with a massive expressed support of, but not participation in, new political movements.

Correspondence Analysis - factors underlying cultural consumption⁷

Central to our concerns, we carried out a multivariate homogeneity analysis in an attempt to achieve a map of the cultural consumption of the city centre residents, powerful enough to indicate an answer to our questions. In this procedure, the relationships between the seven 'cultural indicator' variables were explored. The seven variables used as 'cultural' indicators derived from discussions of the preliminary statistical, in-depth interview, and ethnographic results. They were as follows :

1. MUSIC (Knowledge of composers, question 19, scaled 1-4, after Bourdieu). Note that this is a fairly "objective test" of classical composers, unlike the other questions. Answers did not derive from attendance.
2. FILMSC (Knowledge of film directors question 32 , scaled 1-3, after Bourdieu).
3. THEATRE (Theatre going on a regular basis, relevant sections of qtn 1, scaled 1-5. The variable reflects weightings both for frequency of attendance, and attendance at relatively "serious" events - i.e. a visit to the Palace counts for less on the scale, than a visit to the Library Theatre.)
4. FASHION (Attitudes to clothes purchases, qtn 12 and q 13, scaled 1-4, after Bourdieu). To score at the high end respondents had to prefer clothes that reflected fashion, or were "daring and out of the ordinary". Further, they had to purchase mainly from small fashion boutiques.

5. GALLERY (visits to art galleries, relevant sections of qtn 1, scaled 1-4.) To score at the top on this, respondents had to visit frequently and to visit out-of-town galleries.

6. POLITICS (affiliation to political and voluntary organisations, qtn 61, scaled 1-5). Given the emergent character of the politics of the sample, this variable reflects degree of commitment or opposition to "new political topics". For a score of '4', a respondent had to express very general support for ecological, liberationist and caring organisations, together with a generally left-leaning political attitude. For a '5', respondents had, in addition, to be members of relevant organisations. For a '1', respondents had to express active opposition to some aspects of the new politics.

7. CLUBBING (familiarity with clubs/venues, qtn3, scaled 1-3). This involved factors of recognition and "knowledge" as much as attendance.

Initial results suggested that an attempt to reduce the dimensions to two would produce only a poor representation of the relationships. The following maps are the results from selecting a three dimensional solution.

Fig 7 maps the object scores on all the variables assigned to cases (respondents). Clearly the mass of scores are closely clustered with a small proportion distinguished on the 'fringe'. There are no obvious outliers. It suggests again, that we have a relatively homogeneous group, this time in terms of cultural taste.

The map of discrimination measures (fig 8) suggests that the first dimension in the multivariate case is related most strongly to the knowledge of film directors, the second to music. Fashion is discriminating poorly in the two first dimensions. Theatre attendance, gallery and disco visits and politics are in between.

The effect of the influence of film and music knowledge is clearly seen in the map of the category quantifications (fig 9). This map places categories that contain the same object scores close together. The first dimension differentiates most clearly along the categories of film knowledge, the second on the music scores.

Taking the left hand side of the plot, a low knowledge of film directors (fl1) is also closely associated with low scores on visits to galleries (g1), theatre (t1) and music (m1). On the right hand side, a high score on film knowledge (fl3) is associated with high scores on gallery and theatre visits (g4, t5). High scores on politics are also associated with high scores on film knowledge.

Although the second dimension discriminates most obviously on knowledge of music, it also discriminates between high scores on all dimensions except politics and middle and low scores. A score of 1 on politics, it should be remembered, indicates a level of active opposition that does not characterise a score of 2 or 3. We have treated, in these indicators, the political choices as a 'cultural' variable. This is justified in our argument, and in terms of the raw scores. The latter show clear 'position taking' with much less actual activism. Theoretically we think our sample are largely defining themselves by their expressed position in this 'new politics'.

Tentatively, given a three dimensional solution, we propose that the dimensions are:

- 1) cultural awareness ('low' to 'high' taste).
- 2) activism and commitment.
- 3) style.

Hence we read the map, using the first dimension, as levels of cultural awareness. The second dimension involves levels of active commitment. The highest score for music (m4) is an expression of lengthy commitment to music. A score of p1 or p5 on politics, indicates activism and independence of mind at both ends of the political spectrum. A

score of g4 on gallery indicates an active use of art facilities, locally and nationally. F4, on fashion, puts a concern with clothing/style at the centre of commitment. In terms of our original questions, the maps, taken together, indicate that the majority of the study sample are culturally active, with the politics of the expanding circle working like other cultural dimensions. They are a large 'centre' with substantial usage, but not particularly high on what Bourdieu would call cultural capital, or exploratory cultural practice. There is then in each cultural dimension a much smaller group of serious enthusiasts. This group includes some who are scoring high on all scales except fashion and disco usage.

There is, in addition, a cluster of scores low on all dimensions. We would interpret this in relation to the 25% of the sample population who make little or no use of the cultural facilities and score low on knowledge and 'taste' tests. The only obvious anomaly to this broad interpretation is that a high score on clubbing rates low on commitment and activism. It should be remembered that this question reflects awareness and recognition as much as actual attendance.

The positioning of high fashion scores close to low scores on the other variables appears to suggest a separateness of style activism from other activisms. Very tentatively, the maps fit a picture of a substantial middle to high usage and high cross-over, without general enthusiast commitment, with two separate groupings of low awareness and use, and one of high awareness, use and active commitment. This could suggest a continuity of taste boundaries (Bourdieu) rather than a 'postmodern collapse', but the relative 'size' of the middle grouping suggests that this would be a very partial explanation. Rather we would interpret these results as suggestive of a de-differentiation of previously structured tastes in these cultural fields with our relatively large 'middle grouping' engaging in what could be termed a 'sampling culture' in which traditional practices and competences are rejected or, at least, no longer adhered to (Lash, 1990).

Qualitative Analysis

In analysing the interview material we have focussed upon the most pertinent characteristics for explicating the principal features associated with changing identities under conditions of late or post modernity. Principally, we take these to be a concern with self-monitoring or reflexivity, changing patterns of sociability, and a developing aestheticisation of everyday life (O'Connor & Wynne, 1995).

Subjects speak of having flexible futures in terms of their social/work life, they see themselves as having few roots, a strong sense of self - of who they are, and a desire to be 'different' - expressed not only in terms of a changed relationship to work, which many define as not of primary importance, but also in terms of leisure activities, clothes or apartment style. They believe in their abilities to make choices about their life course, suggestive of a reflexive approach to their lives, i.e. a concern with why they do what they do. Their explanations or rationale show a concern with 'making sense' of the positions they find themselves in - which they related to the nature of their sociability and work patterns. Significant numbers express a desire, and are engaged in, the construction of lives in which work and social life penetrate each other such as to make them indistinguishable. They do not see themselves as 'belonging' anywhere in particular - their 'selves' are quite contained and 'sparse' - precious belongings can be 'put in a box' and carried with them. Dreams and futures are not especially related to 'important' or well paid jobs. Rather concern tends to be with the quality of life and an unsureness about the future. They see the future as problematic: politically; socially; economically.

Our interviewees show a high commitment to the use of cultural facilities and other forms of leisure activity, and relatively weak commitments to any traditional form of work ethic. Lifestyles show a fluidity and openness with regard to non-traditional

forms of sociability and relatively weak commitments to, for example, marriage, child-rearing, established religions, and traditional forms of political expression. Our respondents exhibit high degrees of reflexivity and a concern with image and presentation of the self over what might be described as more traditional concerns such as occupation, stability and career orientation. Our data suggests the adoption of less fixed social codes and what have been characterised as 'post '68' values (Martin 1981).

For our subjects the nature of the centre is described as being 'where it's at', of 'living at the heart of things', and 'living on the edge' (Shields 1992). It cannot be separated from what is perceived to be left behind - suburbia, conformity, isolated family life, conservatism. The move to the centre is an attempt to 'open up' to 'explore', although this is more so for some than others. Some were quite young and at a stage where they were able to experiment here. The presence of two 'low cost' residences pointed us to some interesting comparisons. Whilst any young person would need money to move into the other developments these last two were open to anybody who was able to, as one put it, 'blag their way in' via housing need officers of housing associations and the local council. Our interviewees used different routes and used different social capitals (we suspect enthusiasts here) but they came for the same reasons - the idea of living 'at the centre/on the edge/away from suburbia' was strong. It also pointed to the very different possibilities opened up by the space of the centre. This is pronounced with the 25-35 age group who have taken a deliberate stand away from suburban lifestyle. Although this group is the usual target of investigators, in this study it is difficult to see them as 'yuppies'. The centre is approached in terms of a sense of play, sociability, hedonism, but one not geared to the 'work hard, play hard' ethos of the yuppie.

Much of the attraction of the centre, beside its ability to represent an 'edge', was its function as a stage. It was felt that the presentation of self was much more theatrical here than in other areas. This is a common characterisation of large cities, though not necessarily industrial cities. The debate on globalisation has focused on information and

commodity flows and how these impact upon the sense of place. Much less work has been done on how local city cultures respond to this. We argue below that the agencies involved in 're-imagining' cities are multiple with complex effects. In Manchester the city centre as stage opened up a realm of experimentation and negotiation of identity which may have involved one night a week for visitors but was more extensively felt by these residents. The strongest such group were the gay population, having targeted one of the residences as safe and convenient for access to the events of the 'gay village'. This sense of city centre as stage and edge could also be found in the cafe-bars where respondents felt a move away from traditional pubs made Manchester seem more 'European'. This word operated on a number of different levels, but for the residents it was felt as a source of openness and change that was often read in parallel to their own lives. In moving to the centre they opened up the centre to these new possibilities as they consumed the cultural distinction on offer (the developers image) in ways not intended by the instigators of the residential developments.

Earlier work done by the Central Manchester Development Corporation (CMDC, 1990?) suggested that residential moves to the city centre could be explained equally by economic advantage and convenience for work and leisure. We found from our interviewees that the reasons for their moving were overwhelmingly to do with the attraction of living in the centre. It was upon this perceived attraction that we focused. Previous studies on gentrification have stressed the economic and cultural aspects of the displacement of existing (lower class) residents and the establishment of 'trendy' places which form part of the habitus of a new class fraction or group. We have pointed earlier to the difficulties of this debate and to the ambiguities of the group it points to. In this study there was no displacement and the economic viability of the new apartments as 'investment' is dubious given the recent market in British provincial cities. Understanding this move to the centre became an important part of our investigation - in what way does *this* represent a 'cultural investment' ie. living in the city being a distinction strategy, as addressed by Zukin.

As suggested above our interviewees are willing to give up certain things in order to engage in cultural and social pleasures, with some sense of 'urban pioneer' but muted and linked more to their own self development rather than annexing the neighbourhood for economic value-added. In the gentrification debate the cultural value-added of a bohemia, and the development of self through cultural experimentation is seen as primary, but this is mostly description and prejudice rather than convincing evidence. For many that we have interviewed their choices reflect less these above strategies - which are there to a degree - than a particular lifestyle response to insecurity, changing lifecourse expectations, marital breakdown, awareness of 'alternate' sexual identity, and a commitment to exploring the fluidity of life chances that is often (though not always) forced upon them. Again the political thread ties them not to 'yuppiedom' but to a 'post-68, greenish, politically correct' culture (Betz, 1992; Bramham, 1993).

In addition to an examination of some of the cultural spaces used by our subjects, our ethnography also examined some of the actors and agencies involved in the restructuring of the centre (O'Connor & Wynne, 1995). We found that the supposed unification of cultural and economic capital as argued for in certain theorists of gentrification and the postmodern city was much more complex than this. The need to deal with the specific competences of those involved in the production and distribution of culture and the need to keep cultural activity away from direct identification with the demands of economic capital, saw the developing networks between development agencies, the city council, developers and associated cultural intermediaries as relatively autonomous.

Those 'cultural intermediaries' associated with the new centre were an increasingly diverse group. If their networks originated in the high cultural art world they gradually extended through the pop music world, the cultural industries and the entertainment industries. In this the cultural intermediaries had an increasingly active role in the

definition of the cultural image to be presented. The high cultural model increasingly gave way to an emphasis on sociability and the vibrancy of everyday life which was weighted towards the 'pop' scene. Although the figures from our sample do not show an 'enthusiasm' for pop music and clubbing, the ethnography and our interviews constantly underscore the attraction of the centre as a place 'where its at' and linked directly to the vibrancy of this scene.

As such, the centrality of the centre as a (possible) source of cultural capital appears linked to its vibrancy. In Manchester this is different from that process described by Zukin; Manchester is tying its fortune as a city of culture as much to the previously marginal world of pop culture as it is to the mainstream art worlds. Similar things could be said for the role of gay culture in recent years and both the City Council and CMDC's willingness to promote it as a cultural plus. Such a response has to be understood as linked both to the economic troubles of Manchester and to its need/desire to promote itself as an international city. In this context, cultural regeneration, if it is linked to class distinction, is done via a re-imaging of the identity of the city as a northern, industrial working class city whose claim to world status in production has disappeared. Cultural regeneration then is explicitly linked, by respondents and users of the centre, to a re-imaging of place. This is complex as a question of agency, but it is also complex in its effects. It could be argued that the image of place was crucial to the enhancement of the economic and cultural capital of those groups that stand to gain directly by Manchester's international standing (though the width of this group would bring its own problems). But this would be to ignore the renegotiation of identity involved. The creation of the centre *ascentral* in a new way, linked to both high culture and the vibrancy of culture as everyday life, brought in groups who would use that centrality in different ways to create a lifestyle and habitus which our ethnography cannot place as being one of a class fraction.

Our subjects everyday non-work practices in the centre also reflect both a re-negotiation of place, at the regional and national level, but, importantly, they also relate to a re-negotiation of identity - as to what it is to be northern (Shields 1993), and what marks out a quality of life. This relates to the particular findings of our sample, and helps explain what we have called their 'middle brow' nature. The group have a role for culture, but its meaning is to be found in the wider social practices and patterns of sociability and play, rather than in the accretion of cultural capital. The traditional pattern of a rising social group aspiring to the cultural capital of a higher one, whether through imitation or out-flanking is, for us, no longer a viable model. The autodidact has turned flaneur.

Conclusion: theorising the new cultural intermediaries

We have examined the hypothesis that the subjects of our study could represent part of a new middle class associated with the promotion of postmodern lifestyles as part of a distinction strategy aimed to overturn existing hierarchies, inserting themselves into a new position of power in the reformed cultural field. With regard to our findings we would wish to make four points.

First, as a new middle class of cultural intermediaries indicated by *occupation* in the cultural/media sphere, they do not generally belong to such occupational sectors - though most are based in the knowledge/service industries and/or public sector.

Second, the majority of our subjects are not particularly rich in high cultural capital, nor does there seem to be a concentration on amassing it; if it is a 'rising' fraction then high cultural capital does not seem a primary means of ensuring this trajectory. Nor, however, could they be regarded as avant-gard in cultural preferences, or as tastemakers in the fields of fashion/lifestyle. There are enthusiasms in the sample, but these do not cross over into other enthusiasms. Many tend towards a 'middlebrow'

level of cultural capital and show a distrust of the avant-guard if it is seen as 'pretentious'. We would suggest that for this sample high cultural goods were important for them but that they were neither aspiring to the cultural models of a higher class nor trying to renegotiate the cultural field through the use of avant-guard forms. This may well underline the difficulties Bourdieu's notion of symbolic economy has with a possible proliferation or weakening of cultural codes⁸.

Third, obvious divisions between 'high culture' and 'pop culture' do not provide any structural markers within the sample. The score on film indicates this, though this has long ago ceased to be a cultural interloper. Knowledge and taste in the field of pop music seemed to reflect the general separations of enthusiasm and middle grouping, which only confirms how pop music has not only ceased to signify 'low' culture amongst the educated middle class but neither does it represent a particularly 'avant-guard move'. The impact of 'popular' culture on the cultural field is something that Bourdieu seems unwilling to acknowledge.⁹

Finally, the divorce between style activism and cultural activism is ambiguous. It could well point to a concern with fashion amongst the 'low scorers', or a distrust of the notion of 'fashionable' given by the question. This last could indicate an asceticism linked to cultural capital, a 'northern' quality discussed below, or refusal of 'fashion' from within a valuation of spontaneity and individualism, an authenticity that is strong within 'pop' culture. This may also link to the political culture of the group, which tends to an appreciation of difference which would refuse the more structured play of differences in fashion.

Our subjects then represent nothing that could be structurally understood as a 'rising class fraction'. This could be because our sample group was too small, or that there was no comparative aspect built into our research. However, from the data that we have

examined, we would argue that this form of class analysis is too blunt an instrument to understand what is occurring.

However, such an analysis has underlain many assertions as to the nature of gentrification/cultural regeneration (Zukin 1982 & 1992; Berking & Neckel 1993; Ley 1992; Whimster 1992; Beauregard 1986). We feel that the theoretical models employed need to be re-assessed. The literature on gentrification, and the wider literature on lifestyle in the city, points to groups whose outlines are vague, ambiguous and often contradictory. The figure of the Yuppie, of the new households, of new metropolitan classes, of inner city 'bohemia', of 'lost generations' and 'post-68' groups all point to a difficulty in a structural underpinning of these groups¹⁰. On one level our conclusion is that Bourdieu's 'cultural intermediaries/new middle class' seems unhelpful, and that any analyses of cultural intermediaries have to be uncoupled from their role in a 'rising class fraction' thesis. Such an analysis explains *through* class a tendency to construct identity *apart from* class (ie. through lifestyle). If this group does promote a 'postmodern lifestyle' then it will have a general impact on the way in which distinction through lifestyle is achieved. We all make lifestyle choices now. The question as to whether this class can somehow close down the field in order to monopolise the distinction payoff, or whether it explodes beyond any singular field is something that demands more specific investigation (Featherstone 1991; O'Connor & Wynne 1992). We would contend that the debates associated with our subjects are to do with the multiplication of choices, of certain refusals (suburbia, traditional careers, marriage, 'straight' sex), a management of fluidity and uncertainty, and a desire to participate in or 'sample' different social and cultural worlds.

To place the above within a strategy of 'distinction' would require considerable expansion of Bourdieu's model in the context of: first, distinct national/cultural formations; second, the opposition of provinces/capital - and north/south as it operates

in England; third, the impact of changes in the cultural field since Bourdieu's original study was undertaken.

An understanding of the traditional differences in the role of culture within the national formations and especially the role it plays in securing the cohesion and/or distinction of middle class fractions within this would demand extensive historical work. We would emphasise especially the different role of avant-guard culture, which works as a strategy of 'out flanking' much more powerfully in France than it does here, and can stand as an articulation of France-as-culture in a way unthinkable here.¹¹

Regarding the provincial/capital and north/south divisions we would suggest that the reluctance to advertise cultural competence and/or resistance to statements pointing towards an avant-guard stance may represent a refusal of a cultural model associated with London and a resistance to pretentiousness that marks out northern culture. While we have found an openness to new cultural forms, and to a crossing of boundaries, there also remains an awareness of 'preciousness' that has long roots in northern (English) culture.

Although the restructuring of the cultural field since the 1960's goes beyond the scope of this study, the very debate around the new middle class is itself a way of explaining some of this restructuring. Here we can point to our work on the Manchester International Festival of Expressionism¹². This survey found a broad middle class attendance at a range of avant-guard forms, with the clear exception of music. Music was the form with which most people had most difficulty. Indeed, those attending the music events were relatively self-contained, with little cross attendance at others. This, coupled with work showing the marketing and organisation of the Festival itself, indicated a model of cultural participation that emphasised enjoyment, spectacle, ease of entry and a crossing of genres - all underpinned by a crossing of this cultural participation into a general participation in sociability and the wider realm of everyday

life/leisure.¹³ We could interpret this in conjunction with notions of the 'aesthetisation of everyday life', which can be understood as a presentation of self through cultural consumption and a penetration of cultural commodities into everyday life - one of the claims as to a postmodern lifestyle. However, this need not be interpreted solely in terms of distinction strategies. Rather, it may be part of a general shift that cannot be easily monopolised by a class fraction (Maffisoli 1988 & 1993). In these circumstances the role of culture as cultural capital may change. The reluctance to pursue the path of cultural capital beyond limited areas of enthusiasm, but a general middle of cultural usage could point to a changed model, or a proliferation of models, as to what a 'cultured' person may be. This may be couched decreasingly in terms of competence and more of a lifestyle test of openness, ability to cross boundaries, willingness to dip into things, and a degree of integration of the enjoyment of culture into a sociable lifestyle. Whether this lifestyle is structured around 'style' as an aesthetic unity or in terms of a more fluid ethical unity is something that cannot, we believe, be argued at the level of the general, but must be established by reference to empirical groups and contexts. The ambiguity of 'fashion' referred to above represents this difficulty, often being used to articulate ethical stances - as politics could often be seen to articulate aesthetic choices.

How the above is to be explained in terms of strategies of distinction would, we believe, be difficult in the strict terms of Bourdieu's schema. Rather, we believe that a more fruitful approach would involve consideration of the following.

First, the degree to which underlying cultural shifts be understood as having more widespread or more permeable implications. Whether we are to call these late or post modernity, or reflexivity, or de-traditionalisation it seems to us that Bourdieu's attempt to describe cultural change in terms of the struggle for positional goods is, amongst other things, restricted by its limitation to a problematic of 'scarcity' (Beck 1992). We need to look at the cultural field as multiple rather than singular; as twisting and sliding

in and out of regulation and legitimation (Bauman *); as proliferation rather than zero sum; as marked out by ambiguity rather than structural cohesion; in sum, as moving beyond the Kantian problematic of an establishment of a universal system of taste based on the Judgement-power of a particular class and state (Caygil 1990).

Second, an attempt to assess the recent transformations of lifestyle and more traditional class cultures in terms of general shifts within which different groups (of which 'class fractions' are one) are forced to position themselves. The distribution of positions will be fluid, ambiguous and complex. We need not have to accept all of Maffisoli when we concur in the recognition of the rise of new forms of intense yet transitory and loose forms of sociability. Similarly we need to recognise tendencies in these new lifestyle groups towards the working out of some of the implications of Beck's work on women's choices and the impact of the labour market on the family, or the burdens placed upon the traditional household which are part of that 'transformation of intimacy' discussed by Giddens (1993).

Finally, an attempt to ground accounts of emergent lifestyle groups in terms of both place and space. The transformation of city cultures is complex and demands context. This, it should be stressed, also demands a more historical account. The debate on the 'postmodern city', we feel, needs to recognise that place as well as space 'makes a difference'.

¹ Promoting the constant attention to (and preoccupation with) the self as presented through 'lifestyle' (includes age trajectory and traditional social routes); the blurring of traditional cultural boundaries, especially those of 'highbrow' and more 'popular' cultural forms; and an emphasis on play, hedonism and spectacle. This growth of 'new cultural intermediaries', of 'para-intellectuals' is crucial for an understanding of Postmodernism.

² Here we recognise that Bourdieu's work provides an empirical analysis of the social structure of French society. Our own limited investigation has been confined to a sample of new 'city centre' residents.

³ The HOMALS procedure within CATEGORIES (SPSS) was used for multiple correspondence analysis. As the name hints, this is the form of multiple correspondence analysis which uses homogeneity analysis i.e. it seeks to optimise the homogeneity of variables. HOMALS was used to explore the relationships between the seven indicator variables. For a fuller discussion of correspondence analysis and its use in this research project see Phillips, D. (1994).

⁴ Responses to six open ended questions in the questionnaire were entered into AskSam, a free form database. The preliminary analysis of the AskSam text files of the responses to the open ended questions provided suggestions for themes and topics which were included in the schedule for the qualitative interviews.

⁵ The analysis of transcripts has made extensive use of HypeResearch software a Macintosh based software programme for the analysis of qualitative data. It acts as an electronic card index for the collation and analysis of textual materials.

⁶ Bourdieu was interested in fractions outside those with substantial economic and cultural capital who nonetheless had aspirations to cultural consumption. Apparent downward mobility in economic terms could be exchanged for 'cadet' status in terms of cultural capital (eg. working in cafe of gallery, or voluntarily in cultural venues; administrative jobs in prestigious cultural institutions).

⁷ For a fuller discussion of correspondence analysis and its use in this research project see Phillips, D. (1994)

⁸ This comes out in a revealing exchange response to an interlocutor who suggests just such a process: 'In my view, there are higher markets, places in which the dominant codes remains absolutely efficient; and these places are where the main games are played - that is, in the academic system (in France, the Grandes Ecoles system, the places from which the executives are selected)'. But this is to sidestep the question as to what happens to these codes if large sections of the social spectrum no longer subscribe to a universal classification system. See 'Doxa and common life' *New Left Review* 191 Jan/Feb 1992

⁹ See the above note. In that exchange he sees the valuation of 'mass culture, popular culture and so on' as part of a 'dominant chic' amongst intellectuals whose positive evaluation of something such as rap is really a form of distinction, saying 'you don't see that, but I do and I am the first to see it'. Any such positive evaluation of pop music 'overestimates the capacity of these new things to change the structure of the distribution of symbolic capital... You mystify people when you say 'Look, rap is great'. The question is: does this music really change the structure of the culture?' We would argue that the very rhetorical nature of the question underlines the inadequacy of this response. The separate question of working class culture is crucial here, but goes beyond the scope of the study.

¹⁰ For an overview of the literature and competing definition of the word 'Yuppie' see Whimster, S (1992). The role of this word as catch all explanation is revealed in the last paragraph where Whimster makes the contradictions of the yuppie life bear the weight of the contradictions of modernity itself: 'Whether the young professional will work out an expressive and secular redemption (a la Habermas), or a salvation through consumption (Bourdieu), or whether he or she

will be, at last, simply beyond redemption are questions and directions that should repay further investigation'

This provides a very unsteady basis for an investigation of urban regeneration - our research has been premised on the absolute necessity to begin to ground these sort of pronouncements of contemporary cultural shifts in some form of empirical investigation.

Two recent articles underline this. Betz (1992) has shown that many of the 'new middle class' are in fact politically active in a way rarely acknowledged in discussions on this subject. This is supported by our own research and that done by Bramham et al (1993) in Leeds. See also Bonner, F & Du Gay, P. (1992). They attempt to found a theoretical account of the ethical and political positioning of this 'new middle class' based purely on a reading of the television programme *Thirtysomething*.

¹¹ Note the difficulty of translating Debussy, which Bourdieu sees as quintessentially French, to an equivalent - Elgar?!

¹² This involved certain questions in the questionnaire and a related study undertaken by O'Connor and in the process of completion. The survey found a broad middle class attendance at a range of avant-guard forms,

¹³ The festival was one of the first to integrate traditional art venues with newer spaces (bookshops, design centres) and pop cultural spaces such as bars, pubs, jazz clubs and cafes. There was also an expressionist 'pub crawl' and an expressionist cocktail (*The Scream* !)

Bibliography

- Beauregard, S (1986) 'The Chaos and Complexity of Gentrification' in Smith, N & Williams, P (eds) *The Gentrification of the City* Allen & Unwin:London
- Beck, U (1992), *Risk Society:Towards a New Modernity* Sage:London
- Berking, H & Neckel, S. (1993) 'Urban Marathon: The staging of individuality as an urban event' Theory, Culture and Society Vol.10.
- Berman, M (1986), 'Take it to the Streets: Conflict and Community in Public Space', Dissent (Summer 1986)
- Berman, M, (1992), 'Why Modernism Still Matters' in Lash, S & Friedman, J (eds) *Modernity and Identity* Blackwell:Oxford
- Betz, H. (1992) 'Postmodernism and the New Middle Class' Theory, Culture and Society Vol 9.

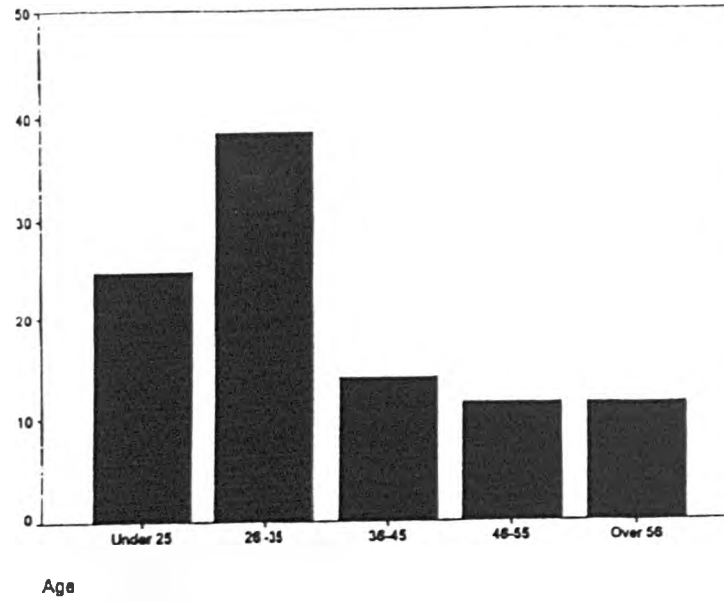
-
- Bianchini, F (1987), GLC R.I.P. Cultural Policies in London', New Formations 1
- Bianchini, F (1989), 'Cultural Policy and Urban Social Movements: the Response of the 'New Left' in Rome (1976-85) and London (1981-86)' in Bramham et al (eds) *Leisure and Urban Processes* Routledge:London
- Bianchini, F & Schwengel, H (1991), 'Re-imagining the City' in Corner, J & Harvey, S (Eds.) *Enterprise and Heritage* Routledge:London
- Bianchini, F (1991), 'Urban Renaissance? The Arts and the Urban Regeneration Process' in Pimlott, B & MacGregor, S (Eds) *Tackling the Inner Cities?* Open University Press:Milton Keynes
- Bianchini, F & Parkinson, M (Eds), (1994) *Cultural Policy and Urban Regeneration* Manchester University Press:Manchester
- Bonner, F. & Du Gay, P. (1992) 'Representing The Enterprising Self: *thirtysomething* and Contemporary Consumer Culture' Theory, Culture and Society Vol 9.
- Bourdieu, P (1984), *Distinction* Routledge & Kegan Paul:London
- Bramham, P. and J. Spink (1994) 'Leisure and the Postmodern City' in I. Henry, (ed)*Leisure: Modernity, Postmodernity and Lifestyles*. The Leisure Studies Association, Chelsea School Research Centre, University of Brighton.
- Calhoun, C., E. LiPuma and M. Postone (eds) (1993) *Bourdieu: Critical Perspectives* University of Chicago Press: Chicago.
- Caygil, H. (1990) *The Art of Judgement* Blackwell: Oxford.
- Chambers, I (1990), *Border Dialogues* Routledge:London
- Cooke, P (1988), 'Modernity, Postmodernity and the City' in Theory Culture and Society 5(2-3)
- Coupland, D. (1991) *Generation X: Tales of an accelerated culture* St. Martin's Press: New York.
- Crane, D (1992),*The Production of Culture* Sage:London
- Ehrenreich, B. 1989 *Fear of Falling: The Inner Life of the Middle Class*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Elias, N (1994), *The Civilising Process* (reprinted) Blackwell:Oxford
- Fainstein, S et al (eds) (1986), *Divided Cities* Blackwell:New York.

-
- Featherstone, M (1991), *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism* Sage:London
- Fisher, M & Owen, C (eds) (1991), *Whose Cities* Penguin:London
- Frith, S & Savage, J (1993), 'Pearls and Swine' *New Left Review* 198
- Haider, D (1989), 'Marketing Places; the State of the Art' in *Commentary* (Spring)
- Haider, D (1989), 'Making Marketing Choices' in *Commentary* (Summer)
- Hammond, J & Williams, P (1988), 'Yuppies' in *Public Opinion Quarterly* 50
- Harvey, D (1986), *The Urbanisation of Capital* Blackwell:Oxford
- Harvey, D (1988), 'Voodoo Cities' in *New Statesman and Society* 30 September
- Harvey, D (1989), *The Condition of Postmodernity* Blackwell:Oxford
- Hitters, E. (1993) 'Culture and Capital in the 1990's' in *Built Environment* vol 18 no 2.
- Hodge, J (1993) 'Rethinking Temporality: Heidegger, Sociology and the Postmodern Critique' *Working Paper no 5* Manchester Institute for Popular Culture, The Manchester Metropolitan University
- Jager, M (1986) 'Victoriana in Melbourne' in Smith, N & Williams, P (eds) *The Gentrification of the City* Allen & Unwin:London
- Kellner, H & Heubeger, F (eds) (1991) *Hidden Technocrats: the New Class and the New Capitalism* Transaction Press:New York
- Lash, S. and J. Urry (1987) *The End of Organised Capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Lash, S. (1990) *Sociology of Postmodernism*. London: Routledge.
- Law, C (1988), 'Urban Revitalisation, Public Policy & Redevelopment: Lessons from Baltimore and Manchester' in Hoyle, B et al *Revitalising the Waterfront* Belhaven Press:Baltimore.
- Lewis, J (1990), *Art, Culture and Enterprise* Routledge:London
- Ley, D. (1992) 'Gentrification and the politics of the new middle class' Paper presented to Dept. of Geography, University of British Columbia August 1992
- Maffesoli, M. (1988) *Le Temps des Tribus* Livres des Poches: Paris

-
- Martin, B (1981), *A Sociology of Contemporary Cultural Change* Blackwell:Oxford
- Martin, B (1991) 'Qualitative Market Research In Britain: A Profession on the Frontiers of Postmodernity' in Kellner, H & Heuberger, F (eds) (1991) *Hidden Technocrats: the New Class and the New Capitalism* Transaction Press:New York
- Myerscough, J (1988), *The Economic Importance of the Arts in Britain* Policy Studies Institute:London
- Milestone, K (1992) 'Pop Music, Place and Travel'. Paper presented at Leisure Studies Conference, Department of Leisure Studies, Tilburg University, The Netherlands. Alternatively, the author at The Manchester Institute for Popular Culture, Manchester Metropolitan University
- Mulgan, G & Worpole, K (1986) *Saturday Night or Sunday Morning?* Commedia:London
- O'Connor, J. & Wynne, D. (1995 forthcoming) 'From The Margins to The Centre' in Holmwood, J et al., *Constructing The New Consumer Society*. Macmillan: London.
- Phillips, D. (1994) 'Correspondence Analysis' in Glibert, N. (ed) Social Research Update No 7, Winter, 1994. University of Surrey
- Redhead, S. (1993) 'Disappearing Youth' in Theory, Culture and Society Vol. 10.
- Robbins, K (1991), 'Prisoners of the City: Whatever could a Postmodern City be?' in New Formations 15 (Winter)
- Robson, B (1986), *Those Inner Cities* Manchester University Press:Manchester
- Rose, D (1984), 'Rethinking Gentrification: Beyond the Uneven Development of Marxist Urban Theory' in Environment and Planning D: Society and Space 1: 47-74
- Sassen, S (1991), *The Global City* Princeton University Press:Princeton, New Jersey
- Sassen, S (1994), *Cities in a World Economy* Pineforge Press:Newbury Park, California.
- Savage, J (1992), 'Structures of Feeling' New Statesman & Society 18 September.

-
- Shields, R (1991), *Places on the Margin* Routledge:London
- Shields, R (ed) (1992), *Lifestyle Shopping* Routledge:London
- Shields, R (1992), 'A truant Proximity: Presence and Absence in the Space of Modernity' Environment and Planning D: Society and Space 10
- Schulze, G (1993), *Die Erlebnisgesellschaft: Kulturosoziologie der Gegenwart* Campus Verlag:Frankfurt
- Simpson, C (1981), *SoHo: The Artist in the City* University of Chicago Press:Chicago
- Smith, N (1987), 'Of Yuppies and Housing: Gentrification, Social Restructuring and the Urban Dream' in Environment and Planning D: Society and Space 5
- Smith, N & Williams, P (eds) (1986) *The Gentrification of the City* Allen & Unwin:London
- Thornley, A (1990), *Urban Planning Under Thatcherism* Routledge:London
- Thrift, N (1993), 'An Urban Impasse?' Theory, Culture and Society 10
- Turner, V (1969), *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* Allen Lane:London
- Walzer, M (1984), 'The Pleasures and Costs of Urbanity' in Dissent (Summer)
- Whimster, S (1992) 'Yuppies: A Keyword of the 1980s' in Budd, L and Whimster, S (eds) *Global Finance and Urban Living* Sage:London
- Whittle, S (ed) (1994) *Gay Culture and The City* Arena:Swindon
- Worpole, K (1992), *Towns for People: Transforming Urban Life* Open University Press:Milton Keynes
- Wynne, D (ed) (1992), *The Culture Industry* Avebury:Swindon
- Zukin, S. 1988 *Loft Living: culture and capital in urban change*. London: Radius.
- Zukin, S. 1987 'Gentrification' *Annual Review of Sociology*
- Zukin, S. 1988 'The Postmodern Debate over Urban Form' Theory, Culture and Society 5(2-3)
- Zukin, S. 1992 'Postmodern Urban Landscapes: Mapping Culture and Power' in S. Lash, and J. Freidman (eds) *Modernity and Identity* Oxford: Blackwell.

Fig 1. Age groups.



Figs 1 & 2

Fig 2a Marital Status

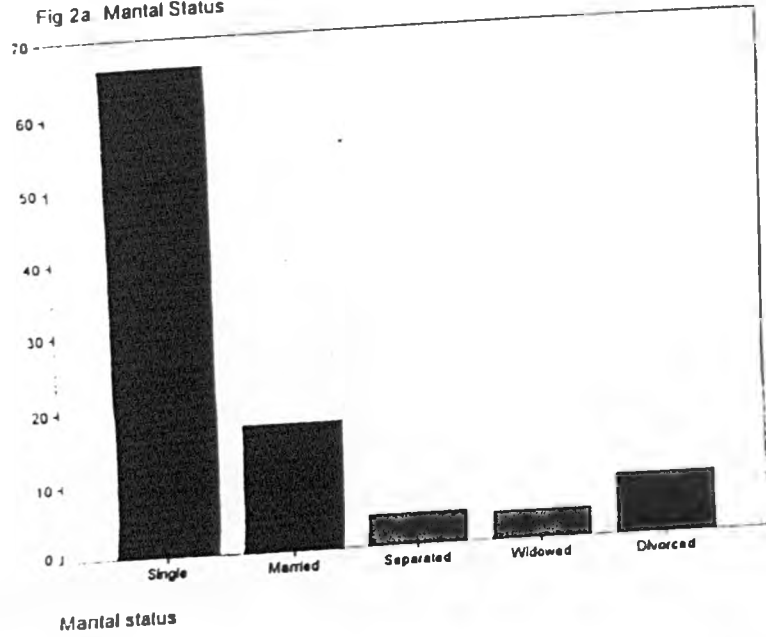


Fig 2b Household type

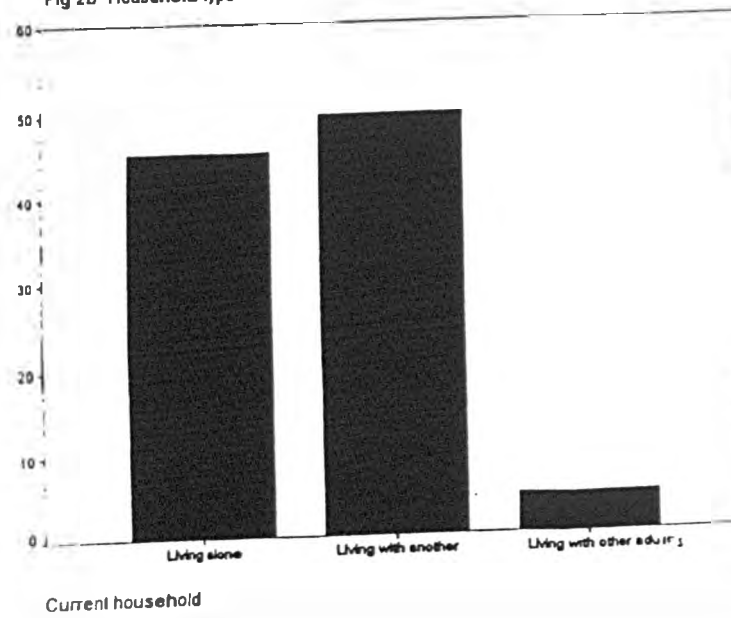


Fig 3. Household Income

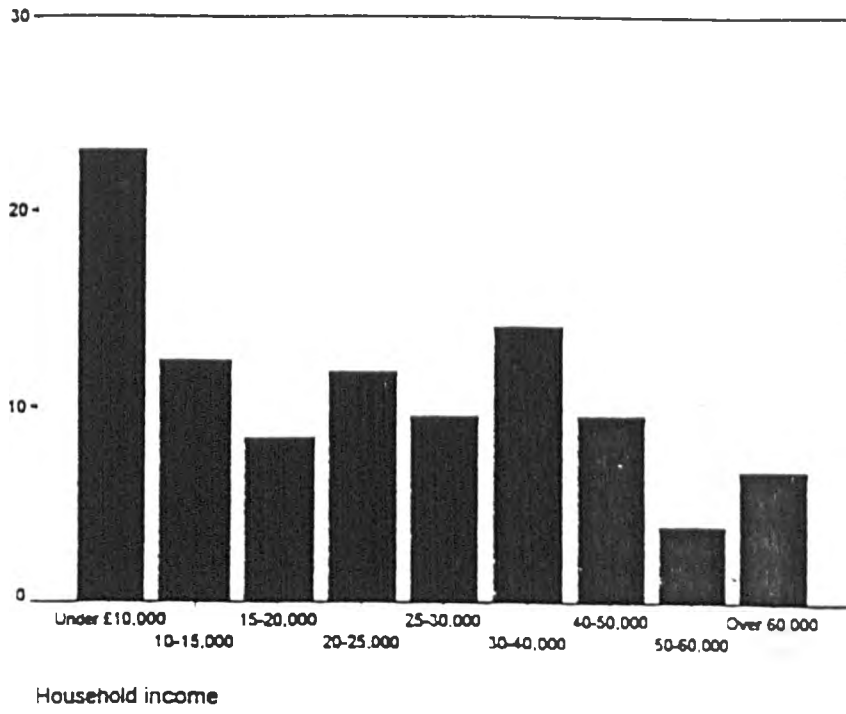


Figure 4
Occupation

Value label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
General Manager/Admin/Large Orgs	10	3	2.0	2.0	2.0
Production Managers	11	5	3.4	3.4	5.4
Specialist Managers	12	12	8.1	8.1	13.5
Financial, Office, Managers, Execs	13	1	.7	.7	14.2
Transport (etc.) Managers	14	1	.7	.7	14.9
Managers/Proprietors/Services Industries	17	10	6.8	6.8	21.6
Managers and Admin NEC	19	5	3.4	3.4	25.0
Natural Scientists	20	3	2.0	2.0	27.0
Engineers & Technologists	21	5	3.4	3.4	30.4
Health Professionals	22	5	3.4	3.4	33.8
Teachers	23	16	10.8	10.8	44.6
Legal Professionals	24	11	7.4	7.4	52.0
Business & Financial Professionals	25	4	2.7	2.7	54.7
Architects, Planners, Surveyors	26	3	2.0	2.0	56.8
Prof. Occupations NEC	29	3	2.0	2.0	58.8
Scientific Technicians	30	1	.7	.7	59.5
Programmers	32	7	4.7	4.7	64.2
Ship, Aircraft Traffic Controllers	33	1	.7	.7	64.9
Health Assoc. Prots. (Nurses, etc)	34	3	2.0	2.0	66.9
Business Financial Assoc. Prots.	36	3	2.0	2.0	68.9
Soc. Welfare Assoc. Prots.	37	2	1.4	1.4	70.3
Literary, Artistic & Sports Prots	38	11	7.4	7.4	77.7
Associate Professionals NEC	39	3	2.0	2.0	79.7
Admin, Clerical Officers	40	6	4.1	4.1	83.8
Numerical Clerks, Cashiers	41	4	2.7	2.7	86.5
Filing, Record Clerks	42	1	.7	.7	87.2
Secretaries	45	2	1.4	1.4	88.5
Electrical Trades	52	4	2.7	2.7	91.2
Textiles, Garment Trades	55	2	1.4	1.4	92.6
Other Craft & Related	59	1	.7	.7	93.2
Sales Reps	71	2	1.4	1.4	95.3
Mobile Salespersons	73	1	.7	.7	95.9
Transport & Machine Operators	88	1	.7	.7	96.6
Plant & Machine Operative	89	1	.7	.7	97.3
Hospital Porter	95	1	.7	.7	98.0
Manual NEC	99	3	2.0	2.0	100.0
TOTAL		148	100.0	100.0	
Valid Cases	148	Missing Cases	0		

TABLE 1 - MOBILITY - Occupation by Father's occupation

Count Row % Occupation	Father's occupation									Row Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
1	10 31.3	10 31.3	1 3.1	3 9.4	4 12.5	2 6.3		2 6.3		32 23.5
2	8 17.4	14 30.4	3 6.5	2 4.3	10 21.7	1 2.2	2 4.3	4 8.7	2 4.3	46 33.8
3	8 27.6	9 31.0	1 3.4	1 3.4	4 13.8	2 6.9	1 3.4	2 6.9	1 3.4	29 21.3
4	2 16.7	2 16.7	2 16.7		4 33.3	1 8.3		1 8.3		12 8.8
5						4 57.1			3 42.9	7 5.1
6		1 100.0								1 .7
7	1 33.3					1 33.3	1 33.3			3 2.2
8					2 100.0					2 1.5
9	1 25.0					1 25.0	1 25.0		1 25.0	4 2.9
Column Total	30 22.1	36 26.5	7 5.1	6 4.4	28 20.6	8 5.9	5 3.7	12 8.8	4 2.9	136 100.0

31/136 - No Change

Fig 5. Previous residence

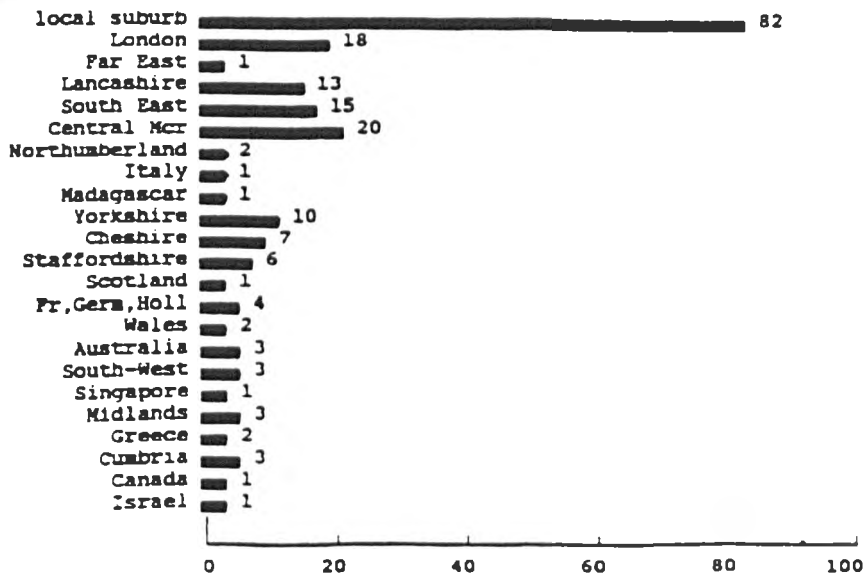


Fig 6 length of residence

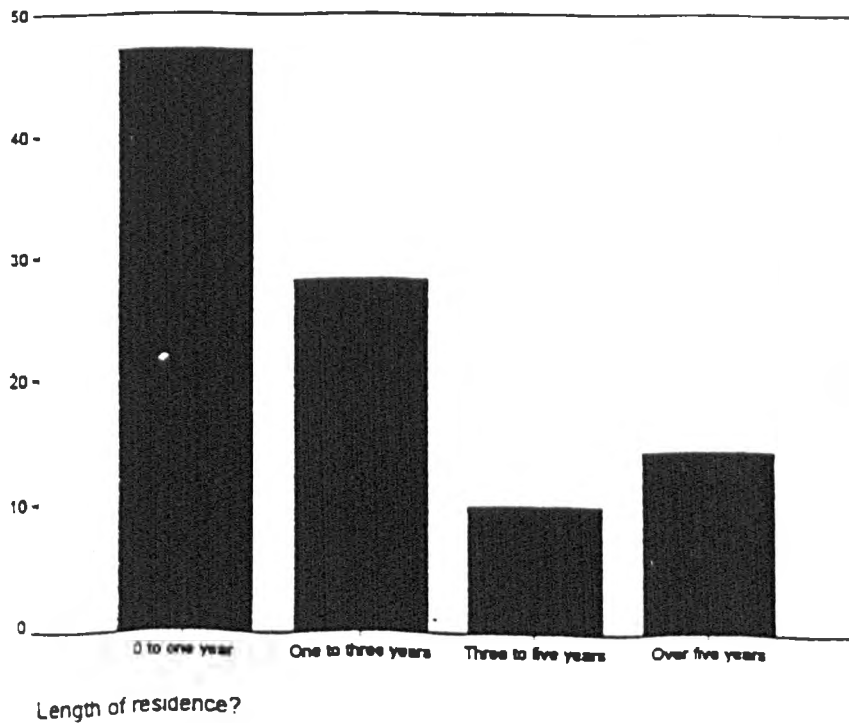


Fig 7

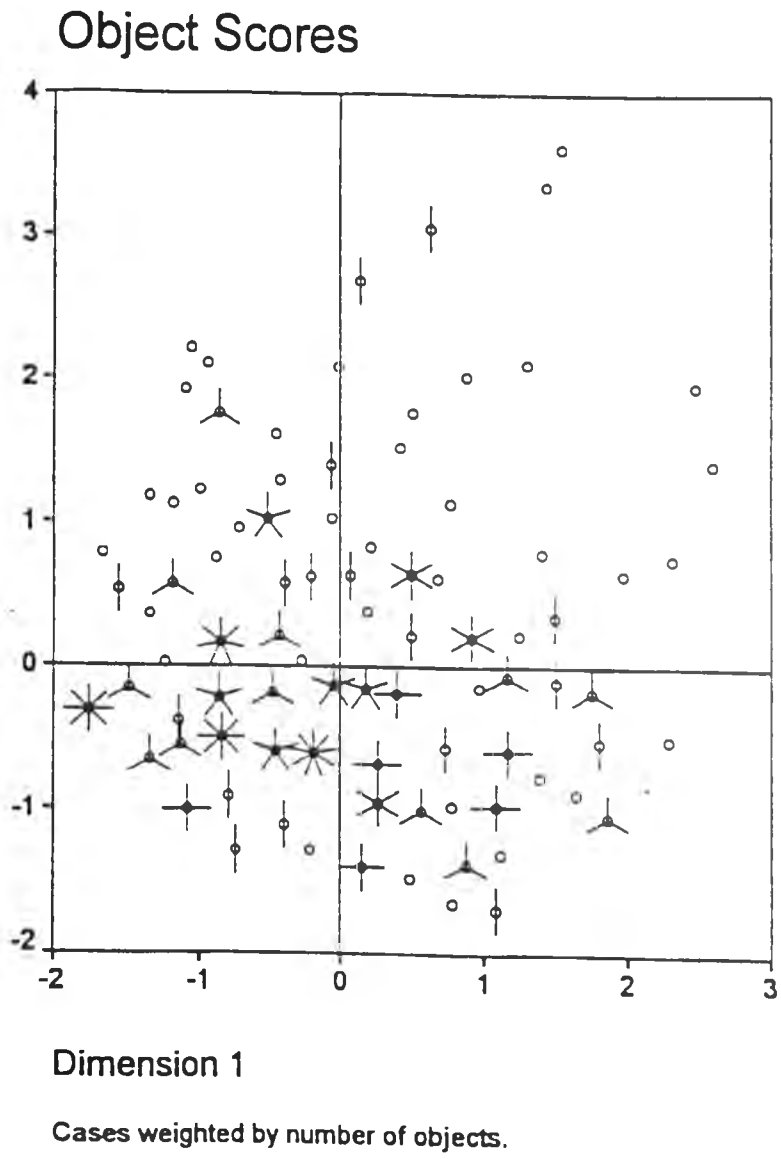
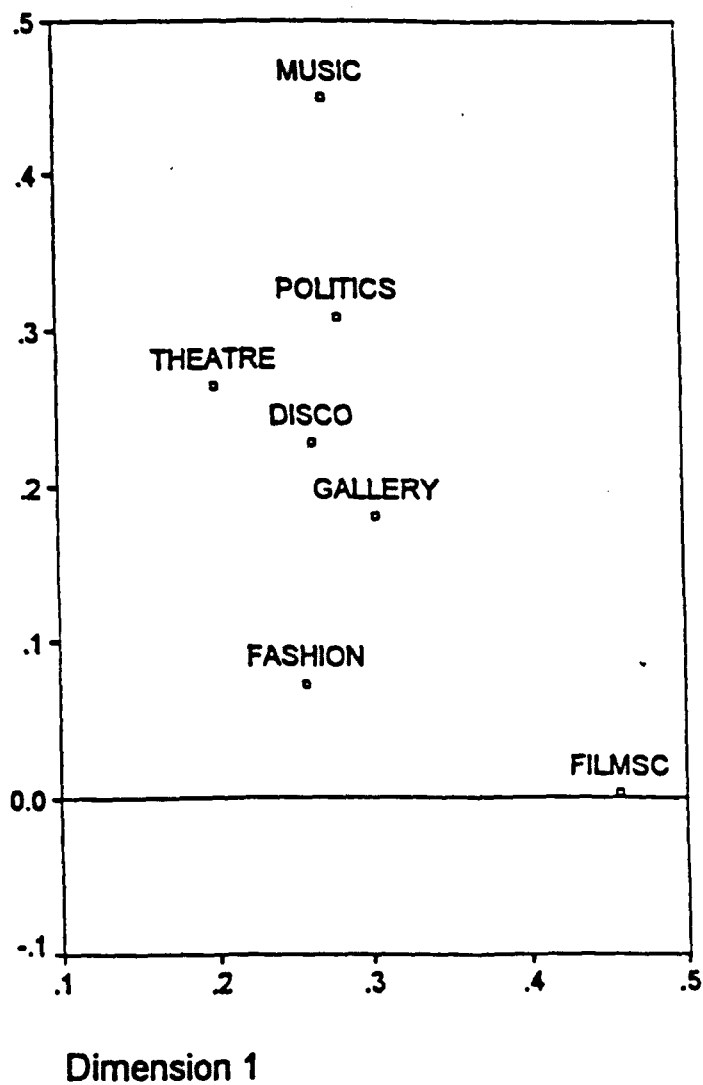


Fig 8

Discrimination Measures



Category Quantifications

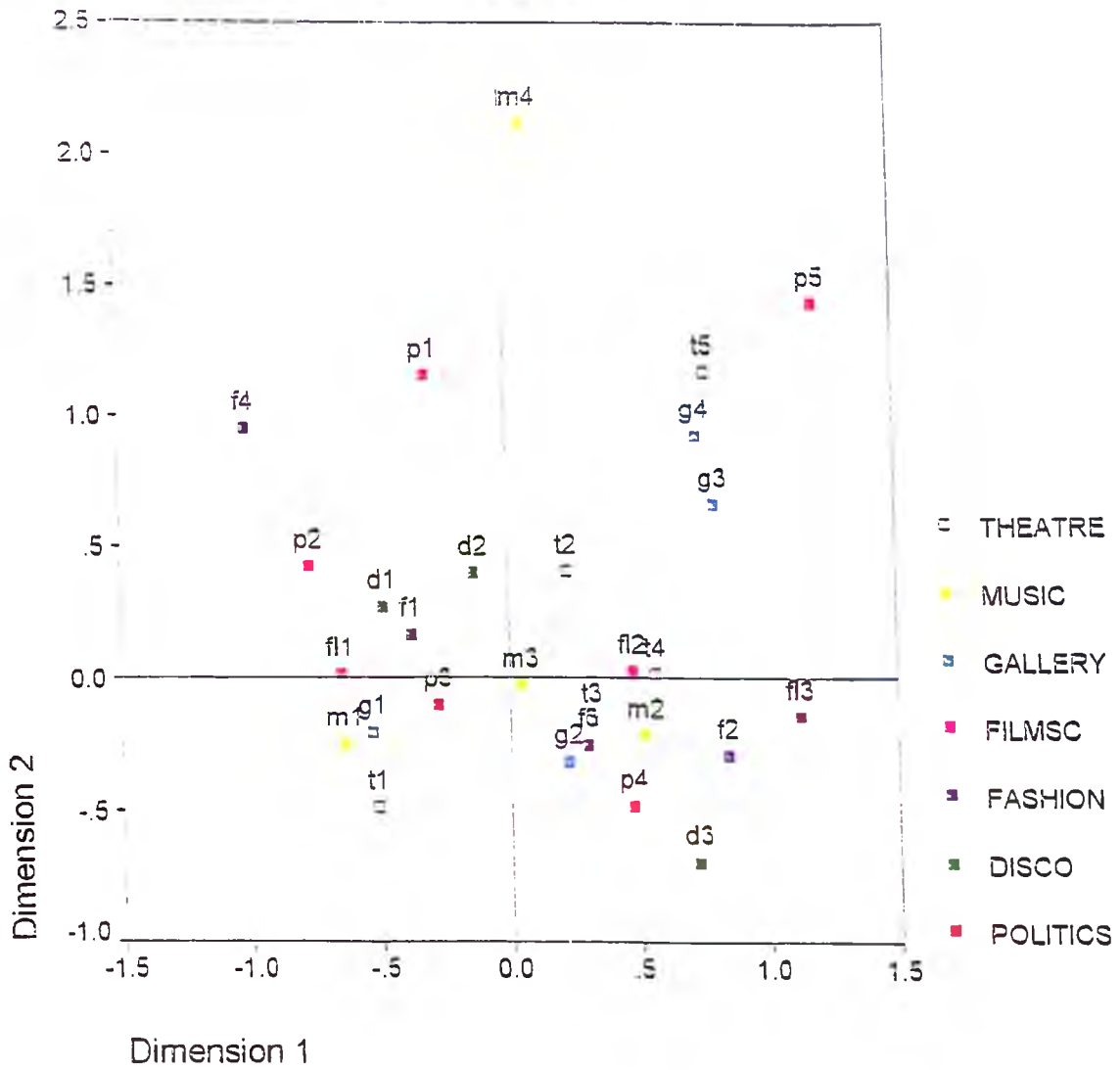


FIG 9

LIVERPOOL
UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY

