

Social Differentiation of Musical and Literary Taste Patterns in Finland

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This article aims at contributing to the lively sociological discussion on cultural consumption and taste differences. Drawing upon recently collected nationally representative survey data, the analysis focuses on two cultural areas: music and literature. Both areas are analysed in terms of liking different cultural genres following a three-step analytical strategy. First, the distributions of likes/dislikes of different music and literary genres are examined. Second, we examined how the genres are interrelated. Third, we investigated how interrelating genres condensed into different taste patterns can be explained by five background variables: gender, age, education, income and residential area. In addition, there is a short analysis of the connections among taste patterns across the two cultural areas. The results suggest clear social differentiation in tastes, both in music and in literature, in Finland. Age and especially gender proved to be at least as important as education in explaining musical and literary taste patterns in general and highbrow tastes in particular. Three major correlations representing 'highbrow', 'popular folk' and 'popular action' tastes across the two cultural areas were found, indicating clear homologies between musical and literary taste.

Keywords: cultural taste, music, literature, social differentiation, Finland

Introduction

Since its publication some 30 years ago, Pierre Bourdieu's *Distinction* (1984; originally 1979) has been the target both of admiration and imitation as well as theoretical and empirical critique. The empirically-oriented critics have pointed out that, despite great merits, the main results and claims presented in *Distinction* cannot readily be generalised. Their validity is culturally restricted to Bourdieu's object of research,

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namely, post-war French society, which in many ways was unique and whose educational system was more hierarchical and centralised than comparable systems in other Western European societies or North America (see e.g. Lamont, 1992; Calhoun, 1993; Holt, 1997; Kane, 2003). French society has also changed drastically since the empirical data for Bourdieu's study were gathered in the 1960s and 1970s.

As a recent French critic of Bourdieu, Bernard Lahire (2003), has remarked, it is much more likely that a young person from a working-class background will pursue higher education today than it was at the time *Distinction* was written. Thus, it is up to the empirical researchers in any particular case to decide whether the overall-picture of strictly hierarchically-ordered and mutually-competing tastes – or status groups – holds in any other country or in other historical times. Later research conducted both in France as well as in other European countries and North America has in fact at least partly modified, if not refuted totally, the picture of the many sophisticated distinctions that Bourdieu painted of France. The critical standpoints vary, from emphasis on the importance of a common culture shared by the great majority of members of a society (Bennett, 2007) to the claim that taste dispositions and lifestyles have become more individualised and their internal variations have increased (Lahire, 2003, 2004, 2008). What has also become obvious in recent empirical research is the often quite decisive role of gender – women's highbrow taste in particular – as well as age or even generations in the formation of taste distinctions (e.g. Biha-gen & Katz-Gerro, 2000; Van Eijck & Knulst, 2005). All these dimensions were more or less neglected in Bourdieu's

study.¹

With the exception of some interesting recent studies that simultaneously examined many cultural domains (Warde et al., 2007, 2008; Virtanen, 2007; Prieur et al., 2008), empirical tests and studies of cultural tastes have often been restricted to the field of music (Van Eijck, 2001; Chan & Goldthorpe, 2007; Coulangelon & Lemel, 2007; Alasuutari, 2009). This is probably due to Bourdieu's claim that music is the field in which the relationship between cultural capital and taste is most distinctly manifested (Bourdieu, 1984, 13-8). Such studies of cultural tastes are rarer, for example, in the field of literature (see, however, Van Rees et al., 1999; Zavisca, 2005; Wright, 2006). It is quite essential, however, to Bourdieu's whole argument that we can identify homologies between cultural hierarchies in many (if not all) cultural fields as well as between tastes, knowledge and practices.

The idea of distinct 'taste cultures' that cross several cultural domains can also be traced to the American research tradition of 'highbrow' and 'lowbrow' culture, especially the seminal work by Herbert J. Gans (1999; originally 1974). Gans claimed that 'every major taste culture has its own art, music, fiction, nonfiction, poetry, films, television programs, architecture, favored foods and so forth' (Gans, 1999, 93). The concept of taste culture understood this way comes close to Bourdieu's (1984) ideas of homology between cultural fields and coherent habitus according to which taste dispositions are organised. In contemporary studies, the concept of 'taste pattern' (see Peterson, 1983; Virtanen, 2007) has, however, become more commonly used than 'taste culture'. An important study of the patterning of tastes is presented by Gerhard Schulze (1992). Schulze dissociates himself from treating taste patterns or 'schemes' as hierarchical and directly class-related by conceptualising them more like horizontally organised lifestyle milieus. Yet even then they resemble significantly the traditional highbrow/lowbrow pattern, as the basic taste schemes for Schulze are highbrow, trivial or popular entertainment, and excitement or action (Schulze, 1992, 142-67). Several studies have since found similar patterns in other countries, mostly concerning musical taste. Not just one highbrow taste typical of the highly educated upper middle class, but also two or even more clearly distinct popular taste profiles, which are not mutually hierarchically organised, are differentiated in these studies. Koen van Eijck (2001; Van Eijck & Lievens, 2008), for instance, has labelled these patterns, by referring explicitly to Schulze, as representing simply 'highbrow', 'folk' and 'pop' tastes.

In this article we shall analyse in detail the taste differences in two cultural fields, music and literature, in Finland. More precisely, the focus of our paper is on the liking for different musical and literary genres. Since this is the first paper based on our data, we also present at length the basic descriptive information about the frequency distribution of the variables measuring taste of different music and literary genres.

The following research questions are posed in respect to both music and literary genres:

1. *How are the likes and dislikes of different music/literary genres distributed in Finland?*

2. *How are the music and literary genres interrelated? In other words, what kinds of groupings or clusters (interpreted as indices of special taste patterns) can be found?*

3. *How are specific musical and literary taste patterns distributed according to basic socio-demographic variables – gender, age, education, income and residential area – and how far can the patterns be explained by such variables? Both music and literary genres will be analysed by proceeding through all three of these analytical steps. In addition, we put forward one more research question:*

4. *Are there any major connections between the taste patterns across the two cultural domains, i.e. between the patterns of musical taste and literary taste?*

Data, methods and the independent variables

This article draws on a new, nationally representative Finnish survey that was particularly designed with the recent debates in cultural consumption in mind in a research project called 'Cultural Capital and Social Differentiation in Contemporary Finland' (Rahkonen et al., 2006).² The data were collected by Statistics Finland (the Central Statistical Office of Finland) in the last part of the year 2007. A random sample of 3,000 persons, ages 18 to 74, was taken from the database of Statistics Finland, which consists of all Finnish citizens (inhabitants of the Åland Islands – a semi-autonomous province of Finland – were excluded). The response rate was 46.3 per cent (a total of 1,388 returned questionnaires). Although this response rate could have been better, it is comparable to other recent mail surveys in Finland (see Melkas, 2008). A comparison of the respondents and non-respondents showed that women, older men and the highly educated were slightly overrepresented among the respondents. For that reason, the data were weighted by an index to correct these biases. The weights were calculated by Statistics Finland.

The questionnaire was modelled on the example of a recent British survey (Thomson, 2004), with a number of national or cultural modifications introduced, while trying to preserve the comparability as far as possible. The focus group interviews conducted earlier in the project

¹ Another important critically-orientated line of argument against Bourdieu can be found in the debate on the so-called omnivore thesis (e.g. Peterson & Kern, 1996). Even though our data make it possible to deal with the matter, the analysis of cultural omnivorousness is excluded from this paper, owing to lack of space. We address the omnivore thesis in detail elsewhere (Purhonen et al., forthcoming).

² The research has been carried out in cooperation with a British research project (Bennett et al., 2009), which will later enable us to make cross-national comparisons. The cultural fields in which there are comparable questions to be analysed further include television, film, reading (newspapers and magazines as well as literature), music, the visual arts, cultural attitudes and leisure-time activities – most of these are covered in all three dimensions of cultural practice: knowledge, taste and participation. Both British and Finnish surveys also contained comprehensive information on respondents' socio-demographic characters.

(2005–2007) as well as previous Finnish surveys on similar topics (e.g. Alasuutari, 1997; Erola et al., 2005) were of great help in formulating the survey questions. However, similar representative survey data that would enable systematic study of different types of capital, cultural practices and tastes, have not been previously available in Finland.

In the following, we first present descriptive information about the frequency distributions of likes and dislikes of music and literary genres (step 1 in the analysis). In order to answer the question of how the genres are interrelated (step 2), the mutual relationships of music and literature were examined by principal component analyses. The hidden dimensions of music and literary genres revealed by principal component analysis were then analysed in the form of factor score variables (indices of specific taste patterns) according to five basic independent background variables: gender, age-group, level of education, monthly personal income and residential area (step 3). This was done by using a multivariate general linear model. A general linear model can be used to implement the same procedures with both of the two more traditional methods: regression analysis and analysis of variance. Here it is used to analyse how different taste patterns measured by factor score variables can be explained by independent variables. After covering both areas of culture, music and literature, we briefly examine the interrelationships across the areas by calculating correlations between the factor score variables of music and those of literature.

The independent variables included in the analysis are presented in the Appendix Table 1. The five variables chosen are all quite obvious socio-demographic characteristics connected to several research hypotheses, according to previous studies. All the independent variables used in the analyses are categorical. The dependent variables analysed are described and discussed in the sections dealing with music and literature respectively.

Bourdieu did not pay much systematic attention to *gender* differences in taste, but a number of more recent studies have shown that gender plays a role in structuring cultural consumption, often in a way that women tend to be more involved than men in participating in highbrow culture, a participation that is manifested in terms of taste as well (e.g. Bihagen & Katz-Gerro, 2000; Kane, 2004; Lizardo, 2006). This has also been the case in Finland (e.g. Rahkonen & Purhonen, 2004; Alasuutari, 2009).³ Thus, it was likewise expected, that in this study women would be more prone than men to like genres that can be interpreted as measures of highbrow cultural categories. This is especially to be expected in the realm of literature (cf. Bennett et al., 1999, 146–9), since women in Finland have been shown to read more and in general be more involved with literature (particularly, ‘belles-lettres’) than men (e.g. Eskola, 1990; Hanifi, 2007).

The second independent variable, *age*, is used in the analyses as a categorical variable divided into six, 10-year long age groups (with the exception of the youngest group, which is only a 7-year long group including respondents ages 18–24). Although treating age as a continuous variable would be more ‘economical’ and in some cases even more effective (with respect to proportion of variance explained), we

have preferred to use it as categorical, since that enabled us to observe the possible nonlinear relationships between age and the dependent variables. The structuring effect of age on cultural consumption and taste has often been highlighted (e.g. Peterson et al., 2000; Van Eijck & Knulst, 2005).

Education is perhaps the most self-evident independent variable in the Bourdieusian tradition of cultural consumption research (and, of course, also beyond that tradition, e.g. Gans, 1999), and its explanatory power has been shown repeatedly. Here the variable of education is divided into four categories based on the basic classification of vocational education used by Statistics Finland. The first category (referred to as ‘no/basic’) includes those respondents with only compulsory basic education (elementary school) or less. In addition, missing cases (i.e. 3 per cent of the respondents who did not specify their educational level, $n = 42$) were included in this category. The second category (‘vocational’) includes those respondents with different types of vocational school education and similar courses as well as those with upper secondary school studies with no further education. The third category (‘college’) comprises those with higher vocational diplomas (roughly comparable to bachelor’s degrees) or degrees from different types of colleges and polytechnics. The last category (‘university’) includes those with university degrees (M.A. or higher). Thus, it is important to note that ‘lower university degrees’ (B.A.s) that have only recently been implemented in Finnish universities due to the Bologna process do not belong in this classification at the highest level of educational category (‘university’), but rather are in the third category (‘college’).

The last two independent variables included in the analyses are income and residential area. It is quite obvious that the amount of economic resources affects cultural consumption (e.g. Räsänen, 2003), and therefore it is interesting to explore whether there is connection between economic capital and cultural taste (cf. Bourdieu, 1984, 177–8). *Income* here refers to respondents’ personal disposable monthly income (in euros). In the future, we should, of course, try to operationalise economic capital more properly as it is a multifaceted phenomenon (at the very least, types of property and homeownership should somehow be taken into account). Personal monthly net income is here divided into three rough categories: the first consists of those making less than 1,000 euros per month, the second includes those making 1,000–2,000 euros per month, and the third consists of those making over 2,000 euros per month.

To determine the type of *residential area*, we asked a question with four response alternatives: city centre; suburb or housing estate; small town or village; countryside. In this paper we used this classification as our measure of the type

³ Taru Virtanen (2007) is at odds with this picture because in her study of 15 European countries, gender hardly played any significant role at all in explaining cultural participation and taste. As she herself recognises (Virtanen, 2007, 229), this may be due to the methodological choices of her study. Furthermore, in the case of Finland only, gender differences are significant in her study too, which demonstrates that once again women tend to be more highbrow than men (Virtanen, 2007, 202–3).

Table 1
Likes/Dislikes of Music Genres in Finland (Percentages).

	Like		Neither like nor dislike	Dislike		Have not listened	Total (N)
	Very much	Somewhat		Somewhat	Very much		
Finnish schlagers	37.0	31.4	14.9	9.4	6.7	0.6	100 (1358)
Rock	33.5	37.8	19.4	4.7	3.7	1.0	100 (1342)
Modern jazz	3.0	16.1	40.6	20.6	15.4	4.3	100 (1334)
Blues	12.1	32.6	33.9	11.1	7.3	3.0	100 (1331)
Finnish folk music	7.1	25.0	37.6	16.8	10.9	2.6	100 (1339)
World music	2.8	16.5	41.5	19.6	9.3	10.3	100 (1333)
Classical music	16.0	29.7	30.2	13.0	8.5	2.7	100 (1336)
Opera	6.1	15.3	30.6	22.5	21.9	3.7	100 (1339)
Country & western	9.3	34.5	33.1	13.2	7.6	2.2	100 (1339)
Electronic dance music	5.6	19.4	37.6	19.0	13.7	4.6	100 (1338)
Heavy metal	14.9	22.5	26.0	18.2	15.4	3.1	100 (1339)
Hip-hop & R&B	5.5	17.0	32.2	21.8	18.1	5.4	100 (1337)
Religious music	9.4	20.4	34.6	14.8	16.0	4.7	100 (1350)

of residential area (the second category is called in the subsequent tables just 'suburban', the third 'village' and the fourth 'country'). Previous studies have shown that in Finland, residential area has an influence on cultural practices, especially on participation and consumption, but also on cultural taste (e.g. Virtanen, 2007; Liikkanen, 2009). Therefore, it is to be expected that urban and rural areas differ in terms of musical and literary tastes.

Musical taste

The frequencies of likes and dislikes of different music genres (thirteen altogether) are presented in Table 1. Both Finnish schlagers (a type of domestic popular music sung in Finnish) and rock music are the most popular genres in Finland, liked at least somewhat by over two thirds of the respondents. Schlagers, however, are disliked more than rock music. Modern jazz, world music (the most rarely listened to of all the genres), opera and electronic dance music as well as hip-hop and R&B belong to the least liked of musical styles. Classical music is quite well liked, at least compared to opera. While 'only' one fifth disliked classical music, almost half of the respondents disliked opera. Opera is the most disliked musical genre in Finland. For instance, heavy metal (cf. Bryson, 1996) is much less disliked than opera. Heavy metal is indeed a strangely popular music genre in Finland: only 33 per cent dislike 'heavy' very much or somewhat while in Britain, for example, as many as 75 per cent dislike heavy metal (see Savage, 2006, 163). Blues and country and western music are rather popular genres with about 45 per cent liking them at least somewhat. Religious music and Finnish folk music are quite popular too, liked and disliked in almost equal measure. One interesting feature in the distribution of the likes and dislikes of the music genres is that the neutral response alternative, 'neither like nor dislike', is so large in all cases except the most popular ones (schlagers and rock music). This suggests that in Finland, music is not

a cultural field in which extreme opinions are widely found.

Next, we shall examine the mutual relationships in the likings of different music genres. Principal component analysis was used in order to find out how the genres are connected to each other.⁴ The analysis produced four factors with eigenvalues greater than 1. Together the factors accounted for 63.9 per cent of the variance, which is quite a reasonable share (see Table 5).

These four factors are quite easy to interpret. In the first, both classical music and opera as well as modern jazz, blues and world music have high loadings. It is interesting that the traditional highbrow musical genres and such new music genres all loaded on this factor. This factor can therefore be called the 'highbrow music' factor. The second factor connects four genres: Finnish schlagers, country and western, Finnish folk music and religious music. The second factor could be therefore called the 'popular folk music' factor. Only two items have high loadings on the last two factors. Rock music and heavy metal are loaded on the third factor and electronic dance music and hip-hop and R&B on the fourth. The third factor is then called simply 'rock' and the fourth 'electro'. It should, however, be noted that the last two factors are not as strong as the first two (especially the first, i.e. the highbrow factor).

In many respects similar factor analysis groups representing respondents who like interrelated musical genres were identified in the Netherlands by Koen van Eijck (2001). Following Schulze (1992), van Eijck found only three major taste patterns – highbrow, folk and pop – in addition to a pattern he calls the 'new omnivore', which combines all three major taste patterns. Rather similar taste patterns have also recently been found in the United States. According to

⁴ Before conducting the analysis, the response alternative 'have not listened' was coded together with the neutral category 'neither like nor dislike'. Hence, the remaining categories constituted a usual 5-point Likert scale.

Table 2
Principal Component Analysis for Likings of Music Genres.

	Factor				h^2
	I	II	III	IV	
Classical music	0.82	0.01	-0.09	-0.06	0.69
Opera	0.78	0.05	-0.15	0.01	0.64
Modern jazz	0.68	0.12	0.11	0.13	0.51
Blues	0.66	0.20	0.43	-0.10	0.67
World music	0.63	0.14	0.04	0.31	0.51
Finnish schlagers	-0.20	0.81	-0.05	0.05	0.71
Country & western	0.26	0.72	0.03	-0.09	0.59
Finnish folk music	0.42	0.64	-0.29	0.01	0.67
Religious music	0.34	0.50	-0.40	0.12	0.54
Rock	0.07	-0.06	0.88	0.07	0.78
Heavy metal	-0.03	-0.19	0.73	0.30	0.65
Electronic dance music	0.05	0.11	0.02	0.82	0.69
Hip-hop & R&B	0.09	-0.12	0.23	0.76	0.66
Eigenvalue	3.48	2.36	1.39	1.07	
% of variance explained	26.79	18.16	10.68	8.25	

Notes. $N = 1270$. Rotation method: Varimax with Kaiser normalization.

Lundy (2007), American taste patterns are first, 'classical' (including classical, opera, musicals, Latin and big band); second, 'white folk music' (country and bluegrass); third, 'black folk music' (blues and jazz); fourth, 'outsider groups' (marginal genres of rap, heavy metal, new age, and reggae); and finally, 'popular/rock' groups together with oldies and contemporary rock. The individual genres belonging to each taste pattern vary to some extent between Finland and the other countries studied (as shown in Table 2). The main difference is that jazz and blues are loaded in Finland in the highbrow pattern. Lundy's category 'white folk music' comes closest to our 'popular folk music' (factor 2). On the other hand, all the above-mentioned studies identified – besides a clear highbrow factor – two to four different patterns of popular music.

The taste patterns revealed by the principal component analysis can be analysed further in order to identify how these taste patterns are socially structured in Finland by using specific factor score variables that stand for precise measures for each of the dimensions. These variables are in standard units (mean = 0, standard deviation = 1). Because of the rotation method used (*Varimax*) and the chosen method of the factor score derivation (*Regression*), the variables are not correlated with each other (i.e., their mutual $r = 0$). The scale of the music factor scores ranges from -2.70 to 2.73 (factor variable 1), from -3.15 to 2.28 (factor 2), from -3.67 to 2.46 (factor 3) and from -2.68 to 3.20 (factor 4).

The musical taste patterns measured by the factor score variables are examined next according to the five background variables, by means of a general linear model procedure (Ta-

ble 3). Here, the effects of each independent variable are taken into account simultaneously. Relationships are pointed out in terms of parameter estimates (β). The explanatory power of each independent variable is measured by the F-value, and the overall proportions of explained variances are also given.

The first noteworthy observation is that in the case of the fourth factor, 'electro', the rate of variance explained by the five background variables is rather low (with only 8 per cent being explained). The other factors are better explained. Gender plays a role as an explanatory variable in all four factors. However, the first factor, indicating highbrow taste in music, is most powerfully affected by gender; women are much more highbrow in their musical tastes than men. The effect of age on all factors is powerful as well. The picture is clear: the two first taste patterns are strongly connected with old (and middle) age; the last two are strongly connected too, but this time negatively. As for 'rock', only the two oldest age groups are statistically different from the youngest (the reference category). In the case of 'electro', even those over 25 clearly liked it less than the youngest respondents.

Education has a strong impact only on the highbrow pattern. It also affects the patterns of 'popular folk' and 'electro' – but negatively, i.e. those with the highest education like these genres the least. The magnitudes of these effects, however, are much lower than in the highbrow pattern. The effect of monthly personal income on taste patterns is weak. Only the pattern of 'rock' is negatively connected with low income (since both of the highest income categories differ from it equally). This suggests, somewhat surprisingly, that liking rock and heavy metal can be explained, at least to a certain degree, by economic capital, even when the effects of other independent variables are adjusted. Respondents' residential area affects highbrow taste the most. Those living in the city centre or the suburbs tend to be more highbrow in musical tastes than those in small towns or the countryside. A similar effect of residential area, although lower in magnitude, can also be found in the case of the 'rock' pattern. By contrast, the pattern of 'popular folk' is slightly more frequent in the countryside than in urban areas.

Literary taste

The tables and analyses in the field of literature follow the steps and logic of those in the musical field. The frequencies of likes and dislikes of different literary genres (eleven altogether) are presented in Table 4. Thrillers, romances and biographies are the most well-liked literary genres in Finland. Thrillers and whodunits clearly lead the list, with almost one third of the respondents liking them very much and another one third liking them to some degree. Only a small percentage said that they do not like these genres, while 13 per cent had never read them. Religious books, on the other hand, are least liked of all – about one fifth of the respondents disliked them and almost one third had never read any. Almost half the respondents liked romantic literature at least somewhat, while only ten per cent disliked it. Fifty-eight per cent liked biographies. Only a few liked science fiction, fantasy and

Table 3
Music Genre Factors by Independent Background Variables (Parameter Estimates (β) with Standard Errors in Parentheses and F-Values from a General Linear Model).

	Music Factor 1: Highbrow	Music Factor 2: Popular folk	Music Factor 3: Rock	Music Factor 4: Electro
Gender (F)	45.92***	8.72**	8.70**	9.82**
Male	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Female	0.36 (0.05)***	0.15 (0.05)**	-0.15 (0.05)**	0.18 (0.06)**
Age group (F)	17.79***	71.76***	49.26***	19.35***
18-24	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
25-34	0.03 (0.10)	0.17 (0.09)	0.06 (0.09)	-0.30 (0.10)**
35-44	0.20 (0.10)*	0.68 (0.09)***	0.07 (0.10)	-0.73 (0.11)***
45-54	0.35 (0.10)***	0.97 (0.09)***	-0.16 (0.10)	-0.69 (0.10)***
55-64	0.55 (0.10)***	1.23 (0.09)***	-0.67 (0.09)***	-0.82 (0.10)***
65-74	0.75 (0.11)***	1.24 (0.10)***	-1.13 (0.11)***	-0.76 (0.11)***
Education (F)	30.62***	8.72***	1.69	4.91**
No/Basic	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Vocational	0.26 (0.08)**	0.01 (0.08)	0.06 (0.08)	-0.13 (0.09)
College	0.41 (0.09)***	-0.14 (0.08)	0.01 (0.09)	-0.27 (0.09)**
University	0.89 (0.10)***	-0.36 (0.09)***	-0.11 (0.10)	-0.36 (0.10)**
Income (F)	5.00**	1.49	8.66***	0.32
-1000	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1000-2000	-0.15 (0.07)*	0.08 (0.06)	0.24 (0.06)***	0.03 (0.07)
2000+	0.03 (0.08)	-0.00 (0.08)	0.29 (0.08)***	0.07 (0.09)
Area (F)	12.82***	5.57**	4.38**	0.53
City centre	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Suburban	-0.07 (0.07)	0.05 (0.07)	0.03 (0.07)	0.03 (0.08)
Village	-0.37 (0.09)***	0.26 (0.08)**	-0.11 (0.09)	0.08 (0.09)
Country	-0.44 (0.10)***	0.23 (0.09)**	-0.23 (0.09)*	0.11 (0.10)
Adjusted R^2	0.18	0.28	0.20	0.08

Notes. The first category of each variable is the reference category ($\beta = 0.00$). * $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$. *** $p < 0.001$.

Table 4
Likes/Dislikes of Literary Genres in Finland (Percentages).

Genre	Like		Neither like nor dislike	Dislike		Have not read	Total (N)
	Very much	Somewhat		Somewhat	Very much		
Thrillers & whodunits	29.7	33.8	20.0	2.2	1.0	13.3	100 (1339)
Scifi, fantasy & horror	8.7	17.3	26.2	13.8	10.6	23.5	100 (1329)
Romances	15.6	31.7	27.3	8.0	2.8	14.8	100 (1334)
Biographies	21.0	37.3	21.1	4.7	1.4	14.5	100 (1336)
Modern literature	7.8	20.8	34.4	8.0	3.7	25.3	100 (1334)
Classical literature	13.1	22.4	30.8	6.9	3.6	23.2	100 (1322)
Other nonfiction	15.4	41.2	28.3	2.7	0.9	11.5	100 (1331)
Poetry & plays	5.7	22.3	31.1	9.6	5.7	25.5	100 (1326)
Religious books	4.7	12.4	29.7	12.1	9.8	31.4	100 (1326)
Self-help books	5.5	21.4	30.5	7.9	5.1	29.6	100 (1328)
Leisure/Hobby books	13.5	42.9	25.1	2.3	0.6	15.7	100 (1332)

Table 5
Principal Component Analysis for Likings of Literary Genres.

	Factor				h^2
	I	II	III	IV	
Classical literature	0.88	-0.01	0.02	0.06	0.77
Modern literature	0.86	-0.03	0.00	0.03	0.73
Poetry & plays	0.65	0.27	-0.25	0.16	0.59
Biographies	0.59	0.30	0.03	0.16	0.46
Romances	0.08	0.81	0.22	-0.14	0.73
Self-help books	0.08	0.65	-0.28	0.37	0.64
Religious books	0.27	0.47	-0.47	0.08	0.51
Thrillers & whodunits	0.10	0.12	0.81	0.04	0.68
Scifi, fantasy & horror	-0.07	-0.06	0.60	0.09	0.38
Leisure/hobby books	-0.00	0.19	0.07	0.80	0.69
Other nonfiction	0.33	-0.16	0.09	0.74	0.69
Eigenvalue	3.00	1.50	1.28	1.10	
% of variance explained	27.29	13.64	11.64	10.00	

Notes. $N = 1274$. Rotation method: Varimax with Kaiser normalization.

horror (one fourth like these at least somewhat). Many disliked these genres or had not read them at all. Twenty-eight per cent of the respondents said they like modern literature at least somewhat, and only just over 10 per cent disliked it. In poetry and plays the figures are almost the same, even though these genres are slightly more disliked than modern literature. Classical literature is only slightly more popular than modern literature.

The genres of nonfiction and leisure/hobby books are quite popular too; hardly anyone seemed to dislike them. Self-help books are somewhat less popular, and almost one-third of the respondents had never read any. In other words, all these nonfiction genres are rather popular and, in particular, rather neutral, in the sense that they do not seem to raise many objections. Many respondents liked them very much, in particular nonfiction and leisure/hobby books.

Following our analysis of musical genres, we next examine the mutual relationships of the likings for different literary genres by means of a principal component analysis (Table 5). The analysis produced four factors with eigenvalues greater than 1. Together the factors account for 62.6 per cent of the variance, which is almost exactly the same as the share of the four factors we identified earlier in music. The results of the principal component analysis for literary genres are strikingly similar to those for music genres.

The four literary factors are quite clear and relatively easy to interpret. The first unites all those book genres belonging to belles-lettres: modern and classical literature, poetry and plays plus biographies. This factor is therefore called the factor of 'serious literature' in the traditional sense. The second factor brings together three genres: romance, self-help books and religious books. It could therefore be called the factor of 'romantic popular literature'. The third factor of literary taste

combines two genres: thrillers and whodunits and science fiction, fantasy and horror. Hence, the third factor could be called 'mystery'. The fourth factor also includes two genres with high loadings: leisure/hobby books and other nonfiction. This is, in other words, the factor of 'nonfiction'.

In order to examine how these literary taste patterns are socially structured in Finland, we analysed them (as measured by factor score variables) by means of general linear modelling. The scale of these factor scores ranges from -3.39 to 2.75 (literary factor variable 1), from -3.69 to 2.59 (factor 2), from -3.74 to 2.96 (factor 3) and from -3.50 to 3.07 (factor 4). The results of the analysis are presented in Table 6.

The first observation is that both of the last two patterns of literary taste, 'mystery' and 'nonfiction', are poorly explained by the five background variables, which account for only 6 per cent of the total variance. The first two factors, 'serious literature' and 'romantic popular literature', are explained remarkably better. All five background variables have an independent impact on at least two of the factors. With three factors, gender plays a significant role as an explanatory variable – even more clearly than in musical tastes. Only the factor of 'mystery' is not affected by gender. Gender clearly explains more than anything else, in particular, the factors of 'serious literature' and 'romantic popular literature'. The latter relationship is hardly surprising, but the former is of more importance: women clearly dominate the likes in serious literature in Finland. The male effect is, at least to some degree, positive in liking nonfiction.

All four factors are connected with age but to different degrees and in different directions. Two effects of age seem to be linear: old age on the one hand steadily increases the likelihood of liking 'serious literature', while on the other hand, age decreases the liking for books in the pattern of 'mystery'. The age effect is not as clear in the 'romantic' and 'nonfiction' categories. As expected, the level of education most powerfully affects the taste pattern of 'serious literature'. The pattern of 'nonfiction' is affected by a high level of education as well or, to be more precise, only those respondents with no degree like 'nonfiction' less than others. A university degree significantly decreases the likelihood of liking 'romantic popular literature'.

Both income and residential area have little impact on patterns of literary taste. The highest income category, however, positively affects 'mystery' and negatively the 'nonfiction' pattern. 'Serious literature' is preferred slightly more in urban areas than in the countryside. The relationship is inverse or there are no clear effects of respondents' residential area at all in the case of other literary taste patterns. Overall, only the effects of gender, age and education are of great significance. In addition, when compared with other patterns, the literary pattern of 'mystery' is rather peculiar, since only two of the background variables affect it statistically significantly, and in both cases in ways that are quite unique to our study. Being middle-aged or older affects the pattern of 'mystery' negatively, while the highest income group has a small positive effect.

Table 6
Literary Genre Factors by Independent Background Variables (Parameter Estimates (β) with Standard Errors in Parentheses and F-Values from a General Linear Model).

	Literary Factor 1: Serious literature	Literary Factor 2: Romantic popular	Literary Factor 3: Mystery	Literary Factor 4: Nonfiction
Gender (F)	76.30***	295.76***	0.31	21.02***
Male	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Female	0.47 (0.05)***	0.90 (0.05)***	-0.03 (0.06)	-0.26 (0.06)***
Age group (F)	13.09***	2.59*	12.58***	5.36***
18-24	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
25-34	0.02 (0.10)	0.12 (0.10)	-0.02 (0.10)	0.24 (0.10)*
35-44	0.11 (0.10)	0.29 (0.10)**	-0.05 (0.11)	0.53 (0.11)***
45-54	0.22 (0.10)*	0.25 (0.10)**	-0.29 (0.11)**	0.35 (0.11)**
55-64	0.41 (0.10)***	0.25 (0.09)**	-0.50 (0.10)***	0.39 (0.10)***
65-74	0.68 (0.11)***	0.26 (0.11)*	-0.58 (0.12)***	0.29 (0.12)*
Education (F)	27.87***	7.80***	2.32	10.09***
No/Basic	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Vocational	0.18 (0.08)*	0.05 (0.08)	0.22 (0.09)*	0.37 (0.09)***
College	0.38 (0.09)***	-0.04 (0.08)	0.22 (0.09)*	0.36 (0.09)***
University	0.83 (0.10)***	-0.32 (0.10)**	0.20 (0.11)	0.57 (0.11)***
Income (F)	1.12	1.39	3.13*	3.69*
-1000	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1000-2000	-0.02 (0.07)	0.02 (0.06)	0.04 (0.07)	-0.12 (0.07)
2000+	0.08 (0.08)	-0.09 (0.08)	0.20 (0.09)*	-0.24 (0.09)**
Area (F)	4.67**	4.27**	1.45	4.99**
City centre	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Suburban	-0.09 (0.07)	0.06 (0.07)	0.13 (0.08)	0.21 (0.08)**
Village	-0.29 (0.09)**	0.22 (0.09)*	0.05 (0.09)	0.00 (0.09)
Country	-0.25 (0.10)**	0.26 (0.09)**	0.02 (0.10)	0.26 (0.10)*
Adjusted R^2	0.17	0.23	0.06	0.06

Notes. The first category of each variable is the reference category ($\beta = 0.00$). * $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$. *** $p < 0.001$.

Connections between musical and literary taste patterns

In the preceding sections, we looked at the distributions of likings of musical and literary genres, then constructed measures for musical and literary taste patterns and finally showed how the taste patterns are distributed and explained according to basic socio-demographic variables in Finland. After all these analytical steps, one obvious question remains to be answered: how are the fields of music and literature related to each other? Are there any significant relationships between the taste patterns across the two areas, that is, markers of overlapping that would suggest a structural homology in tastes in music and literature?

The interrelationships across the areas are examined here simply by calculating correlations between the taste patterns (i.e. factor score variables) of music and literary genres. The correlations show that there are several significant relationships between the music factors and the literary factors (see Table 7). Three of them especially are remarkable for their magnitude and thus worthy of special consideration.

The first of these correlations, which is also overall the strongest, is between the first musical and literary factors,

namely, 'highbrow music' and 'serious literature'. This strong correlation clearly indicates that highbrow orientated taste crosses the border between these two cultural fields. To put it simply, a considerable proportion of the respondents with highbrow taste in music also prefer serious literature. In other words, this strong alliance between highbrow music and serious literature can be interpreted as showing that there really is a homology in taste in these two fields.

The next major correlation is found between the second music and literary factors, i.e. between 'popular folk music' and 'romantic popular literature'. In other words, this relationship shows that popular folk music (which was strongly connected to old age) and taste in romantic books (romances) and easy nonfiction (self-help and religious books) go together, which can be interpreted as a sign of more general popular folk taste that crosses the two cultural areas. A third important correlation was found between the third factors of music and literature, i.e. between 'rock' and 'mystery' (thrillers, etc.). This suggests that in taste, there is a homology between these two popular action or excitement genres, the male-dominated pattern of hard rock and gender-neutral mystery books (though besides thrillers, science fiction and fantasy and horror were liked slightly more by men than by

Table 7
Correlations between Music Genre Factors and Literary Genre Factors (Pearson's Correlation Coefficients).

	Music Factor 1: Highbrow	Music Factor 2: Popular folk	Music Factor 3: Rock	Music Factor 4: Electro
Literary Factor 1: Serious literature	0.53***	0.03	-0.07*	-0.05
Literary Factor 2: Romantic popular	0.03	0.36***	-0.10***	0.17***
Literary Factor 3: Mystery	0.02	-0.13***	0.38***	-0.04
Literary Factor 4: Nonfiction	0.17***	0.03	0.06*	-0.01

Notes. $N = 1212$. * $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$. *** $p < 0.001$ (two-tailed tests).

women). The fourth music factor, 'electro', is connected only slightly with one of the literary patterns, i.e. romantic, but although this relationship is statistically significant, it is much weaker than the three correlations discussed above. Similarly, the fourth literary factor, 'nonfiction', is associated only with the highbrow pattern of musical taste, and the strength of the correlation is only moderate.

Conclusions

In this article we have analysed in detail the musical and literary tastes of Finns through likings of thirteen different musical genres and eleven literary genres. As for the mutual relations between the genres, the analysis produced four distinct dimensions or patterns of taste in each cultural field. In music the taste patterns are highbrow, popular folk, rock and electro. In literature they are serious highbrow literature, romantic popular literature, mystery and nonfiction. The similarity between the first three of these patterns of musical and literary taste is considerable.

Our analysis showed that the first two taste patterns in both fields have much in common. Both female gender and increasing age have a strong impact on each, but as for the impact of the educational level, they are opposites: the first patterns represent the taste of the higher educated (highbrow taste); the second patterns that of the less educated (popular folk taste). What is striking is the extremely high explanatory power of gender, particularly in the case of the two literary taste patterns, namely, serious literature and romantic popular literature. In the field of music – highbrow and popular folk taste patterns – age plays a stronger role than in literature.

The third taste pattern in each field, rock in music and mystery in literature, indicates interesting parallels as well. Both are gender neutral or slightly male dominated, and old age has a negative impact on both. Thus, they can also be called youth patterns. Interestingly, high personal income also affects them, but education has no statistically significant effect on either of these two factors. In this sense – and contrary to the case of the first two patterns – they do not figure in the highbrow/lowbrow dimension. Unlike the first three patterns, the last taste patterns in these fields – electro in music and nonfiction in literature – do not have anything particular in common. It should therefore be emphasised that we do not by any means claim that there is a perfect homol-

ogy between musical and literary tastes in Finland.

The similarities between the effects of the background variables on the taste patterns show, however, that the three first patterns in each field are in many ways almost identical. The analysis of the interrelationships among the four taste patterns supports the interpretation that there is a strong homology between the two fields in respect to three patterns, highbrow music/serious literature, popular folk music/romantic popular literature and rock music/mystery literature. Therefore, one can tentatively argue that these categories describe the three basic taste patterns in Finland. Interestingly, they can be interpreted as being close to the three basic taste patterns identified by Schulze (1992) in his study of Nuremberg, Germany: the highbrow, trivial or popular entertainment and action or excitement schemes, which again closely resemble van Eijck's (2001) three music factors – highbrow, folk and pop – in the Netherlands (see also Van Eijck & Lievens, 2008). For example, the musical genres that Schulze (1992, 621-3) included in his taste schemes are distributed quite like ours: classical music and opera as part of the highbrow scheme, schlagers and folk music in the trivial scheme, and finally, rock in the action scheme. It remains to be seen, however, to what extent other Finnish cultural fields studied in our questionnaire relate to or fit into these three basic taste patterns or schemes.

Our findings suggest that there is clear social differentiation in taste patterns both in the case of music and in literature in Finland. What is significant, contra Bourdieu and Distinction, is that age and especially gender proved to be at least as important as education in explaining musical and literary taste patterns in general and highbrow tastes in particular (see, however, Bourdieu, 1984, 103-6). The fact that women more than men like the various forms and genres of highbrow culture, such as classical music and opera as well as modern and classical literature and poetry and plays, has emerged in several earlier studies (e.g. Bihagen & Katz-Gerro, 2000; Kane, 2004; Lizardo, 2006). The connection is not, however, universal and valid in all countries for which we have reliable comparative data. In Finland the relationship between gender and highbrow taste seems to be exceptionally strong, both in music and in literature, even when other factors, such as education, income or residential area, are taken into account. This phenomenon could equally be interpreted as a sign of the declassification of the traditional forms of 'high' culture or as a sign of women's cultural emancipation and increas-

ing cultural capital. In any case, this 'enigma of women's highbrow cultural participation', as it is referred to in many studies, is among the most obvious subjects to be studied further in the future with our data.

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Appendix Table 1
The Independent Variables

	%	N
Gender		
Male	48.1	667
Female	51.9	721
Age group		
18-24	12.1	168
25-34	17.6	245
35-44	18.5	256
45-54	19.7	273
55-64	19.9	277
65-74	12.1	169
Education		
No/Basic	17.4	242
Vocational	39.0	541
College	29.4	408
University	14.2	197
Income		
-1000	31.0	414
1000-2000	45.6	609
2000+	23.4	312
Area		
City centre	16.9	233
Suburban	50.9	702
Village	17.3	239
Country	14.9	205
<i>Total</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>1388</i>