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## From Aristocratic to Ordinary: Shifting Modes of Elite Distinction

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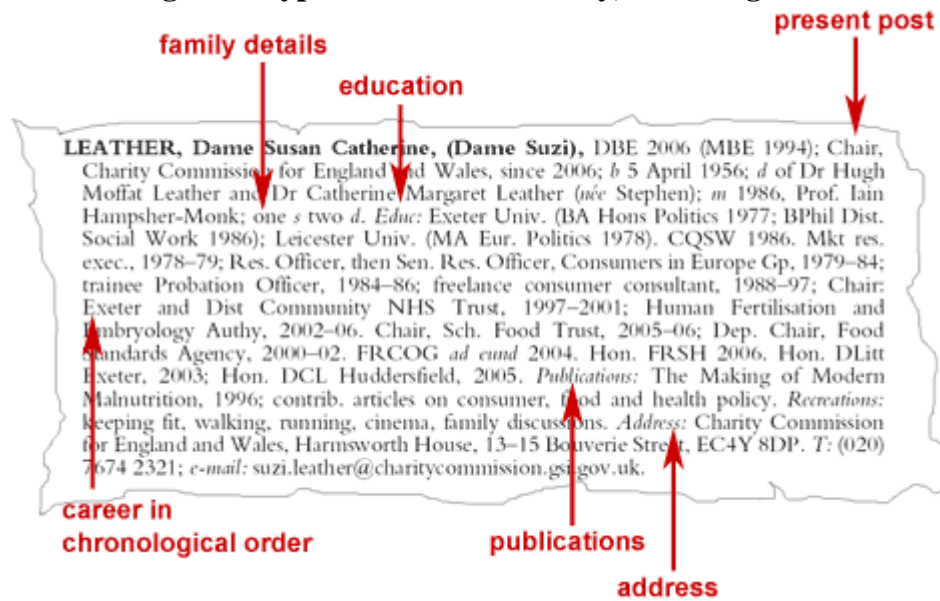
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## Part A: Image of a Typical *Who's Who* Entry, Including a List of Receptions



Source: <http://www.print.ukwhoswho.com/?id=-1180>

## **Part B: List of Automatic Appointments to *Who's Who***

The authors requested a list of automatic appointments to *Who's Who* from Katy McAdam, Head of Yearbooks at Bloomsbury Press. Although McAdam refused to provide a fully exhaustive list, she did provide an indicative guide to the types of appointments that warrant automatic inclusion. These are listed below:

- Members of Parliament
- Members of the devolved assemblies for Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland
- Heads of local government authorities
- Judges
- Queen's Counsels
- Senior civil servants (e.g., Head, Permanent Secretaries, Permanent Under Secretaries)
- Top-level military appointments (e.g., Major, Colonel, Admiral)
- Top-level religious appointments (e.g., Archbishop, Bishops, Chief Rabbi)
- Ambassadors
- Chairmen and chief executives of FTSE 100 companies
- Chancellors and vice chancellors of British universities
- Heads of subsidiary university bodies such as Oxbridge colleges (e.g., Christchurch) or schools within the University of London (e.g., Imperial College)
- Heads of public bodies (NHS England, UK Statistics Authority)
- Heads of arts, culture, and heritage organizations (British Museum, Science Museum, National Trust, Royal Opera House, RSC)
- Heads of science, medical, and technology organizations (British Medical Association)
- Members of the peerage and baronetage
- Heads of sports bodies (All Lawn Tennis Association, Football Association, MCC)
- Heads of certain secondary schools (e.g., Clarendon Schools)
- Heads of media organizations (e.g., News Corporation, BBC, Channel 4)
- Winners of specific prizes (e.g., Booker Prize, Nobel, Turner Prize)
- Fellows of key professional bodies or institutions (e.g., British Academy, Royal Society)
- Dames and Knights

### Part C: Fields of Occupation by Cohort

Cohort	Education	Military	Law	Politics	Business	Creative Industries	Celebrity	Religion	Aristocracy
1830/1834	5.53	28.17	24.25	12.43	8.52	7.98	0.15	11.51	1.46
1835/1839	6.37	27.19	24.53	11.24	9.63	7.14	0.17	11.18	2.55
1840/1844	7.12	22.53	24.82	13.72	8.81	8.17	0.51	12.41	1.91
1845/1849	7.27	19.86	27.37	12.95	11.22	8.96	0.04	9.84	2.50
1850/1854	7.33	22.12	25.43	12.84	11.17	8.66	0.34	9.72	2.38
1855/1859	6.80	28.10	21.94	11.08	11.86	9.53	0.34	8.20	2.14
1860/1864	8.39	29.67	19.19	11.65	11.15	9.74	0.27	7.64	2.30
1865/1869	7.06	32.06	18.21	11.40	13.16	8.97	0.31	6.64	2.18
1870/1874	7.44	34.12	16.23	11.42	14.07	8.36	0.27	6.12	1.96
1875/1879	7.60	35.73	14.91	12.16	15.45	8.18	0.39	3.52	2.05
1880/1884	8.04	34.56	13.74	12.12	15.40	8.44	0.28	5.66	1.77
1885/1889	9.24	31.11	14.78	12.65	16.05	8.99	0.35	4.93	1.90
1890/1894	8.48	33.52	14.10	12.19	17.51	9.10	0.07	3.33	1.69
1895/1899	10.32	30.95	14.02	12.73	17.48	9.08	0.26	3.35	1.80
1900/1904	13.02	20.96	15.34	12.34	20.13	10.92	0.17	4.81	2.32
1905/1909	13.44	17.97	14.80	15.49	20.05	10.28	0.27	4.76	2.93
1910/1914	14.77	16.26	14.46	15.87	20.67	10.58	0.52	4.86	2.00
1915/1919	17.79	14.40	13.20	19.71	19.52	8.65	0.79	3.97	1.97
1920/1924	21.90	9.63	12.53	17.63	22.40	9.54	0.85	3.82	1.69
1925/1929	21.72	6.22	13.18	14.88	23.68	12.66	1.12	4.72	1.82
1930/1934	22.03	5.13	12.57	14.41	24.54	12.42	1.14	5.06	2.71
1935/1939	25.19	3.75	11.20	13.82	24.35	13.03	1.34	4.74	2.58
1940/1944	27.81	2.36	13.17	15.22	21.09	12.41	1.46	3.94	2.54
1945/1949	28.30	1.98	15.60	15.69	18.45	13.07	1.21	3.21	2.50
1950/1954	27.30	2.44	17.01	16.79	15.38	13.19	1.07	3.90	2.92

1955/1959	22.07	3.24	18.19	16.81	15.27	15.72	1.17	4.14	3.40
1960/1964	18.23	2.92	19.91	17.87	14.77	18.42	1.39	3.17	3.32
1965/1969	13.92	1.48	21.62	21.15	11.26	21.03	1.66	2.25	5.63

*Note:* Rows may not equal 100 due to rounding. *Who's Who* categorizes individuals into 25 fields. Many of these fields are quite small, so we created nine larger aggregate categories to document the broad patterns over time. Education contains “education and learning,” “medicine,” “scholarship and research,” and “science”. Military contains “armed forces and intelligence.” Law contains “law and crime.” Politics contains “politics and government” and “social welfare and reform.” Business contains “business and finance,” “trade and retailing,” “agriculture and food,” “building and heavy engineering,” “manufacture and industry,” “technology,” and “transport and communication.” Creative industries contains “art,” “film, broadcasting, publishing,” “music,” “theatre and entertainment,” and “literature and journalism.” Celebrity contains “individuals,” “travel and exploration,” and “sports and games.” Religion contains “religion and belief.” Aristocracy contains “royalty and aristocracy.”

# **Part D: Descriptive Statistics of the Sample by Cohort**

Cohort	<i>N</i>	% Female	% <i>Who Was Who</i>	% Succession	% Foreign	% Respond to Recreation Field
1850/1859	3,354	1.61	100.00	9.15	4.77	32.17
1860/1869	5,633	2.15	100.00	7.67	5.33	34.40
1870/1879	7,951	1.96	100.00	6.97	4.99	36.25
1880/1889	10,539	2.14	100.00	5.94	4.70	37.01
1890/1899	10,706	2.26	100.00	5.77	3.73	38.06
1900/1909	9,840	2.63	100.00	6.45	3.55	42.24
1910/1919	8,551	4.48	100.00	7.11	3.39	48.45
1920/1929	9,199	4.61	100.00	8.16	3.38	56.46
1930/1939	9,177	4.59	98.61	7.75	6.57	66.14
1940/1949	9,732	5.09	75.45	6.57	10.55	72.78
1950/1959	9,363	7.02	31.58	6.35	12.12	78.43
1960/1969	11,096	12.35	8.54	5.20	10.28	80.21
1970/1979	8,872	19.23	2.67	5.42	8.44	79.63
1980/1989	4,872	24.08	0.64	5.11	7.74	76.91

## Part E: Dictionary Definitions of Term “Recreation” Over Time

We address this question through considering multiple additions of the *Oxford English Dictionary*, including the first edition of volume VIII (published in 1914), which includes the word “recreation.” The entries are recorded below. The definitions are listed in order of historical priority. Entries in italics are considered obsolete; entries in bold are still considered part of active usage.

1914 (with 1933 supplement)	1989	2009
<p><i>1. Refreshment by partaking of food; a refecton; nourishment</i></p> <p><i>2. Refreshment or comfort produced by something affecting the sense or body</i></p> <p><b>3. The action of recreating (oneself or another) or fact of being recreated by some pleasant occupation, pastime or amusement</b></p> <p><b>3a. An instance of this; a means of recreating oneself; a pleasurable exercise of employment</b></p> <p><b>3b. One who or that which supplies recreation</b></p> <p><i>4. A place of refreshment or recreation</i></p> <p>The 1933 supplement added a number of compounds with which the word was commonly used, including recreation area, centre, ground, hall.</p>	<p><i>1. Refreshment by partaking of food; a refecton; nourishment.</i></p> <p><i>2a. Refreshment or comfort produced by something affecting the senses or body.</i></p> <p><i>2b. Comfort or consolation of the mind; that which comforts or consoles.</i></p> <p><b>3a. The action of recreating (oneself or another), or fact of being recreated, by some pleasant occupation, pastime or amusement.</b></p> <p><b>3b. An instance of this; a means of recreating oneself; a pleasurable exercise or employment.</b></p> <p><b>3c. One who or that which supplies recreation.</b></p> <p><i>4. A place of refreshment or recreation</i></p>	<p><i>1. Refreshment by eating; nourishment; a meal.</i></p> <p><i>2a. Physical refreshment or comfort produced by something affecting the senses or body.</i></p> <p><i>2b. Mental or spiritual comfort or consolation; a comfort, a consolation</i></p> <p><b>3a. The action or fact of refreshing or entertaining oneself through a pleasurable or interesting pastime, amusement, activity, etc. (esp. habitually); amusement, entertainment.</b></p> <p><b>b. An activity or pastime which is pursued for the pleasure or interest it provides.</b></p> <p><i>3c. A person who or thing which provides entertainment or enjoyment for others; a source of recreation.</i></p> <p><b>3d. An educational exercise, lesson, or problem intended to be both instructive and enjoyable. Chiefly in plural, esp. in the titles of collections of such exercises or problems.</b></p> <p><i>4. A place of refreshment or for recreation.</i></p>

Over the period we are examining, it seems there has been little change in the meaning of the word. In the earlier periods, the word seems to have possessed a slightly more existential dimension in which recreational activity was seen to, in a sense, re-create the self; that is, the practice was refreshing who the person was/is and perhaps even playing a constitutive role in the person's identity. This aspect of the word becomes less prominent in the most recent dictionary entry. Rather than "re-creating oneself," the activities refresh or entertain, suggesting a weaker connection between the pastimes and amusements one pursues and their identity.

One definition falls away entirely: this concerns the usage of recreation as someone or some object that provides enjoyment. This was always uncommon, as the sparse entries under this entry suggest, but there was an instance from 1863 and so seems to have been retained for that reason.

Notwithstanding these subtle variations in meaning, there seems to have been more continuity than change in how the term recreation was defined, suggesting that the effect of potentially shifting semantics on how people respond to the request for "recreations" in *Who's Who* is rather minimal.



## Part F: Word Selection and Unreported Recreations

We initially began our analysis by focusing on words used more than 100 times. Our initial interpretation was that a large number of the most commonly used words could be categorized into two main categories that reflect modes of cultural practice already well-established in the historical literature on British elite cultural practice (Annan 1991; Cannadine 1999): the aristocratic and the highbrow. The key words for these modes of cultural practice are listed below.

1. Aristocratic: shoot, hunt, gun, stalk, polo, riding, fencing, yacht, golf, rowing, sailing, boat, dinghy, horse, dressage, equest, fishing, angling, trout, bird, ornith.

2. Highbrow: music, opera, theatre, drama, jazz, architecture, poetry, archaeology, photo, art, wine, whisky, classic, ballet, writing, literature, paint, antique, walk, reading, concert, organ, chamber, bass, bassoon, clarinet, guitar, cello, piano, jazz, violin, folk, blues, classical, drums, saxophone, bluegrass, banjo, mandolin, harp, singing, choral, mozart, choir, bach, countryside, fell-, fellow, hike, hill-walk, mountain, climb, trek, hiking, rambling, woodland, the art, paint, galler, watercolour, arts, culture, drawing, sketching, sculpt.

Note that the highbrow mode includes many more words. This is partly because highbrow activities arguably have many more variants. For example, music includes not only the word “music” but also a variety of instruments, composers, and even genres.

While exploring the data, we noted a series of words that did not fit within these two categories and were rooted in more everyday or popular modes of cultural practice. The key words for this category are listed below.

3. Ordinary/Popular: family, kids, children, grandc, grandf, grandm, grandson, niece, nephew, cousin, parent, daughter, son, mum, dad, father, mother, husband, wife, spouse, dog, cooking, radio, gossip, children, family, friends, house, talking, friend, entertain, socialis, socializ, parties, chum, cats, pet, pets, cat, animals, running, jogging, marathon, film, cinema, movies, football, fc, soccer, united, arsenal, hotspur, chelsea, liverpool, television.

The vast majority of commonly used words were coded and categorized into one of these three groupings. Over 80 percent of entrants used at least one of the key words above that were categorized into these groups.

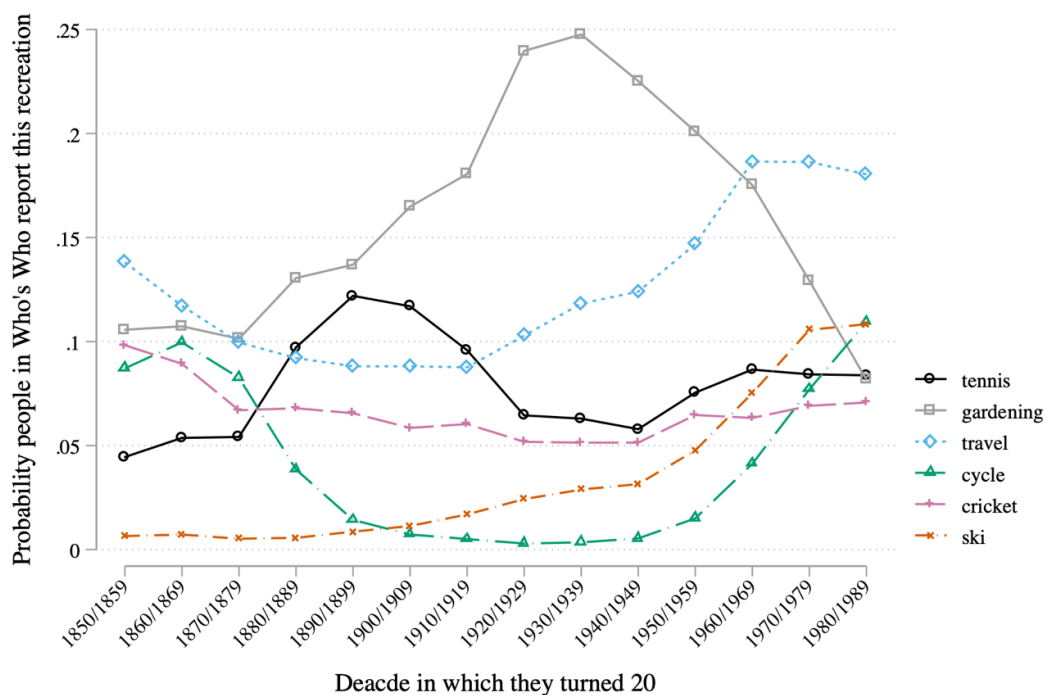
The majority of commonly used words can be placed into one of our three elite cultural modes, but some are more ambiguous. For example, Table F1 shows the most popular words by cohort, with “aristocratic” activities in blue, “highbrow” activities in green, “ordinary or everyday” in yellow, and a set of more “ambiguous” activities in white. In most cases, we code such activities as “ambiguous” because their meaning is highly dependent on the mode in which they are consumed or practiced. For example, activities like gardening or travel could easily be categorized in any of our three cultural modes, depending on the scale, budget, and aesthetic orientation of the individual entrant. We also omit a number of sporting recreations, as most of these have complex social histories that traverse more than one of our three cultural modes.

**Table F1.** The Most Commonly Used Words by Key Birth Cohorts

1860s words	1880s words	1900s words	1920s words	1940s words	1960s words	1980s words
shooting	golf	golf	gardening	music	music	walking
Golf	shooting	fishing	golf	gardening	walking	reading
fishing	fishing	shooting	fishing	reading	reading	family
cricket	tennis	gardening	music	golf	gardening	music
cycling	gardening	tennis	reading	walking	golf	travel
gardening	motoring	walking	shooting	travel	travel	theatre
hunting	hunting	motoring	walking	fishing	theatre	ski
walking	cricket	music	travel	sailing	tennis	cycling
music	walking	cricket	tennis	theatre	sailing	running
reading	music	travel	cricket	tennis	ski	football
riding	reading	reading	sailing	photography	opera	tennis
tennis	travel	hunting	swimming	cricket	history	golf
travel	riding	riding	photography	history	family	cricket
rowing	yachting	swimming	painting	shooting	cricket	cooking
travelling	travelling	photography	football	swimming	photography	cinema

It is important to acknowledge that omitting such ambiguous recreations could have implications for our analysis, particularly if the popularity of such activities moves in a direction that either clearly tracks one or more of our dominant modes or clearly runs counter to any. However, as illustrated in Figure F2, the popularity of these terms does not move in a direction that undermines our analysis in any straightforward manner.

**Figure F2.** Trends in Usage of Commonly Used “Ambiguous” Recreations

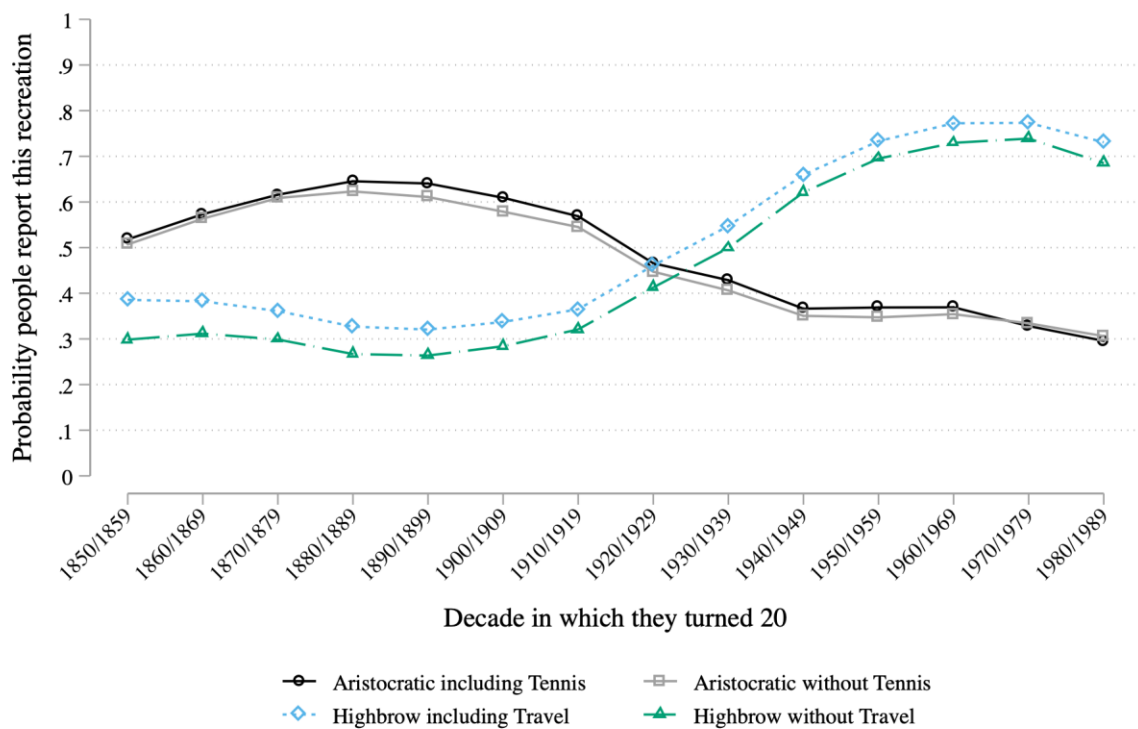


Finally, it is worth acknowledging that two of the recreations in Figure F2—tennis and travel—are arguably less ambiguous and might be placed into one of our three categories. Tennis, for example, was historically closely associated with the aristocracy. Indeed, it was only in the early part of the twentieth century, when lawn tennis moved from private gardens (often on aristocratic estates) into tennis clubs, that the social composition of recreational tennis players opened up to the middle classes and subsequently became a mass spectator sport. Tennis could thus be included in our analysis as an aristocratic practice.

Travel too may be a less ambiguous cultural practice. For example, if we follow Adler’s (2001) classic paper on the aesthetic dimensions of travel as a “performed art,” it may be more accurate to categorize elite engagement with travel as following a distinctly highbrow logic.

Recognizing these alternative readings of tennis and travel, in Figure F3 we recalculate the aristocratic and highbrow trends in our analysis to see if they are substantially altered by treating them as ambiguous. Figure F3 shows no major changes in our previously reported trends, even though the levels of consumption change slightly. In other words, the results of our dictionary methods are not significantly altered if we add tennis and travel into their most approximate categories.

**Figure F3.** Adjusting the Major Trend Lines by Assigning Tennis to the Aristocratic and Travel to the Highbrow



## References

Adler, Judith. 1989. "Travel as Performed Art." *American Journal of Sociology* 94(6):1366–91.

Annan, Noel. 1991. *Our Age: English Intellectuals Between the World Wars: A Group Portrait*. New York: Random House.

Cannadine, David. 1999. *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*. New York: Vintage Books.

## Part G: Unsupervised Content Analysis

In the main text we use a supervised approach to automate the coding procedure of all the texts. This runs the risk that the trends we observe are constructed by us through our categorization process. Here, we use an unsupervised approach to observe whether similar trends can be observed using this undirected mode of clustering data.

Specifically, we use a structural topic model where the structuring variable is time. We run a model with eight topics for two reasons. First, an eight-topic model is similar to the number of categories we used in our supervised approach. Second, the eight-topic model fits the data well (i.e., it maintains a high semantic coherence and a held-out likelihood) and the additional gains in model fit (e.g., reduction in residuals) from including additional topics are small.

We also explored the sensitivity of our model to alternative specifications. For example, we ran the unsupervised model on words mentioned more than 100 times, but we also tried a higher and a lower exclusion threshold and found largely similar results. We also estimated a 20-topic model (the point at which a number of the fit statistics start to degrade; the residuals begin to increase, the lower bound starts to fall, and the held-out likelihood starts to decline), and we obtained similar results, although the main topics are broken down into more precise categories.

### *Eight-Topic Model*

Once the exclusions have been implemented, the analytical corpus has 67,604 documents that contain 213,598 tokens based on 302 terms.

The words (terms) with the highest probability of being included in each topic are shown in Table G1. Note that individual recreations often recur in different topics and many topics are highly correlated with each other. We visualize this in Figure G1. These correlations reinforce the basic clustering of our analysis in the main text. Specifically, they appear to indicate three dominant modes of cultural practice and one isolated ambiguous category.

First, Topics 8 and 4 are highly correlated with one another and are dominated by recreations we categorize as part of the aristocratic mode. The key difference is that Topic 4 is more focused on enjoying the natural world on its own terms, whereas Topic 8 is more concerned with using the land as a source of entertainment.

Second, Topics 2, 3, and 6 are all correlated with each other. Significantly, certain highbrow activities such as art, music, writing, and reading recur across all three. However, we also see noteworthy differences between these topics. Topic 6 mingles the aristocratic with the highbrow, Topic 2 focuses more on art and literature, and Topic 3 is more concerned with listening to music and attending the theater. This may point toward important distinctions within the highbrow mode that are not discernible in our main dictionary analysis.

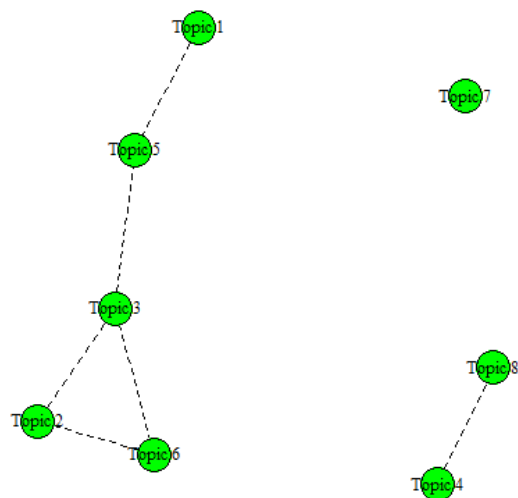
Finally, Topic 1 blends the highbrow with the ordinary and the popular. In particular, this is the only topic that includes family—despite it being one of the most commonly used words—but significantly places it alongside theater, opera, music, reading, and food. Similarly, Topic 5 also blends the highbrow (literature and theater) and the ordinary (friend and cinema).

Topic 7 is an ambiguous category and is primarily dominated by different kinds of sports, many of which, as described earlier, we do not include in the main part of our analysis.

**Table G1.** Words with the Highest Probability of Being Included in Each Topic for an Eight-Topic Model

Topic	Highest probability words
1 – Highbrow, ordinary, popular	Sport, family, theatre, opera, travel, music, wine, history, watch, read, food
2 – Highbrow (Art and literature)	Garden, photography, art, collect, music, write, walk, cook, work, hill, book
3 – Highbrow (Music and Theatre)	Read, garden, music, swim, listen, walk, travel, theatre, tennis, run, church
4 – Aristocratic (natural world)	Golf, tennis, motor, fish, bridge, ski, garden, boat, bowl, travel, yacht, farm
5 – Highbrow and Ordinary	Walk, music, cycle, travel, read, theatre, mountain, literature, cinema, friend
6 – Highbrow and Aristocratic	Travel, sail, garden, paint, walk, history, music, read, art, architecture, book
7 - Ambiguous	Football, Rugby, play, club, row, cricket, game, squash, country pursuit
8 – Aristocratic (country pursuits)	Shoot, fish, cricket, hunt, ride, golf, race, tennis, chess, yacht, horse, lawn

**Figure G1.** Correlation between Topics



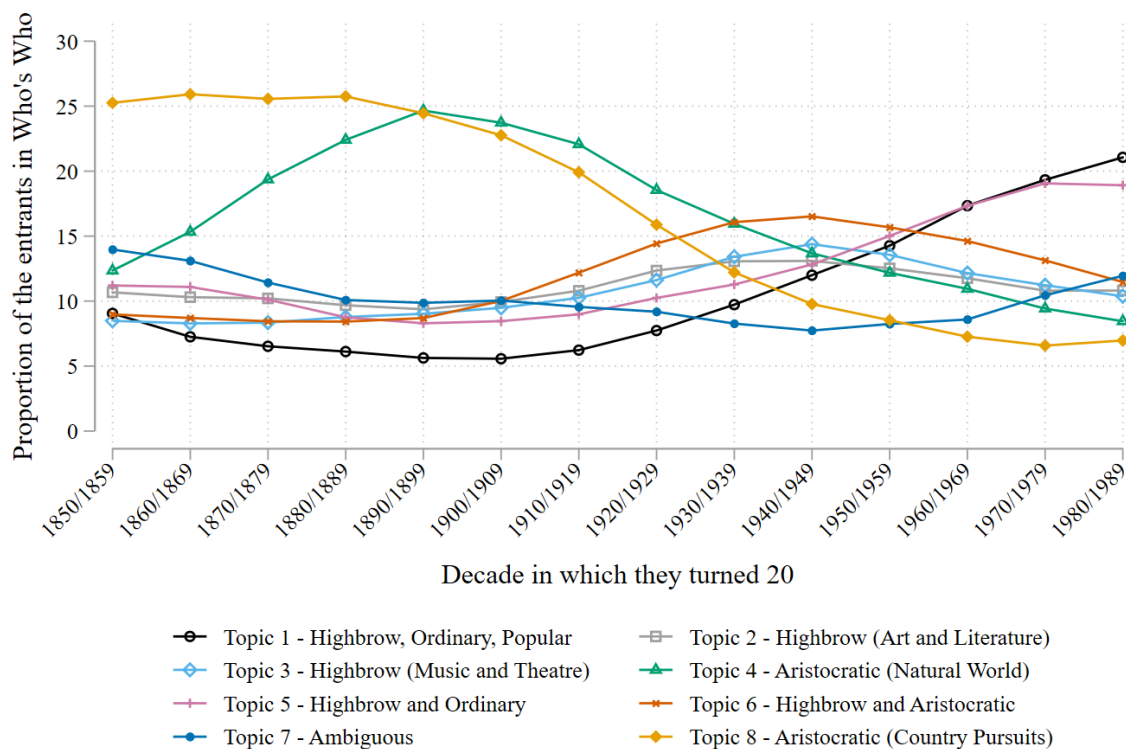
The unsupervised topic model seems to replicate quite faithfully the main results from the analyses reported in the main text. However, do these clusters of topics follow the same trends as observed in the main results? In Figure G2 we report the changes in the size of these topics over time.

Topics 4 and 8: those topics most closely associated with our aristocratic mode are clearly dominant at the start of the period but then fall away from the start of the twentieth century onward.

Topics 2, 3, and 6: those topics most closely associated with the highbrow mode all rise during the early part of the twentieth century, reaching their peak among entrants turning 20 in 1940 to 1949, before declining. This too is very similar to the trends we see in the main results. One caveat here is that the proportion of entrants in *Who's Who* participating in these activities is not as high as the trend in the main results. In part this is because this single highbrow line is now split between three lines. For example, if we add together Topics 2, 3, and 6 in 1940 to 1949, they account for around 43 percent of the texts (or entrants) turning 20 in that cohort. Our supervised approach (using Readme) suggested around about 42 percent of the texts (or entrants) were highbrow in that same cohort.

Topics 1 and 5: the topics most closely linked with our suggestion that recent entrants are blending highbrow activities with ordinary and everyday practices becomes far more prominent among those cohorts born after WWII. This too reflects the results from the main analysis.

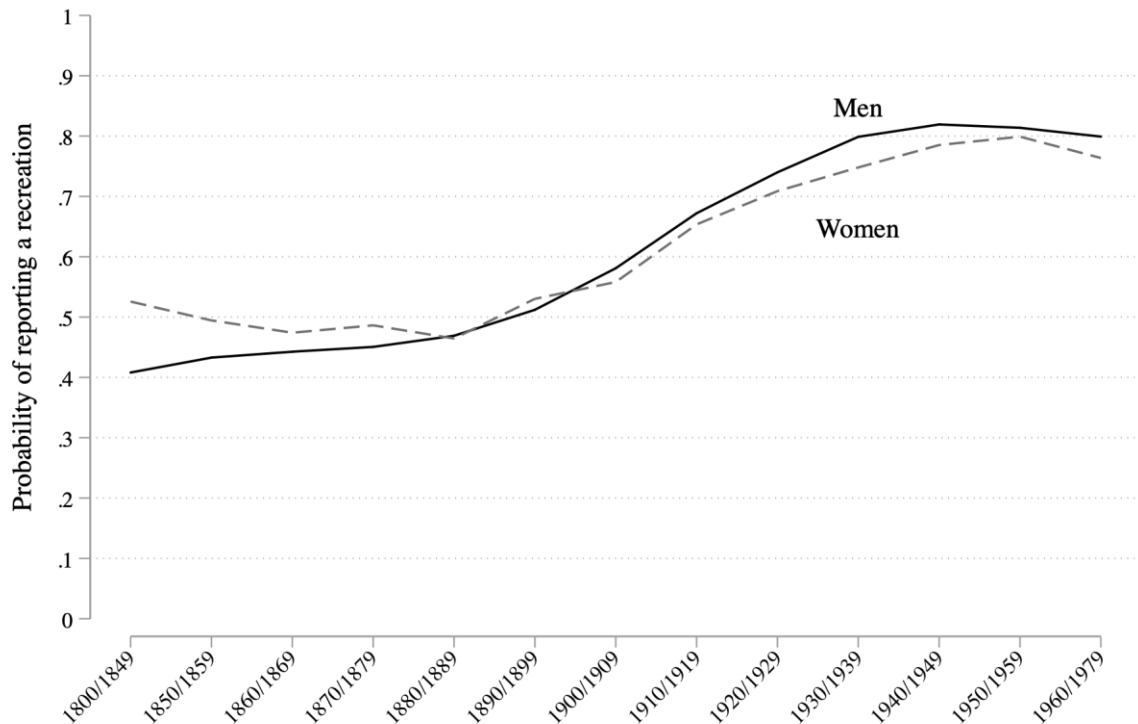
**Figure G2.** Trends Over Time by Topic



## Part H: The Proportion of Respondents Who Enter Some Data into the Recreations Field in *Who's Who* Over Time

First we explore whether the probability that an entrant to *Who's Who* reports any recreations across men and women. We find no clear difference over time.

**Figure H1.**

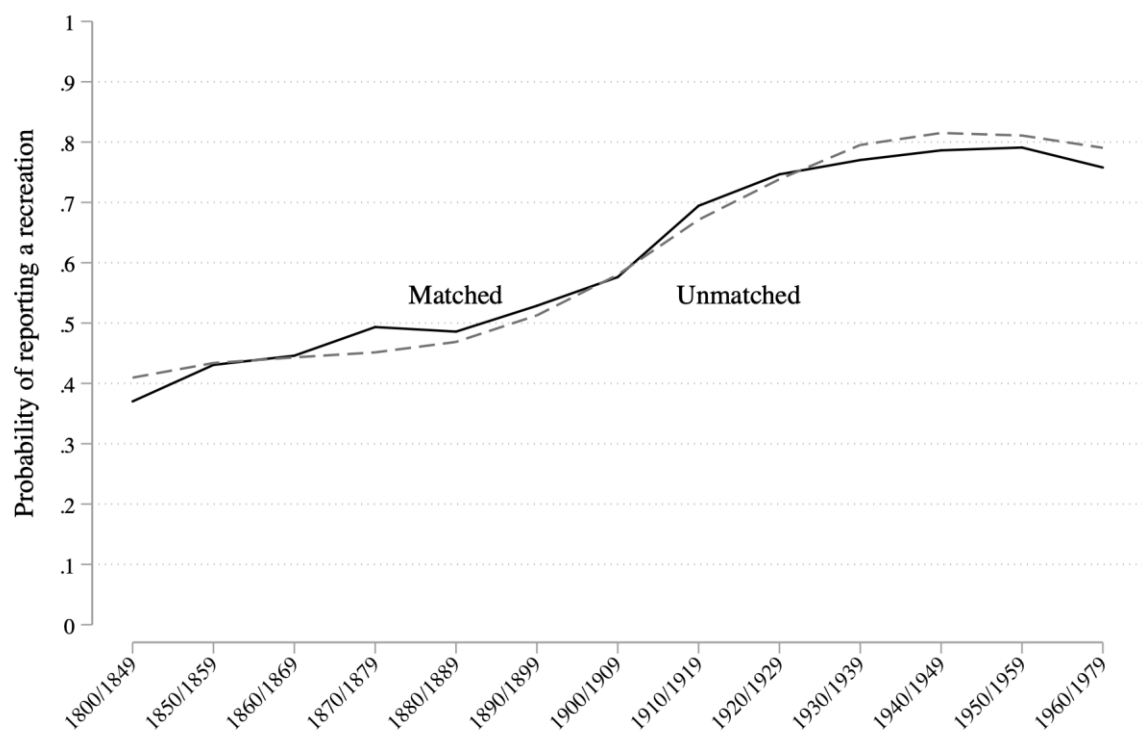


Next we explore the propensity to report any recreations more formally using matching methods (see Figure H2). Initially we plot the probability that an entrant to *Who's Who* reports recreations by birth cohort. The dashed line represents the unmatched data, that is, the raw probability for any given birth cohort. There is a substantial rise from around .4 (or approximately 40 percent) to around .8 (or approximately 80 percent).

This may be explained by compositional shifts in who gets included in *Who's Who*, so we conducted a matching analysis that seeks to ensure the sample of people who determine the results are balanced across a range of covariates. These include whether entrants attended a Clarendon school, whether entrants attended a public school (a school from the Headmasters and Headmistresses Conference), whether entrants attended Oxbridge, whether they attended a London University, whether entrants were the child of an Aristocrat, the number of private clubs entrants listed in their profile, whether they listed an elite London club, whether entrants were born outside the UK, the main field of occupation, whether entrants' parents had a honorific title, the gender of entrants, and whether they were automatically included in *Who's Who* because of their occupational position. The treatment variable was birth cohort, which was allowed to vary across respondents. This procedure reduced the sample from over 100,000 people to just over 15,000 people, yet the matched line is almost exactly the same as the unmatched line (the raw data). This suggests composition differences do not explain the change in the likelihood of reporting recreations over time.



**Figure H2.**



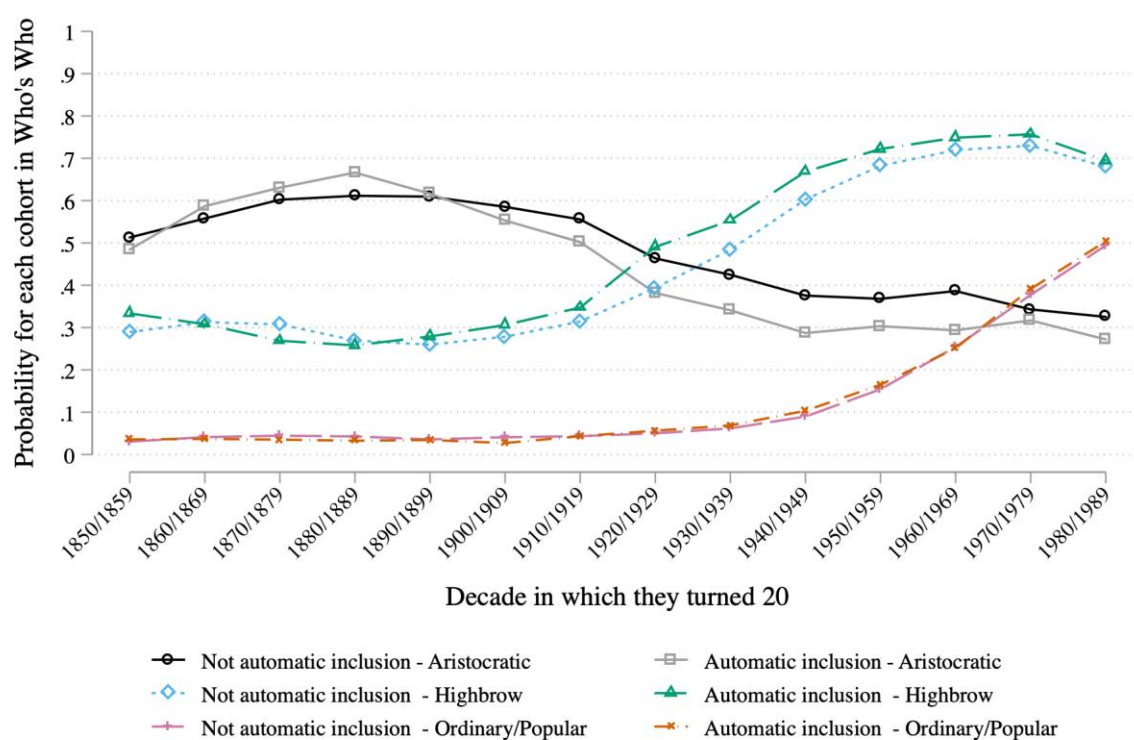
## Part I: Recreational Heterogeneity within the Elite

One limitation of focusing on general trends in elite cultural taste is that it has a tendency to mask heterogeneity within the elite. Here we explore elite cultural practices across a number of subgroups within *Who's Who*. Our strategy is simple. We calculate the probability that people from a given cohort report participating in aristocratic, highbrow, or ordinary/popular activities, and we estimate these probabilities across four potentially significant subgroups within the data; those selected automatically versus those selected on reputation; those who attended elite private schools and those who did not; those from different occupational fields; and men versus women.

### Automatic vs Reputational Selection

A major cleavage within *Who's Who* is the mechanism through which people are included in the volume; some are included automatically by virtue of their occupational position, and others are included through a selection mechanism managed by the publisher and a board of advisors. Using information provided by the publisher on automatic appointments (see Part B), in Figure I1 we examine trends in cultural practice between these entrants and those who entered through a selection process. Notably, we do not find any clear differences between these two groups.

**Figure I1.** Recreational Trends by Mode of Selection

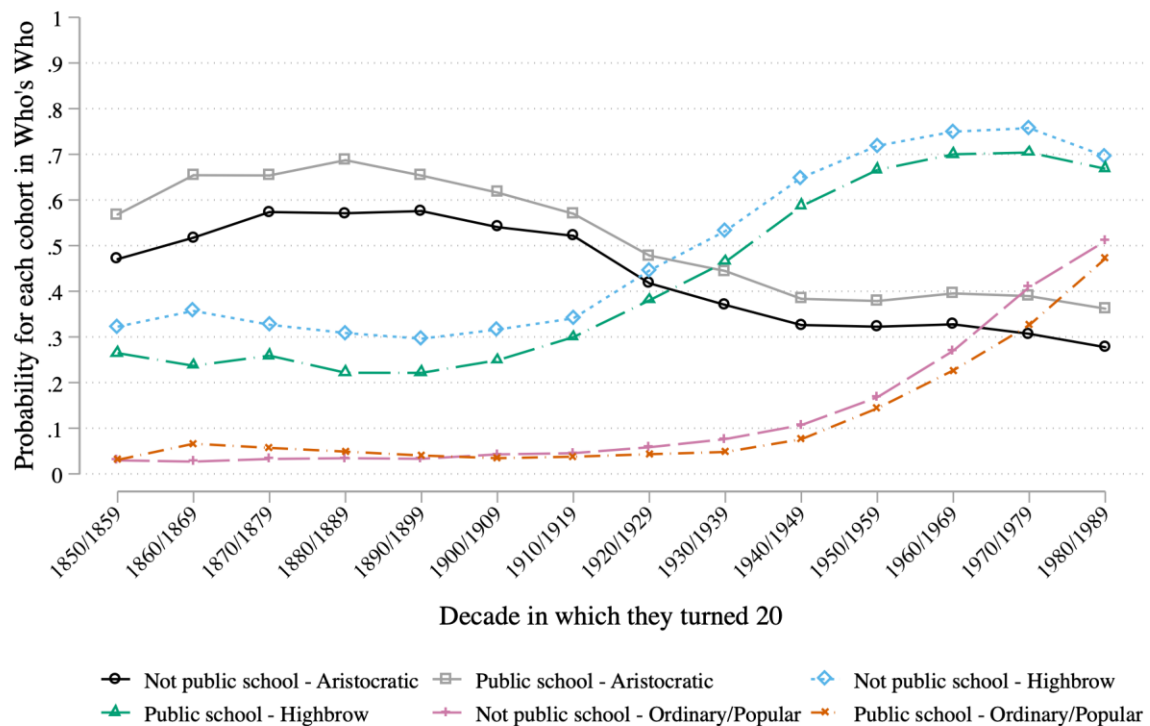


### Elite Private vs Non-elite Schooling

We also consider whether there are differences in reported cultural practices between entrants who attended one of Britain's elite HMC private schools and those who did not. These are a network of around 209 prestigious and expensive public schools that make up the Headmasters' and Headmistresses' Conference (and constitute 2.5 percent of all UK school pupils). This is our best proxy for examining whether trends vary by social origin. As Figure

I2 demonstrates, educationally privileged entrants were slightly more likely to participate in aristocratic activities and slightly less likely to participate in highbrow activities. However, the differences here are relatively small and the trends are similar across both groups. There is little meaningful difference between the alumni of these schools and other entrants in terms of their likelihood of reporting everyday or ordinary activities, the mode that might be presumed to be most closely associated with social origin.

**Figure I2.** Recreational Trends by Schooling Type

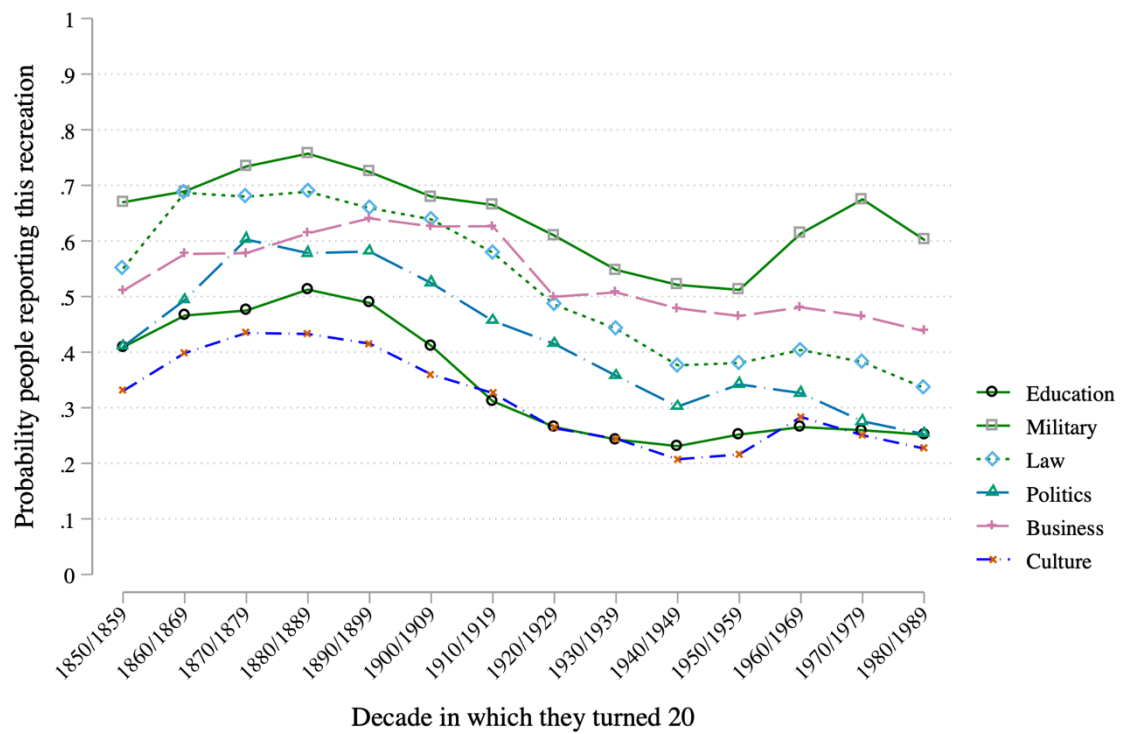


## Occupational Differences

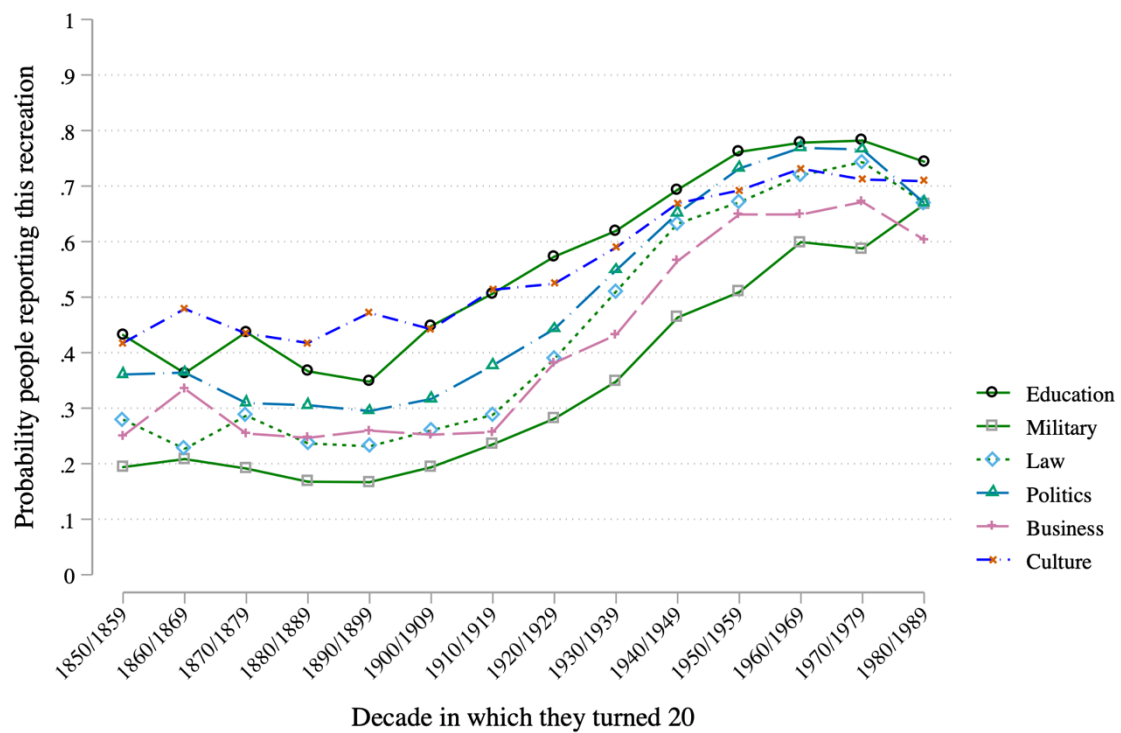
Another potential source of heterogeneity within *Who's Who* is the occupation of entrants. This is because dominant cultural modes may vary considerably across different occupational fields. We explore this by splitting *Who's Who* into six broad occupational fields (education, military, law, politics, business, and culture) and then tracing the probability that people within these fields, and within specific birth cohorts, reported participating in our three main modes of elite cultural practice.

Figures I3, I4, and I5 show important differences in the *intensity* with which entrants from different occupational fields engage with each of our first two modes of elite culture. For example, members of the military are consistently more likely to participate in aristocratic practices than those who work in the cultural industries. Conversely, people from the cultural industries are far more likely to participate in highbrow activities than members of the military. Yet significantly, although intensity varies by occupation, the trends over time are largely consistent across fields. Moreover, more recently for the ordinary mode, not only is the trend the same for all occupational fields but so too is the level. Overall, these patterns suggest that irrespective of occupational field there were common shifts in how different factions of the British elite presented their cultural identities over time.

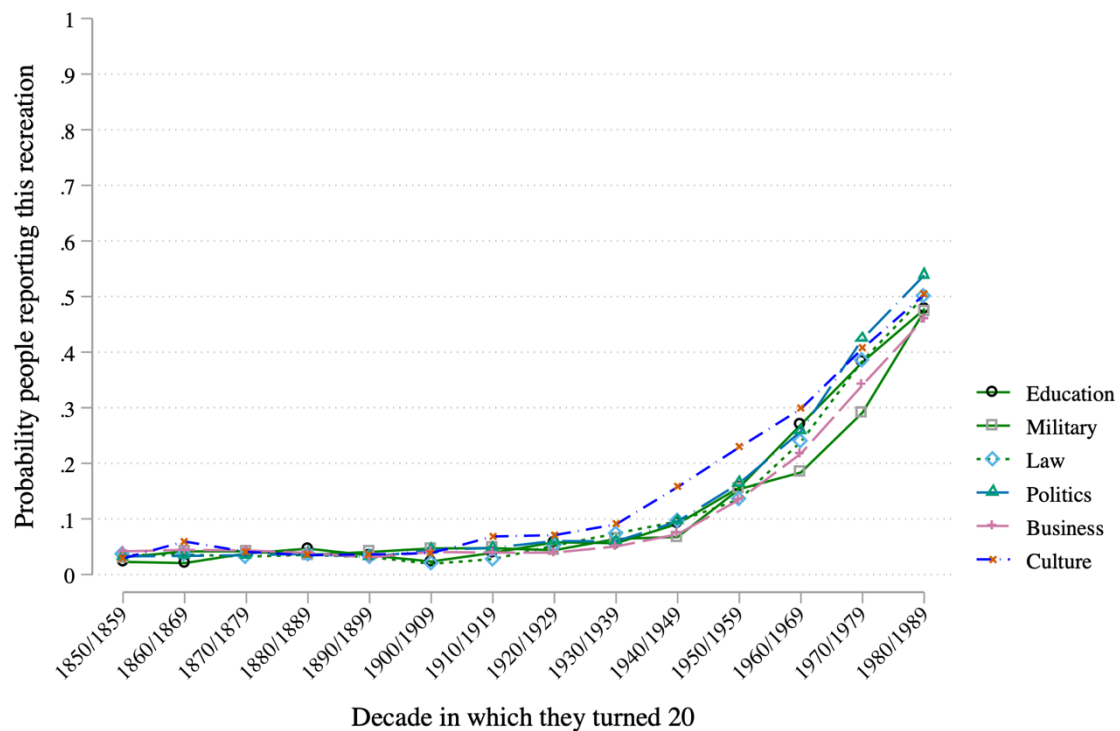
**Figure I3. Aristocratic Tastes by Occupational Field**



**Figure I4. Highbrow Tastes by Occupational Field**



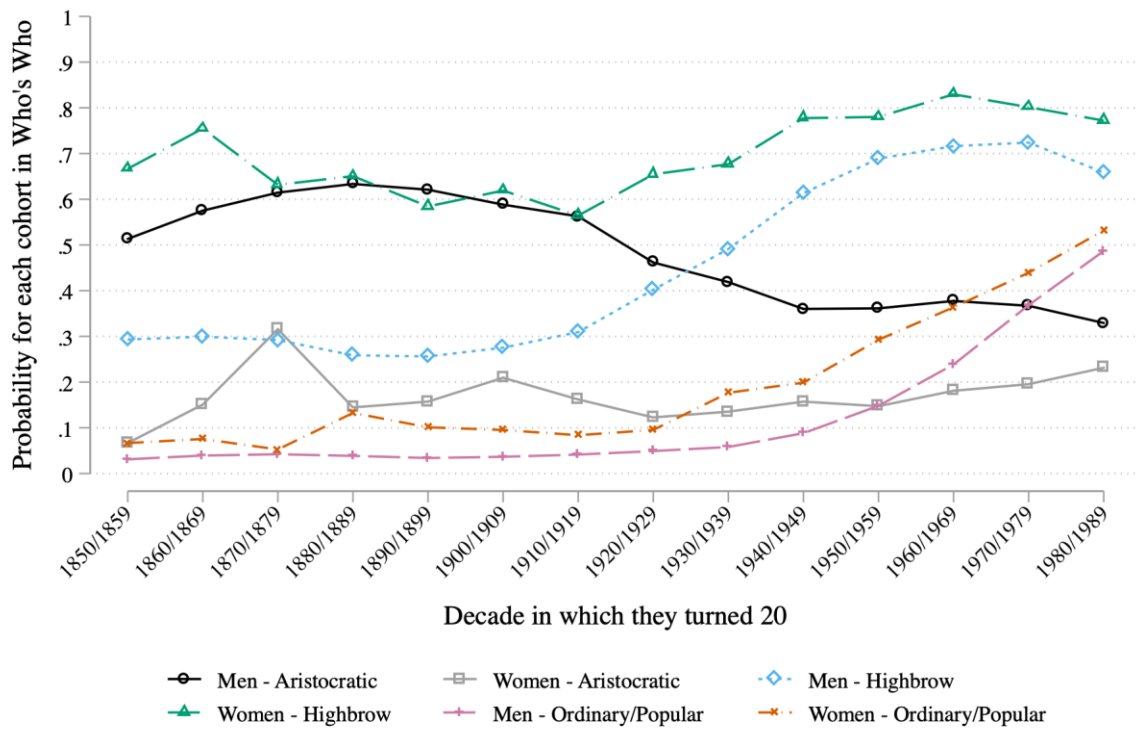
**Figure I5.** Ordinary and Popular Recreations by Occupational Field



### Women vs Men

Finally, we consider the different cultural profiles of men and women. Significantly, here we do observe meaningful differences, particularly in earlier cohorts. As Figure I6 shows, women were far less likely to report aristocratic tastes and far more likely to report highbrow activities. Men eventually catch up with women as the highbrow becomes more dominant. These results suggest women may have potentially played an important role in wider elite shifts toward the ascendancy of highbrow culture in Britain. Two caveats should be noted here. First, women only constituted a very small number of entrants (<5 percent) between 1900 and 1930 when highbrow culture began to become ascendant in the UK (see Part D). Second, and connected to this, the distinct cultural practices of these early female entrants should also be viewed with some caution, because it is unclear whether these women were reflective of other elite women (broadly conceived) in this period. For example, women in this earlier period may have found a smoother route into *Who's Who* through the cultural industries (such as writing). However, these fields are strongly associated with highbrow consumption, regardless of gender, and therefore this may skew a gendered reading of these results.

**Figure I6. Recreational Trends by Gender**



## Part J: Elite Recreations and Compositional Change

Although there is a surprising degree of cultural homogeneity between different factions of the elite, the degree of difference across some social cleavages suggests that shifts in composition may play an important role in explaining our results. We adopt two strategies to explore this issue.

### 1. A Matching Approach

The first strategy is a general approach that attempts to deal with all of these possible sources of variation over time simultaneously by using a matching procedure to create a subset of people in *Who's Who* that have similar characteristics. We use coarsened exact matching to conduct this part of our analysis. The procedure moves in two steps:

1. First, it effectively creates categories that represent complex combinations of covariates (the full list of covariates is described below). For example, one category would include only people who attended an elite private school (HMC school), who went to Oxbridge for university, and who worked in the military. The algorithm then searches for people who fit within this category in every birth cohort.
  - a. If it can find someone in every birth cohort then that combination gets included in the analysis.
  - b. If it cannot find that combination it is dropped from the analysis.
2. Second, once all the categories with data in every birth cohort have been determined, the software reweights the categories so that categories with more people in them are treated the same as categories with fewer people in them. In short, it rebalances highly populated categories from one period, and categories with fewer people in another period, so they are consistent over time.

The following variables are included in our matching model:

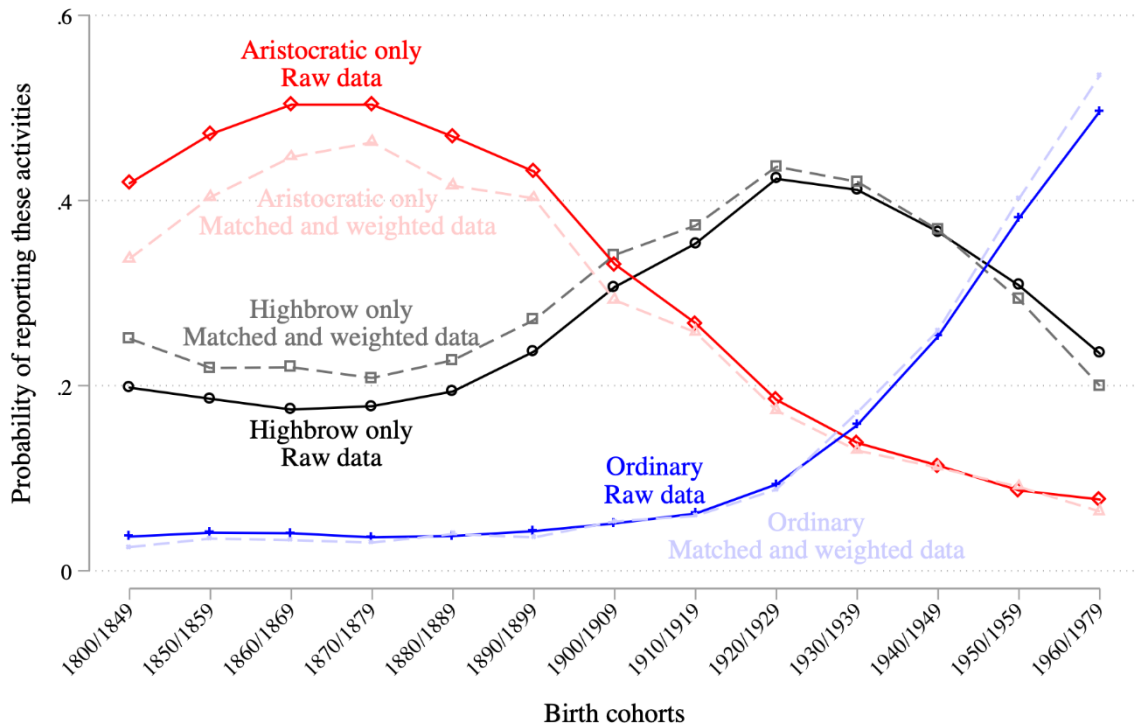
- Whether you listed a recreation at all;
- Measures of social origin
  - Whether you attended a public school;
  - Whether you come from an elite family (parents who have a postnominal);
  - The type of university you attended;
  - Whether you were an heir of a peerage;
  - Whether you attended a Clarendon school;
- Your occupational field;
- Sex;
- Whether you were born abroad;
- Whether you were in a field that was automatically included;
- The number of clubs you listed being a member of.

In figure J1 we examine the three main periods of cultural practice and compare the results from the dictionary methods used in the main text with the trend lines estimated using our matching procedure.

The results suggest that changes in the composition of *Who's Who* do not explain changes in reported recreations. That is, the trend lines using the dictionary methods and the matching methods are very similar for each of our three main modes of cultural practice.

It is important to note that this does not necessarily rule out that compositional shifts are implicated in our results. Our matching model may simply be missing an important variable that is not available in our dataset. For example, attending an elite private school is a fairly good proxy for economic or social origins, but it is far from ideal; other, more granular, changes in the class origins of entrants could be more important. However, this is unlikely, as our results do not change much even after we adjust for a range of variables (for the list see above) that are correlated with class origins and that are also changing over time.

**Figure J1. Recreational Trends Using Dictionary versus Matched Methods**



## 2. A Counterfactual Approach to Changes in the Occupational Structure

As explained in Part I, arguably the most significant differences in elite cultural consumption are by occupation, and the relative size of different occupational fields within *Who's Who* also varies considerably (see Part C). For example, the proportion of military entrants falls dramatically over this period, as the size of the military fell and the power of the British Empire shrank. To provide an additional and more specific analysis of whether changes in the occupational structure affects our results, we conducted a counterfactual analysis.

Specifically, we estimated what *Who's Who* would look like if the relative size of difference occupations—as a proportion of *Who's Who*—had remained constant. This calculation is based on the following procedure, using the military as a running example:

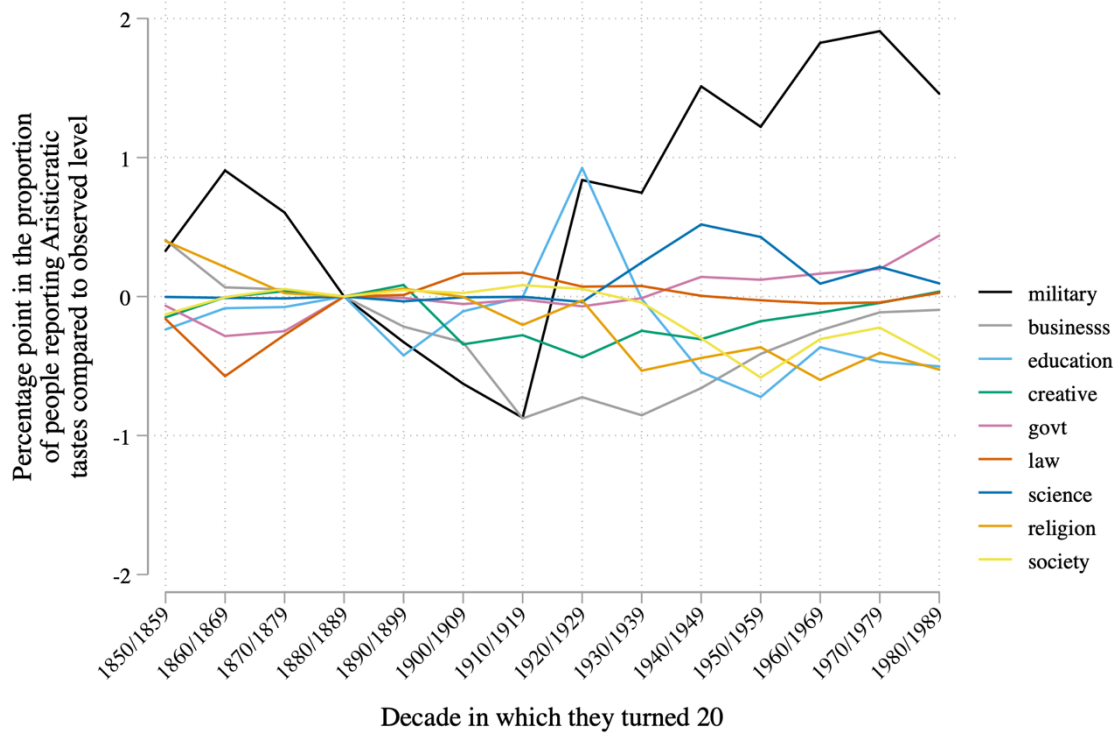
1. In the 1940/1949 cohort there were 175 people in *Who's Who* in the military field who reported aristocratic tastes. These 175 people constituted around 38 percent of all military people. There were 466 military entrants in *Who's Who* (around 7 percent of all *Who's Who* members born in that cohort).
2. In the 1880/1889 cohort, 14 percent of all *Who's Who* members were military entrants.



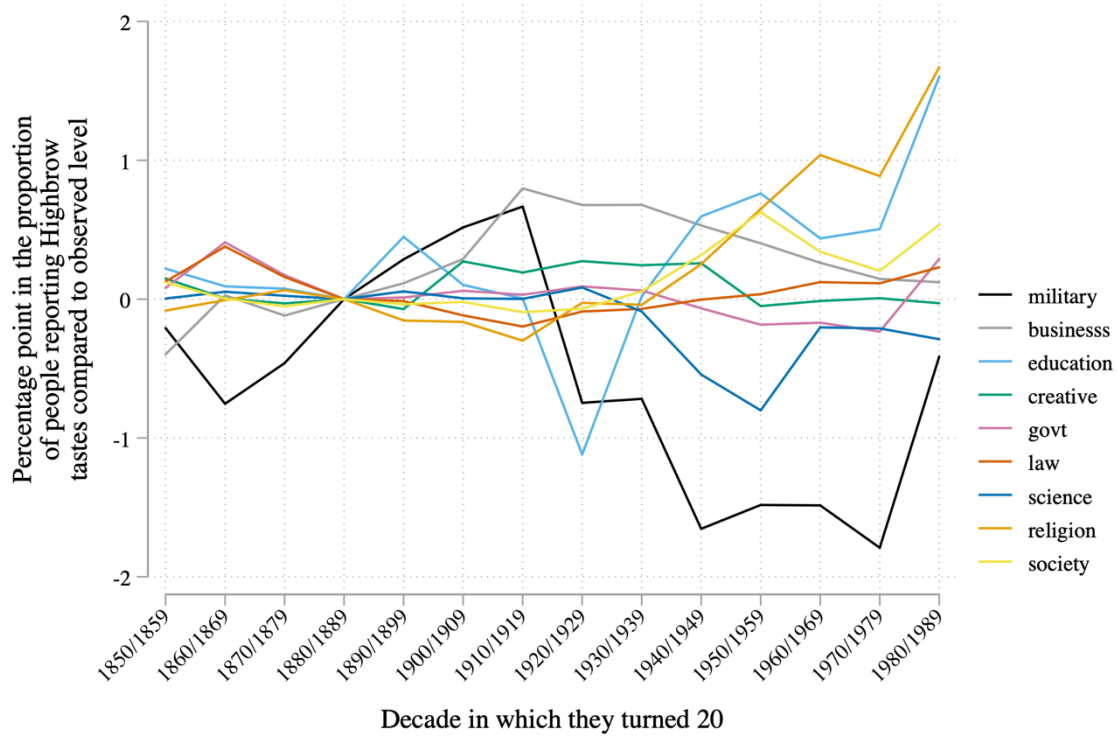
3. We then estimate the number of people with aristocratic tastes there would have been in *Who's Who* if 14 percent of *Who's Who* (the proportion of military people in *Who's Who* from the military in the 1880/1889 cohort) rather than 7 percent of *Who's Who* were in the military field (the proportion of military people in *Who's Who* from the military in the 1940/1949 cohort).
4. In making this adjustment, we also account for the implied fluctuations in the size of the other occupational fields by assuming the remaining people in these other fields have the average level of aristocratic consumption in that cohort.
5. We also assume that the proportion of military entrants in *Who's Who* that reported aristocratic tastes is the same as in the actual data ( $175/466 = 37.6$  percent).
6. If 14 percent of those in *Who's Who* in the 1940/1949 cohort were in the military (985 people) and 38 percent of this military elite had aristocratic tastes, we can estimate there would have been 370 military people in *Who's Who* that would have reported aristocratic tastes. After accounting for the implied reduction in the size of other occupations, this is 106 more people with aristocratic tastes than we actually observe.
7. If we then assume these 106 people are in fact people with aristocratic tastes, then people with aristocratic tastes comprise 20.1 percent of *Who's Who* in that cohort rather than 18.5 percent, which is what we actually observe in these data.
8. In the final step, we subtract the difference between the counterfactual and the actual percentage ( $20.1 - 18.5 = 1.5$  percent) and then plot this difference in the figure below.
9. We repeat this procedure for each cohort and for every field of occupation to produce the data in the figure below.

Figure J2 suggests that changes in the occupational composition of *Who's Who* have made only minimal differences to the level of aristocratic cultural practice. For example, it would only be 1.5 percent higher if the military had stayed the same size. Moreover, this is only a fraction of the total change we observe (a fall of 44 percentage points). In other words, almost all of the change we see is driven by people doing less aristocratic things, irrespective of their occupation. As Figures J3 and J4 illustrate, this is also the case for the highbrow and ordinary mode.

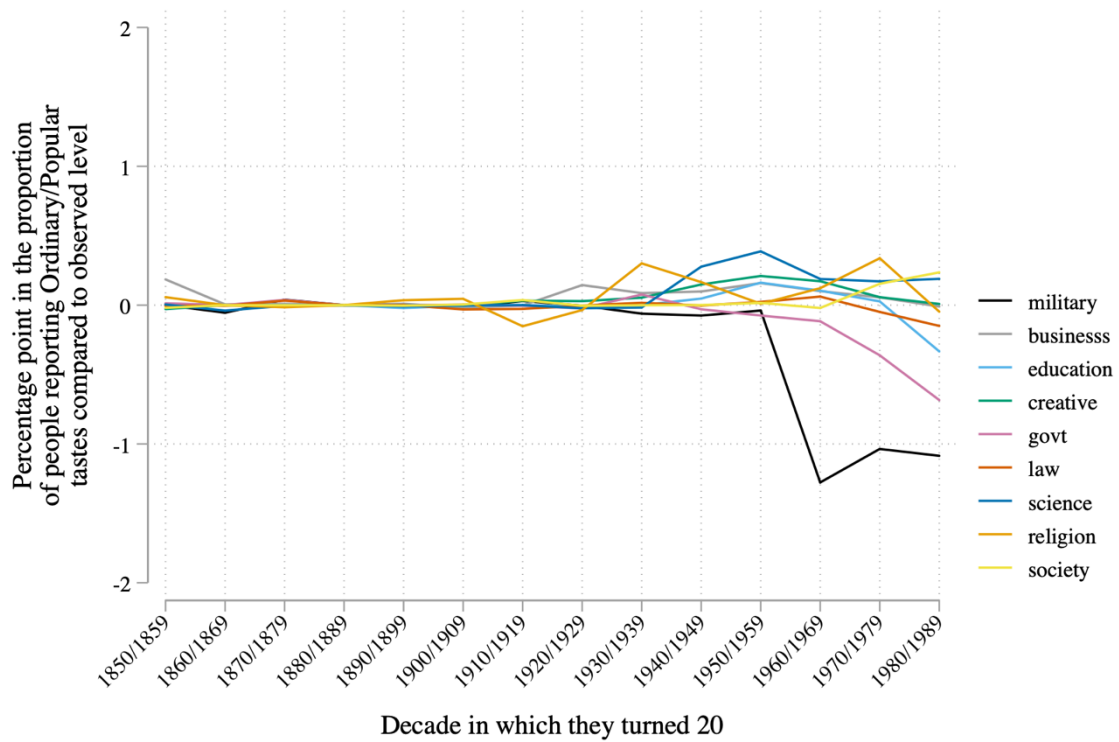
**Figure J2.** Difference in the Size of the Aristocratic Mode If Occupation Fields Remained the Same Proportion of All Occupations in *Who's Who* Over Time



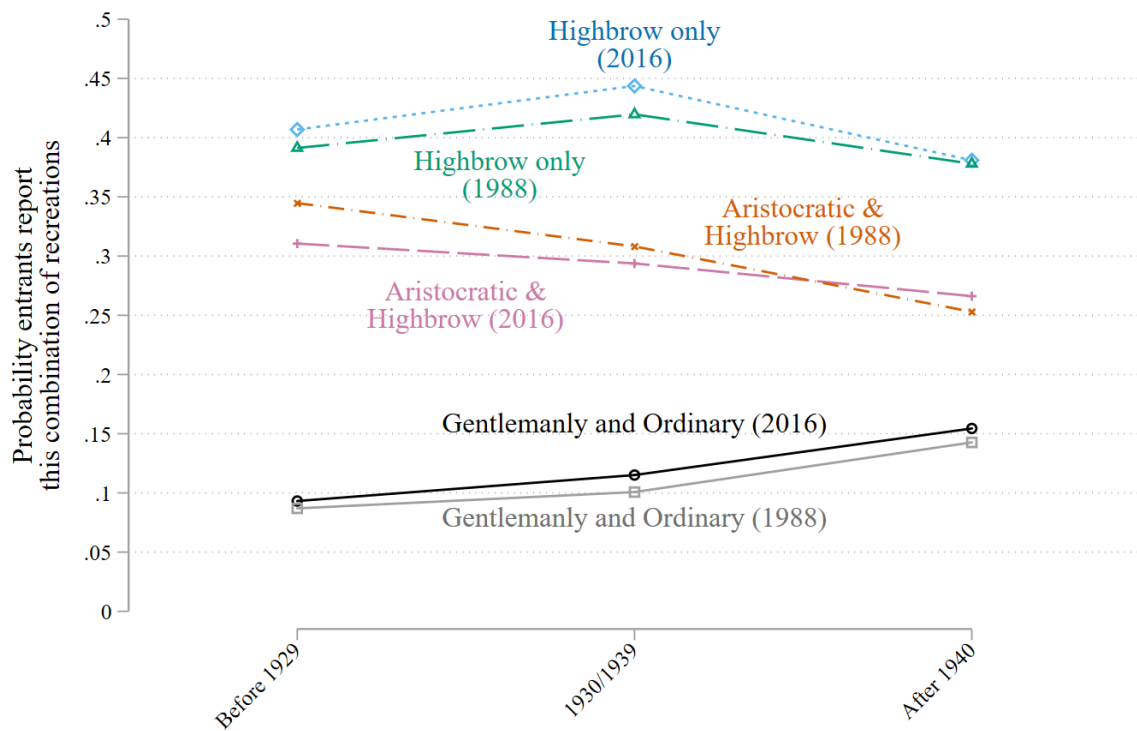
**Figure J3.** Difference in the Size of the Highbrow Mode If Occupation Fields Remained the Same Proportion of All Occupations in *Who's Who* Over Time



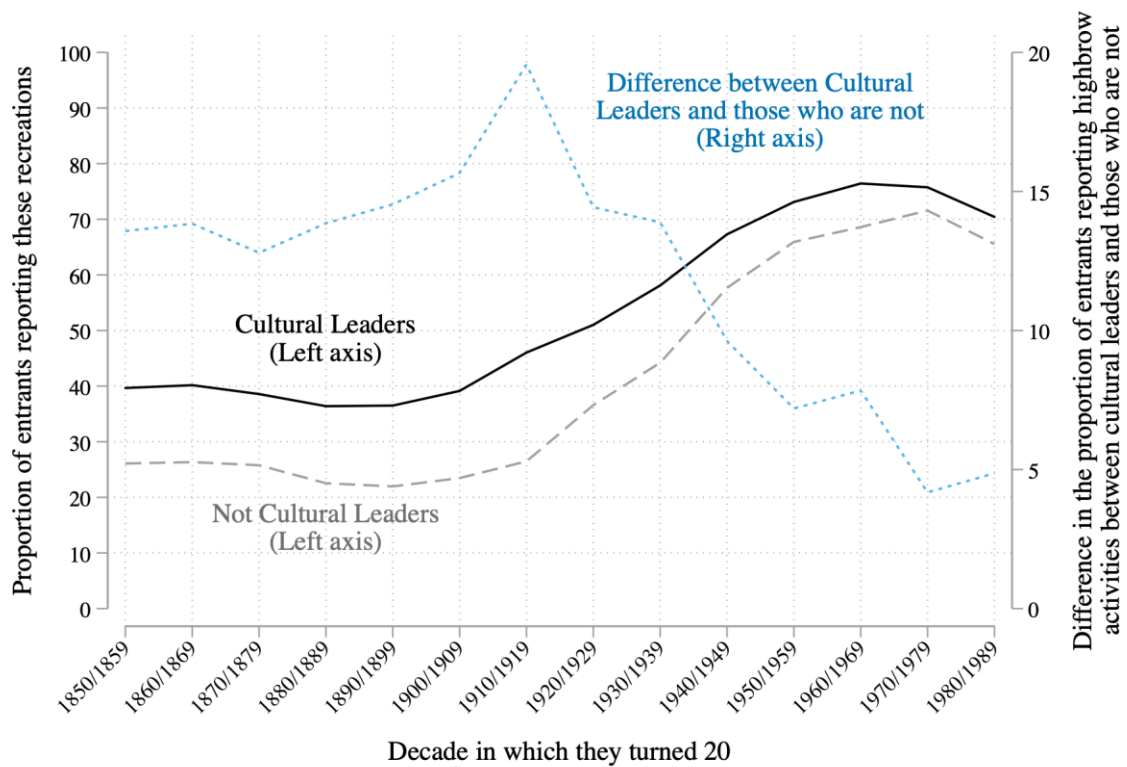
**Figure J4.** Difference in the Size of the Ordinary/Popular Mode If Occupation Fields Remained the Same Proportion of All Occupations in *Who's Who* Over Time



**Part K: Change in the Recreations Reported between the 1988 and 2016 Editions of *Who's Who* by Birth Cohort**

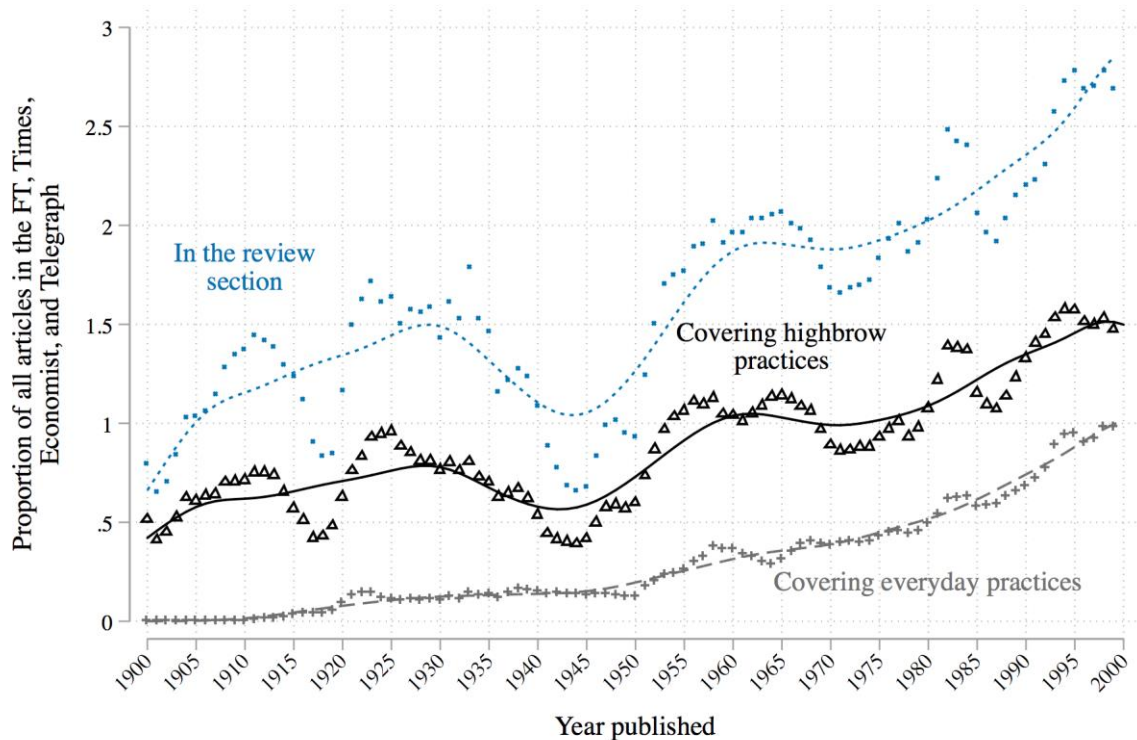


## Part L: Cultural Leaders as Enthusiastic Consumers and Early Adopters of Highbrow Culture



*Note:* The occupational fields that make up the cultural leaders group include entrants from Education, Politics, Art, and Individuals (which are noteworthy individuals who have achieved influence but are not easily located in a particular occupational field).

## Part M: The Size of the Review Section in Four Major National Newspapers Over Time and the Cultural Forms They Cover



*Note:* The data in this graph come from LexisNexis. We scaled the graph to the proportion of all articles published in these newspapers because we want to uncover two phenomena that are occurring over this period. The first is the increase in the review section as a proportion of all articles published. The second is the increase in coverage of everyday practices in the review section. It is important to note that coverage of highbrow activities in the review section does not increase over this period—approximately 50 to 60 percent of all reviews cover highbrow topics—but the amount of space dedicated to highbrow material does rise because of the increase in the review section generally.