3. Socio-Cultural Milieus in Luxembourg

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3.1 Changing Social Structures. From the vertically orientated concept of stratification to the horizontally diversified milieu landscape

When describing the social structure of modern societies, social research has for a long time drawn on the model of social stratification developed in the 1930s by Theodor Geiger. This concept of stratification primarily aims at classifying the overall population according to specific (economic and social) indicators in such a way that groupings with similar social positions and the attendant typical subcultures and prospects emerge (see Geißler 2002: 117). As opposed to the well-known dictum of Karl Marx, this theory does not make the deterministic assumption that social being determines consciousness, hence that external circumstances translate into concrete behaviour. It does, however, investigate empirically in which areas and to what degree internal and external structures connect. Here, economic indicators such as income, wealth, and occupation come into play as well as social indicators like educational status, social prestige, and group affiliation. These groups can then be arranged into a vertically stratified composite picture of social structure.

However, due to their primarily 'vertical' differentiation, stratification models are largely oblivious to 'horizontal' inequalities resulting, for instance, from gender- and generation-specific disparities or local and regional differences. It was, in particular, the model of 'social milieus' developed in the 1980s by the Sinus Institute of market and electoral research that has consistently and methodically also incorporated the horizontal level of social structure in its approach. While strata analysts first subdivide the population according to objectively similar living conditions in order to subsequently examine which mentalities, attitudes, behaviour patterns and prospects are typically linked with these different living circumstances, the milieu approach groups individuals first according to differences in their social values, aesthetics of everyday life, typical forms of lived experience and lifestyles

and then asks which social strata provide these milieus. This model then subsumes individuals in a specific social milieu who are similar in their outlook on life and lifestyle and who, therefore, demonstrate such external living circumstances and internal attitudes as to allow them to develop a common lifestyle. In other words, milieus emphasise the subjective side of society.

Readjusting the theoretical perspective on social reality in this way makes sense, because in view of the radical changes of the socio-cultural environment, many theorists agree in their assessment that the dramatic improvement of the standard of living over the last decades has led to a sweeping change in the basic value system of the population. Since the 1960s, this change has triggered a process of radical individualisation and diversification of situations and lifestyles, which seems to largely confirm Helmut Schelsky's theory of the levelled-out middle-class society. For Schelsky, the social structure is essentially highly mobile with collective up and down movements in social rankings eventually leading to a levelling of social classes and strata. This, he states, finally leads to "*einer sozialen Nivellierung in einer verhältnismäßig einheitlichen Gesellschaftsschicht, die ebenso wenig proletarisch wie bürgerlich ist, d.h. durch den Verlust der Klassenspannung und sozialen Hierarchie gekennzeichnet wird*"[1] (Schelsky 1979: 327).

While the corporate society of the old Europe as well as the competitive one of the bourgeois era, which subscribed to the performance and competition principle, still largely shared the common feature that, for the majority of its members, the main purpose in life consisted in securing one's livelihood, society in present-day Europe differs very clearly, precisely in this point, from the earlier stages of its evolution. In the 1970s, Ulrich Beck published an article "*Jenseits von Klasse und Schicht*", which describes very clearly that, although there are still certain gaps between social strata, society as a whole has climbed upward on the ladder of affluence. Rising prosperity and mass consumption have led to an increasing standardization of living conditions. Now, in fashioning one's life world one is no longer driven by need or lack, indeed, exactly the opposite is the case. The lack of lack creates the challenge to fill the resulting free time with content and meaning.

This homogenisation of living circumstances leads, on the one hand, to veritable identity and orientation crises; on the other, it leads to a dissolution of the subcultures typical for a given stratum. This socio-economic change, in turn, causes a huge surge towards individualisation because scopes of action increase radically as a result of the discontinuation of traditional ties. The resulting pluralisation of lifestyles leads, in contrast, to a decoupling of external living circumstances, so that the notion of stratum or class affiliation is increasingly fading away from everyday consciousness. Ulrich Beck's programmatic thesis entitled "*Risikogesellschaft*" and the proposition of "capitalism without classes" put forward in it sums up this point succinctly:

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1 | Personal translation: "A social levelling forming a relatively uniform social stratum which is no more labour class than it is bourgeois, i.e. which is marked by the loss of class tension and social hierarchy".

Wir leben trotz fortbestehender und neu entstehender Ungleichheiten heute in der Bundesrepublik bereits in Verhältnissen jenseits der Klassengesellschaft, in denen das Bild der Klassengesellschaft nur noch mangels einer besseren Alternative am Leben erhalten wird. [...] In der Konsequenz werden subkulturelle Klassenidentitäten und -bindungen ausgedünnt oder aufgelöst. Gleichzeitig wird ein Prozess der Individualisierung und Divrsifizierung von Lebenslagen und Lebensstilen in Gang gesetzt, der da Hierarchiemodell sozialer Klassen und Schichten unterläuft und in seinem Wirklichkeitsgehalt in Frage stellt[2] (Beck 1986: 121).

Today, inequalities are increasingly perceived on a horizontal level where new allocation criteria are diversifying living circumstances: gender, age, religion, family background, generation affiliation among much else. Traditional social frameworks are becoming less and less important, and cultural cohesive forces are in the process of dissolving. Society seems fragmented into the most diverse milieus, which, due to their opposing lifestyles, seem to coexist side by side rather than with each other.

Little wonder then that, ever since Jürgen Habermas labelled Germany's social structure in the middle of the 1980s as a "*Neue Unübersichtlichkeit*"[3] (Habermas 1985), a totally new approach to classifying and analysing social-structural variety has unfurled in the field of sociology with the rise of the analysis of social milieus and lifestyle groups. As opposed to the traditional strata or position models, these cultural-sociological research approaches take as a starting point a detailed description of the social values, attitudes, behaviour, patterns of interaction and educational resources of social individuals.

Due to the diversity of preferences in terms of aesthetics of everyday life, the composite milieus and lifestyles formed from the different cultural patterns show themselves to be extremely heterogeneous. In particular the milieu analyses presented by Gerhard Schulze, in a sense exemplary for a certain approach of lifestyle research, emphasise the socio-psychological triggers for processes of group formation and identity constructions, while less importance is attached to the objective social positions. Many sociologists consequently hold the view that present-day Western European society can no longer be referred to as a 'stratified' society because it represents a form of community building that is no longer bound to classical vertical strata. The milieu, which has become a core element of this

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2 | Personal translation: "Even though old inequalities continue to survive and new ones form, today, in the Federal Republic, we are already living in conditions that are beyond a class society, where the image of class society is only preserved for lack of a better alternative. [...] As a consequence, subcultural class identities and class ties are either diluted or dissolved. At the same time, a process of individualisation and diversification of life circumstances and styles is set in motion that undercuts the hierarchical model of social class and stratification and questions its reality content".

3 | Personal translation: "New Complexity".

newly-formed social community, also performs, as a kind of mould for present day efforts to establish individuality, significant integrative functions (see Meyer 2001: 258).

Milieus are made up of groups of individuals that distinguish themselves from other groups by their specific outlook on life and the world as well as by an elevated degree of intra-group communication. They are also always the result of collective social typecasting that determines the way other people are socially perceived, classified and selected for interaction. Partners we relate to in everyday life are chosen on the basis of similarity whereby selection and socialisation effects overlap. The resulting milieus that continue to be reproduced and further differentiated establish mentalities and patterns of cultural orientation. It is therefore possible, by applying the concept of milieu as a heuristic tool as it were, to assign to every milieu specific attributes profiles, mentalities and cultural orientations of its members.

Milieus in the 'Experience Society'. Gerhard Schulze's Approach

Even though authorities such as God, Nature, History and Reason that have traditionally given meaning and orientation to our lives have clearly lost ground in modern society, intuition, against better philosophical knowledge, continues to stubbornly cling to the notion of a pre-ordained order. Admittedly, this state can also be appreciated as a form of new autonomy, which is, however, continuously threatened by collapse due to an overload of the demands for reflection. This is so because a decreased obligation for orientation is accompanied by the awareness that identity concepts are fragile constructions. Reality, which is marked by ever more hectically fluctuating signals, forces the individual to make constant orientation efforts in order to provide the necessary self-assurance of her or his own position. Meanwhile, however, we have reached a stage in history where holding on to illusions of security is out of all proportion to the economic and psychological costs that need to be incurred to maintaining them. However, when external orientation mechanisms become obsolete, these need to be produced internally. There is a change in thinking, from the outside inwards, towards a "*Verschiebung des Brennpunkts der Zieldefinition*"[4] (Schulze 1994: 108). In his relevant study, entitled "*Die Erlebnisgesellschaft*"[5] Gerhard Schulze elaborates:

Außenorientierte Lebensauffassungen zielen primär auf eine Wirklichkeit ab, die sich der Mensch außerhalb seiner selbst vorstellt, innengerichtete Lebensauffassungen verweisen auf das Subjekt[6] (Schulze 2000: 37).

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4 | Personal translation: "Shift in the focus of the definition of objectives and goals".

5 | Personal translation: "The Experience Society".

6 | Personal translation: "Externally orientated attitudes towards life primarily aim for a reality that man imagines outside his own self, while internally oriented attitudes refer to the subject".

But in what way does a shift to a primarily internally oriented attitude towards life actually provide orientation and what are the conditions for this change to take place? Orientation can essentially be regarded as a movement of repetition, which connects subjective processes with extra-subjective events in a similar fashion. Situations become controllable by the fact that basic patterns, once recognised, can be applied. Orientation thus appears as a form of subjective attribution of meaning in situative contexts, which requires less effort the less variable the situations and contexts are. Schulze clarifies the shift to a primarily internally oriented outlook on life by introducing the notion of the sphere of products. In the social environment products appear under the aspect of consumption, in the sciences under the aspect of the development of theories and in business organisations under the aspect of corporate survival. (Clearly, what we are basically dealing with here are materialist categories: In an ingenious inversion via the product category the reification of the world of commodities is no longer seen as a context of delusion but rather as a reference point for orientation[7]). The fact that products, as a common and comprehensive theme of quite disparate systems of thought, hold such an attraction is due to their incentive for orientation which they provide in a particularly high degree as a material focus for socially organised thinking because they incorporate a merging of both objective and subjective elements. While they are the result of action, and in this sense an expression of subjectivity, they also have a material quality that allows them to be used as a reference point for inter-subjective discourses and collective orientation efforts (see Schulze 1994: 100). By their common orientation towards the product sphere, the different systems of thought themselves interlock like cogs of a clockwork and mutually stabilise each other. The sequences of historical events can in this way be interpreted as a comprehensive context of the history of products, consumption, technology and science, within which, in spite of everything being in constant change and flux, nobody becomes disorientated because transformation takes place in an orderly manner.

One main reason that this clockwork model no longer works is the increase in the amount of the products themselves. For, precariously, in a reality that has formed according to a linear time model, the history of the products too requires a teleological orientation; it has to be able to be conceived as a history of progress. Progress, in this sense, can be both quantitative and qualitative, bearing in mind that, when it comes to actual consumer goods, the potential for innovation is often rapidly exhausted. In other words, when needs are fulfilled, the self-evidence of definitions of usefulness is gradually lost. This generates a problem, at first glance totally absurd, which consists in 'constructing' purposes for products. The world of products has, however, meanwhile evolved to such a degree that barely any niches remain for new definitions of usefulness.

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7 | An idea that has already been formulated by Hannah Arendt: "Fabrication, the work of homo faber, as he builds the world, consists in reification" (Arendt 1997: 165).

Die Produktentwickler sind aus der ursprünglichen anthropologischen Bodenhaftung entlassen und müssen ihre Konstruktionen ins Vakuum der Unbestimmtheit hineinbauen; man braucht keine Praktiker mehr, sondern Phantasten[8] (Schulze 1994: 104).

For the consumer this means that decisions for one product or another are not made at the level of primary usefulness, which is assumed as a given. Consequently, traditional index categories coupled to the product sphere like usefulness, quality and wealth, lose their orientational function.

It is precisely at this point where the shift from an externally oriented outlook on life to an internally oriented one comes into play. If the usefulness of an object, which can be protected by means of possession (external orientation), is no longer the issue, the focus shifts to the experience the object triggers in the consumer (internal orientation). This is how Schulze arrives at his definition of internal orientation as an experience orientation, establishing the succinct formula: "*Das Projekt des schönen Lebens ist das Projekt, etwas zu erleben*"[9] (Schulze 2000: 38). In view of a vast and unmanageable supply of experience options this project requires constant and consistent navigation. In a way, man becomes the manager of his own subjectivity, by instrumentalising situations for experience purposes and systematising them by means of a rationality of experience (Schulze 2000: 40). This has led to the emergence of a new basic pattern in the relationship between subject and situation since situations are no longer addressed in the mode of an essential lack (money, property, education etc.) which provides orientation and would set natural limits to the scope for action. Hence, the externally oriented categories of usefulness, quality and wealth were applied to an internally oriented reference framework, with 'having' being replaced by 'being'. In other words, what we are dealing with here is a consistent "*Ästhetisierung des Alltagslebens*"[10].

The problem here is that any kind of experience can only be appreciated after prior reflection. "*Reflexion ist der Versuch des Subjekts, seiner selbst habhaft zu werden*"[11] (Schulze 2000: 45). This act of successful self-reflection, however, can only be manipulated to a certain extent, which means that progress of experience is by no means guaranteed in the long term.

Wir können nicht unbegrenzt gewünschte Formen des Seins anhäufen. In reicher Zahl hält die soziale Wirklichkeit Beispiele sowohl für den Versuch der Erlebnisvermehrung als auch

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8 | Personal translation: "The product developers have been relieved from their anthropological adhesion and are now obliged to build their constructions into the vacuum of indeterminacy; what is needed now are not practicians but utopists".

9 | Personal translation: "The project of a beautiful life is the project of experiencing something".

10 | Personal translation: "Aesthetisation of everyday life".

11 | Personal translation: "Reflection is the subject's attempt to gain possession of her/himself".

für das Scheitern dieses Versuchs bereit: zwischen Dutzenden von Programmen springende Telekonsumenten; angestrengte Urlauber in ununterbrochener Erlebnisarbeit; Trends zur Verkürzung und zeitlichen Überlagerung von Erlebnisepisoden; Museumsbesucher, die vor lauter Bildern nichts mehr sehen; Schränke voller unbenutzter Kleider und Schuhe, Regale voller ungelesener Bücher; wechselnde Partnerschaften mit wenig Tiefe; gutes Essen in Menge mit wenig Genuß; pausenlose Musik, ohne daß man noch mehr wahrnehmen würde als ein Geräusch[12] (Schulze 1994: 116).

To believe that *wealth* of experience can be increased by the *quantity* of experience is a fallacy. Exactly the opposite is the case. Experiences develop only in processes of reflection. However, for these to be able to take place, an extremely scarce resource is required: Time! If the systematic aesthetisation of everyday life has to be conceived as a surfeit of medially produced and designed space, then this is contrasted by a lack of available time. This is due to the fact that time is no longer a bearer of meaning for the present. It can only be comprehended under the aspect of limitation or restriction which restrictively stands in the way of an ever more greedily progressing accumulation of experiences. The logical consequence of a multiplication of experiences is ultimately an insufficient reflection of the individual experiences that therefore can no longer unfold their true wealth and depth. Driven by the longing for a wealth of experience, the experience opportunities are multiplied at an ever faster and frantic rate. The goal is to achieve an increase of being by an increase of having. It is precisely this tendency that leads to a poverty of experience. The failure of the project of experiencing life as a series of happy episodes will necessarily lead to insecurity and disappointment, a finding shared by many perceptive observers of the modern age. From a philosophical point of view one could draw the paradoxical conclusion that we are feeling so bad because we are doing far too well. Indeed, in times of material hardship, perhaps even in life-threatening conditions, goals, perspectives and fulfilment all come naturally. In such circumstances people seem to have at their disposal an ingrained integrative element that provides identity, which results from the gap between unmet needs and the objective life situation. In today's affluent society, however, it is next to impossible to formulate an urgent need arising from a situation of hardship and distress. For despite all sense of crisis life in our society is ultimately taken for

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12 | Personal translation: "We cannot indefinitely accumulate desired forms of being. Social reality provides ample examples of attempts to multiply experiences as well as of failures of such attempts: television consumers surfing between dozens of different channels; holiday-makers stressed-out by nonstop experience activities; trends towards the shortening and temporal overlapping of experience episodes; museum visitors rendered incapable of seeing anything by the multitude of images around them; cupboards full of unused clothes and shoes, shelves heaped with unread books; changing partnerships with little depth; good food consumed in great quantities with little enjoyment; constant music which is perceived as little more than mere noise".

granted, so it is now a matter of "*es so zu verbringen, dass man das Gefühl hat, es lohne sich*"[13] (see Schulze 2000: 60-61). Orientation towards experience is therefore not the desire to *have* something but rather to *be* someone.

Designing permanent and stable projects for the self and one's place in life is, however, rather problematic, because the continuously rising flood of objects, sensory stimuli and stimulating situations impedes a stable allocation of signs and meanings. Against this background social milieus can be understood as stabilising mechanisms since they provide virtually standardised allocation patterns of signs and meanings. At the same time, such allocation patterns have a distinguishing potential, so that social distinction is no longer primarily negotiated on the classical vertical level of society, but above all on the horizontal level to the neighbouring milieus.

Pierre Bourdieu's Social Space Concept

A major point of criticism against the thesis of the dissolution of classical vertical strata is that the change in the structures of social inequality should not be mistaken for their disappearance. The pluralism of the milieus merely conceals the fact, these critics maintain, that these can still be arranged from the bottom up and thus according to class. Even horizontal differentiation is said to leave enough latitude for exclusion mechanisms, which have meanwhile turned into a permanent precarisation of working and living conditions for significant segments of the population, and for some of them have even led to marginalisation. This is precisely in line with the view of Geißler who criticises the 'culturalisation' of classical situations of inequality by means of a primarily lifestyle-oriented social research approach: "*Die Kritik an sozialen Ungerechtigkeiten weicht der Freude über die bunte Vielfalt*"[14] (Geißler 1996: 323). Indeed, particularly in the area of empirical educational research (notably the PISA studies have impressively confirmed this for many European countries) there is still evidence of a class-specific unequal distribution of educational opportunities, despite the established diversity. The key question here is therefore: How can the explanatory power of lifestyle and milieu research be linked with the findings of class and stratification theory and these, in turn, with metatheoretical ideas on the direction of social change?

Exemplary for this approach is Pierre Bourdieu's model of social space that he developed in his pioneering study entitled *La distinction: Critique sociale du jugement* (Bourdieu 1979)[15]. While maintaining the notion of the continued existence of

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13 | Personal translation: "Spending it in such a way that one has the feeling it is worthwhile".

14 | Personal translation: "Criticism of social injustices yields to the *delight over colourful diversity*".

15 | The study was first published in German as: Die feinen Unterschiede. Kritik der gesell-schaftlichen Urteilskraft, Frankfurt/M. 1982.

'objective' class structures, Bourdieu also postulates a systematic connection between class affiliation – together with the concomitant access to economic, cultural and social resources – and the different symbolic manners in which people lead their lives (lifestyles). In this way, his concept of social space not only connects social positions or strata with different cultural practices, but also reveals the discrete classes and class fractions concealed behind these practices. In this manner, cultural practices can be connected as elements of different lifestyles with customary socio-structural analysis categories: Concrete living conditions, also specifically determinable by class, are interpreted as constituents of habitus types, which in turn comprise open or latent patterns of thinking, perception, evaluation and action. With the concept of 'habitus' Bourdieu tries to grasp the totality of the psychological dispositions of people or groups, i.e. their orientations, attitudes and patterns of perception, thought and judgement. Bourdieu writes:

Wer den Habitus einer Person kennt, der spürt oder weiß intuitiv, welches Verhalten dieser Person verwehrt ist. Mit anderen Worten: Der Habitus ist ein System von Grenzen [...]. Deshalb sind für ihn bestimmte Dinge einfach undenkbar, unmöglich; es gibt Sachen, die ihn aufbringen oder schockieren. Aber innerhalb dieser Grenzen ist er durchaus erfinderisch, sind seine Reaktionen keineswegs immer schon im Voraus bekannt[16] (Bourdieu 1992a: 33).

Habitus, therefore, permits or limits cultural practices which are detectable with a set of lifestyle elements: Views and preferences concerning art, music, literature, painting, sport, food, interior design etc. In this way, cultural practices, although products of human action, develop a certain intrinsic logic and manifest themselves in society as elements that create structure. In other words, the general homogenisation of living conditions may open up wide scopes of action for playing with the relationship of being and seeming and for aiming at improving one's position in the social space via lifestyle *stagings*; however, in particular Bourdieu's theory of capital makes clear that every symbolically produced 'simulation' of social conditions is ultimately limited, by the available objective resources.

The question to be asked here would be how the demarcation lines form at vertical as well as horizontal levels and thus determine the topology of social space. Here the different forms of capital which come into play in the respective fields act as construction principles: "*Kapital – in seiner objektivierten Form als materielles Eigentum wie in seiner inkorporierten Form zum Beispiel als kulturelles Kapital [...] stellt*

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16 | Personal translation: "If one knows the habitus of a person, one senses or knows intuitively to which type of behaviour this particular person does not have access. In other words: Habitus is a system of borders [...]. Therefore, certain things are simply inconceivable for them, are impossible; there are things that upset or shock them. But within these borders, they can be very inventive and their reactions are by no means always predictable".

Verfügungsmacht im Rahmen eines Feldes dar"[17] (Bourdieu 1995: 10). Capital can only unfold this power because not only is it structured differently – as economic, social and cultural capital – but it is also extremely unequally distributed (see Bourdieu 1992b). The overall picture is that of a symbolic system which organises itself according to the logic of differences. These differences are perceived as distinction in terms of differentiation, i.e. the distinction characterising the lifestyle of a class results from its differential relationship with the lifestyles of the other classes. However, distinction in itself does not inevitably imply the deliberate striving for distinction, rather, every act of consumption or, in more general terms, every action is "*sichtbar, gleichviel ob sie vollzogen wurde, um gesehen zu werden, oder nicht*"[18] (Bourdieu 1995: 21).

If one puts the different positions which are defined by the overall volume and the specific profile of capital in relation to each other, numerous agglomerations and cluster formations stand out. Even though these clusters refer to related modes of action, perception and evaluation and indicate a high degree of congruence with the respective lifestyle, they cannot be seen as evidence for actually existing social classes. For while it is true that there is an antagonism between dominating and dominated groups in social power struggles, social classes merely exist in a virtual mode as it were. Bourdieu's model depicts the hierarchically structured social space as the image of a vibrating social organism which is characterised by the endeavour to accumulate capital, the struggle for the power to define and the striving for influence on the exchange rates of the different types of capital – and offers no manner of consolatory framework. Rather, what is generated here is a differentiated spectrum of social affiliations oriented towards the individual types of capital. Using layers corresponding to different social positions or spaces as an analytical tool, it is possible to chart the horizontal and vertical plurality of different social strata and also reconstruct them with the aid of socio-structural data like education, occupation etc. This permits to register, in the space of milieus, practices and objects of symbolic lifestyle which in turn can be assigned to specific social positions.

Michael Vester's Approach

Bourdieu's social space model was adapted in particular by Michael Vester for the Federal Republic of Germany. He considered milieu-specific lifestyles and individualisation tendencies not as something totally new but rather as a

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17 | Personal translation: "Capital – in its objective form as material possession as well as in its incorporated form such as cultural capital [...] constitutes power within the scope of a given field".

18 | Personal translation: "Visible, regardless of whether it was carried out *to be seen*, or not".

reconversion or "*als einen relativen Umbau der Mentalitäten und Milieus*"[19] (Vester et al. 2001: 145). The starting point here too is the assumption of a multidimensional social space which basically constitutes an extension of the older social milieus which either move up or down in the course of their development. Vester's primary concern is the analysis of the 'direction of modification' of current paths of development of social milieus that are commonly paraphrased with the terms tertiarisation, knowledge-based society, postmaterialism or value shift. His basic thesis here is that, while tendencies towards individualisation and diversification of life circumstances undoubtedly exist, these tendencies have not led to an overall dissolution of the structural characteristics of the 'old' class society, but rather to a vertical and horizontal pluralisation. Following Bourdieu's concept of social space and habitus visible therein, Vester first of all analyses identities of large social groups against this background. According to this approach, people continue to develop their group identities along four vertical affiliation profiles, each with its specific forms of habitus, which in turn consist of different 'stratified' horizontal environments. Each of the three levels, however, also displays a horizontal differentiation by the degree of modernisation. Here, specific behavioural standards are anchored in the milieus of large social groups, which refer to specific orientation patterns and mentalities.

Conclusion

Regarding the identification of signs of everyday aesthetics, Schulze's and Vester's milieu analyses in particular demonstrate clear correlations. Both acknowledge, for instance, that while the actual manner of living does occur along the outlined patterns, this is not necessarily a result of the respective life situation and its limitations but to an increasing degree of individual decision-making processes: it is a matter of personal choice with whom one wishes to interact and who should be a model for orientation. In this sense, milieus are made up of groups of individuals which differentiate themselves from others by their specific outlook on life and the world as well as by increased intra-group communication. And they always also originate from collective social classification by which others are socially perceived, classified and selected for interactions. Partners for interaction in everyday life are selected by similarity patterns, whereby selection and socialisation effects overlap.

While Schulze's "experience society" focuses more on psycho-physically motivated orientation patterns than on cultural preferences, Vester's model offers the advantage of also revealing the migration movements within and between the different milieus (and therefore also being able to predict to a limited extent where members of a milieu are striving to). On the one hand, Vester's approach conforms to a requirement going back to Geiger (1932) to combine the systemic and structural level with the level of social positions and mentalities by means of

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19 | Personal translation: "As a *relative* remodeling of mentalities and milieus".

social-structural analyses. On the other hand, the model is flexible enough to be able to react to possible closures or (class) divisions, thereby enabling a follow-up to the discussions about newly increasing inequalities and (new) forms of social exclusion. In his studies, Vester also and above all takes into account those aspects of socialisation that relate to politics and power.

In this way, Vester's approach not only takes into account the horizontal diversification of life situations and lifestyles but, in addition, is also heuristically able to bring contemporary inequality and social structures into focus. It is for this reason that we have decided to base the following milieu description of Luxembourg's social structure on this approach.

3.2 PROFILES OF SOCIO-CULTURAL MILIEUS IN LUXEMBURG

The IDENT Survey

The model for the Luxembourg project is a study conducted under the direction of the social scientist Michael Vester et al. in the Federal Republic of Germany, with the title *Soziale Milieus im gesellschaftlichen Strukturwandel. Zwischen Integration und Ausgrenzung*. It was first published in 1993 and is meanwhile considered a 'classic' of empirical social research of recent years. However, we did not base our work on this original version of the study, but on a comprehensively revised, expanded and updated one (see Vester et al. 2001). In Vester's study – as was already shown in detail in Section 3.1 – a new empirical-theoretical concept was applied which takes into account the rapid pressure for change in modern societies. This concept was put to the test by applying it to German society, so that the study can itself be interpreted as a 'snapshot' of conditions in Germany. The method of analysis, which is based on a close connection of structural change and mentality change, can in principal also be applied to other 'Western' societies.

Michael Vester assisted the project members in an advisory capacity in their task of transferring, re-editing and adapting the fundamentals and results of this study for the particular situation in Luxembourg. Daniel Gardemin, member of the working group "Interdisciplinary Social Structure Research" (agis) of the University of Hannover, carried out the statistical evaluations.

The original questionnaire (Vester et al. 2001: 222-243 and 546-557), which was condensed and partially adapted (see box 1) for the specific conditions in Luxembourg, formed the starting point of our empirical survey.

77 individual statements allowed us to map four different levels of daily life and socio-political orientations:

- Basic attitudes to different aspects of everyday life (habitus, mentality types);
- Social cohesion and styles of association;
- Basic attitudes to the social and political order as well as customs of association;
- Political participation and political styles.

Habitus (Mentality types) (31 Questions)
Factor 1: Rebellious or idealistic hedonism
Factor 2: Realistic hedonism
Factor 3: Underdog frustration
Factor 4: Authoritarian performance ideology
Factor 5: Modern performance optimism
Factor 6: Cultural-pessimistic critique of progress
Factor 7: Sophisticated self-fulfilment
Factor 8: Pseudo-conformism
Factor 9: Consumer hedonism
Factor 10: Convenient arrangement

Social cohesion and styles of association (10 questions)
Factor 1: Orientation towards emotional experience
Factor 2: Conventional reserved centering on family
Factor 3: Sophisticated, externally oriented communication

Basic attitudes towards free time and styles of association (20 questions)
Factor 1: Peer Group
Factor 2: Political public
Factor 3: Cultural public
Factor 4: Individual leisure activities

Political participation and political styles (16 questions)
Factor 1: Island syndrome
Factor 2: Performance ideology
Factor 3: Political disappointment
Factor 4: Employee orientation
Factor 5: Political involvement

Box 1: Synopsis of the milieu questionnaire.

The second part of the survey describes the objective social positions. For this, we queried the usual socio-demographic variables such as household and

family status, gender, age, place of residence and religion, sources of livelihood and monthly net income. In addition, there were questions about the highest educational attainment, present or last practiced profession, nature of professional activity, union membership and voting behaviour. Social environment and social development are described by indicators relating to the social status of the parents and the partner (occupation, educational attainment).

Taking into consideration the special multicultural and multilingual circumstances of Luxembourg, further questions were added to the original set of questions, concerning nationality (or nationalities), migration history and linguistic competence.

This milieu study, in the strict sense of the word, was supplemented by further topical areas, in order to cover and statistically record specific partial aspects that will be outlined in greater detail in chapters 4-7: Gender questions, consumer habits, perception of space and borders as well as linguistic-political questions (see box 2).

Consumer habits (31 questions)
Eating and drinking
Shopping
Advertising
Campaign "Healthy eating"

Gender aspects (24 questions)
Gender roles

Language use in Luxembourg (12 questions)

Perception of regions and neighbouring countries (12 questions)

Miscellaneous (9 questions)
Living together
Cross-border workers
Visions for the future etc.

Box 2: Supplementary thematic areas of the quantitative survey.

1,579 people of 16 years and older were interviewed in the period between October 2008 and February 2009 by a Luxembourg polling institute[20]. The random survey is representative for the resident population of Luxembourg and was weighted by age, gender, region, nationality and participation in professional life (as a dichotomous variable).

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20 | Two thirds of the interviews were carried out via Internet (computer-assisted web interview) and one third by telephone (computer-assisted telephone interview).

The Milieu Study

With a multivariate discriminant analysis, it is possible to constitute different sociocultural milieus[21]. The milieu map in illustration 1 shows the spatial arrangement of nine milieus and their positioning in a two-dimensional space: the vertical axis corresponds to a rising degree of social power, while the horizontal axis shows a differentiation of economic hierarchisation to express the pluralisation of class society.

While milieus in Vester et al. (2001: 48-54) are shown as bold-framed rectangles, we preferred to represent them as partially overlapping coloured clouds with diffuse borders in order to emphasise that milieu affiliation cannot be conclusively determined in individual cases.
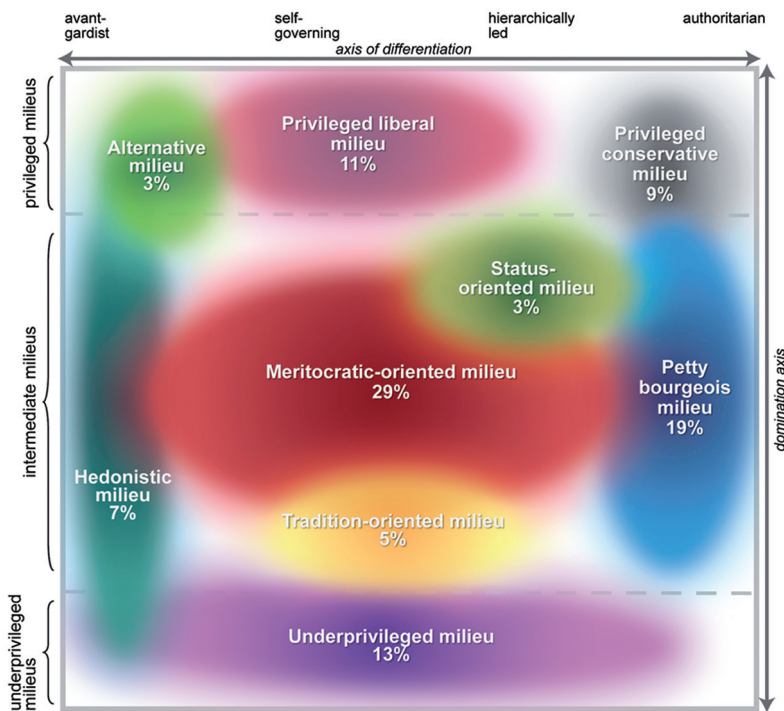

Figure 1: Socio-cultural milieus in Luxembourg (socio-spatial differentiation), Concept: IDENT with the collaboration of Marie-Line Glaesener.

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21 | "The discriminant analysis is a multivariate procedure for analysing group differences" (Backhaus *et al.* 2008: 156). It is one of several kinds of classification procedures and makes it possible to assign objects with similar features to one class (see Backhaus *et al.* 2008: 155-228). For details about this method and also for the cartography of milieus see Vester *et al.* (2001).

The expansion of the clouds does not correspond to the proportion of the population assigned to them but to the social-spatial dispersion of positions of the individuals that can be respectively assigned to them. The percentages expressing the relative size of the milieus are roughly outlined in Fig. 2.
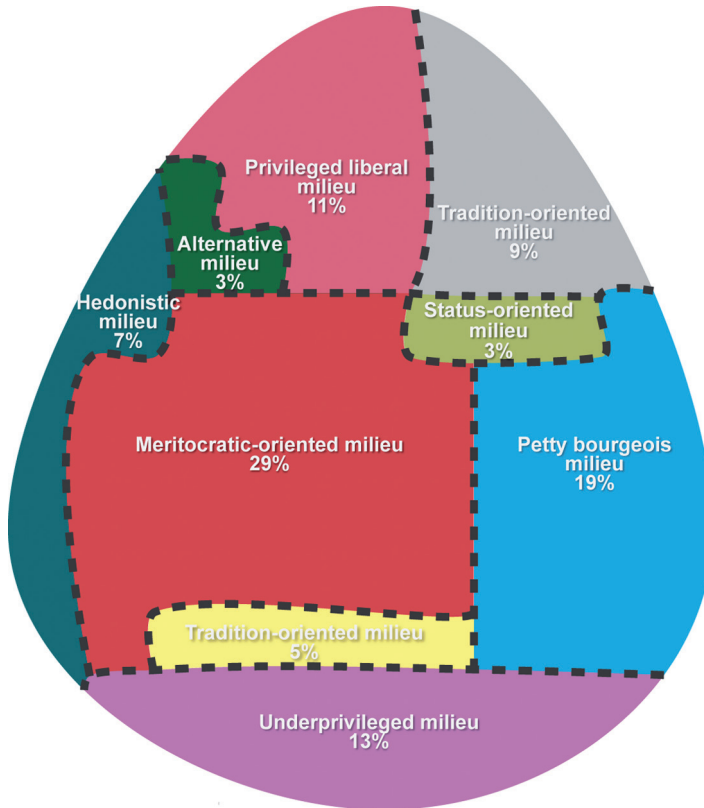

Figure 2: Socio-cultural milieus in Luxembourg (proportion in %), Concept: IDENT with the collaboration of Marie-Line Glaesener.

Milieu Profiles

The following nine milieu sketches, based on Vester's typology (Vester 2001: 503-525), respectively outline the social position, the lifestyle, and the political style of the respective milieu on the basis of a total of 31 statements on different aspects of everyday life (see box 1 above). In these descriptions, the respective significant divergences (e.g. 'strongly under-represented', 'strongly over-represented') from the average values of all milieus are particularly emphasised.

Meritocratic-oriented Milieu (29 %)

Social position: Nearly one third of Luxembourg's resident population belongs to this large milieu, which is also broadly distributed in spatial terms and, in a certain sense, represents the 'centre' of society. It is, therefore, no surprise that we find here a broad distribution of income, with the lower as well as the upper income brackets being somewhat under-represented. 40 % of executive employees belong to this milieu. Here, we also find an especially high percentage of students. 17 % are pensioners. The level of educational attainment basically corresponds to the average profile, only the proportion of persons who indicate "*diplôme de fin d'études secondaires*"[22] as the highest obtained educational certificate is greater.

Lifestyle: In this milieu, modern performance optimism plays an even more dominant role than in the status-oriented milieu. There is considerable confidence in one's own efficiency and the same efforts are also expected from others. The degree of identification with one's occupation is very high and this is also the place where self-fulfilment primarily takes place, while the family does not serve as a personal space for retreat. There is a willingness to reward oneself with material acquisitions because one feels one has earned it, real estate, however, is not a predominant concern. One is in agreement with the state and open to social progress. Critical social commitment is not considered to be necessary and there is no particular appreciation for cultural capital. There is apparently no need to emphasise middle-class virtues, since the accompanying deontological ethics seem to have been internalised naturally.

Political style: In this milieu, the ecological party only has half the approval ratings it enjoys in the overall population, while DP and LSAP are doing better here[23].

Petty bourgeois Milieu (19 %)

Social position: Together with the privileged conservative milieu, the petty bourgeois milieu represents the milieu of the older generation. Even though the average age is lower by six years than in the privileged conservative milieu, both differ from the seven others, which are on average substantially younger. 24 % of the members of the petty bourgeois milieu are pensioners. In no other milieu do the gender affiliations differ as strongly as here: the female proportion amounts to 60 %. In this milieu, one finds a wide distribution of income, which corresponds more or less to the average of all milieus. However, a considerable number of interviewees did not provide information on their income. All levels of educational attainment

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22 | A secondary school degree roughly equivalent to the English A-Levels.

23 | Luxembourg political parties and their political orientation: ADR: Alternativ Demokratesch Reformpartei (right-wing populist); CSV: Chrëschtlech Sozial Volkspartei (Christian Democratic); DP: Demokratesch Partei (liberal); Déi Gréng (ecological, green); Déi Lénk (socialist, left-wing); KPL: Kommunistesch Partei Lëtzebuerg (communist); LSAP: Lëtzebuerger Sozialistesch Arbechterpartei (social democrat).

are represented, advanced levels, however, less and lower levels to a higher degree than in the total random sample. The petty bourgeois milieu is represented above average in the south of the country and least in the capital.

Lifestyle: In the petty bourgeois milieu, a distinctive mentality of fulfilment of duties prevails, which can be understood as an expression of a willingness to adapt to existing circumstances. Important here for the inner cohesion of the milieu seem to be such factors as the traditional role allocation within the family as well as Christian values, both of which go hand in hand with the rejection of a modern lifestyle. The rejection of hedonistic ideas indicates an abstention from self-fulfilment (in contrast, for instance, to the underprivileged milieu) in favour of the assimilation into a given social (job) hierarchy. In this context, the acquisition of cultural capital seems to be regarded as something of little value, there is no interest for art and culture. The powerful inclination to ensure material security causes the deferment of personal, spontaneous needs. This also includes the willingness to forgo enjoyment of life in favour of property ownership. A conformist attitude towards government and the state is the rule. Generally, it is considered more important to take one's place in society than to seek advancement by personal achievement. Fears of social decline seem, for the moment, allayed. An indication of a certain degree of confidence here is the fact that the working day is experienced without any marked tendency for frustration.

Political style: CSV voters are represented above average in this milieu, although not as much as in the privileged conservative milieu. DP voters are also less numerous here, while the Greens achieve good results. The main difference to the privileged conservative milieu, however, is the stronger position of the socialist party.

Underprivileged Milieu (13 %)

Social position: With 60 % the underprivileged milieu is the milieu with the highest percentage of foreigners, of which the Portuguese make up more than half. Nearly 40 % of the unskilled workers and 30 % of the skilled workers are found in this milieu. Office employees, of which at least one fifth are found in this milieu, are also over-represented here. In the underprivileged milieu, which is a little younger than the average, the 20 to 45-year-olds are especially strongly represented. There are 13 % pensioners. The level of income is accordingly low. In the underprivileged milieu, the level of formal educational is the lowest of all the milieus: nearly three times more people than for the overall random sample state elementary school as the highest educational attainment. As is the case with the tradition-oriented milieu, the underprivileged milieu is most prominent in the north of the country.

Lifestyle: As in the tradition-oriented milieu, a sense of frustration at the workplace constitutes a kind of general mood in the underprivileged milieu. One feels strongly bound into the working hierarchy. Work ethics continue to be held in high regard. In general, one has abandoned any prospects for professional advancement yet one still participates in the authoritarian performance ideology by

clearly disassociating oneself from those 'below'. Self-fulfilment tends to takes place during free time, with the family still offering a certain degree of support, although there is apparently no longer any willingness to give one's all for them. The explicit commitment to hedonism is a typical feature. The ethics of modesty still prevailing in the petty bourgeois and the tradition-oriented milieu have been abandoned. Security thinking or the readiness for short-term restraint in favour of long-term commitments, such as for property ownership, is absent. By contrast, there is a distinct willingness for spontaneous consumption, which apparently also induces discontent about one's own material situation. A certain ideational counterbalance is provided by a clearly sceptical attitude towards technical progress as well as the high esteem held for political and social commitment. This is undoubtedly also a reflection of the high level of unionisation recorded in this milieu.

Political style: If one considers only the Luxembourgers, the underprivileged milieu is the milieu of political disaffection. One third of the survey responders declined to answer the question on party preference.

Privileged Liberal Milieu (11 %)

Social position: Even though the distribution of income covers the entire range of the spectrum, the upper middle and top income brackets are particularly well represented, so that the average income of this milieu takes third place behind the two wealthiest milieus, the status-oriented and the privileged conservative milieu. Teachers are twice as numerous in this milieu than in the overall population and executive employees are also over-proportionally represented. As in the petty bourgeois and in the tradition-oriented milieu, the share of women is exceptionally prominent here, and with 58.1 % is the second highest of all milieus. The level of formal education is very high. Here, in comparison to all other milieus, one finds the lowest number of instances where elementary school is given as the only educational attainment. In contrast to the privileged conservative milieu, which also has high educational attainment levels, polytechnic degrees are more numerous here than university degrees. Like the privileged conservative milieu, the privileged liberal milieu is to be found less frequently in the south of the country.

Lifestyle: The privileged liberal milieu draws its self-confidence from a strong achievement motivation and high work ethics. However, neither manifest themselves in an achievement ideology, since apparently there is no corresponding sense of mission directed towards society. In this respect, but also in the rejection of traditional bourgeois virtues, the privileged liberal milieu delineates itself from more conservatively oriented milieus (privileged conservative, petty bourgeois and underprivileged milieu) and displays similarities with the new employees (status-oriented milieu). The concentration on one's own efficiency has a level-headed, realistic quality to it, disruptions in one's professional life are regarded as a likely possibility. One prefers to keep one's distance to the state, while the family forms a protective private space, and here the traditional gender role allocation is explicitly considered outdated. With a secure material base, there is little proclivity towards

consumption. Notable is the pronounced affinity and dedication to culture and art, as is the readiness to enlarge one's cultural capital, a feature otherwise found only in the privileged conservative and alternative milieus.

Political style: In this milieu, the Greens receive two-and-a-half times as many votes than average. The CSV is significantly under-represented.

Privileged Conservative Milieu (9 %)

Social position: Persons belonging to the privileged conservative milieu are consistently older than the overall population, with an average age of 10 years above that of the population as a whole. 39 % of people in this milieu are retired, while in the overall population it is 19 %. 42 % of the privileged conservative milieu are older than 60 and considering only the Luxembourgers belonging to this milieu, the figure stands at a remarkable 57 %. In terms of average salary, the privileged conservative milieu takes first place among all the milieus. Particularly strongly represented are the income brackets above € 9,000. It is followed closely by the status-oriented milieu as well as the privileged liberal milieu, and together they form an income peak ranking far above all other milieus. The privileged conservative milieu has the highest number of university graduates. It is particularly frequent in the centre of the country, more precisely in the capital, whereas it is represented below average in the south of the country.

Lifestyle: In the privileged conservative milieu, restraint and avoidance of excessive self-expression manifests itself indirectly in the consistent, firm rejection of the different forms of hedonism (ideational as well as actual). The marked personal willingness to perform is an expression of an attitude of inner fulfilment of duties, professional success is based on a pronounced work ethic which seems to generate a quasi natural self-confidence. The basis for this is the orientation towards long-established structures, although the traditional role allocation within the family, indeed the family as a protected space, is not (or no longer) particularly emphasised (which might be due to the large number of retirees). The privileged conservative milieu is sympathetic to technical progress and expressly regards itself as a pillar of the state. Social representability is considered important, prestige is relevant. Self-fulfilment is achieved via one's work, but primarily in the upper cultural sector, the latter forming a counterweight to the allure of material consumerism, which is considered superficial. Material security seems to be taken for granted, even though there is a sense that it also needs to be preserved and increased, as the distinct readiness to forgo certain amenities for the sake of property possession clearly shows.

Political style: This milieu may well and truly be called conservative. Here, the CSV has almost twice as many voters as in the population as a whole. There is also a slight over-representation of the ADR. It is surprising that the liberals, at least when it comes to main party preference, are in the minority. Nevertheless, the LSAP enjoys even less support in this milieu.

Hedonistic Milieu (7 %)

Social position: The hedonistic milieu is a young milieu with a high percentage of 30-year-olds and an even higher one of 20-year-olds, with an income which lies only slightly above average. Corresponding to this age structure, the proportion of retirees is only 14 %. The civil service is well represented, however, mainly by middle level civil servants. The members of the hedonistic milieu correspond to a large extent to the average educational profile. University graduates are less strongly represented but there is a higher than average share of "diplôme de fin d'études secondaires" graduates[24]. Of all the milieus, the hedonistic milieu is spatially least represented in the north of the country. The proportion of single households, as well as that of childless couples, is highest in this milieu. Even though the legally regulated civil partnership (PACS, i.e. pacte civil de solidarité) still constitutes a marginal problem (1.5 % for all interviewees), civil partnerships are more than twice as frequent in this milieu.

Lifestyle: The appreciation for material as well as ideational hedonism, and therefore also self-fulfilment via leisure activities and consumption has a secure economic base in this milieu which is not further questioned. Thus, the readiness to engage in spontaneous consumption does not go hand in hand, as it does in other milieus, with a discontent concerning financial possibilities, which points to a sophisticated milieu of origin. Work is a means to an end, professional success is considered unimportant, critical involvement in social issues is rejected, elitist culture is not an essential factor. The clear dismissal of Christian values could be aimed directly against these ideational values that unify the privileged conservative milieu and petty bourgeois milieu from which the generation of the hedonistic milieu seems to have originated. The tendency to identify with attitudes expressing frustration can probably be explained with the impending confrontation with possible performance demands (conflicts with the parental generation). The most remarkable feature is perhaps that in the hedonistic milieu one generally presents oneself as supportive of the state. Here, it seems, basic attitudes of the milieu of origin are reproduced and shared primarily as a result of materialistic rationale. The advantages of state support are presumably also taken into account here, in order to be able to maintain the existing lifestyle for as long as possible.

Political style: There is a slightly higher proportion of LSAP voters, CSV and the Greens are slightly under-represented.

Tradition-oriented Milieu (5 %)

Social position: In this milieu, with its many blue-collar workers and low-ranking employees, salary levels are low. But there is no reticence about admitting this, maybe also because one lives in clear-cut conditions of wage-dependency. Thus, there is hardly any evidence of miniscule wages here, since there seem to be no part-time jobs or precarious working conditions. This is the milieu with the highest

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24 | A secondary school degree roughly equivalent to the English A-Levels.

percentage of persons on disability pensions and unemployment benefits. Retirees amount to 17 %. With 57.9 %, the proportion of women is particularly high in the tradition-oriented milieu. As in the petty bourgeois milieu, the whole range of educational attainment levels is represented here, the higher degrees, however, less and the lower ones more frequently than in the overall random sample. In terms of spatial distribution, the tradition-oriented milieu is more predominant in the north of the country.

Lifestyle: In contrast to the petty bourgeois milieu, the tradition-oriented milieu is characterised by a clearly more pessimistic basic attitude. Material security is assigned a high value, consumption decisions are made according to the available possibilities and there is a sense of discontent with one's own situation. Frustration levels in working life are high. One feels exploited, hemmed in by rigid hierarchies, and there is little to no prospect of being able to secure the future by one's own efforts. This assessment of one's personal situation comes with a rejection of technical progress, the concerns about the future found within this milieu are considered as a reflection of society's general development. Disappointment leads people to take a reserved stance towards the state, no value is attached to social prestige. Participation in cultural life is considered pointless. As in the petty bourgeois milieu, bourgeois virtues continue to be valued and the traditional role allocation within the family is still very pronounced. But contrary to the petty bourgeois milieu, Christian values no longer constitute a common ground to be particularly emphasised.

Political style: This milieu is a veritable ADR stronghold. The sympathies for this party are at the expense of the CSV for which voting preference in this milieu is slashed almost by half compared to the average, while the LSAP obtains a proportion marginally above its overall result. However, the number of survey responders who were undecided or declined to furnish information is especially high.

Status-oriented Milieu (3 %)

Social position: Solely in terms of income average, the status-oriented milieu takes second place among all milieus discussed here, preceded only by the privileged conservative milieu. In both of them 8 % of interviewees, by no means an insubstantial figure, indicated a monthly salary of more than € 10,000. Together with the privileged liberal milieu, these two milieus form a group at the top, leaving the other milieus far behind. The status-oriented milieu has the lowest proportion of foreigners (only 17 %) and is the youngest milieu, in which the under 20-year-olds (14 % compared with 7 % overall), therefore also the students, are especially well represented. In contrast to the petty bourgeois milieu, the milieu with the highest percentage of women, the share of males is highest in the status-oriented milieu, with 61.5 %. 12 % are retired (total 19 %). In the status-oriented milieu, public service employees, in particular teachers, are considerably over-represented. There is also a significant number of employees in executive positions. The most frequent educational qualification is the polytechnic degree.

Lifestyle: As in the neighbouring meritocratic-oriented milieu, confidence in one's own achievement potential is very pronounced in this milieu. In the status-oriented milieu, one is willing to engage in continued professional development and to take on responsible tasks. This is, however, no longer associated with an authoritarian achievement ideology and there is a marked tendency towards individualism. Self-fulfilment in the professional field is not pursued doggedly. The approach to duty ethics is a relaxed one. Financial worries are not an issue in this milieu. In the final analysis, the private life takes precedence. Here, traditional family values are considered outdated, and from the similarly clear disassociation from Christian values one can deduce an enlightened attitude towards unconventional ways of life. Optimism about personal achievement is accompanied by a generally optimistic stance towards technical progress, there is, however, a tendency to maintain a critical distance to the state. There is no particular interest or affinity for art and culture, and no willingness to participate in any concrete social commitment. Altogether, compared to the meritocratic-oriented milieu, the status-oriented milieu is more self-confident and more independent of general developments, as well as more realistic and level-headed in the professional field.

Political style: In the status-oriented milieu, one tends to vote for the Greens and LSAP, CSV is particularly under-represented.

Alternative Milieu (3 %)

Social position: Most representatives of the alternative milieu are in working age, and there is exactly the same proportion of women and men. Incomes lie below average. The absence of high income brackets points to a lacking willingness to provide pertinent information (compulsion for anti-materialistic attitudes). The fact that about 30 %, almost as many as in the petty bourgeois milieu, decline to reveal their income, might also be associated with a lack of continuous income. The alternative milieu is an exceptionally educated milieu, in which university graduates and polytechnic graduates are well represented and where practically nobody has only an elementary school level. This milieu is especially predominant in the direct environs of the capital.

Lifestyle: Although the guiding value in this milieu is clearly the criticism of the belief in technological progress, there is no longer the direct association with the possible destruction of livelihood resources. This indication for a dwindling sense of mission (for instance in issues of environmental policy) is confirmed by a shift from self-fulfilment through political and social commitment to self-fulfilment in the field of art and culture. Remarkable in this milieu is the presence of an attitude that is distinctly supportive of the state, as is the case in the hedonistic milieu. Apparently one has come to terms with the prevailing conditions, provided there is sufficient leeway for one's own post-materialistic lifestyle beyond the authoritarian achievement ideology, traditional gender roles and the constraints of work hierarchy. The strong disposition to drop out of society might, in this sense, be

little more than lip service or a reminiscence of the milieu's roots in the opposition movement.

Political style: Greens and DP voters are substantially over-represented, CSV strongly under-represented. There is practically no support for ADR and LSAP.

3.3 Final remark

The set of milieus described above provides the general heuristic framework for the following chapters of this publication which elaborate individual aspects on the basis of the milieu analysis. The milieu cartography of Luxembourg's social structure should therefore be read as complementary to the qualitative approaches presented in this volume.

The authors would like to emphasise that the results presented here are *one* possible model for describing the social reality in Luxembourg. In this sense, they should not be mistaken for reality, rather, with a view to the complexity of the social structure in Luxembourg, they constitute an initial, tentative avenue that needs to be developed and consolidated by further in-depth analyses. Moreover, the data gathered so far contain a wealth of additional information still awaiting evaluation.

Finally, readers of this publication should bear in mind that the percentages presented here, and this applies for the results of every sample survey, are by principle always impaired by inaccuracy and consequently should be considered in relative terms only.

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