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Hegemonic and Polemical Beliefs: Culture and Consumption in the Social Representation of Wine

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Wine, in France, is a cultural product. However, the issue of wine consumption has been at the centre of a recurring social debate. We decided to focus our study on the effect of consumption practices on this social representation as well as the variations in position-taking in very different normative contexts. Results revealed two distinct social representations according to consumption practice. Moreover, Guttman effect in principal component analysis uncovered a unique phenomenon which showed that participants (consumer vs. non consumer) were inclined to act differently only in the case of polemical issues when they perceived the investigator as a consumer vs. non consumer. Indeed, in the case of hegemonic beliefs they were inclined to act in the same way and their answers were not influenced by the status of the investigator. Results are discussed around the question of the links between social representations and social identity.

Keywords: social representation, hegemony, polemics, Guttman effect, wine.

El vino, en Francia, es un producto cultural. No obstante, el tema del consumo de vino ha sido el centro de un debate social recurrente. Nosotros decidimos centrar nuestro estudio en los efectos de las prácticas de consumo en esta representación social así como en las variaciones de posturas en diferentes contextos normativos. Los resultados revelan dos representaciones sociales distintas de acuerdo a las prácticas de consumo. Aún más, el efecto Guttman en el análisis de componentes principales descubrió un fenómeno único que muestra que los participantes (consumidor vs. no consumidor) se inclinaron a comportarse de manera diferente dependiendo de si percibían al experimentador como consumidor vs. no consumidor respecto a aspectos polémicos, y no, con respecto a creencias hegemónicas. Los resultados se discuten en torno a la cuestión de los nexos entre las representaciones sociales y la identidad social.

Palabras clave: representación social, hegemonía, polémica, efecto Guttman, vino.

Among the various types of alcohol consumed in France, wine has long held a special place. Wine can be considered as a cultural accessory in view of its long history or as a source of controversy relative to its consumption (Garrier, 2005). However it cannot be denied that it is the source, in our times, in France, of significant social debate. Even so, it remains for the majority identity national pride. More precisely, and from a medical and social point of view, wine is an alcoholic beverage and the matter of its consumption can be regarded as a polemical subject.

This study addresses three questions. Firstly, consumption practices would be indicative of social anchoring. Second, wine as a sensitive object should lead to variations in consumer expression according to whether or not the interviewer declares himself as consumer or non consumer faced with consumer vs. non consumer subjects. wine can be considered as a sensitive object relatively to the aspects of its representation which are connected with the question of its consumption. In line with Moscovici (1988), we will talk about polemical aspects. Finally, third, wine as a cultural object would be able to inhibit polemics and social debate and mask differences between consumer and non consumer. Here we refer to federative aspects of the representation of the object. Always in line with Moscovici (1988), in this case, we will talk about hegemonic aspects. It is for this purpose that we chose the conceptual framework of social representations (Moscovici, 1961, 1988), with specific (Abric, 1993, 2001, 2003; Flament & Milland, 2003, 2005) and general (Doise, Clémence, & Lorenzi-Cioldi, 1993) methodologies.

Wine: from cultural icon to social controversy

What a rich history wine has, from medicinal use at the beginning of time to social marker nowadays. Wine is as much a part of the French landscape as its *terroirs* and constitutes even today a distinctive branding for France. Garrier (2005) reports that France has been regarded as the birthplace of wine and its civilisation for over two millennia. As the premier symbol of French culture, wine is an integral part of French national heritage. According to Gautier (1992, p.6), “wine is more than just wine: it is an element of the national identity”. A valued product in the past, wine still continues to be one of France’s greatest treasures. Consider, for instance, the extraordinary measures taken during the Second World War to preserve wine cellars from German looters¹. From a cultural viewpoint there is

no doubt of its collective value. Indeed, due to both its deep anchoring in the collective memory and its cultural history, wine is an object with a collective dimension. It is a *totem drink* (Barthes, 1970, p. 74; Corbeau, 2004), synonymous with « cultural membership » (Corbeau, 2004, p. 7). For Wilson (2004), “wine is a mode of regional differentiation, of class distinction, and of the expression of French national identity”. Despite such positive aspects, differentiated points of view certainly arise with respect to its consumption. Controversy arises just as soon as one considers the consumptive purposes for which wine is intended (see Loi Evin, French Law n° 91-32, January, 10, 1991). From the point of view of how wine is perceived, consumption practice plays a differentiating role in the way the object is represented (Lo Monaco & Guimelli, 2008). In France, the legislative text of the Loi Evin (1991) is a testament of the evolution of public opinion toward this object, for long defended as a promoter of good health. The Evin legislation is a marker in the social debate surrounding the status of wine and requires, among other restrictive provisions, that labels carry a warning message stating that “the abuse of alcohol is dangerous for health” (Loi Evin, French Law n° 91-32, January, 10, 1991, Art. L.18). However, this debate did not begin with this legislation and was in fact present in French society from the beginning of the 20th century (Paul, 2005). But at that time, wine enjoyed a significantly different image. Indeed, in 1930 Doctor Cuvier and Professor Perrot, Chair of Medical Studies at the Paris University, School of Pharmacy, lobbied for recognition of *vitis vinifera* (the grapevine) for its medicinal qualities (Garrier, 2005). Garrier further describes how in 1931, André Tardieu, then Minister of Agriculture and President of the Council of Ministers, ordered publication and distribution of a flyer intended for school children on one side of which the virtues of wine were extolled, and on the other side of which appeared a portrait of Louis Pasteur with his well-known axiom: “Wine is the healthiest and most hygienic of drinks”. Such messages would be nearly impossible today. Thus, wine is always at the centre of polemics with regard to its consumption of course, but also with regard to its status. We could establish a *paradoxology* about it because there are (and were) many contradictions which demonstrate how it occupies a unique place within the debate on the risk related to alcohol. The impact of the mediatization of medicalization by wine (French Paradox) during the nineties (Fournier, 2003) can be considered as evidence of this.

¹ Kladstrup and Kladstrup (2001) report that 1 and a half million bottles of the best vintages were stolen by the German between 1940 and 1944.

For this reason, if wine is a cultural object with a collective value, at the same time, and from the perspective of its consumption, it is a controversial and divisive one. It is within the conceptual framework of social representations developed by Moscovici (1961, 1988) that we placed our study. Our interest has been focused on determining the impact of consumption practices on its social representations and of the variations in representation which result from the manipulation of context in which the opinion is expressed.

The theory of social representations

Moscovici (1961, 1988) and many subsequent authors propose that social representations constitute common sense knowledge. This functional knowledge makes it possible to simplify complex reality for purposes of controlling it (see Wagner et al., 1999, for a review). Far from being exclusively cognitive, social representations are produced and mediated by the social, and are in fact, strongly implicated in the regulation of communications. Such common sense knowledge is mobilized by individuals or groups in situations of social interaction (see for example, Abric & Kahan, 1972). In line with these elements social representations constitute socially elaborated and shared knowledge (Jodelet, 1989). Their purpose is to construct a common reality for a group of individuals.

Within this context, individuals often express an opinion based on the knowledge they possess, rather than undertaking a detailed analysis of the object in question. Once recognized, the representation object elicits “ready-to-think” and triggers “ready-to-express” opinion. Social representations are guides for everyone in determining position-taking and practices in connection with a given object.

Hegemonic, emancipated and polemical representations.

For Moscovici (1988) there are three ways in which representations can become social. Firstly, he describes hegemonic representations as shared across groups and rooted in culture, in the collective memory (Halbwachs, 1950), in widely held beliefs. For Moscovici (1988, p. 221), hegemonic representations “prevail implicitly in all symbolic or affective practices. They seem to be uniform and coercitive. They reflect the homogeneity and stability that French sociologists had in mind when they called these representations collective”. Secondly, Moscovici (1988, p. 221) proposes “emancipated representations” as representations with “a certain degree of autonomy with respect to the interacting segments of society”. Ben-Asher (2003) reports a very interesting example of emancipated representations. According to the author, emancipated representations “are not yet incompatible with hegemonic representations” (Ben-Asher, 2003, p. 6.4). Hegemonic representation can become emancipated in the case, for example, on the one hand, when new information calls into question hegemonic representation and when it is differentially received by members of a society. On the

other hand, emancipated representations are constructed by subgroups involved in the situation. Thirdly, Moscovici (1988, p. 221) defines polemical representations as “representations generated in the course of social conflict, social controversy, and society as a whole does not share them”. Polemical representations are involved in social change and innovation. They may be revealed in particular when groups adopt practices and emit antagonistic judgments in response to a given object. In line with Ben-Asher (2003, p. 6.4), “they express rivalry or incongruity between representations”.

Thus, since consumption refers to a social practice, we can now examine the links existing between social practices and social representations.

Social practices and social representations. The nature of the relationship between social practices and representations has constituted a major theoretical issue in understanding social phenomena. Such problems have been approached many times by authors working within the framework of the structural approach to social representations (Abric, 1993, 1994, 2001; Flament, 1994, 2001; Guimelli, 1988, 1998), but not only (see Jodelet, 1991). Two sets of themes may be distinguished in the study of such relations: social practices as determinant factors for the dynamics of social representation and their structuring.

Considered as an important factor in the dynamics of social representation, social practices play a determining role, and are in fact, the “triggering factor” (Flament, 2001, p. 50). Many authors have been able to corroborate this fact as regards, for example, ecological practices linked to the social representation of hunting (Guimelli, 1988). Practices also play an important role in structuring social representations. Thus, there are many examples amongst which can be found the study of the social representation of alternative medicine (Fraïssé, 2000), or that of the social representation of wine (Lo Monaco et al., 2008) which reveal two different structures in connection with consumption practices.

More recently, authors who work in the field of the structural approach of social representations have taken a different but complementary direction. They oriented their work towards the study of the effect of context on the expression of social representations.

The contextualized expression of social representations.

In relation to the Gypsy community, Guimelli and Deschamps (2000) hypothesized that respondents would not express spontaneously what they think of its members. In fact, by manipulating the interview instructions (respondents were instructed to either “speak for themselves” or answer “as French in general would”), it became apparent for example, that the term “thief” was less associated with the term Gypsy when respondents “spoke for themselves” (“standard” instruction) than when they were instructed to “speak for the French in general” (“substitution” instruction, for another example see Wachelke & Lins, 2008). In extending this work, Abric (2003), in connection with earlier work

regarding the experimenter effect (see for examples, Anderson, Silver, & Abramson, 1988; Campbell, 1981; Davis, 1997; Fazio, Jackson, Dunton, & Williams, 1995; Finkel, Guterbock, & Borg, 1991; Gilbert & Hixon, 1991; Schuman & Converse, 1971; Stangor, Swim, Van Allen, & Sechrist, 2002; Sudman & Bradburn, 1974), proposes the technique of normative decontextualization. This technique “consists in manipulating the role of the interviewer as the object of the respondent’s associations” (Abric, 2003, p. 78). Thus, normative decontextualization works by constructing a mediating event (interview) to facilitate the expression of counter-normative positions when interviewer and respondent are characterized by the same group membership while inhibiting expression of these aspects when the respondent perceives the interviewer as dissimilar, or even as opposite. Within the context of these two techniques, a statistical approach, developed by Flament et al. (2003, 2005) was applied by Flament, Guimelli and Abric (2006) to evaluate this phenomenon: the study of Guttman effect in principal components analysis (PCA).

The “remarkable structures” evoked by Flament et al. (2003, p. 203) are observed in principal component analysis (PCA). Usually within the framework of the study of social representations, the PCA is known to be used to identify the organizing principles of individual position-taking and to observe the effect of social anchoring (Doise et al., 1993; Spini & Doise, 1998). Here, on the contrary, the adopted approach does not try to report existing correlations between certain interpersonal differential variables and representational aspects. It is a question, rather, of studying the expression of the social fact independently of the individual fact (Flament et al., 2003, 2005). The Guttman effect thus facilitates the interpretation of the social phenomenon by yielding information according to which the table of data has a unidimensional structure (Flament et al., 2006). According to the authors, “we can order the columns and rows of this table, to reveal simple and interpretable organization as a single phenomenon” (Flament et al., 2006, p. 18). However, it is not always the case and the Guttman effect is not at all systematic. Nevertheless, the Guttman effect allows us to highlight a linkage between the experimental conditions (which is not decided by the researcher) and reveals a unidimensional structure that summarizes the data. In this perspective, Guttman effect differs from the structural approach of social representation (Abric, 1993) which distinguishes central core and peripheral elements. Indeed, we do not seek through the Guttman effect to account for the structural organization of the representation according to the central vs. periphery dichotomy which differs greatly from the idea of continuum, of unidimensionality proposed by Flament et al. (2003, 2005). Guttman effect may also be useful for the study of the *mute zone* of social representations (Flament et al., 2006). It provides another way for computing data which is not collected by means of free associations as is the case in the work, for example, realized by Guimelli et al.

(2000) or more recently by Lo Monaco et al. (2009). Given that a Guttman effect is highlighted by computing a PCA, it is more adapted to numeric data than lexical ones.

To illustrate our explanation, Flament et al. (2006) observed that the data reveals a sequence among the different experimental conditions which represents a Guttman effect, a single phenomenon understood as “masking to unmasking” of certain representational aspects of the social representation of Islam. Finally, in her study, Gaymard (2006) used this analysis in order to rank social groups (public high school students vs. private high school students vs. nurses vs. hospital service agents) with regard to their social representations of the dependent elderly.

Having considered these theoretical and empirical elements, one can assume that the existing debate around wine has created conflict in French society. For around twenty years, polemics around the question of wine have been generated by information concerning on the one hand its risk to health and on the other hand, its health promoting qualities, consumers and non-consumers have constructed opposite representations of this object (Lo Monaco et al., 2008). Indeed, as social practice, consumption has constituted the core of the social debate. However, at the same time, wine has been presented as a cultural product, indeed, according to Demossier (2001, p. 5), “drinking wine is therefore a national practice, rooted in French identity and this image still persists in the national imagination despite the decline and fragmentation of wine consumption.” This tackles the question of the co-existence in social representations of hegemonic and polemical aspects.

Consequently, this contribution aimed firstly to demonstrate that consumption practices played a determinant role in the orientation of representational constructions. Secondly, it aimed to show that variations in social representations were produced depending on the context in which participants (consumer vs. non consumer) were confronted with an investigator similar or different to themselves (consumer vs. non consumer). And finally, third, this contribution tried to highlight the possibility of inhibiting these intergroup differences when a collective/hegemonic aspect of the representation was presented.

Overview

The study proceeded in two stages. Firstly, we conducted a pre-test which allowed us to show that wine was a prototypical alcohol in the sample interviewed. Secondly, we conducted a study in which independent variables concerned on the one hand, the status of the subjects as wine consumer vs. non consumer, and on the other hand, the status of the investigator as wine consumer vs. non consumer. Participants were instructed to state their position on proposals related to wine. Finally, they were asked to answer questions on personal characteristics. Data were analyzed by means of an analysis of variance

(ANOVA), and by performing PCA in order to highlight a Guttman effect (see Flament et al., 2003, 2005).

some importance, that it was for them a prototype of alcohol on which we could base our investigation.

Pre-test

Results of the pre-test

Participants

Sixty-one French students (mean age = 21.64; *SD* = 2.23) from a French university were questioned. This population, which will be similar in the experiment, was chosen for two reasons. Firstly, within the framework of this research, we referred to content collected in earlier studies (see Simmonet-Toussaint, Lecigne, & Keller, 2005) among students. Secondly, we were interested in demonstrating some theoretical aspects, and we did not suggest the idea that responses collected among a student population might reflect a collective aspect shared by the French population as a whole. We only tried to highlight the difference between the mobilization of hegemonic/collective and polemical aspects by using a recent methodology.

The results clearly show that wine appeared to the respondent population as the alcoholic beverage most prototypical of alcohol in general (see Table 1).

Table 1 shows the rough frequencies of association for each row of importance. It also presents the total frequency of association for each alcoholic beverage, associated rank importance and the proportion represented by the total frequency of association of each drink among the group of beverages identified. Finally, it was considered useful to recall the proportional importance of the various beverages mentioned (first and second rankings).

As a result, wine was cited by 77% of respondents with an average prototypicality score closest to 1 (1.77). It will be noted that beer was ranked second despite the fact that it is widely consumed by this type of population. This population's wide experience of wine justified pursuit of the experimental objectives.

Procedure

Respondents were asked to spontaneously identify four alcoholic beverages most prototypical of alcohol in general. The respondents were then asked to rank these beverages according to their prototypicality (from 1 = most prototypical to 4 = least prototypical). The objective was to confirm that for the students, wine was an alcoholic beverage of at least

Experiment

Participants

One hundred and seventy-three different students (mean age = 21.55; *SD* = 2.45) from the same population took part in the experiment.

Table 1

Classification of alcoholic beverages by frequency of mention and importance

Mentioned Alcohol types	Rank frequencies				Frequency		Importance
	1 st	2 nd	3 rd	4 th	Total	Proportions	Average Rank
Wine	21	13	6	2	42	77%	1,77
Vodka	3	13	11	15	42	69%	2,9
Beer	19	13	5	3	40	66%	1,8
Pastis	9	11	12	6	38	62%	2,39
Whiskey	8	3	14	9	34	56%	2,71
Rum	0	1	5	8	14	23%	3,5
Tequila	0	1	3	4	8	13%	3,36
Champagne	0	0	2	2	4	7%	3,5
Martini	0	0	1	2	3	5%	3,66
Gin	0	0	1	1	2	3%	3,5
Cider	0	0	0	1	1	2%	4
Port	0	1	0	1	1	2%	3
Absinthe	0	0	0	1	1	2%	4
Moonshine	0	0	0	1	1	2%	4
Malibu	0	0	0	1	1	2%	4
Soho	1	0	0	0	1	2%	4
Bourbon	0	0	0	1	1	2%	4

Procedure

Experimental design. An experimental procedure was designed using a self-administered questionnaire. Participants were randomly assigned to one of four experimental conditions in a 2 (investigator type: consumer vs. non consumer) X 2 (respondent type: consumer vs. non consumer) experimental design. In this way, the four conditions of the experimental design were: “consuming interviewer with consuming respondent” ($N = 43$), “non-consuming interviewer with a non-consuming respondent” ($N = 47$); “non-consuming interviewer with a consuming respondent” ($N = 43$) and finally, “consuming interviewer with a non-consuming respondent” ($N = 40$).

Presentation of the investigator. In order to ensure an explicit comparison and underscore the research objectives, the investigator approached respondents in the area surrounding the university library and asked whether the prospective respondent consumed wine. Once they had given this information, the investigator would then identify himself either as a consumer or as a non-consumer.

Position-taking measures. The respondents were asked to rate ten propositions concerning various aspects of wine on a 7-point scale (from -3 = ‘totally disagree’ to 3 = ‘totally agree’). The representational items were taken directly from earlier work on the social representation of wine (Simmonet-Toussaint et al., 2005).

Participants’ characteristics. Finally, participants were asked to provide consumption and socio-demographic information. We collected their age, sex, whether or not they consumed wine or alcoholic beverages, their parents’ profession and educational levels and the environment where they lived (city vs. countryside). We also asked questions related to consumption practices. Within this framework, we asked subjects to clarify where they consumed wine and alcohol in general. Several alternatives were given in the questionnaire: nightclub, restaurant, pub, home or friends’ home. We also asked them how frequently they went out in the evening. Four levels of frequency were available: once to twice a week; 3 to 4 times a week; 5 to 6 times a week; every day. At the conclusion of the study, participants were thanked and thoroughly debriefed.

Methods of analysis

Within the framework of the questionnaire, we first checked to ensure that our model of consumption practices

could indeed lead to two distinctive social representations of the object. It was decided to test the effect of the variable “Respondent Type” for each of the items proposed. We first undertook a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA). Secondly, in view of the announced objectives, we decided to apply Guttman effect analysis to see how the experimental conditions could be organized. The Guttman effect², long known in correspondences analysis (Lebart, Morineau, & Piron, 2000; Rouanet & Le Roux, 1993), has recently been confirmed using PCA (Flament et al., 2003, 2005). For this analytic procedure, we are no longer interested in individual data but in the mean item in each experimental condition. Using this framework, one obtains a table in which the columns represent the various experimental conditions and the rows, the items. Means are represented at the intersections of each row and column (Items X experimental condition)³. The data in a table thus constructed are then analyzed through PCA. A Guttman effect will appear where a relationship exists between the various experimental conditions and when the percentage of variation explained by the two factors is $\geq 90\%$ (Flament et al., 2003, 2005). Two components are identifiable: the size component (Factor 1) and the diagonal component (Factor 2). High values on the size component reveal, according to the authors, a similarity among profiles. On the other hand, important observed values for the diagonal component highlight differences and reveal linkage between the profiles. This sequence will be interpreted as a single dimension (for examples of Guttman effects see Gaymard, 2006; Flament et al., 2006; Flament et al., 2003, 2005).

Hypothesis

In reference to the theoretical background and to the objectives mobilized in the framework of this study, one can formulate a first hypothesis according to which consumers would share a more positive image of wine (e.g., its link to sociability) than non-consumers. Inversely, it is expected that non-consumers would express a more negative image of the object than consumers. Then, in connection with the second objective, we think, as a second hypothesis, that wine as an object of consumption possesses polemical qualities which would lead to differentiated answers according to the status of the investigator. This second hypothesis leads to two further observations. On the one hand, one envisages an inhibition of expression which would result in a moderation of the positive aspects reported for consumers

2 Flament and Milland (2005, p. 26) explain that diverse authors (Kruskal & Wish, 1991; Podani & Miklos, 2002; Brazill & Grofman, 2002) also speak of “horseshoe phenomenon” (or “horseshoe effect”), of “Arch effect” and “Guttman effect” in MDS (Multi Dimensional Scaling) techniques.

³ It should be noted that one moves from an R statistic (items x variables) to a Q statistic (variables x items) (see Reuchlin, 1991).

Table 2
MANOVA results for each of 10 items using the responses of wine consumers and non-consumers

Items	Wine consumption		$F_{(1,171)}$
	Non-consumer	Consumer	
A special evening	-1,85	-.50	27,61***
Sociability	.05	1,02	23,72***
In a good mood	-.84	-.05	14,54**
Healthy	.21	1,34	21,30***
Risk-Taking	.61	-.31	17,45***
Accident prone	.87	-.13	15,94***
Alcoholism	-.56	-1,58	19,85***
Social exclusion	-1,29	-1,83	5,82*
Taste sensation	.43	.74	2,54
Cultural identity	1,98	2,17	2,28

Note.

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .001$ *** $p < .0001$

when confronted by a non-consuming investigator, and inversely, a moderation of the negative aspects reported by the non-consumer when interviewed by consumers. On the other hand, one envisages a facilitation of expression both for the positive aspects of wine consumption, when a wine consumer is interviewed by a consuming investigator, and the negative aspects, when a non-consumer is interviewed by a non-consuming investigator. Finally, in connection with a third hypothesis, we assume that part of the social representation is related to the cultural dimension of the product and would refer to a hegemonic part of the representation. Indeed, since this aspect is federative because in referring to wine as a cultural object, it is expected that it would eliminate variations in expression related to consumption practices. Consequently, it would reconcile consumers and non-consumers and prove impervious to variations introduced by the manipulation of the status of the interviewer.

Results

Consumption practices and social representations. A first analysis of data was performed by comparing the responses given on formulated items by wine consumers and non-consumers (see Table 2)

MANOVA analysis revealed a generally significant effect (multivariate $F(10,162) = 6.95$, $p < .0001$, $\eta_p^2 = .30$). Further, the examination of the differences between consumers and non-consumers revealed a significant effect for eight of ten items (see Table 2). These results showed that the positive aspects of wine (“a special evening”, “sociability”, “in a good mood” and “healthy”) were more appreciated by consumers than by non-consumers. On the

other hand, non-consumers expressed agreement with the negative aspects of the product (“risk-taking”, “alcoholism”, “social exclusion” and “accident prone”). These first results highlighted consumption practices as explanatory factors for the various ways of representing an object, and supported our first hypothesis according to which consumption practices were determining factors in the representational constructs of this object and confirmed earlier results (see Lo Monaco et al., 2008). This practice or absence of practice gave an account of polemical representations which are mutually exclusive (see Moscovici, 1988). Indeed, what was accepted by one group was rejected by the other.

Finally, two results were not significant (for “culture” and “taste sensation” items). This last result supported our third hypothesis according to which certain hegemonic/collective aspects of this social representation should eliminate intergroup differences and polemics. Here, we could not observe an effect for consumption practices which was not the case for the polemical items.

Comparison between the various experimental conditions. Let us recall that within the framework of this comparison, it was decided to proceed to the analysis in terms of a Guttman effect as developed by Flament et al. (2003, 2005). This analysis allows us to identify the order in which the experimental conditions are connected. Moreover, one can observe the evolution of items throughout the sequence. By using the Guttman effect, we compared means observed in the various experimental conditions (or profiles). After having analysed our table in Q plan (see Table 3) through PCA, we obtained a percentage of explained variance equal to 98.94% for the two factors, which agreed with the authors’ recommendations (> 90%). We will find in Figure 1, a graphic representation of the sequence which accounts for the Guttman effect.

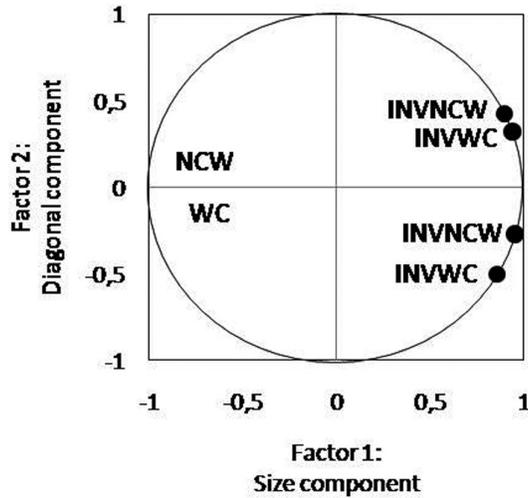


Figure 1. Observed Guttman effect for the different experimental conditions.

Note. It is important to read Figure 1 as follows: NCW = Respondent non-consumer of wine; WC = Respondent wine consumer; INVNCW = Investigator non-consumer of wine; INVWC = Investigator wine consumer

This sequence was obtained by mapping the profiles according to coordinates which corresponded to the factorial loading of each profile on factors 1 and 2 obtained through PCA. As represented, and as expected, the sequence traces a vertical arch. The sequence is as follows (for coordinates values on the factors, see Table 3): non-consumer of wine faced with a non-consuming investigator; non-consumer of wine faced with a consuming investigator; consumer of wine faced with a non-consuming investigator; consumer of wine faced with a consuming investigator. It will be noted that of the 98.94% of explained variance, 83.68% is explained by Factor 1 and 15.25% by Factor 2.

With reference to Flament et al. (2006), we considered for each item its factorial scores produced by Factor 2 (i.e. the diagonal component). This should help us identify which items differentiate the profiles. The examination of item factorial scores for Factor 1 (i.e. the size component), should allow us to identify those items that revealed homogeneity between the profiles. Table 3 shows the data taken into account.

The results revealed three categories of items (see the appendix for a complete description of the items). The items' factorial score values on the diagonal component (Factor 2) made it possible to distinguish two categories of items. The first category, related to the positive aspects that we named "healthful and positive", included items "a special evening", "healthy", "sociability" and "in a good mood". The second category was related to the negative aspects which we named "dangerous and habit-forming" and included items

Table 3
Item means by profile and results of the PCA (factorial loadings)

Items	NC Respondent		C respondent		Factorial Scores	
	NC Investigator	C Investigator	NC Investigator	C Investigator	Factor 1	Factor 2
A special evening	-1,87	-1,83	-1,02	.02	-1,15	-1,52
Sociability	.09	.00	.84	1,21	.43	-.86
In a good mood	-.91	-.75	-.21	.12	-.45	-.77
Healthy	.04	.40	1,35	1,33	.66	-.95
Risk-taking	.74	.45	-.42	-.21	.14	1,09
Accident prone	1,00	.73	.12	-.37	.36	1,29
Alcoholism	-.47	-.68	-1,53	-1,63	-.97	1,10
Social exclusion	-1,40	-1,15	-1,60	-2,05	-1,41	.59
Taste sensation	.49	.35	.72	.77	.50	-.13
Cultural identity	1,87	2,10	2,14	2,21	1,88	.14
Factor loadings						
Factor 1	.90	.94	.95	.86		
Factor 2	.43	.32	-.27	-.50		

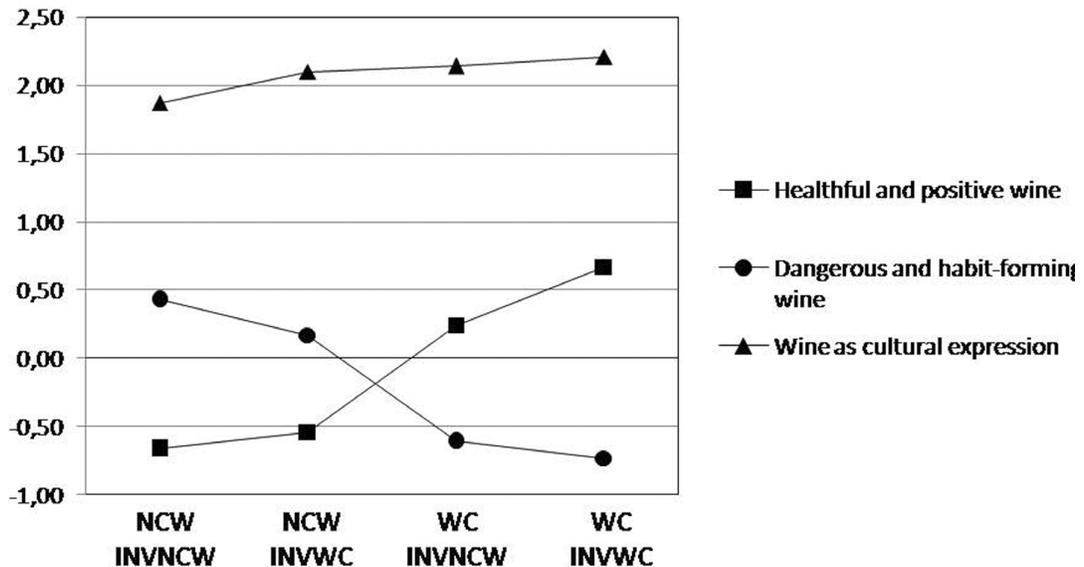


Figure 2. Representation of the three dimensions identified by examination of the factorial scores relative to the Guttman effect observed in PCA.

Note.

It is important to read Figure 2 as follows:

NCW/INVNCW=Respondent non-consumer of wine face to an investigator non-consumer of wine; WC/INVWC=Respondent wine consumer face to an investigator wine consumer; WC/INVNCW= Respondent wine consumer face to an investigator non-consumer of wine; WC/INVWC= Respondent wine consumer face to an investigator wine consumer

“accident prone”, “alcoholism”, “risk-taking”. We decided not to group the item pertaining to social exclusion with the items “dangerous and habit-forming” having examined its factorial score (.59) on the diagonal component. On examining Factor 1, we also noted a third category. Indeed, we observed on this Factor 1 a very high score for the item translating the idea of wine as a cultural product (item “culture identity”).

To summarize, in reference to the items’ factorial scores values, we decided to group the four items related to the positive aspects and the three items linked to the negative aspects. Finally, concerning the size component, we decided only to keep the item “Culture identity” because of its most representative profile on this component considering its item factorial scores (Factor 1 = 1.88; Factor 2 = .14). Moreover, it did not differentiate consumer and non consumer participants (see Table 2), contrary, for example, to the item “social exclusion” which revealed high item factorial scores values (Factor 1 = -1.41; Factor 2 = .59) on the two components. The Figure 2 illustrates the curves representing these three categories of items.

In line with Rosenthal, Rosnow and Rubin (2000), we proceeded to a linear contrast analysis for each of the three categories through the test of the three following contrasts: linear, quadratic and cubic. According to the authors, in

order to show a linear effect, we must observe a significant linear contrast and not significant quadratic and cubic ones. Concerning the first category, entitled “healthful and positive wine”, analysis revealed a significant effect of the model $F(3,169) = 18.06, p < .0001, \eta_p^2 = .24$. Concerning univariate analysis, one observed a significant linear contrast, $F(1,169) = 51.94, p < .0001, \eta_p^2 = .24$. Moreover, neither the quadratic, $F(1,169) = 1.04, p = .31$, nor the cubic contrast $F(1,169) = 2.18, p = .14$, reached the conventional threshold of significance. A similar result was observed for the second category of items, named “dangerous and habit-forming wine”. Analysis revealed a significant effect of the model, $F(3,169) = 11.84, p < .0001, \eta_p^2 = .17$. As univariate results, we uncovered a significant linear contrast, $F(1,169) = 33.15, p < .0001, \eta_p^2 = .16$. Furthermore, we observed two results concerning both the quadratic contrast ($F < 1$) and the cubic one, $F(1,169) = 2.36, p = .13$, which are not significant. Finally, regarding the category entitled “wine as cultural expression” which directly concerns the item “cultural identity”, the model is not significant, $F(3,169) = 1.31, p = .27$. Consistent with this first analysis, a linear contrast did not reach the conventional threshold of significance, $F(1,169) = 3.32, p < .08$. This result was also observed for both the quadratic contrast ($F < 1$) and the cubic one ($F < 1$).

Indeed, we observed, Figure 2, that the “healthful and positive” curve followed the sequence of profiles in the direction of acceptance for this way of perceiving the product as identified by wine consumers. It is important to note that agreement in relation with this category of items is higher when consumers interact with a consuming investigator than when they reply to a non-consumer. In this case it would be an expression of a not reserved report of this representation. In the same way, this phenomenon seems to occur in exactly the same way for non-consumers but regarding “dangerous and habit-forming” representations. On these polemical topics, the status declared by the experimenter led the subjects to express or on the contrary to mask answers which they knew were respectively shared or not by the experimenter. This result was perfectly consistent with previously quoted work regarding the experimenter effect. Moreover, this result highlighted the question of the normativity between an investigator and a participant in the expression about a sensitive object of social representation (see Flament et al., 2006; Guimelli et al., 2000; Lo Monaco et al., 2009). Participants actually decided to mask their disagreement, because they knew, when it was different, that the position was not shared by the investigator. Thus, according to the case, they avoided risking giving a bad image of themselves and of the group of consumers or non-consumers.

Concerning more precisely our hypotheses, the crossing of the curves revealed a social anchoring (Doise, 2002; Spini & Doise, 1998) marked by the practice of consumption on one side, and the absence of such practices on the other, which referred to the validation of our first hypothesis.

The second hypothesis also related to expressions independent of social representations which were in fact, context specific expressions. Results showed that for both negative and positive conceptions of wine, the sequence followed the order which confirmed the hypothesis. Indeed, it would seem that participants were able to freely express themselves about the object only to in-group members.

Moreover, if one considers the result of the contrast linear analysis regarding the item “cultural identity”, in accordance with the third hypothesis, this aspect did not comprise any polemical issues. This aspect appeared to be a common factor to the extent that variations of context did not affect the expression of participants. This last remark supports the proposals of Flament et al. (2003, 2005) in connection with the interpretation of the size component (Factor 1) of the Guttman effect and reveals the possibility of observing, in the field of a social representation, polemical aspects as well as collective/hegemonic ones. In addition, we noted that in this case neither the status of the respondents nor the presentation of the investigator was operational. This reinforces the idea that the widely shared cultural dimension transcends group differences and constitutes a hegemonic aspect of the social representation under study.

Finally, we did not observe a significant effect of variables referring to participants’ characteristics or their places or frequency of consumption practices. Moreover, we did not note significant interaction effects between the two independent variables involved in the experimental design and each of these variables. However, this lack of effect is entirely consistent with the work carried out by Lo Monaco et al. (2008, study 1).

Discussion

We have observed how, in the practical matter of perception of an object, respondents do not construct the same representation of the object. It was also seen that the perception of the investigator conducting the interview can lead to response variations. One observed in fact, that a moderation of expression was induced when an investigator declared himself as an out-group member. An out-group investigator’s status induced normative pressures among respondents who felt obligated to moderate their speech, a result which was entirely consistent with the literature. In addition, it appeared to us that beyond the contextualization of expression, another result seemed relevant for discussion from a theoretical point of view. Strictly speaking, the question of wine consumption appeared to position the study of this object at a polemical level. In view of the variations observed, the consumption of wine was clearly an object of polemical representation. That said, the cultural dimension of wine consumption seemed to constitute a collective aspect related to hegemonic representation proposed by Moscovici (1988). Such a concept seemed relevant for explaining these results. The concept of hegemonic representation offers an interesting interpretive framework, especially with regard to the identity activated by the item suggested to the respondent.

Nevertheless, we can underline some limits of this research. Firstly, because we knew, with reference to prior studies on a similar sample, that wine was polemical (see Lo Monaco et al., 2008; Simmonet-Toussaint et al., 2005), we did not perform a pre-test in order to analyze whether it was a polemical topic for respondents and results confirmed the literature on this point. However, a change in the population would necessarily lead us to perform this pre-test. A second limit concerned the control of levels of self-categorization and identification of the participants in terms of identity. Indeed, consumption behaviour invoked a respondent’s social identity as a consumer or non-consumer. It is known however, that theories of social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and of self-categorization (Turner et al., 1987) stress the way in which individuals perceive and identify themselves as members of a group and their differentiated positioning with respect to other groups. Within such a framework, representations mobilized are considered as reading grids of reality (Moliner, 1992) and will take place at a polemical level. Therefore, position-

taking will be differentiated contingent on the participant's group membership (in-group) vis-a-vis out-group members. The activation of an object's polemical dimension would thus produce the actualization of an intergroup conflict directly concerned with the subjects' social identities (for the present study, consumers vs. non-consumers). On the other hand, in line with Turner et al. (1987), cultural dimension will invoke a higher identity level, which is more inclusive (for this study, the fact of being French). In this perspective the Common In-group Identity Model (CIIM; Gaertner, Mann, Murrell, & Dovidio, 1989; see Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2009, for a review) provides a support for this way of explanation. This model proposes that the transformation of the cognitive representation of group memberships from two groups ("Us" and "Them") to one more inclusive ("We") can reduce intergroup conflict. In accordance with CIIM, the reference to the cultural aspects of wine was able to mask intergroup differences and result in homogeneity in participants' responses, even if they were opposed at a polemical level. The hegemonic part of the representation would thus make it possible to apprehend the object on an analytical super-ordinate level (see Doise, 1986). The systematic placement of such representational fields where they may be shared would greatly facilitate the understanding of the role of cultural and ideological factors related to collective memory in the social construction of reality. Further studies will have to take into account and measure these processes of self-categorization and re-categorization in relation to the activation of the different parts of the studied social representations. This perspective would provide new theoretical elements to connect two fields of research: identity and social representations. Indeed, this link was developed before by Breakwell (1993) and more recently by Moloney and Walker (2007) or Deschamps and Moliner (2008). Nevertheless, the question of the different parts of representations in relation to different identity levels was not explored and offers promising prospects for research.

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APPENDIX**LIST OF ATTITUDINAL STATEMENTS ITEMS PROPOSED TO SURVEY RESPONDENTS.**

Abbreviations	Complete statement
A special evening	A special evening is necessarily accompanied by wine
Sociability	Wine is, above all, synonymous with sociability.
In a good mood	Drinking wine is synonymous to being in a good mood.
Healthy	In moderation, wine is good for one's health.
Risk-taking	To drink wine is to take chances.
Accident prone	The thought of wine evokes images of driving accidents.
Alcoholism	Wine and alcoholism are indissociable.
Social exclusion	Wine consumption is socially reprehensible and leads to exclusion.
Taste sensation	Wine consumers are primarily interested in the taste experience.
Cultural identity	Wine is an integral part of French culture.
