CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC DIMENSIONS OF LIFESTYLE

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Summary

In this paper I set out to explicate and extend Bourdieu's (1979) treatise on lifestyles, which foousses on the contrast between cultural and economic dimensions and stresses their oonsequences for the reproduction of social structure. It is argued that although Bourdieu's description of prevailing lifestyles in contemporary France lacks convincing empirical evidence, the ideas can be elaborated into testable hypotheses, that pertain to other countries and time-periods as well. A specific connection is made with the tradition of new olass theories and fragments from olassical sociological theory (Weber). Three hypotheses are formulated: a) lifestyles are differentiated along three dimensions (cultural, eoonomic, age) and expresses corresponding social positions, b) lifestyles correspond to social positions of a person's network relations as well, and c) lifestyles contribute to the reproduction of social structure. Lifestyles can be modelled as latent mimic (multiple inputs, multiple causes) variables, as Sobel (1981, 1984) has argued. The hypotheses are put to test by using a dataset collected in Utrecht, The Netherlands, and receive general confirmation.

Introduction

Research on lifestyle is a very old, but currently inconspicuous branch of the sociology of stratification. Indeed, much of the older research in stratification was con-

cerned with issues like assessing social status from material
artifacts in living rooms (Chapin, 1935), the interaction
patterns of social classes (Warner et Lunt, 1942) and leisure
time activities of social classes (Reissman, 1954; Svalastoga
et. al., 1956). Classical textbooks on social stratification
such as Kahl (1953), Barber (1957) and Tumin (1967) contain
a chapter on lifestyles, covering subjects like consumption,
leisure time spending, voluntary memberships, ways of dress
and speech, subscriptions (magazines; journals), sports activ-
ities, housing habits and etiquette. Such treatments all rely
on the Weberian notion of status groups demarcated by their
lifestyle. According to Weberian theory (Collins, 1975, 1979)
lifestyle symbolizes positions within the social structure
and serves at the same time as a matching device and as a
justification for the status claims of social groups. By way
of displaying lifestyles, members of status groups are able
to recognize and select each other in social interaction, and
thereby can close off their positions from outsiders (Parkin,
1974; Collins, 1979). In the Weberian model status groups and
their accompanying lifestyles are of particular salience in
conditions of social stability and stagnation. Once technolo-
gical or economic developments bring about social change and
social mobility, status groups will not be able to keep up
their symbolic fences, and market chances will prevail in the
process of distribution of power, rewards and prestige.

Seen from this perspective, the study of lifestyle is
of eminent importance for assessing and understanding the de-
velopment of social stratification. Lifestyles tell us about
the differentiation that exists among status groups and there-
fore they can be used to assess the amount of inequality (and
change therein) in a society. This criterion was in particular
taken seriously in the literature on the embourgeoisement of
manual workers, of which Goldthorpe et al.'s The Affluent
Worker (1968; 1969) is the classical representative. These
authors assess the extent to which manual and white collar
workers can be treated as one social class by looking at life-

style issues, in which they include political orientations and values.

It seems to me that this line of research has attrition-ed over the last decades. Stratification research has con-centrated on structural components of social inequality, by studying the intra- or intergenerational relations between education, occupation and income. The literature on lifesty-le and stratification has become impoverished to the point where no consensus exists on issues like (a) how lifestyle should be defined, (b) what elements constitute a lifestyle, and (c) what particular sort of lifestyle elements characteri-ze social status groups currently (Zablocki et Kanter, 1976). Lifestyle research has moved to fields like consumer research (Hannan, 1972) and the sociology of marginal groups. Much of the current research has even broken away from social status and social inequality, and equates lifestyle with role-pat-terns in marriage (O'Connel, 1980) or segments of the popula-tion that are vaguely defined in terms of Maslowian psycho-logy (Mitchell, 1983). This descent has occurred from a point in time when descriptive research on lifestyles constituted a vivid part and maybe even the main body of stratification research. In recent years two monographs have been the ex-ception to this.

Bourdieu's la Distinction

In 1979 the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu contribu-ted his Distinction to the field of stratification, and this monograph takes up much of the original issues that were at stake in Weberian theory and the stratification research be-fore the seventies that I hinted at. Using some rather uncon-vential modes of theorizing and data analysis, Bourdieu de-scribes and analyzes prevailing lifestyles in contemporary France. According to his view, lifestyles can be distinguish-ed along a cultural and economic dimension. Bourdieu replaces the classical status hierarchy in effect by two new ones.

Taking occupational position as his first point of refei ince
(as has been the prevailing choice in stratification litera-
ture), Bourdieu asserts that social space should be concept-
ualized as constructed from two (correlated) dimensions. The
first is an economic hierarchy, globally ranging from unskil-
led laborers toward large proprietors and entrepreneurs. The
second is a cultural hierarchy, ranging between (the same)
unskilled laborers at one end towards university professors
at the other end. General social status can be seen as the
average or projection of the two dimensions. The difference
between the two dimensions is particularly large at the high-
er levels of general social status. The empirical parts of
Distinction show how the two hierarchies differ in assorted
lifestyle elements.

To Bourdieu, taste differences are central for establish-
ing a lifestyle. Consequently, his main indicators of life-
style are dominated by item from the domain of taste: art,
aesthetic judgement, etiquette, choice of food, eating habits
and clothes. Most central among these is the field of art
judgement and culture consumption. Bourdieu argues that mat-
ters of taste are most decisively agreed upon in the realm of
art and aesthetics. He thereby focusses more on preference
than on actually realized behavior. Some items that enter his
analysis are: preferences for classical and popular music (by
composer and/or artist), subjects for taking photographs,
furniture and interior design.

In line whith Weberian theory Bourdieu argues that these
and other taste differences serve as a way of reproducing sta-
tus group membership. Distinction is mainly concerned with
describing the structure of the taste differences itself. The
social reproduction part of the argument is more specifically
addressed in two (his earlier works in the sociology of
education, Reproduction and The Inheritors (Bourdieu et Passe-
ron, 1964, 1970). In these works the reproduction thesis is
established in its full form. It posits that the educational

system in modern France serves to reproduce the distribution
of inequality in the earlier generation and uses the master-
ing of lifestyle as its main device. Schools test their stu-
dents on qualities and capacities that are primarily inculca-
ted in early socialization and training in the family. Selec-
tion in the educational system (which more often than not can
be thought of as self-selection) consists essentially of match-
ing the cultural code inculcated in the family with the cultu-
ral code that is embodied in the curriculum and the school
climate. In Bourdieu's views this is the way the educational
system has become the main instrument of maintaining social
inequality.

Bourdieu implies that the educational credentials and the
cultural habitus that education breeds, are also of key import-
ance to the distribution of scarce goods and status differences
in later life. However, as far as open market societies are
concerned, the cultural differences are accompanied by inequal-
ities caused by the system of property and commerce, which
partly functions outside the system of cultural and education-
al credentials.

When Bourdieu puts his theory to an empirical test, he
uses data from a variety of sources, some of them being his own
surveys and other materials coming from consumer and marketing
research. However, whereas the drawback of the theoretical
part of Bourdieu's work is that it is obscured by a complexity
of reasoning and writing that is reminiscent of the Frankfurt
School, the empirical part is extremely simplistic. Distinction
shows an excess of crosstabulations, displaying bivariate rela-
tions between lifestyle indicators and social background vari-
ables. They are supplemented by a number of "analyses des cor-
respondences", a technique that can best be regarded as a
kind of exploratory mapping of units and variables. None of
the analyses in Distinction addresses what appears to me the
central hypothesis of Bourdieu's theory, namely that lifestyle
differences reproduce and maintain social inequality. A cru-

cial test of this hypothesis can probably only be reached using data on intergenerational status attainment, network formation and career mobility, issues that are hardly addressed in Distinction. The obvious thing to show is that maintaining a lifestyle in accordance with some position on the two status ladders has consequences for the career one develops, the friends one has and the intergenerational transmission of lifechances. The evidence to be found in Reproduction and Inheritors is not conclusive either (Robinson et Garnier, 1986). It simply consists of showing bivariate relations: students have a cultured background and the more cultured background they have, the more successful they are in school. Another piece of evidence here (and somewhat more telling) is that offspring of teachers are the most successful students. However, the crucial alternative explanations, that this has to be attributed to cognitive skills or financial aid, are not tested.

In this empirical work Bourdieu is obviously hindered by a lack of understanding of the current state of the art in data-analysis. Fortunately, some convincing pieces of evidence have come up elsewhere. Two articles by DiMaggio (DiMaggio, 1982; DiMaggio et Mohr, 1985) provide conclusive evidence that cultural skills help students in attaining high grades and help them to attract higher educated marriage partners later in life, even when cognitive skills are kept constant. De Graaf (1986) has shown that culture consumption of parents, in particular their interest in reading, contributes to the educational attainment of their offspring over and above the effect of parents' education in addition; De Graaf was able to show that this effect is considerably larger in younger cohorts.

Sobel's Lifestyle and Social Structure

A second recent contribution to the sociology of lifestyles is Sobel's Lifestyle and Social Structure (1981), albeit of a different kind than Bourdieu's monograph. Sobel takes

classical lifestyle indicators, proportional consumer expenditures on 17 consumption categories, and analyzes their relation to the main components of stratification (education, occupation and income), taking into account life cycle and other structural variations such as region. Sobel concludes that this data contain four dimensions: a) normal expenditures, b) luxury expenditures, c) home life expenditures and d) outgoing behavior expenditures. Naturally, the independent variables have different influences on the four dimensions of lifestyle, with, in particular, age and the life cycle being responsible for the differentiation among the four dimensions. Among the independent variable income is of overriding influence on all four dimensions, with occupational status ranking as second, over and above education. The third and fourth dimensions are particularly related to age and the life-cycle.

In my view, Sobel's empirical results are maybe the least important part of his analysis. Sobel provides detailed estimates of Engel curves for the consumer goods categories he employs in his analysis. Whereas these estimates are not trivial in any sense, they are more interesting for consumer and marketing research than for a sociology of lifestyles. To me, the more important parts of Sobel's contribution are to be found in (a) his discussion of the definition of lifestyle and (b) the particular model he emloys to establish the relation between lifestyle and social structure.

Sobel's definition of Lifestyle and Stylistic Unity

Drawing upon Gombrich's discussion of "style" in art, Sobel chooses two (related) elements to define whether a certain variable should be included in the category of lifestyle elements or not. First of all, lifestyle should symbolize and express a certain mode of living. I take this to mean that there must be a clear connection between the objective social position a person has and the particular choice of style elements that go with it. The second defining criterion on Sobel's

treatment is that lifestyle elements should be recognizable
to the outside world. They should not be private, but public-
ly evident. Here he conforms to the Weberian concept of life-
style as a way of conveying social positions to others, be it
status equals or outsiders. Sobel goes on to argue that con-
sumption data (like he analyzes) constitute the prime instan-
ce of behavioral choices that fit his definition. Consumption
behavior itself is easily observable to outsiders and since
there is in many cases some lasting consequence of consumptio
tion, such as the possession of material goods, it is likely
that consumer choices are among the more visible behavioral
choices. Moreover, consumption expresses social position to
the extent that the market provides free choice of consumer
goods and this is highly likely to be the case in modern Ame-
rican society. To a certain extent, Sobel rephrases Veblen's
(1899) argument on conspicuous consumption as the prime life-
style indicator.

Note that up to this point Sobel's definition can be use
to mark out certain variables as being of the lifestyle sort,
but does not include any notion of consistency or correlation
between these lifestyle-indicators that is usually associated
with the notion of "style". Sobel continues to set this apart
in what he calls "stylistic unity". The upshot of this distin
tion is that lifestyle variables can be analyzed without re-
course to their mutual correlation pattern. (Sobel starts his
analysis by regressing the consumption variables on social
background, which does not imply anything about their common
correlation pattern.) This stylistic unity or intercorrela-
tion may be looked upon as a kind of secondary indicator of
lifestyles in existence. The first step to the analysis is
to establish that the variables are of the expressive and ob-
servable sort, and the second step is to find out about the
clustering of a score of these variables.

Mimic-models of lifestyle

Sobel's other innovative contribution lies in the parti-
cular model of lifestyles that he employs to analyze the data.
Whereas other researchers have usually relied on factor ana-
lytic techniques to assess the dimensionality of lifestyle
indicators, or on clustering technique to distinguish life-
style groups, Sobel maintains that lifestyle should be model-
led according to the process that is assumed to give rise to
the phenomenon. He therefore assesses the influence of back-
ground characteristics (among them the prime indicators of
social stratification) on the lifestyle variables by a multi-
ple mimic (multiple indicators, multiple causes) model. It is
the latter model that constitutes the true way to assess the
differentiation of lifestyles that are also characterized by
stylistic unity.

Mimic models (Hauser et Goldberger (1971) and Joereskog
et Goldberger (1975) treat the one latent variable case) con-
stitute a particular branch of covariance models, in which
multiple regression analysis and factor analysis are combined.
They can be easily grasped by the first picture in table 1.
Mimic-models relate a set of observed independent variables
(X ..X) with a set of observed dependent variables (Y ..Y)
via a set of latent variables (F ..F), so that:

$$F = SUM \quad b \quad X \quad + \quad d$$
$$Y = SUM \quad b \quad F \quad + \quad e$$

The main aim of multiple mimic-modelling is to find the
smallest set of latent variables (F ..F) that will represent
the observed covariance structure between (X ..X) and
(Y ..Y), as well as the covariances between (Y ..Y). The co-
variance structure of the (X ..X) will be taken care of by a
separate model for these relations, which can be a completely
fitted set of relations or a restricted set of relations,
such as a causal model. The analysis can start either at the
maximal number of estimable F-factors and proceed backward,

or with one F-factor and proceed forward.

Note Some minimal identifying restriction on the model are:

(a) $k < \min (i,j)$.

(b) The scale of the latent variables $(F ..F)$ must be set by fixing either one of the b   or one of the b - coefficients equal to a constant per factor F .

(c) The rotational indeterminancy must be resolved by either leaving out at least one of the b -effects or one of the b -coefficients per factor F . Whether the model is indeed identified under these conditions, may depend upon other conditions, some of them contingent upon empirical results. This is not a methodological treatment of these issues. Readers should consult Joere kog et Goldberger (1975).

Theory and Hypotheses

In this paper I attempt to combine some of insights of Bourdieu's and Sobel's monographs into testable propositions on causes and consequences of lifestyles in contemporary wes- ern societies. As other authors, I take my starting point in Weberian notions of lifestyle as the demarcation of status groups, both serving to justify and to defend status claims and social closure. I agree with the two demarcation marks of expression and observability, that are outlined by 'obel, but will use only models that imply stylistic unity between life- style indicators from the outset. In addition, I stress that lifestyle indicators must include an element of fre choice among alternatives that are under equivalent material restric tions, such as availability and price. Lifestyle is constitu- ted by those types of choices that could have turned out dif- ferently, when one takes only the material and physical con- straints into account. That is, lifestyle analysis is direct- ed towards the analysis of taste differences between social groups, not towards their restrictions or capacities.

This does not imply that material conditions, abilities or budgets are not important in the analysis of lifestyles, or that lifestyle choices are unrestricted in a broader sense. Material conditions may get mixed up with the influence of tastes, when one studie a certain sort of behavioral choice, in which case it is necessary to keep these influences constant. Even more importantly, structural variations may give rise to lifestyle differentiation, not because they constitute the material conditions for realizing these choices, but because the lifestyle choices express these conditions. Thus, rich people may display their financial status by the conspicuous use of a certain kind and amount of cars. Their income position makes this consumer choice possible, but at the same time motivates them to buy a type of car which does not bring an increase in transportation capacity but an increase in status display. It is therefore more adequate to say that lifestyle analyses address certain aspects of behavioral choices.

As might become clear from this car-example, it may in practice be very difficult to distinguish between the more material determinants and the status related aspects of this type of choice. My favorite examples of lifestyle items are therefore entirely outside the realm of consumption that Sobel assumes to be so central to lifestyle formation. Lifestyles can be more easily addressed using variables that are by definition exempt from material conditions. The main examples of these are direct indicators of taste, such as aesthetic judgement, values and perceptions, precisely the kind of variables that are central in Bourdieu's analysis. Whether one likes Mozart or Petula Clark (the example is from Bourdieu's 1966 survey), whether one believes in the existence of the supernatural or not, and whether one finds it important to fight inflation or the Russians, is not a matter of income or availability, but literally a matter of taste.

These examples also serve as an instance of the other argument I want to unfold, namely that the absence of material restrictions least of all implies that lifestyle choices occur as an individual, unrestricted process. As Bourdieu hypothesizes, tastes are highly conditioned by social structure, but these conditions are not of a material but of a social kind. The main notion is that individuals display certain tastes and values, because these phenomena are instrumental to them in relating to others in social space and they can thus establish their social position therein. They use their tastes and values to make their social positions clear to others, be it persons they want to regard as their equals and companions or people they want to distinguish themselves from. Actually, in my opinion, this is the only use that tastes and values have for a person. I am not a firm believer in any "interest" theory that connects values and beliefs directly to objective social position. All effects of social position in lifestyle choice are mediated by image management and communication. The consequence is that data on the social network a person is a member of and the particular kind of preferences and tastes that happen to be the norm in this social environment is the prime sort of information one needs to establish lifestyle differentiation.

With respect to the dimensionality of lifestyle I basically accept Bourdieu's proposition on the differentiation of an economic and cultural hierarchy. Although Bourdieu hardly relates his views to existing literature, I think that this differentiation is in fact firmly grounded in earlier research and closely connected to other theories of social stratification. The difference between the economic and the cultural hierarchy can be retraced in the literature on occupation as status (Hatt, 1950; Porter, 1967; Samuel et Lewin, 1979) and in the literature on the twodimensionality of intergenerational mobility and associational pattern between occupational categories (Blau et Duncan, 1967; Laumann, 1966,

1973). In these literatures, one way or another, the general
status dimension is supplemented with a difference between
bureaucratized, professional and salaried occupations on the
one side and entrepreneurial, commercial and self-employed
occupations on the other side. Yet another way to think
about the two dimensions may be as a disentanglement of the
two ingredients of socio-economic status (Duncan, 1961): ave-
rage income and average education of occupational groups.

On the theoretical level I see a close connection between
Bourdieu's views and the diverse "New Class" theories, that
have flourished in political science (Parkin, 1971; Gouldner,
1979). These theories state that the old inequalities between
the propertied elite and the dispossessed have been joined or
even replaced by the new inequalities between educated tech-
nocrats, bureaucrats and intellectuals on the one hand and
the uneducated working class in particular. Of particular
significance to me seems to be that most new class theories
primarily have socialist societies in their scope, even to
the point that at least one pair of authors (Konrad et Szele-
nyi, 1979) has come to the conclusion that the socialist re-
volution must be looked upon as the "final victory of intel-
lectuals over the working class".

This connection with new class theories leads me to the
supposition that the cultural inequality may not only be of
importance in Paris and its immediate outskirts, such as at
least one of Bourdieu's critics (Hoffman, 1984) assumes. On
the contrary, the saliency of a cultural lifestyle may be
growing together with the highly educated and this is true
for all post-industrial societies, and maybe even more true
for socialist societies. Indeed, stratification research with-
in these societies has consistently pointed to the cultural di-
mension of inequality (Wesolowski et Slomczynski, 1068; Macho-
nin, 1970; Robert, 1984; Kolosi, 1984). What is true for so-
cialist societies, may be true for a western welfare state
(such as the Netherlands) as well. In these societies the bu-
reaucratized, professional and service sectors have grown to

unrivaled magnitudes, creating the breeding ground for a cul-
tural elite and the mechanisms that promote the importance
of cultural inequality, next to the economic differentiation.

There is at least one point on which I doubt that Bour-
dieu's views cover the differentiation of lifestyles complete-
ly. As I read the literature on lifestyles, there is at least
one other dimension that keeps emerging from data, namely dif-
ferentiation that is connected to age and/or life-cycle.
Whether this is under the hood of age, being married, being
in the labor force or being a student, many analyses point to
differences in taste and behavioral choices between groups in
this respect. My models will therefore seek to establish three
dimensions, supplementing the economic and cultural different-
iation of lifestyles with an age and life-cycle related one.

Given the data at hand, I will direct my empirical analy-
ses towards three propositions that summarize and explicate
the foregoing considerations:

1. Lifestyles in modern western societies are differentiated
   along three dimensions: a cultural, an economic and a life-
   cycle related one. They express corresponding social posi-
   tions.

2. Lifestyle differentiation does not only express the ob-
   jective social positions of their adopters, but also the
   social positions and lifestyles of the persone they relate
   with in social interaction.

3. Lifestyle differentiation helps to produce and reproduce
   social structure by way of selecting persons into social
   positions and social networks.

Data and Measurements

These hypotheses will be tested utilizing data from a sam-
ple of inhabitants of the town of Utrecht, the Netherlands.
The data were collected in 1986 by De Graaf (cfr. De Graaf,
1987; De Graaf et De Graaf, 1987) in a framework somewhat ob-

lique to the current research aim, but covering enough life-
style variables, social background and network information
to be of use for my goals. The survey was conducted during a
course on interviewer training which is primarily responsible
for the unknown, but probably high rate of non-response. We
will restrict our analysis to the age group of 25-64 (reducing
the sample size from 556 to 343), cutting out the younger and
older age groups in the survey, which may show particular pat-
terns of lifestyle, due to their quite specific budget con-
straints. The background characteristics of the sample are in
every respect quite similar to results for a true random samp-
le (Ganzeboom, 1982) and an earlier sample that was collected
by the same procedure (Ganzeboom, 1986) in the same town. The-
re is no reason to assume that any of the following results
are specific to this particular sample or, for that matter,
the town of Utrecht.

Lifestyles Indicators

The lifestyle indicators to be used in the analysis are
spoiled out in detail in table 3. I distinguish between the
original items and the indices that were constructed from
these. The 14 lifestyle indices were constructed out of 80
single items, where the overriding construction principle was
to take together only those pieces of information that showed
conceptual consistency and onedimensionality in earlier explo-
ratory factor analyses. Most of the original items were dicho-
tomized in the index construction. The lifestyle indices were
formed by counting the number of appropriate responses (i.e.
yes/no, depending upon the direction of the item),and there-
fore they scale respondents according to the number of item
they scored on. I will discuss the indices one by one, noting
for each its general character and its relation to the hypo-
theses given above. I will also introduce their acronyms that
will be used in the tables and the subsequent discussion.

CULTCONS: Culture consumption

The CULTCONS index measures participation in three high culture activities (museum, theater, (classical) concert), that require visits away from home. This index is the primary parallel to the variables that are the most important variables on the cultural side of Bourdieu's lifestyle space. This index refers to actual behavior, not to preferences or evaluations. This type of culture consumption refers to behavior of an extreme social character, since these visits are usually done in the company of family or friends. It may therefore be expected that this type of behavior is particularly sensitive to the influence of the social environment. Earlier research (DiMaggio et Useem, 1978; Andreasen et Belk, 1982; Ganzeboom, 1982) has shown that inequality in culture consumption is extremely large and very closely connected to education.

BOOKREAD: Reading of books

The BOOKREAD index measures the tendency to read books, in particular of a more serious kind (literature, history). Since it is essentially free of cost, library membership also indicates the frequency of serious book reading. Two other measures included (buying, possession) have a financial dimension. This is different from the cultural activities included in the CULTCONS dimension (which are not particularly costly). Another difference is that reading habits do not require any social company.

MASSCULT:Liking of mass culture genres and stars

The genres and stars listed under this index will in general have no appeal to the non-Dutch reader, since they are entirely locally based. Suffice it to say that they all relate to (very) low brow culture, usually televised, but sometimes also to be found in popular theater. (British equivalents might have been: Roger Whittaker, Tommy Cooper and Ben-

nie Hill.) The questions referred to evaluation, not to actual behavior. Among the 14 lifestyle indices, this index is the main one that measures preferences of low status groups by positive items; most of the other ones measure the preference of low status groups by abstention or absence.

CULTNORM: Social norms with regard to culture consumption

The CULTNORM index is a list of attitude items most of which convey the idea that the consumption of high culture is very important and enjoyable for all members of society and should be diffused to them by all possible means. This content is very much in line with the ideology of culture diffusion, that inspires the policy of the Netherlands' government and many of the cultural intermediaries in this country. Notice that this is at variance with the idea that high culture serves as a means of distinction. Nevertheless, most high status groups and active culture consumers agree with it. However, this is not the case for low status groups and non culture consumers, who do not hide their abhorrence of this attitude. Another analytical dimension present in these items is the perception of the level of cultural activities in the social environment. Empirically, the two dimensions are not distinct, which corresponds nicely with the social norms concept that they have in common. The instrument has been used by me in earlier research (Ganzeboom, 1986) and it is a powerful predictor of culture consumption. It is to be noted, that the measures are entirely on the attitude and perception level and as such refer often to the social environment. It is therefore to be expected that they are particularly sensitive to external pressure/models and subsequent conformity.

CLASMUZI: Liking of classical music

One of the indicators here refers to behavior, namely whether the respondent listens to classical music broadcasts, but given the ubiquity of radios this no constraint at all.

The other three ask for a liking of the music of three clas-
sical composers. This index supplements the actual behavior
in this area that was listed under the CULT CONS index.

POPCULT: Liking of avant-garde/rock genres and stars

The nature of this index is conceptually of rather mixed
character, since it joins items that refer to middle brow
popmusic with humorous and informative television programs,
that presumably have a particular appeal to the young and
well educated. (British equivalents here might have been:
Monty Python and The Young Ones.) Also listed are all-time
pop favorites like the Rolling Stones and the Beatles. The
reader is reminded that our younger respondents are in fact
already mature (24 years of age).

POSTMAT: Inglehart's scale for materialist/postmaterialist
        values

This is a standard Dutch translation (Van Deth, 1983;
De Graaf, Hagenaars et Luijkx, 1987) of Inglehart's (1971,
1977) value scale, that opposes (by way of a ranking procedu-
re) postmaterialist and materialist political values. It has
been used by numerous empirical researchers, and although
criticism has often been uttered, it has remained unchanged
for more than 15 years. Some of the items are not very well
formulated and others clearly outdated. The former is parti-
cularly true for the "cities and landscape item", the latter
for "inflation", which is no issue in times of deflation.
Consequently, these two items do not have too much discrimina-
tory power. The inclusion of the POSTMAT index is the point
where this analysis goes beyond the type of lifestyle indi-
cators that are included by Bourdieu, who restricts his ana-
lysis of the political realm to (non-)participation and non-
-voting. Inglehart's own theory of postmaterialism draws
heavily on a socialization argument in combination with cohort
replacement (De Graaf et de Graaf, 1987). He argues that post-

materialist values are particularly prevalent among those who combine material wealth in early youth with high education. Apart from educational growth, Inglehart does not pay much attention to the structural basis of postmaterialism. However, it is reasonable to assume that the new middle classes, being highly educated, bureaucratized and government employed, are in particular the groups most affected by these values. This generalizes into the cultural dimension of occupational status that will be used in this analysis.

RITEVOTE: Political preference (left-right)

The main political parties in the Netherlands have been ranked from left to right on his dimension. It is also a variable not included by Bourdieu in his analyses, but the extension is obvious given the work of political scientists (Inglehart, 197x) that have contended that the growth of the new middle classes has increased the left vote in most (post-) industrial nations.

SPEECH: Interviewer rating of correct pronunciation of Dutch

This again refers to a feature of a respondent that draws immediate attention and labelling in social interaction, the mode of speech (correctness, accent). The very few persons that were judged as "bad" or "very bad" speakers of Dutch were removed from the analysis, since they were obviously foreigners.

INTERIOR: Interviewer rating of living room style

This index contains three indicators of modernity in living room style, one being negative (rural reference, in this environment to be regarded as a particularly working class and traditional style of living room design). Living rooms have been the object of much and very classical stratification research (Chapin, 1935; Guttman, 1942; Laumann et House, 1970;

Pappl et Pappl, 1987). Whereas the older research concetra-
ted on getting a measure of social status from the objects
to be seen in the living room, the attempts of Laumann et ·
House and Pappl et Pappl have searched for the multidimen-
sionality of the design. Both hit upon a traditional-modern
dimension of design, orthogonal on the status/wealth dimen-
sion and much similar to Bourdieu's Distinctions. The inter-
viewers in the survey attempted to track this down using
three judgments. Again, it is to be expected that the modern
variant is in line with the lifestyle of cultural elite and
well educated, whereas the traditional style is more popular
among the low status groups and the economic elite.

LUXGOODS: Presence of luxury goods in household

This index lists the presence of 6 consumer goods that
can currently be regarded as luxury goods in Dutch society.
Some of the items are rather new on the market such as a VCR
and CD and consequently have a low degree of penetration.
Others (dishwasher, freezer, dryer, cinecamera) have been
longer on the market, but have not gained widespread popular-
ity. They may be regarded as particularly sensitive indicat-
ors of Veblenesque conspicuous consumption, a notion that is
very often associated with these items in common conversation.
On the other hand, it may be argued that the purchase of the-
se luxury goods is by nature income related. Its nature of
conopicuous display and therefore lifestyle character may be
hard to establish.

HOLIDAYS: Holiday destinations

The HOLIDAYS index measured basically the destinations
for holidays, ranging from no holidays at all to going on
holidays several times a year, to far away destinations and
staying in hotels or apartments. This variable is supposed
to be closely connected to the economic dimension of strati-
fication. It is clear that it relates to the size of the mo-

netary budget as such, but in addition it indicates the type
of preference people have when they go on holidays.

HOUSING: Size of house

The HOUSING index measures presumed expenditure on hous-
ing, as inferred from the size of the house. It is hypothe-
sized that this index will be related to the economic di-
mension of stratification.

CARSPEND: Spending on cars

The CARSPEND-index summarizes 5 items that all indicate
the amount of expenditure on cars, and it clearly expresses
the economic dimension of social inequality. Here again, we
have an index that may be income related for functional rea-
sons.

This concludes the discussion of the 14 lifestyle indices
that will be used in the analysis. They have been ordered
according to their presumed relation to the background cha-
racteristics, ranging from cultural indices, via political
and presumably age/life-cycle related dimensions, to the in-
dices that most likely express expenditure and economic in-
equality.

Social Background: education, occupation, income and the life-cycle

Next we turn to social positions that are hypothesized to
bring about the variation in lifestyle indicators. Table 3
displays the categories of the variables to be used in the
analysis and the sample distributions. On the cultural side,
the prime background variable is education (EDUC), which is
measured in 7 categories, that can be regarded as an ordinal
scale. No attempt was made to distinguish between directions
of education that are more oriented to the economic dimen-
sion of lifestyle (business training) and the cultural dimen-

sion (e.g. artist and teacher training), although that would have been in line with the theory. This information is not available in the current survey. The prime indicator on the economic side is household income (HHINCOME), which was constructed by summing the net incomes of spouses.

Occupation was differentiated in a cultural and an economic dimension (CULOCC, ECOOCC) using the scales for economic status of occupations and the cultural status of occupations developed by Ganzeboom, De Graaf et Kalmijn (1987). These scales make explicit the differences in economic and cultural status of occupations, that are implicit in Bourdieu's (1979) writing and other new class discussions (Brint, 1984). It distinguishes 161 occupational categories. These are ranked along the economic and cultural axes by a judging procedure, which produces the scattergram in table 4. There is a high correlation between the two dimensions (ca. 0.80), but this is mainly to be attributed to the near identity of the two dimensions in the lower regions of social status. On the higher levels, the two clearly differentiate. The cultural status of occupation is supposed to align with education in producing cultural inequalities, whereas the economic status will join income in producing economic inequalities in lifestyles.

Finally, there are two background variables that measure personal development over the lifecycle. The first one is AGE. But as argued above, going through the life cycle is not identical with biological age, but varies with other features as well. The main other fluctuation is probably between being married (or having been married) and being single. A related, but not identical variable is the stage one has reached in one's working life. Here we separate those who are still enrolled in the educational system and those that have not entered the workforce ever, from those that either are gainfully employed or have at some time been so. The general idea of the last two indicators is to measure the extent to which the respondent has transferred from the early life-cycle towards the latter phases. Due to computational restrictions I

have to combine the two contrasts in one dummy variable
(LIFECYCL), that opposes singles and students against all who
do not belong to either of these categories.

Social background and culture consumption of network relations

As argued above, the importance of lifestyle lies in the
formation and maintenance of social network relations, with
whom the lifestyle is shared. The Utrecht survey contains se-
veral pieces of information on the network of the respondent
(as perceived by the respondent), in particular for the fol-
lowing persons:
- Spouse.
- Parents.
- One sibling: a brother or a sister.
- Two friends.

For all these members of the ego network of the respondent,
information on education was collected. In addition, the res-
pondent provided data on one indicator of lifestyle, the
amount of culture consumption (that is so central to Bourdieu's
theory) for these network relations. These data permit us to
address the second and third hypotheses outlined above.

Table 5 gives the operationalization and distributions of
all these variables. It should be noted that the culture con-
sumption of parents was somewhat differently measured than
for the other persons. All indices have a very high level of
consistency, a feature they share with the culture consumption
index for the respondent.

HYPOTHESIS I: The Cultural and Economic Dimensions of Lifestyle

The first analysis addresses the dimensionality of the
correlations between the social background variables and the
14 lifestyle indices that are given in table 6. As hypothesiz-
ed above, there are at least three dimensions necessary to
cover the relations between social background and lifestyle in-

dices: (a) cultural inequality , (b) economic inequality,
(c) age related inequality. The first dimension takes the
differences between educational groups into account, the se-
cond between income groups, and the third between age groups.
Table 7 gives the resulting mimic model. (It is estimated
using EOS (Bentler, 1985). The model is identified by re-
strictions on the independent variables: each of the primary
independent variables (education, income and age) is used
as an instrumental variable to identify and rotate the fac-
tor solution. In this model we are able to estimate all fact-
or loadings and each of the dimensions is uniquely connect-
ed to one of the independent variables.

The model fits the correlation matrix with 248/121
(CHI^2/DF). Although this is significant, the misfit is not in
the relation between the independents and the dependents. The
only residual outside the -0.10/0.10 range is between two de-
pendent variables (RITEVOTE-POSTMAT) and no clear pattern
arises in the rest of the residuals.

The mimic solution falls apart in three dimensions: cult-
ural, economic, and age-related. We trim the model by not
discussing coefficients in the -0.2/0.2 range. The cultural
factor turns out to be the one of most importance. On the
dependent side, only three of the 14 lifestyle indices
(RITEVOTE, HOUSING, CARSPEND) are not related to the cultural
dimension. The differences in CULTPART, READING, MASSCULT,
CLASMUZI and INTERIOR are solely related to the cultural di-
mension. CULTNORM and CLASMUZI have high cultural and low
age (=young) loadings, whereas POPCULT and POSTMAT have high
cultural and high (=old) age loadings. SPEECH and HOLIDAYS
are both positively related to the cultural and economic di-
mension, whereas LUXGOODS load negatively on the cultural
dimension and positively on the economic. On the independent
side, the CULTURAL STATUS of the occupation contributes to
it positively, but the ECONOMIC STATUS has a (slight) nega-
tive effect. Nevertheless the contribution of occupation
falls clearly short of that of education.

The second latent factor pertains to an economic or material dimension of lifestyle. Its prime indicator on the dependent side is CARSPEND, the only indicator that is not shared with another factor. HOUSING is shared with the age-dimension, indicating that not only rich, but also older people spend more on this item. LUXGOODS are shared with the cultural dimension, but in a way indicating that the cultural elite despises to own these goods. The same is not true for HOLIDAYS; that has positive loadings on both the economic and the cultural dimension. For all these lifestyle indicators, it can be argued that the influence of income should not be interpreted as a lifestyle choice, but as a pure budgetary effect. But there are two indicators that do not require monetary spending as such and also load on the economic dimension: RITEVOTE and SPEECH. The linguistic variable turns out to be a corollate of general social status and not much differentiated between the cultural and economic dimension. Rightswing voting is not only popular among the economic elite, but also among the older respondents. On the independent side, the economic dimension is, by way of design, income related. The effect of the occupational variables is reversed compared to the cultural dimension: economic status has a positive (ECOOCC: 0.34) and cultural status has a negative influence (CULOCC: -0.29). Given the fact that the model cancels the influence of income, these contributions of occupation give evidence of the lifestyle nature of the items that are connected to this dimension. Even given the differences in monetary budget, there are clear differences among occupations, and they in the hypothesized direction. In this respect it is also interesting to recall the negative of LUXGOODS (and to some extent CARSPEND) with the cultural dimension, since this cannot be explained from budgetary restrictions, but can only be a preference fluctuation.

The third dimension is age-related. It has no loadings entirely of its own but shares them always with one of the other two dimensions. Among the dependent variables, the

highest loading is RITEVOTE, shared with the economic dimension, indicating that right wing political preferences are more popular among the old aged and the economic elite. The same is true for HOUSING. An overlap between the age factor and the cultural factor exists with respect to CULTNORM and CLASMUZI (cultural elite and old age combined), despise of MASSCULT, POPCULT and POSTMAT (cultural elite and young age combined). On the independent side, contrary to expectation, age is the only contributing variable, and the lifecycle variable (LIFECYCL) disappears from the equation. Less surprising is that the measures of occupational status are of no relevance at all to this dimension.

In summary, we find consistent evidence of a threedimensional relationship between the 6 social background variables and the 14 lifestyle-indices. Moreover, the previous conception of cultural, economic and age related differentiation in lifestyles turns out to be very well applicable. The first, cultural dimension is the most important one in these data. It covers differences in consumption of and preference in (high and low brow) culture, but next to that difference in postmaterial values and linguistic behavior as well. This is connected with a slight but significant tendency to rebut spending on cars and luxury goods, but this does not extend to holiday destinations. The differentiation along this dimension is closely connected to level of education and to a lesser extent to the differences in cultural status of occupation. The second dimension covers mainly economic of material differences, which are particularly prevalent in expenditures on cars, luxury goods and housing, but these relate significantly to right wing political preferences and materialist values. This pattern is mainly connected to household income and to a lesser extent to economic status of occupation. The third dimension covers items that are particularly related to age and life-cycle groups. The young express their identity mainly via interest in pop culture, postmaterialist values and left wing voting. The old show

their position by listening to classical music, right wing voting and a normative concern for high cultural participation.

Most of these result conform to expectations. Some indicators, however, do not behave entirely as they were expected to. Attention must be drawn in particular to the different pattern of RITEVOTE and POSTMAT, and the striking contrast between HOLIDAYS on the one side and the other economic indicators on the other side with respect to their relation to the cultural dimension.

HYPOTHESIS 2: Social Network and the Differentiation of Lifestyle

The second hypothesis to be tested is that the differentiation of lifestyles can to a large extent be attributed to the social network one participates in. The reasoning behind this hypothesis is that if lifestyles serve as a means of communication and mutual behavioral confirmation between interaction partners, there must be close connection between the characteristics of these interaction partners and the lifestyle. The first consequence of this is that we expect a close correlation between the lifestyles of interaction partners. This prediction will be tested in the next section of the paper. In this section I will analyze whether the differentiation of lifestyles can be partly attributed to the background characteristics of interaction partners, in particular those that paralell the background characteristics of the respondent that were proved to differentiate the lifestyles of the respondents in the last section.

The Utrecht survey contains information on several interaction partners: partner (usually spouse), respondent's parents, one sibling (brother or sister of the respondent) and two "good" friends. There are limitations to the sort of information that can be collected on others via respondents. Obviously, it would have been hardly feasible to collect in-

formation on their income, values or opinions. The Utrecht
survey collected information on education and occupation.
The prediction to be tested is that these background cha-
racteristics enter the mimic-function for lifestyle diffe-
rentiation in a way similar to the social background of the
respondents themselves.

In order to keep the analysis within practical limits,
some of the information had to be collapsed. In particular,
the background characteristics of three interaction partners
(sibling and the two friends) were averaged to reduce the
number of variables in the analysis. These variables have a
leading "X" in table 6 and table 8, so, XEDUC refers to mean
education of sibling and the two friends, XCULOCC to mean
cultural status of their occupations, XECOOCC to their mean
economic status. Unfortunately, no information was collected
on the age or life-cycle of these interaction-partners and
the influence of this aspect of the social network can there-
fore not be tested.

The model I use in table 8 is a straightforward exten-
sion of the one earlier on. The background characteristics
of the interaction partners are entered next to the back-
ground characteristics of the respondents themselves. The
model fits the data with a deviance of 405 with 176 degrees
of freedom. This is considerable deterioration with respect
to the former model. The difference is 157 of increased de-
viance for 55 degrees of freedom. Since the model fits the
correlations between the independent variables perfectly,
the increased deviance is completely to be attributed to the
intercorrelations between the newly added variables and the
lifestyle indices. Nevertheless, I have not been able to de-
tect a clear pattern in the residual correlations, that
would suggest one or more separate dimensions between these
variables.

Table 8 displays the relevant coefficients, which must
be compared to those in table 7. The loadings of the life-

style indices are nearly identical between the tables and
need no further discussion. The pattern of effect of the
independent variables has undergone some very striking
changes.

With respect to the <u>cultural dimension</u> the effect of
respondent's education (EDUC) has diminished from 0.67 to
0.43 and the effects of respondent's occupation, both in its
cultural (CULOCC) and economic status (ECOOCC), has decreas-
ed to insignificant proportions. The influence of these va-
riables turns out to be confounded by the parallel charac-
teristics of the interaction partners. Of these, the educa-
tion of the partner (spouse) is most important, with an
effect of 0.33. A smaller, but still significant effect is
observed for father's education (FEDUC: 0.13) but not for,
the average education of the sibling and the friends. How-
ever, the influences earlier displayed by the occupational
status of the respondent, is now taken over by the occupa-
tional statuses of sibling and friends, the effects (XCUL:
0.29; XECO: -0.18) being even stronger than the effects of
respondent's occupation in the earlier model.

With respect to the <u>economic dimension</u> a somewhat dif-
ferent picture arises. As in the earlier model, household
income (HHINCOME) remains the prime determinant of lifesty-
le differentiation in this respect. The positive contribu-
tion of the economic status (ECOOCC) and the negative of the
cultural status (CULOCC) of respondents occupation remains
virtually unchanged. Compared to the earlier model, the main
change is brought about the contribution of the occupation
of sibling and friends, in particular their average economic
status (XECO), that contribute to the economic dimension
with 0.26. None of the other characteristics of interaction
partners contributes significantly, with exception of
father's education (FEDUC) that has a slight negative influ-
ence (-0.16). Although this part of the model has not chan-
ged much upon the introduction of the variables on the net-

work relations, it still shows some evidence of conformity
between a person's economic lifestyle and the economic sta-
tus of his or her interaction partner.

With respect to the <u>age related dimension</u>, no change in
pattern is to be expected, since no variables on the age or
lifecycle of the network relations are entered in the equa-
tions. Nevertheless, there are some significant (although
not very strong) relations between the background character-
istics of the interaction partners and this dimension of
lifestyle. It turns out that the average economic status of
kin and friends (XECOOCC) works along with respondent's age
to promote this lifestyle, and their average cultural status
(XCULOCC) works in the reverse direction. To some extent, it
is possible that these effects are actually produced by the
age and/or lifecycle of the interaction partners. Some
argument for this may be found in the fact that age tends to
correlate stronger with economic status than with cultural
status. But in the absence of any measured variables, this
remains speculation. I have no explanation to offer for the
small, but significant effect of father's education (FEDUC:
0.15) on the age-related lifestyle.

To sum up there are reasonably strong effects of back-
ground characteristics of interaction partners on the life-
style of respondents. These effects are most pronounced for
the cultural dimension of lifestyle and surface for all of
the interaction partners in the analysis: spouse, father,
sibling and friends. It is clear that lifestyle differentia-
tion of the respondent does not solely depend upon his or
her personal situation, but that the orientation towards
others and the subsequent conformity of the lifestyle to
their background characteristics in an important key for
understanding the differentiation of lifestyles. How these
effects develop in microsituations remains yet to be seen.
Socialization and conformity may work alongside selection
processes. Since parents and siblings cannot have been se-

lected as interaction partners, the effects of those stress
in particular the importance of socialization and conformi-
ty. The effect of friends, on the other hand, can be inter-
preted in the same way, or may result from friendship
choices on basis of common values and behavior. Both inter-
pretations, however, fit in with the general hypothesis that
lifestyles function to establish social identities.

It is probable that the effect of the background cha-
racteristics of interaction partners will work through be-
havioral modelling. That is, effects of parents, partners,
sibling and friends on a certain lifestyle feature will only
appear, if these interaction partners display these lifesty-
les themselves. I will address this issue in the next para-
graph.

HYPOTHESIS 3: Lifestyle and the Reproduction of Social
Structure

The data of this survey contain direct information on
the lifestyles of respondents and interaction partners with
regard to one of the three dimensions that were established
above: the cultural dimension. Several questions were asked
on the cultural behavior of parents, sibling and friends
(not for the spouse). The questions (table 5) closely para-
llel the information that was assembled in the index on cult-
ure consumption (CULTCONS) for the respondent, supplemented
with some information on reading behavior. For the purpose
of the analysis in this paragraph all the information is
pooled in one index (per person) which is referred to as
high culture consumption (HIGHC, respectively PARHIGHC,
SIBHIGHC, FR1HIGHC, FR2HIGHC).

The data for the parents refer to their behavior while
the respondents were still growing up. This retrospective
nature makes it possible to shed some light on the dynamics
of cultural reproduction and see whether exposure to a cul-
tural lifestyle in early life contributes to reproducing a

corresponding lifestyle and participating in an attached
social environment later on. There are several ways to test
this idea using these data. First, we can test the existence
of the autonomous effect of cultural behavior of parents on
educational attainment over and above the effect of parents'
own educational level (Swartz, 1977; DiMaggio et Useem,
1982). This analysis will replicate those of DiMaggio (1982)
and De Graaf (1986). In these data there are in fact two
ways to test this hypothesis, namely for the respondent and
for the other sibling on whom information was collected. A
second way to tent the reproduction thesis dynamically is on
the selection of interaction partners, of which there are
even more examples. One may expect that a cultured background
will be helpful for selecting a higher educated spouse, simi-
lar to the effect DiMaggio et Mohr (1985) have shown for
cultural participation during education. This can be tested
with respect to respondent's spouse and with respect to sib-
ling's spouse. (Unfortunately, no information on the educa-
tion of the spouse of the sibling was collected; it is sub-
stituted by the cultural status of his/her occupation.)Third-
ly, it may be true for the selection of friends as well:
respondents from a cultured background will have a tendency
to select and attract higher educated friends.

The same data permit us to model yet another process of
cultural selection, if we are willing to assume a causal or-
dering between the education of the various persons in the
network on the one hand and their culture consumption on the
other hand. Then we can assess the mutual influence of cul t-
ural behavior between respondent, sibling and friends. The
appropriate model is given in figure 10. There are several
layers of causality, that are grounded in the lifecycle of
the individual that is the source of all the information.
The first layer is parents' education, indicated by the
education of the father. The second layer is parents' cultu-
ral behavior during the youth of the respondent. The third

layer is the educational attainment of the respondent and his/her brother or sister. The fourth layer refers to the partners of the respondent and his/her sibling, and to the friends of the respondent. The fifth and final layer refers to the current cultural behavior of the respondent, the sibling and the two friends. The parental background is summarized in a latent variable (tentatively to be referred to as "cultural capital"), that takes father's education and the parents' cultural participation as input and works on the educational level of their children and their respective partners and friends. The two friends are modelled in a factor structure, in which they are assumed to be parallel measurements of the same thing. The mutual influence of the cultural lifestyles of respondents, sibling and friends is assessed by way of equality constraints. Since the research design gives no argument for a difference in the size of influence of the persons in the network, this identifying constraint is justified from a substantive point of view. By way of this model we will be able to measure to what extent persons in the same network do not only select each other as friends on the basis of cultural background, but also evoke and reinforce each others cultural lifestyle.

Table 9 gives the correlation matrix to be fitted by this model and table 11 displays a batch of fits and degrees of freedom as we gradually loosen the constraints in the model. The first and baseline model assumes no other reproduction than a direct effect of father's education and parents' high culture consumption on respondent's and sibling's education. It fits the data by 219/46. The second model adds the effect of the parents on the selection of partners, which reduces the deviance by -35/2. We then go on to include the selection of friends in the model (-28/1). The final two models add the mutual influence of the persons' cultural lifestyles on each other and we finaly end up with a fit of 99/ 41, which is fairly good.

The lower panel of table 11 displays some of the cru-
cial coefficients of this model (all statistically signifi-
cant). The effect of the cultural participation of parents
(PARHIGHC) on the imputed cultural capital variable is 0.28,
to be compared with the 0.46 of parents'education (PAREDUC).
The influence on the education of their offspring (EDUC and
SIBEDUC) is 0.63 and 0.77 respectively. Naturally, if we
want to find the direct effect of parents' high cultural
participation, we have to multiply these (resulting in 0.18
and 0.22 respectively). The effect of the latent variable on
the selection of level of education of partners and friends
is about half of the effects on the education of offspring
themselves: 0.36 for partner, 0.46 for sibling's partner's
occupation and 0.38 for friends' education. Although small,
all of these effects are significant and indicate that one
cultural background (or "cultural capital") helps to find a
certain type of interaction partners.

Finally, we have the mutual effects of the high cultu-
ral lifestyle of respondent (HIGHC), sibling (SIBHIGHC) and
friends (FRHIGHC). There is a particularly strong effect of
0.43 between respondent and friends and a significant but
lower one (0.13) between sibling and respondent. There is
even a significant mutual influence of friends' and siblings'
lifestyles (0.11). This is somewhat unexpected, since there
is nothing in the data that suggest that sibling and friends
belong to each other's social networks. Nevertheless, there
is also nothing that impedes this and common sense experience
suggests that it may very often be true that siblings have
common friends.

All these results strongly confirm the hypotheses that
were at stake for this model. Parents' culture consumption
promotes educational attainment of their offspring over and
above the influence of parents' educational background. More-
over, this cultural behavior of the parents, as well as
their education, is connected to the educational levels of

the spouses of respondent and sibling and of the friends of
respondent. Finally, there exists a mutual dependence bet-
ween cultural lifestyles of members of the ego-network of
respondents, independent of their (often similar) education-
al background. All this is strongly in line with the central
idea of this paper that high culture consumption is one of
the main means to establish and reproduce social structure.

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

In this paper I have set out to elaborate and test some
of the propositions put forward by Bourdieu (1979). The
first proposition tested is on the differentiation of life-
styles. According to Bourdieu's views, lifestyles diverge in
two dimensions: (a) a cultural dimension, closely connected
to level of education and occupational position in the cult-
ural sector of society, and (b) an economic dimension, pro-
duced by income inequality and occupational status in the
entrepreneurial and commercial sector. I connected this dif-
ferentiation with notions in "New Class" theories that can
be found in the literature. This leads to the incorporation
of political values and behavior in the analysis of lifesty-
les. Then I have extended the dimensionality of lifestyle
differentiation with a differentiation connected with life-
-cycle and age. The empirical analyses of 14 lifestyle indi-
ces were performed by way of mimic models in the spirit of
Sobel (1981 1984). They confirm largely the presupposed
structuration of lifestyle along a cultural, economic and
age-related dimension.

The second proposition tested is concerned with the me-
chanisms that bring about lifestyle differentiation. It is
argued that if lifestyle differentiation serves to communica-
te and convey social identity in human interaction, there
must be a close connection between the background of inter-
action partners and the differentiation of lifestyle of the
respondent. Cultural lifestyles will be displayed by those

who connect strongly with the cultural elite; economic life-
styles will be displayed by those who connect with the eco-
nomic elite; a youthful lifestyle is displayed by those who
have many young people among their friends. The last predic-
tion could not be tested with the data at hand. The other
two were confirmed, using the background variables of parents
sibling, spouse and friends. Their educations and occupations
tend to structure the lifestyle of respondent over and above
the background characteristics of the respondents themselves.

One obvious comment on this result may be that it is
probably (also) the other way around: display of lifestyle
selects a certain type of interaction partners. Whereas this
argument cannot be upheld with respect to parents and sibling
I do not regard it as a criticism anyway. The selection pro-
cess is just the other side of the conformity mechanism. But
as a matter of fact, the third hypothesis addressed in this
paper tests whether reproduction of social structure takes
place via selection with respect to the cultural dimension.
The results show that high culture consumption does not only
promote educational attainment, but also the selection of
higher educated partners and friends. The results confirm the
earlier results of DiMaggio (1982), DiMaggio et Mohr (1985)
and De Graaf (1986). The result with respect to friends'
education is - to my knowledge - new, but pretty similar to
those. In addition, the model shows the conformity between
network members on the behavioral level: culture consumption
of interaction partners proves to be mutually interdependent.

The results shown here improve upon the existing litera-
ture in that they add a dynamic confirmation of the cultural
reproduction hypothesis by way of using retrospective inform-
ation and causal modelling. These results all make it clear
that lifestyle differentiation exists along the presupposed
economic and cultural dimensions (but supplemented with an
age-related dimension). Much of the literature discloses
these dimensions as well. So, in a way there is nothing new

here. However, it is to be expected that the differentiation
between the cultural and economic dimension of lifestyle
will be of growing importance for understanding postindust-
rialist societies. The results also make clear that life-
styles have an impact as proclaimed in Weberian theory: as
a way of maintaining boundaries between status groups. The
connection between lifestyle and social network that has
come up in these analyses all points strongly to a status
conformity mechanism.

However, I want to end this paper with a disclaimer.
One of the serious flaws of Bourdieu's analysis of lifestyle
differentiation and social reproduction is that it stretch-
es the results to a kind of caricature, that makes popular
summaries in this field like Packard's The Status Seekers
(1957), Murphy's Status and Conformity (1976) and Fussel's
Class (1983) into comparatively verifiable statements on
social status and its reproduction. Bourdieu's concept do
not seem to allow for any individual mobility, personal de-
viation of historical changes. Nothing in my analysis, how-
ever, suggests such an overruling regime of lifestyle ritu-
als in the field of stratification. Certainly, the relations
are there and, admittedly, the empirical estimates in the
model may be imperfect and probably poor representations of
the true relationships. But it is hardly conceivable that
any of the true figures would show the deterministic model
of society that is presumed by Bourdieu.

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Table 1: A multiple MIMIC-model of lifestyle
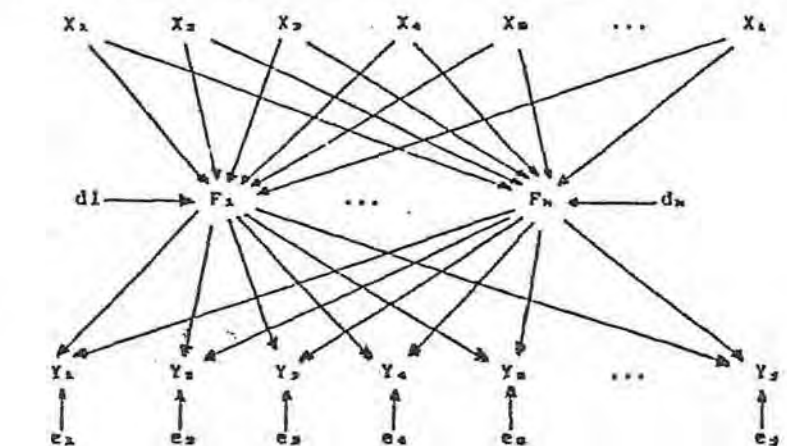
Table 2: Lifestyle-indicators: items, distributions and reli-
abilities

CULTCONS: Culture consumption
  78. Number of concert visits last season (>0)   45%
  79. Visited classical concerts (yes)   29%
  84. Number of theater visits last season (>0)   39%
  85. Number of museum visits last year (>0)   61%
                                             mean   1.45
                                             stdev   1.17
                                             alfa   .65
                                             % mis   0

READING: Reading of books and serious information
  86. Reads books (yes)   85%
  88b. Reads literature, history (title given)   30%
  89. Library membership (yes)   40%
  90. Buys books (>5/year)   23%
  91. Possesses books (>150)   44%
                                             mean   2.32
                                             stdev   1.46
                                             alfa   .58
                                             % mis   0

MASSCULT: Liking of mass culture genres and stars.
  77a. Likes "Zeg eens AAA"   67%
  77b. Likes "Ted ge Braak"   38%
  77e. Likes "Sterrenslag"   24%
  77f. Likes "Andree van Duin"   38%
  77g. Likes "Willem Ruis"   16%
  77i. Likes "De Mountles"   23%
  81d. Likes "Lee Towers"   30%
  81e. Likes "Zangeres zonder Naam"   8%
  81h. Likes "Vader Abraham"   11%
                                             mean   2.32
                                             stdev   2.22
                                             alfa   .85
                                             % mis   0

CULTNORM: Social norms with regard to culture consumption
  111a. "Museum visiting is characteristic of people
        I meet." (agree)   35 %
  111c. "Many people I know take an interest in classical
        music." (agree)   51%
  111d. "Teaching of good taste is important in education,"
        (agree)   70%
  111e. "It is important that all inhabitants of a country
        get to know the art of it." (agree)   70%
  111f. "My acquaintances do a lot of reading of serious
        books." (agree)   72%
  111g. "One ought to learn to play an instrument in
        early life." (agree)   70%
  111h. "Schools must teach children how to enjoy art."
        (agree)   84%
  111j. "Museums have something to offer for everyone." 86%

(agree)

1111. "Theater visiting is characteristic of people
      I meet." (agree)   37%
111m. "It is important that young children are being
      trained to enjoy good music." (agree)   74%
111p. "Learning the enjoyment of art is also of great
      importance for people who do not belong to
      high status groups." (agree)   80%
111b. "Theaters are frequented by people I do not
      feel comfortable with." (disagree)   45%
111k. "To enjoy a museum it is necessary to know a lot
      about art and history." (disagree)   33%
111n. "People who like to talk about books, are just
      trying to attract attention." (disagree)   38%
111o. "Many people who go to the theater do this
      to look interesting." (disagree)   56%
111q. "In the theater you will meet only members of
      high status groups." (disagree)   43%

mean	10.0
stdev	3.2
alfa	.70
% mis	0

CLASMUSI: Liking of classical music

80. Listens to Radio-4 (Classical music) (yes)   39%
81b. Likes Mozart   55%
81f. Likes Beethoven   51%
81j. Likes Tchaikovsky   48%

mean	1.9
stdev	1.6
alfa	.87
% mis	0

POPCULT: Liking of avant-garde and rock genres and stars

80. Listens to Radio-3 (popmusic) (yes)   55%
77d. Likes "Adriaan van Dis"   51%
77h. Likes "Boudewijn Buch"   24%
77j. Likes "Freek de Jonge"   56%
81c. Likes "The Beatles"   61%
81l. Likes "Rolling Stones"   43%

mean	3.1
stdev	1.9
alfa	.67
% mis	0

POSTMAT: Inglehart's scale for materialist/postmaterialist
        values (% putting value in upper half of scale)
103a. Economic growth   49%
103b. Strong army   14%
103e. Stable economy   77%
103f. Fight crime   56%
102a. Maintain order   47%
102c. Fight inflation   34%
103o. "Inspraak"   38%

103d. Beauty of cities and landscape   69%
103g. Friendly and personal society   34%
103h. Ideas more important than money   51%
102b. Political democracy   53%
102d. Freedom of speach   76%

mean	6.7
stdev	2.8
alfa	.75
% mis	0

RITEVOTE: Political preference (left-right)
(2) PSP, PPR, CPN   13%
(3) PvdA   37%
(4) D66   8%
(5) CDA   20%
(6) VVD   17%
(7) SGP, GPV, RPF   5%

mean	4.1
stdev	1.5
% mis	13 %

SPEECH: Interviewer rating of correct pronunciation
of Dutch
(3) Moderate   13%
(4) Fair   64%
(5) Very good   23%

mean	4.1
stdev	.6
% mis	4%

INTERIOR: Interviewer rating of living room style
Modern furniture (1-5)   2.4
Presence of art (1-5)   2.0
Rural reference (reversed 5-1)   3.7

mean	2.7
stdev	.9
alfa	.45
% mis	6%

LUXGOODS: Presence of luxury goods in household
92a. Freezer   40%
92c. Dryer   20%
92d. Dishwasher   8%
92g. Cine camera   27%
92h. VCR   28%
92i. CD player   3%

mean	1.3
stdev	1.2
alfa	.49
% mis	0

HOLIDAYS: Holiday destination
97. Went on holiday last year   63%
97. Went on holidays twice or more last year   30%
98. Scandinavia, South Europe, outside Europe   24%

99. Goes in hotel or apartment		25%
100. Goes skiing in winter		10%
	mean	1.9
	stdev	1.6
	alfa	.29
	% mis	0

HOUSING: Size of house

94. Number of rooms	mean	2.5
	stdev	1.5
	alfa	
	% mis	.3%

CAR: Spending on cars

95. Has car		64%
95. Has more than one car		4%
96a. Car less than 2 years old		14%
96b. Car over Fl. 16000		47%
96b. Car over Fl. 30000		11%
	mean	1.4
	stdev	1.2
	alfa	.17
	% mis	0

N=343. Numbers refer to the questionnaire. Summary indexes
were counting the number of appropriate answers.

Table 3: Social background variables: categories and
distributions

AGE

	mean	40.3
	stdev	11.5
	% mis	0

EDUCATION

primary (lo, vglo)	13%
lower vocational (lbo, lhno)	13%
lower secondary (mulo, ulo, mavo)	13%
middle vocational (mbo)	14%
higher secondary (hbs gym mms havo)	7%
higher vocational	23%
university	16%

	mean	4.2
	stdev	2.1
	% mis	.9%

CULTURAL STATUS OF OCCUPATION

	mean	.22
	stdev	.80
	% mis	8.2%

ECONOMIC STATUS OF OCCUPATION

	mean	.16
	stdev	.84
	% mis	8.2%

LIFE CYCLE

(1) single/not working	23%
(2) married and working	77%

	mean	.23
	stdev	.42
	% mis	-

HOUSEHOLD INCOME (FL/MONTH)

	mean	2749
	stdev	1384
	% mis	8.2%

N=343

Table 4: The cultural and economic dimension of occupational statu
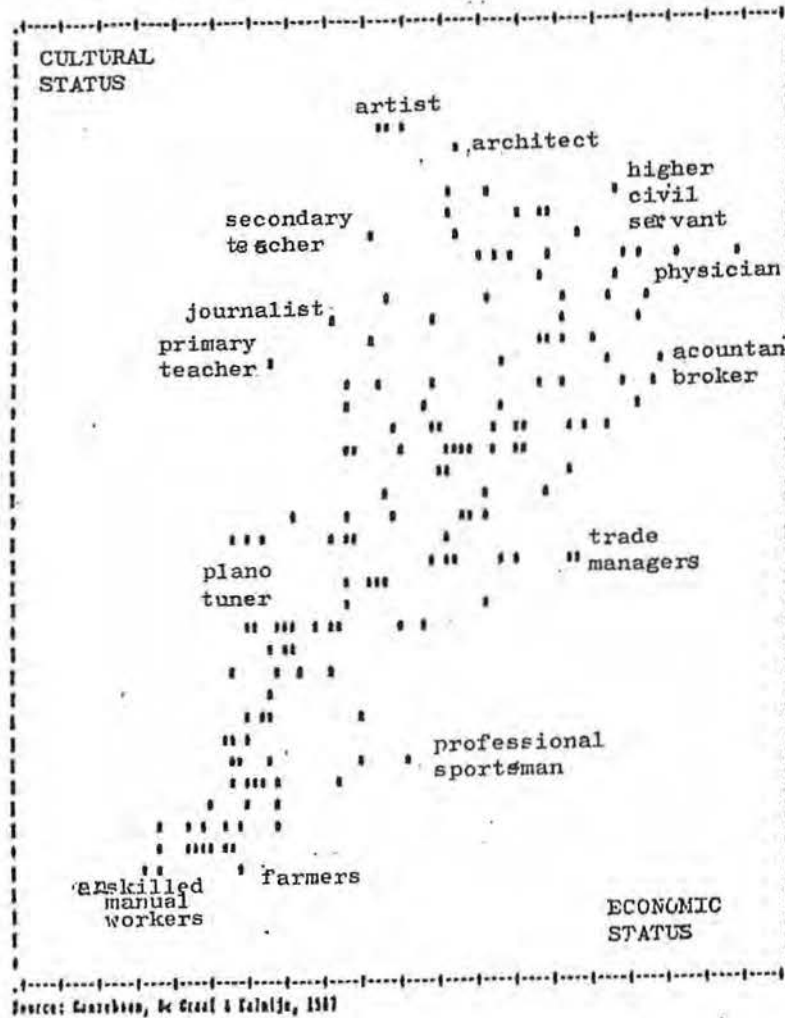
Table 5: Background and cultural activities of social network

EDUCATION	FATHER	PARTNER	SIB	Friend1	Friend 2
primary	35%	15%	12%	8%	8%
lower vocational	20%	17%	22%	15%	14%
middle secondary	8%	13%	11%	11%	10%
middle vocational	8%	14%	15%	14%	15%
higher secondary	9%	5%	10%	12%	17%
higher vocational	9%	19%	21%	25%	21%
university	11%	16%	11%	11%	15%
mean	3.1	4.0	3.9	4.5	4.4
stdev	2.2	2.1	2.0	1.9	1.9
% mis	6%	23%	14%	7%	11%

HIGH CULTURE CONSUMPTION

	FATHER	PARTNER	SIB	Friend1	Friend 2
concert	41%	-	28%	27%	30%
theater	41%	-	49%	57%	47%
museum	41%	-	46%	55%	61%
books buying	54%	-	-	-	-
books possession (<50)	48%	-	-	-	-
reading books (often)	46%	-	47%	54%	55%
listens classical music	-	-	48%	50%	54%
alfa	.84		.78	.75	.75

Table 6: Correlation matrix of 14 lifestyle indices and 6 social background
variables

```
VI = CULTPART;V2 =READING; V3 =MASSCULT;V4 =CULTNORM;V5=CLASMUŻI;
V6 = SPEECH;  V7 =POPCULT; V8 =POSTMAT; V9 =RITEVOTE;V10=HOUSING;
Vll= INTERIOR;V12=LUXGOODS;V13=HOLIDAYS;V14=CARSPEND;V15=AGE;    V16=LIFECYCL
V17= FEDUC;   V18=EDUC;   V19=CULOCC; V20=ECOOCC; V21=XCULOCC;
V22= XECOOCC; V23=PEDUC;  V24=XEDUC;  V25=HHINCOME;
```

```
1.0000
 .422 1.000
-.391 -.409 1.000
 .291  .258 -.174 1.000
 .427  .417 -.292  .343 1.000
 .274  .309 -.337  .161  .238 1.000
 .307  .276 -.347  .044  .113  .279 1.000
 .269  .384 -.415  .092  .183  .297  .393 1.000
-.020  .013  .065  .069  .280 -.067 -.378 -.414 1.000
 .130  .088 -.112  .126  .177  .098 -.157 -.083  .171 1.000
 .300  .231 -.387  .108  .229  .297  .296  .317 -.061  .044 1.000
-.096 -.089  .212 -.067 -.109 -.001 -.178 -.269  .169  .196 -.094 1.000
 .301  .271 -.201  .120  .190  .200  .120  .100  .150  .120  .210 -.000
1.00
-.050 -.070  .040  .070  .000  .100 -.120 -.175  .253  .218  .032  .348  .118
1.00
-.162 -.202  .320  .141  .069 -.171 -.485 -.307  .309  .308  .260  .197 -.052
 .172 1.000
 .188  .206 -.247 -.014  .110  .135  .320  .130 -.084 -.165  .175 -.309  .098
-.282 -.296 1.000
 .338  .226  .331  .122  .374  .323  .306  .131 -.077  .045  .320 -.091  .148
-.075 -.272  .223 1.000
 .41   .490  .550  .170  .390  .410  .440  .412 -.016  .076  .359 -.173  .264
-.053 -.363  .307  .435 1.000
 .290  .330 -.330  .200  .280  .330  .110  .229  .035  .227  .28 -.004  .171
 .1(  -.112 -.091  .257  .519 1.000
 .171  .279 -.270  .172  .193  .259  .088  .088  .150  .293  .237  .107  .216
 .191  .003 -.085  .186  .439  .726 1.000
 .2(.  .328 -.413  .134  .313  .272  .268  .307  .055  .139  .295 -.117  .210
 .093 -.100  .136  .389  .496  .419  .334 1.000
 .235  .242 -.306  .109  .281  .288  .205  .209  .184  .190  .203 -.016  .198
 .147 -.039  .146  .367  .458  .375  .347  .826 1.000
 .516  .482 -.550  .155  .320  .386  .313 -.384 -.033  .229  .395 -.065  .285
 .001 -.350  .182  .459  .678  .614  .529  .479  .406 1.000
 .317  .413 -.533  .079  .348  .291  .358  .333  .030  .178  .298 -.107  .248
 .048 -.292  .182  .501  .748  .402  .355  .639  .576  .627 1.000
 .092  .147 -.127  .133  .089  .220 -.021 -.034  .267  .313  .124  .281  .274
 .459  .174 -.329  .117  .114  .406  .414  .156  .191  .319  .182 1.000
```

Pairwise deletion of missing values, N=343.

Table 7: Multiple mimic-analysis of 14 lifestyle-indicators
and 6 social background-variables

	CULTURE LIFESTYLE	ECONOMIC LIFESTYLE	AGE-RELATED LIFESTYLE
AGE	0	0	.62
LIFECYCL	.17	-.03~	-.04~
EDUCATION	.61	0	0
CULOCC	.23	-.22	.04~
EDOOCC	-.12	.34	.00~
HHINCOME	0	.70	0
CULTCONS	.63	.06~	.06~
READING	.65	.11~	.03~
MASSCULT	-.61	-.14	.17
CULTNORM	.30	.07~	.26
CLASMUZI	.39	-.02~	.16
SPEECH	.43	.27	-.15
POPCULT	.39	.02~	-.12
POSTMAT	.40	-.08~	-.76
RITEVOTE	.03~	.24	.55
HOUSING	.13	.34	.29
INTERIOR	.11	.18	-.19
LUXGOODS	-.29	.11	.09~
HOLIDAYS	.22	.20	.04~
CAR	-.15	.59	.08~

~: Coefficient less that two times its standard error.
  Model fits correlation matrix in table 6 with 248 CHI =
= with 121 dgrees of freedom.

Table 8: Multiple mimic analysis of 14 lifestyle indicators, 6 social background variable and 4 social networks characteristics

	CULTURE LIFESTYLE	ECONOMIC LIFESTYLE	AGE-RELATED LIFESTYLE
AGE	0	0	.61
LIFECYKL	.12	-.04⁻	-.04⁻
EDUCATION	.43	0	0
CULOCC	.07⁻	-.29	.09⁻
ECOOCC	-.12⁻	.29	.00⁻
INCOME	0	.67	0
FEDUC	.13	-.16	.15⁻
PEDUC	.33	.13⁻	-.02⁻
XEDUC	-.06⁻	.15⁻	.02⁻
XCULOCC	.29	-.06⁻	-.26
XECOOCC	-.18⁻	.26	.20
CULTCONS	.66	-.02⁻	.14
READING	.63	.09⁻	.07⁻
MASSCULT	-.62	-.14	.13
INTERIOR	.45	.12⁻	-.12⁻
CLASMUZI	.69	-.09⁻	.55
CULTNORM	.36	.01⁻	.31
SPEECH	.43	.22	-.07⁻
POPCULT	.44	.00⁻	-.44
POSTMAT	.51	±.06⁻	-.34
RITEVOTE	-.06⁻	.27	.57
HOUSING	.07⁻	.35	.30
HOLIDAYS	.28	.29	.06⁻
LUXGOODS	-.33	.39	.09⁻
CAR	-.23	.58	.09⁻

⁻: Coefficient less than two times its standard error. Model fits correlation matrix in table 6 with 405 CHI = by 176 degrees of freedom.

Table 9: Correlation matrix of high culture consumption and
social background of respondent and social relations

V1= AGE; V2=FEDUC; V3=PARHIGHC; V4=EDUC; V5=SIBEDUC, V6=PEDUC;
V7= PSIBOCC; V8=FR1EDUC; V9=FR2EDUC; V10=HIGHC; V11=SIBHIGHC;
V12=Fr1HIGHC; V13= FR2HIGHC

1.0												
-.30	1.0											
-.21	.59	1.0										
-.41	.48	.40	1.0									
-.31	.51	.48	.63	1.0								
-.41	.47	.39	.69	.54	1.0							
-.34	.46	.32	.37	.53	.48	1.0						
-.20	.35	.28	.63	.47	.53	.40	1.0					
-.22	.39	.27	.57	.47	.45	.33	.56	1.0				
-.18	.34	.36	.47	.36	.52	.21	.38	.34	1.0			
-.01	.34	.45	.22	.41	.28	.35	.20	.20	.31	1.0		
.11	.21	.21	.22	.21	.22	.22	.33	.25	.34	.25	1.0	
.16	.21	.22	.20	.21	.20	.14	.16	.36	.38	.26	.48	1.0

N = 416. Pairwise deletion of missing values.

Table 10 : Causal model of participation in high culture
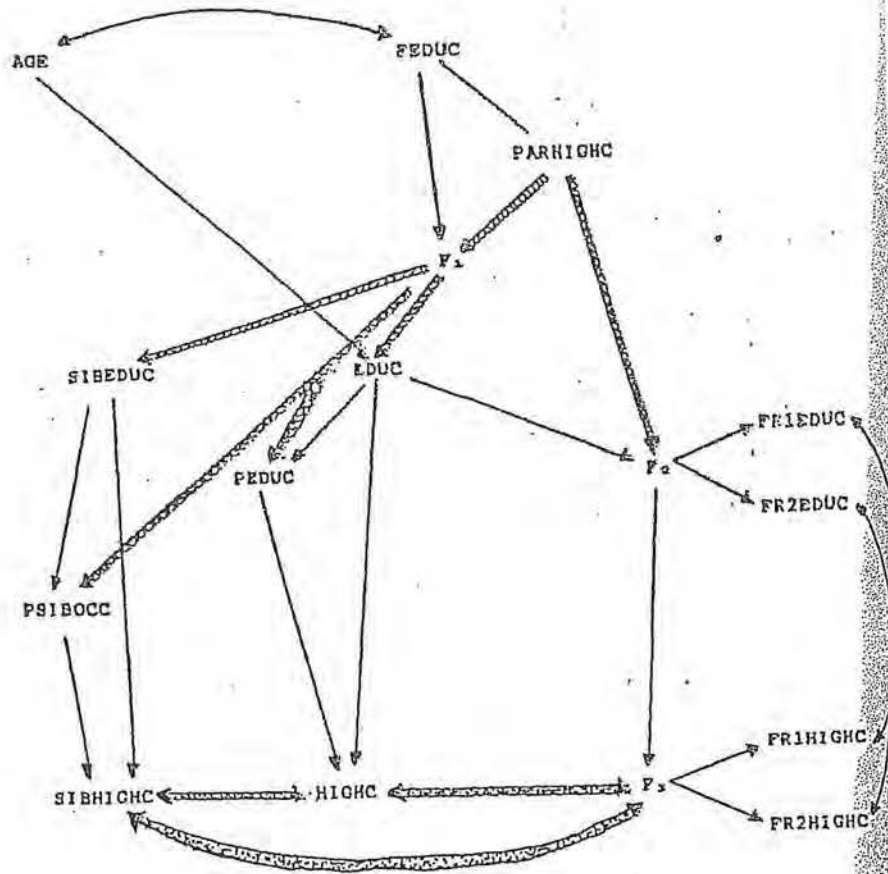consumption of respondents and social relations

Table 11: High culture participation of respondents and
social relations, fit and parameters

	CH12	NDF
(1) BASELINE	219	46
(2) + CULTURAL BACKGROUND - PATERNS SELECTION	185	44
(3) + CULTURAL BACKGROUND - FRIENDS SELECTION	157	43
(4) + MUTUAL INFLUENCE HIGHCULT BROTHER - RESP	149	42
(5) + MUTUAL INFLUENCE HIGHCULT FRIENDS - RESP	99	41

SELECTED STANDARDIZED COEFFICIENTS:

	.63	EDUCATION
	.77	SIBEDUC
PARENTS HIGHCUL .28	.36	PARTNERS EDUC
	.46	SIB PARTNER OCC
	.38	FRIENDS' EDUCATION
RESP. HIGHCULT .43		FRIENDS' HIGHCULT
RESP. HIGHCULT .13		SIBLING'S HIGHCULT
SIBLING'S HIGHCULT .11		FRIEND'S HIGHCULT

Model fits correlation matrix in table 9 with 99 CHI° with 39
degrees of freedom. All coefficients shown are statistically
significant.

L I F E   S T Y L E S

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