

## CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC DIMENSIONS OF OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

Paul M. De Graaf, Harry B.G. Ganzeboom,  
Matthijs Kalmijn

### *Introduction*

In studies of social stratification it is usually assumed that *occupational position* is the central dimension of social inequality and other dimensions are thought to be of secondary importance. The twin studies of Blau & Duncan (1967) and Featherman & Hauser (1978) are examples of this inclination. Although in both studies the analysis of occupation is supplemented with analyses of education and income, the emphasis on occupational position is quite strong. As Blau & Duncan (1967: 6-7) have put it: "Occupational position does not encompass all aspects of social class, but it is probably the best single indicator of it. (...) The occupational structure in modern industrial society not only constitutes an important foundation for the main dimensions of social stratification but also serves as the connecting link between different institutions and spheres of social life, and therein lies its great significance."

Since the appearance of multivariate causal models questions about the 'best single indicator' of social stratification are outdated and have to be replaced by questions about the relative importance of dimensions of social inequality. In this paper we will determine the relative importance of occupational position for a number of dependent variables, all of them indicating life-style features or life chances: culture consumption, aesthetic preferences, income distribution, luxury goods consumption, political preferences, intermarriage, children's educational and occupational attainment. If occupational status is the central dimension of social stratification, one would expect (a) that each of these variables is closely associated with occupational status, and (b) that the effects of other

indicators of social structure, such as education or income, turn out to be spurious upon introduction of occupational status variables. However, in our experience this prediction is very often not borne out by empirical analyses. In earlier analyses (Ganzeboom, 1982; De Graaf, 1986) we have found that the correlations between indicators of occupational status and life-chances and life-style variables either vanish or diminish to an insubstantial amount when other background variables, such as age, education and income, are introduced as controls. In the case of income, it might be argued that there are still indirect effects of occupational position are indirect, but this cannot be true for education, that usually precedes occupation in causal order.

Evidence for the importance of education in determining life chances and life style in its own right can be found in many other studies. For example, Blau & Duncan's (1967) own model of educational attainment shows that father's education and not his occupational status is the best predictor of attained level of education, should in fact be taken as a falsifying instance of traditional stratification theory. This example could be supplemented with a range of others. To name some examples from different research traditions, where we will take our criterion variables from: DiMaggio & Useem (1978) on culture consumption, Alwin (1984) on socialization, Savage (1985) on postmaterialism, Hyman, Wright & Reed (1975) on information seeking and Hyman & Wright (1979) on value formation. They show that for a variety of cognitive and attitude variables education has a pervasive and lasting influence, and that controlling for occupational status does not make show these relations indirect. Familiar as they are, these results contradict the supposition that occupation is the 'best single indicator' for social stratification.

We are far from concluding that in modern societies education has replaced occupation as the main component of social stratification. This conclusion would be very implausible in itself, given the fact that for most persons occupational engagement tends to take more of their use of time and energy and more of their life time, than education ever has. Nevertheless, we feel that there is something very discomforting in the contrast between the weight sociological theories attribute to occupa-

tional position and the meager contribution indicators of occupational position make in explaining variance of lifestyle variables and life chances in multivariate analysis. Therefore we think there is a need for more detailed analyses of occupational characteristics.

### *Cultural and economic dimensions of occupational status*

We will explore a conjecture on multidimensionality of occupational status, adopted from the work of Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1979). This French author is often cited for his studies on culture consumption and studies on the effects of cultural background on educational attainment of children (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977[1970]; Bourdieu, 1973; Swartz, 1977). His empirical work on educational careers shows that children with educational success display a high amount of culture consumption and tend to originate from occupational groups that have a lot of *cultural resources* ('capital') at their disposal. This work has been replicated in the U.S. and elsewhere by DiMaggio and others (DiMaggio, 1982; DiMaggio & Mohr, 1985; De Graaf, 1986).

The central concept in this work in social reproduction is "cultural capital". Cultural capital (we prefer speaking of "cultural resources", because the parallel with capital as defined in economic theory is vague) can be abstractly defined as resources that facilitate the handling of symbolic forms that regulate the social intercourse between and within social status groups. It may consist of several items. Although Bourdieu never provides an explicit list of these items, one can learn from his work that one distinguishing criterion is formed by the handling of symbolic data, i.e. association with writing, reading or art. Occupational positions that are assumed to require as well as produce much cultural resources are positions associated with the educational system, in particular the literary and pure scientific branches of the educational system, or association with art production.

Bourdieu (1979) asserts that cultural resources determine a whole score of life chances and life style choices. His analyses deal with educational attainment, culture consumption, political opinions and, most of all, life-style items, such as aesthetic

preferences, etiquette, fashion, and eating habits. The cultural elite tends to have a lot of high culture consumption, particularly of an avantgarde form, to be politically leftist and to have liberal opinions and manners. Bourdieu claims that groups with much cultural resources tend to act as status groups in Weberian sense (Parkin, 1979). They use their resources and lifestyle to exclude others from the advantages they enjoy.

However, Bourdieu's assertions do not make a difference between having either cultural resources or not. According to him, there exist a second type of resources, of an economic nature, that can further life chances and promote life styles in the same way, but in a different direction. *Economic resources* ('capital') of occupational groups may consist of the monetary benefits (income, wealth) that go along with it, but the concept is not restricted to these material products per se. Economic resources may also be thought to consist of knowledge and abilities with respect to handling of monetary or commercial objects and are therefore primarily associated with occupational positions in the commercial and industrial system.

Bourdieu holds that this type of economic resources determines a whole range of life chances and that members of the economic elite will stand out by a lifestyle that corresponds to their economic resources. They will develop a strong taste for material consumption and conform strongly to the traditional type of 'conspicuous consumption'. With respect to non-material behavior, for example cultural activities, they are either not active or have preference for traditional activities, they tend to be politically disinterested or/and conservative, and have outspoken, but traditional aesthetic preferences in art, clothing and furniture. In addition, Bourdieu shows that groups with a lot of economic resources do not per se reach much educational attainment within the school system; children of an economic elite tend to leave school earlier than children of the cultural elite (and enter the economic system at an earlier age) or visit schools that have a specific association with economic attainment, e.g. business schools and the like.

Although not restricted to occupations (Bourdieu's theory merges structural variables with behavioral and attitudinal variables), the first place to distinguish between cultural and

economic resources is occupational position. In effect, one could argue, Bourdieu assumes the existence of two dimensions, or rather: two hierarchies of occupational status. Traditional low status groups such as manual and farm laborers tend to be non-elite on both dimensions. But in the middle and higher ranks of social status one will find groups which specialize in either type. On the middle ranking of social status, an example of an occupational group with relatively much economic resources can be found in the 'old middle class': the self-employed artisans and the owners of retail and wholesale trade businesses. Alternatively, low rank teachers, artists, librarians and manual occupations such as printers have relatively much cultural resources and few economic resources. Occupations at the top of the economic ladder are business owners, while elite occupations on the cultural ladder are university professors. There is no necessity that occupational groups specialize in either form of resources. Examples of occupational groups that combines much cultural resources with much economic resources are physicians and higher civil servants. Cultural and economic resources will not be uncorrelated, but only be relatively independent in high status groups.

Although buried in lot of philosophical ado and rather awkward data-analyses (Bourdieu, 1979), these ideas on the effect of cultural and economic resources are basically sound and informative. To put it in a way that is more directed towards empirical investigation, they suggest that occupational status should be distinguished into two hierarchies, a cultural and an economic one. Although Bourdieu's writing contain a lot of cross-classifications of occupational titles with types of cultural and economic behavior, no well defined criterion for the assignment or ranking of occupations on economic and cultural hierarchies can be found. His analysis proceeds either by labeling occupational groups ad hoc as having a certain amount of cultural and economic resources, or by letting the data speak. His most advanced data-analyses consist of nonlinear principal component techniques ('analyse des correspondences'). These methods are informative for assessing association between large sets of variables, but essentially exploratory. Although it is perfectly correct to explore data in this way, we feel that it would be an advancement to work with an explicit

ranking of occupations according to economic and cultural status. Our contention is that the basically informative hypotheses on the differential effect of cultural and economic status of occupational positions are never put to rigorous empirical test, since no scales exist for these statuses, comparable to widely used scales for occupational prestige (Treiman, 1977) or socio-economic status of occupations (Duncan, 1961).

Before we go on to construct such scales and test their validity in predicting a number of dependent variables, it should be noted that the idea expressed here are neither new, nor exclusively restricted to the work of Bourdieu. It is interesting to note that sociologists from socialist societies (Machonin, 1970; Safar, 1971) have stressed the importance of cultural dimensions of social inequality more than 15 years ago. They have also pointed to similar contrasts between occupational positions. The differences between the economic and the cultural hierarchy can also be retraced in the literature on occupational situs (Murphy & Morris, 1961; Porter, 1967; Glenn & Alston, 1968; Samuel & Lewin, 1979). Similar distinctions have been found in the literature on the two-dimensionality of intergenerational mobility and the associational pattern between occupational categories (Blau & Duncan, 1967; Laumann & Guttman, 1966) where the general status dimension of occupational positions is supplemented with a contrast 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 cultural and the economic dimension of occupational status may be as a disentanglement of the two ingredients that have been used to construct the socio-economic status of occupation (Duncan, 1961; Hodge, 1981): average income and average education of occupational categories. Although Bourdieu's concepts of 'cultural capital' and 'economic capital' are broader than 'education' and 'income', these two are certainly main components of it and it may be assumed that 'cultural capital' and 'economic capital' will certainly be highly correlated with these. Finally, there is also a strong resemblance of Bourdieu's ideas with the approaches cited by Brint (1984) that deal with the proper definition of professional categories to explain their

liberal attitudes.

It is to be noted that all these approaches (with the exception of the mean income and mean education of occupational categories as used by Duncan (1961)) lack a clearcut measurement of the multidimensionality of occupational status, that they try to address. The distinctions used are either the products of exploratory analyses or result from rather casual discussions of the mechanisms involved and subsequent operationalization of variables.

In this paper we will take one step in our efforts to investigate whether Bourdieu's and similar assertions, or rather, our explication of them, stand up to empirical test. The step we take in this paper, involves the development of explicit, be it provisional scales for the economic and cultural status of occupations. The analysis consists of the following two parts. First, we will scale occupational groups according to cultural and economic status by way of a judgement procedure. Secondly, we will choose a range of dependent variables as criteria and we will estimate the effects of the newly constructed scales in comparison with that the effect of occupation, scored in a general status indicator (occupational prestige).

### *Data*

The data we need to accomplish these tasks, have to fulfill at least two requirements. First, it should contain detailed information on occupational positions. Typically, the data should be disaggregated down to the level of 3- or 4-digit codes. General categorizations as applied in mobility research, even as detailed as the 17-category scheme of Blau & Duncan (1967) is of little use. Secondly, in addition to regular control variables, like age, education and income, the data should contain criterion variables pertinent to Bourdieu's assertions. This is a fairly general class of measures, than can be referred to as life style and life chance indicators. Quite central in Bourdieu's concern is the realm of high culture, and the tastes and behavioral choices displayed therein. They are the prime indicators of the cultural dimension of social inequality. On the

economic side, a parallel role is played by economic gains and possession of material goods. In addition to these prime indicators, data on status attainment (education as well as occupation), data on intermarriage, values and attitudes that vary between a liberal and a conservative pole, and political attitudes and behavior are of relevance.

The data are taken from two sources. First, we utilize the data of the Life Situation Survey 1977 (LSS), in which we can find detailed, four-digit scores for occupations according to the Census Classification of Occupations (CBS, 1984), as well as a number of indices for culture consumption, educational attainment of children, political preference, luxury goods consumption, and intermarriage. These data were collected in 1977 by the Netherlands Central Bureau of Statistics and have been used by us and others a number of times in earlier analyses (Ganzeboom, 1984; Ganzeboom & De Graaf, 1984; De Graaf, 1986).

The second source is a small local survey (UTRECHT) conducted in 1984/85 by the second author among a sample from the population of Utrecht (Netherlands fourth largest city), that dealt in particular with culture consumption. As in the LSS77, four digit information on occupations of fathers and interviewees is available (the same Census Classification was used). In this survey we lack information on material consumption status and political preferences, but we have detailed information on several kind of cultural preferences, most the importantly choice for traditional or avantgarde cultural items and aesthetic preferences.

To avoid problems of missing data, we have rejected persons without any occupational score. Persons, who were not in gainful employment at the time of the survey, have been assigned to (a) their former occupational group or (b) their partners occupational groups, depending on the highest prestige score of the two. Finally, we have rejected all persons of 24 years and younger, because we wanted cases with finished educational careers, and all persons 65 years or older, mainly because they tend to have very different life-style patterns. The resulting sample size for the LSS77-data is 2662, and for the Utrecht-data 303.



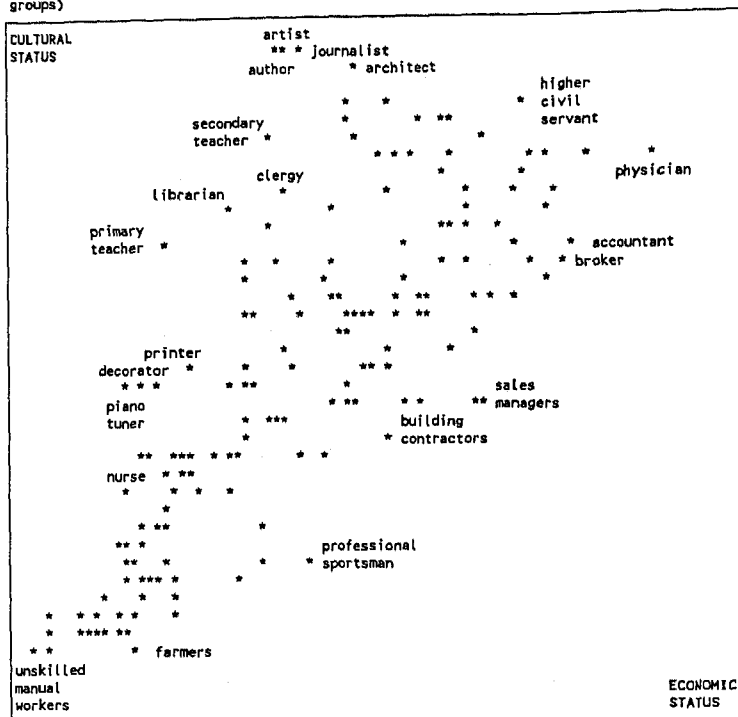
### *The scales for economic and cultural occupational status*

Scales for occupational status can be developed in a variety of ways, that basically can be divided in (subjective) methods that use judgemental procedures and (objective) methods that use criterion variables. We have opted for the procedure to determine the rankings through by way of our own judgement. Next to ourselves, one other person (a sociologist as well) participated in the judgement procedure. The motivation for arranging the procedure in such a way is that the scaling of occupations according to criteria that are implicit in the literature, basically calls for expert judgement, where the expertise consist of a reading knowledge of the relevant writing. However, we do not want claim that this procedure is the only, or preferable way to arrive at the pursued scales. There are obvious pitfalls in contaminating the researchers' judgement with an instrument that is used to test the hypotheses. In addition, we do claim that the judgement procedure is a reasonable and informative way to produce these scales. We cannot claim that the developed scales have a validity on their own account (such as can be argued for the case for occupational prestige scales, that are derived from popular judgement); their validity has to be tested and certified in prediction of criterion variables.

The procedure was as follows. The Census Classification of Occupations (CBS, 1984) contains 898 occupational titles and 317 occupational groups. We have collapsed these into 161 separate groups, that on face value are homogeneous with respect to economic and cultural resources. Then four sociologists with reading knowledge of Bourdieu's writing (three of them being ourselves) were to judge the groups according to the following:

- a. "The amount of cultural resources connected with the occupational group", further elucidated as "mastering of writing and reading, knowledge of art and science, skills for enjoyment of art, and creative skills".
- b. "The amount of economic resources connected with the occupational group", to wit "knowledge of trade and economy, commercial skills and disposal over financial resources".

Figure-1: Cultural and economic dimensions of occupational status (n=161 occupational groups)



A scoring system between 1 and 100 was used. The similarity between the judgments proved to be high. The mean correlation between the four judgments was  $r = .71$  for the economic dimension and  $r = .77$  for the cultural dimension.

To create (semi-)continuous scales, we transformed the scores to a sum of normal deviates and standardized the result again to a normal deviate. To get a feel for the resulting configuration, figure 1 is most instructive. The two scales are highly interrelated. The correlation is  $r = .77$  ( $N = 161$ ) and somewhat higher, if the occupational groups are weighted with the number of persons (.82 in the LSS-data; .80 in Utrecht). Note that the scattergram has the form of a cone, as expected, and that the correlation is markedly less in the higher regions of both scales. The labeled positions refer to occupational categories on the contour of the cone.

### ***Models***

We will use two models to assess the validity of our newly developed measures of occupational status:

- I. A baseline model with occupations scored according to occupational prestige.
- II. A alternative model with occupations scored according to the newly developed scales for cultural and economic status.

For Model I the recently developed Dutch scale of occupational prestige by Sixma & Ultee (1984) was chosen. Model II replaces occupational prestige with the scales for cultural and economic occupational status. For most criterion variables selected, we expect a specification of the effect in the second model: either one of the effects should vanish, or the two will an opposite signs. In addition, we expect not only to find specifications of the effect of occupational status, but at the same time that explained variance will increase. We will test whether the effect of the two scales on the criterion variable differs significantly using a F-test for increased variance and compare the two models on one degree of freedom. The results of our analyses are summarized in Table 1. For space reasons we do not report on the effects of the control variables, but report only the effects of the two different ways to measure occupation.

### ***Analysis***

In this section we will test the hypothesis on the differential contribution of cultural and economic occupational status using a number of dependent variables, taken from the two surveys described above. Detailed information on the variables in the equations is given in the Appendix.

#### ***Culture consumption***

We will start our analysis with some of the life-style variables, that initially gave rise to the development of the 'cultural capital'- notion. Panel A.1 gives estimates of the effect of

social background variables on CULTURE CONSUMPTION in the three models outlined above. The culture consumption variable is a sum of participation in theatre, concert, museums, reading and playing musical instruments. This type of behavior is usually very strongly related with social background variables, in particular the education of a person and his parents. Model I in table 1 (LSS-data), however, shows that there is also a relatively large effect of occupational prestige in model I (.25). The introduction of cultural and economic occupational status in model II gives a first confirming result of our hypothesis: the contribution of occupational position is made entirely by cultural status, whereas the effect of economic status is slightly negative and the additional explained variance is widely significant. That is, given the other effects in the equation (age, income, education, household size and cultural status) the economic status of the occupation does not contribute to the degree of culture consumption and the cultural status indicator proves to be a much better predictor than occupational prestige.

Panel A.2. relates to the same dependent variable, but now for the UTRECHT data, which were collected within research on cultural activities. This makes available a better set of predictor variables and a more detailed measurement of the dependent variable. Now, occupational prestige in model I makes virtually no contribution, but the distinction between cultural and economic status in model II is again fruitful: the effect of general occupational status is divided into a significant positive effect of cultural status and a slightly negative effect of economic status and the additional explained variance is statistically significant.

The UTRECHT-data have been collected in view of an analysis of culture consumption. Therefore, they afford much more detailed analysis than the national sample.

For example, one can distinguish between PARTICIPATION IN TRADITIONAL CULTURE and PARTICIPATION IN MODERN CULTURE. Panel A.3 and A.4 relate to this. We would expect that avant garde activities are more selective and have much steeper regressions on social background variables. This proves to be true for the effect of education (not shown) as well as for the effects of cultural and economic status in model II.

**Table 1**  
**Effects of economic and cultural status of occupation of life style and life chances indicators**

dependent variable	cultural		F-test	N
	prestige	status		
<b>A. Culture consumption</b>				
1. CULTURE CONSUMPTION (national)	.25	.34	-.03 <sup>~</sup>	93.6 2662
2. CULTURE CONSUMPTION (Utrecht)	.09	.28	-.12 <sup>~</sup>	7.70 303
3. PARTICIPATION IN TRADITIONAL ART	.06 <sup>~</sup>	.38	-.22	13.0 303
4. PARTICIPATION IN MODERN ART	.06	.18	-.09	2.41 <sup>~</sup> 303
5. CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE	.04	.08	-.02	.49 <sup>~</sup> 303
6. PREFERENCE FOR MODERN PAINTING	.06	.14	-.13	1.66 <sup>~</sup> 303
<b>B. Material consumption</b>				
1. LUXURY GOODS	.12	-.06 <sup>~</sup>	.18	5.83 2662
2. LOG(INCOME)	.25	.01 <sup>~</sup>	.30	-62.3 2662
<b>C. Political preferences</b>				
1. LEFT-RIGHT	.06	-.32	.34	66.0 2662
<b>D. Status attainment</b>				
1. EDUCATION OLDEST CHILD	.15	.19	-.05 <sup>~</sup>	-.05 <sup>~</sup> 368
2. EDUCATION SECOND CHILD	.18	.13 <sup>~</sup>	.01 <sup>~</sup>	-2.06 <sup>~</sup> 225
3. RESPONDENT'S EDUCATION	.16	.11	.10	44.6 2624
4. RESPONDENT'S PRESTIGE	.12	.06 <sup>~</sup>	.06 <sup>~</sup>	1.93 <sup>~</sup> 2624
5. RESPONDENT'S CULTURAL STATUS	.08	.21	-.06 <sup>~</sup>	48.4 2624
6. RESPONDENT'S ECONOMIC STATUS	.10	.06 <sup>~</sup>	.10	19.2 2624
<b>E. Intermarriage</b>				
1. PARTNER'S EDUCATION (WOMEN)	.13	.04 <sup>~</sup>	.10	-.24 1071
2. PARTNER'S EDUCATION (MEN)	.11	.03 <sup>~</sup>	.07 <sup>~</sup>	-4.69 1221

F-test defined as  $(SS_1 - SS_2) / (SSE_2 / (N - p))$ , where  $SSE_2$  is the residual sum-of squares of the second model, N the total number of cases and p the number of control variables. All equations control for: age, sex, education, parents' education, cultural socialization, income, working hours and size household. <sup>~</sup>: not significant at  $p < .05$ .

The difference between the two coefficients is particularly larger for avant-garde activities. Note however, that the effect of economic status on traditional activities is still negative. Bourdieu's assertion that economic status groups prefer traditional culture, is not borne out by this analysis. Still remaining within the UTRECHT-data, the next three panels give the influence of social background on some less behavioral data on culture consumers. CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE panel A.5 measures cognitive abilities in the field of art. AESTHETIC PREFERENCE FOR MODERN ART (panel A.6) is the difference in evaluation for some examples of 17th century painting and 20th century painting. Cultural knowledge, although strongly related to other forms of social background (in particular education), is hardly influenced by occupational status, whether it coded as prestige or as cultural and economic status. Occupational position appears not to affect this cognitive variable in any way, all explained variation is to be attributed to educational differences. It is hard to tell whether this should actually count as a rebuttal of Bourdieu's assumption, since there seems not to be any occupational effect at all. Aesthetic preference for modern art yields on the contrary, strong confirmations for the hypothesis: both are positively influenced by cultural status, and negatively by economic status. It is also to be noted that model I shows virtually no effect of occupational prestige.

### *Economic lifestyle*

In the preceding paragraph we have shown that the distinction between cultural and economic dimensions of occupational status uncovers a direct positive effect of the cultural dimension on cultural behavior and preferences, whereas the economic dimension has only (weakly) negative effects on these variables. In this paragraph we will investigate the other side: are there any lifestyle or life-chance variables that are positively influenced by economic status and negatively by cultural status?

To answer this question, we return again to the national sample of the LSS file. A first indicator of a materialist

lifestyle is the CONSUMPTION OF LUXURY GOODS, the dependent variable in panel B.1. This variable measures the possession of luxury goods (car, boat, slide projector and the like). The pattern of the earlier tables is now reversed. Not education is the best predictor of luxury goods consumption, but income. In accordance with expectations, the effect of economic status is positive and of that of cultural status negative. Observe that this is true, where important controls as income, age and household size are assessed simultaneously! Therefore, these effects of economic and cultural status cannot have been confounded by these background variables. Another prediction from the hypothesis on the twodimensionality of occupational status is that INCOME is particularly related to economic status and not or to a lesser degree to cultural status. Panel B.2. shows the results for the LSS77-data. The prediction is only partly confirmed: whereas it is true that of out two new measure economic status is the one that is connected to income differences, the explained variances actually decreases. This implies that prestige -- although it may not tap the specification effects of occupation that is suggested by the differences in economic and cultural status, is in itself a better -- probably more reliable -- predictor of income.

Up to this point, our expectations have largely come true. In all but one test, a statistically significant difference between the two occupational statuses has come up. We hasten to append a cautionary note and meet an obvious objection. It must be remembered that we, as judges, have scored the occupational status variables, taking into account our perception of the amount of culture consumption and income that an occupation might bring. Therefore, the reader is free to interpret the results for culture consumption and income as an indication that we did a good job in our scaling procedures instead of a independent confirmation of the hypotheses. Such arguments are less easily made with respect to the attitudinal data on aesthetic judgement, and luxury goods consumption. But next we will turn to criterion variables that are not direct subsidiaries of the instruction we used to enlighten the judgement procedure.

### *Political preferences*

Now we have shown the relevance of the distinction between cultural and economic status for corresponding life style features, we will shift our attention to a variable that has no direct reference to these dimensions: POLITICAL PREFERENCE. Panel C gives the result for the national LSS-sample, where we have scaled party affiliation on a 7-point left-right scale according to common understanding in politics in the Netherlands. Again, we find virtually no effect of occupational position, if scaled according to prestige. Higher prestige groups tend to vote slightly more rightwing, as do high income groups and older persons. But, model II shows the sharpest difference we have found in our data between the cultural and economic dimension of occupational status. The cultural elite is much more inclined to leftwing voting, whereas the economic elite prefers rightwing parties. Both effects are of considerable strength ( $\beta = -.32/.34$ ), in particular in relation to the determination of voting behavior by social background.

### *Educational and occupational attainment*

Let us now turn to the heart of stratification research: the intergenerational transmission of social status. Bourdieu hypothesizes that the disposal over cultural resources is of eminent importance to be successful in the educational system and in the labor market. The term he prefers to describe these phenomena, is 'reproduction'. In some contexts (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1970) he virtually seems to hold that the cultural and economic status ladders are intergenerationally completely closed systems, where new members are only recruited in families with similar background.

We will not pursue this strong interpretation of Bourdieu's theory, but are satisfied with a more probabilistic interpretation. As a first piece of evidence, in panels D.1 and D.2 EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF CHILDREN is regressed on control variables and the occupational status of the parents. The analysis is conducted separately for the oldest and for the second child to avoid missing data problems. (These data have been analyzed earlier by De Graaf (1986) without using the



distinction between cultural and economic status.) Model I shows that occupational prestige is an important predictor of this type of educational attainment, but - invariably as it is - model III shows this effect to be restricted to the cultural dimension of occupational status. However, this does not add to the explained variance, indicating again that the prestige measure probably has a higher reliability than our newly developed measures.

The influence of the two dimensions of occupational status on educational attainment can be assessed on the EDUCATION of the respondent as well, in relation to the occupational status of his/her father. Panel D.3 gives the model for the LSS-sample, and this time the hypothesis on the differential effect cannot be confirmed: the effects of both dimensions are of equal size.

OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE of the respondent (panel D.4) in itself is not differentially related to the two dimension of occupational status of the parents (there is no reason to expect this), but if we split up the analysis for CULTURAL OCCUPATIONAL STATUS and ECONOMIC CULTURAL STATUS (panels D.5 and D.6) we find some confirmation of Bourdieu's 'reproduction' ideas. The model for both cultural status and economic status is as expected and show significant effects of the corresponding paternal status, but the difference for economic status is somewhat smaller. In both cases the additional explained variance is statistically significant.

In conclusion, the crucial variables in the classical status attainment model (Blau & Duncan, 1967) all seem to be differentially related to the two dimensions of occupational positions (of respondents and their fathers) that we distinguish. However, it must be added, that, although the analysis of educational and occupational attainment shows interesting confirmations of our hypothesis, it is far away from any deterministic interpretation of 'social reproduction'.

### *Intermarriage*

Another important type of 'social reproduction' might be found in selection of marriage partners. In both datasets we have a

effects of important control variables.

The effects of the two dimensions on status attainment and marriage partner selection are mixed. There was no evidence that partners education depends on occupational status of the father of the respondent, however it was coded, but on inter-generational transfer of occupational status the two dimension showed a relatively close connection.

Although the introduction of the two dimensions has added to the explained variance in a number of equations, this has never been a large amount. In addition, most of our results still show education (and sometimes income) to be a better predictor of the dependent variables than the two dimensions of occupational status. Therefore, the doubts about occupation as the 'best single indicator' of social stratification still remains. Or rather: the results of these analyses lead us to surmise that indeed a multivariate view of stratificational processes is indispensable and that within this framework occupational position will in general not turn out the best single indicator, nor even the strongest indicator.

Nevertheless, at this point of our investigation we conclude that the distinction between cultural and economic dimensions of occupational status has been shown fruitful and promising. Our analyses have shown that differential effects of these dimensions occur for a number of variables. More importantly, these effects sometimes interact in such a way that they obscure the direct effects of occupational status when scaled according to prestige. This leaves us with the obligation to further develop this research. As pointed to above, we do not regard the scales for cultural and economic status as final products, although they can certainly be of use and we urge others to apply them in research. Given the way in which they are developed, and the limited tests we have conducted on them, the scales have only provisional status and we are planning to develop more definitive versions of them (Dronkers, Swanborn & Ganzeboom, 1988).

### **Notes**

(1) The analyses reported in this paper are a common part of two research projects, financed by the Netherlands Organiza-

variable for PARTNER'S EDUCATION at our disposal. In these models the respondent's education is added as a control variable. Unfortunately, no information was available about the occupation of partner's parents. The prediction on the relatively strong influence of cultural status on partner's education is not confirmed (panels E.1 and E.2). For women, we even encounter a unpredicted direction of the difference between the two relevant coefficients, suggesting that higher educated women exchange their value rather for economic status than for cultural status. The results are not in line the hypothesis. But again, this is a case in which no effect of occupational position appears to exist at all; in this respect the result does not count against the two new scales versus the prestige scale, but to the hypothesis that occupation matters at all.

### *Conclusions and discussion*

In this analysis we have set out to explore a hypothesis on the twodimensionality of occupational status, adopted from the work of Bourdieu (1979). According to this, occupational status groups should be ranked on two separate, be it correlated ladders, one for economic and one for cultural status. Having constructed these ranks using only our own judgements as a means, we are encouraged by the degree of confirmation we have found in our data. The results on cultural behavior and preferences, luxury goods consumption and political preferences are nearly spotless. Persons, who are high on the ladder of cultural occupational status, have been shown to be more inclined to culture consumption, in particular in avant garde art, and a higher evaluation of modern art than their counterparts on the economic status ladder. Here the only rebuttal of the hypothesis at stake was, that the degree of 'cultural knowledge' proved to be related only to education and cultural training and not to occupational status. The analysis of luxury goods consumption and income attainment shows an exactly reversed pattern, as expected. Rightwing political voting is promoted by economic status, whereas leftwing voting is associated with cultural status. All these results pertain to the direct effects of the occupational status dimensions, given the

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