

## Family background, postmaterialism and life style

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## **FAMILY BACKGROUND, POSTMATERIALISM AND LIFE STYLE\***

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### **The Rise of Postmaterialism**

In the nineteen seventies Inglehart posed the question whether individuals in industrial societies, under the influence of rising material prosperity, started to reject the so-called materialist values and had begun to endorse new values concerning quality of life (Inglehart 1971, 1977, 1985). In essence, Inglehart's starting point is the observation that generations after World War II have been socialized in growing prosperity and that lack of basic needs like food and shelter has become something unexperienced. Postwar generations, in contrast with pre-war generations, have not been socialized in an atmosphere in which fulfillment of basic materialist needs is uncertain. Therefore, within these younger generations, other needs have come into prominence. According to Inglehart this has given way to an intergenerational change of values.

To get a firmer basis for his thesis on the intergenerational value change and to be able to indicate in which direction the change will develop, Inglehart introduces two key hypotheses; a 'scarcity' hypothesis and a 'socialization' hypothesis. The scarcity hypothesis states that "An individual's priorities reflect the socio-economic environment: one places the greatest subjective value on those things that are in relatively short supply" (1981: 881). The socialization hypothesis states that "The relationship between socio-economic environment and value priorities is not one of immediate adjustment: a substantial time lag is involved, for, to a large extent, one's basic values reflect the conditions that prevailed during one's preadult years" (1981: 881). In order to shape the items used to measure value priorities, Inglehart uses a modified version of a need hierarchy, originally devised by Maslow (1954). In Maslow's need hierarchy it is assumed that people in the first place try to satisfy their physiological and material needs, that is food and shelter. After they have fulfilled these basic needs they will attempt to satisfy their social and self actualization needs; these are called postmaterialist needs. This distinction is clearly visible in his meas-

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urement instrument. The items representing the postmaterialist goals are: (1) more say in the decisions of the government; (2) protect freedom of speech; (3) try to make our cities and countryside more beautiful; (4) a friendlier, less impersonal society; (5) a society where ideas are more important than money. The materialist items are: (1) maintain order in the nation; (2) fight rising prices; (3) maintain a high rate of economic growth; (4) make sure the country has strong defense forces; (5) maintain a stable economy; (6) fight against crime. Respondents have been asked to rank these items, which actually reflect political goals on a national level. The advantage of ranking materialist and postmaterialist items simultaneously is that it "... prevents the respondents from taking the easy way of scoring everything as important" (Van Deth, 1983, p. 410).

Applying the scarcity and the socialization hypothesis, Inglehart predicts a change in value distributions over the populations in Western industrialist nations. The number of people who underwent the severeness of pre-war and war conditions becomes smaller. Inglehart calls this process the Silent Revolution. It is called a 'revolution' as the change is supposed to be substantial in its impact, and, it is entitled 'silent' as the change proceeds gradually and leaves no immediately visible traces.

Especially the 'socialization' hypothesis has undergone sceptical comments. It predicts that values are rather stable during adult life. There is a lot of discussion going on about the topic of stable value patterns during the life course (cf. Inglehart 1988). As a counter hypothesis it is suggested that actual financial and family responsibilities increase over the life span, and as a corollary people become less postmaterialist over the years, which accounts for the finding that there is a negative association between age and postmaterialist value patterns.

The research line on postmaterialism finds its origin in political science. In most research on value patterns (cf. Inglehart, 1977; Barnes and Kaase, 1979; Van Deth, 1984) postmaterialism is not so much a variable to be explained, but especially a predictor variable for other attitudinal and behavioral, mainly political, characteristics. The research includes the effects of postmaterialist attitudes on shifts in political interest, party identification, political dissatisfaction, voting behavior.

In this article we have three aims. First, the theoretical notions about the determinants of postmaterialist value patterns will be exposed and expressed in the form of testable hypotheses. The set of possible determinants of value patterns will be extended by intellectual and cultural indicators of family background. Second, we shall extend the variables predicted by value patterns in a more sociological direction by the incorporation of life styles. It will be argued that several theoretical notions of Inglehart's research program may be fruitfully combined with Bourdieu's theory on divergent cultural and economic life styles. Third, the ultimate goal of the article is to construct a linear structural model in which components of both research fields are combined. In this model postmaterialism is a dependent variable of parent's life styles as well

as a predictor variable for divergent life styles of the respondents themselves. However, before the resemblances will be highlighted, attention will be paid to Bourdieu's research field.

### **Bourdieu's Research on the Divergence of Life Styles**

In 1979 the French sociologist Bourdieu published his magnum opus *La distinction; critique sociale du jugement* on the divergence of life styles in France. Bourdieu's earlier reputation resulted from his studies about the effects of cultural status on the educational attainment of children (Bourdieu & Passeron 1970; Bourdieu 1973). In this largely theoretical work of the seventies he tried to show that children who display ability and talents in the educational system origin from families with a high cultural status. It is supposed that in such families a so-called cultural capital is present. This cultural capital consists of a receptivity and knowledge of the fine arts. Recently, this hypothesis has been tested using stronger research designs than Bourdieu used (DiMaggio 1982; DiMaggio & Mohr 1985; Ganzeboom 1982; De Graaf 1986). These authors use, unlike Bourdieu, a multi-variate analysis which makes it possible to establish direct effects of parents' and students' cultural status on educational success. Cultural status is measured by high culture activities and by affinity to these and other prestigious leisure time activities. DiMaggio (1982: 190) measured high school students' cultural life styles by self-reports of involvement in art, music and literature, while Ganzeboom (1982) and De Graaf (1986) used retrospective information about the cultural life style of parents.

In *La distinction* Bourdieu advances the idea that apart from the cultural dimension also an economic dimension of life style exists. This economic life style is not just a negative way of describing the cultural dimension but a distinctive one. After obligatory education, children of parents from the economic elite are hypothesized to attend schools that have a specific association with economic attainment, e.g. vocational and business schools. Economic life styles can be further characterized by emphasis on consumption of luxury goods, preferences for traditional cultural activities, political conservative opinions, and by traditional aesthetic preferences in art, clothing and furniture.

Research on the intergenerational transmission of life styles is meager. Beside the above mentioned empirical corroboration of the existence of effects of cultural background on educational attainment, only two studies can be found. Robert (1984) performed a regression analysis of attained status on miscellaneous status indicators like housing, region, cultural and financial background. Cultural background proved to be the most important predictor variable. Since father's and mother's educational attainments also had been included in the cultural background scale (computed by factor analysis) apart from parents' and childhood's cultural activities, it has not been very clear whether the cultural level of the family of origin was responsible for the large effect of the educational climate in the family of origin. Ganzeboom, De Graaf and Kalmijn (1987) scaled occupations according to their cultural and economic status and

found effects of the variables in the predicted direction on cultural and economic consumption, on voting behavior, and on siblings' educational attainments.

### **Resemblance between Postmaterialism and Cultural and Economic Life Styles**

The resemblance between Inglehart's thesis and Bourdieu's thesis becomes visible answering the question "what kind of life styles are performed by materialists and postmaterialists"? First of all, the resemblance between the so-called materialist dimension and Bourdieu's notion of an economic life style dimension is striking, whereas the postmaterialist dimension finds its place easily in Bourdieu's cultural dimension. People displaying a cultural life style and people having postmaterialist values, are assumed to be politically leftist, to be interested in political conversations, and to have modern aesthetic preferences (cf. Inglehart 1977 and Bourdieu 1979). Their needs are within the highest ranks of Maslow's need hierarchy.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand materialists and persons displaying an economic life style are, according to this theoretical treatise, more occupied with needs ranked lowest on Maslow's hierarchy. They tend to focus on material consumption and are not looking for intellectual challenges.

Another similarity between Inglehart's and Bourdieu's assumptions is the emphasis on the importance of early socialization and educational attainment on the development of values and life style characteristics. Both postmaterialist values and life style orientations are thought to be rooted strongly in preadult years. However, differences between the assumptions made by the two authors about the mechanisms connecting youth experiences with life style characteristics on the one hand and postmaterialist value patterns on the other, are large. While both Inglehart and Bourdieu assume that life styles are stable during adult life, their conceptions about the dependence of these devices on background variables differ.

According to Bourdieu the development of life styles is largely dependent on the parents' specific life style, whereas Inglehart states little on the influence of the financial situation and nothing on the value patterns or life styles in the family of origin itself, but principally points to the macro economic conditions during the childhood years. In order to be able to test Bourdieu's hypothesis a multi-variate model must be presented, including life styles of two generations, in addition with other variables, such as education, predicting life style. Inglehart's thesis on this point can be tested more directly by studying the distributions of postmaterialist value patterns in different cohorts and relating them to the economic conditions for these cohorts during their socialization period.

However, when only economic and physical security on a societal level is important for the development of value patterns, within age cohorts no differences should be found. In empirical research such differences are found; the correlation coefficient of age and postmaterialist value patterns never seems to

be larger than 0.40. In fact, although it is maintained that the cohort change is of more importance, Inglehart also noticed that persons with a father with higher socio-economic status are more postmaterialist than other persons (1977, p. 88). Most predictor variables for the rise of postmaterialism are on the macro level (i.e. increasing affluence after World War II and overall rising level of school enrollment), but predictors on the individual level seem to be accepted as well. However, this argumentation might not only deal with variations within age cohorts, as suggested by Inglehart, but might also be an explanatory variable for the association between age and value patterns, because older persons in general have less affluent parents than younger persons.

The path model used by Inglehart relating postmaterialist values with individual background variables illustrates the use of variables on the individual level (1977, pp. 85–86). In this model Inglehart concludes that the effects of father's social economic status on "value type reflects the effect of relative prosperity during youth, discounting the fact that those who are prosperous were likely to get more education". Of course both father's status and respondent's educational attainment vary within and between age cohorts.

It is hard to find empirical research in which the association between age and values can be accounted for by parents' affluence. It is true that parents of older people were less educated and more often lived in worse material circumstances, but only a multi-variate analysis in which all variables are analyzed simultaneously can give an answer to the question to what extent the effect of age on value pattern can be explained by material prosperity of the family of origin. Lafferty (1976), however, using Norwegian data, studied the influence of parents' financial resources during childhood on a post-bourgeois value orientation, while controlling for education. This post-bourgeois value orientation is a conceptual predecessor of the postmaterialist value orientation (Inglehart, 1971). Lafferty did not find any influence. It should be noted that Lafferty did not use the standard Inglehart scale for postmaterialism and that the 'economic conditions during childhood' were measured with only one indicator, being the self-reported standard of living in the family of origin.

Apart from a hypothesis about an effect of the parents' financial resources, this article suggests a hypothesis about effects of parents' intellectual and cultural resources on the development of value patterns. In Inglehart's rank hierarchy of goals 'aesthetic and intellectual' needs are ranked highest. According to this scheme, parents who are trying to fulfill these higher needs, therefore, should already have realized their basic needs. The thesis derived is that individuals who are socialized in a cultural family climate have developed their value orientations in a family in which financial deficits were not on the surface and must have developed postmaterialist values to a higher degree than people grown up in families without cultural attributes.

Being free from material sorrows is not a guarantee for becoming a post-materialist. Inglehart (1977) supposes that also the development of intellectual capabilities is decisive. People who grow up in prosperity and do not develop themselves inside or outside the educational system do not acquire postmaterial-

ist values. The major indicator of intellectual resources is educational attainment. Schooling and postmaterialist values go hand in hand. Intellectual resources can further be indicated by parents' educational attainments and by parents' culture consumption. Being able to enjoy art requires a certain capability to cope with information (Ganzeboom, 1982): The more complex the information to be processed, the stronger the effect of information processing capacities on the probability of participating in cultural audiences. Families in which attachment to cultural activities plays a dominant role, therefore, are supposed to provide their offspring with an intellectual socialization. Hence, high culture consumption in the family of origin is not only an indirect indicator for the material situation in the family background, but is also supposed to have an effect of its own.

In this article the hypotheses about the impact of family background factors on the development of postmaterialist values are tested in two respects. First, better indicators will be developed for parents' affluence than just father's occupation. Second, apart from educational attainment also other indicators of intellectual and cultural socialization will be presented.

In this framework the following hypotheses will be tested:

- (1) The younger persons are the stronger their postmaterialist value-orientation will be;
- (2a) The affluence in one's pre-adult years has a positive effect on the development of postmaterialist values;
- (2b) The effect of age on value patterns declines when parents' economic resources (i.e. affluence) are controlled for;
- (3a) The intellectual and cultural life style features of one's parents have a positive effect on the development of a postmaterialist value orientation;
- (3b) The effect of age on value patterns declines when parents' intellectual and cultural life style is controlled for;
- (4a) Educational attainment has a positive effect on the development of a postmaterialist value orientation;
- (4b) The effect of age on value patterns declines when educational attainment is controlled for;

Besides hypotheses in which postmaterialism is dependent on financial and intellectual resources, also hypotheses will be tested in which parents' life style indicators and children's life style indicators are connected.

- (5) Parents' cultural life style has a direct effect on their children's cultural life style;
- (6) Parents' economic life style has a direct effect on their children's economic life style;

The last two hypotheses are concerned with the question to which degree postmaterialism finds its place as a predictor variable for diverging life styles. Accordingly, it is predicted that a postmaterialist value pattern has a positive influence on cultural life style and a negative influence on an economic life

style. When testing these hypotheses we will control for appropriate individual characteristics, like educational attainment for cultural consumption and income for material consumption.

- (7) Postmaterialists will display a more cultural life style than materialists;
- (8) Materialists will display a more economic life style than postmaterialists.

### Data and Measurement

The data analyzed in this article were collected between April and September 1986 (De Graaf, 1987). The sample procedure applied for this survey was an area sample in Utrecht, a 200,000 inhabitants town in the centre of the Netherlands. Respondents younger than 25 or older than 79 were deleted. The longest educational training in the Netherlands is finished when students are about 25 years of age; not taking up a lowest limit of 25 years of age would result in a disturbance of the educational distribution. The data of the oldest persons in the sample were not analyzed, as their parental background goes back too far in history. Finally, 415 questionnaires passed these selection criteria.

A description of the variables used is given in Table 1. Information about the means, standard deviations and number of valid cases is to be seen in Table 2.

The construct of the central variable postmaterialism needs some further information. In most research on post materialism a value index has been constructed by the number of postmaterialist or materialist items ranked highest (Inglehart 1979: 319 and 365).<sup>2</sup> Generally, a factor model cannot be computed using ranked items, because of the ipsative properties of the items which make it impossible to construct a latent variable (cf. Van Deth 1983).<sup>3</sup> However, it is possible to correct for the dependency between the items. This is shown by De Graaf, Hageaars and Luijkx (1987), who applied a modification of the estimation procedure of Jackson & Alwin (1980) on the standard postmaterialist items. Because of redundancy, a one-dimensional factor model is estimated based on the co-variances of ten indicators (i.e. three of the first four indicators and seven of the last eight indicators), at the same time correcting for the ipsative properties of the items.

### Analysis and Results

In order to be able to test the hypotheses, the correlation matrix is analyzed by estimating one fairly large linear structural model.<sup>4</sup> The estimated model is shown in Figure 1.

In Figure 1 only the significant parameter estimates are reported ( $p < .05$ ) and only effects of 0.20 are included in the figure. It should be noted that all effects (also the non-significant ones) were included in the computed LISREL model. Therefore degrees of freedom only originate from the measurement model and not from the structural model.



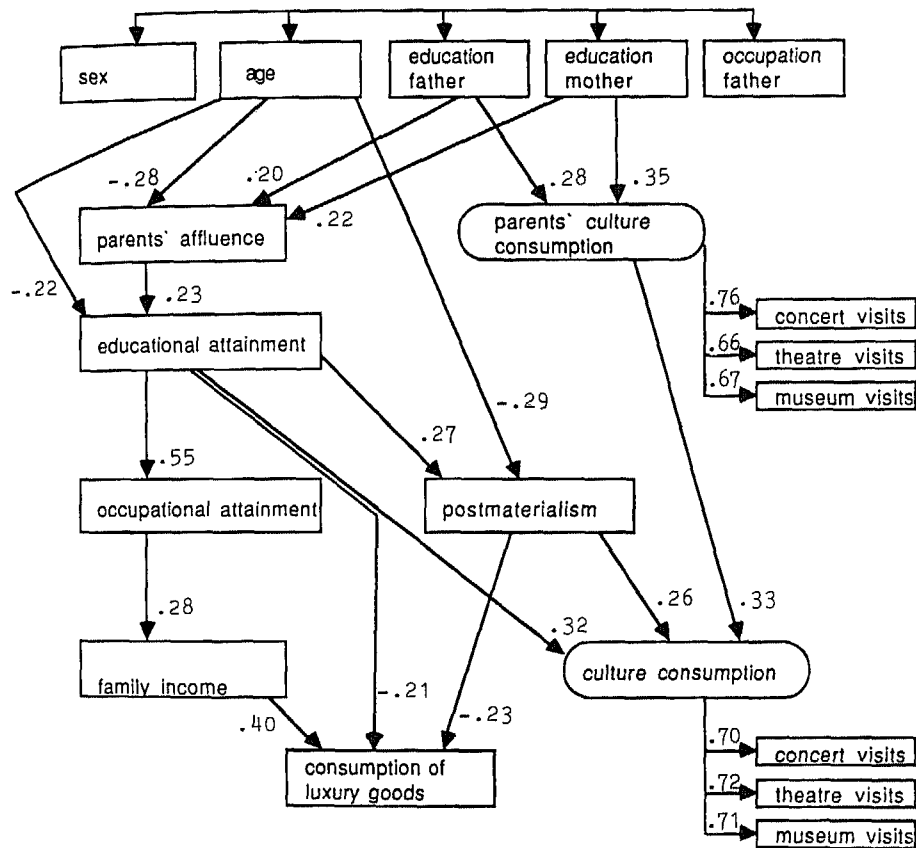
Table 1. Descriptive Summary of the Variables: Utrecht-1986 Survey, N = 415

Variables	Description
- Sex	1) female; 2) male.
- Age	Coded in years.
- Education Parents	Educational level of respondent's father and mother is coded in seven categories: 1) primary; 2) low vocational; 3) extended primary; 4) middle vocational; 5) grammar; 6) high vocational; 7) university.
- Father's Occ. Prestige	Coded according to a Dutch prestige scale (Sixma and Ultee, 1984)
- Parents' affluence	For the measurement of preadult material affluence four indicators were used. The respondents were asked questions about the financial situation of their parents with regard to the period when the respondents themselves were about 12 to 15 years of age: 1. Did your parents rent a house or did they own a house?; 2. Did you have a room for yourself?; 3. Was your bedroom heated?; 4. Did you go on holidays abroad with your parents? The index used indicates the number of times the answers were "yes".
- Parents' Cultural Life Style	For the parents' cultural life style three indicators were used. The respondents were asked to answer the following questions, again retrospectively for the period when they were about 12 to 15 years of age: 1. Did your parents visit concerts? How many times a year?; 2. Did your parents go to a theatre performance, cabaret or ballet? How many times a year?; 3. Did your parents visit museums or art exhibitions? How many times a year?
- Educational Attainment	Educational level of respondents is coded similar to those of their parents, in seven categories.
- Occupational Attainment	Prestige of respondent's (last) occupation. In cases in which the partner has a higher prestige, the occupational prestige of the partner was chosen. Prestige is coded similarly as father's occupation.
- Postmaterialism	Factor scale on basis of the materialist and postmaterialist items, according to De Graaf, Hagenaaars & Luijkx (1987).
- Family Income	The family income coded in Dutch guilders.
- Culture Consumption	The same three indicators were used as for parents' cultural life style. The following questions were asked: 1. Do you visit concerts? How many times last season?; 2. Do you visit theatrical performances, cabaret or ballet? How many times last season?; 3. Do you visit museums or art exhibitions? How many times last year?
- Consumption of Luxury Goods	The respondents were asked "Is in your household present a (1) deep freezer; (2) washing-machine; (3) drying machine; (4) dish washer; (5) color television; (6) car; (7) movie camera; (8) video-recorder; (9) compact disc-player; (10) game/personal computer? The sum-score was used, going up from 0 (none of the 9 items) until 9 (all items).

Table 2. Means, Standard Deviations, Number of Cases and Zero-order Correlations; Utrecht-1986 Survey, N = 415

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	MEAN	STD DEV	CASES
1 P. Affluence	1.00	.30	.26	.37	.51	.28	.24	.09	.35	.26	.31	-.08	.53	.51	.44	-.45	-.08	1.447	1.311	415
2 P. Concert	.30	1.00	.54	.51	.26	.09	.17	.10	.28	.26	.22	.00	.40	.46	.28	-.09	-.02	1.679	.977	412
3 P. Theatre	.26	.54	1.00	.39	.22	.07	.15	.13	.21	.25	.27	-.00	.40	.35	.32	-.02	-.05	1.615	.896	413
4 P. Museum	.37	.51	.39	1.00	.35	.15	.19	.05	.22	.24	.29	-.09	.47	.44	.34	-.17	-.07	1.544	.823	411
5 Education	.51	.26	.22	.35	1.00	.40	.51	.19	.39	.35	.43	-.11	.48	.45	.36	-.42	.10	3.946	2.118	413
6 Postmaterialism	.28	.09	.07	.15	.40	1.00	.15	-.02	.26	.28	.30	-.24	.19	.21	.20	-.41	.05	.900	.867	364
7 Occ. Prestige	.24	.17	.15	.19	.51	.15	1.00	.31	.22	.29	.27	.13	.30	.32	.26	-.13	-.05	53.200	18.717	378
8 Family Income	.09	.10	.13	.05	.19	-.02	.31	1.00	.06	.15	.13	.39	.17	.11	.07	.05	.03	2390.332	1411.029	406
9 Concert	.35	.28	.21	.22	.39	.26	.22	.06	1.00	.51	.49	-.16	.29	.27	.24	-.13	-.08	2.331	1.360	412
10 Theatre	.26	.26	.25	.24	.35	.28	.29	.15	.51	1.00	.51	-.02	.24	.22	.12	-.13	-.14	2.087	1.166	412
11 Museum	.31	.22	.27	.29	.43	.30	.27	.13	.49	.51	1.00	-.11	.31	.29	.22	-.14	-.03	2.632	1.299	413
12 Cons. Lux. G.	-.08	.00	-.00	-.09	-.11	-.24	.13	.39	-.16	-.02	-.11	1.00	-.05	-.06	-.08	.03	.03	3.572	1.728	412
13 Father's Educ.	.53	.40	.40	.47	.48	.19	.30	.17	.29	.24	.31	-.05	1.00	.66	.57	-.32	-.09	2.858	2.108	386
14 Mother's Educ.	.51	.46	.35	.44	.45	.21	.32	.11	.27	.22	.29	-.06	.66	1.00	.43	-.31	-.04	2.100	1.560	390
15 Father's Occ.	.44	.28	.32	.34	.36	.20	.26	.07	.24	.12	.22	-.08	.57	.43	1.00	-.23	-.08	46.330	20.859	377
16 Age	-.45	-.09	-.02	-.17	-.42	-.41	-.13	.05	-.13	-.13	-.14	.03	-.32	-.31	-.23	1.00	.03	46.096	15.761	415
17 Sex	-.08	-.02	-.05	-.07	.10	.05	-.05	.03	-.08	-.14	-.03	.03	-.09	-.04	-.08	.03	1.00	1.500	.501	415

Figure 1. Linear Structural Model of Cultural and Economic Life Styles. Only Effects of 0.20 and higher are included in the figure ( $CHI^2 = 92.31$ ;  $df = 55$ ; Adjusted Goodness of Fit Index = 0.976); Utrecht-1986 Survey, N = 415



<i>Proportions Variance Explained</i>	<i>Significant Effects not in the Figure</i>	
Parents' Affluence	Education Father > Educational Attainment	.16
Parents' Culture Consumption	Education Father > Family Income	.16
Educational Attainment	Education Mother > Occupational Attainment	.14
Postmaterialism	Age > Parents' Culture Consumption	.15
Occupational Attainment	Age > Occupational Attainment	.11
Culture Consumption	Age > Family Income	.12
Consumption of Luxury Goods	Age > Culture Consumption	.14
	Age > Consumption of Luxury Goods	-.19
	Sex > Educational Attainment	.15
	Sex > Occupational Attainment	-.10
	Sex > Culture Consumption	-.14
	Occupational Att. > Cons. Lux. Goods	.16
	Parents' Affluence > Parents' Culture Cons.	.14
	Parents' Affluence > Culture Consumption	.15

Table 3. Zero-order Correlations and Direct Effects in the Linear Structural Model; Utrecht-1986 Survey, N = 415

	zero-order corr.	direct effect
1. Postmaterialism and Age	-.41	-.29
2. Postmaterialism and Parents' Affluence	.28	ns
3. Postmaterialism and Parents' Cultural Consumption	.14	ns
Postmaterialism and Father's Education	.19	ns
Postmaterialism and Mother's Education	.21	ns
4. Postmaterialism and Educational Attainment	.40	.27
5. Parents' Culture Consumption and Respondent's Culture Consumption	.49	.33
6. Parents' Affluence and Consumption of Luxury Goods	ns	ns
7. Postmaterialism and Culture Consumption	.40	.26
8. Postmaterialism and Consumption of Luxury Goods	-.24	-.23

Table 3 presents in the first column the zero order correlations between variables theorized about, and in the second column it presents the standardized parameter estimates of the LISREL model.

Our first interest concerns hypothesis 1. The correlation between age and postmaterialism is  $-.41$ , which reflects a strong relationship, as predicted by Inglehart and as confirmed by many investigations: Younger people far more adhere to postmaterialist values than older people. Although the relationship is not small, individualist differences in background variables still could have large impacts. The parameter estimate ( $-.29$ ) in the full model nevertheless shows that 71% of the effect of age on postmaterialism must be attributed to a direct effect, when family background factors, parents' affluence, parents' cultural life style, parents' educational and occupational status, individual educational attainment, and sex, are controlled for. The only significant direct effect on postmaterialism, apart from age, comes from individual educational attainment. Although younger respondents have grown up in more affluent families, in family climates characterized by higher educational, intellectual and cultural characteristics of both father and mother, these family background factors do not display significant direct effects on the development of postmaterialism in multi-variate analysis presented.

These results point out that the effect of age on postmaterialism certainly can not be attributed to individual socialization differences; the only and important exception to this is the individual educational attainment, which has, as predicted, a strong impact on value patterns. If the assumption holds that postmaterialism is rooted in the socialization period and does not change during adulthood, one must conclude that structural cohort effects are present. However, when the assumption on the stability of values does not hold, the effect of age can reveal as well a period effect as a life cycle effect. An empirical analysis of De Graaf & De Graaf (1988) pointed out that life cycle effects have only a minor impact on value orientation and so only attribute little to the

correlation between age and postmaterialism. They suggest that their analyses show that Inglehart is right when arguing that mainly structural cohort effects, i.e. characteristics on the societal level, like economic affluence, etc., determine the development of postmaterialist value patterns.

The most important conclusion to keep in mind is, that individual parents' affluence and intellectual/cultural socialization do not have significant impacts on the development of postmaterialist value patterns. Educational attainment, however, has a strong effect on value patterns; the direct effect is .27. We conclude that hypotheses 1, 4a and 4b are corroborated; hypotheses 2a, 2b, 3a and 3b have to be rejected. The influence of parents' life style on the development of value patterns is mainly indirect, via educational attainment. Significant correlations between the life style of parents' life style and value patterns exist, but disappear when educational attainment is included in the model.

Testing hypotheses 5 and 6, we relate parents' and children's life style characteristics. Bourdieu's hypothesis that life styles of parents and their offspring are highly associated finds support in our data. Cultural life styles of parents and respondents are strongly correlated (.49); the direct effect is .33, which indicates the validity of Bourdieu's theoretical arguments. Therefore, hypothesis 5 is supported. For parents' economic life style no satisfactory measurement is present; we used parents' affluence as a proxy. There is no significant association between parents' affluence and the respondents' material life style and also in the multi-variate model there is no significant effect. This means that hypothesis 6 is not corroborated by our analysis.

Hypotheses 7 and 8 are related to the influence of postmaterialism on life style features. The parameter estimates point out that these hypotheses are strongly corroborated. Postmaterialists consume less luxury goods than materialists. The zero-order correlation is  $-.24$  and this relationship does not disappear in multi-variate analysis: when family income is controlled for the negative effect of postmaterialist value patterns on material consumption remains  $-.23$ . Actually, an individual's postmaterialist value priority appears to be the second most important predictor, family income being the only stronger predictor (.40). Additionally, educational attainment affects the consumption of luxury goods negatively. This can be regarded as a support of Bourdieu's thesis that such consumption is not the main interest of the educational elite.

Postmaterialism does not only affect material consumption, it also affects cultural life style. Whereas the zero-order correlation is as high as .40, the direct effect remains .26 when the important other predictor variables, educational attainment and parents' cultural life style, are controlled for. Parents' culture consumption attainment has an effect on culture consumption of .33, and educational attainment has an effect of .32.

Summarizing, postmaterialist value orientations seem to be a predictor of importance for life style characteristics. Inglehart's postmaterialist value patterns and Bourdieu's cultural and economic life styles are related concepts, that can be combined in a fruitful way.

## Conclusions and Discussion

In this paper we have combined theoretical notions from Inglehart's research on the emergence of the postmaterialist value patterns and Bourdieu's research on life styles.

A first finding is that cultural life styles of parents and their children are strongly related. This association only partly disappears in the model; most of it is due to a direct effect. Bourdieu's thesis is supported by this outcome. However, in our data no effects of whatever family background variable on the consumption of luxury goods was found. This would be a falsification of Bourdieu's hypothesis, if parents' affluence is an acceptable indicator for parent's economic life style.

Second, this article has discussed the relationship of family background and value patterns. Inglehart predicts that mainly economic and technological developments, distinctive cohort experiences (lacking of war) and the rising levels of education will increase emphasis on postmaterialist needs. Therefore, his main hypothesis is on the collective level and predicts that younger generations will adhere stronger to postmaterialist values because structural changes on the societal level have occurred. In this paper Inglehart's socialization hypothesis' has been applied differently. The hypothesis, that preadult affluence, i.e. the financial situation in the family of origin, interprets the effect of age on postmaterialism, has been tested. In addition, the prediction has been tested that the more parents display a cultural life style and the higher the educational attainment of both parents and their children, the more postmaterialist values will be adhered to, which is a test of the idea that life styles and value patterns are related. Here, the results of our analysis point out that only 29% of the total effect of age on postmaterialism can be accounted for by individual background characteristics. Neither parents' affluence nor intellectual and cultural family climate displayed significant direct effects on postmaterialism. Only the effect of respondent's own educational attainment and age were significant and of similar strength. This corroborates Inglehart's ideas and indicates that mainly changes on the societal level are relevant for the prediction of postmaterialist value patterns.

The most important finding of this paper is, that the hypotheses in which postmaterialism is a predictor variable for cultural and economic life style are strongly corroborated. Postmaterialists display a more cultural life style and materialists consume more typical material commodities. The effects estimated in a linear structural model proved to be of interest, also after controlling for other main predictor variables. This reveals, just like Borschier's work on the smaller returns of educational attainment for postmaterialists (Borschier 1984), that Inglehart's theory on postmaterialism is not only of importance for political scientists but also for social scientists interested in social stratification.

## NOTES

1. In this respect it is of interest to note that Marsh (1977, p. 172) stated that the higher order needs of postmaterialists will be reflected by a preference for "the arts".
2. Compared to the original ranking procedure of Inglehart, in our questionnaire a slight difference concerning the way of rank ordering the items were performed. In the subset of eight items (numbers 5 to 12) only the first and last three items are to be ordered in the standard procedure, whereas in our research design the respondents had to rank order all items. The advantage of this procedure is that more information is available for the construction of the value orientation, which can be transformed into an ordered scale.
3. Ipsative properties have to do with the dependency between rank ordered items; when one or more items are rank ordered, information exists about the relative positions of the other items, because the summation of the items is a constant. This dependency makes a common factor analysis impossible.
4. The software program LISREL VI was used (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 1986).

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