

**Leisurely Moments or Lifetimes?
Contexts and the Study of
Leisure, Consumption, and Stratification**

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Abstract

While some modern social theorists, often drawing on Simmel's work on leisure, lifestyle, and money, propose that consumption patterns and lifestyle choices have replaced the structuring principles around social stratification and class (e.g. Beck, Müller), most empirical evidence continues to reveal a strong relationship between stratification, leisure, and consumption. Indeed, such links occupy prominent positions in several sociological frameworks. Moreover, recent research has reaffirmed the prominence of stratification influences on leisure and consumption, albeit according to more complex patterns of association than posited in earlier writings. Chan and Goldthorpe, for example, favour the 'univore-omnivore' model to explain the relationship between cultural tastes and stratification, rather than the simpler 'homology' perspective, derived usually from the works of Bourdieu.

One of the concerns in relation to such evidence, however, is that the patterns of association observed between stratification and leisure/consumption may be heavily influenced by a number of substantively distinct factors. In this paper, we evaluate the possible role of three such additional factors: the longitudinal context, in terms of accounts for instabilities in short-term behaviours and differentiations between age, period, and cohort effects; diversity of national and cultural contexts; and variations in stratification measures.

Data for this project are primarily from the British and Swiss Household Panel Surveys, i.e. all waves between 1991-2002 for Britain, and five waves, 1999-2003, for Switzerland. The selection of countries allows us to explore variations in national and cultural contexts. In addition, the data permit us to examine some impacts of regional opportunity structures within the countries, which are widely believed to influence leisure and consumption activities. For both countries, we are also able to derive a number of alternative but comparable social stratification indicators, all based on occupational and income data. Longitudinally, the panel data allows us, within limits, to control for both changes in stratification positions and leisure/consumption behaviours, and temporal effects in terms of the relative influence of age, period and cohort, even though the short time-span of these panel studies cover only relatively short-term transitions and life-course segments.

For both surveys, we examine the self-reported behaviours of adults in these nationally representative samples by extracting a selection of equivalent measures of leisure and consumption. These include the frequency of taking holidays abroad; the frequency of eating or drinking out; ownership of selected white goods; and membership of leisure associations. On the basis of such data, we evaluate whether the relationship between leisure activities, consumption patterns, and stratification measures is substantially altered when we control for additional factors covering time, place, and stratification measurement.

Our analyses initially replicate the findings of recent studies. Moderate to strong associations between stratification measures and leisure/consumption patterns are regularly detected. There is mixed evidence on whether these associations exhibit the heteroscedastic nature characteristic of the univore-omnivore thesis, although the range of indicator variables used do not make for a coherent test of this thesis.

When we extend the analysis by introducing additional controls for regional locations and alternative representations of stratification, we see some mediation to the patterns of association, but these are not, in most circumstances, substantial. We find, for instance, that both national and regional differences influence aggregate distributions of leisure and consumption indicators, but seldom impact on the relative patterns of association with stratification measures. Equally, we find that alternative measurement instruments for stratification positions in most cases make little difference to summary findings.

However, when we control for 'longitudinal context' in a number of circumstances, we find more substantial results. Short term instabilities in exhibited behaviours prove relatively common. The joint influence of age, period, and cohort effects, at least to the degree that we can distinguish them, also have a considerable impact on the distribution of self-reported leisure and consumption behaviours, and their relationship with stratification. Methodologically, indeed, the longitudinal context appears to be the most important of our factors, and we argue that it ought to be the 'lifetime of consumption', rather than the instantaneous moment, which sociologists should appreciate.

Leisurely Moments or Lifetimes?

Contexts and the Study of Leisure, Consumption, and Stratification

In this paper we discuss some theoretical debates concerning the relationship between leisure and consumption ('L/C') patterns and social stratification locations. We then attempt to assess the impact of a number of empirical contexts to those relationships, using a longitudinal and cross-nationally comparative survey design. Although the measures of leisure and consumption outcomes available to us on these surveys are somewhat limited, they do begin to illustrate a number of dependencies which are anticipated in previous theoretical reviews, and which significantly complicate some previous characterisations of the relationships involved.

Theorising Stratification and Patterns of Leisure / Consumption

One of the principal premises of the sociology of work is that production relations are at the heart of institutional frameworks, which, in turn, influence most facets of people's lives. This refers to not only paid and unpaid labour, but also to activities beyond labour such as leisure and consumption. Modern societies have experienced dramatic social, economic, and political changes in the 20th Century, which have influenced among many other things the world of work and, related to this, leisure and consumption. As work, leisure, and consumption are intertwined, and as work in its many aspects, including its nature, sector, contract, conditions, requirements and others, is related to, some even argue the cause of, social inequality, it stands to reason that leisure and consumption as well ought to connect to inequality structures of a society. However, while most sociologists would agree that many aspects of work are related with the unequal distribution of wealth, power, and prestige, and while many sociologists would concur that work, leisure, and consumption are somehow intertwined, there is less agreement with regard to the relations between social inequality structures, leisure, and consumption.

Debates on the type and degree of the links between social stratification, leisure, and consumption have led to important theoretical contributions, for instance the fruitful

disagreements between Bourdieu and Schulze (REFREF), the critical positions developed by Bauman (1988), Featherstone (1991) and Pakulski and Waters (1996), or impressive efforts to corroborate one or the other position by for instance Blasius and Winkler (1989), Blau, Blau, and Golden (1985), Chan and Goldthorpe (2005a; 2005b), and Katz-Gerro and Shavit (1998).

However, it can be argued that many contemporary empirical studies on the links between social stratification, leisure, and consumption exhibit shortcomings in their ability to describe the 'context' of their topic. First, they present and test some rather complex theoretical propositions in apparently oversimplified ways which leave it unclear whether the results are based more on the operational definition of a theoretical argument, rather than on the failure or success of one proposition against another. Second, theoretical arguments are tested empirically with data that may not fulfil the criteria necessary to link sufficiently with these arguments. Thus, the empirical results may be due in part to the variability in data quality and appropriateness for a particular proposition. Third, studies that compare different theoretical propositions against each other assume implicitly that empirical evidence can be the judge of one theory over another. This is problematic not only because of the two concerns listed earlier, but also because it is possible, as we will argue below, that different propositions must be combined in order to understand the complex relationship between social stratification, leisure, and consumption.

In this section, we will present a model of the links between social stratification, leisure, and consumption that does not easily slot into a succinct characterisation because, as we will demonstrate, the relations between these three cannot fit into such categorisations – neither theoretically nor empirically. While less parsimonious and thus less elegant, such a model connects much better with the complexity of the theoretical arguments as well as the empirical evidence. To accomplish this, we must first unfold the theoretical arguments.

Key Theories on the Type, Degree, and Range of Links between Stratification, Leisure, and Consumption

A review of the relevant literature offers a plethora of definitions, ideas, and evidence, many of which are incompatible, inconsistent, and some of which are impossible to examine empirically. Nevertheless, many positions encountered in this body of literature are at least implicitly linked to the seminal work The Theory of The Leisure Class by the Norwegian-American Thorstein Veblen (1899/1994). This classic work, although marked by the Zeitgeist of the time, offers a surprisingly modern and coherent set of ideas on leisure and consumption as they relate to social stratification. While it lacks convincing empirical evidence for today's standards, it offers a relatively coherent set of propositions that are more comprehensive than some of the products of contemporary writers. In reviewing some of the key elements of this work, we are not calling for a return to Veblen but, rather, to a more comprehensive and coherent way of theorisation, some of which can be borrowed from this and other classics.

Veblen's Theory of The Leisure Class

Drawing on economic and ethnological theory of the time, Veblen's purpose was to explain social structuring in, for him, modern societies¹, which he linked to leisure and consumption, but he primarily focused on what he termed the leisure class.

Clearly influenced by Marx as well as his upbringing on an agricultural farm, Veblen proposed a distinction between those who are "exempt from industrial labour" and those who engage in "industrial labour", which could be roughly translated to mean owners, skilled and unskilled white collar labourers, and skilled and unskilled blue collar labourers. These two classes stand in a conflictual relationship to each other – to Veblen, the leisure class exploits the product of the labour of the lower class, while the industrial occupations are marked by manual labour, drudgery, uneventful diligence, and routines. Nevertheless, there exist subdivisions in the classes, and the divisions between and within these two classes are based fundamentally on leisure and consumption patterns. "Upper classes" are exempt from industrious occupations, which does not mean however that especially the "lower grades of the leisure classes" or the "upper service classes" are exempt from work. According to Veblen,

¹ In contrast to what he occasionally calls Barbaric or pre-modern societies (e.g. Feudal Europe and Feudal Japan).

members of the leisure class in modern societies tend to be engaged in occupations that, through striving for excellence and efficiency, as well as the rewards attached to these, bestow upon the member honour and esteem and, thus, a superior social rank. Among the occupations filled by members of this subset of classes in the higher echelons are some occupations in government, warfare, and the church. The “lower grades of the leisure class” engages in occupations subsidiary to those of the upper leisure class, and include servants.

Whether this social classification is appropriate for his or other times is secondary to the argument about the social structure that forms between and within these two classes as a function of leisure and consumption. It is in the nature of humans, Veblen writes, to compare themselves to others, i.e. engage especially in “pecuniary emulation”, and to at least match but preferably surpass those who one holds in high esteem. Indeed, given that all classes strive to at least maintain esteem by further achievement or success, merely emulating an established standard would shortly result in reduced esteem as most others within one’s reference group are changing their standards. He states: “what are recognised as the salient and decisive features of a class of activities of a social class at one stage of culture will not retain the same relative importance for the purpose of classification at any subsequent stage” (1899/1994: 6).

This social comparison,² however, is practiced mostly by those who occupy a relatively similar or somewhat higher position, i.e. it is less likely that comparison would be made to those who are far higher in perceived esteem. As honour and esteem are partially related to wealth and success, the driving force of effort becomes to accumulate wealth and achieve success. Given that in modern complex societies valued resources are limited and industrious labour among the leisure class neither an option nor sufficiently efficient, an *increase* of wealth and success are difficult to achieve. In addition in cities, where contacts with others are briefer but more numerous, wealth and success must be made visible by specific leisure or consumption activities suitable for one’s social position and relative wealth. As

² This part of Veblen’s theory reveals uncanny similarities to Social Comparison Theory, the subject of dozens of well-publicised classical and modern studies in social psychology, which largely support the principle idea that individuals derive their esteem by social comparison, emulation, and surpassing of significant others.

“wealth or power must be put in evidence, for esteem is awarded only on evidence” (*ibid.*: 24), “visible success becomes an end sought for its own utility as a basis of esteem” (*ibid.*: 10). *Nota notae est nota rei ipsius*: the sign of a sign is the sign of the thing itself.

The upper leisure class in particular make evident their social position in the first instance by a “habitual neglect of work”, and in the second instance by demonstrating visibly the lack of necessity of work through leisure activities. These may include relaxation, vacations, reading, horse riding, playing golf, learning for pleasure, and generally engaging in activities such as gardening or decorating that, for the leisure class, are not connected to gainful employment. Given that leisure activities bestow esteem by inferring success, Veblen proposes that a “secondary leisure class” is formed, in which its members are relatively poor and potentially in precarious conditions, but who gain their social reputation and honour through dignity, intellect, artistry, musicianship, and civility – by engaging in leisure activities often as companions or in service of the upper leisure class, while avoiding industrious employment. Interestingly, Veblen insists that women in general and especially housewives belong to this “derivative” or “subsidiary leisure class”, although they are primarily engaging in conspicuous leisure to increase their husbands’ esteem and honour.

Engaging in leisure activities is relatively inefficient if one aims to display one’s social standing to others, especially in cities, where contacts are superficial and of high volume. Also, modern economic reality is such that an accumulation of wealth must require effort in modern societies, even for the upper leisure classes. Thus, conspicuous consumption of services or goods served to make success visible, and bestowed again repute and esteem. According to Veblen, an accumulation of wealth is necessary to emulate or surpass one’s peers, which makes economic activities a necessity even for the wealthy. Thus consumption has partially replaced conspicuous leisure. But consumption in itself is not enough; tastes and manners must be trained, cultivated, and, most importantly, displayed in order to claim a social position. Presents, trinkets, and feasts are thus imbued with symbolic character, as are entertainment and travel. Across the entire social range, all attempt to emulate or surpass their peers or those slightly above their social position, and to gain reputation

by affiliation with those higher up. The lower middle class men, Veblen argues, tend to engage in rigorous economic activities, thus foregoing leisure activities, in order to generate the income necessary for conspicuous consumption. Housewives, he states, are more likely to engage in conspicuous leisure, i.e. very labour-intensive activities that are primarily dedicated to increase the esteem of the household or that of their husbands. "The [middle-class] housewives' efforts are under the guidance of traditions that have been shaped by the law of conspicuously wasted expenditure of time and money" (*ibid*:51).

Although Veblen emphasises the link between social position, leisure, and consumption throughout his work, he recognises the dynamics that exist between the social classes and the emulation that seeps through the classes and blurs leisure and consumption distinctions across classes. "In modern civilized communities, the lines of demarcation between social classes have grown vague and transient, and wherever this happens the norm of reputability imposed by the upper class extends its coercive influence with but slight hindrance down through the social structure to the lowest strata" (*ibid.* 51). However, the lower the social position, the more modest the wealth that can be invested in conspicuous consumption of leisure, although even in the lowest classes of modern societies, some minimal and symbolic form of leisure or consumption will be invested in order to maintain or improve on the esteem relative to one's equally poor peers. Thus, according to Veblen, the lower classes can engage in conspicuous leisure or conspicuous consumption only under strict material limitations, which significantly narrows their choices in both type and degree. He states: "The canon of reputability must adapt itself to the economic circumstances, the traditions, and the degree of spiritual maturity of the particular class whose scheme of life it is to regulate" (*ibid.* 65). In contrast, "an increase in an individual's ability to pay is likely to take the form of an expenditure for some accredited line of conspicuous consumption" (*ibid.* 68).

Veblen's arguments suggest a number of mechanisms by which consumption and leisure activities are blurred across social positions. First, they are blurred due to emulation, i.e. lower classes often emulate those of higher classes. Second, the accepted standard of leisure and consumption that confers esteem changes over time, and so different individuals and household are in evolving relations to the *avant*

garde, the *status quo*, and the outdated and *passé*. Third, different domains exist in which one could potentially engage in conspicuous consumption and conspicuous leisure. The variability is connected, argues Veblen, not only to tastes and preferences, but also to economic possibilities. Finally, Veblen emphasises a further blurring: in modern societies, the “largeness of the leisure class results in the commonness of conspicuous consumption. Therefore, the latter day upper-class canons of taste do not so consistently insist on an unremitting demonstration of expensiveness and a strict exclusion of the appearance of thrift.... A predilection of [the rustic and simple] is seldom unaffected, and at times it shades off into something not widely different from that make believe of rusticity” although even the leisure and consumption activities that are more at home in lower social positions must fulfil an aesthetic beauty that is often unrecognised by those in the lower classes.

Hypotheses for empirical testing based on the Theory of the Leisure Class:

Based on one single text, we can propose the following hypotheses, around which many contemporary debates expand:

1. Leisure and consumption are the product of social stratification.
2. Social stratification is the product of leisure and consumption.

Theoretically, both (1) and (2) are simultaneously sustainable. Empirically however, it is very difficult to provide conclusive evidence for the directionality of the relation between, on the one hand, social stratification and, on the other, leisure and consumption.

3. Leisure and consumption are not associated with social position because of the different dynamics that exist between the classes in relation to leisure or consumption, e.g. emulation of those in higher social position, the dictate of aesthetics by those in higher position toward those in lower positions; the careful “downward” selection of leisure and consumption activities based on differentiation and aesthetics, etc.
4. social positions do not exist in modern societies but are replaced by leisure and consumption activities, which are a modern source of identity construction.

Empirically, it is again very difficult to differentiate between evidence for proposal (3) and (4). However, most evidence of limited associations from leisure and

consumption to stratification has been used to justify (4) (referred to as the 'individualisation' thesis by Chan and Goldthorpe 2005a).

5. Leisure and consumption activities are linked not in relation to type or degree, but in relation to the range of leisure or consumption. Those in higher social positions enjoy a wider range of leisure and consumption opportunities, compared to those who occupy a relatively lower range.

In some sense, this position is a combination of the first two sets of propositions: on the one hand, it rejects the link between social stratification and the type or degree of consumption or leisure but on the other hand it posits that they are linked in the relative range of leisure and consumption activities (compare with the Omnivore-Univore argument by Goldthorpe and Chan, 2005a; 2005b).

Missing from this proposition is the idea that while the range may indeed be narrower for those who occupy a relatively lower social position, it is nevertheless unlikely that they would engage in activities that require aesthetic training such that it would pass the standards of the leisure class. In other words, while it is certainly possible for some of those who occupy low social positions to acquire a greater knowledge and taste for rare ports, antique Swiss watches, or Kna's (short for Knappertsbusch) Parsifal (especially the Westminster recording of the Prelude), it is less likely. This has nothing to do with intellectual capacity but rather with upbringing and schooling, dedication, and values. So while members of the upper class may engage in real tennis, mud wrestling, football, or polo, it is not likely that those from a lower social position would even have the resources (i.e. time and money) to play polo or the access to play real tennis. As Veblen stated, one of the last things to go among the poor in economic dire straits are leisure activities related to narcotics (smoking and drinking), heirlooms or other items that symbolically maintain a certain status vis-à-vis significant others. Therefore, the following addition to the proposal above could be presented as:

6. The range decreases as one descends the social hierarchy but concurrently this range begins to centre on specific leisure or consumption patterns.

If these propositions would be examined individually, it might be tempting to test them one against the other. Under the conditions that the hypotheses are sufficiently operationalised, that our indicators are without measurement error or at least with

errors that are compatible across these theories, and provided that we use adequate statistical technique that do not favour one argument over another, then the winning theory would be the one that most closely matches our empirical findings. However, given that they are embedded in a larger theory on leisure and consumption, a more complex, less parsimonious, but ultimately, at least from a theoretical standpoint as elaborated above, more justifiable proposition could be made as follows:

7. The relations between stratification on the one hand, and leisure and consumption on the other are dependent on
 - a. Type, i.e. different leisure or consumption activities form different strength of associations with social stratification; this relation is weakened by
 - b. Emulation, Differentiation, and Identity Building i.e. upward emulation of leisure and consumption activities, as well as downward differentiation as long as it satisfies certain negotiated norms of aesthetics; while both movements relate to dynamics defined within an inequality structure, the choice between the two strategies may depend on the situational context and the norms existing within a social network (e.g. gangster rap among upper class students at ivy league and Oxbridge universities; early choral music among the cleaners and porters of these Universities).
 - c. Role: Gender, for instance, may be an important qualifier for certain leisure and consumption activities; not only is this because of differential access and expectations, but also in relation to differential insertion into institutions (e.g. family, marriage, work) which sometimes intersects with social position, and sometimes may be independent thereof.
 - d. Expendable Income: it is not only those who are in relatively lower social positions that, due to limited resources, are limited with regard to leisure and consumption. These limits are also imposed by age, household composition,
 - e. Cultural and Regional Context: national and regional tastes, standards, and opportunities (contrast for instance skiers and surfers in

Switzerland or California; or house ownership patterns in the UK and Switzerland)

- f. Temporal effects – in particular, that both age (as life course stage); period (as time of investigation); and cohort (as different exposures of different birth cohorts) effects may all have separable properties.
- g. that social position is not only related to what and how much is consumed, but also how it is consumed
- h. that the motives for consumption vary and may vary according to social position (perhaps including motives of hedonistic pleasure; emulation; differentiation; etc.)
- i. That temporal changes in standards and norms of leisure and consumption may impact upon leisure / consumption expectations
- j. That residual ‘personal preferences’ outwith the range of social science interest will also have an important role in all leisure / consumption patterns .

Empirical Assessments

In the second part of this paper, we review two survey datasets in the light of some of these questions. We begin with attention to the specific contextual elements covered under (e)-(j) above, the expectation being that after making such controls, the integrated analysis anticipated by (a) to (d) becomes more accessible.

Data Sources and Variable Operationalisations

Tables 1 and 2 show the parameters of our data resources. The British data is of a larger scale than the Swiss study, covering a bigger sample of adults and spanning a longer period. It began in 1991 as a nationally representative random sample of households in Britain, though its composition has since been significantly altered by the addition of three ‘booster’ samples, in 1997, 1999 and 2001. Sampling weights

are usually recommended to adjust back for nationally representative analyses with the BHPS, particularly for these later periods. However in the bulk of our outputs below such weights are not utilised, on the grounds that their adjustments make little impact to the multivariate and/or sub-sample based analyses which we undertake. Indeed, the Swiss sample data are usually analysed in an unweighted form below for the same reason. This data is also derived from a nationally representative sample of households first contacted in 1999. Table 1 shows however that attrition of cases from the Swiss panel over time is more pronounced than it has been in the British survey.

Table 2 shows the operationalisation of variables used throughout the subsequent analyses of this paper. The first group of variables are those we extract as indicators of 'Leisure / Consumption' (L/C) activities. The choice of concepts is primarily influenced by availability within the British data (the Swiss study has a much wider range of potentially relevant indicators than this paper does justice to). Those choices lead to a selection of 15 indicators, all defined in terms of binary outcomes, which come from a very wide range of topics and are spread over two levels of measurement (8 are measured at the household level, 7 as individual level responses)³. In addition to the L/C measures, Table 2 also illustrates the form of a number of alternative variable indicators of social stratification position, and other potentially related individual or household level variables. Our analyses proceed on the basis of the claim that the data in Table 2 can be regarded as internationally comparative in the sense that the same variables indicate the same properties in both Britain and Switzerland. In the case of the L/C variables, this claim rests upon the 'pre-harmonisation' associated with the equivalent question wording used in both countries (itself a product of coordinated survey design intentions). In the case of the other measures, reference is made to long literatures on the harmonisation of relevant variables for comparative social science study (eg, Hoffmeyer-Zlotnick and Wolf, 2003).

It is apparent from the range of L/C indicators shown in Table 2 that the longitudinal and cross-nationally comparative research design used in this study is leading to

³ Interested readers can access the details of the relevant questionnaire items via the internet documentation of both surveys – see <http://iserwww.essex.ac.uk/ulsc/bhps/doc/> and <http://www.swisspanel.ch/> respectively.

considerable constraints in the type of Leisure and Consumption activities that we analyse. Indeed, how far these measures can really allow us to test many of the more finely defined hypotheses in the field is open to question. For instance, many of Veblen's hypotheses on the role of L/C factors in society distinguished between the amount of time individuals spent upon relevant consumption activities, whereas our data are operationalised simply in a binary presence/absence format. Equally, the univore-omnivore theses as propounded by Chan and Goldthorpe (2005) refers to data which can to some degree distinguish between 'high brow' and 'low brow' forms of consumption activities, whereas many of our measures are highly ambiguous in this regard (for instance, the 'THES' variable includes attendance at both classical and pop music concerts). Instead, we intend to use our data design to make estimations over the relative impact of longitudinal and cross-national contexts on large scale surveys, with the implication being that more finely defined details of L/C activities might also be expected to exhibit the same patterns of difference.

Bivariate associations between stratification and leisure / consumption

Table 3 offers a first assessment of the magnitude of associations between our selected L/C measures, and a range of indicators of social stratification. It shows firstly that across the range of L/C measures there are consistent, though moderate, patterns of association with stratification measures. In fact, in nearly all L/C indicators, those associations are of a positive nature, insofar as greater stratification advantage correlates with greater propensities to report the relevant L/C outcome.

Table 3 also shows considerable patterns of difference in the magnitude of aggregate association between L/C measures and stratification. This is greatest according to differences in the former, whereby alternative L/C indicators have much greater (eg computer usages; owning a dishwasher in the UK; taking holidays regularly; attending concerts / theatre), or much smaller (eg washing machine ownership; having a garden; participating in a sports club in Switzerland; drinking regularly; participating in home improvements and 'DIY'), associations with stratification differences. Of course, these association statistics refer only to aggregate level patterns across all adults in the samples, and it could well be that they mask greater

or lesser patterning which interacts with other contexts – indeed, subsequent analyses in this paper suggest that this could often be the case.

With regard to representations of alternative stratification indicators, Table 3 illustrates a number of interesting points. Probably the most important is that the order of magnitude of associations are broadly consistent across different stratification measures, a basic pattern of evidence that is easily forgotten amidst more specialised literatures on the advantages and disadvantages of alternative stratification measures. However, after acknowledging this pattern, there are then a large number of more specific variations in the stratification measures which make interesting reading. We see for instance that household level stratification measures are usually a little more strongly correlated to L/C outcomes than are individual level measures; the difference is often slight, though it is more pronounced for income measures. Parental occupational advantage when measured is also strongly correlated to L/C reports in a consistent distribution to the other stratification measures. In several instances, the income measures are more strongly related to L/C measures than are the metric occupational stratification measures (CAMSIS and ISEI), but this is not the case for certain L/C outcomes. And whilst the direct comparison between Eta and Cramer's V statistics is problematic, it is possible to compare the relative differences in the explanation afforded between metric and categorical stratification measures, by noting for which L/C measures the gap is larger than average, and for which it is smaller. Thus for instance, EGP class proves considerably stronger than metric measures in predicting drinking behaviours in Britain, but offers far weaker relative strengths with regard to measures of computer ownership. Overall, Table 3 gives a mixed image with regard to the role of stratification measurement – whilst to some extent an ignorable context, there are, equally, clearly circumstances when it may make a more substantial difference to any analysis. Some further differences according to stratification measures are returned to in the discussion of Table 6.

The third group of patterns of difference potentially illustrated in Table 3 are – perhaps surprisingly - less substantial. The national context, in terms of differences between the British and Swiss data, appears from Table 3 to be minimal. Indeed, there are a number of situations where exactly the same particular patterns of

difference in the impact of stratification measures is seen in both countries (note for instance the comparable range of association statistics for the L/C measure of attending the cinema). A few national differences are evident – for instance, L/C to stratification associations are greater in Britain with regard to car ownership, having access to a dishwasher, owning a second home, and attending a sports club; whilst the same associations are greater in Switzerland with regard to regularly going out for a drink. However, these differences are nowhere near the magnitude exhibited in other cross-national comparative work; moreover, the later tables of this paper also consistently suggest cross national stability.

It can be noted that some authors have interpreted evidence such as that of Table 3 as reason for opposing the ‘individuation’ thesis of leisure / consumption choices, since consistent (if moderate) associations with stratification measures are noted. However, as argued above, this probably overstates the nature of the individuation thesis, which posits the decline, but not necessarily elimination, of stratification to L/C links.

The Univore-Omnivore Thesis

Table 4 and the two related figures extend the general evidence on associations between stratification measures and leisure / consumption activities to explore the ‘Univore-Omnivore’ thesis favoured by a number of recent investigations (eg Chan and Goldthorpe 2005; Peterson and Kern 1996). In its simplest form this states that stratification advantage is typically associated with a greater variety of L/C activities, rather than merely different types of activities. In most instances, the univore-omnivore thesis is expressed in terms of realisations of particular forms of cultural expression (for instance Chan and Goldthorpe’s analysis of different musical tastes). Our data sources do not permit such a substantively focussed examination, yet Table 4 nevertheless suggests that the highly eclectic set of indicators we have are dispersed between respondents in the manner that respondents reporting higher numbers of activities do consistently have higher average stratification locations (Warde and Tampubolon 2002 report similar outcomes for the same BHPS dataset). Moreover, Table 4 suggests this pattern is consistent across a range of different

groups of L/C variables, whether all variables are considered together, or whether we concentrate upon only certain selections of L/C indicators arranged according to themes of coverage.

However, the outcomes of Table 4 do raise the doubt that the observed 'omnivore' patterns for those with greater stratification advantage, arise merely from the corollary that the majority of L/C indicators are individually associated with stratification advantage – under such logic, the additive probability of the number of activities would naturally be higher for those with greater stratification advantage. If this reasoning is followed through, a test of the univore-omnivore thesis in this context would involve asking whether the variety exhibited by the more advantaged actually exceeds that which would have been expected from the additive association of each individual activity. An equivalent expression of this hypothesis is to ask, for those people reporting different numbers of L/C measures, how their actual measure of stratification position compares to that which would have been predicted on the basis of their L/C profile (their actual measure should exceed their predicted measure under the univore-omnivore thesis). In fact, when this latter procedure is implemented, our data's initial support for the univore-omnivore thesis in both countries is removed – for instance, in figures 1 and 2, we see that there is no strong evidence in either country of actual average stratification positions exceeding the expected positions for those people with higher numbers of L/C measures. In this instance, we conclude that our data does not support the univore-omnivore thesis, although again this must be tempered by acknowledgement of the restricted substantive coverage of our L/C indicators.

Geographical Context

Table 5 suggests that our various indicators of lifestyle / consumption behaviours consistently exhibit modest, but statistically significant, degrees of clustering within a variety of alternative indicators of geographic location (the intra-cluster correlation statistic can be read as an estimate of the proportion of variation in the L/C measure that may be associated with geographical unit clusterings). The order of magnitude is

similar in both Britain and Switzerland, with the British cases generally associated with slightly larger geographical impacts. However, equivalence between the geographic levels of analysis from the two countries is difficult to define, and it is particularly unfortunate that the British sample includes no information which can readily allow for a classification between urban and rural locations.

In Britain, the magnitude of clustering associated with the local authority district indicator (local authority localities typically embrace some 100-200 thousand inhabitants) is much greater than that associated with the cruder 3 way regional categorisation (in which local authorities are nested). In Switzerland, the magnitude of clustering associated with Cantons (unevenly dispersed in their size and structure) is also usually greater than that associated with the two more parsimonious categorisations, but there are a few specific exceptions to this pattern (for instance the urban/rural measure has stronger discriminatory power over the indicators of whether the household has a garden, and the language indicator has much stronger power over the indicators of owning a computer and having a computer connected to the internet). The intra-cluster correlations of Table 5 thus suggest the potential relevance of regional opportunity structure upon the analysis of L/C outcomes, though they do not give us any indication of the potential mediating impact of geography upon relations between social stratification and L/C reports. Two analytical strategies are potentially useful to perform this evaluation – the letters in the second rows of Table 5 reflect outcomes from these tests.

The first method is to ask whether estimates of stratification effects are 'robust' to regional clustering effects. This test can be performed in a variety of manners, but our strategy has been to estimate two logistic regression models in which the L/C outcome is predicted by a stratification measure (household CAMSIS score), then a comparison made between the coefficients on the stratification variable for a model before, and after, allowing for the regional clustering. (The first model uses an orthodox logistic regression estimation; the second includes robust standard errors using the Huber-White estimators generated by the STATA 8 package). In Table 5, we use the letter 'C' to indicate situations whereby allowing for robust estimations of the stratification impact alters our interpretation of the coefficient estimate (for instance, whether the estimate overlaps 0 with wider, robust standard errors, when it

did not in the model ignoring geography). This very 'generalist' test is performed in both countries on all geographic levels of detail listed in Table 5. We see however that there are almost no circumstances in Britain, and only a relatively small number of situations in Switzerland, when the interpretation of the stratification coefficient is affected by its robustness to geographical cluster. Moreover, many of these situations refer to L/C variables which are only very weakly associated with stratification measures in any case (see Table 3). On these grounds, we can largely discount the role of geography as a 'generalist' impact upon the stratification-L/C relationship. However, in a few examples in Switzerland (the possession of cars, washing machines, second homes and gardens), Table 5 does suggest that significant misinterpretations may be made in models which ignore robustness to geographical clusters.

The second, and more substantively interesting, method of assessing the impact of geography to analyses of relations between stratification and L/C, is to test whether interpretations are changed when we explicitly allow for the direct predictive effects of regional opportunity structure (rather than the 'generalist' clustering effects of a robustness test). This goes further than the test of robustness above, by incorporating interpretable regression main effects associated with the regional structure within the prediction of an L/C outcome, and by testing whether any significant effects are associated with the interaction between the geographic and stratification measures in their predictions of the L/C outcome. The outcomes from these tests are summarised by the letters N, M, I, and B1/2/3 within the second rows of Table 5 (these evaluations are only performed upon the more parsimonious measures of geographical structure). In this evaluation, we often see that a significant main effect associated with a geographic dummy indicator variable is estimated in the model, frequently to the extent that the geographic main effects model (B2) is favoured by the BIC statistic. However, our interest really focuses upon the significance or otherwise of regression interaction effects between stratification and region (ie, the impact of stratification upon the L/C outcome is different in different regions). On the one hand, we see that the majority of models do not exhibit such significant interaction effects. On the other, we do see a number of models where at least one such interaction effect is significant (indicated by the letter I), and

some circumstances where that impact is substantial enough for the BIC criterion to favour the interaction model.

Such examples are important, as they appear to demonstrate situations in which a model of the stratification to L/C relationship would be substantively misspecified by a failure to account for local regional structure. To describe one example, we see for instance that in Switzerland, propensity for a household member to own a second home is higher for people in households with higher CAMSIS scores, and is also higher for people in rural locations, but that the premium to CAMSIS scores is substantially diminished for those people in rural locations. In conclusion, whilst Table 5 suggests that in most instances geography could be reasonably ignored from a stratification to L/C analysis, there will equally be some situations where this is not the case, and thus that it should always be good practice to check upon the geographical context.

Categorical structuring to the stratification-L/C connection

We saw in Table 3 that the magnitude of associations between categorical, and continuous hierarchical, measures of stratification locations are of a similar order. This suggests the proposition that the main element of stratification association involves graded hierarchy. If accepted, then it is both more convenient, and more accurate, to study stratification effects through the more finely graded 'continuous' measures which emphasise hierarchy. On the other hand, if certain categorical divisions were very strongly associated with differential lifestyle outcomes, in a way which includes a substantial departure from linearity, then it would seem better to study stratification effects in terms of such categorical measures.

We concentrate upon the 11 category EGP class scheme as a potential categorical stratification indicator measure, since this is widely used in other investigations and is claimed to incorporate a number of qualitative boundaries in the occupationally based stratification structure (eg Erikson and Goldthorpe 1993). An approximate comparison can be made between it and the continuous measures of stratification

outcomes by dividing those measures into 11 percentiles. Table 6 then shows the mean numbers of people who respond positively to two selected L/C measures (theatre / concert attendance, and owning a second home), according to their categorisation by the EGP scheme or their percentiles groups. This table gives mixed evidence on the nature of the stratification to L/C connection. On the one hand, the structure is dominated by hierarchy, suggesting the adequacy of metric representations of stratification difference. On the other hand, there are limited instances of non-linearity in the responses according to the metric variables, whilst the proportions associated with the EGP categorisation show much greater variation between categories than was seen for the metric data. Both of these findings suggest that the EGP categorisation does pick up at least some elements related to L/C participation. In fact, outputs in Table 8 on the relationship between stratification position and transitions in L/C states, also suggest patterns whereby the EGP categorisation picks up more structural association with transitions than does a metric measure based on household CAMSIS.

Assessing the Longitudinal Context

The British and Swiss panel studies contain a wealth of data over extended periods of time, and as such may be expected to allow us to evaluate whether stratification to L/C associations vary over time. In Tables 7 and 8 we assess two different forms of temporal associations. In Table 7, varying patterns associated with the joint influences of ‘age’, ‘period’ and ‘cohort’ on the stratification to L/C relations are described. In Table 8, relative (in)stabilities in individual’s records of alternative L/C measures are reviewed, and patterns associated with transitions between L/C states over time are assessed.

Although a common feature of texts describing the benefits of longitudinal datasets (eg, Rose 2000), the claim that panel surveys can help disentangle age, period and cohort effects can be somewhat misleading. In practice, the circumstances when all three influences can be simultaneously accounted for are highly restricted, relying upon both a relatively long observation window, and a clear theoretical rationale for

the categorisation of at least one of the time point measures (such as born before or after a key political event). Our data have neither of those properties – our panels' durations of 12 and 5 years respectively is relatively short term in terms of both aging effects and time period trends; and there are few obvious substantive theories which would make categorical distinctions within measures of either life course stage, birth year, or time of interview. In consequence, in Table 7 we are able only to describe univariate trends associated with each concept, and bivariate indicators of the joint effects of any two of the three factors. However, tests for an interaction effect in a bivariate analysis can serve as a reasonably effective description of the mediation of the two factors around what is presumed to be the third relevant measure.

Thus, Table 7 first shows that a number of the L/C variables are influenced independently by the age of the respondents (particularly when measured in a quadratic or piecewise form); the time point of the interview; and the year of birth of the respondent (presented here only in a linear form). There is considerable cross-national similarity in the distribution of these measures, but substantial diversity in the magnitude of associations between different L/C indicators. Whilst age and cohort effects are widely detected, patterns associated with the time period are seldom discernible, the only notable exceptions being those relating to computer and other technological goods. The later columns of Table 7 then show the joint effects of, either, age and time period, or those of age and birth cohort (the higher cohort referring to people born more recently). In fact, because the three measures are linearly dependent, the mechanics of the models corresponding to the last two columns of Table 7 are identical, though the interpretations of relevant effects can vary slightly by sign and structure. Most interesting in either column are those L/C variables where main effects for both measures can be successfully distinguished (this applies to most indicators), and, even more so, those variables where an interaction term can also be successfully identified (this applies to a handful of factors, shaded bold). To pick on one example, for both Britain and Switzerland, propensity to live in a household which has access to the internet is a negative quadratic function of age in years, and is greater for more recent time periods (or more recent birth cohorts), but the relevant 'AP' or 'AC' interaction also shows that in Britain, more recent years / younger cohorts are more influenced by age in their propensity to access, whilst in Switzerland they are less influenced by age. Thus, the

conclusion from the outputs of Table 7 is that age, period and cohort effects can all influence L/C records. Table 9 in turn gives examples whereby the L/C to stratification relation is mediated after controlling for these temporal effects (see later).

Table 8 then summarises how transitions between L/C states can themselves influence the L/C to stratification association. The first columns show simply that such transitions are relatively common – one reading of the intra-cluster correlation coefficients is that the numbers of people making transitions in the binary realisations of the different L/C variables averages around 20-30% over the variables. The second two columns then ask whether propensity to have just made a transition is related systematically to either current stratification advantage position, or any recent change in stratification position. In this context, relations between stratification and L/C transitions tend to be weak. However (see with regard to the discussion of Table 6), we do see a strong suggestion that patterns of transitions are related much more clearly to either current EGP class position, and/or whether the respondent has made any recent changes in EGP position. Thus, unlike with hierarchical stratification measures, the categorical structures of the EGP scheme seem to capture differences in transition propensity which relate to stratification location. In most but not all circumstances, relations to L/C transitions are greater with transitions in the stratification position than with the actual subsequent position.

The last two columns in Table 8 ask how a selection of factors combine to predict propensities to make L/C transitions within the panel dataset (in terms of panel models where the outcome highlights the record in which the transition has just been made). The first column refers to probabilities of making any sort of transition at all, contrasted with stability; the second column compares probabilities of making transitions which increase the L/C record (absence to presence), with only those transitions which move from presence to absence. The most notable feature of these columns is the regular significance of main effects for both current stratification position (usually, advantage is associated with making a transition) and age (usually, a negative quadratic effect with age). This is a potentially important finding, since the combined outputs suggests that (1) transitions in L/C reports are common, and (2) those transitions are related to both stratification and to longitudinal context.

Modelling Leisure / Consumption within a longitudinal contexts

Table 9 summarizes some of the outputs that the previous tables have come to suggest will be more satisfactory, indeed necessary, ways of accounting for the impacts of stratification upon the analysis of leisure / consumption behaviours. It illustrates a selection of alternative multivariate models in which three L/C outcomes are predicted by measures of stratification, age, gender, time period, regional context, and household structure context indicators. The main lesson concerns the differences between models 1 and 2. In the first model, a strong main effect with stratification position is detected, along with strong quadratic terms associated with the age of respondents – suggesting that age differences alone do not confound the stratification to L/C link. However, when we move to the model 2 equations, the addition of further contextual factors does in most instances act to diminish the main effect of stratification advantage upon L/C outcome. Many of these effects are of a longitudinal nature (for instance the joint role of age and year in predicting access to the internet), and as such, may not have been discerned from earlier cross-sectional analyses. Similarly, the lower panel of the model includes a panel estimation in which lagged L/C records are included as predictors of the current reports. Although this style of model has estimation problems, and acts to shift the substantive focus towards more specific transition activities, it also serves to indicate the considerable longitudinal dependence which can be invoked by the appropriate data.

Conclusions

Our empirical analyses represent a series of explorations in the effects of longitudinal and other contextual factors on our understanding of the relationship between indicators of social stratification position and leisure and consumption participation. Our data is not sufficiently focussed to allow us to satisfactorily build upon some of the more specific research hypotheses asked by other recent papers in the field. However, our findings do to some degree confirm the great many complexities and

confounding factors anticipated by writers from Veblen onwards. They can be read as an argument that we should not be too hasty in dismissing some of the more empirically evasive aspects of sociological theory in the field, since it may be precisely the awareness of contextual complexity which generates such non-empirical stances. Whilst it has been evident that weaknesses in our own data (in terms of the range of indicators of leisure and consumption) compromised the intentions of our analysis, it can equally be claimed that the growing abundance of extended, longitudinal micro-social surveys should allow more focussed analysts increasing empirical purchase upon more satisfactory theoretical questions in the area.

Tables and Figures Referred to in the Text

Table 1: British and Swiss Household Panel survey components					
Year	Britain / UK : BHPS			Switzerland : SHP	
	# H	#P		#H	#P
	<i>Number of households / people from sample of interview respondents aged 18+;</i>				
	<i>#Bal: 'balanced panel' - number of people who are present as adults in all panel waves</i>				
1991	5497	9905			
1992	5220	9493			
1993	5219	9258			
1994	5117	9149			
1995	5022	8925			
1996	5058	9089			
1997	6084	10793	<i>+EHP boost</i>		
1998	5998	10538			
1999	8780	15061	<i>+Welsh / Scottish boosts</i>	5074	9636
2000	8743	14994		4531	8714
2001	10612	18146	<i>+N. Ireland boost; - ECHP</i>	4314	8327
2002	9337	15985		3685	7121
2003				3289	6334
# Bal	5168				5215

Table 2: BHPS and SHP variable operationalisations

Adult population aged 18+ years. Number of categories of categorical variables indicated (), otherwise variable treated as continuous.

	Britain		Switzerland	
	2000	Coverage (waves)	2000	Coverage (waves)
<i>Cells from 2000 (or nearest year with valid data): weighted mean; or proportion positive*100 for dichotomies, or modal category for other categorical (% missing[‡], unweighted, shown if% > 1)</i>				
Leisure / Consumption				
<i>Household has..</i>				
CAR Access to a car (2)	79 (2)	1-12	87	1-5
WASHMC Private washing machine (2)	94 (2)	''	67	''
DISHWS Private dishwasher (2)	31 (2)	''	67	''
PC Home computer (2)	50 (2)	''	67	''
PCI Home computer with internet access (2)	33 (2)	6, 10-12	47 (27)	''
HOM2 someone in hhld owns second home (2)	9 (2)	3-5, 7-12	17	''
GND Private garden / terrace (2)	95 (2)	6-12	82	''
HOL Go on holiday 1+ times a year (2)	76 (2)	''	85	''
<i>Individuals...</i>				
SPO Member of a sports club (2)	17 (3)	1-5,7,9,11	31	1-5
POL Member of a political party (2)	3 (3)	''	5	''
CHA Member of charity (2)	4 (3)	''	7	''
CIN Goes to cinema regularly (2)	13 (4)	6,8,10,12	27	1-5
THES Goes to theatre / concert regularly (2)	33 (4)	''	25	''
DRNK Goes out for a drink regularly (2)	31 (4)	''	48	''
DIY Often does home/garden improvements (2)	39 (4)	''	52	''
Stratification outcomes[†]:				
CS Own job CAMSIS	51 (36)	1-12	49 (26)	1-5
HCS Household conventional [†] CAMSIS	51 (23)	''	50 (15)	''
ISEI Own job ISEI (socio-economic status)	45 (35)	''	46 (30)	''
HISEI Household conventional [†] ISEI	45 (23)	''	47 (19)	''
SK4 ISCO88 skill group (Elias 1993) (4)	2 (35)	''	2 (30)	''
HSK4 Household ISCO88 skill group (4)	2 (23)	''	2 (20)	''
EGP Own job EGP class categorisation (7)	1 (33)	''	1 (12)	''
HEGP Household conventional EGP (7)	1 (22)	''	1 (5)	''
ZPI Personal annual inc., standardised in year	0	''	0 (19)	''
ZHI Household annual inc., stdsd in year	0	''	0 (16)	''
<i>CS7, HCS7, ISEI7, HISEI7, ZPI7, ZHI7 : As above but 7 percentiles (for comparability with EGP)</i>				
EDU3 Highest education, 1 degree level v's 2 intermediate v's 3 low school or note (3)	3 (4)	1-12	2	1-5
Other relevant variables				
FEM Respondent female (2)	54	1-12	52	1-5
AGE Age in years	46	''	47	''
HTP Household: {1 v 2+ adult}*{0 v 1+ chld} (4)	2	''	4	''
COH cohabiting with a partner (2)	60	''	71	''
P{CS} Father's stratif. {CS, ISEI; SK4; EGP}	(circa 20)	''	(circa 15)	''
URB Geographical classification (3)	3	''	2	''
PSU Geographical cluster (B- 333 ; Sw - 26)	-	''	-	''
Sample N (Individuals, 2000)	14,994		8,714	
(Individuals, balanced panel)	5,168		5,215	

† Occupational measures based upon current occupation or last main job if not currently working. Household occupation-based measures used the 'conventional' selection criteria: one household member's occupation is used, prioritising the oldest male within a household, though if there is no such occupation present then the conventional value is based on information from other household sharers. High missing values on occupational measures are largely the result of non-working individuals not being successfully matched with a 'last main job'. Analyses below often proceed on only the currently working population, for whom missing data on current occupational measures averages around 5% for the BHPS, and 2% for the SHP (higher for the SHP for CS and EGP derivations).

‡ BHPS missing data percents for leisure / consumption: individual-level data includes approx 3% of sample who were 'proxy' or 'telephone' interviews; household-level data includes approx 2% of sample who were telephone interviews

Table 3 : Magnitude of association between stratification indicators and consumption / lifestyle measures, all adults aged 18+ years

Cross-sectional weighted BHPS and SHP (first row for UK, second for Switzerland). Usually 2000 panel unless variable only available in 1999 (see table 1).

		CAMSIS	ISEI	Income	EGP7	Skill4	Education
		<i>Individual level / household level / Parental occupation</i>			<i>Cramer's V*100</i>		
		<i>Eta*100</i>					
CAR	Br	13 / 12 / 12	13 / 13 / 11	19 / 36	17 / 21 / 12	15 / 16 / 11	17
	Sw	-4 / -4 / 2	-2 / 1 / -3	6 / 18	5 / 11 / 5	2 / 2 / 3	7
WASHMC	Br	1 / 0 / 2	2 / 2 / 2	7 / 17	5 / 4 / 2	3 / 3 / 3	5
	Sw	0 / 5 / 1	2 / 6 / 1	1 / 17	9 / 15 / 8	4 / 7 / 4	4
DISHWS	Br	19 / 22 / 18	19 / 24 / 17	20 / 37	21 / 27 / 18	19 / 24 / 16	16
	Sw	11 / 13 / 7	8 / 11 / 8	8 / 26	9 / 14 / 8	8 / 13 / 7	8
PC	Br	22 / 22 / 19	22 / 24 / 19	20 / 36	23 / 25 / 20	21 / 24 / 17	22
	Sw	18 / 20 / 12	17 / 22 / 15	9 / 29	16 / 21 / 16	18 / 22 / 14	12
PCI	Br	22 / 23 / 18	23 / 25 / 18	21 / 35	23 / 26 / 19	22 / 24 / 15	24
	Sw	22 / 27 / 17	21 / 31 / 21	13 / 36	21 / 30 / 21	21 / 31 / 18	29
HOM2	Br	10 / 10 / 8	8 / 9 / 7	11 / 15	16 / 19 / 13	12 / 13 / 9	8
	Sw	3 / 2 / 1	4 / 3 / 3	3 / 17	5 / 6 / 5	6 / 5 / 5	7
GDN	Br	0 / 1 / 0	1 / 3 / 0	3 / 10	5 / 7 / 3	2 / 4 / 1	2
	Sw	2 / 4 / 0	5 / 1 / 1	-1 / 13	6 / 10 / 7	4 / 7 / 1	3
HOL	Br	16 / 16 / 10	16 / 17 / 10	18 / 29	19 / 20 / 10	15 / 17 / 9	15
	Sw	18 / 18 / 10	19 / 21 / 13	13 / 21	26 / 27 / 18	16 / 19 / 12	11
SPO	Br	14 / 12 / 11	15 / 13 / 12	18 / 17	16 / 13 / 13	14 / 11 / 9	13
	Sw	8 / 7 / 2	5 / 6 / 3	3 / 12	8 / 7 / 3	7 / 7 / 3	1
POL	Br	8 / 8 / 6	6 / 6 / 6	6 / 4	9 / 8 / 7	9 / 8 / 6	9
	Sw	8 / 8 / 1	8 / 8 / 1	12 / 8	11 / 9 / 2	11 / 9 / 2	10
CRH	Br	6 / 6 / 6	5 / 5 / 6	0 / 2	7 / 6 / 6	6 / 6 / 5	7
	Sw	5 / 5 / 1	5 / 5 / 1	0 / 3	7 / 6 / 3	7 / 7 / 2	6
CIN	Br	8 / 9 / 12	8 / 10 / 13	1 / 11	8 / 9 / 12	7 / 8 / 10	10
	Sw	10 / 10 / 15	10 / 11 / 18	-3 / 11	12 / 11 / 17	9 / 11 / 15	11
THES	Br	24 / 23 / 16	23 / 21 / 16	13 / 16	24 / 24 / 16	21 / 20 / 13	22
	Sw	17 / 18 / 13	20 / 20 / 16	13 / 11	22 / 21 / 15	22 / 22 / 15	20
DRNK	Br	-1 / -2 / 0	-2 / -3 / -3	9 / 9	10 / 5 / 6	4 / 3 / 1	5
	Sw	6 / 5 / 4	7 / 5 / 6	11 / 7	8 / 5 / 8	7 / 5 / 6	7
DIY	Br	-1 / 0 / 1	-1 / 0 / 2	7 / 0	12 / 6 / 6	2 / 1 / 2	7
	Sw	-2 / 2 / 4	-5 / -4 / -7	-5 / 3	4 / 4 / 8	5 / 2 / 6	9

* Significance levels of associations not presented. Given the sample sizes of approx 10k, across variables any association value greater than approx 2 would pass a 95% criterion threshold.

Table 4: Describing the Stratification to Lifestyle/Consumption Link – Evidence for the Univore-Omnivore thesis

Associations between stratification advantage and number of items reported by individuals for 2000 (or 1999 for some BHPS variables)

*Mean household CAMSIS for given number of items present, * = less than 20 cases with this number of records*

L/C variables used:

All (CAR; WASHMC; DISHWS; PC; PCI; HOM2; GDN; HOL; SPO; POL; CRH; CIN; THES; DRNK; DIY)

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
UK	35*	39	42	43	45	46	49	52	56
Switz	53*	53*	49	49	50	50	53	54	57
	9	10	11	12	13	14	15		
UK	57	59	60	62	55*	*	*		
Switz	57	58	60	63	60*	59*	56*		

8 more strongly associated with stratification advantage (DISHWS; PC; PCI; HOL; SPO; POL; CIN; THES)

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
UK	42	44	49	51	55	58	60	63	46*
Switz	49	48	50	52	56	58	60	60	59*

5 household materialist measures (CAR, WASHMC; DISHWS; PC; HOM2)

	0	1	2	3	4	5
UK	46	45	47	51	56	58
Switz	53	53	52	54	57	61

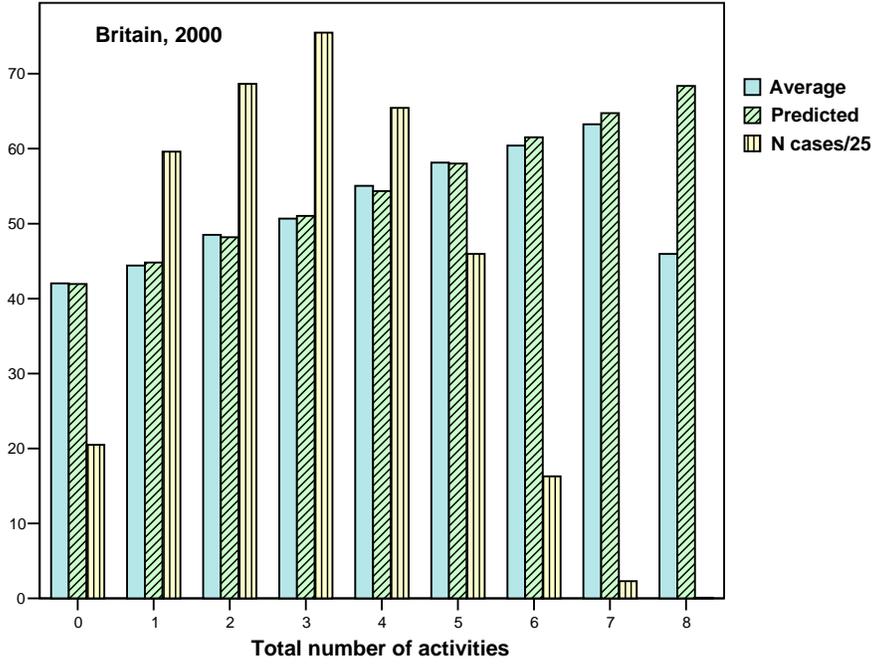
3 cultural consumption measures (CIN; THES; DRNK)

	0	1	2	3
UK	48	52	54	58
Switz	53	54	57	61

3 social organisation measures (SPO; POL; CRH)

	0	1	2	3
UK	50	55	58	48*
Switz	54	56	58	57*

Number of activities by average, and predicted, CAMSIS



Number of activities by average, and predicted, CAMSIS

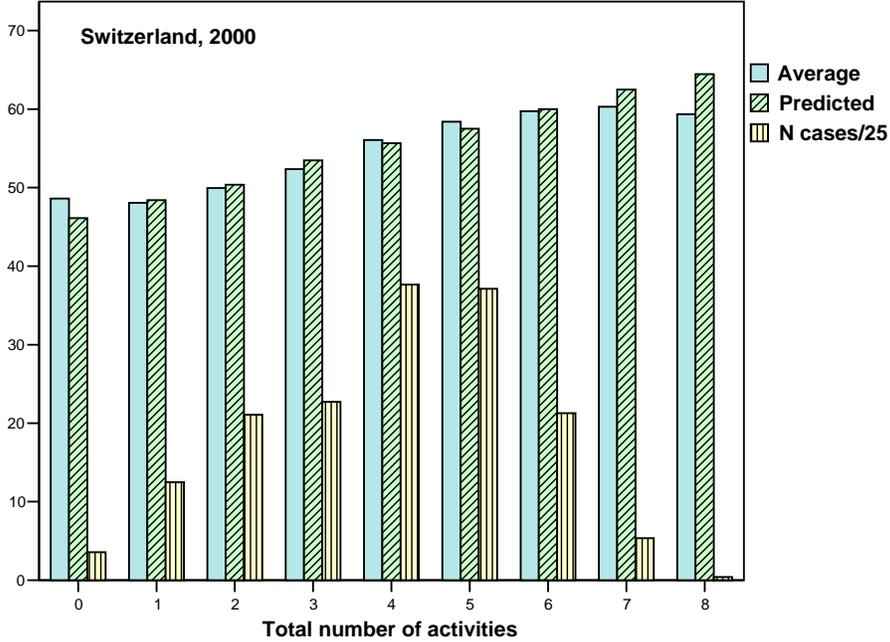


Table 5: Associations between geographical clusters and Leisure / Consumption indicators

(Year 2000 only, or 1999 if not available in 2000)

	UK		CANTON (26 units)	Switzerland	
	LADISTC (333 units)	LOCAT (3 categories)		URBAN (3 categories)	LINGU (3 languages)
	<i>Row 1: ICC (Rho)*100, {} if non-significant at 5% criteria</i>				
	<i>Row2: contribution of geographical effects in mediating L/C-stratification link*</i>				
CAR	12.2	11.5 <i>M, I, B3</i>	9.9	11.5 <i>C, M, I, B2</i>	{0.3} <i>C, M, I, B1</i>
WASHMC	13.4	4.8 <i>M, I, B2</i>	6.1	7.9 <i>C, M, I, B3</i>	{0.0} <i>M, B1</i>
DISHWS	10.6	7.1 <i>N, I, B3</i>	2.4	2.9 <i>M, I, B2</i>	3.2 <i>M, I, B2</i>
PC	5.6	7.1 <i>N, B1</i>	3.3	{0.3} <i>M, I, B2</i>	7.1 <i>M, B2</i>
PCI	5.0	7.1 <i>M, B1</i>	3.3	3.2 <i>M, B1</i>	11.7 <i>M, B2</i>
HOM2	15.6	11.5 <i>N, B1</i>	4.1	{0.0} <i>C, N, I, B3</i>	7.9 <i>M, I, B2</i>
GND	27.2	11.5 <i>M, I, B2</i>	8.4	11.5 <i>C, M, I, B2</i>	9.1 <i>M, I, B2</i>
HOL	8.4	3.3 <i>N, B1</i>	3.3	3.3 <i>M, I, B3</i>	{0.0} <i>M, I, B3</i>
SPO	2.7	{0.0} <i>N, B1</i>	1.4	{0.4} <i>M, B2</i>	7.1 <i>C, M, B2</i>
POL	9.9	{0.1} <i>N, B1</i>	3.3	0.8 <i>M, B1</i>	2.3 <i>M, B2</i>
CHA	4.1	{0.0} <i>N, B1</i>	{0.0}	{0.0} <i>M, B1</i>	{0.2} <i>M, B1</i>
CIN	4.7	3.3 <i>M, B1</i>	4.0	3.3 <i>M, I, B2</i>	1.9 <i>M, B2</i>
THES	4.7	3.3 <i>M, B2</i>	2.8	3.3 <i>M, B2</i>	1.5 <i>M, I, B2</i>
DRNK	3.0	{0.0} <i>C, N, B1</i>	{0.3}	{0.8} <i>M, I, B2</i>	{0.3} <i>M, I, B1</i>
DIY	5.2	3.6 <i>M, I, B2</i>	1.0	3.4 <i>M, B2</i>	{0.2} <i>C, N, B1</i>

LADISTC: UK Local authority districts; **LOCAT:** 3-fold UK geographical classification – London v's South and central England v's Northern England and beyond; **CANTON:** Swiss administrative districts; **URBAN:** Swiss geographical classification – Urban centre v's Suburban v's Rural; **LINGU:** Swiss language classification – French v's German v's Italian (others excluded)

Descriptions of contributions to logistic regression models: LC outcome= Household CAMSIS
+Geographical unit dummy indicator + CAMSIS*Geography interactions:

- *C:* main effect of household CAMSIS is changed significantly with robust standard errors
- *N:* No significant geographical dummy main effects
- *M:* One or more significant geographical dummy main effects
- *I:* One or more significant effects for interaction terms geographical dummy*CAMSIS
- *B1/2/3 :* BIC statistic favours models *N / M / I*.

Table 6: Categorical structuring in stratification- lifestyle associations

Adults aged 18+, weighted by BHPS / SHP cross-sectional weights

Ntile rank / EGP	Britain 2000				Switzerland 2000			
	CAM	ISEI	Income	EGP	CAM	ISEI	Income	EGP‡
	<i>mean in category 1 within each Ntile / EGP</i>							
	THES : Attends theatre once a month or more often							
11 (I)	58	57	49	51	51	38*	35	36
10 (II)	49	46	43	45	40	40	33	33
9 (IIIa)	48	45	42	39	38	51	25	21
8 (IIIb)	37	45	33	33				
7 (IVa)	40	38	34	36	27	29	21	33†
6 (IVb)	35	30	30	30	24	29	25	16
5 (IVc)	30	35	31	30	21	17*	23	4
4 (V)	24	22*	27	24	15	29	20	14
3 (VI)	23	23*	24	25	14	11	22	12
2 (VIIa)	22	31	27	21	12	12	19	14
1 (VIIb)	22	21	24	18†	12	12	22	18†
Cramer's V	25	22	18	24	29	26	12	23
	SECH : Owns a second home							
11 (I)	14	16	18	15	23	18	27	22
10 (II)	12*	12	9*	11	20	19	20	14
9 (IIIa)	12*	13	14	9	20	9*	16	13
8 (IIIb)	18	11*	9	2				
7 (IVa)	13	16	10	19	14	18	15	28
6 (IVb)	7	10	10	14	14	13	15	14
5 (IVc)	9	8	7	50	16	13	15	21
4 (V)	9	7	6	6	11*	12	12	12
3 (VI)	4*	9	5	4	14	16	15	15
2 (VIIa)	7	5	3	5	15	15	12	15
1 (VIIb)	5	4	5	2†	17	14	14	12
Cramer's V	0.14	0.11	0.15	0.21	0.09	0.07	0.12	0.10

*Non-linearity (continuous vars): estimates 95% CI's are below those of any lower ranked categories.

†Cell contains less than 100 unweighted cases

‡For Switzerland the EGP categorisation merges IIIa and IIIb.

Table 7 : Longitudinal associations with lifestyle / consumption measures (a): Age, Period and Cohort effects

Row 1: UK

Row 2: Switzerland

	Age effects			Period effect		Birth cohort	Distinguishing Age, Period and Cohort	
	Lin	Quad	Cat-6	Lin	Cat		A + P + AP	A + C + AC
	<i>Pseudo R-2*100 [blank if zero]</i>						<i>Sign of significant coefficients</i>	
CAR		6	3				-Aq + AP	-Aq + AC
	4	5	5		3	4	-Aq	-A - C + AC
WASHM		4	3	1	1		-Aq + P + AP	-Aq + C + AC
			1				-A + P	+A + C
DISHWS		3	3	5	5	1	-Aq + P + AP	+Aq + C + AC
	1	1	5	1	1	2	-Aq + P	+C
PC		3	3	7	7	3	-Aq + P + AP	-Aq + C + AC
	2	5	5	4	4	5	-Aq + P	-Aq + C
PCI	3	5	5	2	4	4	-Aq + P + AP	-Aq + C + AC
	1	3	3	12	12	3	-Aq + P - AP	-Aq + C - AC
HOM2		1	1				-Aq - P	-Aq - C
			1					-C
GND	1	2	2			1	-Aq + P	-Aq + C
							-Aq - P	-Aq - C
HOL		1	1	1	1		-Aq + P - AP	-Aq + C - AC
	1	1	1	1	2	1	-Aq + P - AP	-Aq + C - AC
SPO	2	2	2			2	-Aq - P + AP	-A - C + AC
	1	1	1			1	-A + P	-C
POL	2	2	2		1	2	-Aq - P	-Aq - C
	1	2	2			1	-Aq + P	-Aq + C
CHA		1	1				-Aq - P	-Aq - C
	1	2	1			1	-Aq - P	-Aq - C
CIN	12	12	12			12	+Aq - P	+Aq - C + AC
	8	9	8			8	-Aq	-Aq
THES								-Aq + C
							-Aq	-Aq
DRNK	5	5	5			4	+Aq - P	+Aq - C
	1	1	2			1	+Aq + P	+Aq + C
DIY	2	4	4			2	-Aq - P	-Aq - C
	1	2	2			2	-Aq - P + AP	-Aq - C

All figures refer to logistic regressions predicting L/C outcome (random effects panel model). Regression coefficients show sign of estimates with p-value significance < 0.05 for corresponding concept, q for Age effects represents quadratic rather than linear functional form.

Table 8 : Longitudinal associations with lifestyle / consumption measures (b): Transitions between L/C reports

Row 1: UK

Row 2: Switzerland

	ICC (Rho)	Tran %	Stratif		Transitions predictors	
			HCAM Eta*100 [blank=0]	HEGP V*100	Any transition	0 to 1 v's 1 to 0
CAR	88	4		5 / 2	C, A, Δ, F	C
	86	2		3 / 3	A	A
WASHM	79	3		2 / 2	C, A, F	A
	87	9		3 / 9	C, A	A
DISHWS	84	4		4 / 2	C, A	C, A, Δ
	90	4		4 / 3	C, A	A
PC	72	11		2 / 5	C, A, Δ	C, A
	89	6	1 / 0	6 / 5	C, F	
PCI	92	10		4 / 11	C, A	C, A, Δ
	91	8		4 / 10	C, A, F	C, A
HOM2	79	5		6 / 5	C, A, Δ	
	83	7		4 / 10	C, A	A
GND	77	4		3 / 4	A, F	
	72	10		5 / 9	C, A	Δ
HOL	71	13	1 / 0	6 / 10	C, A, Δ	
	80	7		7 / 8	C, A, Δ	
SPO	70	9		5 / 10	C, A, Δ, F	
	75	13		3 / 14	A	
POL	84	1		3 / 5	C, A, F	
	85	2		4 / 8	A, F	
CHA	70	3		4 / 7	C, F	
	63	6		4 / 11	C, A, F	
CIN	73	7		3 / 9	C, A, Δ	C, A
	80	11		3 / 13	C, A	
THES	73	12		4 / 19	C, F	A
	66	14	1 / 0	5 / 15	C, A, F	A
DRNK	89	9		3 / 13	C, A	C, A
	59	20		3 / 18	A	
DIY	70	13		2 / 21	C, A, F	C
	66	18		2 / 17	C, A, Δ	

ICC gives intra-cluster correlation of L/C records within panel datasets. *'Stratif'* gives association between L/C transition and (i) current stratification location, or (ii) change in stratification location. *'Tran'* gives percent of all records which have different L/C value to corresponding person last year. *Regression coefficients* show significance only of terms associated with stratification position (C), age (A), transitions in stratification position (Δ) and gender (F), in predicting either any change in L/C at all over last year, or, specifically, change to increase L/C contrasted with change to end L/C.

* / ** / *** : p-value of significance criterion is 10-5%; 5-1% lt 1%; ns for no significant effect

Table 9: Modelling Leisure/Consumption outcomes and the Longitudinal Context

	Attends theatre often		Attends cinema often		PC with internet	
	UK	Switz	UK	Switz	UK	Switz
N	26,239	18714	26242	18715	79235	15686
<i>Model [1] – Main effect, age, gender only</i>						
CAM	+++	+++	+++	+++	+++	+++
Age	+++	+++	---	---	+++	+++
Age-2	---	---	+++	+++	---	---
Fem	+++	+++	{+}	{-}	---	---
-loglike	14601	8298	9980	7755	42181	7942
Rho	0.64	0.61	0.61	0.72	0.59	0.70
<i>Model [2] – Highly parameterised</i>						
CAM	+++	{-}	{+}	{-}	--	{+}
Age	{-}	{+}	---	---	+++	+++
Age-2	{-}	---	+++	+++	---	---
Year	+	{+}	{-}	{+}	+++	+++
Fem	+++	+++	{+}	{-}	---	---
CAM*Age	+++	+++	{+}	+	++	+++
Age*Year	{-}	{-}	+++	{-}	---	---
Region1	+++	{+}	{+}	{+}	{+}	{+}
Region2	{+}	{+}	{-}	-	---	{-}
CAM*Reg1	{-}	{+}	{+}	{+}	{+}	{-}
CAM*Reg2	{-}	{-}	{+}	{+}	+++	{-}
HTYP=1	{+}	{-}	{-}	{+}	---	{-}
HTYP=3	---	{-}	-	{-}	{+}	{+}
HTYP=4	---	{-}	---	{-}	+++	{+}
CAM*HT1	{+}	{+}	{+}	{+}	++	{-}
CAM*HT1	{+}	{+}	{+}	{+}	{-}	{-}
CAM*HT1	{-}	{-}	{-}	{+}	{-}	{+}
-LogLike	14373	8202	9781	7589	40226	6766
Rho	0.63	0.59	0.61	0.70	0.60	0.82
<i>Models incorporating lag effects:</i>						
N	16060	12271	16058	12270	61918	9368
CAM	{+}	{+}	{-}	{-}	+	{-}
CAM*Age	+	++	+++	+++	+++	+++
Lag(Dep)	+++	+++	+++	+++	+++	+++
Ch-HTYP	---	---	---	{+}	---	{-}
<i>{Other coefficients estimated as [2] above but excluded from presentation}</i>						
CAM[1]	+++	+++	+++	+++	+++	+++
-Loglike	8144	5146	5461	4566	27634	3117
-Loglike[1]	9200	5554	6005	5209	33277	4119
Rho	0.00	0.00	0.06	0.00	0.12	0.21

- / -- / --- / + / ++ / +++ / {} Sign and significant of coefficient estimate – 10%, 5%, 1%, ns

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