Centre de recherche en économie et statistique

Série des Documents de Travail

n° 2016-25

The Effects of Parents' Lifestyle on Their Children's Status Attainment and Lifestyle in the Netherlands

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THE EFFECTS OF PARENTS' LIFESTYLE ON THEIR CHILDREN'S STATUS ATTAINMENT AND LIFESTYLE IN THE NETHERLANDS

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This version: June, 2016

Abstract

According to the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, parents transmit the taste patterns and lifestyle of their social status group to their children. These taste patterns and lifestyles are assumed to support or to frustrate them in their career and in the maintenance of their social position in their further life course. Therefore, the lifestyle of the parents would strongly contribute to the persistence of social inequality.

In this paper, we examine to what extent parents have affected the status attainment of their adult children through the cultural and economic dimensions of their lifestyle when their child was growing up, and to what extent they actually have passed their lifestyle on to their adult children. We also examine whether the reproduction process occurs more strongly in the cultural or in the economic dimension of social stratification.

The data, collected in 2000, refer to a sample of 399 young Dutch adults aged between 20 and 40 who have been interviewed on a broad range of lifestyle characteristics derived from Bourdieu's book 'Distinction'. Also their parents have reported independently on the lifestyle in the parental family at the time their child was around 12 years of age. The data on both parents and their grown-up children offer a unique opportunity to study the role of lifestyles in the intergenerational reproduction of social inequalities.

We conclude that parents pass their lifestyle on to their children. Children who were raised with a more cultural lifestyle have, as adults, a more cultural lifestyle themselves, and those who were raised with a more economic lifestyle have more economic lifestyle in their adult life. We also find that both the cultural and the economic dimensions of the parents' lifestyle lead to advantages in education, occupation and income of their adult children. As such, the cultural and economic lifestyle of the parents is one mechanism by which parents pass on their social status position to their children. We also find some indications that in the intergenerational transmission of social status the cultural status dimension is more important than the economic dimension.

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1.1 Introduction

In his book 'Distinction' (1984[1979]), Bourdieu describes how in music, art, clothing, food, drinks, appearance and leisure activities, often the same intention or style is expressed (Bourdieu, 1984[1979], 173), and how these taste patterns or lifestyles follow from people's position in 'social space', defined by an economic and a cultural hierarchy (Bourdieu, 1984[1979], 175-176). Lifestyles vary according to the position in this two-dimensional social space: the composed lifestyles of the higher social status groups are distinct from the unpretentious lifestyles of the lower status groups, and the traditional and rich lifestyles of the property owners compared to the cultural and more ascetic taste expressions of the intellectuals and those who hold positions in the cultural field.

In Bourdieu's view, tastes and lifestyles play a crucial role in the persistence of social inequality. The higher classes use their 'good taste' to help their children in status attainment. For those who did not grow up in a higher status family, the lack of appropriate taste and lifestyle would be a serious barrier for upward mobility. Within the higher status groups, the strategies for social reproduction differ between the two 'fractions' of the higher social status groups. The status groups that owe their position to their high education and their cultural position use their cultural lifestyle to help their children attain a high education and a status position in the cultural field or science, like themselves. They invest in their children's education and their cultural capital, whereas the status groups that have a strong financial position will try to pass on their position by economic investments, outside the educational system (Bourdieu, 1984[1979], 120).

Bourdieu thus proposes the lifestyle of the family of origin as a key mechanism for explaining the rather persistent correlation between family social background and status attainment. This proposition inspired many scholars in social stratification research to seek empirical evidence, also following Bourdieu's other work (Bourdieu and Passeron, 2000[1977]). In particular, the effect of cultural capital on educational attainment was tested in a number of studies, and often positive effects of cultural capital on school outcomes were found (Aschaffenburg and Maas, 1998; DiMaggio, 1982; De Graaf, 1986; De Graaf et al., 2000; De Graaf and De Graaf, 2002; Jaeger, 2009; Evans et al. 2010; Kraaykamp and Van Eijck, 2010; Jaeger and Breen, 2016). The formation of cultural capital itself was also studied (DiMaggio and Useem, 1978; Van Eijk, 1997; Nagel and Ganzeboom, 2002; Wel et al., 2006; Jaeger, 2009; Kraaykamp and Van Eijck, 2010; Nagel, 2010; Sullivan, 2011; Yaish and Katz-Gerro, 2012; Van Nagel and Verboord, 2012; Willekens and Lievens, 2014). In line with Bourdieu's views, in these studies the cultural socialization in the parental family arises as a main determinant of cultural capital, next to the level of education.

Although the ideas of Bourdieu on the origins of lifestyles apply to both cultural and economic dimensions of social structure, not many studies have examined a wider range of lifestyle domains (Sulllivan, 2011). Exceptions are De Graaf (1986), De Graaf and De Graaf (1988), Ganzeboom (1988; 1990), Kraaykamp and Nieuwbeerta (2000), in which the cultural and economic dimensions of parental lifestyle are studied simultaneously.

In this paper, we aim to contribute to the literature by studying the effects of the cultural and economic dimensions of parents' lifestyle[3] on their adult children's cultural and economic social

[3] Different terms are used in the literature that connote some meanings that could be confusing. An 'economic' lifestyle (De Graaf and De Graaf, 1988; Ganzeboom, 1990) might appear to indicate a specific relationship with

status position, and on the cultural and economic dimensions of their lifestyle. We do not only include cultural participation, but also the housing and luxury goods of the parents. With respect to the lifestyle of the young adult respondents, we study a broader range of taste patterns and lifestyles which include: cultural taste, cultural participation, TV, food, vacations, manners, appearance, health and economic goods. Our research questions read:

- To what extent do economic and cultural dimensions of parent's lifestyles affect the economic and cultural dimensions of the social position and lifestyles of their adult children?
- To what extent do economic and cultural dimensions of parent's lifestyles offer an explanation for the relation between the effects of parents' social position and the social position of their adult children?
- Is the influence of parents' lifestyle on the social position and lifestyles of their adult children stronger in either one of the two dimensions?

We use a data set from the Netherlands that contains a broad range of lifestyle features, roughly derived from Distinction. The data (LISO: Verboord & Nagel, 2001) were collected in 2000 as part of the research project 'Youth & Culture' (Ganzeboom & Nagel, 1998-2002), a set of related cross-sectional and panel data on cultural and literary consumption among Dutch adolescents and young adults. We use a sample of 399 young adults between the ages of 20 and 40 who were interviewed on their current lifestyles. One of their parents provided information on their own lifestyle at the time their child was growing up.

1.2 Hypotheses

In Bourdieu's model of social structure, there is not only a vertical status hierarchy that differentiates the higher from the lower status groups (Bourdieu, 1984[1979], 114), but also within the middle and higher social strata, a horizontal division between those that owe their status to their financial position and their property and those that owe it to their education or their artistic orientation (Bourdieu, 1984[1979], 115). Social positions high in economic status are professions in the financial world, in banking, owners of large companies, professions usually characterized by high earnings, but not necessarily by a high education. High cultural status positions are characterized by a high education and a focus on information, knowledge and culture, like positions in science, university workers, teachers, and in the cultural sector, artists. The social structure can be pictured as a two-dimensional social space defined by an economic and a cultural hierarchy (Bourdieu, 1984[1979], 128-129).

The two-dimensionality of the social structure is reflected in the structuring of lifestyles that also can be conceived as differentiated by a cultural and economic hierarchy that both run from low to high status and that are positively correlated. The first main differentiation in lifestyles arises between higher and lower social status groups. As described by Bourdieu in Distinction (1984[1979]), stylistic arguments govern the lifestyles of the higher status groups. Their lifestyles are composed, intended to show their favorable social status position and express that choices are derived from aesthetic arguments and not directly out of practical utility, as is the case for the lifestyle of lower social status groups. The style of life of the higher status groups manifests itself primarily by the attitude towards

money. A 'material' lifestyle (Kraaykamp and Nieuwbeerta, 2000) suggests a reference to consumer goods mainly. We use the term 'economic' in accordance to the 'economic' capital in Bourdieu's analysis.

art, but stylistic arguments also apply to areas like cooking, appearance, and home interior, in which aesthetics are not the primary purpose.

The lifestyle of the lower social status groups is merely practical, the direct consequence of cultural and economic scarcity, resulting from necessity as Bourdieu states it (Bourdieu, 1984[1979], 177). Stylistic arguments would not play a role in these groups. Choices are straightforward, aimed at immediate satisfaction, without consideration of long term benefits, and based on the available resources. Although there would be some attention for style, decorations comply with conventional norms and are only tolerated as long as they are not too expensive, as attempts to identify with higher social status groups are rejected (Bourdieu, 1984[1979], 379-381). The middle classes on the other hand try to imitate the lifestyles of the higher social status groups, although, due to their scarcer amount of economic and cultural capital, this generally results in "the minor forms of the legitimate cultural goods and practices" (Bourdieu, 1984[1979], 319).

According to Bourdieu, within the middle and higher social status groups a second lifestyle differentiation occurs (Bourdieu, 1984[1979], 286, 292). In social status groups that are particularly high in economic status, lifestyles are characterized by a hedonistic attitude and express a taste for luxury. In all fields these social status groups would demonstrate that they want the best they can get, and that they are prepared to pay for that. The economic richness would be manifested by expensive and prestigious choices (Bourdieu, 1984[1979], 286). In the higher cultural status groups, like teachers, artists, and scientists, lifestyles would express their cultural knowledge and familiarity with highbrow culture. These social status groups distinguish themselves by their artistic competence and the ability to develop new tastes and reach exclusiveness this way. The lifestyles of these groups would be more sober than those of the higher economic status groups (Bourdieu, 1984[1979], 286), reflecting the relative scarceness of economic resources, but also as a reaction against the economic and comfortable lifestyles of the economic elite.

In Bourdieu's view, lifestyle differences are grounded in class origins and are rather persistent over generations due to the strong intergenerational reproduction of taste and lifestyles. Bourdieu assumes that tastes and lifestyles emerge from the long and slow process of socialization in the parental family, during which children are exposed repeatedly and during a long time to the habits and values of their parents. This is in fact the formation of the so-called 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1984[1979], e.g. 101), the process by which children internalize the tastes and behaviors of their parents. The habitus can be considered as the reflection of the primary socialization in the lifestyle of the parents' social status group. We expect, therefore, that there will be a strong intergenerational transmission of the lifestyle of the parents into their (adult) children's lifestyle, which will particularly occur within the same dimension of stratification.[4] The **lifestyle-hypotheses** read:

A: The more *cultural* the lifestyle of the parents was during socialization, the more *cultural the lifestyle* of their adult children will be.
B: The more *economic* the lifestyle of the parents was during socialization, the more *economic the lifestyle* (b) of their adult children will be.

In Bourdieu's view, higher status parents use their lifestyle to help their children attain a similarly high status position as themselves. This happens first in education (Bourdieu and Passeron,

[4] Bourdieu himself has not developed very precise considerations on this subject. Nevertheless, we believe that our understanding is the most coherent given his analytical apparatus.

1990[1977]). In particular, children who have been familiarized with highbrow culture by their parents would do better in school and attain a higher education than other students. This is because their familiarity with culture corresponds to what in schools is taught and valued, and ensures that these children are well prepared for school life. This gives them an advantage over other children who experience the school as an unfamiliar environment, quite different from the manners and values they have grown up with. Moreover, teachers, as representatives of the higher cultural social positions, evaluate their students' lifestyle to estimate the future positions they think fit, a judgment that is expressed in the grades they give. As a result, the children of parents who are highly educated and have a high cultural status position are most successful in school, and consequently move on to the higher cultural status positions, just like their parents.

The selection processes by cultural lifestyles that underlie educational attainment are assumed to operate this way generally in the occupational career, and in mate selection. Social status groups consider the lifestyle of potential new members and this way evaluate them as fit or unfit for entrance into their groups. Whereas a more culturally oriented lifestyle of the parents will pay off especially in education, and in occupations in the cultural field and in (higher) education, we can expect that an economic lifestyle will give social advantages in more economically oriented, commercial occupations, in business and management, and will also lead to higher incomes. We therefore expect the lifestyle of the parents to have an impact on the social status position of their children, again largely in the same dimension of stratification. The **social reproduction hypotheses** read:

A: The more *cultural* the lifestyle of the parents was during socialization, the higher the *education and cultural position* of their adult children will be.
B: The more *economic* the lifestyle of the parents was during socialization, the higher the *income and economic position* of their adult children will be.
C: Parents' lifestyle will (at least partly) explain the effects of parents' social position on their children's *social position.*

According to Bourdieu, family class origins are so important because tastes and lifestyles are acquired in the parental family during socialization. However, whereas in Distinction Bourdieu describes that family or class origins are important across all lifestyles domains, in The Love of Art (Bourdieu and Darbel, 1969) it is argued that family influences are most strongly visible in cultural knowledge and the appreciation of art. He attributes this to the presumed long lasting, slow and gradual familiarization that is necessary to make the fine distinctions in art and to develop the 'right' taste in art, and which could only be offered by socialization in the parental family. This suggests that the family influences would be strongest in the cultural dimension of the social space (cultural dominance). It can be derived that:

D: The effect of the *cultural* dimension of parents' lifestyle on the *education and cultural position* of their adult children and on the degree to which their lifestyle can be defined as cultural is stronger than the effect of the *economic* dimension of parents' lifestyle on the *income and economic position* of their adult children and *the degree to which their lifestyle can be defined as economic*.

The theoretical model is presented in Figure 1.

<figure 1>

1.3 Data, variable construction, and method

1.3.1 Data

The data were collected as part of the research project 'Youth & Culture' (Ganzeboom & Nagel, 1998-2002), a set of related cross-sectional and panel data on cultural and literary consumption among Dutch adolescents and young adults. In this paper we use the LISO-dataset (Verboord & Nagel, 2001)[5], which was collected in 2000 and refers to a sample of 399 former secondary school students, who took part in their secondary school's final examinations between 1975 and 1998.

The sampling started in 14 towns spread across the Netherlands, in which on average three secondary schools were selected. These schools provided lists of classes of former students who did their secondary school exams between 1975 and 2000, from which classes were selected for a sample stratified by examination year, schooling level, and availability of the teacher in Dutch language (for another project (see Verboord, 2003). Next, within each class a random selection was made of 16 students who were approached to participate in the research. In Verboord (2003) (with a summary in English), the sampling design is comprehensively discussed.

Of the sample of former secondary school students (N = 1524), who at the time of the interview were roughly between the ages of 20 and 40, 74% (N = 1131) were located and approached for a telephone interview and a follow-up questionnaire by post. In addition, one of the parents (if possible the mother) of these students was asked to participate in the research, also by taking part in a telephone interview and a self-administered survey. In fact, the old addresses from the school administrations in many cases still belonged to the parents and often it was this way the current addresses of their adult children could be tracked down.[6] For this paper, we selected the 621 students who took part in both the telephone interview and filled in the written questionnaire, and of them we took those whose parents also responded to both parents' surveys (N = 453). Finally we selected only respondents who did not live at home with their parents (N = 399). These respondents, 49% females, are born between 1956 and 1980 (mean age 33); their mother's birth year is between 1914 and 1957 (mean age 61). More details are in Verboord (2003).

The sample refers to a population of former secondary school students of examination cohorts between 1975 and 1998 and is as such only representative of that part of the Dutch population. Although the size of the data set is only moderate, it contains a wide range of lifestyle variables derived from the lifestyle features described in Bourdieu's Distinction. Some of these have been used before in Dutch surveys (Ganzeboom, 1988; De Graaf et al., 1998). A chief advantage of the data is the independently collected information on parents and their adult children, which offers excellent

[5] Funded by The Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) (projects 301-80-801 'Literatuuropvattingen', and 'Culturele canons en culturele competenties').

[6] Selection was to be kept at a minimum by organizing several rounds of data collection, searching for addresses through registers, telephone interviews, and sending as written questionnaires as necessary, all to emphasize the broad context of the research to the respondents (Verboord, 2003, 42). Although among the total sample of responding students (711) the higher levels of secondary education are overrepresented, Verboord (2003, 42) concludes that apart from the level of education, there is not much reason to suspect that this sample strongly deviates from the original one.

opportunities to test processes of cultural reproduction and intergenerational transmission of lifestyles.

1.3.2 Variable construction

1.3.2.1 Social background

The data contain several indicators of social background, representing to varying degrees the cultural and economic status position. They are described in Table 1.

<Table 1 >

The first part of Table 1 presents the information on the level of education (including the rankings of the categories). The respondents' highest attained educational level was constructed as the last of all secondary and tertiary (finished or current) schooling levels named by the respondent. Most students have achieved follow-up education. Secondary vocational education (MBO) can be considered as the typical follow-up education for prevocational (VBO) and junior general secondary education (MAVO); higher professional education (HBO) aims at students from senior general education (HAVO); and university is the intended level of education for pre-university students (VWO, gymnasium). The highest educational level of the parents, constructed as the maximum of father's and mother's education, is measured in the same categories. The second part of Table 1 presents the net income of the respondent, and the sum of their parents' income when the respondent was about 12 years old. The questions on income were asked in eight categories (in Dutch guilders). These were transformed into continuous variables, and transferred to euros. The parents' income was ranked into 10 deciles by birth cohort (quartile) of the mother.

With respect to occupation, we use the information provided by respondents and their fathers through open questions.[7] Two continuous occupational status scales were used, developed by Ganzeboom, De Graaf and Kalmijn (1987) and also described in Ganzeboom (1990, 206), in which occupations are characterized by a cultural and an economic status score. The scaling is based on 161 occupations that were coded in an expert scaling procedure to represent the two dimensional status hierarchy as proposed by Bourdieu in Distinction (Bourdieu, 1984[1979], 128-129). This way, social status positions are defined by their ranking on both the cultural and the economic dimension, see Figure 2. As suggested by Bourdieu, the two dimensions correlate strongly (r = .77, Ganzeboom, De Graaf and Kalmijn (1987, 161)), because at the bottom of the status hierarchies they coincide, whereas at the top the two dimensions differentiate more clearly into culturally and economically oriented occupations. In this sample we also find a strong positive correlation between the two dimensions of occupational status (r =.587 for respondents' occupation; r = .817 for father's occupation).The strong positive correlation indicates that occupations with a high cultural status tend to have also a high economic status. However, the correlation is not perfect, which signifies the differentiation between the cultural and economic fractions of the higher status groups.

<Figure 2>

1.3.2.2 Parents' lifestyle when their child was growing up

[7] For the children, the information from the written questionnaire was used if anything was missing from the telephone interview. For the parents this information was only available in the telephone interview.

Parents were asked to report on their own lifestyle at the time their child was around 12 years old. The questions aimed to capture the cultural and economic dimensions of the lifestyle of the higher and lower social status groups. First, from a range of activities, if they answered that they took part in the activity in the past 12 months, they estimated their frequency of participation on a 5-point scale ranging from 'less than once a year' to 'once a month or more often'. Parents' participation in ***performing arts*** is measured by their attendance of theatre, cabaret, opera, ballet and classical concerts (Cronbach's alpha .768), and their ***museum attendance*** by their visits to art and non-art museums and galleries (Cronbach's alpha .718). Possession of cultural goods and of books are included as indicators of a cultural lifestyle, and at the same time also of an economic lifestyle. ***Possession of cultural goods*** is measured by the presence of antique furniture, a piano, a violin, modern and old art, paintings, and records of classical music (Cronbach's alpha .589). ***Possession of books*** is measured by the number of books (5 and 6 categories), in particular art and history books (2 categories) (Cronbach's alpha .804). The ***size of the house*** at the time their child was around 12, is measured by whether it was a free-standing or corner house, the number of bedrooms (2-7), whether it had a garden, a garage, and whether there was a cleaning lady and/or a gardener. We also considered the presence of a wine cellar as part of the housing variable (Cronbach's alpha .606). Parents' ***possession of luxury goods*** are measured by the presence of a freezer, dishwasher, dryer, video camera, videorecorder, solarium, espresso machine (Cronbach's alpha .573). For all these lifestyle indicators, we constructed scales by taking the average of the separate items that were standardized by fractional ranking.

< Table 2 >

Following Bourdieu's logic of the 'space of lifestyles' (Bourdieu, 1984[1979], 128-129), as the aim was to scale the lifestyle indicators according to their position on an economic and a cultural lifestyle dimension, we submitted them to an exploratory factor analysis in MPlus,[8,9] in which we asked for a two-factor solution allowing a correlation between the two latent factors (oblimin rotation). The results (Table 2) indicate that the model fits rather well. Visits to performing arts, museum attendance, possession of books and cultural goods load strongly on the first factor, which can therefore be interpreted as the cultural dimension of lifestyle, whereas the possession of economic goods, housing, books and cultural goods, point at the economic dimension of lifestyle as the second factor. The cross-loadings of books and cultural goods indicate that these characterize both a cultural as well as an economically oriented lifestyle. The correlation between both lifestyles is strongly positive, r = .546. A confirmatory factor analysis in which the exploratory factor loadings < |.3| were restricted to zero, shows similar factor loadings and has a rather good fit (Table 2). We used the factor scores of the confirmatory factor analysis as measures of the cultural and economic dimension of parents' lifestyle.

1.3.2.3 Children's current lifestyle

[8] Initially in an exploratory factor analysis, we also included some single indicators (reading frequency, reading a quality (2 categories) or a popular newspaper (2 cat), reading literature (3 cat), reading romantic (3 cat) and exciting books (3 cat), visits to restaurants (6 cat), going on a summer (2 cat) and winter vacation (2 cat). However, when we submitted these scales and individual items to an exploratory factor analysis in MPlus, the models did not converge. It turned out that the single indicators only weakly correlated with the other items. Therefore we left these out and kept the constructed scales only.

[9] In another step we initially included watching TV, but we left it out of this analysis because it had only a moderately (negative) association with a cultural lifestyle.

The adult children were asked to report on their current lifestyle, in particular its cultural and economic features. As part of the cultural dimension they were asked to report their attendance of performing arts and museums (270-273), asked as part of a list of activities. If respondents answered that they took part in the activity in the past 12 months, they estimated their frequency of participation on a 5-point scale ranging from 'less than once a year' to 'once a month or more often'. ***Attendance of performing arts*** was indicated by visits to theatre, cabaret, opera, ballet, classical concerts, and cultural cinema (Cronbach's alpha .739), and ***museum attendance*** by visits to museums and galleries (Cronbach's alpha = .573).[10]

To identify musical taste patterns (Bourdieu, 1984[1979], 16), a list of composers, singers and pop bands was presented to the respondents who had to fill in on a 4-point scale to what extent they liked or disliked the music. Those who indicated that they did not know the music were assumed to dislike the music. We distinguish between ***a taste for classical music*** (Tchaikovski, Beethoven, Mozart (Cronbach's alpha .909)), which is expected to be an indicator of the cultural dimension of lifestyle,[6] and a taste for ***Dutch popular music*** (Frans Bauer, Lee Towers, BZN, René Froger, André Rieu (Cronbach's alpha .803)), which is expected to be liked by lower status groups.

The amount of reading (Bourdieu, 1984[1979], 119) was measured by eight items in both the telephone and written questionnaire on the amount of time reading (6 categories), how often reading a book takes longer than an hour (4 categories), the number books read in the past two months (open), average amount of reading books (6 categories), time since reading the last book (7 categories), the regularity of reading (6 categories) (Cronbach's alpha .958). All indicators of reading frequency show a moderate correlation (all around .2) with gender—women read more. The ***amount of reading literature***, as a separate indicator of a cultural lifestyle, was measured by the frequency (in 3 categories) of reading Dutch literature after 1945,[11] literature from western countries, and non-western countries (Cronbach's alpha .835). Only the latter of these correlated more strongly than .2 with gender.[12]

Possession of cultural goods is measured by the amount of books possessed (6 categories), the presence of a violin and/or a piano, and the presence of visual art (posters/reproductions of paintings, modern art) and/or older art. As the items do not correlate very strongly (around .200, Cronbach's alpha .465) we assumed that, in this age group, it would be likely that a choice for a musical instrument does not automatically imply a choice for paintings as well. We therefore took the maximum score of the three items instead of the mean.

Watching television as indicator of a lifestyle of lower status groups was indicated by its frequency and duration both measured at a 5-point scale, and by what extent on a 3-point scale, comedy series,

[10] Initially we also included popular cultural items, like going to pop concerts and cinema, and also a taste for rock music, which could be a probable significant part of the lifestyle of these 20-40 aged young adults. However, the current status position in social space – lowbrow or increasingly highbrow among younger generations – is not clear and may have changed over time (Van Eijck and Bargeman, 2004; Nagel, 2015). Therefore, we left popular culture out of the analyses.

[11] Dutch literature before 1945 was removed as it lowered Cronbach's alpha.

[12] An additional single indicator as to whether or not the newspaper read was a quality newspaper was removed from the analyses because the models did not converge.

police/action series, comedies and shows were chosen (Cronbach's alpha .716). Watching soaps and sports was excluded, because these turned out be too gender specific (r = .327).

Several ways of spending a vacation were put to the respondents, who had to indicate on a 4-point scale to what extent these appealed to them. We expected the higher cultural status groups to have a preference for cultural vacations and active vacations spent in nature (Bourdieu, 1984[1979], 283-287). A preference for ***active vacations*** was indicated by travelling around in nature, a biking tour through the Netherlands, and trekking in the mountains (Cronbach's alpha .713). A preference for ***cultural vacations*** was indicated by visiting buildings of interest such as churches or castles, a week in Rome, and a painting course in Tuscany (Cronbach's alpha .505). A taste for ***luxurious vacations***, expected to be preferred by higher economic status groups, was indicated by the extent to which one wishes to enjoy luxury and comfort during vacations: an economic cruise at the Mediterranean Sea, a hotel in Saint Tropez, and a flight to a tropical island (Cronbach's alpha .747).

To identify taste patterns in food consumption (Bourdieu, 1984[1979], 186, 194-199), a 3-point scale measured how often respondents put different meals on the menu: never, sometimes or often. Additional measures are on the extent to which the respondent liked exotic or Dutch foods (on a 5-point scale), and how often dinners at home or in a restaurant were Dutch or exotic (on a 3-point scale), a differentiation that according to Bourdieu (1984[1979], 185) identifies the position on the cultural dimension. ***Economic meals*** or expensive and rich foods such as steak and game (somewhat more popular with men, r = .242) were considered as a typical meal of high economic social positions, and also a preference for French and Italian cuisine (Cronbach's alpha .533). ***Healthy and exotic foods*** such as grey rice, muesli, and trout, and also the more exotic taste for eggplant and Thai cuisine were thought to be distinctive of higher cultural status groups (Cronbach's alpha .605). As characteristic for the meals of lower status groups, we consider the consumption of ***heavy meals***: potatoes, meatball, bacon, and liking kale ('*boerenkool*', a typical Dutch meal), French fries, milk, and Dutch cuisine (Cronbach's alpha= .547). For a list of alcoholic drinks, respondents were asked for their frequency of consumption on a 3-point scale. As some of these drinks correlate at least moderately with gender, we only include the ***consumption of wine*** that is not or only faintly gender-specific (red, white, rose, port) (Cronbach's alpha .763).

Table manners and manners in appearance are both indicators of the composed lifestyle of higher status groups as was suggested by Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1984[1979], 194-197). ***Table manners*** are measured by a general item on the extent to which the respondent appreciates table manners (in 3 categories), and by the extent to which, during meals, it is common to put plates (not pans) on the table, to wish each other a good meal, to eat using a knife and fork (at lunch and dinner), to change plates for dessert, and to use napkins[13] (Cronbach's alpha .683). In addition, as expressions of stylization, it was asked whether the respondent owns and uses for ***table decoration*** napkin rings, cloth napkins, knives founders, under plates, crystal glasses (4 categories, Cronbach's alpha .690).[14] ***Manners in appearance*** are measured by a general item on the importance attached to a neat appearance by others (3 categories), and to what extent (on a 3-point scale) annoyance is caused by

[13] Eating in front of television was removed from the scale as it lowered Cronbach's alpha.

[14] De Cronbach's alpha could be improved to .699 if crystal glasses were left out, but we decided not to do so, as the improvement is only minor.

dirty and/or creased clothes, unpolished shoes, and unkempt hair and nails (Cronbach's alpha .796).[15]

Finally as part of an economically-oriented lifestyle, we consider the **presence of luxurious goods**: freezer, dishwasher, dryer, video camera, videorecorder, solarium, espresso machine, as well as the presence of either a yacht or a sailing boat, a vacation home or a second car (Cronbach's alpha .781).

<Table 3>

As we did for the items on parental lifestyles, we constructed scales of the lifestyle indicators by taking the average of the separate items that were first standardized by fractional ranking. To define the children's lifestyles by their position on a cultural and an economic lifestyle dimension, we submitted the constructed scales[16,17] to an exploratory factor analysis in MPlus, and, following the expected structure of a two dimensional status hierarchy, asked for two correlated factors (oblimin rotation). The outcome (Table 3) reveals the expected underlying two-factor structure, although the fit is only moderate. On the first factor there are strong loadings of performing arts and museum attendance, liking classical music and disliking Dutch folk music, the amount of reading, reading literature, possession of cultural goods, low levels of television watching, a preference for cultural and active vacations, a dislike for luxurious vacations, eating healthy and exotic rather than heavy meals, and drinking wine. Therefore, we interpret the first factor as the degree to which the lifestyle varies on the cultural dimension of lifestyle. On the second factor, there are strong loadings of a taste for a preference for cultural and luxurious vacations, luxurious meals, drinking wine, table manners and table decoration, appearance, and the possession of luxurious goods. Although the strong loadings of manners is not completely in line with Bourdieu's ideas – a composed lifestyle characterizes higher classes in general and not only the economic elite – we interpret the second factor as the degree to which the lifestyle is focused on luxury and outward appearance, the economic dimension of lifestyle.

In a subsequent confirmatory factor, we considered items with loadings < |.3| as invalid indicators of either a cultural or an economic lifestyle and restricted these to zero. The factor loadings of the confirmatory factor analysis do not deviate much from those of the exploratory factor analysis, but the correlation between the two latent factor has become a bit stronger. We use the factor scores of the confirmatory factor analysis as measures of the children's lifestyle.

1.3.2.3 Control variable: examination cohort

[15] The item on own appearance was removed from the scale as it lowered Cronbach's alpha.

[16] Initially, we also included health behavior (physical exercise, dieting, fitness, sports, sauna) in the analyses. However, the factor loadings in the exploratory factor analysis on both factors were lower than |.3|. Therefore we considered this item as not valid and left it out of the analysis.

[17] Initially, we also included the size of the house (bought or hired, free standing or corner house, presence of a garden, a garage, number of bedrooms) as an indicator of a luxurious lifestyle, but we excluded it from our analyses. The fit of the model decreased when this item was included. Inspection of correlations showed that this item only strongly correlated with luxury goods, which suggests that the size of the house does not have much in common with other indicators of a luxurious lifestyle, apart from luxurious goods. Apparently, the size of the house is not a valid indicator of a luxurious lifestyle pattern, perhaps due to the relatively young age of the sample. A possible explanation is that in the age range from 20-40, young adults of lower parental background may settle down earlier than those from higher status families, who postpone family formation (e.g. Blossfeld and Huinink, 1991) and are likely to be still in education and starting up their professional career. This probably blurs the relationship with social status in this age group.

We use examination cohort (1975-1998, centered) as a control variable, as it is expected to be a confounder for the relation between income and the economic dimension of lifestyle. As the age of examination in secondary education in the Netherlands is roughly between age 16 and 18, it is also functions as an indicator of age.

Method

In our statistical methodology, we follow scholars who used Structural Equation Modelling (SEM) in the field of lifestyles (De Graaf and de Graaf, 1988; Ganzeboom, 1988; 1990). We do so for several reasons. First, it allows both to model causal order—here in particular the parents' lifestyle as an explanatory factor of the children's social position and lifestyle. Second, it allows to model several dependent variables simultaneously—here the young adults' social positions and the two dimensions of lifestyle. Third, it enables to correct for attenuation due to measurement errors by constructing the underlying latent variables behind the many indicators of behavior and taste that describe people's lifestyle. By using SEM, we treat all items and constructed scales as intervals variables and assume that the relations between them are linear.

To estimate the linear structural equation models, we used Mplus 7.31 (Muthen and Muthen, 1998-2015) with a correction for the hierarchical data structure (the respondents are nested in 42 former secondary schools).[18] We used the factor scores obtained from the two confirmatory factor analyses as measurements of the cultural and economic dimensions of parents' and children's lifestyles.[19] In the baseline structural model, education is modelled prior to occupation and both are modelled prior to income, in which social background precedes lifestyle, and in which parents' social background and lifestyle affect both their children's social status and lifestyle. The relations between the economic and cultural dimensions of occupational status and lifestyle of parents and children are modeled as correlations. The examination cohort is entered as the (only) exogenous variable. In this (fully saturated) baseline model (1), 104 parameters are estimated (df =78).

To end up with a more parsimonious model restricted weak (standardized effects smaller than |.10|) effects and correlations to zero if there were no hypotheses on these. Thus, we removed weak effects of examination cohort, of parents' and children's social background, and the effects of parents' lifestyle if the effect was not in the hypothesized dimension. We reran the model three times and removed any weak effects that turned up after removing them in a previous round. The

[18] Although the model converged, there was a warning that the standard errors of the parameter estimates could not all be trusted, possibly due to having more parameters than the number of clusters, which is the result of our relatively small data set. When we compared the standard errors of direct effects of the analysis with cluster correction with the those obtained from an analysis without correcting for clustering, two thirds of the former analysis were larger than those in the latter, but all were roughly the same size (the difference was maximally .014), and did not change the decisions on the hypotheses.

[19] By using factor scores to represent the position on the cultural and economic lifestyle dimensions, we chose to create the measures of the lifestyle dimensions first, and then to estimate the structural model. We note however that the results are sensitive to the modelling strategy. Modelling the scaling of the lifestyle dimensions and the structural model simultaneously leads to different results. We think that it could be the consequence of the relatively small data set. One advantage of our modelling strategy is that the number of parameters to be estimated to reproduce the correlation matrix is smaller than according to the alternative way, which gives us confidence in the model we chose. Moreover, in our view, it make more sense to construct the lifestyle dimensions by reference to the lifestyle indicators only, without interference from other variables.

resulting model has 61 estimated parameters (df=43) and has a good fit (CFI=.995, TLI=.992, RMSEA=.025, SRMR=.035). This model will be discussed in the next section. The syntax and a graph of the model of the final structural model are in Appendices A and B.

1.4 Results

Before we examine the effects of the parents' lifestyle, we first study how their own lifestyle depended upon parental social position. Table 4 presents the structural relations between indicators of parents' social position and their lifestyle when their child was around age 12, both direct and total effects. We notice that, in line with the Bourdieu's view of social structure, the father's cultural and economic occupational status are both strongly determined by education (cultural status somewhat more than economic status) and that the family income follows from the parents' education and the father's economic occupational status. The cultural dimension of the parents' lifestyle varies, as expected, most strongly with their education, and to a smaller extent with their income. The extent to which the parents' lifestyle can be characterized as economic, indicated by housing and the possession of luxury goods, varies mainly with their education and income. The results are in line with Bourdieu's thoughts on the two-dimensionality of the relation between social position and lifestyles: the parents' education is the most important determinant of the cultural dimension of the parents' lifestyle, whereas their income has a stronger impact on the economic dimension. Yet, also the economic dimension of their lifestyle is most strongly influenced by their education.

< Table 4 >

Table 5a presents the structural relations between parents' lifestyle and their social position on the one hand and the social status of their grown-up children on the other. It was predicted that a more *cultural* lifestyle of the parents would lead to a higher *education and cultural status position* of their adult children (A), and also that a more economic lifestyle of the parents would enhance the *income and economic position* of their adult children (B). The first column of Table 5a shows that the children's educational level, their first attained social status position, is positively affected by the cultural dimension of their parents' lifestyle, given their own education. This in line with the social reproduction hypothesis A—that a more cultural lifestyle of the parents would lead to a higher education of their children. In the second column, it is shown that the cultural dimension of the children's occupational status is positively affected by their parents' lifestyle. In fact, all parental influence is by their lifestyle, not directly by parents' social background. A more cultural lifestyle of the parents enhances their children's occupational status along the cultural dimension, over and above the children's own education. This is again a confirmation of the aforementioned hypothesis on social reproduction (A). The child's own education is the strongest indicator of his or her status position in the cultural field. The negative effect of the examination cohort indicates that older cohorts have attained a higher occupational status in the cultural field.

The child's economic status position (third column) is improved by the economic dimension of their parents' lifestyle. The more the lifestyle of the parents was economically oriented, i.e. they owned a large house and luxury goods, the higher their child's occupational status position on the economic dimension. This is in line with social reproduction hypothesis (B) on the effects of parental economic lifestyle on their child's economic status position. The child's income is influenced by the economic dimension of their parents' lifestyle as well, which again lends support to hypothesis (B). The effects

of the economic dimension of the parents' lifestyle are over and above the child's own education and the economic dimension of their occupational status, that are the strongest determinants of their income. An interesting observation is that a cultural lifestyle of the parents here seems to impede a high income. Similarly, given the economic dimension of the own occupational status, a higher position on the cultural status dimension lowers the income. Thus, those who were raised in a cultural lifestyle tend to end up in jobs in which the income is lower than could be expected by their social background. Apart from that, it seems that parents' lifestyle affects the status attainment of their children, and that the effects only occur within the same dimension of social stratification.

If we compare the strength of the reproduction effects, we notice that the effects of the cultural dimension of parents' lifestyle on their children's education (.235) and occupational status along the same dimension (.104) are, when taken together, somewhat larger than those of the economic dimension of parents' lifestyle on the economic dimension of their children's occupational status (.114) and their income (.183). If we take into account the negative effect of cultural dimension of the parents' lifestyle on their children's income (-.151) as a further differentiation along the cultural dimension of social stratification, we can conclude that social reproduction is stronger along the cultural dimension of social stratification than along the economic dimension, as was stated by social reproduction hypothesis D.

< Table 5a >

We also expected that parents' lifestyle will (at least partly) explain the effects of parents' social position on their children's *social position* (social reproduction hypothesis C). Table 5b presents the extent to which effects of parents' social position on their children's social position are mediated through the cultural and economic dimensions of parents' lifestyle. The results show that the effect of parents' education on their children's education through the cultural dimension of parents' lifestyle (.123) is 29% of the total effect of parents' education on their children's education (.422); and the relation between parents' education and the cultural dimension of the children's occupational status for 21% explained by cultural dimension of the parents' lifestyle. Also the income of the parents enhances their children's education and their cultural dimension of occupational status via the cultural dimension of the parents' lifestyle. Actually, the effect of parents' income on their child's education runs fully through the cultural features of their lifestyle (.044). The effects of parents' occupational status on their child's social position that are small to begin with (Table 5a) are not mediated by the cultural dimension of their parents' lifestyle. The mediation effects of parents' education and income on their children's income through the cultural dimension of their lifestyle are negative. This is because the direct effect of the cultural dimension of parents' lifestyle on their child's income is negative.

Also the economic dimension of the parents' lifestyle mediates the relationship between parents' and children's economic social status. However, the effects only apply to the economic dimension of the children's occupational status and the children's income, not to their education and the cultural dimension of their occupational status. The effects of parents' education on the economic dimension of the child's occupational status and income that run through the economic dimension of the parents' lifestyle, respectively .042 and .068, which are 17% and 35% of the total effect of parents' education on these outcomes. The effects of the parents' income via the economic dimension of their lifestyle on the child's economic status, .038 for the child's occupational status and .061 or the

child's income, largely explain the relation between parents' income and child's social position, respectively for 67% and 95%. The effects of parents' occupational status are not mediated by the economic dimension of their lifestyle either.

These findings are in line with hypothesis social reproduction hypothesis C: both the cultural and the economic dimension of the lifestyle of the parents are mechanisms by which they transmit their social position to their children, although it should be noted that this only holds for the parents' education and income. The reproduction of occupational status, that was rather small to begin with, does not go via their lifestyle.

< Table 5b>

In Table 6, the structural relations between parents' and child's lifestyles are presented. We expected that a more *cultural* lifestyle of the parents would lead to a more *cultural lifestyle* of their adult children (lifestyle hypothesis A), whereas a more economic lifestyle of the parents would lead to a more *economic lifestyle* of their adult children (B).

The results are in line with both hypotheses: there is strong intergenerational transmission of lifestyles that occur only within the same status dimension. The more the parents' lifestyle is characterized as cultural the more this also holds for their children's lifestyle. And, the more economically oriented the lifestyle of the parents, the more the lifestyle of their children can be characterized as economic. The direct transmission of the cultural dimension of the parents' lifestyle to the children's (.498) is somewhat larger than that of the economic dimension of parents' lifestyle to their children's lifestyle (.367). This also holds for the total effects (.614 and .427) which also include the indirect influence of the parents' lifestyle via the child's own status attainment. This result is in agreement with the hypothesis (D) on the dominance of the cultural status dimension also in the transmission of lifestyles.

The cultural dimension of the child's lifestyle is also strongly determined by the child's own status position: the education and the cultural status of their occupation. Remarkably, there are negative effects of parents' income and the economic status of their own occupation. Apparently, given a certain cultural status position as defined by education and cultural status, a more economically oriented occupation and having parents with a higher income lead to a less cultural lifestyle. Both dimensions of occupational status affect the cultural lifestyle in an opposite way, which signifies the differentiation in a cultural and economic dimension in occupational status. Finally, there is also a negative effect of cohort. This suggests that the lifestyle of younger generations to a smaller extent can be characterized as cultural.

The economic dimension of the child's lifestyle is, apart from the economic dimension of parents' lifestyle, only affected by their own income. A higher income leads to a stronger focus of luxury elements in the child's lifestyle. There are no other direct effects of parents' or the child's own social status. Thus, status groups that are high on the cultural status dimension (higher educated, high on the cultural dimension of occupational status) do not focus on showing wealth and luxury in their lifestyle, but do not refrain from that either.

<Table 6>

1.5 Conclusions and discussion

In this article, we studied the influence of parental lifestyle on the status attainment and lifestyle of their grown-up children. Following Bourdieu, we differentiated between a cultural and an economic dimension in social status positions and lifestyle, and examined if the intergenerational transmission along the cultural status dimension was stronger than that along the economic status dimension. Four main conclusions can be drawn from our results.

First, through their lifestyle, parents affect their adult children's lifestyle and the effects only occur within the same status dimension. Children whose parents had a more cultural lifestyle, characterized by their cultural participation and their possession of cultural goods when they were growing up, also developed a more cultural lifestyle themselves; children whose parents had an economic lifestyle, indicated by the size of their house and their possession of luxury and cultural goods, have as adults also a more economic lifestyle themselves.

Second, through their lifestyle, parents affect their adult children's social position, mainly within the same dimension of social stratification. The more the lifestyle of parents could be characterized as cultural, the higher was the level of education that was attained by their children, and the higher the cultural status of their occupation. Within the economic dimension, children who were raised by parents whose lifestyle was more economic, have later in their lives a higher economic status position and a higher income. The effects of parents' lifestyle are not fully restricted to the same dimension of social stratification though. A more cultural lifestyle by the parents has, given the positive effects of parents' social background, an adverse influence on their children's income.

Third, both the cultural and the economic dimension of the lifestyle of the parents turn out to be mechanisms of social reproduction. The effects of parents' education and income on the children's education, the cultural dimension of their occupational status and their income is partly caused by the cultural dimension of the parents' lifestyle. The effect of parents' education and income on the economic dimension of the child's occupational status and the child's income runs partly through the economic dimension of the parents' lifestyle.

Fourth, the influence of the parents' lifestyle is stronger along the cultural dimension than the economic. With respect to the children's social position, we find that the cultural dimension of parents' lifestyle had a stronger effect on the child's education and cultural dimension of occupational status than the economic dimension of their lifestyle had on the economic dimension of the child's occupational status and the child's income. With respect to the child's lifestyle, we find a stronger intergenerational transmission of the cultural than of the economic dimension of lifestyles. This holds true particularly if it is taken into account that the cultural dimension of parents' lifestyle also had a larger indirect effect, through the children's own status position, on their lifestyle.

The effects of the parents' lifestyle on the child's status attainment are in line with the positive effects of a parents' cultural lifestyle on educational attainment that are found in the literature (Ganzeboom, 1990; Aschaffenburg and Maas, 1997; De Graaf et al., 2000; De Graaf and De Graaf, 2002; Evans et al., 2010). The finding that the parents' economic lifestyle affects status attainment is in line with De Graaf et al. (2000) and De Graaf and De Graaf (2002), who find small effects of parents' economic resources on educational attainment. This is not the case with the study of De Graaf (1986), who found in the Netherlands that financial resources have lost their influence among cohorts after that of the 1950s.

Some discussion on the results is in place. First, the data set is small and refers to birth cohorts of former secondary school students in the Netherlands who grew up in the second half of the 20th century. Although the relatively young age of the respondents allows for the independent study of the lifestyle of the parents, their children's social position and their lifestyles may not have fully developed yet. One could expect that the resemblance between parents and children in particular with respect to their social positions would grow stronger over their lifetime, in particular until children have attained their final status position. On the other hand, because of the children's relatively young age, their social position and their lifestyles may still somewhat strongly resemble their parents' social status and lifestyle patterns, although in research on cultural participation there are no indications that the resemblance between parents and children decreases over the lifetime (Nagel and Ganzeboom, 2002). For generalization though, it would be worthwhile to replicate this study among an extended age range.

The sample pertains to an average of the population of young adults, and does not include many respondents at the extremes of the two status hierarchies. However, Pierre Bourdieu's propositions attribute, at least partly, a very considerable importance to a rather limited part of the population – the 5 or 10% who are located at the top of the social hierarchy, those who have a very important amount of capital (whatever its exact composition), and these groups are hardly represented in a sample like this. A similar argument also applies to the other end of the status hierarchy. The status groups that are really poor in economic and cultural capital are also underrepresented. Future research could focus on the lowest and highest strata and study their lifestyles and reproduction (and mobility) strategies in more detail. In that respect, it is interesting to study how migrant parents attempt to let their children succeed in life, as compared to the reproduction strategies proposed by Bourdieu (see also Ganzeboom and Nagel, 2007).

Finally, in this study we focused on the reproduction of lifestyles between parents and children, but only within one country. In line with the other contributions in this volume, it would also be interesting to study detailed lifestyles of both parents and their children in a comparative way, to test whether these reproduction processes occur in a similar way across different countries, in particular whether they vary with the different educational systems.

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TABLES

Table 1: Indicators of cultural and economic status (N = 399)

EDUCATION (percentages):			Last attained education respondent	Highest attained education parents
Primary education (age 4-12)	2	Primary school		2.5 %
Secondary (age 12-16/18)	3	Prevocational (VBO)	3.3 %	13.0 %
	4	Junior general (MAVO)	3.0 %	11.8 %
	6	Senior general (HAVO)	3.0 %	1.3 %
	7	Pre-university (VWO)/gymnasium	4.8 %	3.3 %
Follow-up education	5	Secondary vocational (MBO)	22.1 %	25.8 %
	8	Higher professional (HBO)	37.3 %	25.3 %
	9	University	26.6 %	16.8 %
	Missing			.3 %

INCOME: (in euro's -originally in Dutch guilders: 1 guilder = .45 euro)	net income respondent	net income parents
Median	1575	1350
Mean	1402	1527
Stddev	744	929
Minimum	0	0
Maximum	2925	5850
Missing	8.0 %	19.3 %

Source: Verboord & Nagel (2001)

Table 2: Parents' lifestyles, factors loadings (N = 399)

		Exploratory factor analysis oblimin rotation[a]		Confirmatory factor analysis[b]	
		1	2	Cultural lifestyle	Luxurious lifestyle
PPOD	attendance perf. arts	.571	.016	.590	0
PMUS	visits museums	.806	-.074	.750	0
PCUL	cultural goods	.373	.463	.427	.430
PBKS	books	.536	.306	.552	.316
PHOUSE	size of the house	-.015	.701	0	.731
PLUX	luxurious goods	-.108	.486	0	.409
	Factor correlation	.546		.443	

[a] Sample size corrected BIC -2949.835; CHI-square 12.646; RSMEA .074; CFI .987;TLI .952; SRMR .018
[b] Sample size corrected BIC -2953.812; CHI-square 14.283; RSMEA .059; CFI .988; TLI .970; SRMR .021

Table 3: Children's lifestyles, factors loadings (N = 399)

		Exploratory factor analysis oblimin rotation[a]		Confirmatory factor analysis[b]	
		1	2	Cultural lifestyle	Luxurious lifestyle
CPOD	attendance perf. arts	.458	.186	.520	0
CMUS	visits museums	.541	.207	.606	0
CCMUSIC	like classical music	.558	.173	.610	0
CFMUSIC	like Dutch folk music	-.470	.245	-.415	0
CREAD	amount of reading	.526	.008	.526	0
CLIT	reading literature	.736	-.026	.716	0
CKUNST	cultural goods	.499	.130	.538	0
CTV	watching tv	-.516	.045	-.498	0
CCULVAC	cultural vacations	.432	.345	.424	.296
CACTVAC	active vacations	.575	-.100	.538	0
CLUXVAC	luxurious vacations	-.579	.355	-.630	.428
CLOWFOOD	heavy meals	-.407	.127	-.359	0
CCULFOOD	healthy and exotic meals	.560	.216	.621	0
CLUXFOOD	luxurious meals	.147	.598	.0	.644
CWINE	wine	.362	.411	.342	.390
CTABLE	table manners	.057	.545	0	.563
CDECO	table decoration	-.036	.480	0	.441
CCLOTHS	appearance	-.273	.393	0	.304
CLUXGOOD	luxurious goods	-.314	.353	-.362	.422
	Factor correlation	.212		.380	

[a] Sample size corrected BIC -4962.057; CHI-square 412.215; RSMEA .072; CFI .851; TLI .809; SRMR .049
[b] Sample size corrected BIC -5111.639; CHI-square 744.415; RSMEA .093; CFI .722; TLI .681; SRMR .085

Table 4: Parents' social position and lifestyle when respondent was growing up. Standardized effects and standard errors, corrected for clustering (MPlus) (N = 399)

	parents' education	parents' cultural occ. status[b]		parents' economic occ. status[b]		parents' income		parents' cultural lifestyle[c]		parents' economic lifestyle[c]	
	total[a] effect	*direct effect*	*total effect*	*direct effect*	*total effect*	*direct effect*	*total effect*	*direct effect*	*total effect*	*direct effect*	*total effect*
Parents' education		**.623**	**.623**	**.558**	**.558**	**.406**	**.498**	**.522**	**.614**	**.369**	**.536**
		(.036)	*(.036)*	*(.042)*	*(.042)*	*(.057)*	*(.043)*	*(.050)*	*(.043)*	*(.049)*	*(.046)*
Parents' cultural occupational status						0	0	0	0	0	0
Parents' economic occupational status						**.165**	**.165**	0	.031	0	.055
						(.051)	*(.051)*		*(.014)*		*(.020)*
Parents' income								**.186**	**.186**	**.335**	**.335**
								(.046)	*(.046)*	*(.043)*	*(.043)*
Examination cohort	**.154**	0	**.096**	0	**.086**	0	**.076**	0	**.094**	0	**.082**
	(.063)		*(.039)*		*(.035)*		*(.031)*		*(.040)*		*(.034)*
R^2	.024		.388		.311		.267		.403		.371

[a] Direct and total effects are the same
[b] Correlation parents' cultural and economic occupational status .727
[c] Correlation parents' cultural and economic lifestyle .426
Bold $p < .05$

Table 5a: Child's social position and parents' social position and lifestyle. Standardized effects and standard errors corrected for clustering (MPlus) (N = 399)

	education		cultural occupational status [a]		economic occupational status [a]		income	
	direct effect	*total effect*	*direct effect*	*total effect*	*direct effect*	*total effect*	*direct effect*	*total effect*
Parents' education	**.278**	**.422**	0	**.256**	0	**.242**	0	**.197**
	(*.069*)	*(.055)*		(*.040*)		*(.039)*		*(.042)*
Parents' cultural occupational status	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Parents' economic occupational status	0	.007	0	**.006**	0	**.009**	0	**.011**
		(.004)		*(.003)*		*(.004)*		*(.005)*
Parents' income	0	**.044**	0	**.039**	0	**.057**	0	**.064**
		(.015)		*(.012)*		*(.016)*		*(.019)*
Parents' cultural lifestyle	**.235**	**.235**	**.104**	**.211**	0	**.101**	**-.151**	-.074
	(.062)	*(.062)*	*(.045)*	(*.049*)		*(.033)*	*(.064)*	*(.061)*
Parents' economic lifestyle	0	0	0	0	**.114**	**.114**	**.183**	**.232**
					(.042)	*(.042)*	*(.058)*	*(.063)*
Education			**.456**	**.456**	**.429**	**.429**	**.343**	**.426**
			(*.047*)	(*.047*)	(*.049*)	(*.049*)	(*.059*)	*(.052)*
Cultural occupational status							**-.219**	**-.219**
							(*.049*)	(*.049*)
Economic occupational status							**.426**	**.426**
							(*.049*)	(*.049*)
Examination cohort	0	**.065**	**-.147**	**-.108**	**-.186**	**-.149**	**-.136**	**-.153**
		(.026)	*(.049)*	*(.050)*	*(.054)*	*(.057)*	*(.040)*	*(.051)*
R^2	.213		.267		.247		.346	

Bold $p < .05$

[a] Correlation child's cultural and economic occupational status .446

Table 5b: Child's social position and parents' social position: indirect effects through cultural and economic dimensions of parents' lifestyle, excluding the effects of indicators of social position among themselves. Standardized effects and standard errors corrected for clustering (MPlus) (N = 399)

				child's			
				education	cultural dimension occ. status	economic dimension occ. status	income
parents' education	→		→	**.123** *(.037)*	**.054** *(.024)*	0	**-.079** *(.034)*
cultural dimension parents' occ. status	→	cultural dimension parents' lifestyle	→	0	0	0	0
economic dimension parents' occ. status	→		→	0	0	0	0
parents' income	→		→	**.044** *(.015)*	**.019** *(.009)*	0	**-.028** *(.014)*
parents' education	→		→	0	0	**.042** *(.017)*	**.068** *(.025)*
cultural dimension parents' occ. status	→		→	0	0	0	0
economic dimension parents' occ. status	→	economic dimension parents' lifestyle	→	0	0	0	0
parents' income	→		→	0	0	**.038** *(.016)*	**.061** *(.020)*

Bold $p < .05$

Table 6: Child's and parents' lifestyle. Standardized effects and standard errors, corrected for clustering (MPlus) (N = 399)

	child's cultural lifestyle[a]		child's economic lifestyle[a]	
	direct effect	*total effect*	*direct effect*	*total effect*
Parents' education	0	**.420**	0	**.248**
		(.044)		*(.034)*
Parents' cultural occupational status	0	0	0	0
Parents' economic occupational status	0	.001	0	**.023**
		(.008)		*(.009)*
Parents' income	**-.104**	.005	0	**.139**
	(.039)	*(.046)*		*(.021)*
Parents' cultural lifestyle	**.498**	**.614**	0	-.019
	(.036)	*(.039)*		*(.016)*
Parents' economic lifestyle	0	**-.014**	**.367**	**.427**
		(.007)	*(.040)*	*(.043)*
Education	**.299**	**.370**	0	**.110**
	(*.053*)	*(.046)*		(*.022*)
Cultural occupational status	**.274**	**.274**	0	**-.056**
	(*.035*)	(*.035*)		*(.015)*
Economic occupational status	**-.126**	**-.126**	0	**.111**
	(.036)	*(.036)*		*(.022)*
Income	0	0	**.257**	**.257**
			(.043)	*(.043)*
Examination cohort	**-.119**	**-.071**	0	*-.009*
	(.045)	*(.064)*		*(.019)*
R^2	.550		.245	

Bold $p < .10$

[a] correlation child's cultural and economic lifestyle .357

Figures

Figure 1: Theoretical model

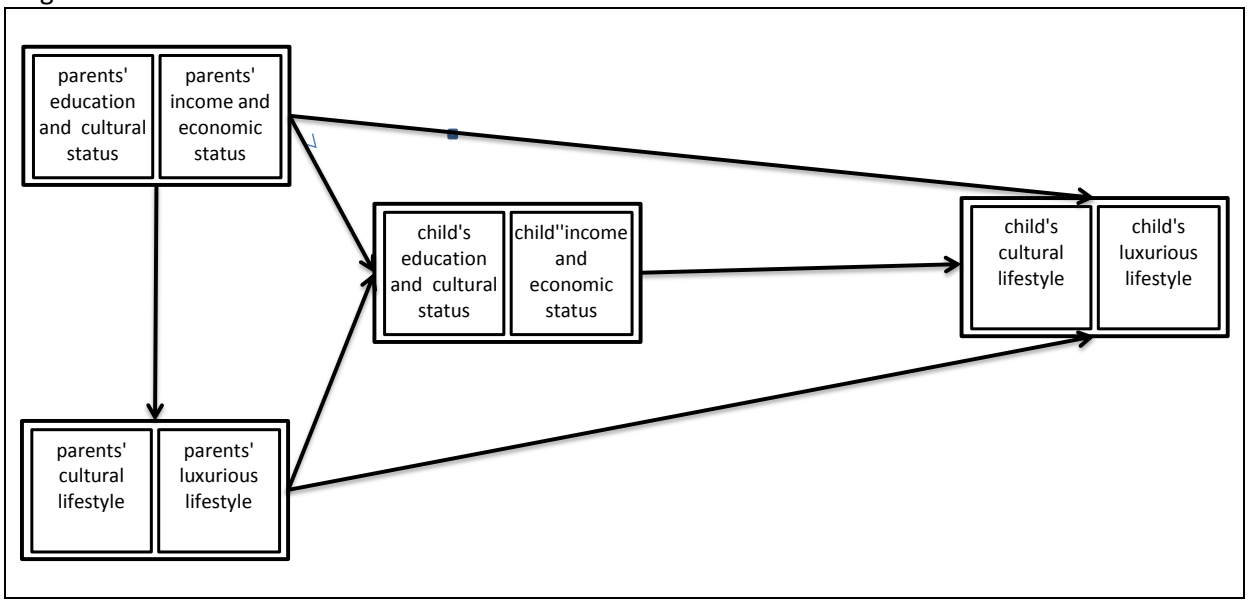
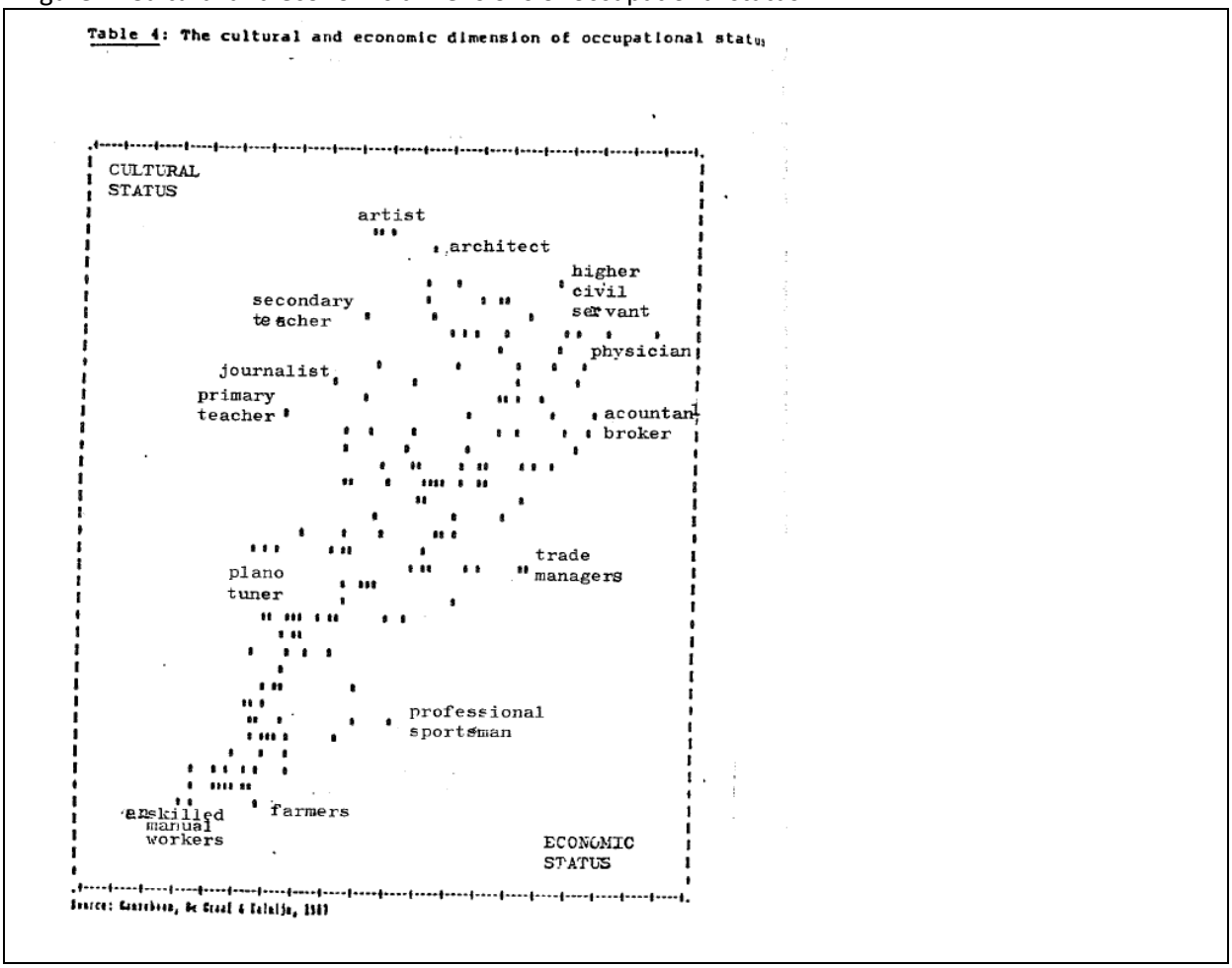


Figure 2: Cultural and economic dimensions of occupational status

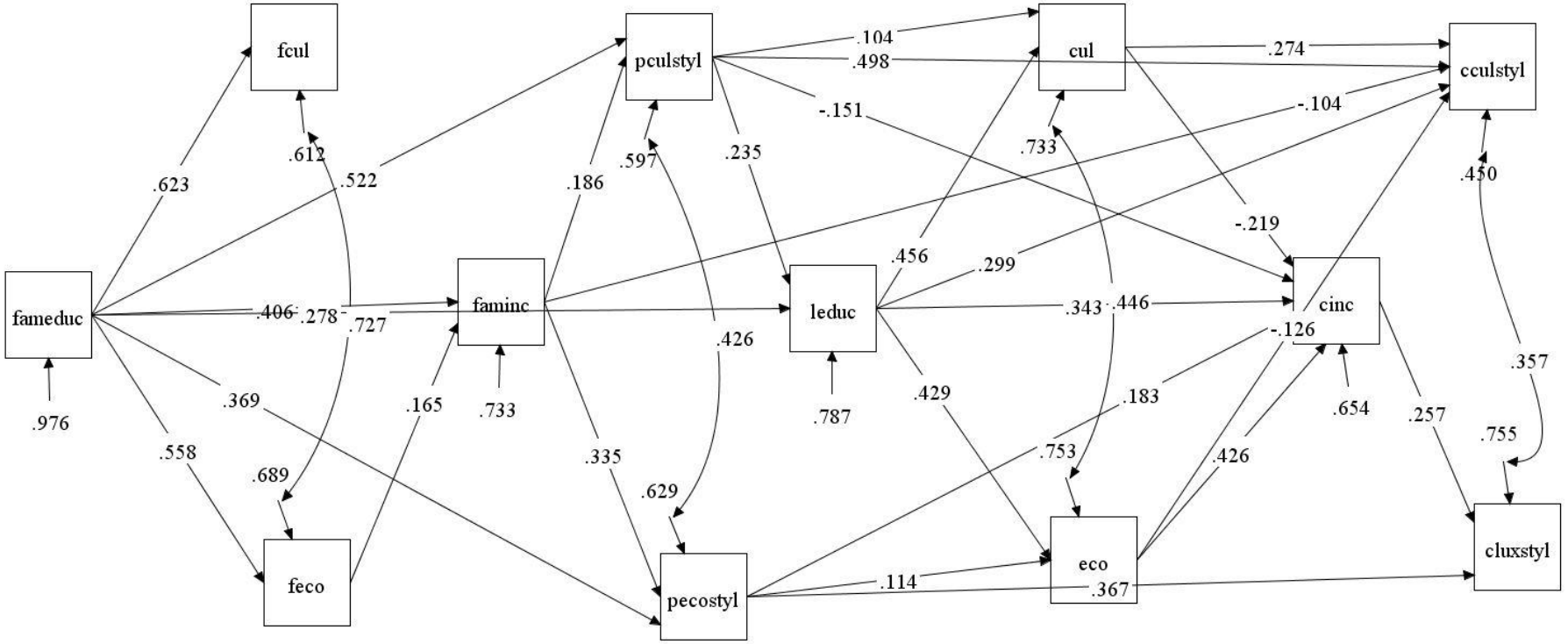


Source: Ganzeboom (1990, 234), originally (in Dutch) from Ganzeboom, De Graaf, and Kalmijn (1987, 162)

Appendix A: Syntax final structural model

```
TITLE: ANALYSE SELECTIE
DATA: FILE IS "xxx.dat";
VARIABLE:
 NAMES ARE
EXAMYEAR FAMEDUC FCUL FECO FAMINC PPOD PMUS PCUL PBKS PHOUSE PLUX LEDUC ECO CUL CINC CPOD CMUS
CCMUSIC CFMUSIC CREAD CLIT CKUNST CTV CCULVAC CACTVAC CLUXVAC CLOWFOOD CCULFOOD CLUXFOOD CWINE
CTABLE CDECO CCLOTHS CLUXGOOD PCULSTYL PCULSTYL_SE PECOSTYL PECOSTYL_SE CCULSTYL CCULSTYL_SE
CLUXSTYL CLUXSTYL_SE SCHOOLNR ;

 MISSING ARE ALL (-9) ;

 USEVARIABLES ARE
 FCUL FECO FAMINC ECO CUL FAMEDUC EXAMYEAR LEDUC  CINC PCULSTYL PECOSTYL
 CCULSTYL  CLUXSTYL  SCHOOLNR  ;

 CLUSTER IS schoolnr;


ANALYSIS: estimator = ml;

 PROCESSORS = 6;
 ITERATIONS = 1000000;
 TYPE = general ;

 TYPE is complex ;
! parameterization = theta ;

! TYPE = EFA 3 3 ;
! ESTIMATOR = ULS ;
! ROTATION = OBLIMIN ;

MODEL:

! PARENTS' SOCIAL BACKGROUND ;

 examyear ;
 fameduc on examyear ;
 fcul on fameduc ;
 feco on fameduc ;
 faminc on fameduc feco ;
 feco with fcul ;


! REGRESSION PARENTS' LIFESTYLE ON SOCIAL POSITION ;
 pculstyl on fameduc faminc ;
 pecostyl on fameduc faminc ;
 pculstyl with pecostyl ;

! CHILDS SOCIAL POSITION ;
 leduc on fameduc pculstyl ;
 cul on leduc pculstyl examyear ;
 eco on leduc pecostyl examyear ;
 cinc on leduc cul eco pculstyl pecostyl examyear ;
 cul with eco ;


! CHILD'S LIFESTYLE ON PARENTS' LIFESTYLE ;
 cculstyl on leduc eco cul faminc pculstyl examyear ;
 cluxstyl on cinc pecostyl ;
 cculstyl with cluxstyl ;

 cculstyl with fcul @0;
 cluxstyl with fcul @0;

OUTPUT: SAMPSTAT STAND (STDYX) MODINDICES ;

!PLOT:
! type = plot2;

! SAVEDATA:
! SAVE = FSCORES;
! FILE = "F:\Poetics\Ineke\SEMeries\VACATIONPREFRENCES_FSCORES_BIS.DAT";
```

Appendix B: Final structural model: The significant parameters



Note. The control variable examyear is not included in the figure. STDXY standardized coefficients. Only significant are shown.