

LIFE STYLES IN THE COUNTRY OF LA DISTINCTION

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(First draft. Not for quotations)

1. Introduction

This paper presents preliminary results of our examination of the degree to which a correspondence can be established between the social positions that French people may occupy and their activities or opinions.

Such a correspondence is at the core of the foundational work by Pierre Bourdieu, *La Distinction*, and is illustrated in figure 5 of the French-language edition (this figure can be found in Grusky, 1994,406-407). The figure shows a planar space in two dimensions representing, respectively, “global volume of capital” and the degree to which it is composed of “economic capital” rather than “cultural capital”² – the socio-occupational groups and the different activities that French people might have in different areas of recreation and consumption. These socio-occupational groups and activities are distributed on the plane in such a way that the degree of proximity conveys the degree of similarity between them. The figure evokes what, in fact, allows us to produce factorial analyses of correspondences in which two dual spaces are placed in homology to synthesize the correlated data. Nevertheless, in this particular case, the figure results not from a specific analysis but from a synthetic representation constructed by the author himself.

The basic idea is thus that one can place “social positions” relative to one another in an (approximately) metric space in such a way that the distances between positions make sense relative to the characteristics of the social structure. These distances can also be conveyed in terms of differences in the practices and behaviours of holders of different positions.

The suggestive and heuristic quality of Bourdieu’s work is obvious, as shown by the success of the notion of the social space, the notion of the *field* or *habitus*, and, more generally, the entire sociological theory of “social illusionism” (Accardo, 1983) elaborated by Bourdieu. The question is the degree to which the synthetic figure constructed by Bourdieu is indeed a correct synthesis.

There is little in *La Distinction* that enables us to judge this quality. A number of authors inspired by Bourdieu have focused their attention not on the social space but have investigated the intergenerational transmission of “cultural” and “economic capital” and consequences for social mobility (e.g., Niehof, 1997; DeGraaf, 1988; DiMaggio, 1982). Authors who have taken up the metaphor of social space have, in general, applied it to sub-

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² As it is underlined by Lamont&Lareau (1988), the term of “cultural capital” can be interpreted of various manners and has no uniform meaning in Bourdieu's work. We use it here in the sense which it takes in *The distinction* where it should be understood as analogue to (at least indicated by) “educational level” or “credentials” (Lamont: 155). The interest is to the whole social structure. Often, the term is employed by the researchers who used it in a sense more limited, as an attribute of the dominant class. It is more or less a variant of this perspective - “high status cultural signals” - which Lamont&Lareau suggests to retain.

groups of the population, not to the population as a whole (e.g., Anheir et al., 1995). However, trying to examine precisely the degree to which this metaphor of the social space is applied as the figure suggests is a very interesting issue. When we ask about the forms of social structure in France, and more generally about the modes of analysis of social structures of developed countries, we must ask which dimensions are relevant to use for the analysis, what are the links between social positions and associated behaviours, we are led to examine the relevance of approaches that combine classes and status groups rather than separating them (Grusky, 1994), and so on.

Our examination also requires that we study an aspect that we feel is often underestimated – that of the operationalization of approaches to social structure: whatever the potential validity of our conceptualizations, we must still be able to convey them at least in terms of observations, more specifically in statistical observations, if we want to examine the population as a whole. Now, this type of observation has its own constraints in the sense that certain aspects of theories may be unobservable in themselves, which would greatly limit both their interest and their relevance. This is an aspect of particular interest in this first exploratory step, in which we examine the statistical sources available on the practices and opinions of French people. Our goal is to reach a conclusion on the degree to which a person's social position can predict his or her practices, as they could be known with random surveys, with solid probability and, reciprocally, the degree to which knowledge of these practices allows us to predict correctly his or her social position.

2. The Field of Investigation

The term “social structure” may lead as easily to perspectives with meaning only at the macrosociological level as to analyses rooted in the microsociological level and aiming to construct the “micro–macro” transition. Our approach is more on the microsociological level, but it is modest in its theoretical expectations: we seek simply to examine the possible homology between a group of social positions that individuals may occupy and a group of practices that they may have. Delimiting these two groups and defining how to study their correspondence is not, however, without theoretical issues.

2.1. Opening Remarks

In studies on social mobility, it is general practice to limit the field of study to people (more precisely, adults) of under 50 or 60 years of age. This way of doing things may be justified in a particular case for all sorts of reasons, but it certainly cannot be justified when the question is to what point we can place the social structure and behaviours of individuals in homology.

In a certain sense by definition, and if one sets aside very holistic or structuralistic perspectives on the notion, a “social structure” should be designed such that each person in a society can be associated with at least one of the social positions that one delimits.³ This implies that our analysis should deal a priori with the entire population. No upper age limit should be used, especially because one of the questions being asked about Western societies is whether the ageing of the population will lead to increased antagonism between generations or age classes (e.g. Chauvel, 1998; Pample, 1994). A priori, no lower age limit should be introduced either, so that children, even the youngest ones, are included – a practice that is, it should be noted, quite unusual.

³ One could imagine that social positions are, at a given moment, unfilled or, at worst, that the positions of certain people are momentarily uncertain, but that this will not last.

Below, we will deal with the entire adult population. The absence of non-adults results from a lack of data, not a position of principle on our part.

2.2. Social Positions

In the article on social structure in *Handbook of Sociology*, which he edited, Smelser wrote, “Most of the theorists discussed in this volume, explicitly or implicitly, regard structure as that set of relationships arising from differentiated positions according to age, sex, kinship, functional specialization, class membership, ethnic membership and so on” (Smelser, 1988, 120). As this quotation shows, functional specialization and class membership are only a couple of elements among a number that locate social positions.

Below, we will consider three groups of elements that can be combined to define “social positions.” The distinctions between these three groups are in part conventional and are justified mainly by practical considerations.

The three groups are:

a) “Sociocultural hierarchies”: class positions, and economic and cultural assets. These are the classic dimensions of the customary analyses of social stratification, usually of the “achieved” type and usually leading to the occupational sphere. These are the dimensions that Bourdieu examines.

b) “Demographic components” of social positions: sex, age, marital and family status. “Marital status” should be interpreted broadly, as should age, which can be interpreted either as an indicator of a position in the life cycle or as generational membership.

On the whole, “ascribed” rather than “achieved” characteristics are grouped together here. These characteristics lead as much to family roles as to occupational roles – although it would be silly, for instance, to limit the effects of gender solely to the family domain! Similarly, since marital status (married, single, or separated) is increasingly a reflection of individual choices with the rise in the divorce rate and later marriage linked to prolongation of education, we must increasingly regard it as an “achieved” component of positions in our societies.

c) “Residential situation”: type of lodging, urbanization, type of place of residence and so on. Below, we will examine urbanization only which is the only and one information of this kind available for each of the survey that we will use.

Urbanization is also an “achieved” characteristic, although one might wonder about the degree to which the place of residence results from a choice rather than being the ineluctable consequence of another element – for example, in the case of a farmer. It is not common to deal with level of urbanization in studies on social structure (other than as a possible control variable), and Smelser does not allude to it. On the other hand, there is a long tradition of reflection on “Urbanism as a Way of Life” (Fischer, 1995; Wirth, 1938) or on the “*Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft*” opposition (e.g., Christenson, 1984). It is quite obvious also that if we argue in terms of inequalities, there are major differences in access to social goods linked to place of residence: access to health services, for example, will be more or less easy, the different neighbourhoods of a city will be more or less desirable, living in them may engender reactions of stigmatization or appreciation, and so on.

We did not include in this list “ethnic membership,” which is cited by Smelser. The reason is that this information is rarely available in French statistical sources. To ask about this subject is more or less illegal in France in government statistical work. Even in more academic research, questions on these subjects are rarely asked.⁴ This absence reflects the

⁴ This is the case, for example, in the European Value Survey, in which the only question on the subject deals with nationality, without any other specifics asked to the huge majority of those who were of French nationality.

vision of citizenship and the laic and republican conception of the national collectivity that are typical of France, which specifically excludes the idea that ethnicity can define positions in the French social structure. However, it is obviously a point to be checked empirically and not to ask directly. In any case, it is not because of adherence to this dominant implicit vision of indigenous representation in France that we have not retained “ethnic membership”; it is because the information is systematically absent from available observation tools.⁵

This is a very succinct description of the three groups. A “social position” will be any combination of these different components. The practical definition that we adopt is basically that found in the notion of socio-demographic space or *Blau-space* (Peli and Noteboom, 1999; McPherson and Ranger-Moore, 1991), even though it is not our primary purpose to target relations of affinity that people might form. Thus, we do not give a different status to the various components which we will examine and we will treat similarly the usual dimensions of the social stratification system and the components of the social structure sometimes qualified of “horizontal” or supposed being “new inequalities”, such as age or genre⁶.

We will return later to how the different social positions are operationalized in light of the available data. However, we can make one point right. Even presuming a degree of redundancy between dimensions, the number of positions that can be envisaged a priori is very large⁷ and it is a priori very doubtful that we would find them all in surveys. It is important to decide which rules can be used to reduce the number; one possibility is to base oneself on hypotheses of the cause and effect of positions on activities.

Another point is the importance for the analysis of the distinction between “ascribed” and “achieved” variables. The former are certainly exogenous to all analysis, but it is much less clear whether we must treat the latter as exogenous. We shall return to this point, which greatly affects the distinction that one might make between “social position” and “practice.”

The “positions” that Bourdieu examines lead to “achieved” social characteristics that are the classical subject of analysis of social stratification. Bourdieu’s presentation can itself be interpreted in various ways. It suggests both a “gradualist” vision of and a “classist” approach to social structure (which is obviously on the verge of an ambition to merge Weberian and Marxists approaches). One could dwell on the “class” aspect: “social positions” correspond to occupational positions operationalized by an adequate class schema (although the term is not used by Bourdieu, *La Distinction* contains a more or less explicit class schema; see appendix 1), and to this limited number of class positions correspond different assets that can be evaluated in terms of capital. Or one could dwell on the bi-dimensional and gradualist aspect, with the classes discerned in the class schema interpreted as ideal-typical combinations of capital. If one does not presume perfect correspondence, a third possibility appears: “social positions” are defined by the combination of class positions *and* amounts of capital possessed. As in the above case, these elements delimit, jointly but not redundantly, the various social positions possible in the social structure. This view, of course, accords much greater importance to possible incoherence of status because a person who has a certain class position and possesses capital very different than the other holders of that class position would not occupy the same social position as they do. Below, we will use this way of seeing things, the only one that does not directly postulate homology.

5 More broadly, one may think about organizing the components of a social position not in the very pragmatic manner that we have used, but by reference to the three entities from which the resources that households use are obtained: the labour market (approximately point a above); the family (approximately point b above), which is an essential source of social capital and a site where monetary sources are pooled and “domestic production” is performed; and the state, responsible for broad redistributions in developed “welfare-state” (understood in a broad sense as management of all public goods) countries. One must therefore develop a point c that would involve the diverse forms of “rights” more or less linked to citizenship, which would enable us to deal with ethnicity in a form adapted to French specificities.

6 For a study handling differently these two types of components, see Lamprecht & Stamm (1988)

7 To give an idea, using just 10 different positions for each of the socio-cultural hierarchies, 2 positions for gender, 4 for marital status, 10 for age, and 10 for residential system, one obtains 583,200 different social positions!

The three groups that we use no doubt overlaps with the one that Bourdieu himself used, but in fact one of our questions is the degree to which the delimitation used by Bourdieu is specific and could be thrown into doubt by a more extended perspective. Even in adopting a strictly delimited vision of the “social stratification” components of social structure, it is useful, at minimum, to add to the “achieved” attributes that Bourdieu examines an “ascribed” characteristic such as “gender.” Of course, this attribute drew less attention at the time when *La Distinction* was written, but it should now be considered for systematic inclusion in all overviews of inequalities, both because of the changes in occupational activity among women since Bourdieu’s study and because of increased awareness of gender inequality. The subtitle “Class, Race, and Gender in Sociological Perspective” in Grusky’s (1994) work on social stratification is very significant in this regard!

2.3. Practices and Life Styles

With regard to selecting the practices and behaviours whose congruence with social position will be examined, it is common to use a sample that can be called “descriptive.” One retains activities and practices presumed to be very characteristic of a particular social position. Visiting museums and attending classical-music concerts, for example, are presumed typical of a “highbrow” culture and the prerogative of people highly endowed with cultural capital.

The categories to which the literature refers are:

- “Luxury goods,” presumed particularly desirable by people endowed with much economic capital (e.g. de Graaf, 1991)
- Activities considered typical of “access to high culture” and presumed particularly desirable by individuals endowed with much cultural capital (e.g. DiMaggio, 1982)
- Activities judged typical of “membership in the elite” (e.g. Pinçon & Pinçon-Charlot, 1989)
- “Value orientations” considered typical of culturally advantaged or disadvantaged categories (though not very formalized, the persistent debates on the “underclass” and the “culture of poverty” are of this type)

The activities studied in fact will be representative of one or several of these categories. In general, these categories are more at the “top” than at the “bottom” of social hierarchies.

Proceeding by descriptive selection organized in this way offers many advantages. It is easier to get the most out of the available, often diverse data sources by selecting particularly relevant data; if large amounts of information are available, scales can be constructed (e.g., Wersfhost, 2001). However, this way of doing things is open to criticism. First, the risks of bias and circularity are high: to take it to the extreme, finding that products with high income elasticity are likely to be purchased by rich people is no big surprise! Second, it can lead to according undue importance to phenomena that may be marginal. A greater concern with “representativeness” (to be defined precisely) in the selection may seem desirable. This being so, an even more fundamental criticism can be made.

The method of descriptive selection is adapted to testing hypotheses of the form “Membership in a certain social position is accompanied by a higher propensity to have certain types of activities or behaviours.” It does not correspond to Bourdieu’s structuralist interpretations in which the two groups – practices and positions – are in correspondence without one having precedence over the other. With this homology are associated various important ideas, such as that of coherence of behaviours and the cultural arbitrariness that underlies the system of practices. In this perspective, exhaustiveness seems more necessary than “representativeness.”

Below, we privilege a concern with exhaustiveness, which will lead to trying to locate configurations of practices through everything that is in fact done. We will not, however, neglect to examine also the fine practices presumed a priori to be typical. We will examine the two major resources, time and money. This will be complemented by as exhaustive a description of value orientations as possible.

There is no doubt some contradiction between the concern with exhaustiveness and the search for relevant detail. Consider, for instance, an essential resource for people's activities: the money they have. This resource is associated with one of the tools available to describe life styles in consumer societies: studies on family budgets. This tool, in a Durkheimian tradition, has for many years drawn the attention of French sociologists (even recently; see Herpin and Verger, 2000), and in this view Bourdieu is situated in intellectual continuity with Halbwachs, who in 1912 tried to show the differences between social classes from the structure of their budgets. With which detail should we try to associate social positions? With "functions" or with brands (which is obviously what advertising execs, the "men of the art" of life styles, do)? With budget structures that allow complete exhaustiveness (which Halbwachs more or less did), or with the acquisition of certain brands, with exhaustiveness then being impossible? Halbwachs's work at the level of "functions" may leave out very significant elements. Nevertheless, it is Halbwachs's position that we will use.

Exhaustiveness has the merit of forcing us to leave nothing out and not to introduce surreptitious bias into the analysis. It has the inconvenience of being cumbersome.

2.4. Social Position and Life Style

We have discussed social positions, then practices and behaviours, as if the a priori separation of these two groups was obvious. Now, this presents a difficulty in that some practices could be considered a sign that the person who performs them occupies a certain position, especially if the existence of these practices goes beyond a sign to truly define the position. In fact, this problem is illustrated by the fact that life styles are sometimes named for the social position of those who are supposed to have them (a bourgeois way of life, for example) or located by practices that are characteristic of it (when this bourgeois way of life is called BCBG [a French style analogous to "preppy"]): the problem is that agents may envisage having to adopt practices precisely in order to position themselves socially.

In the case of "ascribed" components, the distinction is unambiguous. There are few, except for very specific cases such as transsexualism, studied by symbolic interactionists, that may be considered "practices."

In the case of "achieved" components, the point is much less clear, and the decision is linked to the temporal perspective adopted. This is a point that we have already encountered in the case of farmers and the difficulty that there may be in deciding whether an element that concerns them is of the "ascribed" or "achieved" type. The shorter the time frame adopted, the more the character of "ascription" (in econometrics language, one would speak of "exogeneity") seems acceptable. The longer the time frame, the more the character of "achievement" (in econometrics language, "endogeneity") is imposed and the more the element must be treated as a behaviour like any other since its presence results from individual will. Symmetrically, the more one considers a practice to be an intrinsic constituent of social position, the more one must obviously treat it as one of the ingredients defining this position. Following this, one must take account of these problems of separation. Their technical consequences will depend on the way in which one represents the links between the universe of social positions and the universe of practices.

If one adopts a structuralist point of view, the universes of practices and of positions both enable us to locate the same underlying structure. The two universes are in homology, and it wouldn't matter whether one or the other was used. If this perspective is exact, the ranking matters little. Things are different, however, if the perspective is inexact.

Following the other, more common of view, one posits that there is form of causal anteriority of the positions: the practices of the agents are at minimum the consequence of the positions that they occupy. These positions are thus the explicative variables for the practices, which are the explained variables. This way of seeing things obviously corresponds to the estimation of modes of the form [position → practices]. The problem with this way of doing things is that it is particularly sensitive to the problem of distinction between position and practice, which would be treated here as a bias of endogeneity.⁸

We will attempt to abandon none of these points of view. Since the definition of the term “life style” has not been set in stone, we will use it as synonymous with “combinations of practices” (eventually reduced to a single practice). Individuals or households with these activities and practices will have the “life style” objectified by these practices. Obviously, the life styles thus delimited remain to be named, which may correspond to a priori hypotheses conveyed in terms of practice or to a posteriori sociological interpretations of assessments made.

3. Data and Methods

3.1. Data

We will use three surveys conducted in the 95s with random representative samples of the French population. The surveys dealt with, respectively, expenditures, time use, and value opinions.

In all three cases, the ambition of the surveys is to cover exhaustively the field studied. The units of observation used are adapted to this objective. They are thus different: entire households for expenditures, individuals for value opinions, and days for time use. The results that may be obtained from these three sources therefore cannot be compared directly.

3.2. Individuals and Households

The problem of the unit of observation is not simply technical but leads to more fundamental questions about the units relevant for analyzing social stratification (or social structure), locating life styles, and analyzing behaviours.

By their very nature, opinions and time use are individual. Both can, of course, be very strongly influenced by the other members of the household and become similar for all, but this is a point to examine empirically. As for expenditures, they often are in part collective and difficult to attribute to individuals (at least without hypotheses on the internal heterogeneity of the household), and in part personal, but when this is the case they are more difficult to locate in surveys. Practitioners' approaches to locating life styles and analyzing behaviours are quite clear. Consumption is studied on the household and individual level, time use and opinions on the individual level.

⁸ This problem is complicated by the fact that some of the elements that we evoked above may be included in the analysis without being considered components in social position. For example, when social position is supposed to be defined only by the socio-occupational position CS, but it is also considered that other elements of a completely different order, for instance gender G, might affect the practice and that it is a good idea to examine the link between CS and the practice taking this into account. This leads again to a model (G,CS) → P, but with a very different interpretation!

As for the “social stratification” component of social structure, the controversy on how the social status of women must be evaluated (Davis & Robinson, 1998; Erikson & Goldthorpe, 1992; Goldthorpe, 1983) suggests that the relevant unit is more controversial. For the “conventional view”, the proper unit is the family, approached by the household, a unit in which resources are pooled and life chances are determined, and this may be likened to the “main contributor” of resources⁹. This way of doing things may be useful when the attributes examined are not of the “ascribed” type, as is the case for social status or class whatever exact definition one gives it, but it is not at all satisfactory for clearly “ascribed” attributes such as gender or age. If one wants to introduce this type of characteristic into the delimitation of social positions, one can retain only individuals as the relevant unit, unless, of course, it is considered that all members of a household can be characterized by the same value for a certain “achieved” attribute. The models of “social structure” that we will examine (as far as the data allow us to do) are thus models of individual position.

3.3. Social Structure Models

A “model of social structure” is, in fact, defined by two types of information: the list of attributes or dimensions used, and the way in which they are combined.

The first step is to list which elements will be retained – in other words, to choose the presumed dimensions of the social structure. In the *Values* survey, for example, there are not many elementary data available for locating social positions: just seven (see appendix 2). Still, there are many possibilities, and the first step is to indicate what we will use in this group. Of course, we could decide to limit ourselves, as is implicit in *La Distinction*, to elements dealing with socio-cultural hierarchies, but different lists can nevertheless be visualized, for example a “social class” list with a single datum, CS9; a “Weberian” list using Education and Income only treated as a hierarchical dimension, each indicative of a type of capital; or a “complete Bourdieusian” list using E5, R6, and CS9.

The second step is to indicate how to combine the elements retained. Only crossing seems to make sense¹⁰ to define a priori the social positions. So, even if one regroups them respecting, on the one hand, “natural” proximities – one may admit that there are “rich” and “poor” positions, but one could not imagine a position grouping odd deciles of income distribution and a position grouping even deciles – and, on the other, the suggestions in the literature, which actually seem quite general, except for occupational memberships and their grouping into class schemas, one might envisage a multitude of social structure “models”, even with a reduced list from the *Values* survey.

Various orders of conditions, however, limit the possible variants. First, as we have said before, the complete combinatory using the detail available usually distinguishes more cases and positions than there are people surveyed, and as Goldthorpe (*DATE*) notes “*QUOTATION*” in response to the criticisms that he did not distinguish very senior executives among the “Service Class,” there is no sense in questioning the quality of “models” that would be unobservable with statistical observation tools that one could construct (when, at least, one uses this type of tool, of course). Finally, an important criterion for making the groupings would be to keep, in each position discerned, “sufficient” number of cases through the samples processed. The notion of “sufficiency,” however, although intuitive, is not so easy to

⁹ This is not the usual term but it matches a fairly common practice among official statisticians.

¹⁰ Note that the additivity qualifies the effects of the position on the behaviours and implies nothing particular about the combinations of these components; they are all envisageable, and one would select among them according to eventual differences in behaviour.

operationalize. We consider below that it is unreasonable to keep positions that contain fewer than 50 cases in the sample of respondents¹¹.

Then, one could take account of what we have called “natural proximities.” Thus, in general (but not absolutely), the elements to be categorized in the “sociocultural hierarchies” domain respect a natural order from lower to higher, while those in the “demographic components” do not. Technically, the variables in one case are continuous or nominally ordered and in the other are nominal not ordered. The question is more open for the “residential situation” domain. The groupings that one could envisage must take account of these natural orders.¹²

The last element is the suggestions in the literature. Few are expressed in terms that are easily operationalizable in our logic. We will be guided by the following ideas.

- The three domains above can be somewhat ordered in terms of “importance,” corresponding to the degree to which it is a priori imaginable not to introduce them into the “social structure models.”

One would not think that the social structure of France can and should be analyzed exclusively in terms of gender differentiation. Even analyses inspired by feminist materialism continue to admit the importance of the capitalist class system, and do not confuse it with the “domestic” mode of production that organizes relations between women and men (Delphy and Leonard, 1992), although this is nevertheless not unimportant.

All at once, thus, “sociocultural hierarchies” are essential. “Demographic components” would be next, and “residential situations” last. As a consequence, we have to examine and compare three types of possibilities: “models” based on “sociocultural hierarchies” lists exclusively, those based on “sociocultural hierarchies” combined with “demographic components,” and those based on “sociocultural hierarchies,” “demographic components,” and “residential situations.” We thus ask two questions here: first, to what degree these three types of models can in fact be categorized as we have just indicated; second, if yes, to what degree it is necessary to complement the shorter model.

- For the first type of “model,” based only on “sociocultural hierarchies,” we will examine if we must oppose, consider redundant, or consider complementary the “classist” and “gradualist” visions mentioned above. We will introduce, in particular, indicators of overall capital.

3.4. Statistical Techniques

Overall, the approach that we adopt is exploratory and descriptive. It does not seem to us that the theoretical framework on the subject is sufficiently developed to permit a truly deductive analysis of tests of very precise hypotheses. The problem is, rather, to determine which relatively broad and general theoretical orientations will prove to be the most congruent with the observations. There are also technical difficulties linked to the available sources themselves, some contingent, others more structural.

The approach, in theory, is the following. First, seek configurations of individual practices that have been observed and, in parallel, choose typical practices. Then, examine the similarities among these configurations of practices and the different “social structure models” that can be envisaged taking account of the available data. Retain the “best” model – one

¹¹ A 95% interval of a rate of 50% with a normal approximation is from -0.19 to 0.81 for 10 cases, from -0.28 to 0.72 with 20 cases!

¹² However, it is useful not to adopt too systematic a position on this theme, since “proximities” in social positions may very well be in contradiction with the “proximities” in life styles. This is classically the case, for example, when the variations following a continuous dimension are not linear but, for example, in a U curve. As much as possible, we deal with the variables by discretizing them in order to take account of this problem.

associated with the greatest homology – then make conclusions on the degree of this homology. The fundamental difficulty with this plan is that practices are unequally observable at the micro level due to their underlying temporal component. For example, declared opinions are, with no exceptions, characteristic of individuals (although individuals may change their opinion or lie, but that’s another problem). Over which period of time should the expenditures of an individual be noted in order to be certain of correctly discerning his consumption practices? Therefore, we cannot deal in a perfectly uniform way with the three domains.

We will examine the links between the models and “life styles” in both directions: Can we associate predefined social positions with the practices proper to them and, reciprocally, can we associate “life styles” with very typical social positions? We will use both the usual techniques for causality analysis – ordinary regressions or polytomial logistics, depending on the case – and “data mining” techniques , when it is a case of isolating clearly identifiable constellations of practices and examining to what degree these configurations are locatable by adequate combinations of the social structure components– usual or generalized correspondence analyses (Lebart et al., 1997 ; Greenacre and Blasius, 1994), regression-tree analyses (Breiman et al., 1984) –. These techniques, of course, will be adapted to the nature of the data available, which is sometimes nominal (in the case of opinions), sometimes continuous (in the case of expenditures). The final diagnosis will be based on all of these investigations.

4. Opinions with Regard to Values

This section is based on the 1999 French edition of the *European Value Surveys* series. Elements available to locate social positions are given in Appendix 2.

4.1. The Data

Precise definitions of “value” and “value system” are many and varied, and none of the grids proposed in the literature have been generally accepted (Rokeach 1973, 1979; Inglehart 1977; Schwartz 1994). The idea that the questionnaire of the *European Value Surveys* series is “representative” of the universe of “values” is open to discussion. In any case, the questionnaire does cover a very large number of domains: family, work, religion, organization of society, political values, and so on. Given the widely varied analyses that were performed with these surveys (Stoetzel, 1983; Ester et al., 1993; Riffault, 1994; Bréchon, 2000) and the fact that in successive editions they have been improved in a comparative perspective, we will admit that they allow us to approach value opinions in as satisfactory and, especially, quite complete manner, as the experts feel it is desirable to address them.

Below, we will not study all of the questions, but a descriptive and representative selection. This selection was made as follows. Each of the authors included in Bréchon (2000) selected the questions that seemed, in view of his or her own analyses, the most relevant for the study of the particular theme that he or she was examining (the details of these choices are given in appendix 3). Each variable examined corresponds to a question in the survey (to a degree of detail indicated in Appendix 3), and each elementary datum to each of the possible modalities of response.¹³ There are a total of 90 of these basic data.

¹³ In relation to the initial detail, we have in some cases grouped the modalities in such a way as to balance the number of modalities from one variable to another. The “DKs” and “no responses” were usually grouped together except when their numbers were large or seemed to contribute significantly to the definition of the results.

4.2. The Space of “Life Styles”

Bourdieu’s proposals are not conveyed directly in terms of particular questions on opinions of specific values, but deal more with very general issues of “ethos.” One point, however, is very clear. There is segmentation of *habitus*, ethics, and tastes on the basis of class membership. The “worldviews” common to a given class or class segment unite the holders as a sign of affiliation, vertical distinction, and horizontal connection (DiMaggio, 1990). We must thus expect that value opinions will be quite clearly polarized since they function as a sign of common affiliation. And this point should be found throughout the survey.

We will start by asking whether the typical response constellations can effectively be located through the *Values* survey, and then we will define the opinion indicators that may be linked to social positions.

Organization of Value Opinions

To study overall structure, we used Generalized Correspondence Analysis. The results of partial analyses of the corpus of responses, which we will not present here, converge with those of the general analysis that we present dealing with all of the data in appendix 3. As the degree of freedom of this group is 69, we need 69 factors to reconstruct totally the initial information. The “explained inertia” for each of them is presented in figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1 here

To select the factorial scores in an GCA, three orders of rules can be envisaged (Lebart et al. 1997, 374):

- 1) Retain the scores for which the quality indicator given in figure 4.1 is above its average value. With this criterion, we would retain some 30.
- 2) Retain factors as a function of the degree to which the quality indicator seems to vary sharply. With this criterion, the first factor stands out, then the next two, then the next four, beyond which the variations in quality are very regular and one must retain all the factors almost to the bottom of the list. This reconstruction would be “correct” (at the threshold of a square cosine of 50% in the hyperplane defined by the 7 first factors) for only 8 of the 90 pieces of information if we take into account only the first 7 factors.
- 3) Retain the factors as long as the initial data that enabled the construction are judged relevant by the researcher. This criterion is obviously more subjective. In the present case, taking account of the eighth factor on top of the first seven allows us to add to the information correctly reconstructed up to now the response to the question on the importance accorded to a guarantee of freedom of expression, and the ninth factor adds refusals to respond to the question on the hope of exploring religious traditions by oneself. Depending on whether we feel that these data are or are not important, we will retain these two factors or not.

Clearly, a complete reconstruction of the initial data requires a very large number of factors. We will limit ourselves below to the seven first factors, for which a “natural” threshold exists. The questions (the modalities of response to them) used to construct the seven first factors refer to religious and political domains, indicators of degree of liberalism, and desirable family forms; the other themes and questions examined contribute little to defining these first scores. The relevant data for all the top factors are given in Appendix 4. Figure 4.2 summarizes the interpretation that we can propose for the top factors.

Figure 4.2 here

The first dimension refers to relationship with authority in terms of the degree to which one accepts the moral liberalism. On the one side are people who are not very liberal, are

hostile to homosexuality, and feel that one must have a single faith and that authority and order of maintenance are important. Members of this group belong to the Catholic faith but this element is not the most important. On the other hand, people with high liberalism scores see maintenance of order as secondary and are tolerant of homosexuality. These people feel that they are “citizens of the world,” are categorized as atheists and consider marriage an obsolete institution. They are politically committed and are more on the left wing although, again, this element is not the most important.

The second factor comprises few elements referring to aspects of tolerance and relationships with authority. Religion and politics play a much more important role here. At one pole are people who seem very reserved – they refuse to answer or don’t know – on questions dealing with religion, refuse to place themselves on a left-wing–right-wing scale, and have few opinions about democracy. The only clear opinion with regard to religion is that there is no God. This no doubt is not simply the classic opposition in all surveys between people who have no opinions or who don’t want to give them and the others. This group of people seem to have opinions in other areas but apparently do not see themselves in the system of questions that is proposed to them here. It should be noted that degree of moral liberalism does not seem to be particularly linked to this willingness or refusal to take a position on the questions. People at the other pole express clear political opinions, place themselves on the right, and identify themselves with the upper-middle class. To a position of rejection of politics, religion, and religious uncertainty is opposed a tempered agnosticism (in a broad and vague sense).

The third factor mainly places practising Catholics and agnostics in opposition to each other.

The Diversity of Value Opinions

In his comparative analyses, Inglehart emphasizes the importance of religion as a structuring element in value systems (for example, Inglehart and Baker, 2000). Even in countries where the level of religious practice is very low, he thinks that he can discern significant value orientations issuing from the respective religious traditions proper to the respective country. Of course, one may imagine that in the French case, the relationship between religion and politics leads to a political-religious syndrome linked to the particular history of the country, including the fights between the secularism and Catholicism that marked the last 150 years, such that one would find, in a certain sense, results analogous to Inglehart’s. However, this interpretation is open to debate and, in any case, more than 50% of the composition of the first score above depends on different variables. We should also recall the relatively weak synthetic power of these top factors. Religions and politics partially structure the first axes of the correspondence analysis, not the results as a whole. Can we really see them as a “structuring element” of French value systems? It might be better to say that they reveal the best-structured part of the value opinions of the French, which does not mean exactly the same thing.

Value opinions seem to be very diverse, and it is not very reasonable to call them “strongly structured.” One can illustrate this diversity quite simply. Each point in figure 4.3 represents an individual located according to the values of the first two factorial scores for that individual.

Figure 4.3

The ellipses traced in the figure include 90% of people who answered, respectively, that it is very important (unbroken line), quite important (broken line), or not very important (dotted line) to the success of their marriage for spouses to belong to the same social milieu. These ellipses are very strongly stepped. They are obviously shifted to the right, which

conveys that there is a difference *on average* between the three groups of people, but it is also obvious that it is risky to predict responses to the question on homogamy when we know only the answers to the questions that enabled us to calculate the first two factorial scores: the answers to these questions are not well correlated to the answers to the question on homogamy. This is a fairly generalized situation. The answers to different questions in the questionnaire are generally so poorly correlated among themselves that we cannot assume that they flow from a small number of overarching principles.

Figure 4.3 also shows that the population is spread quite continuously across the plane: for example, there are not two clearly separate subpopulations, but a single population. We cannot discern a few major configurations of responses defining typical and distinct “configurations of opinion.” The differences are of degree, not of nature.

The segmentation that one might anticipate in a Bourdieusian perspective does not appear.

Definition of Typical Configurations in the Domain of Opinions

As we have just mentioned, it thus seems that one cannot uncover response configurations forming strong and clear value-orientation syndromes. Below, we will, on the one hand, retain a few specific questions (with the understanding that the responses to these questions are not very informative about opinions on any subjects but the ones directly addressed by the question); on the other hand, gather groups of individuals whose responses are similar (with the understanding that the limitations of such groups can only be quite arbitrary).

To create groups of respondents whose response configurations are similar, we conducted various hierarchical clusterings, with each individual in the surveyed sample being characterized by the seven prime factorial scores above. Hierarchical analyses using the Ward method on nonstandardized data ¹⁴suggested a clustering of five groups as a good synthesis. The degree of overlap with the results of a search for mixture of normal laws to five groups is quite good: the kappa indicator is 0.71. We will use the mixture of normal laws, which offers the advantage of producing an indication of the degree of uncertainty in the assignment of individuals to a group of opinions. Four of the groups correspond approximately to the four frames defined in figure 4.2; the fifth, to individuals whose opinions are not easily traced by the prime factorial axes. This last group includes almost 40% of the population. Its large numerical size corresponds, obviously, to the fact that the responses are weakly organized and that the prime factorial axes explain only a small part of the overall inertia. To improve substantially the share of explained inertia, the number of axes and of groups would have to be greatly expanded. Five groups seems to be a good compromise, as the presence of a large group conveys the fact that the responses are very diverse and cannot be reduced to a small number of types.

We will retain as elementary items likely to differentiate value positions the questions on the importance of maintenance of order, tolerance of homosexuality, position with regard to exploration of religious traditions, position on a political orientation scale, and more specifically the refusal to position oneself on the scale. These items contribute the most clearly to determination of the prime factorial axes of the GCA above.

4.3. Social Space/Life-Style Space Homology

¹⁴ As the factorial scores are centred by construction, nonstandardization accords more importance to a score whose own value is already high.

Following the logic described in section 3.3, we will begin by examining the social-structure models based exclusively on information of the “sociocultural hierarchy” type, and then we will examine all of the elements of social position. The different indicators with regard to value orientations are presented in the form of nominal variables that are non-ordered (in the case of the typology of opinion styles, and also political or religious orientations for which the responses “don’t know” do not form a continuum with the others) or ordered (in the other cases).

“Social Hierarchies” and Value Opinions

In the domain of “social hierarchies,” three indicators are available: an indicator of cultural capital (the individual’s level of education), an indicator of class position, and an indicator of economic capital (the income of the household of which the individual is a member).

The differences in value opinions following positions that can be associated with these three dimensions are first linked to cultural capital. The Regression Tree (impurity measured by Chi2 as well as by the Gini-index) based on these three elements alone always produce, no matter what the indicator of value orientation analyzed, analogous structures: differentiations by economic capital or class positions have no relevance except at a set level of cultural capital. We also observe this result in table 4.1, which presents the differentiating powers of different models possible with the three dimensions.

Table 4.1

The question is whether the relevant structure can be summarized solely to “cultural capital.”

First, introduction of class position (as it is locatable in the present statistical source) does not really improve the homology of social structure models with styles of value opinions, as we see in table 4.2. Similarly, tests of significance of effects of class position on multinomial regressions using the three dimensions are never significant (even at a 15% threshold) whatever life-style indicator is used.

Second, the dimension of economic capital is sometimes significant for certain indicators, notably the most synthetic one: typology of life styles. Introduction of this dimension improves the quality of adjustments: the BIC’ indicators are –134.88 for a model with only cultural capital, –140.71 with a model combining cultural and economic capital,¹⁵ and –154.84 if the two dimensions are introduced additively. This improvement does not appear, however, for less synthetic indicators, and the BIC’ indicators are at best of the same value in the models that take account of economic capital on top of cultural capital as in those using this dimension only. It is therefore far from a given that it would be truly interesting to take account of economic capital in determining social positions whose holders would have different value orientations. In particular, we note that the “global capital” version of the models is clearly less satisfactory than is the version using “cultural capital” only.

Social Space and Life Styles

Among all the models combining all the information available¹⁶ while respecting all the constraints indicated in section 3.3, the “best” – best in the specific sense that it is the one that

¹⁵ The indicator of “economic capital” was simplified from the detail initially available by simply separating the population into two categories (“rich” and “poor”). The use of greater detail weakens the predictive capacity of the model in the sense of the BIC’.

¹⁶ Thus, aside from information on sociocultural hierarchies, age, gender, marital status, urbanization of place of residence. See appendix 2.

engenders the greatest homology, according to impurity measured by the Gini-index, in the space of the five life styles constructed above – is given in figure 4.4.

Figure 4.4

Consideration of the population in its entirety thus seems important since the first cleavage is made according to age – older people are clearly distinguished from others. More broadly, the social space thus constructed is organized fundamentally around the two dimensions of “cultural capital” and age. Following the same criteria, the “best” of the “social space models” definable from a list reduced to these two components is that in figure 4.5, defining a social space with 5 or 11 positions, depending on the detail wanted.

Figure 4.5

Here, we see the opposition between older people and others. For the latter, cultural capital seems to be decisive out of proportion to its size. Similar results are illustrated by the smallest space analysis presented in figure 4.6.

Figure 4.6.

The predictive quality of the 5-position version of this social space for predicting “life styles” is very average, or even weak (asymmetric lambda 0.012, Goodman rate 0.029). In the opposite direction, the ability of “life styles” to predict the positioning within this social space is stronger, but it is still relatively weak (asymmetric lambda 0.088, Goodman rate of 0.033). These values are very close to those obtained with the model using all the data available . This result is also obtained by comparing the logistical regressions of life styles on this particular social positioning, on the one hand, and on all the information available treated additively, on the other: the BIC’ statistics are, respectively, -218.70 and +394.69; the Chi-square ratios with degrees of freedom are 13.6 and 4.0.

4.4. Discussion and Comments

In terms of social positions with which actual “value styles” are likely to be associated, the conclusions that can be drawn from the *Values* survey are thus clear: only the combination of cultural capital and age positions is important. The spatial homology constructed with that of value orientations is rather weak. Segmentation of opinions is moderate. It seems, at the least, imprudent to conclude that “value systems” exist, with all that this expression connotes of structuring, significance, and organization of principles on which opinions are based (cf. Lemel, 2000).

Of course, this last evaluation has an aspect of subjectivity, the glass half empty according to one, and half full according to the other. The choice of the statistical technique in itself is important in this regard, since generalized correspondence analyses are supposed to underestimate the strength of relations, while other factorial techniques will have a tendency to overestimate them. The observation protocol itself may be somewhat biased toward modal opinions. On the one hand, people belonging to the extreme categories, who are no doubt small in numbers, would be weakly presented in the sample of respondents. On the other hand, extremist positions, which one would anticipate to be rarely chosen, would be infrequently presented for the evaluation of the people questioned. As a consequence, the structuring of the results would be weakened. However, even if these arguments were true, it would still be true that the “swamp” would resemble the great mass of the population and that the degree of structuring of the value universe of these persons would be, as we have observed, weak.

Davis (1982) has observed the weakness of associations between sociocultural positionings and attitudes for the United States. In France, the results are similar. It seems, also, that this weak association is more general and involves not only sociocultural positions

but also, more broadly, all types of social positioning that one could envisage. Parsonian sociology and postwar cultural anthropology were criticized because of the too-strong cultural integration that they presumed for individuals, who acted as rather mechanical “bearers of roles,” transcribing in their acts, with no volition, prescriptions resulting from the value system that they had completely internalized. This is certainly a criticism that can be made of the very structuralist versions of Bourdieusian approaches. The results presented here bolster this criticism: each of the respondents has his or her own combination of opinions, and it is difficult to reduce this diversity to a combination of a small number of major principles with which people would agree, which explains why it is difficult to relate them later to social positions.

One can also collate the results – this is a second explanation, not an alternative to the one above – of more general developments in French society often noted elsewhere. If one does not locate major ideological configurations, it is because their importance has faded. French people are more and more inclined to decide for themselves, to organize their own concepts of what is desirable, and to reject authority (Galland et al., 2001; Schweisguth, 1995).

Finally, one can, of course, contest the method used. Deliberately inductive, it is based on the departure point that all of the questions asked in the *Values* survey are, a priori, equally relevant for studying value systems. Such systems, if they exist and if one finds them, must thus provide organization for all of the questions, since they are all equally relevant. One can certainly contest this point of view, building precisely defined scales of value orientation and examining how the population is distributed on these scales. This approach presumes that one can lay out a value grid a priori and can, in this case, consider questions the responses to which would be difficult to insert in the grid as unimportant “noise.” Unfortunately, as we have said, there is no grid that meets with unanimous acceptance.

5. Practices through Time Use

There is a long tradition of studies on time use (cf. Gershuny, 2000; Szalai, 1972). Such studies give a detailed description of individuals’ activities and the time spent doing each of them, and they certainly reflect the reality of individual practices. They are quite exhaustive (listing everything done during a certain period of time), and the practices described are those that were done, not those that the individuals might have wanted or preferred to do. Such overviews therefore offer many advantages for the subject we are studying here. They also have some drawbacks, which we discuss below.

For this section, we will use the *Emplois du temps* (Time use) survey conducted in 1999 among a representative sample of the French population. This survey describes 15,441 days, through one day drawn at random for each person questioned. The 1,440 minutes of each day studied are described according to a nomenclature of activities (a completely standard one very similar to those used in all time-use studies). This nomenclature (see appendix 3B) includes 10 first-level (one-digit) rubrics, 33 second-level (two-digits) rubrics, and 100 third-level (three-digit) rubrics. The detail available at the first two levels is also shown in appendix 3B. Below, we will use the two-figure nomenclature. We shall return to this point.

As in the above case, we will start by asking if typical response constellations can effectively be located through the *Emploi du temps* survey, and then we will examine which social positions they can be associated with.

5.1. Life Styles Locatable through the Study

We will avoid treating time spent on different activities as if it varied constantly. On the one hand, the extreme values may have a particular significance – for example, a day with a very high proportion of time spent on occupational work no doubt signifies a particular way of life in a country in which the amount of time spent at salaried work is limited by many precise regulations and laws. On the other hand, absence of a particular activity in a day must not always be interpreted as a sign of an individual's way of life – for example, in the case of the absence of “work” activity during a statutory holiday.

For each activity, we will thus distinguish cases of no, some, average, and high practice, depending on whether the time spent on the activity on the day studied is none, average, or high compared to the average for that activity. In cases of very rare activities, we will distinguish only the absence or presence of the practice. For the two-figure level of the nomenclature, which comprises 33 positions, this amounts to describing one day through a vector of 33 indices with two, three, or four values.

Activities that structure

Compared with what we observed with value opinions, time use seems to be more structured. The top values proper to a generalized correspondence analysis of the 15,441 time-use records, described in the two-figure nomenclature and recoded as we have indicated, explain a clearly larger share of inertia (cf. figure 5.1). This analysis highlights the preponderant role that certain high- or low-level activities have in distinguishing days from one another (cf. figure 5.2): sleep, domestic work, occupational work, time devoted to sociable activities such as “conversation,” and recreation such as “shows” – compare the opposition on the first factorial axis of days with a great deal of occupational work, little sleep, and no domestic activities to days with a high amount of sleep and household and kitchen activities.

Figures 5.1 and 5.2

These results are in complete conformity with those obtained in a previous study by Maurin (1989), which used a level of detail equivalent to the three-figure level. Maurin located nine privileged associations: a) high levels of sleep, meals, and television; b) high levels of cooking, house cleaning, laundry washing and maintenance, and child care; c) high levels of occupational activity; d) the absence of all cooking or house-cleaning activities (which doesn't mean, obviously, that the individual did not eat or clean house during the day); e) absence of all travel, outside contact, and shopping – days spent entirely at home; f) absence of work, obviously accompanied by the absence of all other activity linked to work; g) “standard” work days – occupational work combined with breaks and travel, but not beyond the average norms in the domain; h) complementary to (a): moderate time spent at meals and sleep; i) sociable occasions, meals out with friends, various contacts, all activities practiced at a higher than average level.

To construct types of days, we will thus base ourselves on the high or low level practice of a certain number of reference activities: sleep and meals, occupational work, household activities (“child care” included), sociable activities, travel.

Construction of types of days

If, based on distributions of time spent, we distinguish absence, average levels, and high levels of practice for the activities that we have named, we obtain a priori 108 types of different

days.¹⁷ Only 56 were observed in the study, and some of them are very rare (more than 20 were found less than 20 times).

To obtain a limited number of representative types, we will group together the 56 initial types on the basis of similarity of average time use associated with them. Various tests with more or less detailed average time use (in the two-figure and one-figure nomenclatures) and various clustering techniques were performed. Their results were very similar. Below, we will use the typology obtained by the Ward method on weighted data, but we will indicate, when necessary, whether or not the results are sensitive to the particular technique used.

Average time use for days grouped together at level 8 of the corresponding classification are given in table 5.1. Here, we find the poles that constitute particularly high or low levels for certain groups of activities (days with much time worked and clearly less sleep time, etc.).

Table 5.1

Two of the eight types of days constructed in this way therefore are quite low in numbers, a few percent of total days. One corresponds to days with very high time devoted to occupational work; the other to days with recreation and meetings at home (thus without travel). These two types of days are very specific and maintain their autonomy in the cluster analyses at very high levels of grouping. We therefore retained them.

5.2. Homology between social space and life-style space

The organization of days (described, as we recall, through a one- or two-figure nomenclature) takes us essentially to the sex and age components of social positions. What we have called “sociocultural hierarchies” intervenes only in a secondary and subordinate way.

Age and sex roles

Whatever the level of typological detail retained (between 10 and 4 groupings), whatever the technique used to make these groupings (centroid, Ward method, or other), whether we describe the days in a one-figure or two-figure nomenclature, segmentation of the typologies of days thus built by regression tree, whatever the method, CHART or CHAID, , all give similar results: first, a distinction by age between people under 60 and over 60, then, for each age class, a distinction by sex. Figure 5.3 gives an example of these results.

Figure 5.3

Similarly, an examination, activity by activity, of the differentiating powers of the various components of the social structure reveal that there are few raw divergences of practices between social categories and strata of life or education level, and also between rural and urban zones.

Table 5.2

Thus differences are associated overwhelmingly with sex and age. The “best” (always in the same sense) model of social structure that is based only on these two dimensions is obtained by combining sex with three age categories – under 30, over 60, between 30 and 60 – possibly complemented by adding a distinction between very old people and those under 60.

This “model” of social structure has a predictive quality for anticipating life styles that is much better in the present case than do value opinions: the asymmetric lambda is 0.156 and the Goodman rate is 0.110. In the opposite direction, the same indicators prevail: 0.133 and 0.087 – that is, the possibility to predict sex and age position from the knowledge of a day is much greater than was the possibility of predicting a person’s position from his or her

¹⁷ In fact, we distinguished only two situations for travel and not widespread sociability activities.

opinions.¹⁸ Thus, if we allow that a type of day is not significant when it is found in fewer than 10% of occurrences, one may then make the following predictions based on the knowledge of a day: if the day is type 3, the person is under 60; if it is type 4, 5, or 6, the person is over 30; if the day is type 5 or 6, it is a woman; one can't predict anything with days of type 7, 8, or 9.

An illustration of the social structure/time-use homology is given in figure 5.4. This social space, described in terms of time use, leads to a dimension of the life cycle and an opposition of the sexes; the life-cycle effects are felt in a contrasting way for men and women. We note that internal diversity is greater among women than among men.¹⁹ The opposition is very marked for men depending on whether they are over 60, but the changes are much more gradual for women. Suggestively, young and older women have styles of time use quite similar to those of men, the difference being much more marked in intermediary periods.

Figure 5.4

Placing in the "social hierarchies"

Is it useful or not to introduce differentiations according to social hierarchies?

The introduction of components of this type improves the differentiating capacity of social structure models very little. Thus, in the basic model, crossing sex and age as indicated above corresponds to an R2 of 0.132 and a Chi2 of 6892 in the nominal logistical regression on a typology of days with six items; one that includes only income has an R2 of 0.02 and a Chi2 of 869; if one combines the two dimensions additively, the result is an R2 of 0.138 and a Chi2 of 7180.²⁰ The conclusions from modeling with complete interactions are similar: the R2 varies from 0.10 to 0.15 for the effects of sex-age nested in income and by 0.005 to 0.01 for the effects of income nested by sex-ages. These results are the same for the other indicators available: class position and education level.

Thus, if one describes globally, life styles as locatable through temporal organization of days does not lead to social hierarchies. Obviously, this does not mean that some activities are not related to time use, as we see in table 5.2 – for example, certain leisure activities – but even in these cases differences linked to age or life cycle seem very important. To develop this idea, we would further redo the analyses limiting ourselves to these specific domains.

5.3. Discussion and comments

The main result, once acquired, may seem obvious. The organization of days is very strongly dependent on the time devoted to occupational work, to domestic work, and to rest (in the broad sense, meals included). Since domestic activities are overwhelmingly the responsibility of women and occupational work appears only at certain stages of the life cycle, these activities correspond most strongly to sex and age roles.

In the analysis, we limited ourselves to the first two levels of the nomenclature. The days are described by 30 items. The item "kitchen," for example, belongs to the two-figure level of the nomenclature. It allows us to know the time spent on all food-preparation activities, which amounts to an average of 54 minutes per day per person. One could say that

18 It should be noted that predictability in the direction life style → position seems better than predictability in the other direction, which is no doubt due to the fact that it is difficult to a weekly organization of days into the analysis when one knows about only one day in the life of each person. A working person will have days worked and days not worked, for example, but this may also be typical of a person looking for work.

19 This greater diversity also appears through the fact that, in general, the indicators of diversity are greater in the segmentations in branches dealing with women than they are in branches dealing with men. Cf. fig. 5.3.

20 The number of degrees of freedom being greater, the R2 by degree of freedom thus clearly drops.

the aggregation to one or two digits is too broad to allow for locating of significant elements and that we should have gone down to a more detailed level. The three-digit level allows us to divide the 54 minutes of “kitchen” between these detailed items: “preparation and cooking,” “dishwashing,” “setting the table, serving the meal,” “preparation of preserves, cakes, etc.,” and “cooking for another household.” The detail available in the survey thus tells us nothing, for example, about preparation techniques used, degree of elaborateness of ingredients used, or food orientation (“exotic” foods, etc.). This level of detail may thus still seem insufficient to judge differences in behaviours with a view to expressing distinct life styles. One would have needed a nomenclature that was even more detailed. However, the numbers involved often become very low even at the two-digit level of the nomenclature, and so it seems pointless, technically speaking, to provide a great deal more detail.

The difficulty due to the fact that the sample of days is insufficient to obtain the detail that one might wish for is not only technical. It leads to deeper difficulties.

First, if activities appear rarely, it is because they are performed rarely. Certainly, rare activities may be socially very important. But, nevertheless, we must wonder how much significance to accord to them in terms of socially relevant difference if they are too rare (and thus not visible enough).

Second, the terms spontaneously used by people to describe their days seem to depart little from the nomenclature as it is. This means that one must in fact wonder about the possibility of constructing nomenclatures of activities radically different than those used (if one stays in the register of what is done during a single day). The specifics and detailed descriptions that the researchers would hope for are not, in any case, immediately and systematically given by the people surveyed. The nomenclature used seems to correspond to a way of describing everyday life that both is relatively operative and coincides with a form of common meaning.

6. Practices through Use of Money²¹

This analysis of use of money will be based on the *Budgets de famille* (Family budgets) study conducted in 1995 with a sample of 9652 households representative of the French population of ordinary households. The households surveyed noted all their expenditures for two weeks in a ledger book and were asked about their less frequent expenditures.

We will examine the differences in consumption that can be associated with social positions using models of demand. There are purely contingent reasons for proceeding in this way, the identification of constellations of consumption practices at the elementary level of households being particularly delicate in the case of cash, but there is also a more fundamental reason that has to do with the particular nature of the subject.

6.1. Halbwachs's Approach: The Problem of Standard of Living

In his well-known book about social classes and ways of living, Halbwachs (1913) analyzed family budgets of manual workers and white-collar employees and tried to show that the structure of consumption revealed the specific orientations and habits of these classes. To distinguish the classes, he underlined their distinctive budgets for housing, food, and clothes. Such a line of reasoning can be traced from Halbwachs to contemporary French writers such as Bourdieu.

²¹ This part is inspired by Herpin and Verger (1999).

Halbwachs paid particular attention to economic resources that people might have available. The possible budgetary specificities of the different classes are examined *net* of the potential effects of income. When the overall amount of consumption is approximately equal to that of income, the practices that Halbwachs examined reflect very directly the economic dimension of social structure.²² Halbwachs therefore studied social classes by examining whether their members consumed differently than the economic resources available to them might lead one to forecast. This, of course, is a not very structuralist perspective on social classes.

In a longitudinal view, Halbwachs's perspective involves analyzing changes over time in the dynamic income-elasticities of consumption for different classes. Scholars generally agree that convergence has occurred for some aspects of consumption, but differences persist for other aspects. Looking at the 1956–79 period, Herpin et al. (1998) arrived at two important conclusions: first, tastes are not really socially heterogeneous; second, there were no radical taste changes during this time. There are class differences in consumption, but they are not very important, a result that strongly qualifies Bourdieu's distinction hypothesis. It is this conclusion that we will examine from a more instantaneous analytic point of view.

In a “cross-section” approach, Halbwachs's perspective involves constructing functions of demand taking account of the different parameters likely to modulate them. The list that we use contains the three groups of elements discussed above, complemented by purely technical variables reflecting the particularities of the observation methods. The details are given in appendix 2. The class-schema we used, constructed specifically to study consumption expenditures, is described below.

6.2. Problems with imputation and “false zeros”

The fundamental unit of observation is 15 days of expenditures, and this has many consequences. Certainly, records kept in ledger books are complemented by retrospective interviews on infrequent purchases in certain areas (vacations, for example), but this makes it difficult to obtain information on a microsociological order,²³ and it thus seems particularly difficult to adopt the approach previously used for construction of typologies of practices and then to examine the degree to which these typologies coincide with distributions in the social positions.

The list of purchases by individuals differs from the “true” annual consumption list because of the existence of “false zeros” (the consumer did not consume over 15 days but does consume over 12 months), “false” low values (due to poorly identified imputations for consumption), and “false” very high values (due to the appearance in a ledger book of exceptional expenditures).²⁴ These problems not only increase the residual variance in the econometric estimates, but they can affect the estimation of coefficients and create significance based on a single artificial peak or change the sign of a coefficient because of a single observation.

There are a number of possible solutions. The most frequently adopted is to eliminate observations deemed “aberrant” (those with, for example, a very high residual in a model adjusting consumption, or with a great difference between the location in the income hierarchy and that in the consumption hierarchy). However, the file thus constructed then

22 At least when one measures these practices by their amount.

23 All expensive goods rarely acquired are not covered in such a retrospective questionnaire since the lists would be too long to manage, and frequently the value of a large purchase is observed only through the ledger book: the consumer who has purchased a diamond necklace could thus see her annual consumption calculated as if she had acquired 26 necklaces!

24 In addition, consumers who put too little detail in their ledger book will be attributed, by imputation procedures, extremely diversified purchases, which they never made, with very low values for each product.

loses much representativeness, as the elimination ends up erasing a large share of wealthy households whose consumption is often made of single purchases with very high values. This elimination is even less justified because it is due not to the poor quality of a data series, but to poor reconstruction of an annual budget starting from correct, though limited, observations. We thus chose to work on the entire file, with truncated annual data, but descending to as fine a level as possible of observation to perform this truncation: for all expenditures in the ledger book whose wording allowed us to presume that purchases would be made only rarely, we considered that the expenditure observed was an annual expenditure and did not multiply the value by 26.²⁵ Thus we obtained a distribution that, although it does not restore the “true” individual distribution of consumption purchases, appears to be of better quality. The results obtained from this truncated distribution seem more satisfactory when they differ from results established on the raw data series, particularly surprising results of raw analyses disappear with the adjustment.

In any case, we thought that it would not be prudent to try to interpret correlations between expenditures on the individual level, in the current state of things. We used an exponential model in which each major type of expenditure is analyzed independently, as a function of the explanatory variables of a) household income, the level of assets, the education of, his socio-occupational category, the presence of self-employed workers in the household; b) family situation, and age of the reference person; c) the type of community lived in d) ad some miscellaneous among which the period in which the consumption ledger book was kept.²⁶ The model is expressed:

$$D_k = \sum \exp(\alpha_{ki} X_i + \varepsilon).$$

This equation allows us to analyze the variables presenting null values (which happens, even at the level of 10 major functions). We emphasize that income is introduced as the explanatory variable (although frequently, in demand models, total consumption is used as the regressor, which leads to problems when one studies each expenditure as a function of a sum between that expenditure and other purchases). Finally, we note a technical point: this type of model is estimated by the maximum likelihood, but we do not have available good summary indicators of quality of the adjustment, which explains the absence of R2 or other similar indicators in the resulting tables given in appendix 4.

6.3. General Results

The detailed results are presented in appendix 4. All comments below, following Halbwachs’s logic, deal with *net* effects. In particular, differences associated with income differences are stripped of potential differences linked to the demographic composition of the household or which class it belongs to.

Overall assessment

The importance of the various aspects of social position will be evaluated by the size of the separations associated with them in the tables in appendix 4. These are summarized in table 6.1.

Table 6.1

The general assessment is the following. Total consumption of households varies mainly as a function of income; all other factors generate disparities of much smaller amplitude.

²⁵ For some expenditures, intermediate solutions were chosen (hypothesis of purchase several times in a year but not each fortnight).

²⁶ In a temporal perspective, price variations are considered a basic explanatory factor. Here we can consider, as a first approximation, that the frame is static and that prices are the same for everyone; they were therefore not introduced among the regressors.

When one disaggregates by major functions, the hegemony of economic capital remains, but the separation from other factors diminishes, as the differences associated with demographic components (age and family situation) are found to have a notable explanatory power for some functions. The other components (type of community lived in, socio-occupational category, education, etc.) generate statistically significant disparities, but with a smaller amplitude.

“Sociocultural hierarchies”

Income is thus the factor that generates the strongest disparities. This result, predictable for *gross* effects (consumption expenditures are, in substance, equal to income), were not at all so under the present form: here, we have *net* effects.

Even if the form of the model used does not allow us to go directly from coefficients to income elasticity, we can still categorize the various functions of consumption by degree of sensitivity to revenue. Its amplitude is maximal for household appliances; then, in decreasing order of sensitivity to income, is a first group including clothing, transportation and leisure, then expenditures linked to the principal residence, and, in last position, food.

Those without a college education consume less for each type of expenditure (except for food, where there is no difference), all other things being equal. This may be a sign that at identical income, permanent income is weaker. We note more even growth with the level of education for everything having to do with the principal residence and its appliances.

Class membership can be associated with differences, but they are minor; we will discuss this below.

“Demographic components”

Two demographic components introduce major disparities.

The contrast in consumption between young and old households, due to the effects of life-cycle stage, ageing, or generational effects, is clear. “Young” expenditures include eating outside of the home, clothing and accessories and jewellery, purchase of the principal residence, rent, transportation, and recreational equipment. “Old” expenditures include running expenses for the residence and health care.

With regard to family situation, what we see first is the mechanical effect of increased expenditures as a function of the number of individuals in the household. More than a proportional increase (which is discerned really only for food), we observe a three-step increase (single people, childless couple, couple with children). We note that with regard to clothing and household appliances, single men are the lowest consumers, while for transportation single women are the lowest consumers.

“Residential situation”

This is described by level of urbanization. All things being equal, consumption is higher in Paris, except for purchases of principal residence, furniture, domestic services, automobile, and health, which are higher in rural zones.

6.4. Effects of Class Membership

In the case of the survey on family budgets we have available a class schema designed with the precise goal of highlighting particularities of consumption. The general idea is to be able

to find, in the particularities of consumption, particularities of the conditions of practising trades.

The class schema

Three main dimensions form the schema shown in table 6.2. The first dimension is the level of skill needed for occupational tasks. The lowest level is that in which know-how requires no specific training, the second level is that of skilled labour, more autonomous in the execution of routine tasks; the third level is that of specialized training, developed in the applied form of technical, legal, or scientific knowledge. The second dimension is amplitude of responsibilities or authority conferred upon the person occupying the job; we distinguish five levels from no authority (routine jobs) to complete autonomy. The third dimension is the economic sector: jobs in the tertiary sector (commercial distribution, marketing and finance, general administration and administration of local communities, education, health, recreation, service jobs in companies, in restaurants or hotels, and other personal services), secondary sector (industrial sector in the broad sense), or primary sector (agriculture, fishing, and mining).

Table 6.2

Taking the middle classes as a reference, we can thus hypothesise the following particular consumption behaviours of these different classes:

a) The four executive categories have occupational activities that present a common characteristic: contacts, both with staff and with outside partners, are important. The relational dimension of consumption must thus dominate the material dimension. Second, people in these categories represent their company and should aim through their behaviours to give it an image of prosperity and stability. Finally, we can imagine “executives” as being particularly optimistic about their future, the success of their past career encouraging them to anticipate a better future, which leads them to a preference for the present.

b) In contrast, the budgetary behaviours of the proletariat are characterized by restricted consumption, because of the great uncertainty of their occupational situation. The level of their expenditures should thus be lower, as might be expected from their income level.

c) Finally, we would expect that the expenditure behaviours of households containing self-employed people would be distinguished from those of salaried workers by more savings; less recreation, in particular activities that involve leaving the home/workplace; more activity at home; fewer interruptions due to health problems and thus lower corresponding expenditures, the duration of the work stoppage being always a gap to fill for self-employed people. One would also expect less domestic help because of the desire to resort to peers.

Assets particularities

We note certain consumption particularities:

- All things being equal, executives’ households have consumption in which the relational dimension dominates over the material dimension.

In a number of the major consumption items, expenditures on goods and on services were distinguished. Services rather than goods account for relatively high expenditures in these executives’ households. Similarly, although food at home has an expenditure level that one might anticipate from other household characteristics, expenditures on meals outside of the home (café, restaurant) are relatively high for elite executives, elite specialists, and tertiary-sector executives. Recreation and educational activities are the object of a specific budgetary effort for the executive elite, the specialist elite, and industrial executives. It is the

same for shows/package tours/hotels for the specialist elite and industrial executives. Finally, in transportation, services also give rise to specific budgetary efforts, while the automobile and its maintenance do not stand out for any of the four executive categories.

Similarly, the household budget in this social class is marked by costs related to shows and private social events. Expenditures related to clothing made by the four executive categories can be interpreted thus. Behaviours regarding the main residence are also remarkable: the four executive categories have relatively high expenses for running expenses, heating, and local taxes on the main residence. With the exception of the specialist elite, rent is also a relatively high item.²⁷

The costly location of the main residence, at the cost of property ownership, may also be interpreted as manifesting a preference for the present among these executives' households. We find a second confirmation of this attitude at the level of overall expenditures (once income tax is deducted). Executives are distinguished by a budgetary behaviour in which the propensity to spend is remarkably high.

- In the middle classes, which constitute the point of reference, we will note only the lack of distinctions by sector of employment.

- Budgetary behaviours of the proletariat are clearly characterized by restraint, since their spending level is lower than their income level would lead us to believe. The belt-tightening is done to the detriment of items commonly thought of as arising from luxury: eating outside the home (especially restaurants) and recreation (notably TV sets, stereos, recordings, books, etc.). Housing, on the other hand, requires a financial effort. Although expenditures are contained for household services, heating, electricity and property taxes, the purchase of the principal residence (and major repairs done to that residence) and its location are beyond these restrictions. Transportation is also the object of contrasting budgetary behaviours: there is no restraint noted for expenditures related to the automobile; on the other hand, there are restraints on expenditures on public transit.²⁸

- The expenditure behaviours of households with self-employed people are clearly distinguished from those of salaried workers by a stronger propensity to save: total consumption expenditures are lower than those of salaried workers, all other things (including income) being equal. Expenditures on recreation are also relatively lower: less is spent on shows or vacation hotels. Expenditures on eating at home are (relatively) higher, an effect compensated for by lower expenditures on eating outside the home. Lower outlays on health care are observed. On the other hand, certain spending behaviours may seem to invalidate the specificity of the life style of self-employed people. We expected less domestic help, but in fact we observed more expenditures on domestic services.²⁹ We were not expecting particular behaviours in the domain of clothing; in fact, we observe lower expenditures on clothing, accessories, jewellery, and perfume. This may be because these are items linked to recreational activities that take place outside the home and accord an important place to sociability, and, lacking time and being relatively sedentary, self-employed people have less need of these types of items.

6.5. Discussion and comment

27 This might seem surprising in a social milieu with high income and frequently endowed with an estate, but these households, better informed on economics by the position they occupy, may find investments other than real estate more profitable.

28 This could be explained by living outside of city centres in areas that are less well served by public transit.

29 However, it must be specified that aside from domestic services, this position aggregates expenditures on other services (hairdresser, insurance, etc.) and exceptional expenses linked to ceremonies (burials, weddings, notaries, lawyers, etc.). These expenditures may perhaps be placed in relation to the estate dimension of the marriage relationship in self-employed circles, marriage uniting not just two people but also their respective personal assets.

If class specificities are a good match with the effects expected, they are also of low amplitude. It is possible that they would appear greater if we were able to work at a very finer level of nomenclature. Actually, the more detailed the consumption budget, the greater the explanatory power of class membership (Lemel and Verger, 1986). However, the problems of false zeros mentioned above become insurmountable. Through the tools that we are able to construct to observe exhaustively the expenditures of a representative sample of households, the work milieux have observable but low amplitudes.

The French sociological tradition has always attached great importance to social class in explaining consumption and life style. In some respects, however, such emphasis can be questioned. From a cross-sectional approach, conclusions are straightforward. Class membership hardly matters in explaining households' consumption (at least, if consumption is not considered in very fine detail). Income and household composition adequately explain households' differences in consumption patterns.

Life styles, as analysable through consumption expenditures, are above all the reflection of the "economic capital", the economic dimension of the social structure.

7. Evaluation and Further Research

The notion of "life style" does not have a truly canonical definition. It leads to the idea that there are various ways of living, modes of consumption, and value orientations, and that we can associate these ways of life with positions in society. Interpretations are varied. In many views, the notion leads to that of "status" in the Weberian sense. That of Bourdieu presumes, under the terms *habitus*, *ethos*, and so on, systems of orientation that strongly structure individual behaviours. In contrast, the term and idea are sometimes evoked to designate ways of life that are very temporary and limited – for example, the choice of clothing style under certain circumstances. In all cases, however, the notion leads to the idea of a presumed coherence of a minimum number of activities and intentions. One cannot study it without examining the different elements of the actions of a person; a "life style" that is conveyed only in the accomplishment of a single act and a very limited scope does not make much sense. The point that seemed essential to the analysis is the following: one cannot talk of "life styles" without finding that they are conveyed in a set of activities.

7.1. The Stylized Facts

In terms of stylized summaries, the conclusions of our survey are the following:

- The inter-individual variability in value opinions is very strong, and social positions have little to do with it. The cleavages that one finds lead to age differences on the one hand, and, among the younger population, to differences in cultural capital.
- The inter-individual variability in daily use of time is clearly weaker. These variations are highly organized according to differences in sex and age, separating older and younger people. Possible differences in time use according to place in the social hierarchies are small, and these differences are associated more with the overall volume of capital than with a class position per se.
- With regard to consumption, expenditures made by households depend essentially on their economic resources, and secondarily on their position in the family-life cycle. The differences in behaviour that can be associated with belonging to different social classes, although not nonexistent, are modest.

This short assessment suggests a number of conclusions regarding the existence and organization of “life styles” in France.

First, a large share, no doubt the majority, of individuals have practices (in the broad sense, including their value opinions) that cannot, without a great degree of approximation, be attributed to a particular “life style” that would be common to a significant number of other individuals. The “life styles” space groups together only a part of the population.

Second, age positions (which may be indicators of position in the life cycle as generational membership, though our data do not permit us to make this division) must be seen as very important. The distinction between young people³⁰ (still in school or university), the oldest (retirees who have ended their work life and are over 60), and people of an intermediate age is found no matter what filter is used to judge life styles.

Differentiation of the social structure by age, generation, cohort and so on is relatively absent from *La Distinction*. This type of differentiation, however, seems largely comparable in importance to, if not more important than, the social positions on which Bourdieu focused his attention, those that we had assembled under the term “sociocultural hierarchies.” In fact, in the works on social stratification, the age criterion is rarely regarded as an intrinsic dimension of social structure. But not only do age differences appear to be associated with significant differences in life styles, but it is clear that this fact goes hand in hand with a demographic evolution that is changing the relative positions of the various strata and could lead to a redefinition of the social structure (Chauvel, 1998; Pampel, 1994).

Third, the filter through which we examine practices seems to be important. The monetary point of entry gives more relative importance to sociocultural hierarchies than does the use of time point of entry, which points almost exclusively to gender and age. All women (and, as a consequence, all men), all older people, and those who are not working (and, as a consequence, all younger people who are working or in training) share certain practices and are excluded from other ones, which identifies them. If too close attention is paid to consumption practices, this point is obscured.

Fourth, it is the positioning on a global hierarchy dimension rather than membership in delimited socio-occupational groups that emerges. This result, we note, conforms with what is obtained when people are asked directly to evaluate social status according to the different criteria examined here: judgment is based essentially on the amount of monetary resources, somewhat modulated as a function of the level of education, but almost independent of occupation type (Lemel&Rainwater,2001).³¹ At first glance, this result may appear surprising, since the idea of “life style” suggests an underlying organization in discrete groupings, and that of “overall capital” suggests an underlying organization that varies continually. One must certainly reason here in probabilistic terms: no potential “life style” is the prerogative of an income stratum; they are simply more or less widespread from one stratum to another.

Finally, urbanization of place of residence may, in a first approximation and contrary to what we had anticipated, be left aside.

Overall, these results are quite incongruent with Bourdieu’s proposals. “Life styles,” in the sense of large groups of practices all performed simultaneously by significant groups of the population, are difficult to find on a broad scale. When we do find them, it is not mainly class positions to which they are attached but sex, age, life-cycle stage, and level of economic resources. We must, however, question the exact scope of these conclusions, which were obtained through fairly general surveys.

30 Truly young people – children – are, we should recall, excluded. Here, “young” refers to the beginning adult life: 18 to 30 years of age.

31 More precisely, an occupation will be evaluated according to the calculation of the status level that the level of education that is necessary to accede to that occupation and the income that it generates.

7.2. Discussion

The most obvious criticism that one can make was mentioned, in the analysis of time use: the “practices” studied would be delimited with insufficient precision. This criticism can be understood in two (not alternative) ways: first, that the objective “detail” is insufficient (we need not the product but its displayed technical characteristics); second, that the mindsets that govern performance of the practice are essential and cannot be reduced to their factual nature (we need not the product, but the “signs” that the potential purchaser associates with it).

The criticism implies, in fact, that it is impossible to use surveys with large representative samples when one is concerned with a form of exhaustiveness. For various technical reasons already mentioned, it is illusory to hope for much more detail on aspects of time use or use of money than was achieved in the context of the *Emplois du temps* and *Budgets de famille* surveys. The questions on the values can no doubt be criticized in the sense that they did not ask the “right” questions, but not in the sense that the questions asked were insufficiently detailed. To obtain more detail, one would have to greatly limit the field of investigation – for example, to cultural expenditures – and the question would then be to what measure the results obtained are specific to a particular domain. The best “interpretability” of practices is obtained to the detriment of representativeness, at least statistical, of the sample under study, and there must be, at the minimum, an argument to justify the selection.

A second discussion point is the inductive aspect of the approach that we used. This way of doing things was coherent with the desire not to exclude a priori certain practices from the analysis, and it led us to consider almost all of the inter-individual variability observed to be significant.

Here’s an example. There are clearly differences in salary between occupational groups, and significance tests confirm this. However, knowledge of an individual salary is extremely unpredictable (except for very high salary levels) in the occupational group of the holder (see figure 7.1) since intra-group variability is high. Depending on the way in which one looks at figure 7.1, one may conclude, or not, that belonging to an occupational group is important. The questions that we were asking led us to accord priority to the predictability of a position over the significance of the effect that could be associated with it. It was thus natural to accord great importance to the individual variability of behaviours. It is possible that a completely inductive approach accords too much: one would have to exclude not only the obvious outliers but base oneself on only a part of the distribution by considering, for example, extreme quartiles or deciles to be noise. Further research might verify the sensitivity of the conclusions to such restrictions.

Figure 7.1.

A third discussion point deals with the relatively heterogeneous aspect of units of observation and analysis. With regard to opinions, the variability taken into account is obviously only between individuals. With regard to time use, on the other hand, the variability may be, but it’s not certain, overestimated because of variations in time use between days of the week. With regard to use of money, the phenomenon is inverted: the variability is no doubt underestimated because of aggregation of individuals within households on the one hand, and the fact that it is impossible really to have access to this level of households given the data-collection modalities on the other hand.

In the future, we will attempt to remedy these last problems by using the 2001 edition of the Family Budgets surveys; this edition improved the collection procedures and used uniform cells through the three surveys, allowing information to be accumulated.

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LIFE STYLES IN THE COUNTRY OF LA DISTINCTION

Appendixes

Y. Lemel et D. Verger

Appendix 1. The class-schema from *La Distinction*.

The third part of Bourdieu's *La Distinction* includes three chapters. Each chapter describes a class, explains the "ethos" the people share and their corresponding behaviour, and then analyzes the differences and conflicts that define class segments within them. This material could be analyzed as a three class-shema.

1 The first class is the "*classe dominante*". It is certainly the most heterogeneous one. Bourdieu makes a strong distinction between

1.1. "*professeurs*" (teachers) and "*cadres supérieurs du public*" (senior civil servants) on one hand, who have more "cultural capital" than "economic capital". This group is "*systematically oriented toward the least expensive and most austere hobbies*". Bourdieu speaks of "*ascetic aristocracy*";

1.2. "*industriels*" (Business executives) and "*cadres supérieurs du privé*" (senior executives), who have more "economic capital" than "cultural capital". This sub-class groups "*those with the most expensive (culturally or economically) and prestigious consumption*". Bourdieu speaks of, "*taste for luxury*".

The "*classe dominante*" possesses, notably through the channel of higher education, the ability to legitimize its own practices.

2. The "*petite bourgeoisie*" is the topic of the second chapter. This middle class, located in an inferior position, aspires to the "legitimate" but not well-understood practices established by the upper categories. Their "ethos" is the "*rigoristic voluntarism of those called but not yet elected, whose claims of one day achieving the status they seek are founded in the permanent invocation of duty*".

Distinctions inside this class are based on the volume of capital and the collective of a category (decline or ascent).

3. The third chapter describes the "*classes populaires*" (working classes) Their lack of financial and cultural means present a barrier to all luxury and the class habits resulting from this lack of capital correspond to a situation in which "*necessity imposes a taste for necessity, implying a sort of adaptation to necessity*". Bourdieu thought that working-class practices are "*based on a principle of necessary choices*" (e.g., "*that's not for us*") with regard to what is functional – "*in order to maintain, but not surpass, respectability*" - and to the fact that social and economic necessity condemn "*simple and modest*" people to simple and modest tastes. Thus, workers will claim to like reasonably priced clothes, which are the only clothes accessible to them in any event. The working classes are essentially defined by the insufficiency of all types of resources.

Appendix 2. Available informations about social positions

Codes used are given here. Information differ from one source to an other one. We try to keep as much detail as possible but to get similar variables.

A. Values Survey

The sample of the *Values Survey* is representative of the adult population (defined as persons more aged than 18 years). 1821 persons answered.

For each person are known:

Educational level (E5) in five items, from 1. Primary school or less to 5. University grades;

Occupation (CS9) among the 9 categories of a class-schema adapted from the French standard that is the *Code des catégories socio-professionnelles*. One of the modalities is "No occupation", an other one is "self-employed" (without employee or with a small number of employees), professionals and employers (with a large number of employees), and six different categories of employees;

Household Income is known through a self-choice among 12 items. Information is recoded in 6 items (R6).

The DK & ND have been reimputed by clusteriennes techniques ;

Age (A7): 1. Less than 20 years, 2. 20-29 ; 3. 30-39; 4. 40-49; 5. 50-59 ; 6. 60-69 ; 7. More than 69 years.

Gender and Marital Status (in partnership or not). For analysis, the two variables are crossed;

Number of persons in the household ;

The level of urbanization of the place of residence: ten categories from rural areas to the city of Paris (detached from its agglomeration).

B. Time-Use Survey

The sample of the *Time use* survey is representative of the adult population (more than 15 years). 15441 persons answered. For each person are known:

Educational level (E) in five items, from 1. Primary school or less to 5. University grades;

Occupation (CS) among the 7 categories of the French standard class-schema which is the *Code des catégories socio-professionnelles*. These seven categories are: 1. Farmers; 2. "self-employed" (without employee or with a small number of employees); 3. Professionals and employers (with a large number of employees), 4. "Professions intermédiaires" (middle-class); 5. non-manual employees ; 6. Workers (skilled & unskilled); 7. retired or never work.

Household income is known through a self-choice among 9 items. Information is recoded in 5 items . The DK & ND have been reimputed by clusteriennes techniques;

Age (A8): 1. Less than 20 years, 2. 20-29 ; 3. 30-39; 4. 40-49; 5. 50-59 ; 6. 60-69 ; 7. 69-79; 8. 80&more.

Gender;

Household composition: 1. One person; 2. Couple with one child; 3. Couple with two children; 4. Couple with three children and more; 5. One parent with children; 6. Other.

The level of urbanization of the place of residence (U): six categories from rural areas to the city of Paris (detached from its agglomeration).

C. Family Budget Survey

The sample of the *family budget* survey is representative of the ordinary household population. 9652 household answered. Some data describe the whole household, other the different members of the household. In the last case, one member is routinely selected through a standard algorithm as "representative" of the household. So, individual information below describe this representative person.

Educational level (E) in eight items, from 1. Primary school or less to 8. Higher university grades;

Occupation among the 10 categories of a class-schema specifically designed for studying consumption.

Details in the text. To this class-schema is added the absence or presence of self-employed or employer;

Household income is known through different detailed questions. Information is recoded for this analyses in 13 items by deciles of the income distribution with a special emphasis for the poorest and the richest. An indicator of importance of wealth is added.

Age (A8): 1. Less than 25 years, 2. 25-34 ; 3. 35-44; 4. 45-54; 5. 55-64 ; 6. 65-74 ; 7. 75&more.

Household composition: 1. One person, Male; 1. One person, Female; 3. Couple with one child; 4. Couple with two children; 5. Couple with three children and more; 6. One parent with children; 7. Other.

The level of urbanization of the place of residence (U): six categories from rural areas to the city of Paris (detached from its agglomeration)..

Appendix 3. Elementary data on activities and opinions

A. Elementary data on value opinions

Variable	Sy	Modalities
Membership in a religion	mbol	
	Fre	Cath & Regul
	catho	Prat
		Cath& Irreg Prat
		Cath & No Prat
		Other
		Without
		Religion
		Atheist
	Ex	NR
Investigate the religious traditions (Q31a)	plore5	
		DK
		One
		Invest. Rel? A
	bit	Invest Rel?
	Middle	Invest Rel?
	strong	DK
Believe in the existence of God (Q32)	Ag	
	nos5	God exists
		Something exists
		Agnostice
		No God, nothing
Consult his(her) horoscope (Q38a)	Ho	
	ros5	Horos:1/day
		Horos : 1/week
		Horos :1/month
		Horos :rare
		Horos :never
		DK&NR
Self-classification on a Left - right scale (Q53)	Ec	
	hg_D6	Left Plus
		Left
		Middle
		Right
		Right Plus
		Pol partici: Zero
Degree of participation in the political life	Par	
	tici9	Pol.part: a bit
		Pol.part: middle
		Pol.part: strong
Degree of nationalism (Q71)	Nat	
	io	No
		Middle
		Strong
Degree of tolerance to the foreigners (Q74)	Exc	
	etr1	Yes
Maintenance of law and order (Q55)	Or	
	dre	No
		No matter
Participate in the decisions of the Government (Q55)	Par	
	tici	Important
		Particip: no
Fight against the prices (Q55)	Pri	
	x	Important
		Secondary

Importance attached to the freedom of expression (Q 55)	press	Ex	Important
Sense of Belonging to a geographic zone (Q 69)	geo1	Ap	secondary « Commune » « Region » France Europe World Privileges
Class affiliation (Q83f)	ssub6	Cla	Well To Do Middle Class Sup. Middle Class Inf "Classe Pop" Disadvantaged Outdated:No
Consider the marriage as an outdated institution (Q 43)	passee	De	Outdated? No
Importance attached(fastened) to the authority (Q57E)		Aut	Authority: good Authority: bad Authority: DK
Degree of moral Liberalism	el_So	Lev	Liberalism Level1 Liberalism Level2 Liberalism Level3 Liberalism Level4 Liberalism Level5 Liberalism Level6
Degree of satisfaction	hbon5	Ec	Level1 Level2 Level3 Level4 Level5
Appreciation on the state of the democracy in France (Q 59)	13	V2	Democracy? NR Democracy? DK Democracy? Very good Democracy? good Democracy? middle Democracy? bad
Importance of fidelity in marriage) (Q 40A)	elite	Fid	Fidel? strong Fidel? middle Fidel? low
Importance of the resemblance of the social circles for marriage (Q40C)	gme3	Hm	Strong importance Middle Low importance
Possibility for a woman to be unmarried and to have children (Q 44)	etcel	Enf	OK Child&Unmar.: Child&Unmar: Non Child&Unmar it depends

*Acceptance of the
homosexuality
(Q65H)*

Ho
mo32
depends
Homo: No
Homo: It
Homo: Yes

Note: Variables " Membership in a religion ", " Degree of participation in the political life ", " Scale of moral liberalism " and " Degree of satisfaction " are constructed. The two first are described in Brechon 2000, the second was built by an analysis of data of variables examined in the chapter 8 of the same work, the 3-rd from the chapter 1. The symbols are those who appear on appendix 4.

B. Elementary data on activities

<i>The activities</i>	<i>Level First Digit</i>	<i>Two Digits</i>	<i>Mean Time spent (minutes)</i>
<u>Personal activities</u>			<u>724,5</u>
		Sleep	543,1
		Personal care	44,4
		Medical care	3,2
		Meal	133,4
		Other private activities	0,5
<u>Work and Studies</u>			<u>184,3</u>
		Work	148,4
		Help to member of the household)	0,4
		No work (on workroom)	2,9
		Job-searchg	1,4
		Vocational training	0,8
		Studies	28,9
		Other trainings	1,6
<u>Domestic activities</u>			<u>185,6</u>
		Kitchen	54,2
		Housew	35,7
		Cleanin	17,7
		Different arrangements and count	7,6
		Purchas	29,5
		Papers	1,5
		Do-it-yourself and other semi-leisure activities	39,3
<u>Children and Adult Care</u>			
		Care	11,7
		Games and lessons	5,7
		Adult Care	0,7
<u>Sociability and Voluntary Help</u>			<u>56,1</u>
		Receptions and Visits	29,4
		Conversations	17,4
		Religion and Ceremonies	2,8
		Associative voluntary help	6,5
<u>Leisure activities</u>			<u>213,9</u>
		Sport	8,5
		Activities in open air	22,3

<i>Media & TV</i>		155
		,9
<i>Do</i>		6,6
<i>nothing</i>		
<i>Spectacl</i>		4,9
<i>e</i>		
<i>Other</i>		15,
<i>Games</i>		7
<u>Transportation</u>	<u>55,2</u>	
<i>Transpo</i>		55,
<i>rtation</i>		2

C. Elementary data on consumptions

The detailed list of spending is articulated in three levels, with an approximate number of 500 items in the more detailed level.

For reasons indicated in the text, one cannot use the greatest detail. The expenditures are studied according to the following coding in 19 Two-digit groups, aggregated in 8. One-digit groups:

1. Food

- 1.1. Food at home (food, drinks)
- 1.2. Food out home (restaurant or canteen of company and school)
- 1.3. Food out home (Other restaurants, cafes and tearooms, fast food)

2. Clothing

- 2.1. Clothing (top, underclothes & shoes)
- 2.2. Accessories of clothing: jewels, gloves, umbrella, true jewels and whim, flavor and cosmetics, soap, toothpaste, shaving cream

3. Home

- 3.1. Rents of the main home (incl. parks)
- 3.2. Locals taxes & maintenances: local taxes, electricity, gas, water, heater, removal of garbage;

4. Furnitures & Services

- 4.1. Equipment (furniture, bedding, household electrical appliance, linen, dishes, kitchenware, decoration)
- 4.2. Services (child minder, hairdresser, assurance, banking charges or not to the credit cards, exceptional spending for marriage or funeral, resort to the lawyers, to the bookkeepers)
- 4.3. Small works in the building and the apartment;

5. Transports

- 5.1 Car (purchase of car and two power-driven wheels, repairs, assurance, fuel)
- 5.2 Services of transport: taxi, train, plane, ...
- 5.3 Urban public transport

6. Leisure

- 6.1 Equipment of leisure (hifi, television, sporting goods (articles), musical instruments, computers, games and toys, paper mill)
- 6.2 Education (school fees, school journeys, allowance for the children, lessons)
- 6.3 Services of leisure (spectacles, sport, hotels, tourist circuits, games) Second home (purchase, maintenance)

7. Health

- 7. Health

8. Income taxes

- 8. Income tax (c. wealth tax)

**Appendix 4. First Factorial Dimensions in a Generalized Correspondence Analysis,
Variables On Appendix 3A, All Respondents in the 1999 Values Survey**

The elements below describe the first three factors.

The tables indicate which variable were used in calculation of the factorial scores.

The degree of importance of a variable is indicated in % in column 4. The sum of all these percentages for all data listed in Appendix 1 is 100.

Column 3 gives the coordinates of variables on the factorial axis under consideration. We retained only data above a certain degree of importance. They are sorted according to this order of importance for the positive and negative values of the coordinates separately..

A. First Dimension

<i>Variable Symbol</i>	<i>Variable Modalities</i>	<i>Coordinates</i>	<i>Importance</i>
Ordre0	<i>Authority: No</i>	0,7	0,049
Level_So5	<i>Liberalism Level5</i>	1,35	0,044
Apgeo1_55	<i>World</i>	1,21	0,041
Homo323	<i>Homo: Yes</i>	0,71	0,039
Natio0	<i>Nationalism: No</i>	1,15	0,038
Frecatho6	<i>Atheist</i>	1,06	0,035
Aut3	<i>Authority: DK</i>	1,03	0,034
Partici93	<i>Pol.part: Strong</i>	0,82	0,03
Depasse2	<i>Marriage outdated: yes</i>	0,53	0,024
Partici1	<i>Particip.: Imp</i>	0,46	0,023
Level_So6	<i>Liberalism Level6</i>	2,17	0,02
Explore5-2	<i>Inv. Relig.? SR</i>	0,9	0,02
Express1	<i>Exp: Sec</i>	0,41	0,019
Explore54	<i>Inv. Relig? strong</i>	0,96	0,018
Fidelite2	<i>Fidel&Mar.? middle</i>	0,65	0,018
Aut2	<i>Authority: Mal</i>	0,6	0,018
Level_So4	<i>Liberalism Level4</i>	0,58	0,016
Echg_D62	<i>Left</i>	0,53	0,015
Frecatho2	<i>Cath. Irreg.</i>	-0,7	0,015
Express0	<i>Freedom: Imp</i>	-0,34	0,016
Excetr11	<i>Foreigners: Yes</i>	-0,66	0,016
Partici0	<i>Partic.: Sec</i>	-0,35	0,018
Level_So2	<i>Liberalism Level2</i>	-0,58	0,021
Agnos51	<i>God exists</i>	-0,63	0,021
Frecatho1	<i>Cath. Regul</i>	-0,92	0,021
Aut1	<i>Authority: good</i>	-0,38	0,024
Level_So1	<i>Liberalism Level1</i>	-0,91	0,029
Ordre1	<i>Order: Imp</i>	-0,45	0,031
Homo321	<i>Homo: Non</i>	-0,69	0,034
Explore51	<i>One</i>	-0,66	0,035

B. Second dimension

Explore5	<i>Expl Relig? SR</i>	1,2	0,068
Agnos5	<i>No god, nothing</i>	0,74	0,059
Echg_D6	<i>SR</i>	0,78	0,049
Prix	<i>Price:Sec</i>	0,46	0,046
Frecatho	<i>Atheist</i>	0,88	0,045
Explore5	<i>Expl Relig? DK</i>	1,04	0,036
Agnos5	<i>SR</i>	2,18	0,029
Apgeo1_5	<i>"Commune"</i>	0,34	0,025
V213	<i>Democracy? NSP</i>	0,9	0,023
Express0	<i>Freedom: Imp</i>	0,28	0,02
V213	<i>Democracy? Mal</i>	0,6	0,018
Depasse	<i>Marriage Outdated:Oui</i>	0,32	0,016
Agnos5	<i>God exists</i>	-0,39	0,015
Partici	<i>Partici.:Imp</i>	-0,28	0,016
Partici9	<i>Pol.part: moy</i>	-0,41	0,017
Express	<i>Freedom: Sec</i>	-0,33	0,024
Agnos5	<i>Something exists</i>	-0,45	0,029
Echg_D6	<i>Left</i>	-0,71	0,029
V213	<i>Democracy?good</i>	-0,42	0,035
Classub6	<i>Middle Class Sup</i>	-0,5	0,036
Prix	<i>Price:Imp</i>	-0,4	0,04
Explore5	<i>Expl Rel? middle</i>	-0,5	0,04

C. Third Dimension

Frecatho1	<i>Cath Regul Prat</i>	1,1	0,064
Level_So	<i>Liberalism Level1</i>	0,85	0,054
Homo32	<i>Homo: Non</i>	0,6	0,054
Agnos5	<i>God exists</i>	0,69	0,053
Echbon5	<i>Level1</i>	0,83	0,046
Explore5	<i>One</i>	0,41	0,028
Apgeo1_5	<i>World</i>	0,67	0,027
Enfctcel	<i>Child&Unmar.: No</i>	0,41	0,025
Fidelite	<i>Child&Unmar? Peu</i>	1,3	0,024
Classub6	<i>Disadvantaged</i>	1,27	0,022
Natio	<i>Nationalism: no</i>	0,61	0,022
Hmhme3	<i>Homogamy? Bcp</i>	0,51	0,022
Explore5	<i>Explo Rel? Bcp</i>	0,71	0,021
Partici9	<i>Pol.part: bcp</i>	0,45	0,019
Echg_D6	<i>Left Plus</i>	0,55	0,017
Frecatho	<i>Other Religion</i>	0,8	0,016
Echg_D	<i>Right plus</i>	0,78	0,016
V213	<i>Democracy? Mal</i>	0,54	0,016
Frecatho	<i>Cath No Prat</i>	-0,33	0,018

Explore5	<i>Investi. Rel? middle</i>	-0,35	0,022
Explore5	<i>Investi. Rel.? DK</i>	-0,79	0,023
Level_So	<i>Liberalism Level3</i>	-0,41	0,028
Agnos5	<i>Agnostic</i>	-0,51	0,033
V213	<i>Democracy? NSP</i>	-1,07	0,036
Homo32	<i>Homo.: it depends</i>	-0,46	0,047

Appendix 5. Analysis of Expenditures, Detailed Results*Table 6.2. Dispersal of Household Expenditures on Food**

<i>Nature of the expenditure item</i>	<i>Food</i>	<i>Food at home</i>	<i>Food out home</i>	<i>Restaurant and coffee shop</i>
Constant	10,59	10,27	9,10	8,78
Urbanisation				
Rural district	- 0,11		- 0,47	- 0,55
Urban unit <20 000 h.	- 0,13		- 0,56	- 0,58
Urban unit from 20 to 100 000 H.	- 0,11		- 0,44	- 0,46
Urban unit > 100. 000 H.	- 0, 07	+ 0,08	- 0,36	- 0,37
Suburbs of Paris				
Town of Paris	Réf.	Réf	Réf	Réf
Income Level				
Lower than the 5 ^{2nd} centile	- 0,33	- 0,26	- 0,68	- 0,76
From the 5 ^{2nd} centile to the 1 ^{er} decile	- 0,29	- 0,22	- 0,46	- 0,43
From the 1 ^{er} decile to the 2 nd decile	- 0,21	- 0,14	- 0,57	- 0,56
From the 2 ^{ème} décile to the 3 ^{ème} décile	- 0,14	- 0,09	- 0,41	- 0,38
From the 3 ^{ème} décile to the 4 ^{ème} décile	- 0,07		- 0,26	- 0,29
From the 4 ^{ème} décile to the 5 ^{ème} décile	Réf.	Réf	Réf	Réf
From the 5 ^{ème} décile to the 6 ^{ème} décile	+ 0,10	+ 0,10		
From the 6 ^{ème} décile to the 7 ^{ème} décile	+ 0,13	+ 0,11	+ 0,21	+ 0,22
From the 7 ^{ème} décile to the 8 ^{ème} décile	+ 0,18	+ 0,15	+ 0,26	+ 0,23
From the 8 ^{ème} décile to the 9 ^{ème} décile	+ 0,24	+ 0,16	+ 0,48	+ 0,47
From the 9 ^{ème} décile to the 95 ^{ème} centile	+ 0,32	+ 0,21	+ 0,68	+ 0,69
From the 95 ^{ème} décile to the 98 ^{ème} centile	+ 0,41	+ 0,26	+ 0,86	+ 0,87
Superior to the 98 ^{2nd} centile	+ 0,56	+ 0,33	+ 1, 17	+1,15
Social category (of the person of reference)				
Leading elite	+ 0,12	+ 0,10	+ 0,19	+ 0,17
Elite of the expertise and professionals				+ 0,14
Manager (service)	+ 0,06			+ 0,31
Expert (service)	+ 0,04		+ 0,18	+ 0,14
Qualified workers (service)	Réf.	Réf	Réf	Réf
Routine workers (service)	- 0,06		- 0,25	0,26
Manager (industry)			+ 0,04	
Expert (industry)	+ 0,05	+ 0,07		
Qualified workers (industry)		+ 0,06	- 0,09	- 0,12
Routine workers (industry)			- 0,26	- 0,22
Age (of the person of reference)				
Less than 25 years	- 0,16	- 0,30	+ 0,32	+ 0,40
From 25 to 34 years	- 0,12	- 0, 19	+ 0,14	+ 0,16
From 35 to 44 years	- 0,05	- 0,07		
From 45 to 54 years	Réf.	Réf	Réf	Réf
From 55 to 64 years	- 0,04	+ 0,03	- 0,40	- 0,34
From 65 to 74 years	- 0,09	- 0,63	- 0,54	
75 years and more	- 0,30	- 0,22	- 0,56	- 0,45
Family composition				
Man alone	- 0,42	- 0,75	+0,36	+ 0,57
Woman alone	- 0,62	- 0,70	- 0,26	
Couples without child	- 0,15	- 0,21		+ 0,25
Couples 1enfant	- 0,09	- 0,10		
Couples 2 children	Réf.	Réf	Réf	Réf
Couples 3 children and more	+ 0,08	+ 0,11		
Single-parent family	- 0,21	- 0,28		
Another household			+ 0,15	+ 0,28
Diploma (of the person of reference)				
Without diploma				
Primary school				
CAP/BEP or equivalent	Réf.	Réf	Réf	Réf
BEPC			+ 0,08	+ 0,11
Secondary school (tech.)			+ 0,11	
Secondary school (general)			+ 0,14	+ 0,16
Bac +2 or equivalent		- 0,04		
More than Bac +2				
Degree of exposure to the occupational hazard				

Exposed				
Intermediate situation	Réf.	Réf	Réf	Réf
Protected				
Period of investigation				
Period 1: 03/10-10/11	+ 0,06		+ 0,15	
Period 2: 14/11-23/12	+ 0,08	+ 0,05	+ 0,12	
Period 3: 02/01-10/02				
Period 4: 13/02-24/03	Réf.	Réf	Réf	Réf
Period 5: 27/03-05/05	+ 0,06	+ 0,07		
Period 6: 09/05-16/06				
Period 7: 19/06-28/07	+ 0,08	+ 0,06	+ 0,12	+ 0,16
Period 8: 21/08-29/09	+ 0,04		+ 0,11	+ 0,10
Religious Practice				
Yes	+ 0,06		+ 0,19	+ 0,15
Not	Réf.	Réf	Réf	Réf
Wealth				
Low or average level	Réf.	Réf	Réf	Réf
Strong level				
Self-employed ?				
Yes			- 0,14	
Not	Réf.	Réf	Réf	Réf
Religious Practice				

* Significant values at the 5 threshold

Table 6.3. Distribution of household expenses for clothing and beauty*

<i>Nature of the expenditure item</i>	<i>All clothing and beauty</i>	<i>Clothing and shoes</i>	<i>Accessories, jewellery, fragrances, etc.</i>
Constant	9,15	8,72	8,13
Urbanisation			
Rural district	- 0,33	- 0,37	- 0,29
Urban unit <20 000 h.	- 0,20	- 0,16	- 0,32
Urban unit from 20 to 100 000 H.	- 0,13	- 0,12	0,19
Urban unit > 100. 000 H.	- 0,16	- 0,16	- 0,19
Suburbs of Paris	- 0,22	- 0,24	- 0,22
Town of Paris	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.
Income Level			
Lower than the 5 ^{2nd} centile	- 0,62	- 0,63	- 0,66
From the 5 ^{2nd} centile to the 1 ^{er} decile	- 0,60	- 0,66	- 0,43
From the 1 ^{er} decile to the 2 ^{2nd} decile	- 0,45	- 0,46	- 0,40
From the 2 ^{2nd} decile to the 3 ^{2nd} decile	- 0,30	- 0,35	- 0,20
From the 3 ^{2nd} decile to the 4 ^{2nd} decile	- 0,16	- 0,20	
From the 4 ^{2nd} decile to the 5 ^{2nd} decile	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.
From the 5 ^{2nd} decile to the 6 ^{2nd} decile			
From the 6 ^{2nd} decile to the 7 ^{2nd} decile	+ 0,22	+ 0,23	+ 0,21
From the 7 ^{2nd} decile to the 8 ^{2nd} decile	+ 0,21	+ 0,21	+ 0,21
From the 8 ^{2nd} decile to the 9 ^{2nd} decile	+ 0,39	+ 0,41	+ 0,36
From the 9 ^{2nd} decile to the 95 ^{2nd} centile	+ 0,55	+ 0,60	+ 0,42
From the 95 ^{2nd} decile to the 98 ^{2nd} centile	+ 0,82	+ 0,87	+ 0,72
Superior to the 98 ^{2nd} centile	+ 1,10	+ 1,20	+ 1,90
Social category (of the person of reference)			
Leading elite	+ 0,33	+ 0,45	
Elite of the expertise and professionals	+ 0,18	+ 0,22	
Manager (service)	+ 0,29	+ 0,33	+ 0,21
Expert (service)	+ 0,08		
Qualified workers (service)	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.
Routine workers (service)			
Manager (industry)	+ 0,18	+ 0,22	
Expert (industry)	+ 0,13	+ 0,19	
Qualified workers (industry)			
Routine workers (industry)			
Age (of the person of reference)			
Less than 25 years			+ 0,22
From 25 to 34 years	+ 0,08	+ 0,07	+ 0,12
From 35 to 44 years			
From 45 to 54 years	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.
From 55 to 64 years	- 0,07		- 0,11
From 65 to 74 years	- 0,28	- 0,33	- 0,17
75 years and more	- 0,53	- 0,50	- 0,61
Family composition			
Man alone	- 0,68	- 0,52	- 1,20
Woman alone	- 0,16		- 0,31
Couples without child	- 0,15	- 0,12	- 0,26
Couples 1enfant		- 0,09	
Couples 2 children	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.
Couples 3 children and more			
Single-parent family			
Another household			
Diploma (of the person of reference)			
Without diploma			- 0,12
Primary school			
CAP/BEP or equivalent	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.
BEPC			
Secondary school (tech.)	+ 0,08		+ 0,11
Secondary school (general)			
Bac +2 or equivalent			
More than Bac +2		- 0,11	
Degree of exposure to the occupational hazard			
Exposed			- 0,07
Intermediate situation	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.
Protected	+ 0,07	+ 0,11	
Period of investigation			
Period 1: 03/10-10/11			- 0,14
Period 2: 14/11-23/12			+ 0,13
Period 3: 02/01-10/02		+ 0,11	- 0,11

Period 4: 13/02-24/03	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.
Period 5: 27/03-05/05	- 0,15	- 0,21	
Period 6: 09/05-16/06	- 0,14	- 0,15	- 0,10
Period 7: 19/06-28/07	+ 0,14	+ 0,17	
Period 8: 21/08-29/09	- 0,20	- 0,21	- 0,20
Religious Practice			
Yes			
Not	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.
Wealth			
Low or average level	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.
Strong level	+ 0,06	+ 0,07	
Self-employed ?			
Yes			- 0,21
Not	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.

* Significant values at the 5 threshold

Table 6.4. Distribution of households expenditures for the principal residence*

<i>Nature of the expenditure item</i>	<i>All principal residence</i>	<i>Purchases and major repairs (including second residence)</i>	<i>Rent for principal home, parking, pied-à-terre</i>	<i>Running expenses, heating, lighting, local taxes</i>	<i>Running expenses, heating, lighting, without local taxes</i>
Constant	10,63	9,73	9,99	9,78	9,67
Urbanisation					
Rural district		+ 0,72	- 1,32	-0,19	- 0,28
Urban unit <20 000 h.		+ 0,64	- 0,85	- 0,15	- 0,28
Urban unit from 20 to 100 000 H.	- 0,08	+ 0,50	- 0,70	- 0,10	- 0,24
Urban unit > 100. 000 H.		+ 0,53	- 0,63	- 0,05	- 0,21
Suburbs of Paris		+ 0,43	- 0,43	+ 0,04	- 0,08
Town of Paris	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.
Income Level					
Lower than the 5 ^{2nd} centile	- 0,55	- 1,15	- 0,37	- 0,48	- 0,41
From the 5 ^{2nd} centile to the 1 ^{er} decile	- 0,37	- 1,21		- 0,32	- 0,20
From the 1 ^{er} decile to the 2 ^{2nd} decile	- 0,26	- 0,77		- 0,21	- 0,14
From the 2 ^{2nd} decile to the 3 ^{2nd} decile	- 0,19	- 0,67		- 0,10	- 0,06
From the 3 ^{2nd} decile to the 4 ^{2nd} decile				- 0,05	
From the 4 ^{2nd} decile to the 5 ^{2nd} decile	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.
From the 5 ^{2nd} decile to the 6 ^{2nd} decile	+ 0,11	+ 0,29		+ 0,06	+ 0,04
From the 6 ^{2nd} decile to the 7 ^{2nd} decile	+ 0,18	+ 0,49		+ 0,10	+ 0,07
From the 7 ^{2nd} decile to the 8 ^{2nd} decile	+ 0,23	+ 0,61		+ 0,10	+ 0,06
From the 8 ^{2nd} decile to the 9 ^{2nd} decile	+ 0,34	+ 0,75		+ 0,18	+ 0,14
From the 9 ^{2nd} decile to the 95 ^{2nd} centile	+ 0,44	+ 0,85	+ 0,23	+ 0,20	+ 0,15
From the 95 ^{2nd} decile to the 98 ^{2nd} centile	+ 0,53	+ 0,88	+ 0,46	+ 0,35	+ 0,35
Superior to the 98 ^{2nd} centile					
Social category (of the person of reference)					
Leading elite	+ 0,12		+ 0,83	+ 0,16	+ 0,16
Elite of the expertise and professionals				+ 0,05	+ 0,07
Manager (service)	+ 0,10		+ 0,36	+ 0,07	+ 0,09
Expert (service)				+ 0,04	+ 0,04
Qualified workers (service)	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.
Routine workers (service)				- 0,04	
Manager (industry)	+ 0,11	+ 0,14	+ 0,22	+ 0,10	+ 0,12
Expert (industry)			- 0,13	- 0,04	- 0,04
Qualified workers (industry)		+ 0,28	- 0,09		
Routine workers (industry)				- 0,07	
Age (of the person of reference)					
Less than 25 years	+ 0,14		+ 0,76	- 0,34	- 0,20
From 25 to 34 years	+ 0,15	+ 0,17	+ 0,61	+ 0,20	- 0,12
From 35 to 44 years	+ 0,13	+ 0,23	+ 0,26	- 0,09	- 0,06
From 45 to 54 years	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.
From 55 to 64 years	- 0,10	- 0,24		+ 0,09	+ 0,05
From 65 to 74 years	- 0,16	- 0,26	- 0,49	+ 0,13	+ 0,09
75 years and more	- 0,31	- 0,84	- 0,49	+ 0,12	+ 0,10
Family composition					
Man alone	- 0,20	- 0,32		- 0,21	- 0,25
Woman alone	- 0,12	- 0,22		- 0,12	- 0,16
Couples without child	- 0,16	- 0,32	+ 0,18	- 0,06	- 0,09
Couples 1enfant	- 0,04		+ 0,10		- 0,04
Couples 2 children	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.
Couples 3 children and more	+ 0,08	+ 0,14			+ 0,07
Single-parent family	+ 0,14	+ 0,35	- 0,19	+ 0,09	+ 0,11
Another household		- 0,34	+ 0,36		
Diploma (of the person of reference)					
Without diploma				- 0,07	
Primary school	- 0,07		- 0,13	- 0,03	
CAP/BEP or equivalent	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.
BEPC				+ 0,04	+ 0,03
Secondary school (tech.)					
Secondary school (general)			+ 0,05	+ 0,06	+ 0,08
Bac +2 or equivalent	+ 0,06		+ 0,14		
More than Bac +2	+ 0,17	+ 0,21	+ 0,36	+ 0,10	+ 0,08
Degree of exposure to the occupational hazard					
Exposed					
Intermediate situation	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.
Protected	+ 0,04				+ 0,04
Period of investigation					

Period 1: 03/10-10/11		+0,15	- 0,16	- 0,07	- 0,09
Period 2: 14/11-23/12		+ 0,12		- 0,07	- 0,09
Period 3: 02/01-10/02		+ 0,20	- 0,25		
Period 4: 13/02-24/03	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.
Period 5: 27/03-05/05			- 0,18		
Period 6: 09/05-16/06			- 0,17		- 0,04
Period 7: 19/06-28/07			- 0,15	- 0,05	- 0,06
Period 8: 21/08-29/09			- 0,18	- 0,08	- 0,11
Religious Practice					
Yes		- 0,18	+ 0,22		
Not	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.
Wealth					
Low or average level	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.
Strong level	+ 0,18	+ 0,52	- 1,15	+ 0,18	+ 0,10
Self-employed ?					
Yes	- 0,05	- 0,18		+ 0,08	+ 0,06
Not	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.

**significant values at the 5% threshold*

Table 6.5. Distribution of household expenditures on home appliances and services*

<i>Nature of the expenditure item</i>	<i>All home appliances and services</i>	<i>Furniture, electric appliances, laundry, small repairs, etc..</i>	<i>Home services, hairdresser, home insurance, loan, etc..</i>
Constant	9,32	7,95	8,89
Urbanisation			
Rural district	+ 0,06	+ 0,35	-
Urban unit <20 000 h.	+ 0,13	+ 0,67	0,07
Urban unit from 20 to 100 000 H.	+ 0,11	+ 0,40	Réf.
Urban unit > 100. 000 H.		+ 0,29	
Suburbs of Paris		- 0,29	
Town of Paris	Réf.	Réf.	
Income Level			
Lower than the 5 ^{2nd} centile	- 0,98	- 0,69	-
From the 5 ^{2nd} centile to the 1 ^{er} decile	- 0,83	- 0,78	1,08
From the 1 ^{er} decile to the 2 ^{2nd} decile	- 0,42	- 0,34	-
From the 2 ^{2nd} decile to the 3 ^{2nd} decile	- 0,33	- 0,41	0,86
From the 3 ^{2nd} decile to the 4 ^{2nd} decile	- 0,20	- 0,28	-
From the 4 ^{2nd} decile to the 5 ^{2nd} decile	Réf.	Réf.	0,42
From the 5 ^{2nd} decile to the 6 ^{2nd} decile	+ 0,10		0,28
From the 6 ^{2nd} decile to the 7 ^{2nd} decile	+ 0,16	+ 0,25	-
From the 7 ^{2nd} decile to the 8 ^{2nd} decile	+ 0,36	+ 0,45	0,16
From the 8 ^{2nd} decile to the 9 ^{2nd} decile	+ 0,43	+ 0,55	Réf.
From the 9 ^{2nd} decile to the 95 ^{2nd} centile	+ 0,65	+ 0,99	+
From the 95 ^{2nd} decile to the 98 ^{2nd} centile	+ 0,83	+ 0,93	0,12
Superior to the 98 ^{2nd} centile	+ 1,28	+ 2,06	+
			0,14
			+ 0,33
			+
			0,41
			+
			0,59
			+
			0,87
			+
			1,15
Social category (of the person of reference)			
Leading elite		+ 0,52	
Elite of the expertise and professionals			
Manager (service)	- 0,11	+ 0,21	
Expert (service)			
Qualified workers (service)	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.
Routine workers (service)			
Manager (industry)			
Expert (industry)		+ 0,21	
Qualified workers (industry)			
Routine workers (industry)			-
			0,20
Age (of the person of reference)			
Less than 25 years		+ 0,36	
From 25 to 34 years	+ 0,18	+ 0,55	+
From 35 to 44 years		+ 0,17	0,12
From 45 to 54 years	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.
From 55 to 64 years	+ 0,12	- 0,13	+
From 65 to 74 years	+ 0,20	+ 0,22	0,15
75 years and more	+ 0,13	- 0,47	+
			0,27
			+
			0,38
Family composition			
Man alone	- 0,31	- 0,66	-
Woman alone			0,10
Couples without child	- 0,13	- 0,26	-
Couples lenfant		- 0,23	0,17
			-

Couples 2 children Couples 3 children and more Single-parent family Another household	Réf. - 0,13	Réf.	0,07 Réf. - 0,15
Diploma (of the person of reference) Without diploma Primary school CAP/BEP or equivalent BEPC Secondary school (tech.) Secondary school (general) Bac +2 or equivalent More than Bac +2	Réf. + 0,08 + 0,16 + 0,20	Réf. + 0,26 - 0,24 - 0,30	Réf. + 0,12 + 0,25
Degree of exposure to the occupational hazard Exposed Intermediate situation Protected	- 0,05 Réf.	- 0,16 Réf. - 0,28	- 0,07 Réf.
Period of investigation Period 1: 03/10-10/11 Period 2: 14/11-23/12 Period 3: 02/01-10/02 Period 4: 13/02-24/03 Period 5: 27/03-05/05 Period 6: 09/05-16/06 Period 7: 19/06-28/07 Period 8: 21/08-29/09	Réf.	+ 0,31 - 0,14	- 0,10 Réf.
Religious Practice Yes Not	Réf.	- 0,25 Réf.	+ 0,14 Réf.
Wealth Low or average level Strong level	Réf. + 0,14	Réf. + 0,16	Réf. + 0,12
Self-employed ? Yes Not	+ 0,10. Réf.	- 0,18 Réf.	+ 0,23 Réf.

* Significant values at the 5% threshold

Table 6.6. *Distribution of household expenditures on transportation**

<i>Nature of the expenditure item</i>	<i>Transport</i>	<i>Cars and Bicycles</i>	<i>Flights and Trains</i>	<i>Urban public Transportation</i>
Constant	9,87	9,44	8,44	8,47
Urbanisation				
Rural district	+	+	-	-
Urban unit <20 000 h.	0,34	0,68	1,02	1,07
Urban unit from 20 to 100 000 H.	+	+	-	-
Urban unit > 100. 000 H.	0,32	0,64	0,78	0,82
Suburbs of Paris	+	+	-	-
Town of Paris	0,29	0,58	0,45	0,52
	+	+	-	-
	0,17	0,38	0,17	0,21
	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.
		éf.	f.	éf.
Rural district				
Urban unit <20 000 h.	-	-	-	-
Urban unit from 20 to 100 000 H.	0,70	0,86	0,27	0,18
Urban unit > 100. 000 H.	-	-	-	-
Suburbs of Paris	0,77	0,82	0,43	0,61
Town of Paris	-	-	-	-
	0,42	0,44	0,37	0,37
	-	-	-	-
	0,27	0,28	0,35	0,34
			-	-
			0,28	0,32
Rural district	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.
Urban unit <20 000 h.	+	+	f.	éf.
Urban unit from 20 to 100 000 H.	0,16	0,18		
Urban unit > 100. 000 H.	+	+		
Suburbs of Paris	0,21	0,24		
Town of Paris	+	+		
	0,35	0,37		
	+	+		+
	0,50	0,53		0,16
	+	+		+
	0,57	0,61		0,20
Rural district	+	+	+	+
Urban unit <20 000 h.	0,70	0,74	0,29	0,29
	+	+	+	+
	0,94	0,89	0,53	0,61
Social category (of the person of reference)				
Leading elite			+	+
Elite of the expertise and professionals			0,52	0,44
Manager (service)			+	+
Expert (service)			0,19	0,17
Qualified workers (service)			+	
Routine workers (service)			0,19	
Manager (industry)				+
Expert (industry)				0,17
Qualified workers (industry)				
Routine workers (industry)				
			0,16	
			-	
			0,28	
Age (of the person of reference)				
Less than 25 years	+		+	+
From 25 to 34 years	0,21		0,33	0,21
			-	-
			0,11	0,10

From 35 to 44 years	- 0,08	- 0,08	- 0,16	- 0,20
From 45 to 54 years	Réf.	R éf.	Ré f.	R éf.
From 55 to 64 years			- 0,40	- 0,44
From 65 to 74 years			- 0,53	- 0,61
75 years and more	- 0,75	- 0,70	- 1,10	- 1,08
Family composition				
Man alone	-	-		
Woman alone	0,52	0,61		
Couples without child				
Couples 1enfant				
Couples 2 children	Réf.	R éf.	Ré f.	R éf.
Couples 3 children and more			+ 0,27	+ 0,26
Single-parent family				
Another household			+ 0,22	+ 0,20
Diploma (of the person of reference)				
Without diploma	- 0,12	- 0,12		
Primary school	- 0,13	- 0,14		
CAP/BEP or equivalent	Réf.	R éf.	Ré f.	R éf.
BEPC				
Secondary school (tech.)			+ 0,20	+ 0,21
Secondary school (general)			+ 0,19	
Bac +2 or equivalent			+ 0,20	+ 0,17
More than Bac +2			+ 0,32	+ 0,20
Degree of exposure to the occupational hazard				
Exposed	- 0,09	- 0,11		
Intermediate situation	Réf.	R éf.	Ré f.	R éf.
Protected	+ 0,07		+ 0,20	+ 0,23
Period of investigation				
Period 1: 03/10-10/11			+ 0,33	+ 0,26
Period 2: 14/11-23/12			+ 0,34	+ 0,30
Period 3: 02/01-10/02	- 0,11	- 0,12	+ 0,18	+ 0,13
Period 4: 13/02-24/03	Réf.	R éf.	Ré f.	R éf.
Period 5: 27/03-05/05			- 0,19	- 0,24
Period 6: 09/05-16/06	- 0,14	- 0,12		- 0,20
Period 7: 19/06-28/07			+ 0,22	
Period 8: 21/08-29/09			+ 0,47	+ 0,42
Religious Practice				
Yes			+ 0,28	+ 0,23
Not	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.
Wealth				
Low or average level	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.
Strong level	+ 0,08	+ 0,10		
Self-employed ?				

Yes Not	- 0,07 Réf.	Réf.	Réf.	Réf.
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** Significant values at the 5% threshold*

Table 6.7. *Distribution of household expenditures on recreation**

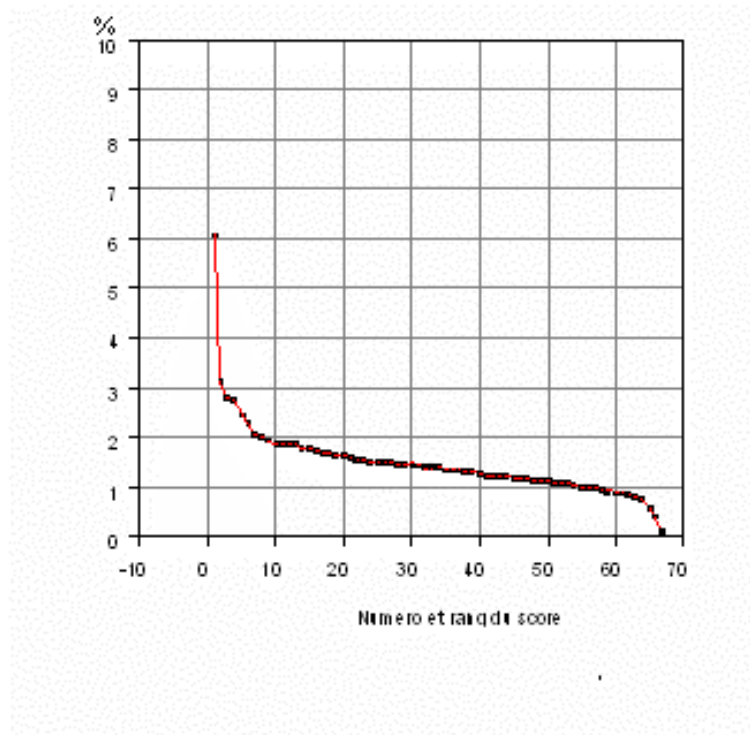
<i>Nature of the expenditure item</i>	<i>All recreation expenditures, including education and second home</i>	<i>Education</i>	<i>All recreational expenses (not including education and second home)</i>	<i>Shows, vacation packages - hotel</i>	<i>TV, stereo, pet, sports equipment, recording, books</i>
Constant	10,28	8,40	9,81	9,14	9,07
Urbanisation					
Rural district	-		-	-	-
Urban unit <20 000 h.	0,46		0,26	0,39	0,13
Urban unit from 20 to 100 000 H.	-		-	-	-
Urban unit > 100. 000 H.	0,40		0,21	0,32	0,13
Suburbs of Paris	-		-	-	-
Town of Paris	0,39	0,31	0,17	0,27	
	0,34	0,14	0,15	0,28	
	0,26		0,14	0,22	0,12
	Ré f.	R éf.	R éf.	R éf.	R éf.
Income Level					
Lower than the 5 ^{2nd} centile	-		-	-	-
From the 5 ^{2nd} centile to the 1 ^{er} decile	0,42		0,60	0,54	0,65
From the 1 ^{er} decile to the 2 nd decile	-		-	-	-
From the 2 nd decile to the 3 ^{2nd} decile	0,53	0,41	0,55	0,64	0,49
From the 3 ^{2nd} decile to the 4 ^{2nd} decile	-		-	-	-
From the 4 ^{2nd} decile to the 5 ^{2nd} decile	0,40	0,14	0,42	0,56	0,31
From the 5 ^{2nd} decile to the 6 ^{2nd} decile	-		-	-	-
From the 6 ^{2nd} decile to the 7 ^{2nd} decile	0,21		0,27	0,38	0,18
From the 7 ^{2nd} decile to the 8 ^{2nd} decile					
From the 8 ^{2nd} decile to the 9 ^{2nd} decile					
From the 9 ^{2nd} decile to the 95 ^{2nd} centile	0,22		0,15	0,23	
From the 95 ^{2nd} centile to the 98 ^{2nd} centile	Ré f.	R éf.	R éf.	R éf.	R éf.
Superior to the 98 ^{2nd} centile	+		+	+	+
	0,12	0,29			0,12
	+	+	+	+	+
	0,23	0,29	0,21	0,18	0,22
	+	+	+	+	+
	0,34	0,32	0,28	0,27	0,28
	+	+	+	+	+
	0,48	0,48	0,45	0,45	0,43
	+	+	+	+	+
	0,70	0,47	0,61	0,69	0,51
	+	+	+	+	+
	0,82	0,84	0,76	0,81	0,69
	+	+	+	+	+
	1,16	0,86	1,08	1,39	0,69
Social category (of the person of reference)					
Leading elite	+	+			
Elite of the expertise and professionals	0,12	0,31			
Manager (service)		+	+	+	
Expert (service)		0,24	0,12	0,23	
Qualified workers (service)	+		+	+	
Routine workers (service)	0,09		0,07	0,18	
Manager (industry)	Ré f.	R éf.	R éf.	R éf.	R éf.
Expert (industry)	-		-	-	-
Qualified workers (industry)	0,12		0,14		0,13
Routine workers (industry)		+		+	
		0,43		0,13	
		+			
		0,23			
	-		-	-	-
	0,11		0,10		0,12
	-		-	-	-
	0,19		0,14		0,16
Age (of the person of reference)					

Less than 25 years		-			+
From 25 to 34 years	-	0,65	-	-	0,16
From 35 to 44 years	0,31	1,12	0,11	0,13	0,09
From 45 to 54 years	-	-			
From 55 to 64 years	0,09	0,30			
From 65 to 74 years	Ré	R	R	R	R
75 years and more	f.	éf.	éf.	éf.	éf.
		-	-	-	-
		0,27	0,07		0,09
		-		+	-
		0,82		0,11	0,20
	-	-	-	-	-
	0,43	2,51	0,47	0,53	0,44
Family composition					
Man alone	-	-	-	-	-
Woman alone	0,38	3,33	0,20	0,31	0,11
Couples without child	-	-	-	-	-
Couples 1enfant	0,36	2,57	0,18	0,24	0,13
Couples 2 children	-	-	-	-	-
Couples 3 children and more	0,17	4,04	0,10	0,15	
Single-parent family	-	-			
Another household	0,13	0,50		0,26	
	Ré	R	R	R	R
	f.	éf.	éf.	éf.	éf.
	+	+			+
	0,14	0,46			0,09
		+			+
		0,16			0,11
	-	-		-	
	0,20	0,79		0,10	
Diploma (of the person of reference)					
Without diploma	-	-	-	-	-
Primary school	0,24	0,11	0,18	0,20	
CAP/BEP or equivalent	-	-			
BEPC	0,13				
Secondary school (tech.)	Ré	R	R	R	R
Secondary school (general)	f.	éf.	éf.	éf.	éf.
Bac +2 or equivalent	+	+			+
More than Bac +2	0,14	0,46			0,09
		+			+
		0,16			0,11
	-	-		-	
	0,20	0,79		0,10	
Degree of exposure to the occupational hazard					
Exposed					
Intermediate situation	Ré	R	R	R	R
Protected	f.	éf.	éf.	éf.	éf.
		-			-
		0,07			0,05
Period of investigation					
Period 1: 03/10-10/11			+		
Period 2: 14/11-23/12	+	-	0,10		+
Period 3: 02/01-10/02	0,11	0,11	+		0,27
Period 4: 13/02-24/03		+	0,18		
Period 5: 27/03-05/05	Réf.	0,30			
Period 6: 09/05-16/06		R	R	R	R
Period 7: 19/06-28/07		éf.	éf.	éf.	éf.
Period 8: 21/08-29/09	+	+			+
	0,11	0,24			0,10
				+	
				0,11	
	+	-	+	+	
	0,14	0,14	0,23	0,41	
Religious Practice					
Yes	+	+	+	+	+
	0,23	0,34	0,14	0,19	0,13

Not	R éf.	R éf.	R éf.	R éf.	R éf.
Wealth					
Low or average level	R éf.	R éf.	R éf.	R éf.	R éf.
Strong level	+ 0,14	+ 0,19	+ 0,06	+ 0,08	
Self-employed ?					
Yes	- 0,06	- 0,10	- 0,14	- 0,21	
Not	R éf.	R éf.	R éf.	R éf.	R éf.

*Significant values at the 5% threshold

*Figure 4.1. Portion of Inertia for Singular Values in a Generalized Correspondence Analysis,
All Variables, All Respondents of the 1999 Value Survey*



Note: The Eigen Values are sorted by the portion of inertia they explained

Figure 4.2. A Possible Interpretation for the First Factors

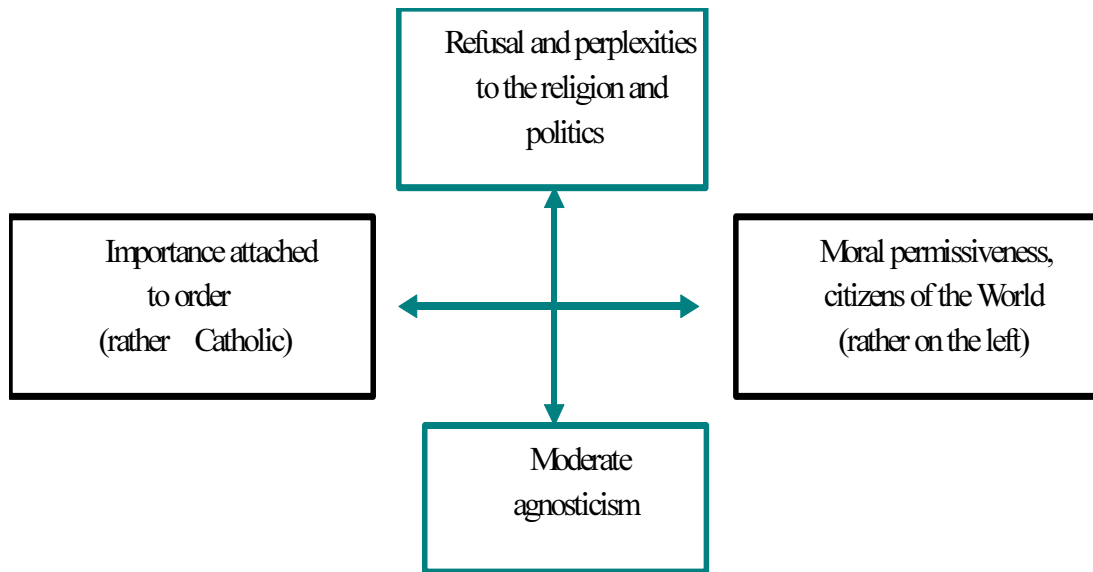
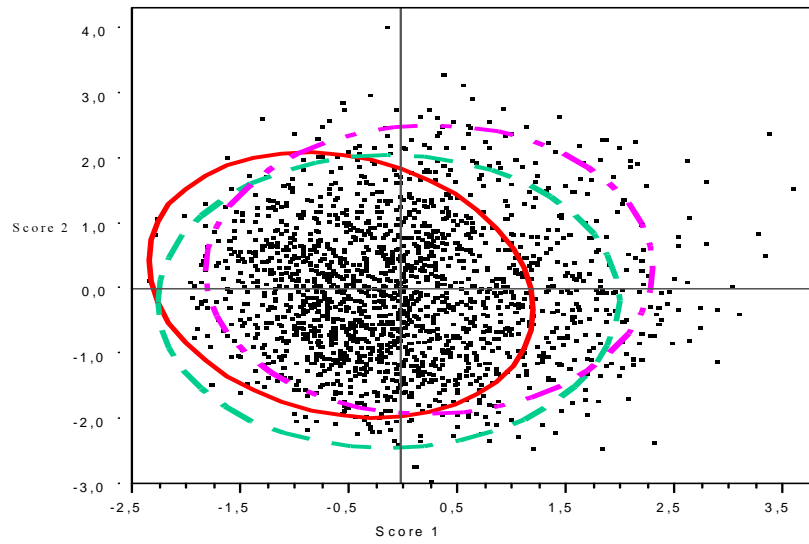


Figure 4.3. Respondents in the First Factorial Plane



Note: See explanations in the text

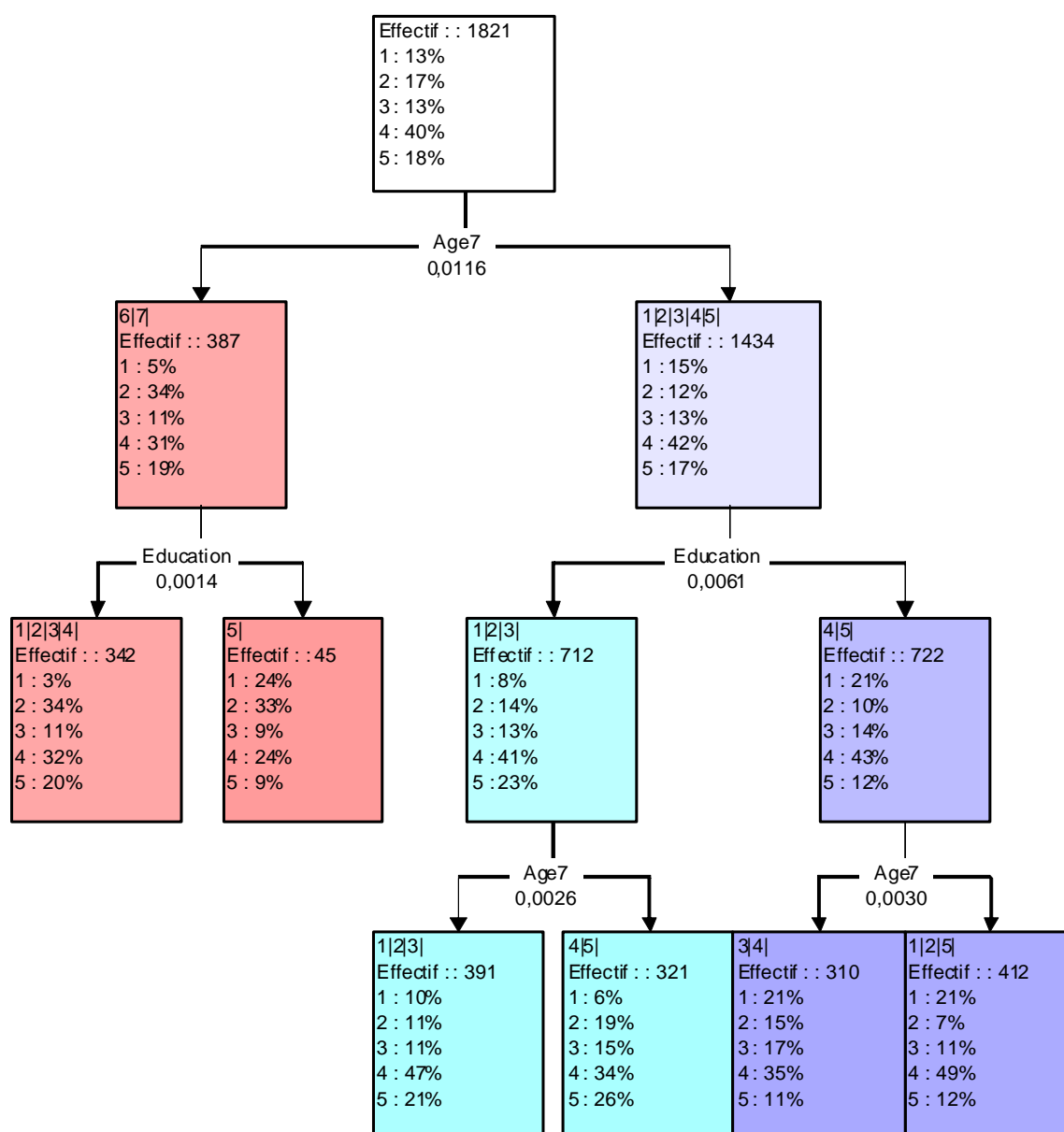
Table 4.1. For Different Models of Social Structure Combining the Sociocultural Indicators, Quality of Regressions on Different Indicators of Value Life-Styles

			<i>Dependent Variables:</i>				
		<i>s</i>	<i>Exploration of religious traditions</i>	<i>Importance of maintenance of order</i>	<i>Tolerance of homosexuality</i>	<i>Political orientation</i>	<i>Life style Indicator (mixture of normal laws)</i>
			6,7	20,5	20,1	3,8	11,4
			1,8	2,9	3,1	1,8	3,7
			1,3	1,1	0,6	1,0	1,2
			2,7	6,4	7,1	2,2	5,5
			1,8	3,7	4,0	1,6	3,2
			1,6	2,3	2,6	1,2	2,2
			//	1,0	1,3	1,0	1,4
			//	//	//	//	//

Note 1: Each line corresponds to a model defined by the complete crossing of dimensions indicated by the sign *x* in column (*E* for Education, *I* for Income and *CS* for Class schema). The model “global volume of capital” is indicated by the signs ++.

Note 2: Quality is evaluated by the χ^2/ddf of the logistic multinomial regressions of the model in line on the indicator of “lifestyle” in column. The number of degrees of freedom of the model varies from an indicator of value orientation to an other one.

Figure 4.4. Regression Tree in the Case of the Value life-styles Indicator



Note. Regression Tree obtained by CHART method, impurity measured by the Gini Index, Variables included: Age, Gender cross Marital Status, Education, Income, Class schema, Urbanisation and Household composition: see Annex 2 for details.

Figure 4.5. A Social Space Defined By Age and Education, Homologous to the Styles of Value Orientations

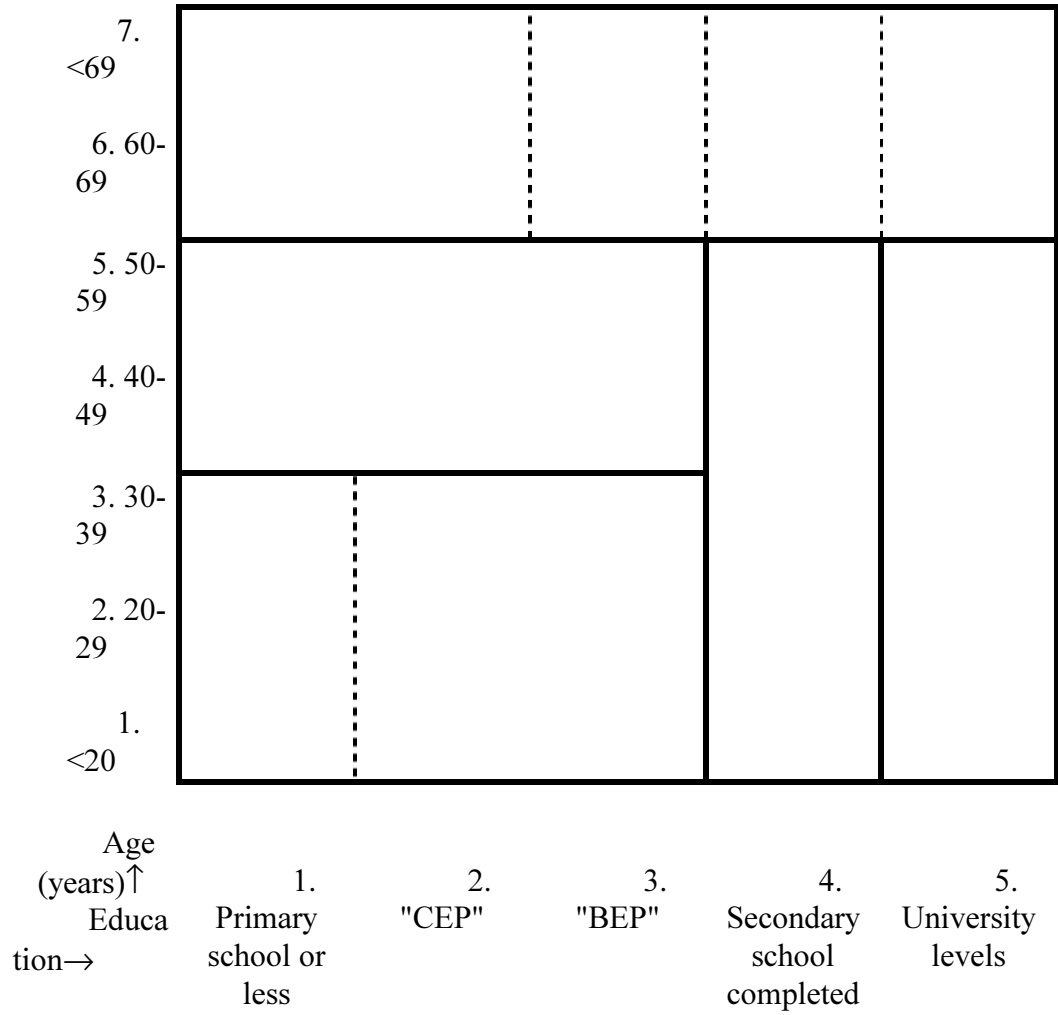
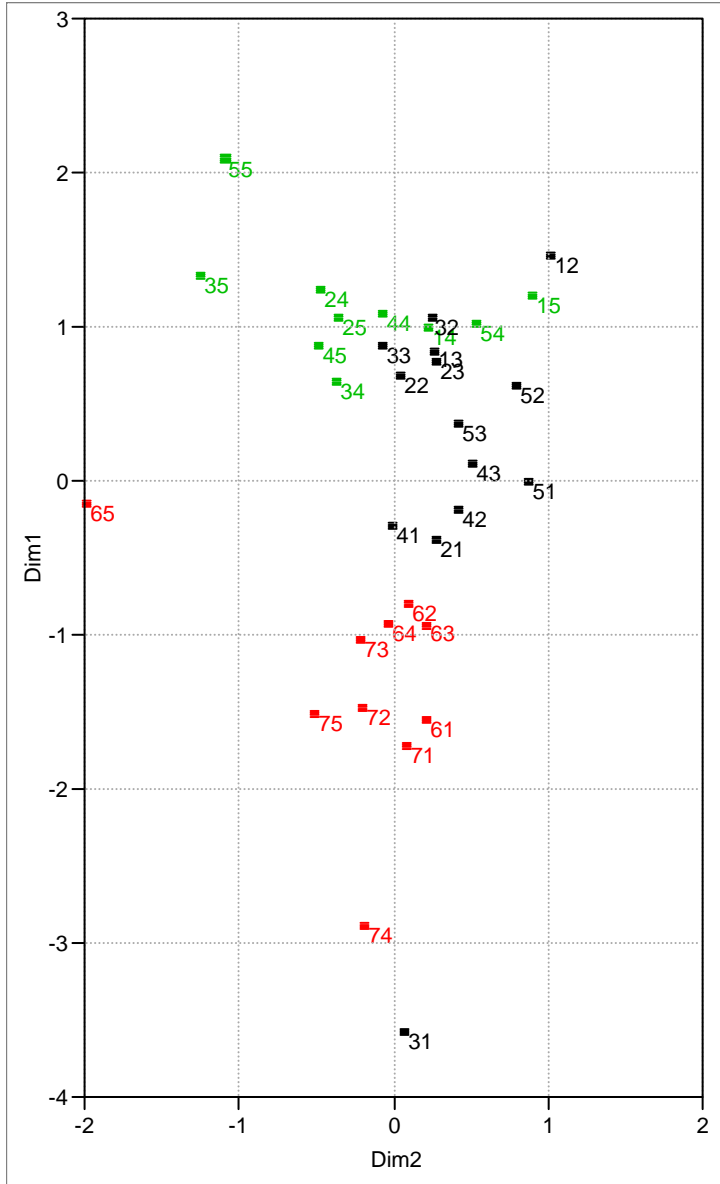
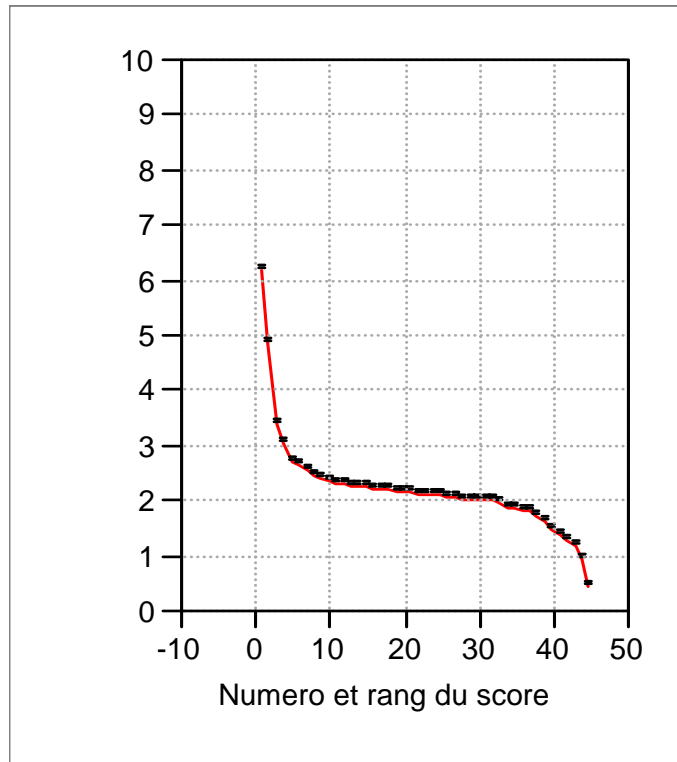


Figure 4.6. Representation in a Bi-dimensional Space, of Similarities in Value Orientations, for Positions Defined by Age and Education



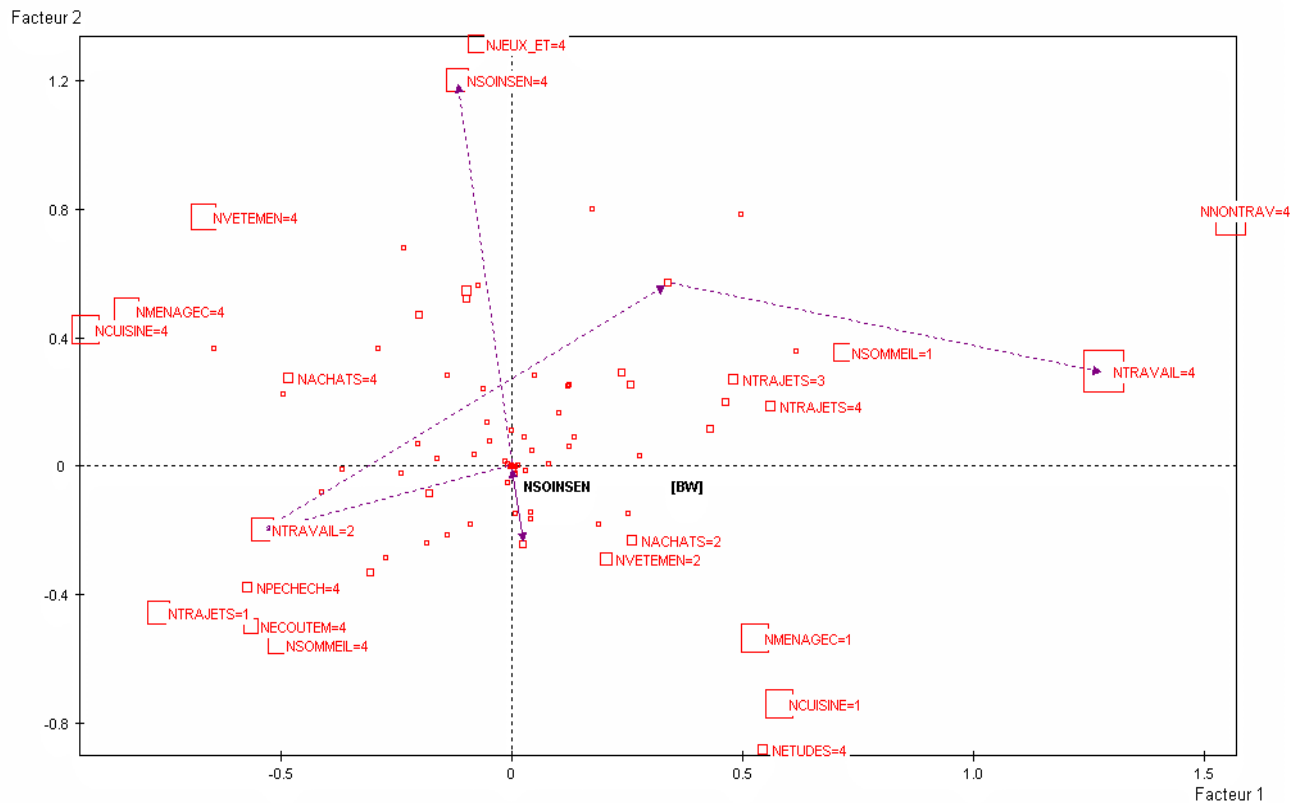
Note. Analyze by Multidimensional Scaling, adjustment obtained with the “Kruskal’ stress formula 1”, on correlations, value orientations measured by the probability of each type of the Value Orientation Indicator (mixture of Normal Law). The first digit is for age, the second for the educational level (e.g. 61= position defined by an age between 60 and 69 and primary education level). Positions defined by an age greater than 59 are in red, positions defined by an educational level at least of “secondary school” and an age less than 60 are in green.

*Figure 5.1. Portion of Inertia for Singular Values in a Generalized Correspondence Analysis,
All Variables, All Respondents of the 2000 Time Use Survey*



Note: The Eigen Values are sorted by the portion of inertia they explained

Figure 5.2. Active Variables in the First Factorial Plane of a Generalized Correspondence Analysis, All Variables, All Respondents of the Time Use Survey



Note. For each activity, four elementary variables have been constructed, corresponding to the volume of time spent in the activity during the day observed.

The size of the square symbol for a variable is proportional to its contribution to the construction of the factorial plane.

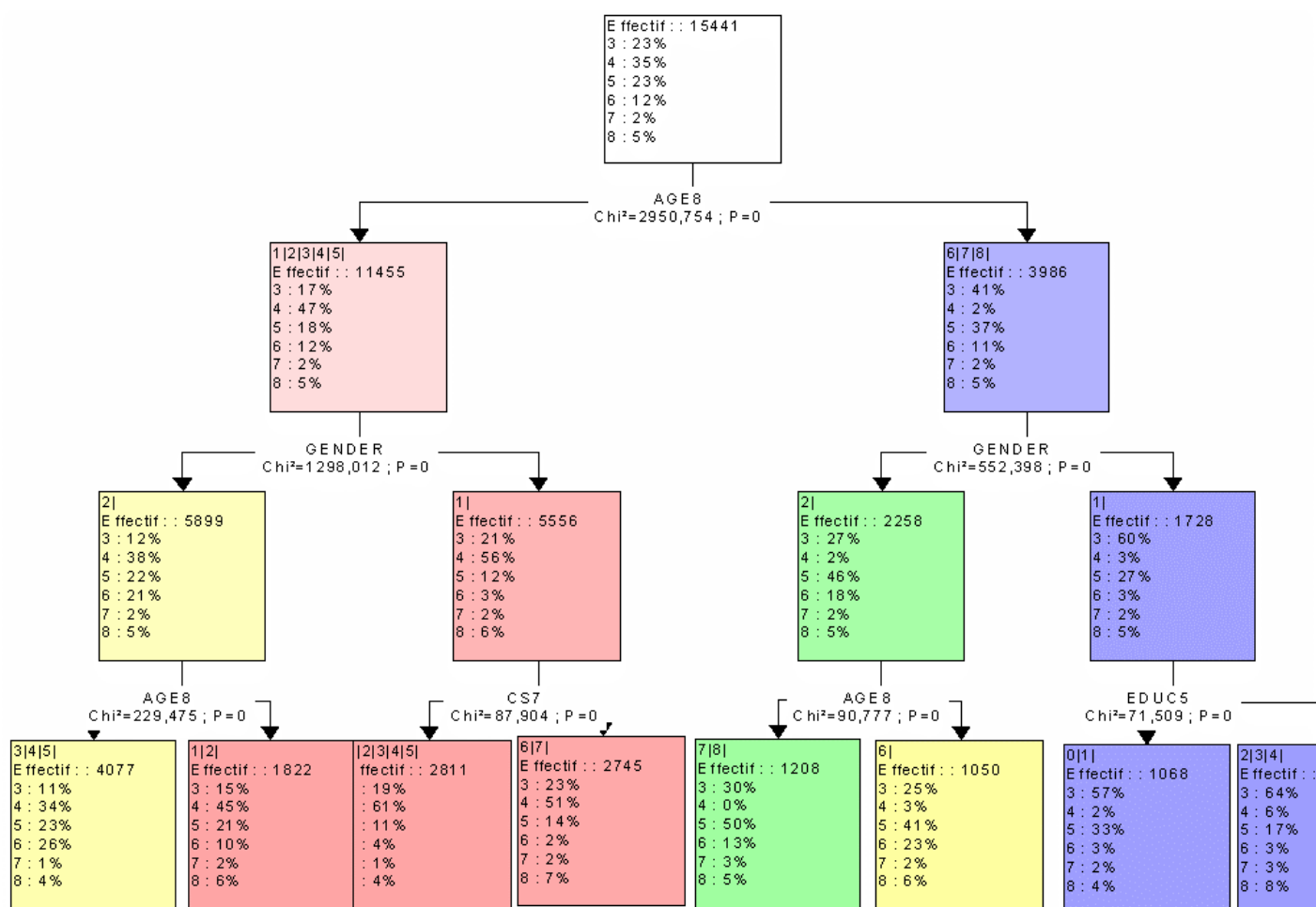
As example, the four modalities associated to the time spent in professional work are connected by arrows.

Table 5.1. Time Use Budget by Items of the Time-Use 10-Life-styles Indicator

(Minute per day, One digit Coding)

<i>Type</i>	<i>ize</i>	<i>“Personal activities.”</i>	<i>“Work”</i>	<i>“House work”</i>	<i>“Children”</i>	<i>“Sociality”</i>	<i>“Leisure”</i>	<i>“Transport”</i>
<i>(Time-use typology)</i>								
3	541	733	29	211	7	45	368	44
4	190	642	465	78	10	25	136	83
5	601	766	10	387	39	31	200	4
6	865	681	40	367	64	39	180	67
7	97	697	23	185	17	306	211	0
8	14	669	75	139	13	295	167	81
9	900	965	27	135	6	54	213	38
10	33	624	675	32	5	30	68	4

Figure 5.3. Regression Tree in the Case of the Time-Use 6-Life-Styles Indicator



Note. Regression Tree obtained by CHAID method, impurity measured by Chi2, variables included: Age, Gender, Education, Income, CS, Urbanisation and Household composition: see Annex 2 for details.

Table 5.2. Explaining Power of the Different Dimensions of the Social Structure, for the Different Activities (Two Digits Coding)

Activity	Age	Gender	Education	Income	Class	Urbanisation	Chi ²	Chi ² /ddl
Sleep	x						14 11	67
Sleep		x					69	23
Sleep			x				75 3	63
Sleep				x			54 7	46
Sleep					x		54 9	31
Sleep						x	99	8
Personal Care	x						10 7	5
Personal Care		x					21 9	73
Personal Care			x				68 ,15	6
Personal Care				x			36 ,63	3
Personal Care					x		14 0,15	8
Personal Care						x	83	7
Medical Care	x						19 3	28
Medical Care		x					23	23
Medical Care			x				45	11
Medical Care				x			63	16
Medical Care					x		33	6
Medical Care						x	9	2
Meal	x						25 6	12
Meal		x					59	20
Meal			x				63	5
Meal				x			24	2
Meal					x		14 9	8
Meal						x	92	8
Work	x						42 55	304
Work		x					44 6	223
Work			x				10 28	129
Work				x			90 4	113
Work					x		17 73	148
Work						x	72	9
Non Work	x						//	//
Non Work		x					54	54
Non Work			x				23 5	59
Non Work				x			21	54

							6	
Non Work					x		51	85
							2	
Non Work						X	46	12
Job searching	x						//	//
Job searching		x					1	1
Job searching			x				31	8
Job searching				x			60	15
Job searching					x		//	//
Job searching						x	31	8
Studies	x							
Studies		x					0	0
Studies			x				48	122
							6	
Studies				x			48	12
Studies					x		//	//
Studies						x	62	16
Other Trainings	x						//	//
Other Trainings		x					10	10
Other Trainings			x				50	13
Other Trainings				x			25	6
Other Trainings					x		66	11
Other Trainings						x	15	4
Kitchen	x						15	76
							86	
Kitchen		x					45	152
							88	9
Kitchen			x				77	65
							4	
Kitchen				x			42	36
							6	
Kitchen					x		12	71
							77	
Kitchen						x	14	12
							0	
Housework	x						78	56
							7	
Housework		x					43	219
							86	3
Housework			x				38	49
							9	
Housework				x			20	25
							0	
Housework					x		87	73
							1	
Housework						x	45	6
Linen	x						33	24
							4	
Linen		x					29	146
							24	2
Linen			x				12	15
							3	
Linen				x			34	4
Linen					x		53	45
							8	
Linen						x	24	3
Different Arrangements&Counts	x						33	47
							1	
Different Arrangements&Counts		x					23	23
Different Arrangements&Counts			x				28	7
Different Arrangements&Counts				x			17	4

Arrangements&Counts								
Different Arrangements&Counts					x		22	37
Different Arrangements&Counts							3	
Different Arrangements&Counts						x	66	17
Purchases	x						33	47
Purchases		x					1	
Purchases							8	22
Purchases			x				71	9
Purchases				x			24	3
Purchases					x		36	46
Purchases							5	
Purchases						x	92	12
Adm.Dept	x						17	2
Adm.Dept		x					0	0
Adm.Dept			x					0
Adm.Dept				x			3	1
Adm.Dept					x		25	4
Adm.Dept						x	15	4
Di-it-yourself&Semi-leisure	x						95	68
Di-it-yourself&Semi-leisure							5	
Di-it-yourself&Semi-leisure		x					68	342
Di-it-yourself&Semi-leisure							3	
Di-it-yourself&Semi-leisure			x				25	32
Di-it-yourself&Semi-leisure							2	
Di-it-yourself&Semi-leisure				x			84	11
Di-it-yourself&Semi-leisure						x	73	61
Di-it-yourself&Semi-leisure							5	
Di-it-yourself&Semi-leisure						x	48	61
Care	x						6	
Care							20	296
Care		x					75	
Care							54	546
Care			x				6	
Care							26	66
Care					x		2	
Care							90	23
Care						x	37	62
Care							4	
Care						x	10	3
Game&Devoirs	x						99	142
Game&Devoirs							7	
Game&Devoirs		x					13	138
Game&Devoirs							8	
Game&Devoirs			x				16	41
Game&Devoirs							3	
Game&Devoirs				x			70	18
Game&Devoirs						x	19	32
Game&Devoirs							3	
Game&Devoirs						x	3	1
Reception&Visit	x						15	22
Reception&Visit							7	
Reception&Visit		x					12	12
Reception&Visit			x				52	13
Reception&Visit				x			11	29
Reception&Visit							7	
Reception&Visit						x	13	22
Reception&Visit							4	
Reception&Visit						x	22	6
Conversation	x						49	4
Conversation		x					11	56
Conversation							1	
Conversation			x				29	37

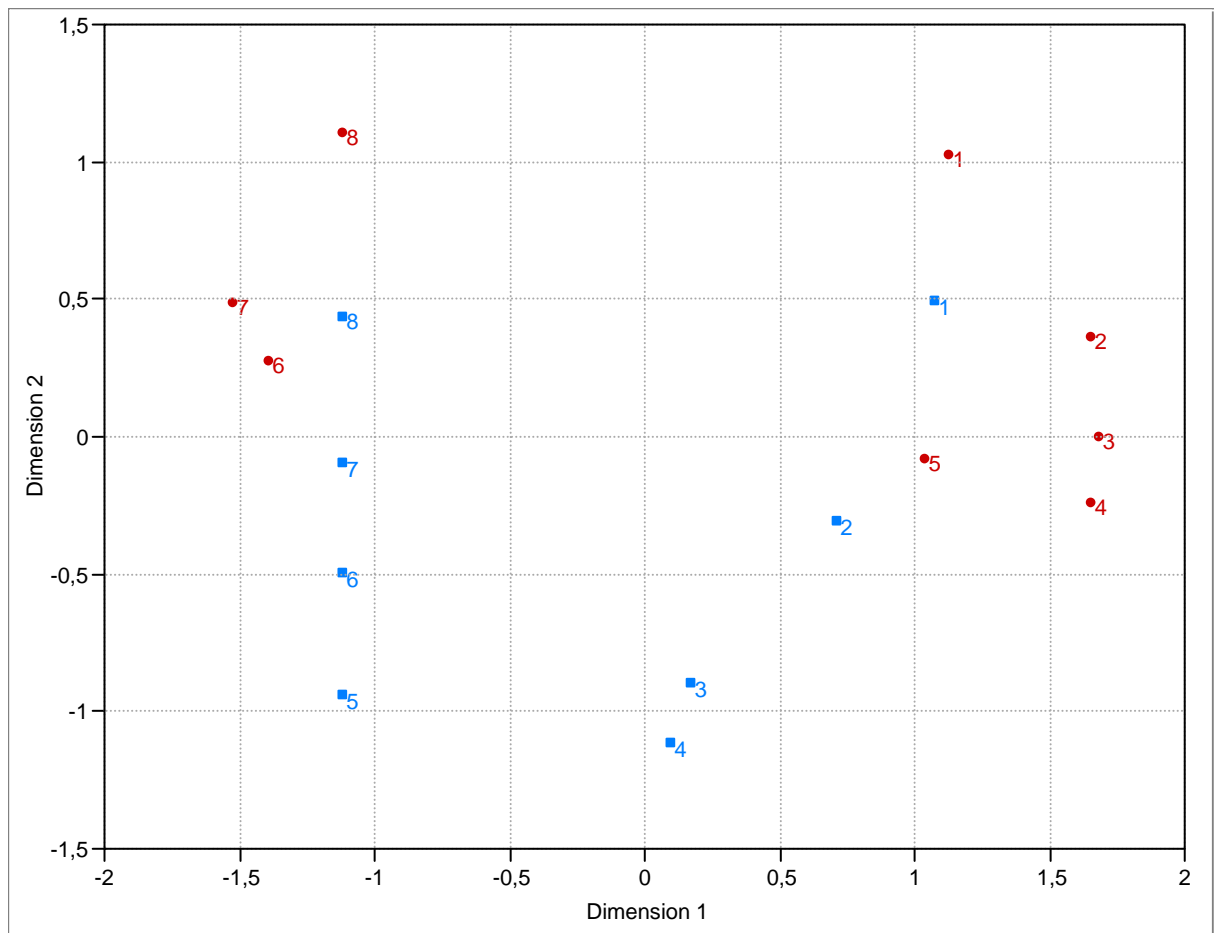
							9	
Conversation				x			35	4
Conversation					x		25	21
Conversation						x	3	60
Religion&Ceremonie	x						16	24
Religion&Ceremonie		x					8	8
Religion&Ceremonie			x				29	7
Religion&Ceremonie				x			56	14
Religion&Ceremonie					x		20	3
Religion&Ceremonie						x	5	1
Voluntary	x						17	24
Voluntary		x					0	10
Voluntary			x				34	9
Voluntary				x			8	2
Voluntary					x		97	16
Voluntary						x	8	2
Sports	x						16	24
Sports		x					9	10
Sports			x				7	107
Sports				x			17	44
Sports					x		5	10
Sports						x	7	27
Sports							19	33
Sports						x	6	36
Activities Open	x						43	62
Air Activities Open		x					3	25
Air Activities Open			x				14	35
Air Activities Open				x			0	14
Air Activities Open					x		4	36
Air Activities Open						x	53	9
Air Activities Open						x	52	13
Media(yc TV)	x						17	86
Media(yc TV)		x					97	49
Media(yc TV)			x				78	65
Media(yc TV)				x			3	59
Media(yc TV)					x		4	21
Media(yc TV)						x	6	12
Media(yc TV)						x	10	9
Do Nothing	x						9	17
Do Nothing		x					0	2
Do Nothing			x				14	0
Do Nothing				x			1	4
Do Nothing					x		6	1
Do Nothing						x	3	1
Spectacles	x						11	17
							9	

Spectacles		x					5	5
Spectacles			x				13 0	33
Spectacles				x			64	16
Spectacles					x		11 2	19
Spectacles						x	31	8
Gaming	x						34 3	49
Gaming		x					67	67
Gaming			x				31	8
Gaming				x			1	0
Gaming					x		18 5	31
Gaming						x	30	8
1	x						18 76	89
Transports		x					75	25
Transports			x				97 7	81
Transports				x			51 2	43
Transports					x		59 3	33
Transports						x	27 4	23

Note 1. Each non-ordered multinomial regression corresponds to a line, the explanatory variables being in column and the variables explained on line.

Note 2. Only activities with sufficient number of occurrences are analyzed

Figure 5.4. Representation in a Bi-dimensional Space, of Similarities in Time-Use Budget, for Positions Defined by Gender and Age



Note. Analyze by Multidimensional Scaling, adjustment obtained with the “Kruskal’ stress formula 1”, on correlations, timetables average described in the one digit coding. The squares correspond to the women, the circles to the men, the figures indicate age in completed decades (e.g. 6 = from 60 to 69 years)

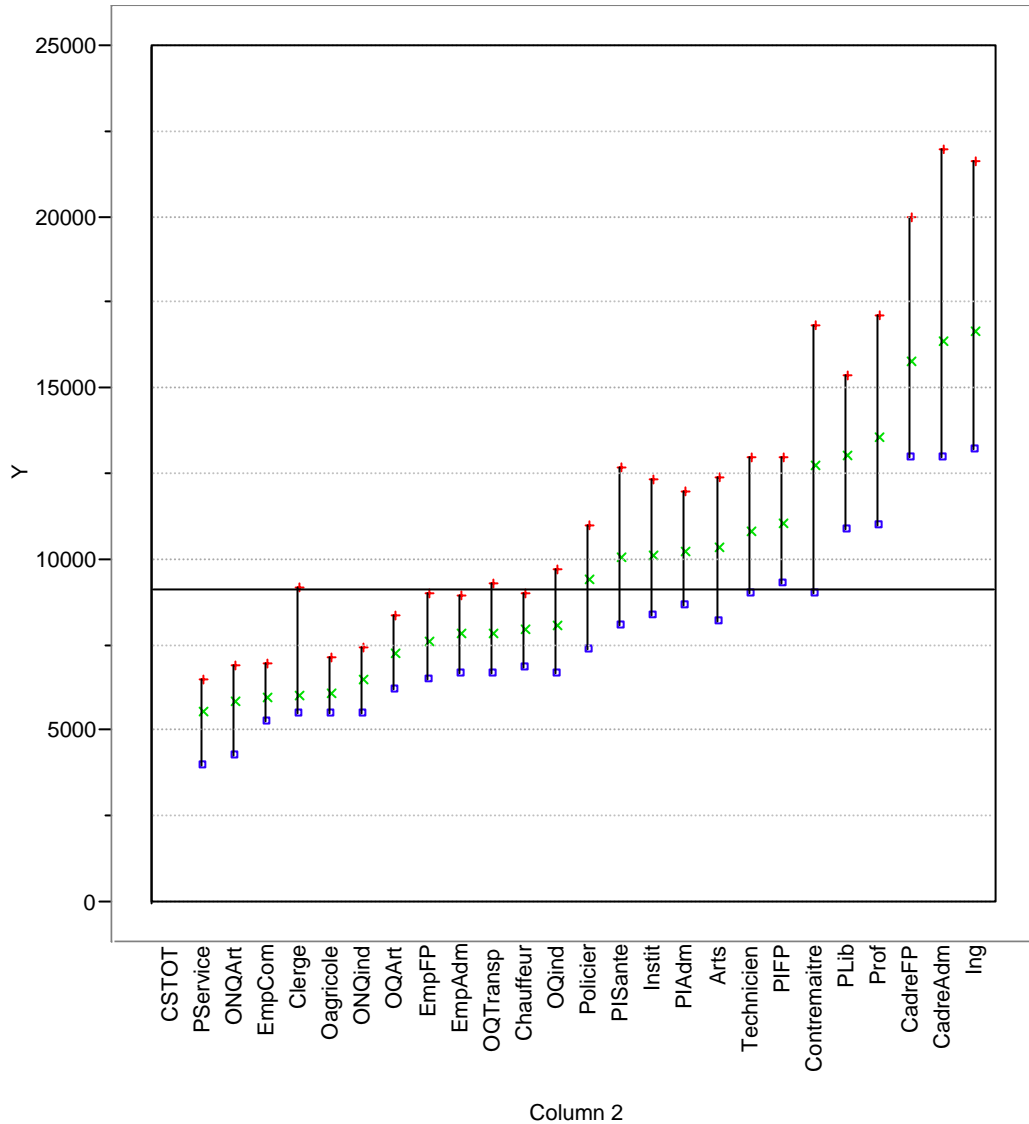
Table 6.1. By Consumption Functions, for Each Explaining Variable, Differences Between the Highest in Absolute Value Positive and Negative Significant Coefficient

<i>Variables</i>	<i>Al imen tat ion</i>	<i>Clothing and Beauty</i>	<i>H ome</i>	<i>Furn itures (y.c. paid homework)</i>	<i>Tra nsport</i>	<i>« Lei sure »</i>	<i>Tot al consumpt ion</i>
<i>Income</i>	0, 9	1,7	1 ,4	2,2	1,7	1,7	2,0
<i>Age</i>	0, 5	0,6	0 ,5	0,2	1,0	0,4	0,3
<i>Household Type</i>	0, 7	0,7	0 ,3	0,3	0,5	0,5	0,2
<i>Class</i>	0, 2	0,3	0 ,1	0,1	0,2	0,3	0,3
<i>Urbanisation</i>	0, 1	0,3	0 ,1	0,1	0,3	0,5	0,2
<i>Education</i>	0	0,1	0 ,2	0,2	0,1	0,2	0,1

Table 6.2. A Specific Class-schema for Consumption Analysis

	<i>All households</i>	<i>Households whose "representative" is employed</i>
1 Categories leaders	11,8	13,6
1.1. Ruling elite	1,3	1,6
1.2. Elite of the expertise and professional	3,9	5,3
1.3. Leaders of the Adm.Dept	3,1	3,2
1.4. Leaders of the industry	3,5	3,5
	68,5	68,2
2. Middle classes		
2.1. Expert frame of the Adm.Dept industry	16,6	18,3
2.2. Expert frame of the industry	12,3	13,0
2.3. Qualified Workers (Adm.Dept)	12,5	13,6
2.4. Qualified Workers (industry)y	25,2	23,5
	19,7	18,2
3. Proletariat		
3.1. Routine workers and small jobs of the Adm.Dept sector	10,2	9,6
3.2. Routine workers and small jobs of the industry sectors	9,5	8,6

Figure 7.1. For the 25 Categories of the "Code des Catégories Socio-professionnelles", Value of the Median, the First and Tenth Decile of the Wage Distribution



Note. The figure presents both extreme deciles of the distribution of the monthly wages of salaried full-time persons (source: Labor Force survey, 2001). The employed people are classified according to the "Code des catégories socioprofessionnelles" in 25 groups, that could be themselves grouped in four classes: manual workers, employees, middle class, "professionals&service" class.