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EXPLAINING DIFFERENTIAL PARTICIPATION IN HIGH-CULTURAL
ACTIVITIES - A CONFRONTATION OF INFORMATION-PROCESSING
AND STATUS-SEEKING THEORIES

Introduction

In this paper two theories are developed explaining differential participation in high-cultural activities. In section 1 the propositions are reviewed considering well-known and replicated findings of (mainly) Dutch leisure research ¹⁾. In section 2 results will be given from a recently carried out survey by the author. Throughout this paper, 'culture' has been defined as 'high culture'. In particular, our interest takes into consideration reading books and visiting theatres, concerts, historical places and museums. By tradition, these activities have been known for large overrepresentation of higher status groups in their audiences (cf. Wippler, 1970; CBS, 1981). The most important explanatory problem for the theories therefore is to provide a satisfactory explanation of this overrepresentation.

The first theory to be described has been named the 'theory of information-processing' or 'information theory'. Its main programmatic statement is that differential participation in cultural events between individuals must be explained by the difference in information-processing capacities of individuals. Differences in participation-rates between events may be explained according to the complexity of the information processed. The theory of information-processing has a strong psychological background. The basic ideas on cultural participation as information-processing can be found in Berlyne (1974) and Moles (1958). Similar hypotheses in sociology and economy have been used by Bourdieu (1977) and Becker (1964). These ideas can be summarized in the following statements:

- (a) Individuals are rewarded by varied experience. Pleasure increases through variation up to a certain level, when information becomes too complex and pleasure diminishes and tends to become negative.
- (b) Information can be arranged according to complexity. More complex stimuli give more varied experience, and tend to displease more likely than less complex stimuli.

- (c) Cultural stimuli (works of art) are sources of complex information.
- (d) Individuals have different capacities to deal with (cultural) information. Three factors determine these capacities. First, persons have different innate or early trained general skills in processing information. Most prominently, cognitive intelligence is one of these skills. Musical talent is another. According to the information-theory, education is a recruitment of persons with high cognitive skill, and should be highly correlated with cultural consumption. Secondly, persons have different knowledge of and acquaintance with a cultural field, and accordingly a different level of understanding of the information. Thirdly, a personality characteristic, extraversion, gives a person a general higher preference for complex information, and stimulates his cultural activity.

The second theory to be described, has been named the 'status-seeking theory of cultural consumption', or 'status theory'. Its main programmatic statement is that participation in cultural events is a function of the status a person wants to have, and that differences in participation-rates between events are related to the status-rendering characteristics of these events. This theory has a meso-sociological background, e.g. in the writings of Veblen and Weber, and the basic ideas can be found in any sociological handbook. Most prominently, they have been formulated by Homans (1974), Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) and Collins (1979). These ideas may be summarized as follows:

- (a) Individuals are ranked along status dimensions. Persons tend to conform to social norms associated with their status. Conformation to norms is rewarded in social interaction processes.
- (b) Higher status is more attractive than lower status. Persons try to acquire higher status if within reach. If status ranks are inconsistent, persons stress their highest rank, and try to compensate for the lower ones.
- (c) Traditionally, high-cultural activities are associated with higher status groups. Cultural activity is perceived as a social norm belonging to the social standing of these groups. In lower status-groups, social norms discourage cultural activity.
- (d) There is a varying degree of status-rendering between cultural activities. Most status is obtained by consuming culture that is attended in a formal manner, like traditional theater. On the other side of the continuum, not much status will be acquired or stressed by reading a book, which is a less formal activity.

- (e) The most important status dimensions are education, occupation and income. Of these three, occupation is the most important one, being the classical indicator of social standing.

1. Alternative predictions on 9 topics

When considering these two general views on cultural consumption, at least 9 topics can be found, on which they provide different predictions and about which earlier empirical evidence is available.

(1) Overlapping of audience groups

One of the facts well established by Dutch surveys on leisure, as well as in investigations of audience groups is the considerable overlap between these groups. In view of the fact that cultural activities are time-consuming, a certain negative correlation between participation-variables might be expected. However, in general, these correlations are positive and of considerable size. The negative influence of their time-consuming character is obviously compensated by the very strong common factors. Both theories can explain this tendency for positive correlations among attendance variables, since they point towards common factors in cultural activities.

Alternative predictions may be made for certain types of correlation. According to the information theory we might expect a relative higher correlation among activities that demand equal types of skill and knowledge. Typical examples are frequenting movies and theaters, or paying a visit to museums and historical places. According to the status theory we might expect relative higher correlation among activities that demand the same kind of formal attendance. Consequently, a high correlation should occur between visiting a theater and attending a concert. This correlation may act as a crucial experiment between the status- and information-theory, seeing that from the latter we might expect a rather low correlation, since 'the theater' and 'the concert' appeal to quite different types of skill and knowledge.

- √2 Empirical evidence shows that concert attendance and theater-going have, in fact, a very strong correlation. But there is also some evidence in favor of the information theory: activities like visiting museums and historical places largely overlap one another.

(2) The effect of status dimensions

The second well established fact in cultural consumption research is the considerable overrepresentation of higher status-groups among culture consumers. This is true for status-dimensions as different as education, occupation and income. Since these status-dimensions are strongly correlated in modern society, this is quite understandable from both points of view. Possibilities of testing two theories occur in multivariate analysis of the effects of status variables. Quite often, these show a very strong effect of education, and spurious effects of income and occupation, as is predicted in the information theory. However, several other studies may be found, in which the strong effects of occupational income are decreased by introducing education as a control variable, but where still a certain influence of occupation and income remains, as is predicted by the status theory.

(3) The status composition of audiences

Although an overrepresentation of higher status-groups among cultural audiences will be found in nearly every cultural consumption investigation, the extent to which this is true may vary. In the information theory we could predict that cultural activities to be most elite, which are complex in information-processing. The more difficult the cultural information is, the stronger the correlation will be between active consumption and education. On the other hand, from status theory we might expect those activities to be elite, that render a higher prestige to the attendee.

The scaling of cultural activities along dimensions of complexity and status rendering may be a difficult problem. Nevertheless, partitioning cultural activities in complex/simple has shown to be useful in empirical research. As the distinction between complex and simple activities is valid, this leads to the conclusion that complex activities are far more elite than simple activities. This is especially true when one tries to explain differences within the same cultural branch, for example, serious and popular music, or classical and experimental art. It may be argued that these differences in complexity are at the same time differences in high-browness of these activities, and allow a theoretical interpretation. Crucial cases in which the theories give alternative predictions are 'off-broadway-theater' and political theater. Formal attendance is not a requirement in these cases, and quite often artists claim to reach

lower status groups. On the other hand, the cultural information in off-broadway-theater and political theater may be quite complex to process. Not many comparative studies on this topic have been published, but available evidence seems to point to a disillusion of these artists' claims. Political and off-broadway theater have an elite audience, just as traditional theaters have.

(4) Cultural participation in the life-cycle.

Peaks in cultural consumption may occur at different stages in the life-cycle of an individual. Some of these should be explained from causes external to our theories. Both the drop in activities due to matrimonial status and rearing young children, and the diminishing activities of senior citizens are examples thereof. But several other predictions may be deduced from the two theories. In the information theory, obtaining cultural knowledge and skill are a prerequisite for enjoying culture. People who acquire these in early socialization have a lead over persons with a lack of cultural education. In this theory active participation results in building up human capital (Becker, 1964), thus facilitating enjoyment of more complex cultural events. Another consequence of this human capital formation may be that persons who stop (for some reason) active participation loose contact, and will not likely be able to start again. In summary: 'cultural careers' start in early childhood and are not interrupted for longer periods.

In status theory cultural consumption varies with the status-group one belongs to, or aspires to. Therefore, persons born in higher status-groups will participate in early life-time. But others may begin at stages where they reach or get near these higher status-groups. Status-shifts can be associated with life-cycle events like marriage, migration, attaining a better job, or getting acquainted with members of these higher status-groups.

Empirical evidence reveals that early cultural socialization is a very important factor in stimulating participation as well as preference for more complex forms of culture in a later stage. In these relations, the need to control the effects of education may be essential, because it is highly correlated with status background and cultural consumption. Investigations in which this intermediating variable has been controlled, consistently show a large influence of early culture socialization. Evidence on detail of cultural careers is scarce but gives reason to believe that they very rarely begin once the adolescence phase is over.

(5) Rates of cultural consumption over time

Both theories predict a growth of cultural consumption, at least in the last decades. But the two specify different mechanisms. In the information theory expectation is based on the fact that the average education has increased very quickly in the last decade, supplying more and more individuals with skill and knowledge in the field of culture. In the status theory, the expectation is based upon the assumption that status-motivation and status-thresholds have declined over the last decades. Assuming that cultural consumption has remained an attractive source of distraction, it is clear that lower status groups have entered into cultural events, and the total consumption has grown.

In fact, cultural consumption rates have declined since the 1950s and this applies to every one of them. This finding may be explained by several other factors particularly the growing number of alternative attractions (television) is responsible for this decline.

Other predictions on changes over time can be made, especially on those in the status-composition of audience. Will the differences in consumption-rates between status groups decline in the long run? In the information theory there is no reason to expect a decline in the difference of consumption between educational groups. In fact, assuming that the rise of the average education goes hand in hand with a more efficient recruitment of intelligent persons, the group with only a lower form of education must be regarded as an intellectual 'residu' with few capacities. This will result in greater differences between educational groups.

On the other hand, owing to the virtual disappearance of status motives in our society, status theory predicts a declining gap between status groups, in particular between occupational groups.

No thorough investigation has been done in this field. One of the reasons for this omission may be that it is common knowledge that there has been no spread of cultural consumption in lower status groups, whatever great efforts of government and artists do to reach this goal. Furthermore, available evidence suggests that the position of the information theory is correct in one other respect: differences between educational groups have grown.

(6) The effect of cultural knowledge and skill

The hypothesis that cultural knowledge and skill are a direct cause of cultural consumption is quite important in the information theory. Knowledge and skill act as human capital: they allow the processing of new cultural information and this results in more pleasure from cultural activities.

Many surveys show a very strong correlation between knowledge and/or skill and cultural consumption. Unfortunately, a mere correlation between cultural consumption and cultural knowledge/skill is not a very conclusive argument in favor of the information theory. Although there is no assumption in status theory that knowledge or skill cause cultural consumption, this point of view can be easily reconciled with the rather trivial assumption that consumption increases knowledge and skill. The causal sequence is very critical in choosing between the two theories on this topic.

Available evidence suggests that in some cases, when skill is clearly causally ordered before consumption, there exists a very strong correlation. The fact, that in concert- and museum-audiences professionals and amateurs have a very large overrepresentation, can be cited as the most direct support for this conclusion.

(7) The effect of status background and cultural socialization

Status background and cultural socialization, two correlated variables, reveal to be important factors in several investigations. This can be explained by both theories. But again, the mechanisms are different. According to the information theory, status background influences cultural consumption through cultural socialization, and cultural socialization influences consumption by increasing knowledge and skill. But in the status theory cultural knowledge is an effect of participation, not a cause. The influence of status background and cultural (= status) socialization will be mediated by group norms on cultural consumption.

Although strong effects of status background and cultural socialization on cultural consumption is well documented (even when controlled for the effect of the status ranks of the respondent) no result is known to us that makes either the information-theoretical or the status-theoretical interpretation more plausible.

(8) The effect of extraversion

Extraversion (or preference for complex stimulation) is a personality factor has been intensively studied by Eysenck and his associates (Eysenck, 1967). Extraverts have a preference for complex stimulation; Their counterparts, introverts, have a preference for a low level of stimulation. If this is true cultural consumption is a form of information-processing according to the information theory, extraverts will be more active in cultural events. There no prediction about the effects of extraversion in the status theory.

There has been no direct test of this hypothesis. But in several surveys, evl can be found that culture consumers are typical extraverts. Generally, they new and strange things, and this may be taken as a manifestation of an extra personality.

(9) The effect of status-inconsistency and social mobility

Status inconsistency and social mobility are examples of the same type of si persons have different ranks in status dimensions. In the status theory two combinations of status ranks are expected to increase culture consumption. T are both situations of social climbing ('parvenu', 'nouveau riche'). First, may have a higher occupation or income than may be expected from their educa Second, they may have a high education, considering their family background. both cases, apart from the net effect of the basic status ranks, these combi should produce a higher degree of culture consumption. There is no propositi information theory about these effects of status inconsistency or social mob Therefore, it will be assumed that cultural consumption is an additive funct status ranks.

Not much work has been done on the interaction effect of status ranks. Some gave positive evidence for the status theory, but the analyses are probably flawed by inadequate control of the effect of the basic status dimensions.

2. The research design

We will test the two theories against the data of a recent Dutch survey ²⁾ were collected in June 1981. Except for the effects of non-response (30%),

sample is taken at random from the population of Utrecht. Utrecht is a province capital, 4th largest city in The Netherlands, and in all respects a middle-of-the-road place. All respondents (N=347) are over 17 years of age. We cannot think of any special reason why results, as shown by us, would be considerably different in the rest of The Netherlands.

In this paper, variables used in the analysis were measured as follows:

| | |
|---------------------------|---|
| AGE | Coded as a semi-continuous variable, 18-73 |
| EDUCATION | Coded on a 7-point equal-interval scale, from (1) primary school to (7) university degree |
| OCCUPATION | Coded on a 6-point equal-interval scale, from (1) lower manual, to (6) professionals and managers. |
| INCOME | Net household income, coded in 6 classes, which are a near log-transformation of the original class-midpoints. |
| CULTURAL SOCIALIZATION | Four 3-point items on the degree of cultural consumption of the respondent's parents. Reliability: $\alpha = .65$ |
| CULTURAL NORMS | Three 7-point items on the respondent's perception of the cultural consumption of his social interaction partners. Reliability: $\alpha = .68$. |
| CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE | A 9-item test on knowledge of architecture and history. The reliability of this set of dichotomous items was estimated as $\alpha = .90$. |
| CULTURAL CONSUMPTION | A set of 45 dichotomous items on cultural consumption was factorized (oblique rotation) in 4 subsets: THEATER & CONCERTS MUSEUMS & EXHIBITIONS BOOKS & MAGAZINES HISTORICAL PLACES The four indices were constructed as the summation of the items. For convenience they are standardized to zero means and unit variance. |
| EXTRAVERSION | We used five 9-point items, adapted from Eysenck's (1969) Personality Inventory, and local Dutch versions of this test. In spite of several pretests of this short-version instrument, we did not reach a satisfying degree of reliability ($\alpha = .62$). |

3. Analysis

Table-1 presents a structural model for the observed correlations, as estimated by the Lisrel-program (Jöreskog and Sörbom, 1978). Most variables were entered as compound indices to accommodate for the assumption of multivariate normality and continuous measurement. Since most variables can be assumed to have approximately

the same satisfactory level of reliability (.80/.90), this will not result in strong bias of the estimated structural coefficients. The original indicators used in two cases in the estimation procedure, since we had multipoint items with a more or less unimodal distribution, and a somewhat unsatisfactory reliability (CULTURAL SOCIALIZATION; CULTURAL NORMS). Observed variables are in squares, latent variables are in circles.

The structural model, used for evaluating the two theories, does not fit the observed correlation matrix very well ($\chi^2=217$; NDF=117; $p<.001$). The critical criterion is approximately 170. But since any structural effect to be entered into the model would be clearly insignificant, and almost every residual correlation is lower than .10, we feel that we would be overfitting the model by estimating more coefficients.

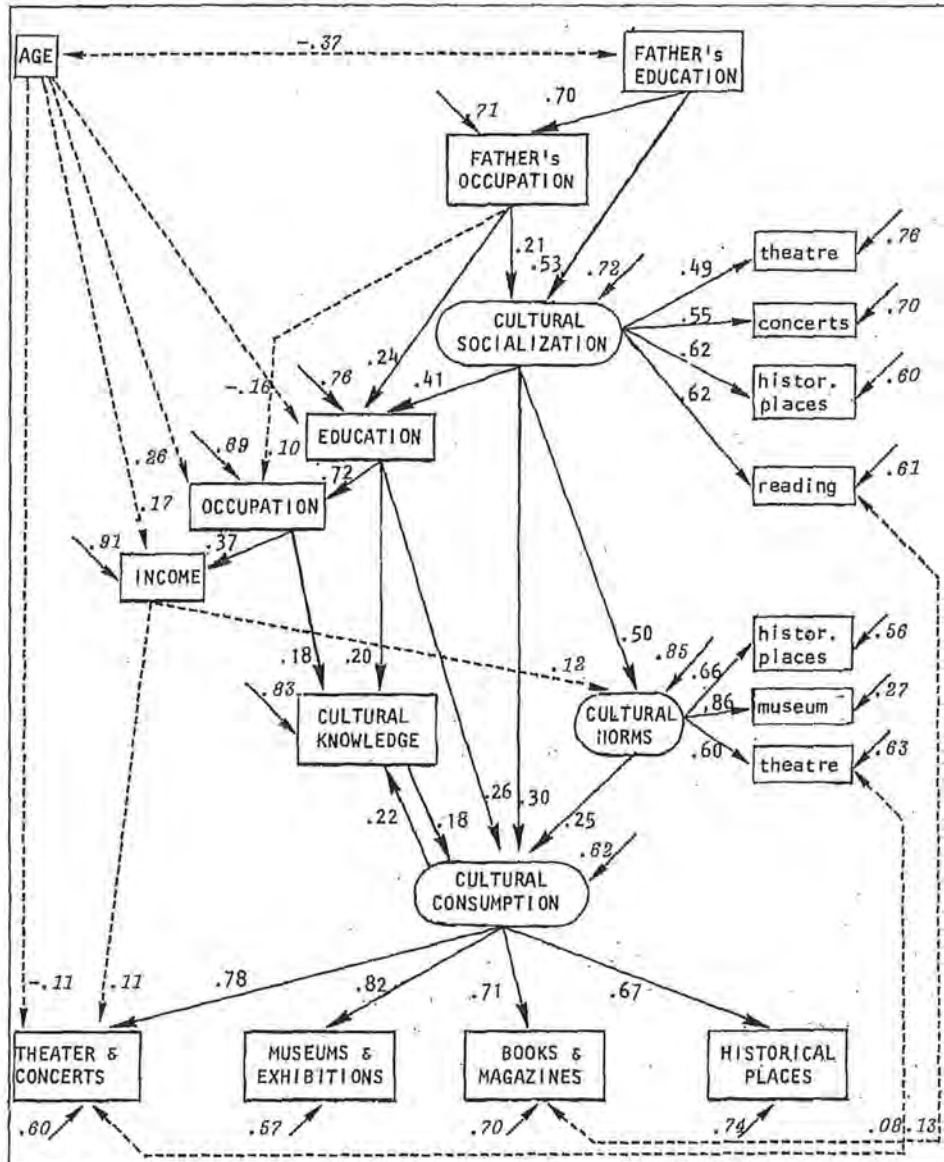
Following the sequence of topics in section 1, the results may be summarized as follows:

(1) Overlapping of cultural groups

The structural coefficients between the four forms of cultural consumption and the latent variable CULTURAL CONSUMPTION (which are 'factor loadings') are more or less of the same size. With Lisrel a formal test on equality of effects was run, and the null-hypothesis of equal effects need not be rejected ($\chi^2=8$; $p>.05$). Therefore it is quite useless to search for patterns as specified by information theory or the status theory.

But there is one strong confirmation of the status theory in the data: in preliminary factor-analysis theater-goers and concert-goers were not separated into two groups. We could not find any division between the two, and this finding (which corresponds to earlier results) confirms the status-theoretical interpretation (the same kind of formal attendance), and does not confirm the information-theoretical prediction (very different kinds of required skill knowledge).

TABLE-1: A structural model for the observed correlations (N=347; $\chi^2=217$; NDF=117; $p<.001$)



Observed and estimated correlations, means and standard deviations are given in the appendix. Coefficients from a standardized solution. Dashed arrows are not discussed in the text.

(2) The effect of status-dimensions

The effect of status dimensions is very large. Since their relative magnitude is somewhat unclear from the complex structure in table-1, we single out the estimated effect of status-dimensions on cultural consumption:

| | CULTURAL CONSUMPTION | |
|------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| | estimated correlation | estimated effect |
| EDUCATION | .61 | .33 |
| OCCUPATION | .45 | .06 (p<.05) |
| INCOME | .16 | .03 (n.s.) |

To a great extent the effects of OCCUPATION and INCOME turn out to be on introducing respondent's EDUCATION and family background variables. This is exactly what the information theory predicts, and it is clearly contradictory to status theory hypotheses. A small effect of OCCUPATION after controlling the EDUCATION and the family background. This may be as a point in favor of the status theory (see however section 2.5).

(3) The status composition of attendance groups

Since all structural coefficients between CULTURAL CONSUMPTION and the variables on a different status-composition of audiences. Observed differences are quite small and not relevant for the evaluation of the two theories.

(4) Cultural participation in the life-cycle

The model does not contain any direct information on the degree of cultural consumption in the life-cycle. We did not ask any questions of starting or interruptions of 'cultural careers'.

However some indirect evidence may be taken from the model. The variable SOCIALIZATION (which does not measure earlier cultural activities of the respondents, but of their parents) does have a large influence on current

activities (direct + indirect effects: .45). This suggests that early experience does play a major part in becoming active in cultural events. This conclusion confirms the information theory predictions. But at the same time it is not a test for the status theory prediction on this topic.

(5) Cultural consumption rates over time

The model gives no information on this topic.

(6) The effect of cultural knowledge and skill

Our measure of cultural knowledge and skill, CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE lies in the field of only one of the surveyed activities, visiting HISTORICAL PLACES. Nevertheless, its correlations with the other activities, particularly visiting MUSEUMS and the reading of BOOKS & MAGAZINES are sufficiently high to warrant it to be a valid measure of general cultural skill and knowledge.

The hypothesis that cultural knowledge and skill are a major cause of cultural consumption, and intermediate the effect of status dimensions and family background, is partly substantiated by the model. The direct effect of CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE on CULTURAL CONSUMPTION is .31, and it intermediates the total effect of OCCUPATION and part of the effect of EDUCATION on CULTURAL CONSUMPTION. This result is an important confirmation of the information theory. The fact that CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE intermediates the effect of OCCUPATION is somehow surprising, since we assumed that the differences in occupation, apart from confounding effects of educations, are differences on a prestige dimension, and not on an information-processing capacity scale. This finding is a windfall for the information theory, since it clearly shows that persons with higher occupations are more culturally active, in as far as they have acquired more cultural knowledge and skill.

However, there may be alternative interpretations of this part of the model, in which cultural activity is the cause and not the effect of cultural knowledge and skill. We can test this interpretation by introducing a feedback effect in the causal structure. A Lisrel maximum likelihood estimation procedure allows for modelling of this type, although at the cost of introducing some multicollinearity and correlated estimates. In as far as this procedure is correct (and it is the

best thing to do in the present situation), a Lisrel-test shows this feedback effect (and the original direct effect) to be significant ($\chi^2=5$; NDF=1; p). The mutual causation gives a nice picture of the process of human capital formation, as assumed by the information theory.

But there is another part of the model that is clearly a refutation of the information theory. CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE is a result of the respondents' EE and OCCUPATION, but not of their family background (FATHER'S EDUCATION/OCCUPATION) or the CULTURAL SOCIALIZATION their parents gave them. Whatever the respondents have learned from their parents, when they were young, it is not measured by the CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE-variable, as was predicted by the information theory.

(7) The effect of status-background and cultural socialization

As we can deduce from the model in table-1 status background, as indicated by FATHER'S EDUCATION and FATHER'S OCCUPATION plays a great part in becoming culturally active. The total effect of family status, net of the status characteristics of the respondents themselves, is estimated on .28. All of this is intermediated by CULTURAL SOCIALIZATION. As we have seen in section 2, the information theory fails to explain this part of the observed relations. Family background and cultural socialization do not increase cultural knowledge, as assumed in the information theory.

To test a status-theoretical interpretation of the effects of family background and cultural socialization, we introduce a CULTURAL NORMS-variable in the model. This variable is equal to the respondent's perception of his interaction with cultural consumption. As its information-theoretical counterpart, CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE has a strong effect on CULTURAL CONSUMPTION (.25). In the same way as in section 3.6., we suspected that CULTURAL NORMS also may be an effect, instead of a cause of CULTURAL CONSUMPTION. Again we introduced a feedback effect, but this turned out to be nearly zero, and clearly insignificant. In more than one model CULTURAL NORMS acts as a counterpart of CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE. It fails to account for the effect of the status characteristics of the respondents themselves. The model does give a fairly good interpretation of family background and CULTURAL SOCIALIZATION effects.

(8) The effect of extraversion

The short-version test on EXTRAVERSION has only a weak correlation with CULTURAL CONSUMPTION (.15), and this effect is confounded by effects of AGE and EDUCATION. Conclusion: no positive evidence for the information theory can be submitted to this topic. Since we are dealing with a variable with a low reliability, we have doubts to interpret this as a strong refutation of the information theory.

(9) The effects of status-inconsistency and social mobility

The possible effects of status inconsistency and social mobility are a unique prediction of the status theory. Table-2 gives the impact of the two relevant combinations of ranks. To get around the identification problem, well known from the discussion on comparable analysis problems (Lanski, 1964; Bialock, 1967), we used dummy regression, as recommended by Jackson and Burke (1965). EDUCATION was regressed on FATHER'S EDUCATION, and OCCUPATION on EDUCATION. The highest quintile of the residuals was split off to form the group of inconsistent/social climbers in dummy regression.

TABLE-2: The effect of status inconsistency and social mobility (N=347)

| | CULTURAL CONSUMPTION | |
|-----------------------|----------------------|--------------|
| | B | β |
| FATHER'S EDUCATION | .12 | .24 |
| EDUCATION | .20 | .41 |
| SOCIAL CLIMBERS (22%) | .14 | .06 (p>.10) |
| R= | | .61 |
| ----- | | |
| EDUCATION | .33 | .69 |
| OCCUPATION | -.06 | -.09 (p>.30) |
| INCONSISTENTS (23%) | .48 | .21 |
| R= | | .60 |

In the first analysis, just a small and insignificant interaction effect. CULTURAL CONSUMPTION seems to be an additive function of the education respondents and their fathers. In the second analysis, the INCONSISTENT higher rate of CULTURAL CONSUMPTION than might have been expected from EDUCATION and OCCUPATION. The effect of OCCUPATION becomes insignificant introduction of the dummy variable for inconsistency. This means that of OCCUPATION as modelled in table-1, is restricted to persons whose O is on a high level in relation to their EDUCATION.

4. Discussion

We have started with two competitive explanatory theories of cultural. In assessing the relative empirical value of the two alternatives, we results from Dutch leisure research and a recent survey on cultural consumption. The theory of cultural consumption as information-processing gives the prediction on a majority of topics. In particular, its explanation of differential effect of the status ranks of the respondents (education, income) is far more confirmed by the research findings than the status explanation. On the other hand, there is one part of our own result, which turned out to be the other way around. Both the effect of status background cultural socialization, apart from the effect of the own status ranks respondents, are best explained by the status theory.

Since the direct effects of family background and cultural socialization are rather smaller than that of the respondents' own status we have the general impression that the information theory somehow gives a better explanation. Nevertheless, the status theory cannot be discarded. In future research try to reconcile both viewpoints, and find new testable predictions, and give information on topics which now have remained in the background.

Notes

- (1) Since almost all of the literature reviewed here is written in Dutch, I refrain from citing any sources. Persons able to read Dutch are requested to request the original papers:

- H. Ganzeboom, Culturele activiteiten als verwerving van status en verwerking van informatie (paper voor de Werkgemeenschap Verklarende Sociologie, Utrecht, Sociologisch Instituut, 1982).
- H. Ganzeboom, Cultuurdeelname als verwerking van informatie of verwerving van status - een confrontatie van twee alternatieve verklarende theorieën aan de hand van reeds verricht onderzoek (Mens en Maatschappij, 57-4, 1982).
- (2) A full account of all methodological aspects of this study will be given in:
H. Ganzeboom, *Beleving van Monumenten-II* (Utrecht, Sociologisch Instituut, 1983).

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| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) | (11) | (12) | (13) | (14) | (15) | (16) | (17) | (18) |
|----------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| (1) FATHER'S EDUCATION | 1.0 | -.00 | .03 | .03 | .01 | -.04 | .02 | -.05 | -.10 | .06 | -.05 | -.06 | -.00 | .07 | -.02 | .04 | -.05 | .00 |
| (2) FATHER'S OCCUPATION | .70 | 1.0 | -.00 | .06 | -.01 | -.05 | -.00 | .00 | -.06 | .04 | -.04 | -.02 | .05 | -.07 | .01 | .07 | .02 | -.02 |
| (3) CULTURAL SOC. THEATRE | .37 | .29 | 1.0 | -.05 | .08 | -.02 | -.10 | -.06 | -.00 | .03 | .01 | -.01 | .05 | .05 | -.05 | .02 | .02 | -.03 |
| (4) CULTURAL SOC. CONCERTS | .41 | .40 | .22 | 1.0 | -.05 | .09 | -.01 | .01 | -.07 | -.04 | -.06 | -.02 | -.01 | -.05 | -.05 | .00 | -.10 | .03 |
| (5) CULTURAL SOC. MUSEUMS | .44 | .36 | .39 | .30 | 1.0 | -.03 | .03 | .01 | -.04 | .02 | -.01 | -.04 | .05 | .07 | .01 | .01 | .04 | .18 |
| (6) CULTURAL SOC. READING | .38 | .31 | .29 | .44 | .36 | 1.0 | .04 | .09 | .02 | .06 | .02 | .03 | .08 | .02 | -.01 | .02 | -.04 | -.10 |
| (7) EDUCATION | .53 | .52 | .19 | .31 | .42 | .41 | 1.0 | -.00 | -.04 | .00 | .01 | .01 | .06 | .04 | -.05 | .07 | -.00 | .00 |
| (8) OCCUPATION | .29 | .41 | .14 | .23 | .27 | .35 | .68 | 1.0 | .00 | .01 | -.07 | -.02 | -.00 | .06 | -.00 | .10 | .01 | -.00 |
| (9) INCOME | -.04 | .05 | .04 | -.01 | -.07 | .09 | .15 | .37 | 1.0 | .05 | -.04 | -.05 | .03 | -.01 | .00 | .03 | -.05 | -.00 |
| (10) CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE | .33 | .32 | .20 | .15 | .23 | .27 | .46 | .42 | .19 | 1.0 | .02 | -.03 | -.01 | -.05 | .00 | .05 | .04 | -.08 |
| (11) CULTURAL NORMS HIST. PLACES | .18 | .16 | .18 | .13 | .20 | .24 | .22 | .10 | .09 | .18 | 1.0 | .01 | -.05 | .03 | -.02 | -.03 | .04 | -.04 |
| (12) CULTURAL NORMS MUSEUM | .24 | .24 | .21 | .23 | .23 | .24 | .30 | .29 | .20 | .10 | .16 | 1.0 | .00 | .02 | -.03 | -.06 | -.04 | -.09 |
| (13) CULTURAL NORMS THEATRE | .21 | .24 | .20 | .16 | .25 | .25 | .26 | .15 | .14 | .13 | .36 | .52 | 1.0 | .06 | .03 | .07 | .06 | .00 |
| (14) THEATRE & CONCERTS | .47 | .43 | .31 | .23 | .40 | .34 | .52 | .37 | -.01 | .37 | .30 | .37 | .39 | 1.0 | .02 | .01 | -.03 | .02 |
| (15) MUSEUMS & EXHIBITIONS | .37 | .37 | .21 | .25 | .34 | .32 | .45 | .36 | .13 | .45 | .27 | .35 | .30 | .66 | 1.0 | -.02 | .05 | .04 |
| (16) BOOKS & MAGAZINES | .38 | .38 | .25 | .26 | .30 | .44 | .51 | .42 | .14 | .44 | .23 | .27 | .30 | .56 | .57 | 1.0 | -.02 | .03 |
| (17) HISTORICAL PLACES | .28 | .32 | .24 | .14 | .32 | .24 | .41 | .31 | .06 | .41 | .28 | .27 | .28 | .50 | .60 | .46 | 1.0 | .01 |
| (18) AGE | -.37 | -.24 | -.10 | -.17 | -.34 | -.06 | -.34 | -.00 | .17 | -.04 | -.03 | -.01 | -.07 | -.31 | -.21 | -.18 | -.15 | 1.0 |
| Means | 2.6 | 3.4 | 1.5 | 1.5 | 1.7 | 2.1 | 3.3 | 3.2 | 3.0 | 0 | 5.0 | 5.0 | 5.5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 40 |
| Standard deviations | 2.0 | 1.6 | .7 | .5 | .8 | .8 | 2.0 | 1.5 | 1.8 | 1 | 2.6 | 2.6 | 2.4 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 18 |

Appendix A: Observed correlations, means, standard deviations and residuals

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) | (11) | (12) | (13) | (14) |
|----------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| (1) FATHER'S EDUCATION | 1.0 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| (2) FATHER'S OCCUPATION | .70 | 1.0 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| (3) CULTURAL SOCIALIZATION | .68 | .58 | 1.0 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| (4) EDUCATION | .51 | .52 | .59 | 1.0 | | | | | | | | | | |
| (5) OCCUPATION | .34 | .40 | .42 | .68 | 1.0 | | | | | | | | | |
| (6) INCOME | .06 | .10 | .11 | .20 | .37 | 1.0 | | | | | | | | |
| (7) CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE | .27 | .28 | .34 | .46 | .42 | .14 | 1.0 | | | | | | | |
| (8) CULTURAL NORMS | .35 | .31 | .52 | .32 | .26 | .19 | .23 | 1.0 | | | | | | |
| (9) CULTURAL CONSUMPTION | .48 | .44 | .65 | .61 | .45 | .16 | .55 | .54 | 1.0 | | | | | |
| (10) THEATRE & CONCERTS | .41 | .36 | .52 | .49 | .31 | .00 | .43 | .41 | .78 | 1.0 | | | | |
| (11) MUSEUM & EXHIBITIONS | .39 | .36 | .53 | .50 | .37 | .13 | .45 | .44 | .82 | .64 | 1.0 | | | |
| (12) BOOKS & MAGAZINES | .34 | .32 | .47 | .44 | .32 | .11 | .39 | .38 | .71 | .56 | .58 | 1.0 | | |
| (13) HISTORICAL PLACES | .32 | .30 | .44 | .41 | .30 | .11 | .37 | .36 | .67 | .53 | .55 | .48 | 1.0 | |
| (14) AGE | -.37 | -.26 | -.25 | -.33 | -.01 | -.17 | -.12 | -.11 | -.21 | -.29 | -.17 | -.15 | -.14 | 1.0 |

Appendix B: Estimated correlations for the model in table-1

Theoretical Models and Empirical Analyses

**Contributions to the Explanation of
Individual Actions and Collective Phenomena**

W. Raub (Ed.)

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