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Social Stratification and the Differentiation of Life Styles, Social Perceptions and Attitudes in Switzerland

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Abstract

During the post-war era, processes of de-structuration and individualization have rendered the structure of inequality more complex and led to the disintegration of traditional classes and "milieus". The emergence of "new" inequalities and the dynamization of existing structures have brought about ambivalent interests and a growing intertwinement of different lines of conflict.

The contribution discusses and tests an extended model of social stratification that integrates conventional theories of stratification with perspectives on „new“ inequalities and recent culturally oriented perspectives on milieus on the basis of a core-periphery model. In spite of the multitude of conceivable combinations of social privileges and structural prejudices, the use of the core-periphery model renders possible the systematic identification and classification of groups of people in similar structural situations. Beyond the identification of "objective" positions and milieus, the model also aims at explaining and predicting the living conditions, attitudes, perceptions and value preferences of these groups.

The test and identification of the interlinkages of "conventional" and "new" inequalities as well as their effects are performed on the basis of a comparative secondary analysis of recent survey data from Switzerland.

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Introduction

Despite one of the highest per capita incomes of the world, hierarchies, privileges, discrimination and poverty are important features of contemporary Swiss society (see for example Buhmann et al. 1989, Flüglister and Hohl 1992, Levy et al. 1997 and Leu et al. 1997). Even though it is easy to show the impact such inequalities have in everyday life at the individual or organizational level, the picture at the societal level is very confusing. Processes of destructure and individualization as well as the emergence of so-called „new“ inequalities have contributed to ever increasing degrees of complexity and differentiation (Beck 1983, 1986, Berger 1987, Borschier 1991a). The mechanisms which convert mere differences into social inequalities appear to have become more complicated and the multitude of conceivable combinations of privileges and disadvantages render it increasingly difficult to identify clear-cut social classes, strata or „milieus“ (Hradil 1987, Berger und Hradil 1990, Kreckel 1992, Sen 1992). Effective living conditions of individuals and groups appear to be the result of the complicated linkage of a multitude of different dimensions of status. In some cases, gender or ethnic origin may play an important role in shaping one's opportunities, in others educational attainments or social origin may be dominant (see also Schwimm 1998).

As a consequence of the increasing complexity and the declining relevance of traditional classes and groups, it becomes ever more difficult to make *general* predictions or offer explanations of the way inequality affects behavioral patterns and value preferences of individuals or groups. Notions such as „class consciousness“ or „class action“ no longer claim social relevance. In an „individualized society built upon individual achievements“ collective patterns of perception and action of persons in comparable situations seem to have vanished for good. Contemporary society offers a multitude of opportunities that no longer appear to be linked to objective living conditions (Eder 1990, Schulze 1992, Tyler et al. 1997).

Despite these problems, the position advanced in this paper suggests that it is worthwhile sticking to the classical starting point of inequality research that assumes a systematic linkage of different dimensions of inequality and corresponding effects. Even though the number of dimensions may have increased and their interlinkage may not seem as clear as before, traditional views on inequality still hold some truth. In order to construct a contemporary model of inequality and its impact on social integration and opportunities of different social groups in Switzerland it is necessary to include innovative perspectives developed during the past two decades, however.

More precisely, the perspective advanced here starts from conventional perspectives on stratification and class theories which will then be supplemented with „new“ inequalities in the framework of a simple core-periphery model. The core-periphery model renders possible a systematic description of social opportunities and disadvantages and can thus be used to identify groups of people in similar structural conditions („soziale Lagen“ or „social positions“ in our model). Yet, as structural positions do no longer fully explain actions and perceptions, a further analytical step is necessary: On the basis of recent „milieu“ and „lifestyle“ approaches the linkage between structural position, effective living conditions, value preferences and perception shall be discussed.

The main lines of the extended model will be sketched out in the following section. The remainder of the paper is then devoted to the discussion of some preliminary findings from a research project that looks at the mentioned linkages and is based on secondary analyses of two recent Swiss surveys.

An extended model of social inequality

At first sight, contemporary inequality research seems to offer a bewildering number of competing perspectives. However, a closer look reveals that most approaches can be classified on the basis of two main lines of conflict characterizing the contemporary discussion (see figure 1 as well as Berger and Hradil 1990, Müller 1992).

The *first line of conflict* runs along the well-known distinction between analyses at the micro and the macro level. During the past decades the well-known macrosociological stratification and class perspectives have come under increasing pressure from scholars advocating analyses at the micro-level as a means to cope with the ever increasing complexity of social structures. Yet, even though detailed analyses of the living conditions and lifestyles of selected groups can in fact show how inequality affects action contexts and perceptions, they tend to neglect overarching general mechanisms that determine living conditions. As a consequence, analyses at the micro level often lack general references to why there should be inequality in the first place and which mechanisms operate at the societal level.¹

The *second line of conflict* runs along the line of structurally and culturally oriented perspectives. Under labels such as „milieu“ and „life-style“ the latter have inspired a great deal of work during the past years (Schulze 1992, Schneider-Müller 1994). Criticizing structural perspectives for their one-sided structural determinism, cultural approaches, on their part, have often been characterized by a lack of interest in structural mechanisms and a somewhat arbitrary selection of indicators, however. Still, their claim that the vertical dimension of inequality (e.g. the size of rewards) may not be as important as before and that there are new „horizontal“ dimensions intervening with conventional inequalities, merits serious attention.

If both lines of conflicts are combined, recent research on inequality can be classified in the way shown in figure 1. Interestingly, there have only been very few systematic attempts to bring together the different lines of research. Rather, there is a clear separation between „conventional“ structurally oriented inequality research, on the one hand, and the rapidly growing field of „cultural studies“, on the other hand. This separation is also reflected in different methodological approaches (analysis of mass data vs. qualitative research).

In the few instances where there was a serious attempt at reconciling different strands of the discussion (see, for example, Bourdieu 1979, Hradil 1987, 1997, Bornschieer 1991b, Kreckel 1992, Müller 1992), empirical testing of such encompassing perspectives has not yet gone very far (see for example Schwenk 1997). Of course, the basic problem in the construction and the

¹ Critical discussions of different life-style approaches can be found in Lüdtke 1989, Müller 1989, Konietzka 1995, Spellerberg 1996

testing of encompassing models is their complexity and the multitude of interactions and interlinkages of different dimensions which tend to make the models somewhat „messy“ and also call for the use of different methods of data gathering and analysis.

Figure 1: A simple classification of contemporary perspectives on inequality

<i>Level of analysis/dimension</i>	Structural dimension	Cultural dimension
macro level: Description of societal differentiation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • class • social stratification • „social position“ (soziale Lage) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • milieu
micro level: description of effective situations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • living condition • life chances 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • forms of living together • life-style

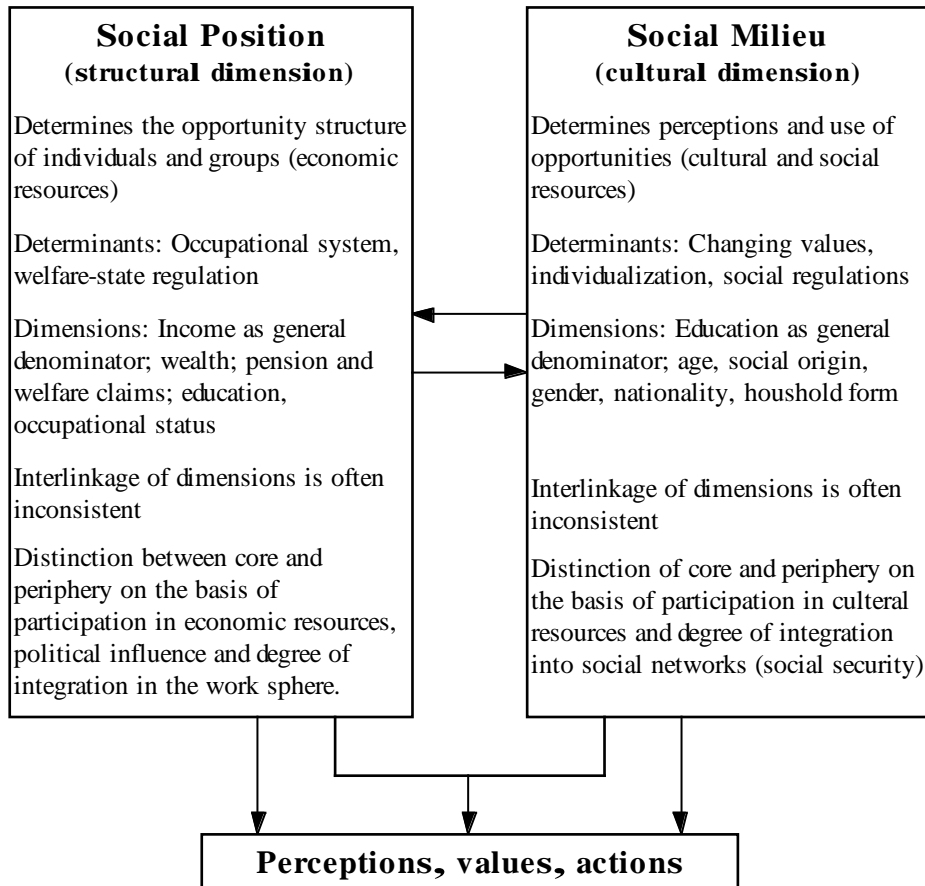
As a consequence of these problems, the present paper can neither offer a full discussion of social differentiations and their consequences on everyday life nor offer a complete empirical test of an encompassing model. Rather, we would only like to discuss some important aspects of a novel model of inequality and illustrate some points with empirical material from Switzerland. In order to simplify the analysis it will be confined to the macro level at which we combine structural with cultural perspectives.

As shown in figure 2, we suggest the analytical separation of both perspectives mentioned above. Thus, social positions (structural dimension) and social milieus (cultural dimension) will first be analyzed separately and only be combined later to arrive at a more complete explanation of group specific perceptions, values and actions (see also Lamprecht and Stamm 1994). This strategy has two advantages: First, different perspectives on inequality and its effects can be taken into account independently. Second, due to the partial separation of structural and cultural approaches it is also possible to carry out the empirical test stepwise without having to test the full model in one encompassing effort.

The *structural dimension* in our model is inspired by conventional perspectives on inequality which are centered around the work sphere and the ensuing financial rewards (multidimensional models of class and stratification, see for example Wright 1985, Strasser und Goldthorpe 1985, Geissler 1987, Haller 1989, Ganzeboom und Treiman 1991, Soerensen 1996). Yet, taking up the notions that the linkages between the single dimensions of inequality are not as straightforward as it used to be anymore (high degree of „inconsistent“ linkages), that there are also „new“ inequalities and that a large proportion of people do not find a place in the conventional models because they do not fully participate in the workforce (young people, pensioners etc.), we also include a core-periphery perspective into the model that allows the inclusion of neglected groups and the systematic ordering of „inconsistent“ groups. Thus, the basic distinction between central and peripheral social positions runs along two lines: on the one hand, along the line of the extent of integration into the work sphere and the labor market, and

on the other hand along the line of the extent of financial rewards. As a result, the model of stratification advanced here also includes people not being part of the work force.

Figure 2: An extended model of inequality



Similar distinctions can also be made with respect to the *cultural dimension* (social milieu). Here, cultural resources (social origin, educational background) and effective life situations (household structure, age) as described by recent life-style and milieu perspectives are identified as the most important means of integration (see Lüdtké 1989, Hradil 1987, 1997). The mentioned dimensions open up a number of horizontal differentiations, but they also allow the identification (and ordering) of central and peripheral milieus on the basis of educational achievements (Mayer und Blossfeld 1990, Buchmann et al. 1993, Esping-Anderson 1993) and the culturally based power of interpretation and definition they offer as well as the integration into social networks and the feeling of security and stability they inspire. Thus, once again, we have a multidimensional model of milieus that can be ordered according to their closeness to the core of cultural and social power.

As shown in figure 2, it is also assumed that social positions and milieus are closely interrelated and work together in shaping one's views of the world and actions. In other words: even though there may be independent effects of social position and milieu on perceptions, they can also counteract or reinforce each other. As a consequence, any attempt to describe or explain everyday behavior would also have to take into account the joint effect of both dimensions.

Social positions and social milieus in Switzerland

As mentioned above, the empirical analysis can be divided into a number of separate steps. In a first analytical step social positions and social milieus can be constructed which can then be used for the analysis of effects. The following sections report some of the findings of an analysis based on a secondary analysis of two recent surveys from Switzerland. Both, Levy et al.'s 1991 survey on inequality in Switzerland (Levy et al. 1997) and Diekmann et al.'s 1993/94 survey of environmental issues, include abundant data that can be used for the analysis of social positions and milieus as well as for the test of effects. As both data sets differ with respect to the sampling² and data gathering methods³, indicators and scales, it was necessary to perform several homogenizing operations to render possible comparative analyses. Still, it was not possible to eliminate all differences and as a consequence the results from both data sets are not fully compatible.⁴

With respect to the first analytical step, cluster analysis was used. Cluster analysis renders possible the identification of typical social positions and milieus, that is of configurations of characteristics that are similar for certain groups. There are several problems with this type of analysis that have been discussed in some detail elsewhere (see Lamprecht and Stamm 1994). Apart from more technical questions such as the selection of the algorithm and the number of clusters to be calculated, an important problem refers to the fact that our data have been gathered at the individual level even though households would be a better starting point for the construction of structural positions and milieus. If the analysis is carried out at the individual level, it is possible that members of the same household are assigned to different positions even though it can be assumed that the general conditions and opportunity structures within a single household are quite similar for its members. An example would be a couple where only one of the partners works. The working half would be placed in the core of the stratification model, whereas the partner would be part of the periphery. Even though such differential assignments of household members may well contribute to the explanation of internal conflicts, they can also lead to misleading predictions. Consequently, we have calculated individual as well as household models.

² Both surveys used disproportional sampling techniques. Levy et al. added 100 elite interviews and 100 interviews with migrant workers to improve the data situation in the highest and lowest regions of stratification. Diekmann et al. excluded foreigners but carried out additional interviews in central Switzerland. In addition they mention the problem that due to the recruitment of participants over the telephone there was a higher possibility of people from small households to become part of the sample. As the present paper only addresses general issues of inequality, the mentioned disproportions were eliminated where possible. The weighted number of cases used in the following analyses is 1829 (Levy et al.) and 3019 (Diekmann et al.), respectively.

³ Levy et al.'s survey was based on face-to-face-interviews, whereas Diekmann et al. used a combination of telephone and postal survey.

⁴ For example, the share of economically active people in Diekmann et al.'s survey is 77 %, the corresponding share in Levy et al.'s survey is 68 %. However, according to Swiss census data from 1990 the economically active population only was about 53.2 % of the total population. Similar distortions can also be found with respect to educational levels: Diekmann et al. report a share of 44.6 % with a higher education, the corresponding figure in Levy et al. is 35.5 %, while the Swiss Statistical Office places this figure at only about 20.1 %. Even if one takes into account that both surveys only included people aged 18 or more, both show a clear bias towards higher educational and occupational levels.

The construction of social positions (structural dimension) was divided into two steps. In a first step, the *core segment* of economically active persons or households (with at least one economically active person) was classified into a number of groups on the basis of the three conventional variables from stratification research: formal education (EDUC), occupational position (OCC) and income (INC). All variables were measured at the individual as well as the household level.⁵

In both cases, social positions were constructed using an optimizing clustering procedure that can best be described as an iterated type of the k-means algorithm. F-values from an analysis of variance of cluster solutions were used to select the optimal number of clusters, and a homogeneity value similar to R^2 in regression analysis was calculated to see how much variance was explained by the clusters. At the individual level, there appear to be optimal solutions with 4 and 8 (Levy et al.) or 9 (Diekmann et al.) clusters. The analysis at the household level suggests an optimal number of clusters of 5 or 8 in Levy et al.'s data set and of 9 clusters in Diekmann et al.'s data. As table A1 in the appendix shows, there is no „smaller“ solution in Diekmann et al.'s data set for the household level, yet even the suboptimal solution with 5 clusters yields acceptable homogeneity values. In fact, a look at homogeneity values shows, that a solution with only 5 clusters already explains between two thirds and three quarters of variance at both the individual and the household levels (see also table A1). Increasing the number of clusters to 8 or 9 pushes the degree of explained variance up to over 80 per cent.

In order to keep the discussion simple, it is thus acceptable to use the smaller solutions for comparative purposes. In addition, and for reasons of space limitations we shall only discuss the results at the household level here, but comparisons show that there is a high degree of correspondence between „individual“ and „household“ stratification. Furthermore, additional analyses showed that the solutions are very stable: On the basis of a discriminant analysis over 95 per cent of all cases were correctly reclassified and the majority of mean differences on the selected variables between different clusters is significant. As figure A1 shows, there is also a high degree of correspondence between the two data sets used.

The analysis is not yet complete, however. The solutions found so far and shown in figure A1 only refer to economically active households, i.e. the core of the system of inequality centered around the work system. Yet, our model suggests that there is also a periphery characterized by not being integrated into the work system. If such households are examined more closely it is evident, that they do not constitute a homogenous periphery. Rather, there seem to be at least three peripheries, namely:

- *Not yet economically active households, mainly people still in the educational system (e.g. university)*
- *No longer economically active households (e.g. pensioners)*
- *„True“ periphery, i.e. households without work and rent income (e.g. out of work)*

⁵ There were variables for personal and household income. Educational and occupational status of a household with more than one person was defined as the higher status of each of the two main partners. In addition, the variables were recoded using a procedure described by Lenski (1954, see also Lamprecht and Stamm 1994) in order to obtain similar value ranges.

Thus, these three groups have to be added to the cluster solutions mentioned above. In the case of the solution with only 5 clusters, there will finally be 8 groups or social positions as shown in table 1.

A closer look at table 1 and figure A1 shows that there are two comparatively consistent core groups that can be labeled as lower and upper middle classes. These groups are characterized by comparable values for educational achievement, occupational status and (household) income at different levels and comprise both about a fifth of all Swiss households. In addition there are three intermediate groups that are characterized by inconsistent linkages among the three dimensions analysed: One - the middle class - is characterized by relatively low educational and income levels and a comparatively high occupational status and comprises about ten per cent in the households. In addition, there is an inconsistent group that earns considerably more than would be expected on the basis of their educational and occupational values (about 10 % of households) and a group in exactly the opposite situation (income deficit, about 15 to 20 % of all households).⁶ Compared to the core, the three peripheral groups are relatively small. Only pensioners make up a substantial proportion of households, whereas about every 25th to 50th household is part of the „true“ periphery.

Table 1: Overview of social positions at the household level

Code*	Short description	Levy et al.	Diekmann et al.
1	„true“ periphery	4.2%	2.3%
2	not yet active (education)	1.4%	4.0%
3	no longer active (pensioners)	18.6%	13.5%
4	lower class (consistently low values)	21.1%	14.3%
5	middle class (occupational winners)	6.1%	11.8%
6	income deficits	15.1%	22.2%
7	„excessive“ incomes	9.7%	10.5%
8	upper middle class (consistently high values)	23.3%	21.3%
Number of cases		1253	2785

Note: The high share of missing values (Levy et al.: 576 cases; Diekmann et al.: 234 cases) is mainly a result of the fact that observations with incomplete data were excluded from the cluster analysis; * refers to the codes used in the correspondence analysis below.

Our model suggests, that the eight groups shown in table 1 are characterized by differing opportunities and experiences that also shape their perceptions and actions. Before addressing these issues, we also have to consider the cultural dimension mentioned in our model, however. Consequently, social milieus were constructed in a very similar fashion to the analysis of social positions. A cluster analysis was carried out on the basis of the following variables:

⁶ It should be noted that the differences between the two data sets are mainly due to differences in measurements (see above).

- Social origin as a measure for ascribed cultural capital (defined as the higher formal educational status of both parents; variable: CHEDUC)
- Formal education as a measure of the extent of personal cultural capital (variable: CEDUC)
- Household situation and marital status as an important co-determinant of perceptions and action opportunities in everyday life, defined as a multilevel variable that distinguishes between single person households, single parent households, two person households without kids, two parent households and other households (variable: CINT2).
- Age as a measure of cohort specific experiences, defined as age categories (variable: CAGE).

In both data sets local optima (and stable solutions) were reached with 4 and 7 clusters (see table A2 in the appendix). As explained variance (R^2) is comparatively low in the smaller solutions and because the periphery (defined as weak participation in cultural resources and familial networks) is already comprised in the cluster solution, the more encompassing solution is discussed here.

As figure A2 and table 2 show there is an ever higher degree of correspondence between the two data sets with respect to the values on single dimensions and size of groups (see figure A2 and table 2). This is due to very similar measurements of the variables in question in both data sets and the fact that there have been less missing values in this analysis.

Table 2: Overview of social milieus at the household level

Code*	Short description	Levy et al.	Diekmann et al.
9	fully integrated with a high extent of cultural capital	14.8%	17.5%
10	higher age with a high extent of cultural capital	11.3%	11.8%
11	younger age with a high extent of cultural capital	13.6%	15.9%
12	fully integrated with a limited extent of cultural capital	20.5%	18.2%
13	higher age with a limited extent of cultural capital	15.3%	15.5%
14	younger age with a limited extent of cultural capital	14.2%	10.4%
15	cultural climbers	10.4%	10.7%
Number of cases		1688	2929

Note: * refers to the codes used in the correspondence analysis below.

Despite the somewhat confusion picture in figure A2, table 2 shows that the solutions can be easily classified. There are three groups with a high degree of cultural capital (social origin and educational level) and three groups with a limited degree of cultural capital. Apart from the „cultural climbers“, the linkage between social origin and educational attainments is quite consistent thus supporting earlier findings concerning a high degree of heredity in educational status in Switzerland (Lamprecht and Stamm 1996). At the higher as well as at the lower cultural level, there are similar groups: one group is fully integrated, i.e. characterized by formal family ties and kids, whereas the members of the other two groups are either too young or too

old for this kind of full integration. Finally, the situation of the „cultural climbers“ with respect to age group and familial integration is not very clear.

It is important to note that the results concerning social milieus and positions only give a very general indication of central and peripheral groups characterized by similar conditions. Recent literature on social inequality suggests that there is a great deal more differentiation behind these solutions that should be analyzed more closely in further research.

In addition, there is the question to what degree structural and cultural dimensions are interrelated. Simple binary measures show substantial correlations between social position and social milieu. Yet, the two concepts are far from identical because they refer to specific aspects of social inequality and different parts of the experience of social reality. In this connection it is also important to ask, whether relatively simple solutions as the ones discussed above can explain some of the variance found in behavioral patterns and value preferences or if there is indeed no longer any clear correspondence between unequal living conditions and perceptions. To this aim, the following section presents some preliminary results concerning the linkage between social positions, milieus, perceptions and value preferences.

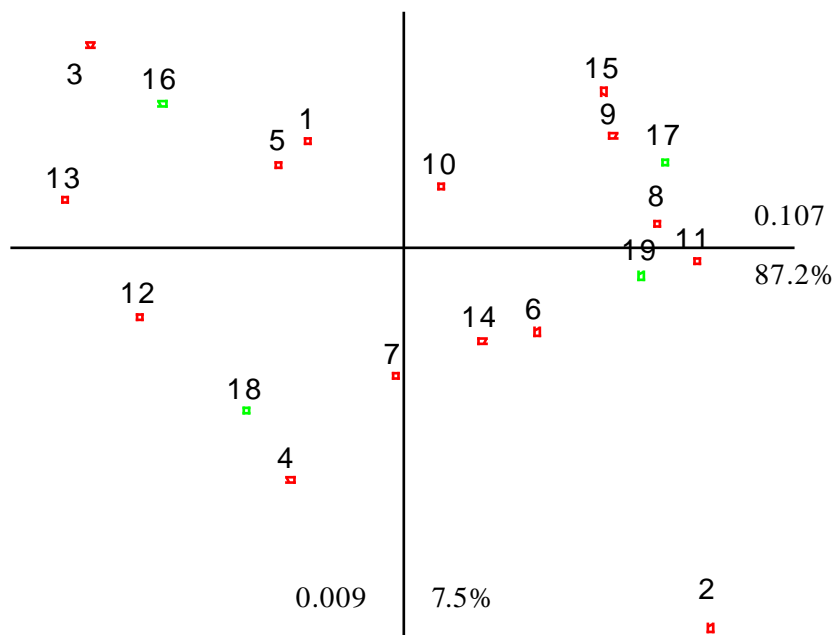
Relationships between social position, milieu and value preferences

For the sake of simplicity, we shall confine the discussion of results to two small, illustrative examples that have been calculated with data from Levy et al.'s inequality data set. This data set contains a number of simple measurements of value preferences (figure 3) as well as some statements concerning social inequality (figure 4) which can be confronted with social positions and milieus.

Figures 3 and 4 contain the results of a correspondence analysis between the mentioned dimensions.⁷ Both figures clearly demonstrate that the distinction between social positions and milieus is not trivial. Obviously, both concepts contribute to the explanation of value preferences and perceptions of inequality. For example, the claim to maintain law and order in the country, is most popular with pensioners and occupational winners (figure 3). There is a partial correspondence with milieu dimensions in the sense that older people commanding over a limited degree cultural capital also strongly favor the maintenance of order. However, their age partners with a high educational level are less inclined to subscribe to this point of view. On the other hand, the fight against inflation is very important for people from the lower class, particularly if they also are part of the fully integrated milieu lacking substantial cultural resources. Finally, freedom of speech and participation are prominent among the combination of upper middle class and young or fully integrated milieus with elevated levels of cultural capital.

⁷ Correspondence analysis renders possible the graphical representation of the rows and columns of multidimensional contingency tables (their so-called profiles) in a system of coordinates where similarities and „correspondences are represented by geometrical distances (see Greenacre 1984, Lebart et al. 1984).

Figure 3: Relationships between social position, milieu and value preferences (graphical representation of a multivariate correspondence analysis, Levy et al.)



Legend:

Social position:

- 1 „True“ periphery
- 2 not yet active (still in educational system)
- 3 no longer active (pensioners)
- 4 lower class
- 5 middle class (occupational winners)
- 6 income deficit
- 7 „excessive“ incomes
- 8 upper middle class

Milieu:

- 9 fully integrated; cultural capital high
- 10 higher age; cultural capital high
- 11 younger age; cultural capital high
- 12 fully integrated; cultural capital high
- 13 higher age; cultural capital high
- 14 younger age; cultural capital low
- 15 cultural climbers

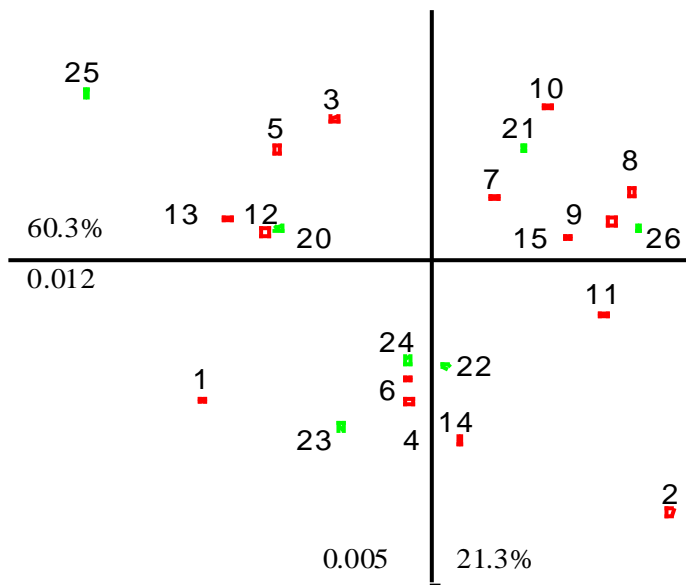
Value preferences (approval of goals):

- 16 Maintenance of order in the country
- 17 People's participation should be improved
- 18 Fight inflation
- 19 Freedom of speech must be guaranteed

Similar patterns also emerge if social positions and milieus are related to perceptions of social inequality (figure 4). Critical views of social inequalities that defend the right to go on strike and criticize the profit motive and the concentration of power are particularly prominent in the lower class and in groups that earn less than their educational and occupational status would lead them to expect. In addition, there is a strong correspondence of critical views with the milieu of younger people characterized by a moderate degree of cultural resources. On the other hand, issues of female representation are popular in younger and fully integrated milieus with a high educational level. In addition, the upper middle class appears to be particularly interested in these issues. Enterprise profits, on the other hand, are a preoccupation of fully integrated and older milieus with a low degree of cultural capital. Finally, households characterized by

„excessive“ incomes and highly educated elder persons subscribe often to the view that inequality is a necessary circumstance of living in an advanced industrial society.

Figure 4: Relationships between social position, milieu and perceptions of inequality (graphical representation of a multivariate correspondence analysis, Levy et al.)



Legend:

Social position and milieu see figure 3.

Perceptions of social inequality:

- 20 Company profits only benefit the owners
- 21 Inequality is a necessary effect of any division of labor
- 22 Right to go on strike should be improved
- 23 Performance is also possible without the expectation of profits
- 24 Enterprises are too powerful
- 25 The unequal distribution of position benefits all
- 26 Women are underrepresented in high positions

Even though the two illustrations only scrape the surface of possible analyses and explanations of the relationships between social position, milieu and their effect, they clearly show that there is potential in the simultaneous, yet independent consideration and conceptualization of structural and cultural dimensions of inequality.

Concluding remarks

Social inequality and stratification no longer appear to be what they used to be some decades ago. The post-war processes of societal change call for a novel conceptualization of social inequality. However, this contribution has argued that macrosociological models of inequality still are of relevance, even though they must be supplemented with recent, more cultural

perspectives. Consequently, we have sketched out a macrosociological model which stresses the importance of structural (social positions) *and* cultural dimensions (milieu) and uses a core-periphery perspective to order groups. Of course, our short remarks on the theoretical model as well as the evidence from an exploratory test of the model do not fully cover all implications of the model suggested.

Still, even simple cluster and correspondence analyses on the basis of secondary data have produced very plausible solutions. There appear to exist a number of quite homogenous and stable social positions and milieus in Switzerland that are closely related to differences in values and perceptions of social inequality. At this point it is difficult to answer the question whether the extended model of inequality is superior to conventional models of stratification, however. Due to restrictions in the sample size, only a limited degree of differentiation could be considered. Further analyses will have to add further differentiations and will finally have to show if the model truly yields more convincing explanations of actions and values than simpler conventional models.

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Appendix

Table A1: Social position - comparison of the development of F- and R²-values in the range of 2-12 Clusters in two data sets

	F-Werte		R ² -Werte	
	Levy et al.	Diekmann	Levy et al.	Diekmann
2	828.04	1254.30	0.47	0.36
3	602.79	1151.84	0.56	0.51
4	663.22	1063.83	0.68	0.59
5	667.50*	1047.64	0.74	0.65
6	515.84	1085.28	0.73	0.71
7	545.66	1106.87*	0.78	0.75
8	572.30*	1096.96	0.81	0.78
9	510.81	1190.07*	0.81	0.81
10	614.49*	1089.43	0.85	0.82
11	549.79	1168.56*	0.85	0.84
12	593.75	1085.99	0.87	0.84

* denotes local optima

Figure A1: Social position - comparison of cluster solutions in two data sets (Levy et al. (black) and Diekmann et al. (grey), economically active households, 5 clusters)

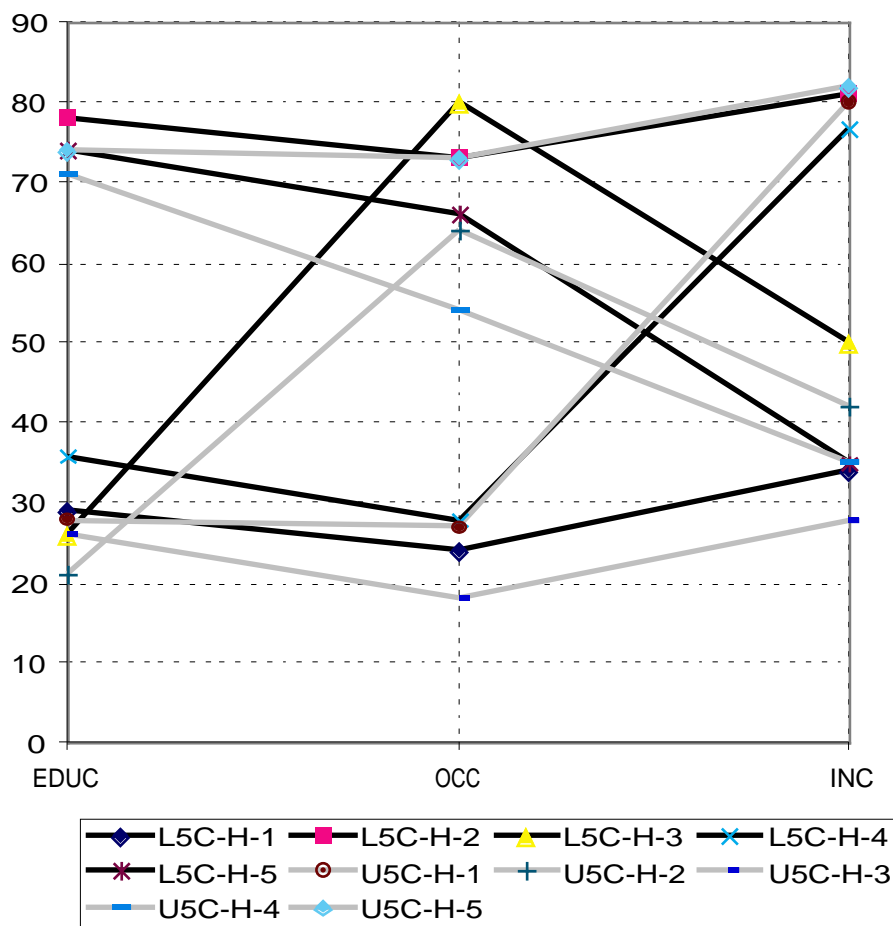


Table A2: Social milieu - comparison of the development of F- and R²-values in the range of 2-12 Clusters in two data sets

	F-Werte		R ² -Werte	
	Levy et al.	Diekmann	Levy et al.	Diekmann
2	599.81	1202.09	0.26	0.29
3	578.14	940.27	0.41	0.39
4	581.74*	1056.06*	0.51	0.52
5	572.96	1042.17	0.58	0.59
6	550.63	1053.61	0.62	0.64
7	558.37*	1073.20*	0.67	0.69
8	485.99	982.55	0.67	0.70
9	499.82	953.64	0.70	0.72
10	511.74	914.71	0.73	0.74
11	513.26*	894.40	0.75	0.75
12	464.32	868.52	0.75	0.77

* denotes local optima

Figure A2: Social milieu - comparison of cluster solutions in two data sets (Levy et al. (black) and Diekmann et al. (grey), 4 clusters)

