It is tempting to argue that we are living in a “post-thrift” society. On many contemporary measures – from negative individual savings rates to soaring levels of consumer debt to a ballooning national deficit – there are good empirical reasons to think we might be. Judging by the life-style attitudes and consumption patterns of many Americans, moreover, it is also tempting to conclude that this old, strict Victorian virtue has been largely forgotten. At least we hear little of it nowadays, especially from the educated professionals and managers who were once its chief advocates. Indeed, a popular notion exists that highly educated professionals, described by some as the “cultural elite,” tend more than others to be profligate in their spending habits and to adopt liberal relativism as a moral outlook. If true, how different today’s highly educated professionals would be from their predecessors.

This chapter resists such easy conclusions. As other essays in these volumes attest, the meanings of thrift have shifted with transformations in the structure and expression of capitalism throughout American history; accordingly, we find members of the professional-managerial stratum enacting thrift in different ways today than did their 19th century predecessors. While frugality may play a limited role in this class, it is not altogether absent. Nor does the degree of its absence or persistence begin to exhaust all there is to be said about changing formulations of thrift more broadly understood. To see the importance of the professional-managerial stratum for the unfolding story of thrift in the present era, it is essential to understand how particular forms of thrift (notably frugality) are bound to the sense within society of what it means to practice thrift in its
broader, original sense – that is, as the attitudes and behaviors conducive to thriving in society.

The largely tacit normative framework surrounding the conditions for thriving remains inescapably important today. It influences everything from uses of time to consumption patterns to projects for maintaining social status within families down the generations. If today’s upper middle class does not save more proportionally than its predecessors, it nevertheless practices many forms of cultural and, indeed, moral restraint to maintain conditions favorable to thriving. At the same time, it experiences greater opportunities for self-expression in consumption and other spheres of life. This combination of rigorous self-discipline combined with expressiveness is an ethic, moreover, that is becoming a dominant global form of professional and managerial sociality, one that has significant common features from New York to London to Beijing.

TWO ERAS OF PROFESSIONALISM

On what foundations do educated professionals and managers claim an elevated standing in society? In the Anglo-American world, professionalism was originally a claim to status in society on the basis of a prosperous or otherwise distinguished practice in a learned occupation. Traditional family standing was a factor; it was easier to gain professional standing if one’s family was already recognized in society. This “status professionalism” required material display and pleasing manners in society consistent with the status of a “gentleman,” together with an ideology emphasizing professionals’ fiduciary responsibilities both to clients and the larger community (Elliott 1972; Larson 1977). Only men in the most prestigious learned occupations -- doctors, lawyers,
ministers, and intellectuals of rare accomplishment – were likely to be recognized as “professional men.” The term “professionalism” itself had an inescapably social, as well as moral, character.

Professionalism was transformed during the course of the 19th and early 20th centuries. The professional stratum grew dramatically, as more and more people in new “expert” occupations – from agronomists and city planners to investment counselors and management consultants -- claimed professional status based on their educational qualifications, the intellectual skills and formal knowledge those qualifications were meant to convey, and standards of ethical conduct promulgated by their professional associations (Wiebe 1967: chap. 5). In Magali Sarfatti Larson’s (1977) phrase, many occupations engaged in “collective mobility projects” by finding a place in college curricula, adopting licensing requirements, and walling off jurisdictions of practice based on a monopoly of qualified practitioners. For the historian Burton Bledstein (1976), the “culture of professionalism” during this period emphasized the material comforts, respectability, and career ambitions of middle-class life. Middle-class respectability and striving were combined, however, with ideals of rationalism, mental concentration, self-control, and the dedicated commitment to work that was the mark of a distinctively intellectualized form of asceticism. “A person’s work was more than an unrelated series of jobs and projects… Work was the person: a statement to the world of his internal resources, confidence, and discipline; his active control over the intrinsic relationships of a life, his steadfast character” (Bledstein, 1976: 146). The model professional was “self-reliant, independent, ambitious, and mentally organized.” He was also highly protective of the autonomy he was granted in the name of a “specialized grasp of a meaningful
universe” (ibid: 92). As compared to others of a similar economic standing, professionals shared little among themselves but a claim to autonomy on the job based on their advanced educational training, and a penchant for rationalizing social relations around a body of formal knowledge.

At first, the ideology of fiduciary responsibilities to society characteristic of “status professionalism” held as part of professionals’ claim for respect and deference in society (Brint 1994: chaps. 1-2). The classic expression of this ideology is found in a passage by R.H. Tawney (1948), written near the twilight of the dominant influence of this outlook: “[Professionals] may, as in the case of the successful doctor, grow rich, but the meaning of their profession, both for themselves and for the public, is not that they make money, but that they make health, or safety, or knowledge, or good government, or good law…[Professions uphold] as the criterion of success the end for which the profession, whatever it may be, is carried on, and [subordinate] the inclination, appetites, and ambition of individuals to the rules of an organization which has as its object to promote the performance of function” (pp. 94-5). For Tawney and many other advocates for the professions, these “functions” were activities that embodied and expressed the idea of larger social purposes. Of course, the expression of high-minded ideals at formal occasions might very well go hand in hand with conspicuous displays of extravagance at the banquets that immediately followed. For all their expressions of devotion to ideals of service, it is an open question whether professionals were in fact any more self-denying than others of an equal social station.

A second important ideal also developed in the course of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This ideal of “expert professionalism” emphasized the instrumental
effectiveness of specialized, theoretically grounded knowledge, and included comparatively little concern with collegial organization, ethical standards, or service in the public interest. Experts applied skills and judgment to problems defined by others. Some experts – time and motion men, engineers, accountants – were trained to be cost-conscious, but others could not be expected in principle to be any more or less thrifty than others at a similar level in the social hierarchy. Experts justified themselves on the basis of productivity and progress, not on their contributions to non-economic values of social order. Gradually, and with increasing pace from the 1960s on, expressions of the high-minded ideals of “social trustee professionalism” gave way, and were replaced by this less socially-conscious stance of “expert professionalism.” Expert professionalism eschews a broader social legitimacy, and, therefore, provides no moral glue to bind a class.

As professional sensibilities and socio-political outlooks splintered along lines of occupational, market, and work locations (Brint 1994: chaps. 3-5), perhaps the only thing that remained constant among them was the striving for middle-class respectability. The evolving forms of this striving remained, as we will show, very important indeed. It is, consequently, surprising that educated professionals have so often been characterized as profligate and relativistic opponents of bourgeois virtue, as both the post-1960s theories of the “new class” (Kristol 1970; Kristol 1972; Gouldner 1979; Podhoretz 1972) and the more recent attacks on “cultural elites” (Brooks 2001a; Himmelfarb 2000; Hurst 2002; Podhoretz 2001) have alleged.
A WORK OF REINTERPRETATION

This chapter is a work of reinterpretation, guided by the original meaning of thrift as the attitudes and practices conducive to thriving. We will use survey and other data to show that educated professionals (and managers) are not disproportionately involved in the extravagant and hedonistic behaviors that might be said to characterize a culture that has moved decisively “beyond thrift.” We will then discuss how sociological theory can be used to suggest the outlines of a more accurate assessment of work and lifestyle in what we will call the professional-managerial stratum. We will present a picture that emphasizes the continuing influence of signs of middle-class respectability as the dominant culture of professionals and managers. Today, middle class respectability requires self-discipline in activities related to work, community volunteerism, and family social reproduction, but allows self-expression and pleasure-seeking in activities related to consumption. There is, in this sense, a duality between self-restraint and self-expression in professional-managerial culture, albeit a duality most in the stratum find easy to reconcile. The conclusion of the chapter will discuss the affinity between the outlooks of the U.S. professional-managerial stratum and the culture of the emerging global capitalist society: efficiency-minded and competitive, but also increasingly cosmopolitan and multi-cultural in outlook.

Some brief words of definition are in order. Professional occupations include all those involving non-routine mental work, usually based on training in an academic discipline, leading to a high degree of autonomy in the workplace, and requiring judgment based on both work experience and academic training for the analysis and solution of work-related problems (Freidson 1986). Professional occupations range from
certified public accountants and tax lawyers to fiction writers, ministers, and sociology professors. They also include scientists and engineers, architects and urban planners, therapists, schoolteachers, nurses, and social workers. Educated managers share some of these occupational characteristics (autonomy, complex problems, formal training), but are, in addition, expected to keep the broad organizational vision in mind, to advocate organizational teamwork, and to show loyalty to the organizational chain of command. The attitudinal and behavioral consequences of holding organizational authority do, at times, distinguish managers from non-managing professionals. In terms of their political attitudes and party identifications, for example, the two strata are clearly distinct; managers are much more likely to be conservative and to identify with the Republican Party (see Brint 1994: chap. 2-5; Brooks and Manza 1997). Nevertheless, we consider educated professionals and managers to fall in the same broad social class location. They interact on familiar terms; they live in the same neighborhoods; and their children intermarry.

According to the Current Population Survey, professional occupations make up approximately 14.5 percent of the labor force. Managerial occupations (including business-related occupations, such as purchasers and agents) make up another 9 percent (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2005). In the past, high levels of education could be taken as a rough proxy for professional status. This is no longer possible; professionals continue to be the most highly educated occupational category, with nearly 80 percent having bachelors or higher level degrees. However, more than half of managers are also college graduates, as are one-third of technicians and sales people (NCES 2003: Table 379). If by “highly educated,” we mean those with bachelor’s or higher-level degrees, the stratum
of highly educated professionals consists of slightly more than 11 percent of the adult, working population, and the stratum of highly educated managers about 4.5 percent. If we restrict “highly educated” to those with advanced degrees (master’s and above), the stratum of highly educated professionals consists of approximately 4 percent of the adult, working population, and the stratum of highly educated managers about 1 percent.

It is possible to piece together a portrait of work and lifestyle in the professional-managerial stratum, but no single source of data exists to provide the range of information necessary for this purpose. Our portrait has been constructed in much the same way as a mosaic – from small bits of information built up, piece by piece, into a coherent whole. The single best source of data is the cumulative General Social Survey (GSS). Data on topics not covered by the GSS are drawn from a variety of sources: including the U.S. Census of 2000, the American Time Use Survey, the Consumer Expenditure Survey, specialized reports on arts and reading participation, and market reports from the financial services and travel and tourism industries. We also draw on many specialized studies.

In this chapter, we will present many numbers to bring color and shape to our portrait. All percentage estimates of differences among groups should be interpreted using confidence intervals. For population estimates, confidence intervals of plus or minus 3 percent should be inferred; for sub-group estimates, confidence intervals of no less than plus or minus 5 percent should be applied. Confidence intervals for smaller subpopulations can be as wide as 8 to 10 percent. When we use the terms “more likely” and “less likely,” we mean in a statistically significant sense, net of other covariates.
PROFESSIONAL-MANAGERIAL CULTURE: BEYOND THRIFT?

This volume analyzes the decline of the classical thrift ethos in American society and attempts to describe what has replaced it. Many believe that professionals are partly to blame for the development of a “post-thrift” ethos in America, either because they have themselves rejected thrift as an important guide, or because they profit from those who have rejected it. It is true that advertisers create the temptations for conspicuous consumption and unbounded pleasures, accountants try to manage the means, and therapists sometimes pick up the pieces. But professionals and managers are not themselves the leading proponents of a culture that has moved beyond thrift in the classical meaning of the term.

We can show this by examining two dimensions of thrift-related behavior: economic and behavioral restraint. These dimensions are derived from a conception of classical thrift as involving both economic frugality and prudential behavior in support of successful household management. In the economic domain, we will examine data on indebtedness, bankruptcy, and savings. In the behavioral domain, we will examine data on drinking, drug use, gambling, and sexuality.

**Economic Restraint**

Indebtedness is largely a function of (low) income. Consumer goods and services cost more than they have in the past. Controlling for inflation, the median earner in the U.S. has essentially the same income now and 25 years earlier, and the incomes of the bottom fifth have declined (Frank 1999: 45). Not surprisingly, a disproportionate increase in credit card debt has occurred among lower-income Americans; those with
annual incomes less than $25,000 (ibid.) Many low-income families are carrying credit-card debt nearly half the size of their families annual income. Bankruptcy follows a similar course. The average earnings of Chapter 7 bankruptcy filers in 1996 was $19,800, and they held a slightly higher than average of credit card debt -- $17,500 (Barker-Benfield, cited in Frank 1999: 48). People who declare bankruptcy are spread across the spectrum of American society, but they are distinct in one way: their incomes are much lower than those of the average family. The causes of low income are numerous, but most often involve loss of work, high credit card balances, divorce, losses on housing, and unexpected or uninsured health expenses (Sullivan, Warren, and Westbrook 2000).

Savings is also highly income-sensitive. The year 2005 was the first year since the Great Depression that American spent more than they earned (Bureau of Economic Analysis 2006). The average personal savings rate was -.4, down from +2 percent in 2004 (ibid.). More than one-quarter of families live from paycheck to paycheck (R. Frank 1999). The only economic variable significantly related to savings is income; education is not positively related to savings once income is controlled (Walden 2002). If professionals and managers save more than others, it is because they have more income than others.

Although professionals and managers are clearly not in the vanguard of economic waste, neither are they at the head of the class in wealth accumulation. Studies suggest that the classic wealth accumulator is a self-employed entrepreneur, who spends many hours on financial planning, knows as much as any expert about investing, and does not care for lavish material displays (Stanley and Danko 1996). These wealth-accumulators
tend to live on seven percent or less of their net worth each year, and surprisingly few drive expensive cars, or own expensive suits, watches, or shoes. Many professionals earn high salaries, but they do not necessarily spend long hours on financial planning, and they do not necessarily live frugally. One study of high-income earners (those earning at least $100,000 in the mid 1990s) found a negative relationship between education and wealth accumulation. The authors suggest that social expectations make a difference: “Doctors, lawyers, accountants and (other professionals) are expected to live in expensive homes. They also are expected to dress and drive in a style congruent with their ability to perform their professional duties… Many people judge professionals by display factors. Extra points are given to those who wear expensive clothes, drive luxury automobiles, and live in exclusive neighborhoods. They assume a professional is likely to be mediocre, even incompetent, if he lives in a modest home and drives (an old car)…” (ibid: 75-6). The same could be as aptly said of corporate executives and managers. Net of other significant covariates, total real consumption is significantly higher for people with high incomes, college educations, for those who are married and have children, and for people who live in cities (Walden 2002).

Behavioral Restraint

Professionals and managers are similar to other Americans in their vices. Drinking, for example, is widespread in American society. According to the General Social Survey 1991-1999, white-collar workers (including professionals and managers) were somewhat more likely than blue-collar workers to say they have ever had a drink (roughly 75 percent to 60 percent), but less likely to say they ever drank to excess. Even
among unmarried and separated people, fewer than half in every stratum said they spend time in a bar on a monthly basis or more frequently. Perhaps because of travel, single managers, business service professionals, and technical professionals were more likely than others to say they spent time in a bar at least once a month. Protestants, women, and human services professionals were less likely than others to say they have had a drink or spent time at a bar.

Drug use is much less common. For cohorts reaching college age in the mid and late 1970s, marijuana use may have reached 50 percent or more, but few (perhaps 10 percent) continued to use marijuana later in life (Kandel et al 2001). No groups in American society are very likely to say they have used hard drugs. According to GSS data, fewer than two percent of professionals and managers and fewer than five percent of white-collar and blue-collar workers say they have ever used hard drugs.

Professionals have been slightly less likely than others to be gamblers or to participate in lotteries, but all strata in American society include a sizable portion of recreational gamblers. In the 1990s and early 2000s, more than 80 percent of Americans said they gambled during the last year, but only about one-quarter said they gamble weekly. Sizable numbers of people in all socio-economic groups said they gamble occasionally (Welte et al. 2002: 324-7). Higher SES groups were less likely to gamble often, and they were more likely to wager small amounts (Welte et al. 2002). Lotteries were the most popular form of gambling. Lottery participation rates were also high (near or over 50 percent) in all occupational groups (Gerstein et al. 1999). Studies of lottery participation find significantly lower levels of lottery participation among people in higher SES groups and smaller amounts spent by those participating (Burns et al. 1990;
Problem gambling has been strongly connected to neighborhood disadvantage and disadvantaged minority groups, especially African-Americans (Gerstein et al. 1999; Welte et al. 2004). Pathological gambling has been found less often among people who are college graduates and among those who live in household with incomes over $100,000 (Gerstein et al. 1999).

The attitudes of professionals and managers toward sex are comparatively open-minded; professionals and managers have, for example, been less likely than members of other strata to frown on premarital sex, to think of homosexuality as intolerable, or to think that pornography leads to moral breakdown (Brint 1994: 100-101). These more liberal attitudes about sexual behavior were strongly associated with higher levels of education, lower levels of religiosity, urban residence, and youth. Work in the arts, culture and communications industries has been associated with more liberal attitudes about sex (ibid.). The college-educated have been more likely to have a “recreational” attitude toward sex, and less likely to have the traditional attitude that sex should be restricted to matrimony, but the differences across strata are not large, and religion and gender are stronger influences than education (Michael et al. 1994: 236-237).

Sexual behavior has been more conventional. According to GSS data from the 1990s and early 2000s, married people regardless of job category rarely admit to sexual behaviors that break the vows of marriage. Minorities of unmarried professionals and managers admit to behaviors that could be considered libertine. Such behaviors include having had a one-night sexual encounter in the last year (35 percent of unmarried professionals), having had sex with an acquaintance in the last year (31 percent), or ever having paid for or been paid for sex (9 percent). Relatively few professionals, married or
unmarried, said they have watched an X-rated movie in the last year (20 percent). Less than one-quarter of professionals or managers said they have had 12 or more sex partners in their lifetimes. Men claim more sex partners than women, controlling for other covariates, and urbanites and nonreligious people also said they have had more sex partners than others. By a small margin, managers were the most likely to claim 12 or more sex partners.

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**Table 1**
Sexual Attitudes and Behaviors, by Social Stratum, General Social Survey, 1991-2002

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>“Arts” Professionals</th>
<th>All Professionals</th>
<th>Owners, Executives, Managers</th>
<th>Other White-Collar Employees</th>
<th>Blue-Collar Employees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pornography Leads to Moral Breakdown</td>
<td>50% (86)</td>
<td>56% (496)</td>
<td>61% (319)</td>
<td>66% (778)</td>
<td>68% (1114)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pornography Leads to Rape</td>
<td>43% (81)</td>
<td>49% (496)</td>
<td>52% (319)</td>
<td>60% (778)</td>
<td>63% (1114)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Had Sex with Acquaintance In Last Year</td>
<td>36% (53)</td>
<td>31% (269)</td>
<td>34% (193)</td>
<td>32% (413)</td>
<td>32% (775)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Had One-Night Sex Encounter In Last Year</td>
<td>36% (53)</td>
<td>35% (269)</td>
<td>33% (193)</td>
<td>29% (412)</td>
<td>35% (775)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ever Paid for or been Paid for Sex since Age 18</td>
<td>14% (191)</td>
<td>9% (1213)</td>
<td>12% (747)</td>
<td>7% (1912)</td>
<td>11% (2903)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
X-rated Movie
In Last Year  24%  20%  23%  21%  27%  
(300) (1808) (1256) (2552) (3830)

12 or More
Sex Partners in Lifetime  25%  17%  21%  14%  20%  
(372) (2421) (1593) (3299) (4728)

Note: Data for sex with acquaintance, one-night sexual encounter, and paid sex are for unmarried people only.


In sum, because professionals and managers have more to lose than most, they are less likely than others to engage in costly vices. Norms of middle-class respectability remain strong in the professional-managerial stratum, tempered by increasing tolerance for social drinking and gambling and more widespread acceptance of sexual pleasure. These trends have been evident at least since the 1920s among young, highly educated urbanites, and at least since the 1960s in the broader population (Michael et al. 1994).

SOCIAL THEORY AND PROFESSIONAL-MANAGERIAL CULTURE

Sociological theory can provide some help in understanding the truly distinctive patterns of work and lifestyle in the professional-managerial stratum – and how these relate to contemporary conditions for thriving. The work of Daniel Bell (1976) is particularly notable, because Bell was the first to discuss in a systematic way the duality in American culture between self-discipline at work and self-expression in consumption, a keynote also of our interpretation. The work of Pierre Bourdieu (1978, 1984) provides additional leads about the consumption styles of professionals, particularly in relation to the preference sets of those with different holdings of economic and cultural capital.
Bell (1976) argued that self-discipline and deferred gratification were necessary to produce and reproduce economic success in a competitive capitalist society. At the same time, self-expression and pleasure-seeking were avidly promoted by consumer marketing and encouraged also by affluence. Bell worried that consumer culture, following the trail blazed by 19th century intellectuals’ rejections of bourgeois virtues, could subvert the self-discipline required to maintain a highly productive capitalist economy. For Bell, the tensions between self-denial and pleasure-seeking represented the “cultural contradictions of capitalism.”

The framework we present in this chapter is influenced by Bell’s essay. However, we see no contradiction between the norms of the workplace and the consumer marketplace. Indeed, self-discipline at work and pleasure-seeking in consumption may comprise the natural disposition of people living in a “bureau-corporate/mass consumption society” (Brint 2006: 142-3), and it should be particularly prevalent among those who are responsible for and gain the most from this structure. Moreover, a “play element” exists in the work and a “work element” in the play of professionals and managers: They have variety in their work lives, and they often engage in considerable research prior to consumption. Some features of professional-managerial culture, such as the expectation of moral respectability, are both a discipline and a pleasure. Many people report strong feelings of pleasure in performing acts they identify as morally elevated, such as helping others or making good on promises (Bellah et al. 1985). Thus, self-restraint and self-expression are neither as decisively segregated in contemporary American society, nor as opposed in orientation as Bell maintained.
Bourdieu (1978) argued that the social hierarchy can be conceived as composed of agents holding different levels of economic, cultural, and social resources (which he labels “forms of capital”). For purposes of analyzing taste cultures, Bourdieu (1984) focused on two forms of “capital,” economic and cultural capital. Economic capital (as measured by income and wealth) disposes its holders toward conspicuous status display through purchase of expensive consumer goods, such as luxury homes and cars. Cultural capital (as measured by high levels of education) disposes its holders toward conspicuous displays of learning and taste, such as map collecting, or purchase of inexpensive, but distinctive objects from foreign countries, such as Italian pottery or Guatemalan textiles. The fortunate few who hold high levels of economic and cultural capital simultaneously have the most resources for displaying status and combine cultural connoisseurship with high level economic expenditures.

Bourdieu’s observations direct us in a promising way toward the connection between high levels of education and pleasures of the mind. If we follow Bourdieu, pleasures of the mind and pleasures of cosmopolitan cultivation should be especially high among those whose claims to status rest more or less exclusively on cultural capital (e.g., professors and artists), and they should be low among those whose claims to status rest more or less exclusively on economic capital (e.g., up-by-the-bootstraps entrepreneurs). By extension, those working in an organization concerned with arts, culture and communication (e.g., universities, art museums, periodicals) would also be expected to show particularly high investments in cosmopolitan cultivation and pleasures of the mind.

These theoretical leads, however valuable, are incomplete. Neither Bell nor Bourdieu nor any other social thinker has adequately theorized the experiences of
professionals and managers in the spheres of production and community life. We will not claim to do so in this chapter. However, as a starting point, we will propose that time and energy investments are high in both domains, because expectations and rewards are high. As relatively well paid employees of large corporate and bureaucratic organizations, professionals and managers are subject to high performance expectations and significant competition for status at work. This, in turn, leads to working relatively long hours, the cultivation of political skills in career management, and the desire to produce high-achieving “organization kids” who can reproduce or improve on their parents’ status in society. Rewards for investments in community life are also high. Professionals and managers are able to use their educations and their job-related skills to take an active role in community organizational life, thereby strengthening their social networks and community social standing. As Bourdieu argued, status is expressed in consumption, and the expressive element of professional-managerial culture is most evident in this domain. We will propose further that pleasures of the mind figure relatively strongly in this stratum, which has built its position in society in substantial measure through its educational attainments.

**Time Use Indicators**

Data from recent time use studies show, in broad strokes, how time investments reflect this distinctive interplay of self-discipline and self-expression in the professional-managerial stratum. The data presented in Table 2 show that highly educated people worked longer hours on average than others in 1985, but also spent more time on child care and in volunteering. They engaged in more physical exercise. They spent more
time reading than others and, they attended more (though not many more) arts events. They were able to expend time on these projects of self and social improvement because on average they slept less, relaxed less, and watched less television. Education was a better predictor of time use in each of these spheres than either income or occupation. Professionals’ investments in culture and community organizations were less evident in the mid-2000s than in the mid-1980s, while their differential investments in work remained highly significant. (Other studies from the period indicate continuing differences between professionals, managers and other workers in time spent on cultural and community activities.) As in 1985, professionals’ sacrificed sleep and television for longer work hours.
### Table 2: Americans' Use of Time, 1985 and 2004

#### Panel A: Summary Correlations, 1985

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BACKGROUND</th>
<th>Biological</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Temporal</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FACTOR-----</td>
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<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Educ</th>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Work Hours</th>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Parenthood</th>
<th>P18</th>
<th>P5</th>
<th>Season</th>
<th>Day of Week</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Conducted Time</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Work</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+++</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Work Related Travel</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>-+</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>+++</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Committed Time</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>House Work</td>
<td>+++</td>
<td>+++</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>+++</td>
<td>++</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>Child Care</td>
<td>+++</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0+</td>
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In the remainder of the chapter, we will look in more detail at the work and life activities of professionals and managers in relation to other Americans, filling out the valuable, but incomplete portrait presented by time use data.

SPHERES OF SELF-DISCIPLINE AND “SELF-DENIAL”

Restraint remains an important element of professional-managerial culture.

Professionals and managers show relatively high levels of self-discipline in the realms of
life that are most closely connected to career, community, and the inter-generational reproduction of social status.

Keeping Pace: Work and Work Intensity

Professionals and managers spend more time than others at work during the average day, though much of this aggregate difference is due to the fact that they are more likely to be employed. Among employed workers, the data are not entirely consistent. Recent American Time Use Surveys indicate that employed professionals do not work significantly longer hours than other employed workers (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2005). However, male professionals and managers (as well as male sales people) are significantly more likely to say that they work long work weeks – measured as 49 hours and above. In the mid-1990s, 45 percent of male managers, 42 percent of male sales people, and 37 percent of male professionals said they worked these long weeks (Roves, Ilg and Gardner 1997). (Women said they worked many fewer hours than men.) ² Robinson and Godbey (1997:217) conclude: “While college-educated people may live in better homes, drive fancier cars, or wear designer clothes, they do not have more free time; indeed having abundant free time is not a badge of honor. Today’s privileged class of college graduates does not have the privilege of free time.” College education, high income, and professional and managerial occupations are all related to long work hours (ibid: 93). The stronger the ambition and the greater the responsibilities, the longer the number of hours worked (and, of course, the greater attention paid to office politics). Top executives begin their days with breakfast meetings and frequently end with social engagements late into the night. Professionals may not interact with as many
people during the day as executives, but top architects, researchers, and writers very often rise at the crack of dawn to start working, or work late into the night, fueled by coffee and creative ambition.

Some observers believe that the work of professionals is also more intense and stressful than that of other workers, because of deadlines, multitasking requirements, and lack of supervision. However, on average the work of industrial workers and technicians is at least equally demanding, and it lacks many of the advantages of professional work that attenuate stress. For labor economists, work intensity is a function of time pressures, accountability pressures, and consumer demand pressures. Professionals and managers do not face the automatic time pressures of the assembly line, but they do often have targets that they must meet by deadlines. Those in human services (such as teaching, social work, and health) also may spend three-fourths or more of their time in the company of clients, a factor linked to work intensity (Boisard et al. 2003). Both tight deadlines and high physical speed demands can lead to high work-related stress. Tight deadlines are a much more important stress factor in professional jobs than high physical speed demands (ibid.). Cognitive demands can also create stress, even though they represent long-term opportunities for skill development (Karasek and Theorell 1990). Professionals typically enjoy the advantages of autonomy (control of work and time) that attenuate pressures that come from tight deadlines and high speed work. At the same time, the proportion of professional and managerial workers regularly facing tight deadlines has been growing over time (Boisard et al. 2003).

Having a “fulfilling” job is very important to professionals and managers – 80 percent say it is “very important” -- and it is particularly important to those with the
highest levels of education. Professionals are in the vanguard of the “modern” job designs that are more engaging than the so-called “classical” job designs of Adam Smith’s highly specialized and highly supervised pin factory. “Modern” job designs combine high levels of multi-tasking, discretion, capacity to use intellectual abilities, and unregulated coordination with others (Applebaum and Batt 1994; Zoghi, Levenson and Gibbs 2005). Because they create more interesting work, these job designs are more engaging, even when they require high levels of work intensity. They are most likely to be found in industries, such as finance and research, which produce complex products or involve complex work processes, are highly unpredictable, and in which production methods are not stable (Zoghi, Levenson and Gibbs 2005).

Popular resentments of professionals derive, in part, from a perception of professional work as containing a significant “play element” which leads to “self-actualization,” while other people are engaged in the “meaningless grind” of earning a living. These images may contain a kernel of truth, but they are easily exaggerated. The “play element” of professionalism is, for most, little more than the weighing of alternative possibilities suggested by training and experience. Outside of the creative elite, “self-actualization” would be more accurately defined as “allowing a degree of trained judgment, seasoned by experience, to inform practice on a limited range of recurrent problems.”

The Able Body: Fitness and Health

The capacity to work hard and live fully requires good health. Regular, vigorous exercise also demands self-discipline. The elite of the industrial age expressed their
status through physical solidity and even corpulence, but the elite of our health-conscious age expresses their status through physical vigor and youthful appearance. Indeed, fitness has been a major theme among professionals since the 1980s, when jogging, health clubs and health-foods all boomed (Robinson and Godbey 1996). The pursuit of youthful vitality through physical exercise is now a widely held norm throughout the upper and upper middle classes. (Even so, the most popular physical activities in the United States are walking and gardening.)

Less than one-quarter of American adults engage in vigorous enough physical activity every week to achieve health-related benefits; some estimates run as low as 15 percent (Center for Disease Control 1997; U.S. Department of Health and Human Services 1996). Net of other covariates, higher levels of education and income are both significantly associated with regular physical exercise. Controlling for other covariates, occupation does not appear to be an important influence on propensity to participate in regular, vigorous exercise. Reports of physically unhealthy days and time lost from work due to poor health are more common, too, among low-income people and people with less education (Center for Disease Control and Prevention 2005: 15-16). Some have speculated that education is primarily a source of information about the benefits of regular exercise, while income is primarily a source of the economic opportunities to participate through membership in tennis, golf, and health clubs (Grzywacz and Marks 2001).

Social status is not the only influence on physical fitness. Older people, women, and minorities exercise less than younger people, men, and whites (Grzywacz and Marks 2001). They are also more likely to be among the 30 percent of Americans who are
completely sedentary (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services 1996). Similarly, age, gender, and minority status also influence self-reports of physically unhealthy days and time lost from work due to poor health (Center for Disease Control and Prevention 2005: 15-16). This variation likely has to do with information about the benefits of exercise, availability of time for exercise, and exposure to unhealthy environments and life stressors (ibid.; see also Kessler 1982).

Service to Others (and Self): Community Volunteering

Almost 30 percent of Americans say they have volunteered in community organization during the year, and those who volunteer average about an hour of service a week (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2005a, 2005b). Volunteering is strongly related to education. More than twice as many college graduates (46 percent) as high school graduates (21 percent) say they volunteer (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2005b). Highly educated people are also much more likely to hold leadership positions in voluntary organizations (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1996; Bureau of Labor Statistics 2005). They are more likely to provide professional or managerial assistance to community groups, to tutor and teach, to coach or supervise sports, and to provide counseling and medical care. Highly educated people are particularly active in youth service and educational organizations, as compared to the church activities favored by less educated and older adults (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2005). Professionals working in the public and non-profit sectors are more likely than others to volunteer in community organizations (Rotolo and Wilson 2006).
The presentation of an image of moral respectability is highly desired, and this image is conveyed through signs that one is a person worthy of trust, responsible, steady, prudent, and circumspect. In community life, professional-managerial culture places a premium on showing up prepared and in an optimistic frame of mind, working hard on assigned projects, and pitching in as necessary to fulfill the mission of the organization. It would be a mistake, however, to think of volunteering as entirely a matter of self-denying service to others. Some who engage in volunteering do it for idealistic reasons.\textsuperscript{3} But in the United States, volunteering is also the preferred middle-class alternative to the expansion of the welfare state (Anheier and Salamon 1999). Volunteering also satisfies instrumental interests in making friends and developing skills. It can be a precondition for acceptance in higher social circles, because it provides the symbolic capital – the assurance of moral concern and contribution to the collective good -- that cements friendships with other community leaders, and the admiration of those who are less involved (Ostrower 1997). As the old maxim has it, “To serve is to rule.” At the same time, effective service clearly does also require dedication and self-discipline.

\textbf{The Organization Kid: Status Transmission}

David Brooks (2001b) coined the term “the organization kid” to describe the flurry of activities that mark the days of children of the professional-managerial stratum: school and study; sports and music after school; tutoring others for community service; and religious activities for spiritual development. Like their adult counterparts, these children are “fully scheduled.” In Brooks’s words, “Elite kids are likely to spend their
afternoons and weekends shifting from one skill-enhancing activity to the next” (Brooks 2001: 42).

Certainly, many suburban parents recognized themselves in this picture: chauffeuring their children to activities after school and spending large chunks of their weekends watching their children perform on athletic fields and other stages. Behind the rise of “the organization kid,” Brooks suggested, lie parental interests and capacities to manage their children’s development; the increasing competitive demands for selection into the “right” colleges; and the values parents attach to socialization for leadership in the organizational world that children will inhabit as adults.

An intensive ethnographic study by Annette Lareau (2002) comparing middle-class and working-class families, both white and black, showed that middle-class parents tend to conform to a cultural logic of childrearing she characterized as “concerted cultivation”: “They enroll their children in numerous age-specific organized activities that dominate family life and create enormous labor, particularly for mothers. The parents view these activities as transmitting important life skills to children….This ‘cultivation’ approach results in a wider range of experiences for children but also creates a frenetic pace for parents, a cult of individualism within the family, and an emphasis on children’s performance” (Lareau 2002: 748). In Lareau’s study, middle-class parents “often were preoccupied with the pleasures and challenges of their work lives.” They viewed childhood as a “dual opportunity”: a chance to play and to develop talents and skills of value later in life. One parent noted that playing soccer taught his son to be “hard nosed” and “competitive,” valuable workplace skills. Another noted the value of learning to work with others (ibid. 771).4
Quantitative studies using data from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics show that mother’s education exhibits a very strong positive effect on children’s hours per week in organized leisure activities, and on the mean number of activities in which children participate (Lareau, Weininger and Bianchi 2005). Another study using data from the Early Childhood Longitudinal Survey -kindergarten cohort showed strong effects of both parents’ education and of family income on children’s likelihood of participating in arts and crafts groups, performing arts groups, and sports clubs, and of taking educational trips (Farkas and Hibel forthcoming).

This evidence on organizational involvements should not lead us to overlook the central importance of education itself as an element connecting professionals’ life experiences with their strategies for inter-generational transmission of status. Professionals have relied on their educational qualifications, and, without businesses to hand down to their children, they naturally see education as an essential means for the reproduction of family social status. Professionals also tend to have the skills and information to help their children to succeed in school. Drawing on a sample of couples from the National Survey of Families and Households, Marsiglio (1991) found that both father’s and mother’s educational attainment were important net influences on the amount of talk and reading parents engaged in with preschool children. Similarly, for a sample of California children aged 3-10, Bianchi and Robinson (1997) found that children of parents with college and higher level degrees read more and watched less television than the children of less educated parents. They also spent more time studying than the children of less educated parents. Children growing up in the home of highly
Educated adults hear at least three times as many words in the average day as children growing up in the home of high school dropouts (Hart and Risley 1995).

SPHERES OF SELF-EXPRESSION AND PLEASURE-SEEKING

Self-expression is an increasingly important element of professional-managerial culture. Professionals and managers seek self-expression and pleasure in the realm of consumption. Owing largely to their higher levels of education, they also express outlooks that are relatively cosmopolitan and tolerant of dissent. They are comparatively likely to cultivate pleasures of the mind (without being very likely to do so).

Expensive and Tasteful Objects: Prestige through Acquisition

The sociologist Michael Sobel (1983) identified four lifestyle patterns in the population at large. He called the dominant consumption pattern among affluent Americans the “prestige acquisition” pattern. Using data from the Survey of Consumer Expenditures 1972-73, he found high to very high ratios of factor loadings to standard errors for: housing expenditures, vacations, club memberships, reading material, dress clothing, household decorations, and furniture. While all three SES variables (income, occupation, and education) were strongly connected to the prestige acquisition lifestyle, Sobel concluded that the lifestyle was most strongly related to high income.

More recent consumer expenditure data confirm that income continues to be the strongest influence on the purchase of the consumer goods and services that go into a prestige acquisition lifestyle. The highly educated consume about 1.5 times their share of discretionary goods and services. Professionals and managers also consume about 1.5
times their share of discretionary goods and services. But people in households earning $100,000 or more annually consume much more than that -- about 2.5 times more than their share of the population. Those in households earning $150,000 or more annually consume nearly three times their population share (and in some expenditure areas -- such as second homes, fees and admissions, and specialized apparel -- much more than three times their share). Education is connected to the acquisition of information, but income is, not surprisingly, more closely connected to the acquisition of objects. We can assume that high-earning medical specialists, corporate lawyers, successful architects, and investment consultants participate just as actively in the “prestige acquisition” lifestyle as business people and upper managers.

Table 3

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<th>Expenditure</th>
<th>Masters or Higher Degree</th>
<th>Professional or Managerial Occupation</th>
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<th>Income &gt;$150k</th>
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<td>44.2</td>
<td>24.3</td>
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<td>36.3</td>
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<td>18.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other entertainment</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>39.2</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>14.1</td>
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<td>(e.g. equipment, supplies)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reading materials</td>
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<td>28.6</td>
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<td>46.5</td>
<td>39.9</td>
<td>21.1</td>
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<td>17.1</td>
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<td>37.4</td>
<td>37.1</td>
<td>21.8</td>
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<td>(e.g. charity, gifts)</td>
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Economic success remains a dominant principle of professional-managerial culture. It is a precondition for the prestige acquisition lifestyle, and, along with reputation for moral behavior, it is an important means for achieving respect and admiration in the eyes of others. Professionals and managers rate the importance of financial security highly – 80 percent say that it is “very important.” (Human services professionals are less likely to feel as strongly about the importance of financial security.) Concerns with financial security continue a long middle-class tradition in the United States. Bledstein (1976) concludes, “Historically, the middle class in American has defined itself in terms of three characteristics: acquired ability, social prestige, and a (comfortable) life style...” (p.41). From Benjamin Franklin to Barack Obama, the desire to succeed and the willingness to work hard to do so have been seen by middle-class Americans as among the highest virtues – indeed, as among the highest moral virtues.

These data can be interpreted as supporting the view of Lamont (1992) that for many upper-middle class men “signals of high socio-economic status are the only status signals that are really significant” (p. 64). But the support is ambiguous. Americans, in
In general, rate “having nice things” quite a bit lower than having “financial security” or having “a fulfilling job.” The same is true for professionals and managers; only 20 percent claim that having nice things is “very important.” They want to be financially secure, and they want to appear morally unimpeachable, but most do not wish to be seen as materialistic. Many are not particularly materialistic, and one protection for wealthier members of the professional-managerial stratum is to live by the code that it is unseemly to flaunt wealth.

**The Open Mind: Tolerance and Cosmopolitanism**

Tolerance can be defined as the willingness to grant equal legal and political rights to dissenters and minorities, and a corresponding opposition to those who openly express intolerant attitudes. The association between higher education and tolerance is one of the most consistent findings in social science. The first systematic study of support for tolerance and civil liberties found that college graduates were more much likely than others to tolerate unpopular opinions in the name of free speech and to be interested in protecting the civil rights and civil liberties of minorities (Stouffer 1955). These findings have been replicated in virtually every major study over the last half-century (see, e.g., Pascarella and Terenzini 1991: 287-90). Within the professional-managerial stratum, higher levels of tolerance and support for civil liberties have been associated with work in the social and cultural professions (Brint 1994) and employment in the public and non-profit sectors (Macy 1988). Demographic variables, such as youth, urbanism and low levels of religiosity are also strongly related to tolerance and support for civil liberties (Brint 1994).
Although sociologists have shown that tolerant attitudes do not necessarily lead to substantive action to improve the situation of minorities, professionals do appear willing to follow through on their views at least to the extent of identifying with the more socially liberal policies of the Democratic Party. Professionals were once the most reliably Republican of all occupational strata, but they are now the most reliably Democratic (Brooks and Manza 1997; Judis and Teixiera 2002). Controlling for many other possible sources of change, Brooks and Manza (1997) found that positive attitudes toward the civil rights movement and gender equality explain the largest part of the historical shift of professionals in the direction of Democratic identifications (see also Zipp 1986).

Cosmopolitanism, or interest in cultures outside one’s own, can be interpreted as the positive side of tolerance. The highly educated are far more knowledgeable than others about societies outside of the United States (Kingston et al. 2003). They also show signs of greater cosmopolitanism in outlook -- identification with the peoples and cultures that make up that wider world. One measure of cosmopolitanism is whether one’s primary territorial identification is with the world, the continent, the nation, a sub-national region, or a locality. The World Values Survey asked respondents which of these geographical groups they belonged first of all. Some 15 percent of respondents cited a supra-national entity (the world or a continent). Those most likely to do so were people living in large urban places (21 percent), having the highest education (18 percent), and born in the most recent cohort (21 percent) (Norris 2001). Conversely, local and sub-national regional identities were most common among people living in villages, and among the last educated and the oldest cohorts.
Foreign travel can be interpreted as a measure of cosmopolitan consumption patterns. About one out of nine adult Americans travel abroad during the year. Professionals and managers comprise two-thirds of foreign travelers. No doubt this disproportionate share of foreign travel partly reflects the higher incomes of professionals and managers. (The median household income of foreign travelers is nearly $100,000.) But the propensity to visit foreign lands likely also reflects the cosmopolitan interests of the highly educated. Professionals, a small fraction of the adult population (taking into account students and retirees), make up the largest proportion of pleasure travelers to foreign countries (37 percent) (ITA 2005).

The Creative Class? Arts and Culture Participation

Participation in the arts is not widespread in American society, nor does it take up much time for most people – much less than an hour every month on average (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2005). Within this context, education is a strong predictor of participation in arts and culture activities (DiMaggio and Ostrower 1990; Gans 1986; Hughes and Peterson 1983: Robinson and Godbey 1997). For example, in the early 1990s, 77 percent of adults with postgraduate degrees attended at least one arts event during the year, compared to less than 10 percent of those without a high school diploma. Income also predicted arts participation, but it was not as important as education. Controlling for education and income, occupation showed no influence (Robinson and Godbey 1997: 179-80). Other studies have shown a significant net association between professionals and “highbrow” artistic tastes (Katz-Gerro 1999; Peterson and Simkus 1992), and some have found that teachers, professors, and arts and communications
professionals are particularly likely to appreciate classical music, and to attend theatrical productions and art exhibitions (DiMaggio and Useem 1978; Peterson and Simkus 1992).

These findings are consistent with the distinctively high, but nevertheless limited appeal of creativity to members of the professional-managerial stratum. According to GSS data, social and cultural professionals are the only professional group to consider creativity a “very important” characteristic in friends -- about one in three do. By contrast, only about one in eight technical professionals mention this quality as a “very important” characteristic in friends. Managers and business service professionals also rarely find this quality “very important.”

Reading is more common than arts participation, taking up more than a half hour a day among college graduates and those with higher level degrees (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2005). Highly educated people are much more likely to be readers and to read “serious” literature. Male college graduates read about twice as much as male high school graduates each day. (Among women educational differences in reading are lower.) People in professional and managerial occupations are more likely to read literature than those in blue-collar and service occupations, even after education, income, and demographic characteristics are taken into account (Zill and Winglee 1990: 64-66). Reading largely takes the place of television watching for the highly educated. College graduates watch about one-third less television each day than less educated people – the difference between two and three hours a day on average. Yet, even college graduates spend, on average, three times as many minutes per day watching television as they do reading (BLS 2005b).
Following Bourdieu, we would expect professionals who have higher levels of cultural capital than economic capital to choose a lifestyle that showcases their cultural knowledge without stretching their more limited bank accounts. Bourdieu provides good evidence that this relationship held in France during the 1970s (Bourdieu 1985). But this relationship has not yet been proven for the United States. Professionals and managers in the United States do not generally focus on esoteric cultural knowledge as important evidence of social desirability. Nor do studies of cultural preferences show strong differences in taste by the forms of capital characteristic of class fractions. Halle (1993), for example, found a much stronger preference for abstract art and primitive art in high SES homes, but his work failed to show differences between business owners, managers, and professionals in their artistic preferences, controlling for income.7

Some support for such a division in status cultures can, however, be found in the divergent views of business and non-business professionals on “cultivation” as an important quality in friends. According to GSS data, one-third of culture and communications professionals and nearly that proportion of human services professionals said “being cultivated” is a “very important” or “extremely important” characteristic in friends. By contrast, fewer than 10 percent of technical professionals and fewer than 20 percent of managers and business services professionals rated “being cultivated” as a very important characteristic in friends. The same pattern held when questions were asked about the importance of “being cultured” as part of one’s own identity; nearly 40 percent of culture and communications professionals ranked it as “very important,” but only about half as many scientists and engineers.
PROFESSIONAL-MANAGERIAL CULTURE AND THE ETHOS OF
GLOBAL CAPITALISM

As we have shown, some foundations of middle-class respectability remain constant: notably, comparatively long hours at work, skill in office politics, and the expression of status through prestige acquisitions. But middle-class respectability has also evolved in ways that parallel the evolution of broader American cultural expectations and anxieties. Thriving in the professional-managerial stratum today requires new forms of self-discipline – including higher average levels of physical fitness, which has become a status symbol, and close attention to the organizational life of children. Where community volunteering was the special province of women, in an age of dual careers it has become more often expected of men as well. The horizon of members of the stratum has gradually expanded. The expression of cosmopolitan and worldly tastes has become unremarkable beyond the confines of the big cities, and it has become respectable (although still not especially common) to enjoy expressive pleasures of the mind through the arts and literature.

Given their superior access to status-related information, it would be surprising if highly educated professionals and managers were less connected to the emerging trends in global capitalist culture than people in less connected social strata. In fact, the developing ethos of educated elites in the United States shows a close correspondence to the “competitive cosmopolitanism” of global capitalist society.

Competition is accepted and embraced by professional elites, no less than business elites. In the main, professionals are also supportive of neo-liberal policies and the economic values underlying these policies. Norris’s (2001) study of the World
Values Survey indicates that highly educated, urbanized populations living in economically developed democracies are the strongest supporters of free trade and free movement of labor, the cornerstones of neo-liberal policies. Educated elites in other countries are also interested in competitiveness and efficiency, if only because they hope to see their national industries succeed in a world economy strongly influenced by market priorities. As Andrew Hacker (1990) has written:

The abilities and outlooks associated with the analytical style (of the highly educated) can no longer be adequately thought of as ‘white’ or ‘Western’ or ‘European,’ but are in fact part of a dominant global culture, which stresses not only literacy and numerical skills, but also administrative efficiency and economic competitiveness (p. 24)

At the same time, the freer movement of capital, labor and tourists across national boundaries encourages tolerance and cosmopolitanism, characteristics not always prominent in earlier eras of European and Anglo-American capitalism. Professionals’ interest in the arts and literature and other cultures points the way toward the more cosmopolitan and interconnected world culture of the future, and is shaped, in turn, by the gradual emergence of that culture.

The indicators of cultural expansion and hybridization are already pervasive in the largest and most cosmopolitan cities, and in institutions with ambitions for global leadership. The range of national influences on Western pop/rock music has grown to include reggae from the Caribbean, South American samba and bossa nova, Bhangra from India, and Rai from Algeria. Fusion food has become the standard fare in up-scale restaurants in urban centers. At the leading universities in the world, such as the London
School of Economics, ETH Zurich, the Ecole Polytechnique, Columbia University, and MIT, as many as 20-25 percent or more of students come from foreign countries (Times Higher Education Supplement 2006). No doubt cultural pluralism of this type appeals more to young, urban, secular professionals than to others in the professional-managerial stratum.

If global integration continues, competition and cosmopolitanism will go hand in hand: It will be difficult for American industries to capture new global markets without a complementary broadening of cultural appreciation and sensitivity. As we look to the future, we are therefore likely to be impressed with the extent to which the culture of professionals and managers in 21st century America is consistent with, and influenced by, the culture of global capitalism: efficient and expansive; profit-oriented, yet tinged with environmental and social-consciousness; diffusing Western organization while incorporating the diversity of the human population out of which new markets are formed.

1 Those who have attempted to describe a general “professional” or “professional-managerial” culture without examining the relationship between work and leisure have usually proven one-sided or inaccurate. Inglehart (1977, 1990) posited a general shift from “materialist” to “post-materialist” values, with professionals in the lead, because of their higher levels of education and relative youth. Collins (1975, 1988) proposed a theory of “class cultures” emphasizing two dimensions: authority at work and diversity of contacts. For Collins, professionals shared with managers a high level of authority in society, leading to close identification with dominant institutions and dominant norms. However, many differed from managers in their diversity of contacts. Where managers
were monitored for conformity by a small number of subordinates and superiors, professionals often worked on their own or in contact with diverse others. Focusing still more exclusively on work relationships, Wright (1985) built an analysis of professionals from the mix of “organizational” and “expert” skill sets they employed at work. For Wright, professionals combining organizational and expert skills sets are identified as “professional-managers,” while professionals employing only “expert” skill sets are “semi-autonomous” workers.

2 College educated people overestimate their work hours on surveys, by as much as two to three hours per week on average (Sundstrom 1999; Frazis and Stewart 2004). This overestimation of work hours may be partly due to the lack of clear boundaries between work and non-work for many professionals, especially those who work part of the time at home. Over-reporting increases with the number of hours reported. Workers who reported working 60 hours or more on surveys are found to work about 53 hours per week when diaries are used instead (Robinson and Bostrom 1994; see also Sundstrom 1999).

3 The motivation to help others has, for some, religious roots. Yet, to appear too single-mindedly religious would be considered odd in professional-managerial culture. This is largely because, appearances notwithstanding, few Americans – and particularly few highly educated Americans – place a higher priority on religious observance than practices in other life spheres. Although more than 40 percent of Americans say they attend church weekly, time diary and church attendance counts indicate that the true
proportion is about half that, approximately 20 percent (Hadaway and Marler 1998; Presser and Stinson 1998). This proportion is lower in the more often secular professional and managerial stratum.

4 Lareau (2002) argued that these childrearing strategies are influenced by more than parents’ education. “It is the interweaving of life experiences and resources, including parents’ economic resources, occupational conditions, and educational backgrounds, that appears to be most important in leading middle-class parents to engage in concerted cultivation and working-class and poor parents to (emphasize) natural growth” (pp. 771-772).

5 Some have raised doubts about the significance of these findings, because rhetorical support does not necessarily go hand in hand with support for individual or state action consistent with stated beliefs. Thus, Jackman and Muha (1984) argued: “(Dominant groups) learn how to respond to subordinate-group demands with symbolic, rather than substantive concessions” (p. 760). Similarly, Schuman, Steeh, and Bobo (1985) found that education has a strong liberalizing effect on racial attitudes in the abstract, but only weak effects on support for government policies to aid civil rights initiatives.

6 Recently, economists and social observers have developed the idea of the “creative economy” and the “creative class” as the dynamic element in American capitalism (see, e.g, Florida 2000). This idea has emerged as an alternative to the related conception of “knowledge” as the dynamic element in American capitalism and “knowledge workers”
as the key stratum (Bell 1973). Undoubtedly, similar criticisms of the “knowledge economy” idea can be applied to the “creative economy” idea. The American economy is dominated neither by “knowledge industries” (Brint 2001) nor “creative industries” (Miller 2004). The dynamic industries in the U.S. economy are far too diverse to be characterized in simplistic ways. Moreover, the cities that fit the “creative economy” model best are not the most prolific producers of jobs (Malanga 2004). Nevertheless, the “creative economy” idea pulls together three important groups in American society under one conceptual umbrella: venture capitalists; scientists and engineers in emerging technological fields; and professionals in arts and entertainment. These are, as Florida suggests, places where “cutting edge” work is celebrated and top-level workers and managers think of themselves as “creating the future.” The “creative economy” idea may consequently have a future as a political idea, whatever its defects as economic analysis. Whether professionals and managers will begin to think of their work as “creativity-based” rather than “knowledge-based” is an open question. See also Brint (2005).

Indeed, it seems likely that the idea of cultural capital will need to be developed further to take into account the diversity of status cultures in the United States (see Hall 1992). Among professionals and managers, it seems probable that important divisions exist between those working in and outside of the corporate “techno-structure.” We would expect managers, business service professionals, and technical professionals to invest comparatively more in esoteric knowledge and consumption related to business and technology, while professionals in the culture and communications professions (as well as managers in these fields) invest more in knowledge and consumption related to art,
music, history, and foreign cultures. Consumption evidence to test these expectations is not yet in.

The term “multicultural” has developed positive connotations for college-educated Americans (Brooks and Manza 1997; Link and Oldenick 1996), but even so support for cultural diversity only goes so far. High status people, for example, show a decidedly stronger interest in academic rigor than in racial and ethnic diversity as a value in education (Sikkink 1999) and business firms rate diversity low among the characteristics that would lead them to relocate (Malanga 2004).

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