

**The Study of Relationship between Economic Capital and Lifestyle  
(The case study of pistachio farmers in two village's of Sirjan city in Iran)**

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**Abstract:** *As the social world changes, we need new concepts to understand it. The most important change in recent centuries has been the historical increase of consumption. Lifestyle and basic cultural values have changed in Iranian villages in the past half century. In fact, in Iranian villages, some sort of "Iranian rural modernity" has emerged. Therefore we of the present study have first investigated the term of lifestyle and its indicators, and then by using qualitative and quantitative methods, they have measured the effects of the spread of the pistachio orchards on the lifestyle of the villagers in the two connected villages, Hasanabad and Khalilabad of Sirjan in Kerman Province. In this study, theories of sociologists Bourdieu and Giddens are used to study lifestyle, and Ronald Inglehart and other sociologists' to analyze generational replacement. In qualitative research method, we have used rapid rural assessment, participatory approach, and semi-structured interviews. Interviews transcend walk, group discussion, and mapping were among the techniques used in this study. In quantitative part, 440 people from three generations living in the villages were sampled at random. Research findings show that consistent with Bourdieu's "distinction theory" economic capital is associated with lifestyle as the main hypothesis of the research. But the greatest impact is related to generation. As Bourdieu's theory, economic status does not determine the lifestyle changes.*

**Keywords:** *economic capital, lifestyle, generational changes, pistachio cultivation, Sirjan*

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## **Introduction**

According to Chaney, new social forms have replaced cultural traditional forms. One important example of this new social form is the development of lifestyle. Life style is based on sources that are provided by the choices in the time of consumption. These choices of consumption are based on the symbolic storage that is offered in contemporary culture (Taylor, 2002: 481). For Iranians and non-Europeans generally youthfulness and freshness of "modern lifestyle" is more sensible, because we still experience elements of traditional lifestyle in our modern lives. For non-industrial societies, the phenomenon of modern lifestyles is considered as imported goods from West. Despite urbanization in rural areas, this should be noted that this does not mean the complete demise of the rural lifestyle and rural-urban differences do not disappear completely.

One of the things that make the life style change among the villagers is the commercialization of some agricultural products, and promoting the production of these profitable crops in rural areas. Pistachio exports has caused an annual arrival of around half billion dollars to the country. This amount of currency for a country like Iran which has a limitation of currency resources is very remarkable. This has led to many researches in various fields on the pistachio (Ministry of Agriculture, 2007). Development and prosperity of planting pistachio has had social consequences. The lifestyle of pistachio farmers has changed compared with the past. For Pistachio financiers, investment to buy homes in best places of Tehran with best modern equipment and facilities such as sauna, Jacuzzi and precious carpets is a consequence of increased prices of pistachio in recent years. We also saw other condition among residents of the villages. Old products of the village have completely disappeared. For example no one is willing for animal husbandry. Villagers prefer to buy milk, bread and other facilities from the city with the money obtained from pistachio. The overall goal of this study is to determine the relationship between economic capitals of the pistachio orchards and the villagers' life style in two villages of the province of Kerman. This study seeks to answer the following questions - What are the changes in lifestyle in villages of Khalil Abad? - What is the relationship between lifestyle and spread of pistachio orchards in the villages of

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Khalil Abad? - And what is the relationship between the economic capitals resulting from this expansion and lifestyle?

### Theoretical framework

In sociological literature, there are two different perceptions of the lifestyle. In the first formulation, which this history back to 1920, lifestyle is an indicator of wealth and status and often is used as an index of social class (Chapin, 1935). In the second formulation, lifestyle doesn't use as social stratification and also don't use as a way to determine class. In fact, it has known as modern social form that finds meaning in the context of the modern social and cultural changes and also expansion of consumer culture (Bourdieu, 1984 and Giddens, 1991). Sobel who has written the most extensive text about the lifestyle believes that "there is almost no empirical or conceptual agreement about what are the components of lifestyle" (Sobel, 1982:2). Roberts believe that no one should determine the one definition of this concept. He believes that concepts are not the private property of sociologists or psychologists, or anyone else. Anyone just has to justify the importance of the adopted definition by new findings (Roberts, 1990:195). Due to generality of this concept, it is very difficult to give a vivid definition and operational of it. Hence, in most of the research related to lifestyle, researchers limit their focus only to one aspects of this concept. Thus, lifestyle can be interpreted as the way of life in various social classes and groups in which people choose certain cultural and dignifying symbols to reveal their affiliations to that class. Lifestyle is usually associated with socio-economic class and is reflected in the image that made of person. Thorsten Veblen is one of the thinkers in this field. Veblen in his famous book *the theory of leisure class* (1899) claims that the new *leisure class* establishes criteria that every person at every level of society is somehow forced to comply. Veblen in a chapter of his book writes: "Incentives for conspicuous consumption is not only for the leisure class but this is usually the individual consumer's motivation to conform to accepted practices, avoid criticism of others, be tempered with common rules of dominant of type and quantity, and get used to spend his time and effort in an appropriate way" (Veblen, 2004:149).

One of other thinkers in the field of lifestyle is Georg Simmel. It seems that he was among the first sociologists noted that the leisure and consumerism. It is very clear in his interesting article entitled "Fashion" in 1904. This article examines the reasons for his search and changes in the mode - whether related to clothing, cooking, art, architecture and music, or anything else - in the modern culture (Simmel, 1971). Simmel in his important work, *philosophy of money*, especially in its sixth section considered exchanging as a fact that we must understand it as a network of social relations and the fact that this relationship can be formulated based on the use of money. He mentions another level of social and symbolic complexity. Money is only possible when...persons have a relativist perspective of the world where the objects are defined exclusively in terms of their exchange value (Shad, 1990). So, money would change the inherent meaning of the objects, and become a cultural discourse that functions independently of the objects and personal taste. He believes that distinction of production makes consumers more dependent to market, but every consumer has the freedom to choose their preferred supplier. Veblen and Simmel, both have the analyzed the emerging lifestyle in the metropolitans at the turn of the century, in which the consumption of things like clothing, jewelry and sumptuous entertainments were central. During the twentieth century, this patterns of life increasingly spread among less affluent groups. And maybe now we can say that these specific lifestyles not only exist in dignities, but in villages over time we can see a certain elements of new lifestyle.

Nature of social changes during the recent modernization is one of the main themes of interest for Bourdieu. Many consider Bourdieu's book "*distinction*" (1984) as the Bible for scholars in this field. The main theme in this book is a critique of 'taste'. He shows how social class tends to determine a person's likes and interests, and how distinctions based on social class get reinforced in daily life. He observes that even when the subordinate classes may seem to have their own particular idea of 'good taste', the working-class 'aesthetic' is a dominated aesthetic which is constantly obliged to define itself in terms of the dominant aesthetics. For Bourdieu consumption should be considered as a set of social and cultural practices as a way to make distinctions between social groups, not merely as a way to express the difference caused by autonomous economic agents. Bourdieu wanted to combine the concept of social status and of the use that these groups make of specific patterns of consumption As a way to separate their lifestyle with the idea that consumption involves of signs, symbols, ideas and values and should not be analyzed as a means to satisfy some deep-rooted biological needs (Bakak, 2003:92-97). Bourdieu by introducing the concept *habitus* have studied the subjective perceptions of social class position (turner, 1982).

He believes that there is a similar lifestyle and interests in every class. Other discussion he follows is 'taste'. He believes that 'taste' is the characteristic of social status. His studies indicate that different classes and occupational groups in France (e.g. workers, academics and technicians) have different tastes in music and food

and etc. (Smiths, 2000:137). In Bourdieu's opinion, capital is related to economics as well as a series of different social relations that makes different social interaction. Capital is a process that is intrinsically linked with power. Bourdieu believe that three types of economic determination affect the individual's choices. 1 – The objective needs and individual's resources 2 –whole material culture of society 3 -the rules of political economy, which also controls the distribution of cultural elements (Sobel, 1983:521). Bourdieu argues that lifestyles and tastes are structured by the permanent exchange of material culture. Another theorist in this field is Giddens who argues that lifestyle is common daily behaviors in the form of habits of food, clothing.... These normal everyday behaviors are subject to change in light of the changing nature of self-identity. Each of the small and large decisions that a person makes in a day (What to wear, what to eat, how to behave at work, who meet) contribute to such material issues (Giddens, 1991). Lifestyle is the regular consumption, realization and valuation of material cultural products that makes possible the establishment of identity criteria in the time and place framework. Lifestyle essentially deals with the symbolic meanings of the products, i.e. of what lies beyond the obvious identity of these products. This approach is a way to understand modern lifestyles and contrasting them with the traditional styles. These symbolic meanings are matters of agreement that are constantly being invented new (ibid: 120). Each of the theories related to the topic, which have been reviewed cannot explain the studied issue alone. Thus by studying relevant theories, we have used their concepts to understand the lifestyle changes.

### Research background

Based on researches conducted inside and outside the country, we find out that the elements of lifestyle which are mentioned as samples not as a complete count of all components. These can help better understand the issue, and as a conclusion we bring some points on the definition of lifestyle. First these components can be classified in several categories: (property): capitals(consumption activities): lifestyle, leisure time, job (attitude and orientation of the individual to the social and human relations), and second, as the time passing, and in the beginning of the twentieth century, instead of focusing on consumer behavior, and based on objective aspects of human life and the basic needs such as eating, dressing and housing, second are human need such as mental aspects of human relationships, attitudes and trends are considered.

**Table (1): researches conducted inside and outside the country**

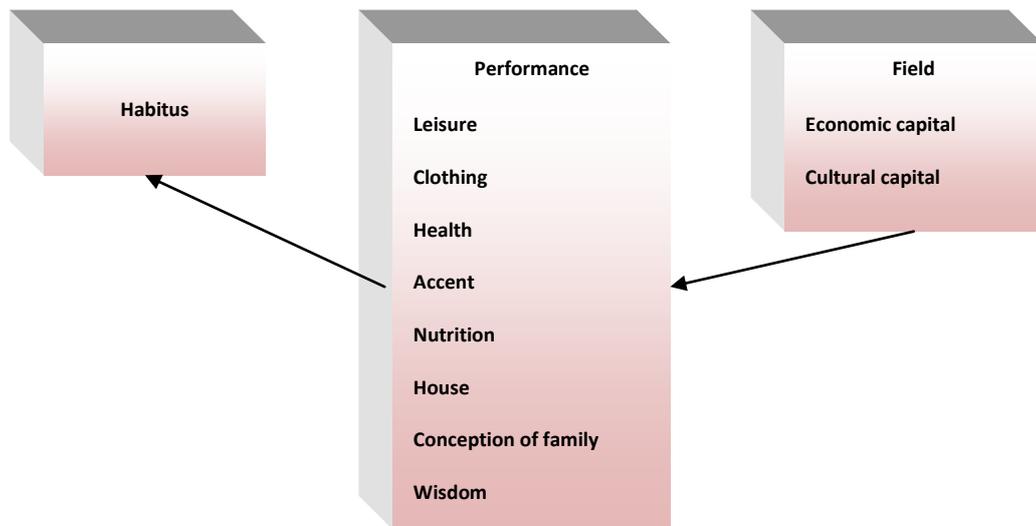
Subject	Author	Year	Place	Method	Results
<b>Lifestyle changes in the rural community</b>	SakinehHosseini	2008	Ahangarmahale (Iran)	qualitative and quantitative	differences between generations in the villages and lifestyle differences in three generations.
<b>Lifestyle and social identity</b>	Hassan Chavoshian	2004	Tehran (Iran)	quantitative	People by choosing different lifestyles are looking for identity.
<b>Studying lifestyle between two strata</b>	Parvin Sazegara	2004	Tehran(Iran)	quantitative	Cultural differences between the two strata indicates a high-class cultural capital among the academics
<b>Coffee shop youth lifestyle</b>	VahidShalchi	2008	Tehran(Iran)	quantitative	In social spaces of coffee shops a postmodern lifestyle is observed.
<b>Lifestyle of students</b>	Mohammad Fazeli	2008	Tehran	quantitative	Cultural consumption of students is higher than other people.
<b>Rural and urban lifestyle, and health</b>	Shou and others	2001	Nigeria	quantitative	Different food choices of rural and urban people has a great impact on lifestyle
<b>Urbanization of villages and lifestyle changes</b>	Filipiak, B And. Heinrich,T And. Schäfer, J. Ring	2001	Germany	qualitative and quantitative	Different rural lifestyles and their impact on allergic diseases
<b>Leisure, lifestyle and culture</b>	Will	2000	Britain	quantitative	Change in behavior and lifestyle diversity because of membership in clubs.
<b>Poststructuralist analysis of lifestyle</b>	Holt	1997	America	qualitative	A critical review of placement of individuals in different lifestyle groups
<b>Aestheticizing o life and lifestyle</b>	Featherstone	1991	America	quantitative	Illusion of an aesthetic life encourages people to enjoy a certain lifestyle.
<b>Use of leisure activities in making social status</b>	Vien	1990	America	quantitative	Using different leisure activities dictates different lifestyle.
<b>Social status and</b>	Chapin	1990	America	quantitative	Social status is a situation that one

<b>living room</b>					person takes on the average standard of material or cultural capital.
<b>Five types of lifestyle</b>	Michman	1980	America	document and secondary analysis	Stratum differences in 5 types of lifestyle.

Source: research findings

**Research Model**

In Bourdieu’s opinion, through the performance of individuals in the field, ‘habitus’ becomes associated with the field. Performance is the Interface between field and habitus. Habitus is made up through performance (Ritzer, 1995: 722). According to Bourdieu's theory, due to the different experiences in generations from their position in terms of cultural and economic capital, although they all belong to the same ground (Khalil Abad village), some differences are found between them which result is change in the social field. These practices have implications for the change in the patterns of consumption towards consumerism, young people’s unwillingness to agricultural activities, and the emergence of social problems such as unemployment and drug addiction....in the rural communities. These changes in the background, habitus and performance, have an important role in the development process. Concepts of field, habitus and performance are the basic concepts of Bourdieu’s theory and also the coordination between habitus and field is reflected in the performance. In this study, field includes economic capital, cultural capital and the generational replacement. The study assumes that changes in the economic and cultural capital, and generational replacement in the village of Khalilabad and Hasanabad will take place in performance, and by changes in performance, habitus will change in conformity with that.



**Methodology**

Since in rural studies, understanding of rural community without qualitative research would not complete and superficial, so different qualitative methods contribute to the depth of the finding, and make the quantitative data more generalized. It can help the researcher to give more confident judgments about the research hypothesis and to gather much side information. Each of the qualitative and quantitative methods has strengths points and, weakness points. And also, to full recognition of research dimensions one of them isn’t enough. Therefore combining them will be effective (Strauss, A. & Corbin, 1990).

**Quantitative method**

In our research quantitative method is survey, and the data has been collected using questionnaires. In a random sampling, 440 people (Cochran's formula with the statistical population of 440 people in the village of Khalil Abad and Hassan Abad in Kerman province) were chosen, in which the first generation, grandparents (age: 51 years old and above), the second generation, parents (ages 30 to 50 years old) and third generation youth (under 30

years old) were included. In each three generations 55 people were selected at random. This study tested Inglehart's theory that understanding of process of cultural change is replacement of one generation to another. In this study, according to David Riesman's theory, three personality types have been analyzed: 'traditional directed', 'inner directed' and 'personality directed' characters (Teymouri, 1998: 19-18). So three generations in the statistical population were distinguished and studied.

### Qualitative method

In qualitative research methods rapid rural assessment, participatory assessment, semi-structured interviews were used. Interviews transcend walk, group discussion, and mapping were among the techniques used in this study. In this section sampling and interviews were conducted in three steps: before, during and after the survey. Since in qualitative research the focus is rather on data obtained from the situation than the number of samples, therefore researcher continues sampling until saturation (Borenz and Grovo, 2002:259). In this procedure interview with the sample continues until the next interview won't give new information (Ghost and Johnson, 2006: 63).

**Table (2): conducted group discussions**

Location	number of interviewees	Subject
Oldcastle in the middle of village	10	Form of the house
In front of an old woman's house	8	Food consumption patterns

### Operational definition of lifestyle

In order to explain indicators by rapid rural assessment, at first and participatory rural assessment after, we attempted to select variables. After individual and group interviews and group discussions, it was found that another indicator being neglected by Iranian researchers do exist in this village, and that is the change in lifestyle in terms of mentality. Therefore, the index of lifestyle was assessed in two parts; subjective and objective.

**Table (3): levels of measuring variables and reliability of research items**

Lifestyle	Dimensions	Levels of Measurement	Variables	Cronbach's alpha
Objective lifestyle	Leisure	Ordinal	Watching television Using computer Watching satellite Channels Listening to music Reading books and newspaper Stroll Travel	0.83
	Nutrition pattern	Ordinal	Type of food Place of food Provision	0.65
	Health	Ordinal	The importance of personal hygiene visiting village doctor visiting city doctor Using Herbs	0.78
	Clothing	Nominal	Clothing Type Clothing prices Clothes shopping Time	0.69

	<b>Housing</b>	Interval and ordinal	Home material Furniture shape of the house Independent Living	<b>0.71</b>
<b>subjective Lifestyle</b>	<b>Dialect</b>	Ordinal	Language in the Family language among friends language with fellow citizens	<b>0.88</b>
	<b>Intellect and Wisdom</b>	Ordinal	Fate Superstitions	<b>0.76</b>
	<b>Attitude towards Family</b>	Ordinal	Equality of Man and woman	<b>0.68</b>

### Economic capital

Economic capital means wealth and money that each actor possesses and includes revenues and other financial resources that appear institutionally in the form of ownership (Fakouhi, 2002, 300). Economic capital based on preliminary studies conducted in the village consists of pistachio orchards farm equipment, car, and house.

**Table (4): Variables of economic capital**

Variable	Items	Load factor
Economic capital	Per capital income	0.734
	Agricultural implements	0.654
	Hectares of gardens	0.681
	House	0.753
	Car	0.651
	KMO: 0.612 Bartle: 373.188	Df: 6 Sig: 000. 0

### Qualitative findings

#### Transcend walk

In transcend walk with a number of villagers, we found that the school condition was such a way that only primary school children could attend this school and for secondary school they had to go to Emadabad village or if they were rich they would go to town. However after expansion of pistachio orchards and subsequent higher income of villagers, in spite of the school being rebuilt and having good facilities parents take their children to town after the primary school. Next to school, there is a House of Health which a man and his wife woman are working. We also got into the dialogue with them. They said that village does not need House of health now, because rural residents have cars for going to city for treatment. The woman said even since rural doctors go there to treat people, still villagers refer to go to the town, because they all have cars now, and believe doctors in town are better than doctors in rural.

#### Group discussion about the quality of life

Group discussions with various stake holders in society, in comparison to semi-structured interviews reveals a range of interests and concerns (Barbara, 2002, from Azkia, 2008:110).

**Table (5): Variables of economic capital**

Place of interview	Number of people	Subject
Old Castle in the middle of village	10	Shape of the House
In front of an old woman's house	8	Nutrition pattern

#### House

Ten old men and women from the old generation who had seen the three generations were asked to go behind the

Health House to the side of the castle. After hearing the people's talk, the researcher participated in the discussions as a facilitator. The conclusion that can be stated about this discussion is that the old house is like a castle that made soil and have a large yard, which were rooms were around and each room belonged to one family and also have common the bathroom and toilet for all persons residing in it. In the next generation, houses were made of brick. In fact, each family has a house for itself and is separated than the shared life. For the third generation not only shape, but also the interior design has changed. The use of new materials, new home construction and inside house design such as open kitchen, a separate room for children, etc. are features of new houses.

### **Nutrition**

Undoubtedly one of the most important characteristic of a family, ethnicity and even the nation, is the culture of nutrition. In fact food has a cultural dimension, and in this context people decides what food they eat and what food they don't eat. In this study, place of buying, act of buying, cooking and eating food have been studied:

1. Place of buying: The town is now providing food. Bread is the most important food for villagers' which is purchase from the bakery of village or town. In the case of milk that is considered a main food for people are now bought from the town. According to the villagers, only two families have cattle. This is indicative of decreased production of dairy in the village the rest of the food is prepared from the town.
2. Act of buying: act of buying was formerly a masculine task apparently. But now the number of women that going outside the house has increased, and it doesn't seem that leaving the shopping to the women has discontented them, because shopping is fun as they expressed it. On the other hand, this expands their communication network. Dialect change, most occur among women than men now that is perhaps a result of this movement. On the other hand they believe that they can better understand what children need. But, when we talked about women's buying to the first generation, they did not mind it at all.
3. Consumption of food and cooking: Cooking is a woman's primary work at home. In order to clarify this issue, we asked two people from each three generations to gather at a villager's house. The discussions shows that the new generation does not always care about cooking, for the old generation meat was not an important meal, and the middle generation rarely used fast foods, and did not even know what canned food is. Fast foods were common in the third generation.

### **Clothing**

Clothing through a series of physical symbols creates a system of cultural communication between people in the society. Clothing is indicative of the person's social, economic, and religious status and mood. People's condition of clothing in each part of the world like nutrition, prepares a rich ground for studying lifestyle. Material, cut, color, shape, and beautification of clothes are parts of social and cultural values of people. Costumes have changed in the studied villages. We noticed this change in talking to old generation, and seeing some old pictures. In the first generation, women wore 'shaliteh' (short skirts full of pleats) with a blouse, and pants. They also wore scarves in which a pin or other decorative thing was a sign of family's wealth. In the old generation this costume is still seen with a little change. The second generation wears the first generation's costume with a little difference that instead of a blouse and skirt they wear adown pleated blouse like the old skirt and black pants under. However, clothing has changed in the new generation. Jeans are quite prevailing among them. Men had long cloaks on their shoulders in winter, and short cotton clothes in summer, Giveh (light cotton summer shoes) has been used too much. In the second generation, suit and big trousers (loose pants leg) was common. The younger generation wears shirts and pants which are popular among rural men these days. In general we can say that the dominant tendency for men is to wear shirts and pants in the study population. But women still wear old clothing in a modified fashion, maybe because it presents an identity for them. And another issue that's hold be considered is the relationship between clothing and the environment. Because of men's relationship with the town, they are more coordinated with that environment and have adopted the town's costumes.

### **Leisure**

By some unstructured interviews and viewing the condition of the village we decided to follow our discussion in two parts of leisure facilities and leisure spaces.

1 - **Leisure facilities:** Primarily, villagers watch TV and movies; listen to tapes and read books and newspapers in their homes. In this case, in most of the homes, there is the local newspaper of Sirjan, because the local news is more important than national and international news. Villagers buy them from the town or their children bring them. Only high school children or young people with diploma read books and newspapers. We saw that girls

read novel more than boys. The first generation would prefer the radio, although they watched satellite channels so often. Of course the first generation did not have spare time as the present day and the spent their time a different way, but now their taste has changed, and now they are interested in satellites. When the first generation was asked about their spare time, they referred to some old game. These generations also mentioned these games, but the women of the two previous generations reminisce about carpet and Gilim weaving. The new generation liked satellite TV that today exists in every house; there are also CD player then most young people listen to music CDs.

**2–leisure’s spaces:** In this case we can mention the park of the village which has children's play equipment. Young people in their leisure time in the village. To quote one of them: "What spare time is there are many things to do in the garden. If we have free time we'll sit together or will go visit the town." We can conclude that because of too much work, there is no much time for special entertainments like park and cinema, and television fills the most people’s time.

**Quantitative research findings (cluster analysis or numerical taxonomy)**

In this study, to put life style in three categories and analyze the hypotheses we used cluster analysis. The clustering method used was ‘K – Mean Clustering Method’. This method is meant to identify and study homogeneous groups of subjects. As the below tables show, the number of clusters is three: modern, traditional and partly modern. Center of each cluster and the members of each cluster are also determined.

**Table (6): Number of people in each cluster**

	Clusters		
	1	2	3
Leisure	4.11	3.78	1.33
Health	3.25	4.25	4.00
Dialect	1.00	5.00	1.00
Attitude towards family	4.00	2.00	3.67
Wisdom	4.25	5.50	1.75
Clothing	2.00	2.33	1.67
Nutrition	4.00	3.25	3.00
Insecurity	3.25	4.00	5.00
House	3.00	2.75	0.75

**Table (7): number of people in each cluster**

Cluster	numbers	
	1.modern lifestyle	33
	2.semi modern lifestyle	48
	3.classic lifestyle	87
<b>Total</b>		168

People with modern lifestyle were 78, partly modern 48 and traditional lifestyle were 33 and the traditional lifestyle indicates that most of villagers had a modern lifestyle. After sorting out people, research hypotheses were tested which are summarized in table 8.

**Table (8): test of hypotheses**

Hypothesis	test	significance	Description
There is a relationship between lifestyle and economic capital.	Somer’s D	0.005	The relationship exists and H1 is accepted.
There is probably a significant difference in lifestyle among generational age.	Scheffe	0.03	There is a significant difference between different groups in terms of capacity.
There is probably a difference in lifestyle between single and married people.	F	0.597	The null hypothesis H <sup>o</sup> is accepted and there is no relationship between gender and lifestyle.
There is probably a difference in lifestyle between women and men.	F	0.897	The null hypothesis H <sup>o</sup> is accepted and there is no relationship between marital status and lifestyle.

**Table (9): Variables Entered/Removed**

Model	variables entered	Method
1	economic capital, cultural capital, gender, generation marital status	Enter

**Table (10): ANOVA**

Model	df	Sum of squares	F	Sig
Regression	6	2.946		0/000
Residuals	161	0.063	46.680	
Total	167			

Significant regression in the table above is equal 0.000 that is less than 0.05, so, it shows that our model is appropriate.

**Table (11): model summary**

Std./ Error of the Estimate	Adjusted R Square	R Square	R	Model
0.251	0.621	0.635	0.797	1

R Square is equal to 0.635 this means that variables entered alone, 0.63 explain the changes in dependent variable and other remaining changes are shares of other variables.

Significance of cultural capital, economic capital, and generation is indicated in the following table, so there are significant relation between cultural capital, economic capital, generation and lifestyle that indicated in the table. So we will see below the direct impact of these three variables in the regression equation.

**Regression and path analysis**

**Table (12): coefficients**

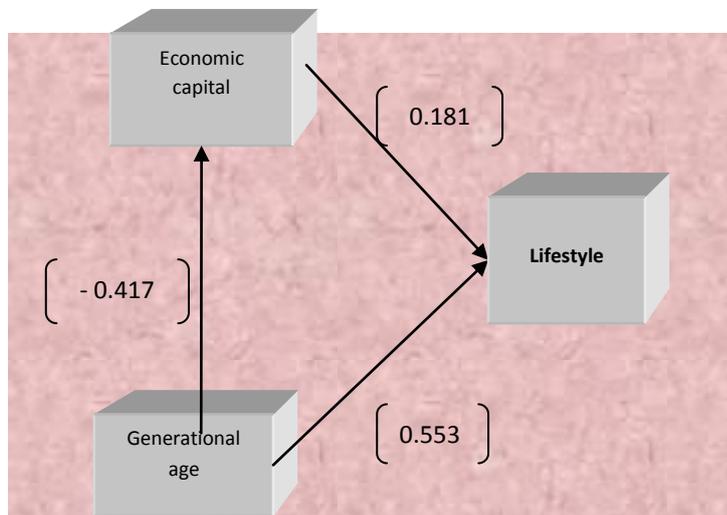
Model	B	Std. Error	Beta	T
Constant	2.364	0.194		12.209
Cultural capital	0.137	0.038	0.245	3.588
Economic capital	0.150	0.043	0.181	3.468
Gender	-3.0291	0.039	-0.040	-8.42
Marriage	-5.0271	0.043	-0.071	-1.231
Age of generation	0.275	0.039	0.553	7.116

Lifestyle factors as dependent variables and economic capital, cultural capital, gender, marital status, and generational age as dependent variables entered into regression model and the method was ‘Enter’.

**Regression equation**

Economic capital and generational age are shown in the equation below. Thus significance effect, the economic capital, and generational age are in the table. We can see the direct impact of these three variables in the regression equation below. Lifestyle = 2.36 - 0.181 (economic capital) + 0.553(Old generation)

**Path analysis**



## Conclusion

Iranian society has been culturally diverse, but in recent decades this has gained a multiple complexity. Among the social variables for understanding the complexities of contemporary Iran is the concept of lifestyle. Social science researches have focused primarily on the economic view of the village, and it is not yet so prevalent to view culture in respect of lifestyle. In this study, first we clarified lifestyle concept, and then the qualitative and quantitative indicators were considered for the studied community. The statistical population was two villages of Hassan Abad and Khalil Abad in which pistachio cultivation, due to increasing income, has changed life style. We base our conclusion on Bourdieu's theory that is "to determine the people's choices is to decide their lifestyle. Lifestyles and taste are structured through a permanent interaction with the material culture." Conster and Zablaky believe that social class and taste is the best predictor of lifestyle, especially when it is important that lifestyle is being studied in regard to patterns of consumption. Bourdieu also insists on this impact in another way. The test was performed with Somer's  $d$  of 0.506 and significance of 0.005, which indicates association between economic capital and lifestyle. And thus our hypothesis is proved. In fact this confirms the qualitative work done. In interviews it was clear that people with higher incomes also get a higher facility and as Bourdieu's says lifestyles and tastes are structured through a constant interaction with the material culture.

Of course Bourdieu believes that class is not a determining factor, and it is class habitus that in the process of socialization, education and internalized lived experience is the source of differences in lifestyle. Although the trend of increasing wealth has led to lifestyle changes and people with higher incomes use more facility, but as the research findings show, lifestyle changes is best explained by economic capital. Other factors can also determine changes in lifestyle. Generation has a greatest impact on lifestyle as Giddens puts it: "Differences between generations in a modern society is to consider time in modern societies. "Considering generation is in fact taking into account a lineage of human in which the individual's life takes place in a section of social transition. However, in modern times, the concept of generation finds meaning against a background of standardized time. Inglehart also says that cultural change is gradual and reflects the transformation of constituent experience that has shaped several generations. Hence, traditional values and norms are widespread among the past generations, while new trends have influence on the younger generations. Replacing the older generations with younger generations, common worldview in these communities have changed. Interviews and group discussions are indicative of this change. Batoul a 29-years-old woman who has two children, said: "There is a bakery, go to the town too, why to bake bread then." However at the same time her mother in law, who is around 75 years old, prefers home baked bread and traditional dishes. We can infer that generation plays an important role in changes in the rural lifestyle, so similar to Hosseiny's survey, the most important variable in change of lifestyle is generation. Of course we believe economic and cultural impact is reflected in a generation. We look like Filipiak and Henrich believe that rural lifestyle not only changed by tendency to city; it is dependent to unknown variables that we can measure all of them.

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