

Editorial

Lifestyle Studies —An Editorial Introduction

Baruch A. Kipnis
Haifa University*

“Why are lifestyles more important now? Are lifestyles means of personal expression or new forms of exploitation? In the modern world our lifestyle helps to define our attitudes as well as show our wealth and social position”. (Chaney, 1996)

This issue of *Geography Research Forum* is dedicated to contemporary lifestyle studies. This article is a conceptual and theoretical introduction to lifestyle studies in general, and to those presented in this volume in particular. It will endeavor to disclose the increasing number of nuances of the term ‘lifestyle’, and to look into the conceptual meanings of the notion as they have evolved in scientific and in popular literature. This will be followed by a brief review of Israeli lifestyle studies, then by a prologue to the diverse papers assembled for this issue.

CONCEPTUALIZING LIFESTYLE

Many meanings of lifestyle

Lifestyle has many meanings. Oxford Dictionary Online (2002) defines it as a human character, but the dictionary fails to provide a more distinctive definition. In contrast, a plain search in Google in March 2004 resulted in some 18,000 sites registered under the name ‘lifestyle’. They covered areas such as health, diet, sports, work, safety, and many others. Google also reveals over 200,000 different definitions of the term ‘lifestyle’, all nested in the phrase “a manner of living that reflects the person’s or a group’s values and attitudes” or his/her “modus vivendi”. More specifically, the notion of lifestyle tells us “how something is done or how it happens” (The Free Dictionary. com, 2004) .

* Department of Geography, University of Haifa, Haifa 31905, Israel. E-Mail: baruch@univ.haifa.ac.il

The *Wikipedia Free Encyclopedia* (2004) suggests that apparently the term 'lifestyle' first appeared in 1939, but for previous generations the term was not relevant because of their lifestyle homogeneous nature. The *Wikipedia* cites Toffler's (1991) prediction that the explosion of the notion of lifestyle became eminent as diversity and inequality increased in post-industrial societies. *Wikipedia Free Encyclopedia* (2004) goes a step farther, to claim that in sociology a lifestyle is defined as the way a person or a group lives, including patterns of their social relations, consumption, entertainment, and dress. It reflects the person's attitudes, values, or worldview. Having a specific 'lifestyle', *Wikipedia Free Encyclopedia* argues, implies a conscious or unconscious choice between sets of behaviours. In business, the notion of lifestyles provide a means of targeting consumers as advertisers, and marketing endeavor to match consumers' aspirations with their products (*Wikipedia Free Encyclopedia*, 2004).

When lifestyle became a popular term a generation ago, many criticized it as vague and superficial, probably because it appeared to promote habits of consumption, styles of dress, and modes of recreation to the rank of categories used as attributes in social classification. Still, the term has proved durable and useful because it has made possible the understanding of social values and behavior, and in so doing helped classify patterns of modern societies and of social groups such as the attitudes of bohemians to conventional society (*Wikipedia Free Encyclopedia*, 2004). Here one can cite as an example Harris' *A Society of Signs* (1996). Harris asserts that societies everywhere, but mainly in the 'West', have undergone significant social and cultural changes in the last decade, moving from a 'real' society into one in which buildings, clothes, cars, consumer goods, films, videos, and television sets swamp their users in a sea of messages, and tell them, through signs, about themselves and others, inspiring a debate on the themes of culture, identity, and lifestyle.

The many faces of lifestyle, and the 'names' associated with these faces, are used to promote marketing and advertising. Some of these names also describe various social groups that live in the contemporary urban environment. Famous among them are *yuppies*, *buppies* (black yuppies), *yuffies* (young urban failures), *swells* (career women), *dinkies* (double income no kids) and *sinkies* (single income no kids) (Short, 1996; 1998), *bobos* (bohemian bourgeois) (Sharig, 2002), *sloan rangers* (upper middle class with traditional values), and the conservative *swingei* (Cahill, 1994). Some of the above match Sklair's (1991; 2000) *transnational capital class* the 'global' elite that displays a cosmopolitan lifestyle. These titles, many having emerged as urban slang and some symbolizing their spatial milieu, denote a variety of lifestyle attributes and modes of behavior, and symbolize the spatial environment they occupy.

Even though the term lifestyle is a recent phenomenon, in each historical period people most probably had their own ways of life, or rather their lifestyles. While theirs was not as sophisticated as our 'post-industrial' lifestyle, their 'modus vivendi' reflected their social structure, behavioral patterns, thoughts, ideas about their

times, and their essential needs (Jacobs et al., 1992). In the past, as in the present, people's way of life was mirrored by the physical, social, and economic attributes of their everyday existence (Raviv, 1997). It affected their consumption, their leisure, their mode of dressing and reading, and their use of the media (Sobel, 1981; Featherstone, 1994; Rosengen, 1994; Pingree, S. and Hawkins, 1994; Rojek, 1995), and it also helps us to understand their work habits and grasp their residential patterns (Carmon and Yiftachel, 1993). These attributes have also helped to establish the intrinsic human link between taste and behavior (Bourdieu, 1984; Gal-Ezer, 1997), a link that echoes our cultural space and social behavior (Almog, 2004).

Milestones of lifestyle research

Important steps in conceptualizing lifestyle were efforts to refer to and to explain the notion as patterns of behavior. In this line of thought, Chaney (1996) suggested that lifestyles reflect, but do not necessarily justify, the manners of human beings, reveal their values and hopes, explicate their behavior, and mirror their experiences. Sobel (1981), who reviewed a series of early lifestyle definitions and maintained that a lifestyle is a behavioral phenomenon, was not fully satisfied with the results of his literature review and suggested that more research was needed to produce a workable conceptual definition. Among the conceptual definitions reviewed by Sobol were those of Myers and Gutman (1974) and Zablocki and Kanter (1976). But the most interesting was that of Weber (1922), for whom a lifestyle mirrored the modes of conduct, dress, speech, and thought, and attitudes to various respected groups that served as models of behavior (today we refer to these as 'human agencies'). Tumin (1970) added to Weber's definition distinctive 'institutional' lifestyles such as the family, value orientation to the world, and ways of inter-personal and inter-group conduct (Sobel, 1981).

Cahill (1994) regarded the time of transformation from a class to a status orientation in politics and in marketing as the era when the so-called generic term 'lifestyle' emerged. It meant 'individuality, self-expression, self-fulfillment, or self-realization and a stylistic self-consciousness'. At that time people ceased to be perceived as 'ordinary', looking for class solidarity, and became 'self-interested', themselves capable of doing something about their needs. In politics social class stopped acting as a determinant of voting. In marketing it led to the emergence of a new definition of people according to age group, personal aspirations, and inherent shopping habits, which Cahill (1994) termed 'lifestyle shopping'. In the 1980s this mode of shopping became a marketing tool, when buyers identified themselves with the models posing in catalogues. Market researchers targeted people in terms of their 'lifestyle' and classified consumers as those concerned with the 'prestige of a brand', 'a group who are up to date', 'status seekers', 'rational individuals', those who 'possess a sense of humor', or who were 'independent or hedonist' (Cahill, 1994). All these, along with the development of Information Technology, made market research and voting research vital tools in politics and marketing. Kipnis (2003; 2004a; 2004b; 2004c)

suggests that lifestyle research, particularly that associated with the 'value stretch model' and aimed at the young, could evolve as a tool for policy and planning strategy formulation.

Much research effort has been aimed at defining lifestyle types for marketing and advertising purposes. Mitchel (1983) with his VALS (Values and Life Styles) typology opened up this research avenue, and this work is viewed as a vital milestone in this direction. Mitchel maintained that lifestyle attributes clarify who we are as individuals, consumers, and as a nation. They explain where we go and why. They expound why some people are strong leaders, others successful business people or brilliant artists, and why others do not have these capacities. Lifestyle attributes, according to Mitchel, can tell us why we like some people and dislike others. Why we trust a few and distrust others, and more importantly, why we favor a given product but reject others. Lifestyle attributes, Mitchel asserts, are value-loaded, incorporating all the elements that direct people's actions. Mitchel's nine lifestyles are set in a hierarchy of four main sub-groups.¹ To examine the universality of Mitchel's typology and methodology, developed in the United States, similar studies were carried out in five European countries: France, Italy, Sweden, West Germany, and the United Kingdom. Although the European samples were much smaller than the American, evident were similarities between the results from the USA and Sweden, and dissimilarities in those from West Germany and the USA (Mitchel, 1983).

The connection between lifestyle and marketing had been on the research agenda prior to Mitchel, and continued to attract attention thereafter. One that had preceded Mitchel is known as the McCoby (1976) lifestyle typology, whose main concern was to help typify business people. Examples of studies that followed Mitchel are by Gaben (1997), who linked a market potential to a place, primarily the place's culture and demography, and by Helman and De Chernatony (1999), who reported that retailers developed their stocks in accordance with their clients' expected lifestyle(s). Important too is Ventura's (1996) 'study with style'. He proposed that lifestyle data should be so organized as to allow lifestyle experts to create different lifestyle 'baskets' on demand. Ventura's end-product would be a list of lifestyle types similar to Mitchel's (1983), but his added value was that his lifestyle attributes could be used flexibly and as needed by different clients and market requirements. Ventura's lifestyle data contain, inter alia, the following superimposed strata: *activities* (work, leisure); *areas of interest* (work, family, food, fashion, religion); *attitudes* (to society, state, community); *personal characteristics* (self-esteem, satisfaction); and *values* (of society, religion, interpersonal relations).

The role of the media in forming lifestyles has been another avenue of research. Rosengen (1994) explored the impact of the media in forming and shaping young people's lifestyles. He deduced that the use of media takes place in a complex matrix involving different socialization agencies like the young person, his/her family, his/her peer group, and his/her school. In reference to Giddens' (1990) restructuring theory, he assigned the actor/agency the power of selecting among alternatives, thus

shaping our space and lifestyle. A media-induced lifestyle, according to Rosengen (1994), is an action determined by an agency, reflecting the relationship between a person's characteristics, values, attitudes, interests and tastes, and his/her patterns of action.

Still another attempt to conceptualize lifestyle was made by Versantvoort (2000),² who related the concept of lifestyle to labor supply. Versantvoort credited Salomon (1980) and Bootsma et al. (1993) as pioneers in placing lifestyle as a primary factor explaining a person's behavior in his/her family, work, consumption, and leisure. She viewed lifestyle as a dynamic factor capable of serving as an *independent variable* in explaining the individual's or the group's work behavior, and this helps determine the labor supply of a community. Lifestyle constituents, Versantvoort argued, can also clarify how people will conduct their family life and make use of their free time. She insisted that such a conceptual view of a lifestyle significantly differs from the one used in marketing, in which lifestyle is defined as a *dependent variable*, reflecting the characteristics of the society involved. Versantvoort sought support from Camstra (1996), Bootsma (1995), and Salomon and Ben Akiva (1983), who considered lifestyle as the main determinant of people's ways of using their time and money, and how they establish their values for their work and for their leisure. It is important to note at this point that Hakim (2000) revealed that some work-related lifestyle(s) of women had become fluid, and that working women tended to assign higher values to raising children and caring for their home, rather than to their careers.

An interesting micro-approach applied using lifestyle attributes is the '*lifestyle performance model*' (Velde and Fidler, 2002). The model views lifestyle as a personal way of living, comprised of a range of daily life activities congruent with the needs and the socio-cultural background of the individual, who develops a configuration of activities that can be described as his/her lifestyle. They reflect an interplay between the person's intrinsic needs, desires, and expectations for living and the conditions of the environment a person wishes to live in, and his/her ability to attain them (Fidler, 1996). As a new practice in occupational therapy, the model reflects the philosophy that quality of life is the single most important focus in our life, and is designed to identify, support, and develop the individual's strengths, skills, and interests. These, according to Fidler, will in turn enhance and support the person's lifestyle.

In recent years the concept of lifestyle, like in many other aspects of our lives, has evolved, as *class- and place-differentiated*. In many instances it has also focused on young people as the leading agencies of change (Cahill, 1994; Schwartz, 1996). These aspects of lifestyle studies, it is argued, make their outputs suitable for use as a valuable planning input (e.g. Kipnis, 2003; Kravchyk and Kipnis, 2004), and as a tool for improving understanding of the environment and the culture of a place (Goldman and Kipnis, 2004). Both have been essential for planning and developing an economic, social, and spatial development strategy.³

At this point one must admit that lifestyle attributes, serving as viable planning inputs, are not sensational nor even surprising news. They have been used over the years in many planning and policy forming situations, and the following are but a few examples, covering the areas of the aged, entrepreneurship, the housing market, safe driving, and retail marketing. Biggs et al. (2000) used lifestyle attributes of the aged in designing retirement communities; Hirshman (2001) studied the tendency of retirees to continue working, and used their lifestyle attributes to draw up an employment policy aimed at creating appealing working conditions for those who wished to extend their productive life. Shapira (1997) inquired how to upgrade the cognitive abilities of the old, hence their productivity, and how to better their health, physical condition, sexual activity, family life, and education to enrich their lives. Relations between entrepreneurial qualities and lifestyle attributes were studied by Ateljevic and Doorne (2000) and by Kaman and his colleagues (Kaman et al., 1998), who showed how lifestyle attributes could be more valuable than economic attributes for the development of tourist attractions. In the housing market lifestyle inputs were used by McDowell (1997) who estimated the demand for housing of middle class bank workers, and by Cooper et al. (2001), who examined how the extreme social duality in the lifestyle of bank workers might exert an impact on their housing market. Finally, Eduards (2000) dealt with land use transformations along major arterial routes in Paris, using Obercamp road and the Champs Elysees as examples. In the first case land uses along the road were changed from food markets to prestigious pubs; in the latter land use transformation reflected lifestyle changes of the public at large. Not too long ago land uses along the avenue were altered from specialized fastfood places, automobile salons, and clothing chain stores to elite fashion boutiques and prestigious international restaurants. Still concerning highways is Cooper et al.'s study of 2001, in which a method of fighting road accidents by working on people's lifestyle attributes was developed.

Lifestyle and the urban milieu

Lifestyles of a large segment of those who live in the developed world echo the ways of life and the values of the service- and science-intensive post-industrial economy and society. These lifestyles derive their energies from the post-industrial contemporary 'human agencies' also known as the '*new middle class*' (Ley, 1996), who possess control over information and knowledge, supply the 'producers' 'quaternary' services (expert professional services), and retain many of the 'quinary' (high-level decision making and control) functions. All the above ensure the smooth operation of the complex global networks of production, investments, and commerce, and of the globally stretched advanced services (Illeris, 1991; Crook et al., 1992; Castells, 1996; Beaverstock et al., 1998). The white-collar new middle class also reflects the emerging post-industrial occupational structure, the products' widening quality-oriented 'flexible' mode of production, in manufacturing and in the services alike.

The 'new' white-collar human agencies have made an impact on the spatial ap-

pearance of their favorite place of residence and work, namely the major urban agglomerations,⁴ and on the level of consumer services these agglomeration offer. White-collar 'quaternary' and 'quinary' high level jobs have been associated with the construction of modern 'class A' office structures (Hartshorn, 1992; Birch, 1986) utterly altering the the skyline of cities (Kipnis, 2001; High Rises of London and Tel Aviv, 2004). Important too in the post-industrial context are what Buswell (1983) termed the 'psychic income and rewards' of a 'place' that a *24-hour city* (also referred to as 'a city that never rests') can offer.

The post-industrial globally oriented economy/society also generated increased demand for secondary and tertiary low-status workers for the less sophisticated and less desired lower status jobs, many of whom are temporarily employed 'structurally unemployed' people or teenagers during their school vacations (Gottmann, 1983; Storper, and Walker, 1984; Illeris, 1991; Sassen, 1991). As a result, the major urban agglomerations, the hard core of the post-industrial globally oriented economy, have evolved into a hyper-differentiated one in which extreme social inequality has become a salient phenomenon (Coffey, 1992; Knox, 1991; Kipnis, 2001). Its hyper-differentiation is also manifested in the fact that it is a value-loaded society as well, advocating liberalism, equality, feminism, and a sustainable environment. Lately some segments of society, one of them called the 'lifestylers', have adopted a 'post-consumer living light' lifestyle (Schwartz and Schwartz, 1998). Earlier, a movement for 'Voluntary Simplicity' emerged in 1981 (Flgin, 1993), preaching a way of life that was outwardly simple and inwardly rich. Flgin reported that increasing numbers of Americans are adjusting the way they live their everyday lives to the complex dilemmas of our time. This includes consumption, ecological awareness, and personal growth. This strive for simplicity has been in contrast to that of Sklair's (1991; 2000) '*transnational capital class*'—the post-industrial elite who are in control of the global economy, exhibiting cosmopolitan, consumer-oriented and showy lifestyle dimensions.

ISRAELI LIFESTYLE STUDIES

Post-industrial globally oriented Israel

Most Israeli lifestyle studies, including those incorporated in this special issue of the *Geography Research Forum*, reflect the socio-economic attributes of post-industrial, globally oriented Israel. Post-industrial economies differ from industrial in their methods of production and in their being hyper-differentiated in their structure and function (Crook et al., 1992). The industrial economy is goods-producing, while the post-industrial economy depends on specialized and complex producer services, a requisite for the national/worldwide integration of the centralized management of production. Castells (1996) labels the post-industrial economy

an 'informational mode of development', where the processing of information is a fundamental activity. The informational mode of production is a product of the global operations of large corporations, reflecting a shift in emphasis from capital and labor to information and knowledge in all aspects of production. Post-industrial economies tend to adopt flexible production processes and organization, diversify their scope of activities and products, and join worldwide production alliances and networks (Hartshorn, 1992; Sassen, 1991; Castells, 1996). Being socially and in many cases ethnically and nationally hyper-differentiated, a post-industrial society must provide for its residents' widely diversified needs and aspirations. Local leaders, or others acting as 'human agencies', are required to support their community with social, cultural, and leisure services (Coffey, 1992; Kipnis, 1996a); all are essential elements for a local '*psychic income and rewards*' and a '*new white-collar environment*' (Buswell, 1983).

Large urban agglomerations are the articulation nodes of a post-industrial globally oriented milieu, a node where timely information and knowledge cluster (Castells, 1996; Friedmann, 1995; Illeris, 1991; Short, 1996; Veltz, 1997; Sassen, 2002). In large urban agglomerations industries compete in quality and flexibility in their short-production series and in their ability to respond quickly to changing market/production conditions (Illeris, 1991); they are a place where the *quinary* sector meets the *quaternary* sector face-to-face to create new innovative service capabilities, knowledge and agendas (Illeris, 1991; Sassen, 1991), or for the exchange of complex and sensitive information (Gad, 1979; Gottmann, 1983). Proximity is particularly vital among complementary *quaternary* service firms, enabling them to create ad hoc coalitions of eminent experts ready for a joint professional service venture (Gottmann, 1983; Illeris, 1991; Sassen, 1991). Lastly, urban centers rich in culture and services, endowed with psychic rewards, and offering a white-collar environment are a prerequisite for the location of high-income, knowledge-intensive labor, professional experts and the elite, who are expected to assume a pivotal role as agents for newly created or upgraded lifestyles.

Israel's entry into the post-industrial age and its integration into the global economy accelerated during the 1990s as a result of two major issues entering the national agenda:⁵ The absorption of more than 1,000,000 immigrants; and the evolving peace aspirations in the Middle East. These were supported by Israel's unique status as a 'bridge' between NAFTA (the North America Free Trade Area) and the EU (European Union).⁶ This was accompanied by profound structural shifts in employment and in industrial mix, a large increase in FDI (Foreign Direct Investment), and enlarged exports in quantities, mix, and destinations. Israel became one of the world leaders in high-tech, mainly in its start-up capabilities (Kipnis, 2002; 2004c). All these led investors and reporters to refer to Israel as the 'new/ second/ Europe's Silicon Valley' (Sagee and Dagoni, 1997; Karp, 1998; Lashinsky, 1999; Global News Analysis, 2000; Perman, 2000; Sade, 2001).

The changes in industrial mix and the emphasis on high-tech industries were fol-

lowed by employment restructuring toward higher status occupations and advanced service industries. For example, between 1988 and 1998 total employment in Israel increased by 43 percent but the percentage of scientific and other academic workers both in finance and business services doubled. This reflected, inter alia, the absorption of a huge wave of highly educated Russian immigrants, many of them with scientific, engineering, and art education, who boosted Israel's social and economic competence. Note that this wave of new immigrants caused a significant increase in unskilled employment too, also a worrisome symptom of the post-industrial age. All these manifestations were followed by a remarkable increase in GDP: from \$70.3 billion in 1991 to close to \$100 billion in the late 1990s. Per capita GDP was \$16,650 in 1997, 46 percent higher than in 1991 (Bank Hapoalim, 1998). All the above became 'grassroots' for the emerging contemporary Israeli post-industrial lifestyle patterns. Some of them are presented in this special issue of *Geography Research Forum*.

The evolutionary stages of Israeli lifestyle studies

Heading the list in a sample of Israeli lifestyle studies are those concerned with leisure and culture, stratified by age, education, religion, ethnic origin, status, and gender. These studies were pioneered by Katz et al. (1970), who examined Israelis' time, budget, and leisure patterns on the basis of data for 1966. These research issues were further probed by Katz and Gurevitch (1973), Benski (1989), Shamir and Ruskin (1983) and Katz et al. (1992). The themes were broadened by Arian and Talmud (1991), who defined six lifestyle groups using culture-consuming indices.

The first to portray Israel's entry to the post-industrial age were Katz et al. (1992), who described a change in values from work and solidarity to affluence, hedonism, and individualism. But only five years later, by which time Israel was already deep into the post-industrial age, Katz-Gerro and Shavit (1998) reported that 'class' (a leading trait for social stratification) had been replaced by ethnicity and orthodoxy as social classifiers. Using leisure indices Katz-Gerro and Shavit portrayed three lifestyle clusters: the *superior*, the *popular*, and the *religulous*. They also asserted that the prevailing social differences had become blurred except for two groups: *high level white collar professionals*, who maintained a superior lifestyle, and *women*, who exhibited a higher tendency (than men) to take part in leisure activities, and to favor popular or religious lifestyles.

The present stage of Israeli lifestyle studies

The main interest of contemporary lifestyle research has been to examine the changes that have emerged among post-industrial Israelis (some would say post-Zionist Israelis), or to reveal the unique lifestyle of a group visible by its behavior, its appearance, or its activity (living) space. An important step in this direction was a *Globes* (Israel's economics daily) article of April 29, 1997. It reported on the ex-

treme alterations in the lifestyle of Israelis since the mid-1980s. Most evident were the fourfold increase in per capita expenditure; the speedy increase in the size of an average dwelling unit; the rising number and expanding distance of trips abroad, including weekend trips to major European cities, with restaurants being part of this experience; a doubling of the number of private cars, many of them being terrain vehicles (jeeps) or other luxury cars; eating well, both gourmet food at home or dining out at expensive restaurants; celebrating family affairs in fancy styles (the Baroque, King David's Kingdom, etc.) at prices up to US\$150 per head.

Earlier, Gal-Ezer (1997) had explored the uniqueness of the Israeli artists, associating them with urban cultural life, a location where the artist was and undoubtedly still is capable of maintaining close ties with other highly cultivated members of the upper middle class such as fellow artists, buyers, dealers, and critics. Tel Aviv, a '24-hour city' and a world city in evolution (Kipnis, 2001), was described as "the artists' greenhouse, a place where he/she can evade his/her inherent deficiencies in education, family life and economic achievements".

Ziv (1998) and Rotem (1998) observed the impact of lifestyle on marketing. Ziv identified the most appropriate lifestyles for insurance policy marketing, while Rotem's AIO (Activities, Interests, and Opinion) method, resembling Mitchell's (1983) VALS, named seven marketing-oriented lifestyle types of Israelis. He explained the short survival time span of a lifestyle by the Israelis' swift mobility from one lifestyle to another.

The evolving lifestyle of religious-Zionist women students of communication was investigated by Gal-Ezer and Hendler (2000). The students, who reported on their dilemmas regarding their lifestyles and their professional and personal identities, also ascribed higher values than the average Israeli to family life and raising children. These were more important for them than their profession or their religious way of life. A few students also revealed that they were associated with one of the following two sub-groups of religious lifestyles: the orthodox and *Shas* (orthodox Judaism practiced by Jews of Oriental origin).

A remarkable multi-dimensional attempt to portray the many facets of the Israeli society was made by Oz Almog, who compiled some seventy attributes depicting, inter alia, demography, education, and ethnic affiliation, to identify fifteen major lifestyles and fifty sub-styles of Israelis by their behavior, beliefs, physical appearance, and their surrounding space, for example, their living rooms. Almog reported his study findings to Lev-Adler (2002) of *Maariv Weekly Magazine*. He also gave a presentation titled '*Shevet Achim Gam Yahad*' (a 'tribe' of brothers sitting together) at the annual meeting of Israel's Planners Association (February, 2004).⁸ The *code names* of Almog's lifestyles have the ring of jargon, including a few eclectic styles like '*Jerusalem mixed*' (the name of an oriental dish of assorted meats created in a Jerusalem restaurant); others contain borrowed images like '*Mitsubishi*' (the popular Japanese car) or '*Dosi*' (orthodox religious) '*chic*', or popular Russian immigrant nicknames like '*Sasha Dimbos*', '*Pushkins*', and '*Mamruskims*'.

Inspired by the *Globes* article, a series of three studies was carried out, using the same questionnaire and the 'Value Stretch Model' methodology; the studies surveyed the weights people assigned to 72 lifestyle attributes along time horizons stretching from long time *preferences* (20-25 years) to short time *expectations* (5 years) and *tolerance*, indicating the lowest tolerable value of a lifestyle attribute (the model is introduced in the present volume by Kipnis, 2004b). The first study (Kipnis, 2003) reported on a 1999 survey among university students from five campuses, along with two small control samples of older students in special university enrichment programs. Its main hypothesis was that there are significant differences in the ways an interviewee perceives the relative importance of the lifestyle attributes, and that there are significant variations in the model's stretched gaps (*a 'reconciliation gap'* between preferences and expectations, and a *'satisfaction gap'* between expectations and tolerance), influenced by the interviewee's gender, age, place of residence, and occupational status.

The second study (Goldman, 2000; Goldman and Kipnis, 2004) was a master's thesis in geography carried out in 2000 on three Haifa City neighborhoods. It examined whether the Jewish residences of the neighborhoods tend to reveal different rank values of their lifestyle attributes. One was a middle to upper class neighborhood located on the ridge of Mount Carmel; the second was the Upper Hadar Hacarmel neighborhood, lying midway up the mountain slope and inhabited by new immigrants (mostly Russians); the third was a downtown Haifa neighborhood, Qiryat Eliezer, housing lower to lower middle class families. The principal hypothesis was that since the three neighborhoods differed in their socio-economic-demographic characteristics, the interviewees would differ in the weights they assigned to the lifestyle attributes; also, there would be significant variations in the model's stretched gaps. Among the conclusions the most important is that despite the different milieus there is a fairly wide common denominator in the way secular Jewish Israelis perceive their lifestyle attributes.

The third study was a master's thesis in planning done by Liat Kravchyk (Kravchyk and Kipnis, 2004). It was carried out in 2002 with a snowball sample of high-tech workers assembled through the Internet. The interviewees were divided by gender and occupation between those engaged in R&D and those not. Only age was found to distinguished between gender and type of employment: male workers were older than female, and most of them worked in R&D. As a homogeneous group, these employed interviewees did not reveal many differences in their evaluation of their lifestyle attributes.

Some elements of the three studies are found in the papers offered in this issue of *Geography Research Forum*. The first is a synthesis of some of their findings (Kipnis, 2004d) and the other two are summaries of Goldman-Stain (2004) and Kravchyk (2003).

LIFESTYLE STUDIES IN THIS VOLUME

Following this introductory paper, which sought to establish a conceptual background to lifestyle studies at large, and to those having a geographical perspective, five studies are reported. The first is by Lambert van der Laan and Maroesjka Versantvoort, both are economic geographers at the Erasmus University of Rotterdam. van der Laan and Versantvoort explain how lifestyle as an independent variable can be used to predict labor supply. The next article is by the sociologist Oz Almog, a student of Israeli society, who explores and portrays the lifestyle types of the middle-class secular Jewish population in present-day Israel, and proposes a new typology of lifestyles. Thereafter Schnell, a planner and social geographer whose main study arena is the city of Tel Aviv, depicts the 'glocal' spatial lifestyle in that metropolis. Orna Blumen, a geographer with an established record in gender spatial behavior and the emergent needs for human services, reports on qualitative interviews with Israeli children whose fathers are high-tech personnel. She evaluates the impact of the fathers' work on their children's lifestyles, and how this is manifested in their spatial behavior. She compares these (unique) lifestyle attributes with those of children whose fathers are not high-tech workers. The application of a 'value stretch methodology' in long time horizon lifestyle studies as planning inputs is presented by Baruch Kipnis, an urban geographer and planner, specializing in contemporary urban systems dynamics.

This issue concludes, as noted, with summaries of two graduate theses. The first is by Ayelet Goldman-Shtain, an employee of the Census Authority of the Israel Central Bureau of Statistics. Her report is on the spatial and class differences in lifestyle attributes among Haifa city neighborhoods. The second survey is of the study by Liat Kravchyk, employed by the Planning Administration of the Israeli Ministry of the Interior. Her thesis reveals similarities and differences in the evaluation of lifestyle attributes by high-tech employees.

NOTES

1. They are: Need-Driven Groups: Survivor lifestyle, Sustainer lifestyle; Outer-Directed Groups: Belonger lifestyle, Emulator lifestyle, Achiever lifestyle; Inner-Directed Groups: I-Am-Me lifestyle, Experiential lifestyle; Societally Conscious lifestyle: combined Outer- and Inner-Directed Group; and Integrated lifestyle.

2. Lambert and Versantvoort's paper presented in this volume is a product of Versantvoort, 2000.

3. A synopsis of Goldman (2000) and Kravchyk (2003) is included in this special issue of *Geography Research Forum*.

4. Some 58 percent of the Israeli 'super rich' (the term was coined by Beaverstock et al., 2002) live in greater Tel Aviv (27 percent in Tel Aviv City), and the majority of their businesses are located in the metropolitan CBD of Tel Aviv (The Marker,

2004). For a definition of the metropolitan CBD see Kipnis and Borenstein, 2001, and Kipnis, 2001.

5. The concept of 'national agenda' was defined by Schweitzer, 1984, as a collective creation of a nation, formed as a process of refinement of the intrinsic feelings of the people in reaction to pressing needs demanding state action for their provision on the basis of available resources. An agenda endures as long as those needs prevail, and it fades out when other, more pressing needs emanate. For the extension of the 'national agenda' concept in time and space see Kipnis, 1991;1996b.

6. By virtue of the FTA agreements, Israel can export its products to the two markets with tariff-free admittance for products qualifying under the FTAs rules of origin (Raveh, 1991).

7. 'Shevet' means a tribe, but if differently spelled means sitting.

8. The project, documenting lifestyles in the Israeli society, carried out as a joint venture of the Haifa University Computer Aided Study Unit and the Media Department of University Library in 2003/4 academic year.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

An inspiring cooperation in assembling the articles for this special issue was received from Professor Lambert van der Laan and Dr. Maroesjka Versantvoort, economic geographers at the School of Economics of Erasmus University of Rotterdam. Their manuscript is a product of Versantvoort's Ph.D. thesis, supervised by Professor van der Laan. I came across this study when Versantvoort and I presented our lifestyle studies in a departmental seminar at Erasmus University in 1999. I found her presentation extremely valuable as part of this special issue. All other studies presented here are by Israelis, some of them are my colleagues and others my gifted students. Their interests represent three disciplines: sociology, planning, and geography; their topics, however, encompass a wide range of issue reflecting the inherently blurred notion of the lifestyle concept.

REFERENCES

- Almog, O. (2004) One middle class, three different lifestyles: The Israeli case. *Geography Research Forum*, 24:37-57
- Arian, A. and Talmud, I. (1991) Economic control and electoral politics. In Fox, F.P. (ed.) *Popular Power in Post-Industrial Societies*. Oxford: Polity Press of Basil Blackwell and New York University Press, pp. 169-189.
- Ateljevic, J. and Doorne, S. (2000) Staying within the fence: Lifestyle

- entrepreneurship in tourism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 5:378-392.
- Bank Hapoalim (1998) *Economic Review*. Tel Aviv: The Research Department of Bank HaPoalim (Hebrew).
- Beaverstock, J.V., Hubbard, P.J., and Short J.R. (2002) Getting away with it? The changing geographies of the global super-rich. *GaWC Research Bulletin 93*, www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc/rb/rb/93.html.
- Beaverstock, J. V., Smith, R. G., and Taylor, P. J. (1998) World city network: A new metageography? *GaWC Research Bulletin 11 (Z)*. <http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc/>
- Benski, T. (1989) Ethnicity and the shaping of musical taste: Patterns in an Israeli urban community. *Social Forces*, 67:731-7.
- Biggs, S., Bernard, M., Kingstone, P., and Nettleton, H. (2000) Lifestyles of belief: Narrative and culture in a retirement community. *Aging and Society*, 6:649-672.
- Birch, D. L. (1986) *American Office Needs: 1985-1995*. Boston: Arthur Andersen & Co. and MIT Center for Real Estate Development.
- Bootsma, H.R. (1995) The influence of a work-oriented lifestyle in residential location choice of couples. *Netherlands Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 10:45-63.
- Bootsma, H. R., Camstra, H. and Mol, A. (1993) Leefstijl: een dynamische levensoriëntatie. *Rooilijn*, 26:332-337.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984) *Distinctions: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
- Buswell, R. J. (1983) Research and development and regional development: A review. In Gillespie, A. (ed.), *Technological Change and Regional Development*. London: Pion Ltd., pp. 9-22.
- Cahill, M. (1994) *The New Social Policy*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Camstra, R. (1996) Commuting and gender in a lifestyle perspective. *Urban Studies*, 33:283-300.
- Carmon, N. and Yiftachel, O. (1993) *The Israeli Population and Its Characteristics: Basic Data for Spatial Planning*. Haifa: The Technion, Center for City and Regional Studies. (Hebrew)
- Castells, M. (1996) *The Rise of the Network Society*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Chaney, D. (1996) *Lifestyle*. London: Routledge.
- Coffey, W. (1992) The role of producer services in systems of flexible production. In Ernste, H. and Meier, V. (eds.) *Regional Development and Contemporary Industrial Response*. London: Belhaven Press, pp. 133-146.

- Cooper, J., Reyley, T. and Smyth, A. (2001) Contemporary lifestyles and the implications for sustainable development policy: Lessons from the UK's most car dependent city, Belfast. *Cities*, 2:103-113.
- Crook, S., Pakulski, J. and Waters, M. (1992) *Post Modernization, Change in Advanced Society*. London: Sage.
- Eduards, B. (2000) To be within. *Metropolis*, pp. 86-90. (Hebrew)
- Featherstone, M. (1994) City cultures and post-modern lifestyles. In Amin, A. (ed.), *Post-Fordism*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 387-407.
- Fidler, G.S. (1996) Lifestyle performance: From profile to occupational model. Cited in: Velde, B. and Fidler, G. (2002). *Lifestyle Performance: A Model for Engaging the Power of Occupation*. Thorofare, NJ: Slack.
- Flgin, D., (1993) *Voluntary Simplicity*. New York: William Modeow & Co. (2nd edition).
- Friedmann, J. (1995) Where we stand: A decade of world city research. In Knox, P. L. and Taylor, P. J. (eds.), *World Cities in a World System*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 21-47.
- Gaben, G. (1997) Lifestyle. It is proven. *Otot*, 198: 76. (Hebrew)
- Gad, G. (1979) Face-to-face linkages and office decentralization potential: A study of Toronto. In Daniels, P. W. (ed.) *Spatial Patterns of Office Growth and Location*. London: Wiley, pp.277-324.
- Gal-Ezer, M. (1997). The winner and the loser: The plastic artists' lifestyles. *Devarim Aberim*, 2: 90-115. (Hebrew)
- Gal-Ezer, M. and Hendler, D. (2000) The religious pre-academic unit for communication education: A Pilot Study on Identity and Lifestyle. *Tlaley Orot*, 9:285-301. (Hebrew)
- Giddens, A. (1990). *The Consequences of Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Global News Analysis (2000). Israel, The new Silicon Valley. www.google.com.
- Globes (1997) Selected Indicators-Changes in Israelis' Lifestyle. April 27, 1997. (Hebrew)
- Goldman, A. (2000) *Life Style Attributes, Are They Class and Place Differentiated: A Value Stretch Analysis of a Case Study in Haifa, Israel*. M.A. thesis, Department of Geography, the University of Haifa. (Hebrew).
- . (2004) Spatial and class differences in lifestyles: A case study in Haifa. *Geography Research Forum*, 24:115-118
- Goldman, A., and Kipnis, B. A. (2004) Similarities and differences in lifestyle attributes of residents of Haifa, Israel. *Bitachon Sotzial*, 64:83-99. (Hebrew)
- Gottmann, J. (1983) *The Coming of the Transactional City*. College Park: University

of Maryland, Institute for Urban Studies.

- Hakim, C. (2000) *Work-Lifestyle Choices in the 21st Century: Preference Theory*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Harris, D. (1996). *A Society of Signs*. London: Routledge.
- Hartshorn, T. A. (1992). *Interpreting the City: An Urban Geography*. New York: Wiley.
- Helman, D. and De Chernatony, L. (1999) Exploring the development of lifestyle retail brands. *Service Industries Journal*, 2:49-68.
- High Rises Of London & Tel Aviv (2004). <http://www.geocities.com/PicketFence/5192/index.html>
- Hirshman, C. (2001) Exit strategies. *Human Resources Magazine*, 12:52-57.
- Illeris S. (1991) Location of services in a service society . In: Huib, E. and Meir, V. (eds.), *Regional Development and Contemporary Industrial Response*. London: Belhaven, pp. 91-109.
- Jacobs, E., Scheepers, P. and Felling, A. (1992) Life-styles as social cultural patterns? A description of material and cultural life-styles in the Netherlands in 1990. *Paper Presented at the Meeting of the ISA Research Committee on Social Stratification*, Italy, May 14-16.
- Kaman, D.J.F., Strijker, D. and Sijtsma, F.J (1998) A 'Reverse Network Engineering' framework to develop tourism using lifestyle approach. *Tijdschrift Voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 98:310-319.
- Karp, M. (1998) Not a powerhouse yet. *Globus-Arena*, Jan. 22.
- Katz, A., Haz, H., Gurevitz, M., Weitz, S., Shif, M. and Goldberg D. (1992) *The Leisure Culture in Israel: Changes in Cultural Behavioral Patterns 1970-1990*. Jerusalem: Gutman Institute for Applied Social Research. (Hebrew)
- Katz, E. and Gurevitz M. (1973). *The leisure cultures in Israel and Their Consumption Patterns*. Tel Aviv: Am Oved. (Hebrew)
- Katz, E. Gurevitz, M. Adoni, H., Isack, L., Haz, H., Kohen, O. and Swartz, G. (1970). *Israel's Culture, Report A: The Patterns of Leisure*. Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Institute of Communication. (Hebrew)
- Katz-Gerro, T. and Shavit, Y. (1998). Lifestyle and status in Israel. *Sotziologia Israelit*, A1:91-113. (Hebrew)
- Kipnis, B. A. (1991) The Galilee in the national agenda: The spatial aspect. In Schachar, A. (ed.). *David Amiran Volume*. Jerusalem: Society for Exploration of the Land of Israe, 1991, pp.140-155. (Hebrew)
- . (1996a) Rethinking attributes of a 'global' city: The case of the United States. *Geography Research Forum* 16:13-31.

- . (1996b) Technology and industrial policy for a metropolis at the verge of the global economy: The case of Haifa, Israel. Paper presented at the International Conference *Technological Learning, Innovation and Industrial Policy: National and International Experiences*, Mexico, September, 1996. (Also in *Urban Studies*, 1998, 35:649-662).
- . (1998a) Spatial reach of office firms: A case study in the metropolitan CBD of Tel Aviv, Israel. *Geografiska Annaler*, 80 B:17-28.
- . (1998b) Location and relocation of class A office users: A Case Study in the metropolitan CBD of Tel Aviv, Israel. *Geography Research Forum*, 18:64-82.
- . (2001) Tel Aviv, Israel—A world city in evolution: Urban development at a deadend of global economy”. *GaWC Research Bulletin #57*, in GaWC site: www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc
- . (2002) The Global Crisis and Israel's High-Tech Industry. *Research Bulletin #72*, in GaWC site: <http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc>
- . (2003) Lifestyle attributes of young Israelis on the eve of the 21st Century: Their weights, gaps and time horizons in the value stretch model, and their planning application. *Ofaqim Ba-Geografia*, 55:5-23. (Hebrew)
- . (2004a) Israel as a post-industrial space of work and leisure: A value stretch of lifestyle attributes. In Le Heron, R. and Harrington, J.W. (eds.) *New Economic Spaces: New Economic Geographies* (forthcoming).
- . (2004b). The value stretch model: Tooling for long-time horizon lifestyle studies. *Geography Research Forum*, 24:100-114
- . (2004c) Global Cycles and Israel's boom, crisis and signs of revival of its start-up phenomenon. *GaWC Research Bulletin 132 (A)*: <http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc/>
- Kipnis, B. A. and Borenstein, O. (2001) Patterns of suburban office development and spatial reach of their office firms: A case study in metropolitan Tel Aviv, Israel. In Felsenstein, D. and Taylor, M. (eds.) *Promoting Local Growth*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001, pp. 255 – 270.
- Knox, P. L. (1991) The Restless urban landscape: Economic and socio-cultural change and the transformation of metropolitan Washington D.C. *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*, 81:181-209.
- Kravchik, L. (2003). *Lifestyle Attributes of High-Tech Industrial Workers*. MA thesis, Haifa, The Faculty of Architecture and Town Planning, The Technion. (Hebrew)
- . (2004) Similarities and differences in evaluating the lifestyle attributes of hi-tech employees in Israel: An analysis using the value stretch model. *Geography*

Research Forum, 24:119-123

- Kravchyk, L. and Kipnis, B. A. (2004) Similarities and dissimilarities in the evaluation of lifestyle attributes by high-tech employees in Israel: A value stretch analysis. *Tichnun*, 1:17-33. (Hebrew)
- Lashinsky, A. (1999) In Israel's high-tech hotbed, Check Point casts a long shadow. *Silicon Valley Columnist* (www.google.com).
- Lev-Adler, A. (2002) Israel on the Sofa. *Maariv Weekly Magazine*. 4 April .2002. (Hebrew)
- Ley, D. (1996) *The New Middle Class and the Remaking of the Central City*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- McDowell, L.M. (1997) The new service class: Housing consumption and lifestyle among London bankers in the 1990s. *Environment and Planning A*, 29:2061-2075.
- McCoby M. (1976) *The Gamesman: The New Corporate Leaders*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Mitchel, A. (1983) *The Nine American Lifestyles: Who We Are and Where We Are Going*. New York: Macmillan.
- Myers, J. H. and Gutman, J. (1974) Lifestyles, the essence of social class. In Wells, W.D. (ed.) *Lifestyle and Psychographics*. Washington, D.C.: American Marketing Association, pp. 235-256.
- Oxford Dictionary Online (2002). <http://www.oed.com>.
- Pingree, S. and Hawkins, R.R. (1994) Looking for lifestyle. In Rosengen, K. E. (ed). *Media, Effects and Beyond: Culture, Socialization and lifestyles*. London: Routledge, pp. 78-96.
- Perman, S. (2000) Start-up nation. *Economy Now*, 1:134-150.
- Raveh, Y. (1991) *Free Trade Between the United States, Europe, The Far East and Other Countries via Israel*. Jerusalem: Gefen. (Hebrew)
- Raviv, R. (1997) Lifestyle: European youth according to MTV. *Otot*, 200:48-52. (Hebrew)
- Rojek, C. (1995) *Decentring Leisure: Rethinking Leisure Theory*. London: Sage.
- Rosengen, K. E. (1994). Culture, media and society: Agency and structure, continuity and change. In: Rosengen, K. E. (ed.), *Media, Effects and Beyond: Culture, Socialization and Lifestyles*. London: Routledge, pp. 3-28.
- Rotem. A. (1998) Lifestyle studies from a white elephant to an applied tool. *Otot*, 220:66-86. (Hebrew)
- Sade, S. (2001) Europe's Silicon Valley. *Haaretz New Economy* (June 6, 2001). (Hebrew)

- Sagee, M. and Dagoni, R. (1997) *Business Week*: 'Israel is the New Silicon Valley'. *Israel's Business Arena-Globes*, Jan. 2, 1997.
- Salomon, I. (1980) *Lifestyles as a Factor in Explaining Travel Behavior*. Cambridge: MIT, Center for Transportation Studies.
- Salomon, I. and Ben-Akiva, M. (1983). The Use of the lifestyle concept in travel demand models. *Environment and Planning A*, 15:623-638.
- Sassen, S. (1991) *The Global City: New York, London Tokyo*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- . (2002) Locating cities on global circuits. In Sassen, S. (ed.), *Global Networks, Linked Cities*. New York: Routledge, pp. 1-36. (also in *Gawc Research Bulletin* No. 46, www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc)
- Schwartz, P. (1996). *The Art of Long View*. New York: Doubleday.
- Schwartz, W. and Schwartz, D. (1998). *Living Lightly. Travel in Post-consumer Society*. Oxfordshire: Jon Carpenter.
- Schweitzer, A. (1984) *Upheavals*. Jerusalem: Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies and Zmora Bitan Publishers. (Hebrew)
- Shamir, B. and Ruskin, H. (1983) Sex differences in recreational sports behavior and attitudes: A study of married couples in Israel. *Leisure Studies* 2:253-268.
- Shapira, R. (1997) A question of lifestyle. *Niv Hagimlai*, 173:29. (Hebrew)
- Sharig, M. (2002) The Hippie is dead, viva the Bobo. *Haaretz Weekly*. (Hebrew)
- Short, J.R. (1996) *The Urban Order*. Cambridge: Blackwell.
- . (1998) *The Human City*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Sklair, L. (1991) *Sociology of the Global System: Social Change in Global Perspective*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- . (2000) The transnational capitalist class and the discourse of globalization. <http://www.hp.com/>
- Sobel, M.E. (1981) *Lifestyle and Social Structure: Couples, Definition, Analysis*. New York: Academic Press.
- Storper, M. and Walker, R. (1984) The spatial division of labor: Labor and location of industries. In Sawers, L. and Tabb, W. (eds.) *Sunbelt, Snowbelt, Urban Development and Regional Restructuring*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 19-47.
- The Free Dictionary (2004) <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/lifestyle>.
- The Marker (2004) *Directory to Israel's wealthiest people*. Tel Aviv: The Marker
- Toffler, A. (1991). *The Third Wave*. New York: Bentham Books.
- Tumin, M.M. (1970) *Readings on Social Stratification*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.

- Velde, B. and Fidler, G. (2002). *Lifestyle Performance: A Model for Engaging the Power of Occupation*. Thorofare, NJ: Slack.
- Veltz, P. (1997) The dynamics of production systems, territories and cities. In Moolaert, F. and Scott, A. J. (eds.) *Cities, Enterprises and Society on the Eve of the 21st Century*. London: Pinter, pp. 78-96.
- Ventura, R. (1996) A Study with Style. *Otot*, 195:8-21. (Hebrew)
- Versantvoort, M. (2000). *Analyzing Labor Supply in a Lifestyle Perspective*. PhD. Thesis, Rotterdam: Rotterdam University.
- Weber, M. (1922) *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft: Grundriß der Verstehenden Soziologie*. Tübingen: Mohr.
- Wikipedia Free Encyclopedia(2004). <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/lifestyle>
- Zablocki, B. and Kanter, R.M. (1976) The differentiation of lifestyle. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 44:1-24.
- Ziv, Y. (1998) What Is Your Style? *Sochen HaBituach*, 80:26-27. (Hebrew)