

CUMULATIVE ADVANTAGES AND INEQUALITY IN LIFESTYLE A DUTCH DESCRIPTION OF DISTINCTION IN TASTE

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Introduction

Classical literature on lifestyle differentiation treats tastes and preferences as dependent on an individual's status position (Veblen, 1924; Sobel 1981; Bourdieu 1984). Tastes are directly linked to a membership in status groups; they are observed as tokens to express a status to the outside world. Weber (1927) pinpointed the compulsory process whereby people adjust to the lifestyle of their status group with respect to possessions as well as behavior. In line, Bourdieu (1984) asserts that individuals distinguish themselves socially from others by the distinctions they draw between the beautiful and the ugly. These expressions of taste are thought to intentionally or unintentionally reveal the objective status position of the group a person belongs to. DiMaggio (1994) states that almost every aspect of human experience correlates with social rank. So if a scholar wishes to explain taste differentiation, the social positions of individuals in society are highly relevant.

It is not always clear exactly what defines a social status group. In line with Bourdieu, I presume that lifestyle differences between status groups are dependent on the quantity of resources their members possess, and on the type of resources. Bourdieu (1984) considers cultural and economic capital two main dimensions within the social stratification system responsible for the differentiation in lifestyle expressions. Most importantly, is that the elites use their capital to distinguish themselves from lower status groups. These high status claims are made on the basis of either economic or cultural capital (Pellerin & Stearns, 2001). Economic resources consist of income, accumulated wealth, a company management or entrepreneurial job, and economic, commercial and marketing skills. Cultural resources consist of education, cognitive and intel-

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lectual ability, a cultural job (in teaching, journalism, the arts and the like) and accumulated knowledge on high culture, societal developments and science. This division into cultural and economic resources is consequential for many domains of social life, such as consumption, tastes, leisure and values. The cultural elite is characterized by a preference for high culture, progressive values and consumption that is modern and stimulating, whereas the economic elite is marked by a preference for comfort, the consumption of luxury and traditionalism (Bourdieu, 1984; Kraaykamp & NieuwBeerta, 2000; Pellerin & Stearns, 2001; Van de Werfhorst & Kraaykamp, 2001).

A consequence of Bourdieu's elucidating concept of a cultural and an economic hierarchy in society is however a lack of interest on the part of lifestyle researchers for the accumulation of cultural and economic assets. Generally, there are presumed to be two logically independent but empirically correlated hierarchies in society, each with its own elite. In Bourdieu's words: "the distribution of economic capital is symmetrical and opposite to that of cultural capital" (Bourdieu, 1984: 120). Consequently, this description of the social space at least implicitly presupposes a clear distinction between the cultural and economic hierarchy. Empirical research, however, recognizes that ranks of cultural and economic resources are highly correlated (De Graaf, Ganzeboom & Kalmijn, 1989; De Graaf & Kalmijn, 2001). This association might be understood from the fact that Bourdieu's social space is characterized by its shape of a "reverse pyramid." Among the low status groups there is hardly any difference in resources; low status people all share a position of little economic and little cultural capital. The distinction between cultural and economic capital predominantly becomes apparent among the elites; some of them mainly share cultural resources and express a cultural lifestyle, whereas others largely have economic resources constituting a materialistic lifestyle. The lack of differentiation among the lower classes then is believed to cause the strong association between a cultural and economic ranking of social positions (De Graaf, Ganzeboom & Kalmijn, 1989; De Graaf & Kalmijn, 2001). But is it true that among high status groups, the elites are strongly divided into a cultural and an economic elite? Aren't there people who have abundant cultural as well as economic resources? And how do these people differ in their tastes from the unidimensional elitist groups?

Here, I investigate the accumulation of cultural and economic resources within the elite as an elaboration on the work of Bourdieu (1984). I feel that to some extent followers of Bourdieu have overly stressed the distinction between people with cultural and with economic resources. Bourdieu (1984) himself mentions professionals as a group relatively well endowed with both forms of capital. But he hypothesizes that professionals are insufficiently integrated in economic life to use their capital effectively. They are expected to preferably use their capital in cultural practices which symbolize the cultural and material

means of a bourgeois lifestyle. Additionally, Bourdieu (1986) mentions the possibility that types of resources may be transformed into other types of resources; cultural capital may lead to financial opportunities, and economic capital enlarges the possibilities to acquire cultural goods and art objects. As a consequence, a status group that combines cultural and economic assets is presumed to exist in society. Other scholars also observed the tendency for resources to cumulate among the same people (Weber, 1927; Merton, 1973; Thurow, 1975). Applying these notions to the cultural and economic capital division would lead us to believe that there is an elite that combines the two types of resources, and thus exhibits a particular lifestyle in society. Our research question therefore reads: *To what extent do people who have cultural as well as economic resources differ in taste from people with primarily economic or cultural resources?*

At each class level, people who combine cultural and economic resources are expected to be the most elitist in taste. Because of their abundant resources these individuals are more able to express their elitist position through a variety of exclusive taste preferences. Two more specific expectations may be formulated. Firstly, people with accumulated resources will be more cultural than those with primarily cultural resources. Note that exclusive cultural consumption benefits from financial resources to facilitate it. Secondly, material consumption can benefit from abundant cultural resources. Spending money does not prescribe direct cultural knowledge, but spending money on exclusive goods and quality durables presupposes information on what is admirable and honorable. So people with combined resources can be expected to consume more exclusive material goods and luxury items than those with predominantly economic resources.

In this article I try to improve upon Bourdieu's distinction of status groups based on cultural and economic resources using recent data on a representative sample of the Dutch population (N=1251). I examine the consequences of an accumulation of cultural and economic resources for taste differentiation. My research thus contributes to the scientific knowledge on taste differentiation and refines Bourdieu's distinction of a more separated cultural and economic elite. I explicitly define social status groups within the social space on the basis of their cultural and economic resources.

Distinction in taste

Theoretical background. A resource-based distinction

I consider lifestyle choices to be expressions of social inequality determined by differences in personal resources. Sobel (1981) stresses that lifestyle differences are rooted in the reference sets individuals maintain. According to Sobel, these reference sets are determined by the demands of an individual's social

position. One of the most relevant characteristics of lifestyle expressions is their visibility in a social context. The simple fact that visible lifestyle expressions are commonly shared within status groups, gives their members a sense of solidarity, and serves as a sign to distinguish them from other status groups (DiMaggio 1994). Taste differences are thus used to exclude and unify people, and can be mobilized to realize social selection (Lamont & Lareau, 1988; Featherstone, 1990). Sobel (1981) restricts lifestyle choices to the consumption of commodities and luxuries, because it is especially these goods that visualize material wealth. Bourdieu (1984) however presumes all tastes and preferences to symbolize a person's social position, material consumption as well as cultural participation, food preferences and moral attitudes. Cultural resources are believed to be expressed through unique aesthetic and intellectual tastes, whereas economic resources are mainly visualized through the consumption of scarce luxury goods (Holt, 1997; Pellerin & Stearns, 2001).

In lifestyle research, a person's status position is important because it is associated with relevant resources. For instance, a high status position is often accompanied by financial and cognitive qualities that enable a person to participate in high culture activities and obtain material wealth. In empirical research, several personal qualities have been held responsible for this social differentiation in lifestyle. Economic and market researchers, usually with a uni-dimensional approach, often consider income a single explanatory factor for the variation in lifestyle (Sobel 1981). This is mainly because the consumption of durables and luxury goods is the only focus of attention in this type of research. In contrast, sociological research presupposes all expressions of taste to be part of a person's lifestyle, and therefore advocates a multi-dimensional approach. In this tradition, in addition to economic features, cultural resources are perceived as meaningful for social differentiation in taste (Bourdieu 1984; Pellerin & Stearns, 2001). Here, three features embody the economic and cultural dimension of an individual's resources: educational attainment, occupational status and household income.

Firstly, *education* is assumed to be closely related to a person's life chances, and thus to the differentiation in a cultural and material lifestyle. Like Hyman & Wright (1979), I assume education increases knowledge, deepens receptivity and stimulates the active pursuit of new information. Accordingly, a higher education directly enhances a person's competency to appreciate high culture expressions like literary books, plays and art exhibitions (Ganzeboom, 1982; Kraaykamp & Dijkstra, 1998; Van Eijck, 1999; Kraaykamp, 2001). It also makes it possible to seek intellectual challenges in other activities and tastes and advances the ability to appreciate divergent opinions (Hyman & Wright, 1979). Moreover, educational qualifications amplify an individual's capacities to attain material wealth. Participation in cultural activities and the possession of luxury goods give well-educated people the opportunity to demonstrate their

intellectual superiority in 'good' taste (Bourdieu 1984). The relevance of education for the explanation of differentiation in lifestyle has been made clear in various empirical studies (Van Eijck, 1999; Kraaykamp & NieuwBeerta, 2000; Van de Werfhorst & Kraaykamp, 2001). Educational attainment is thus a major indicator of a person's cultural resources.

Secondly, *occupational status* is a relevant predictor of distinctions in taste. Occupational position is important because the kind of work people do is a relevant indicator of their financial and cultural capabilities (Bourdieu, 1984; De Graaf, Ganzeboom & Kalmijn, 1989; Katz-Gerro & Shavitt, 1998; De Graaf & Kalmijn, 2001). Occupational status also says something about a person's values and tastes and is a standard indicator of prestige (Treiman, 1977). It is generally assumed that individuals with high occupational status positions have an exclusive cultural and material lifestyle. Bourdieu (1984), however, makes it clear that society is not only stratified by economic occupational status, but also by cultural occupational status. In cultural jobs (e.g. in teaching, journalism and the arts) the development of cultural competency receives ample attention; people become accustomed to highbrow codes and tastes. On the labour market, these jobs in education, art, journalism and the public sector are situated relatively high on a cultural status scale (De Graaf & Kalmijn, 2001). Hence, a cultural job is thought to enhance a person's cultural resources.

The economic resources that come with a company management or entrepreneurial job should be interpreted in a broader sense than just financial means; they comprise a whole set of competencies with regard to economics, commerce, marketing and business (Bourdieu, 1984; Van de Werfhorst & Kraaykamp, 2001). In this kind of interpretation of economic resources, a person's occupational position is a key factor in the formation of materialistic preferences for exclusive taste and luxury consumption. Hence an economic job will lead to an enlargement of a person's stock of economic resources.

Thirdly, differences in *income position* are considered essential to divisions pertaining to cultural and material lifestyle. People's income simply indicates their financial capabilities and thresholds. A high income can generally be assumed to lead to greater opportunities for exposure on the material and cultural field than a low income. Exclusive conspicuous consumption as regards luxury goods, housing quality or high culture gives the rich an opportunity to exhibit their elite position (Veblen, 1924; Sobel 1981). Empirical research has demonstrated that higher income groups are indeed more likely to show off a high position by having an exclusive materialistic lifestyle (Ganzeboom, De Graaf & Robert, 1990; De Graaf 1991; Warde, Martens & Olsen, 1999; Kraaykamp & NieuwBeerta, 2000). Surprisingly, in some studies substantive positive effects of income on high culture participation have been observed, even if educational attainment and parental background are taken into account (Ganzeboom, De Graaf & Robert, 1990; Katz-Gerro & Shavitt, 1998; Kraaykamp & NieuwBeerta, 2000).

A social space based on cultural and economic resources

Bourdieu's distinction between an elite with abundant cultural resources and one with abundant economic resources is well established. This division between the cultural and the economic elite seems evident because of their different tastes and preferences. Yet, cultural and economic resources occasionally tend to cumulate within a particular status group; there are people who combine a cultural job with a high income, and there are people with an economic job who are highly educated. If we take these premises on the accumulation of resources seriously, the social space described by Bourdieu (1984) does not accurately reflect this phenomenon. Although Bourdieu (1984) mentions a group positioned in between the cultural and the economic elite, he primarily investigates the two divergent elites. In contrast, a society's actual elite can also be presumed to consist of people who combine cultural and economic resources. Figure 1 illustrates this point more clearly.

Figure 1. A representation of the social space based on cultural and economic resources.

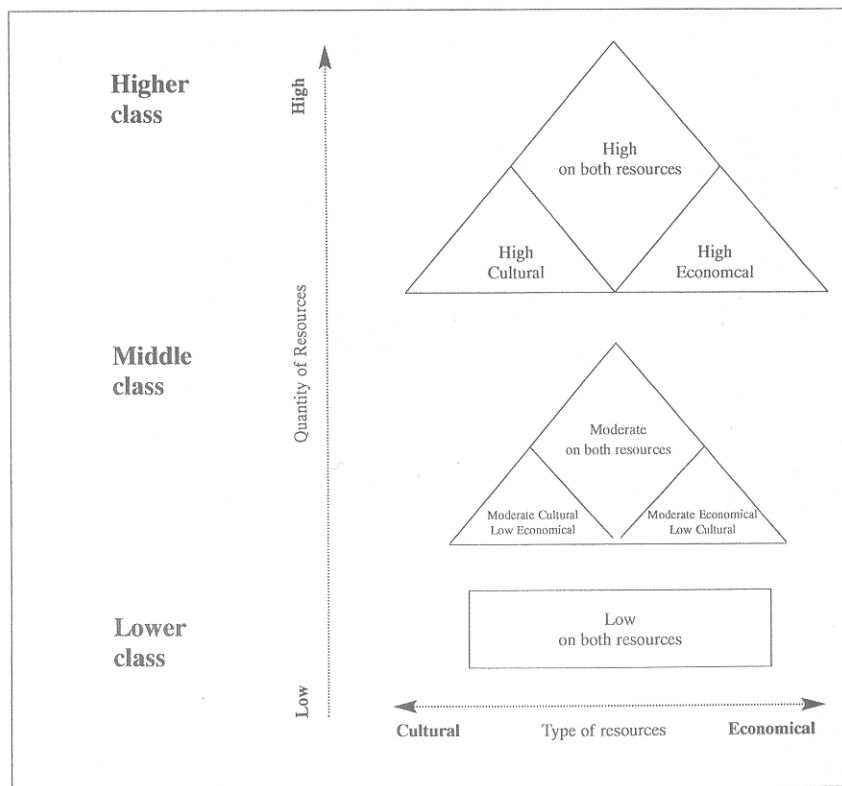


Figure 1 largely follows Bourdieu's distinction in *quantity of resources* (low versus high), and *type of resources* (cultural versus economic). The unique form of the "reversed pyramid" is maintained, but at each class level a triangle is positioned where people with cumulated resources score highest. Three class levels are distinguished where status groups are located, based on their amount of resources. The number of class levels here is arbitrary, but the claim that there are three positions at each level remains relevant even if more than three levels are distinguished. No distinction in the lowest class is drawn between people with economic and cultural resources. People in the lowest class are mainly characterized by a lack of both types of resources. Moving upward in Figure 1 toward the middle and high class level, three positions are distinguished; first, a group of people with relatively ample cultural resources (in the left triangle), second, a group with relatively ample economic resources (in the right triangle), and third, a group with combined resources (in the square). It is in the last group that the accumulation of resources is apparent. People who combine abundant cultural as well as economic resources are felt to constitute a specific elite status group in the social space of society. Contrary to what is noted by Bourdieu (1984), this group is not positioned between the cultural and economic elite, but above these uni-dimensional elites. In doing so, I feel this multi-dimensional representation of a society's elites does more justice to reality. Next, I discuss the expectations for taste differentiation among the social status groups.

First, a general hypothesis is that people who have invested in cultural resources by way of their education and cultural job more often participate in highbrow culture and cultural leisure activities. In addition to the consumption of artistic expressions, a cultural lifestyle means certain preferences with regard to food, attitudes and drinking habits (Bourdieu, 1984). Cultural assets are believed to lead to more healthy eating habits, modern attitudes on moral issues, and drinking wine. Additionally a more specific hypothesis is formulated on the cultural preferences of people with cumulated resources. People who combine cultural resources with economic ones can be expected to be more cultural in their expressions of taste than people with primarily cultural resources. An important reason for this expectation is that cultural consumption benefits from financial assets. Going to plays, buying literary books, and drinking expensive alcohol all presuppose certain financial means. So material wealth not only gives the cultural elite an opportunity to consume more highbrow culture, it also makes the consumption of *exclusive* and *expensive* cultural goods possible.

A second general hypothesis is that people with extensive economic resources based on their income and economic job are materialistic in their consumption and conservative in their socio-political orientation. According to Bourdieu (1984), a lifestyle related to abundant economic resources is aimed at

demonstrating financial success to the outside world. One way economically oriented status groups express their attachment to financial success is by consuming exclusive luxury goods (Sobel 1981; De Graaf 1991; Kraaykamp & NieuwBeerta 2000; Van de Werfhorst & Kraaykamp, 2001). Economically orientated individuals also tend to appreciate more conventional works of art, exclusive eating and drinking, and traditional values (Bourdieu, 1984). In addition to this main hypothesis on material consumption, I formulate a specific hypothesis on people with cumulated resources. I expect people who combine their economic resources with cultural ones to be more materialistic in their taste than people with primarily economic resources. This is because elitist consumption presupposes a knowledge of 'good' taste. Information on what quality goods are and what is exclusive is indispensable. So material consumption can benefit from cultural competency. Abundant cultural abilities provide the elites with opportunities to consume more materialistically (it is easier to choose), and also to consume more *elitist* and *exclusive*.

Research design

Data

To test my expectations I use the Family Survey of the Dutch Population (FSDP) 2000 (De Graaf, De Graaf, Kraaykamp & Ultee, 2000). The FSDP 2000 investigates various aspects of the life course of the Dutch-speaking population of the Netherlands between the ages of 18 and 70. The primary respondents and, if they are married or cohabiting, their partners have been interviewed in a face-to-face interview followed by a self-administered questionnaire. In total, 1,561 respondents from 850 households have been interviewed. The sample of primary respondents has been drawn randomly from population registers of a stratified sample of Dutch municipalities (stratified with respect to region and urbanization). The 2000 survey has a contact rate (contacted persons compared to total sample) of 85.6%, and 47.4% have taken part in the face-to-face interview (cooperation rate), resulting in a response rate of 40.6%. Response rates under 50% are unfortunately common in the Netherlands. The relatively low response rate here is mainly due to the fact that both partners had to be interviewed for a successful response. As there is no selective non-response with respect to major stratification aspects, the findings are representative for the Dutch adult population. I apply a list-wise deletion of cases if information on social positions is missing. The final data-set consists of 1,251 respondents above the age of 25 and not living with their parents. This assures that the social positions of the respondents are more or less stable.

Cultural and economic resources in the construction of the social space

To empirically construct the social space pictured in Figure 1, I use information

on the respondents' social position. The cultural resources of a person are measured by information on their highest education and the cultural status of their current occupation. Educational attainment is divided into 4 categories (1=primary; 2=lower secondary; 3=higher secondary; 4=tertiary). The respondents' cultural occupational status is obtained by calculating rank scores for their current job, using a scale developed by De Graaf & Kalmijn (2001). In case that a respondent did not have a current job, the status of the last job occupied is used. I have rearranged the cultural status position of respondents into quartiles (1=0-25%; 2=25-50%; 3=50-75%; 4=75-100%). To decide whether a respondent has a low, middle or high class cultural position, I have pooled their educational and occupational qualities. Respondents are considered culturally high class if they score in the highest category on both aspects (N=171). They are culturally middle class if they score in the top category with respect to cultural occupational status regardless of their educational level, or if they have a higher secondary or tertiary level educational qualification regardless of their occupational status (N=566). All other respondents are classified in the low cultural class (N=514).

A comparable strategy has been used to construct the level of economic resources of respondents. I have utilized information on household income and on economic occupational status of the current job (DeGraaf & Kalmijn, 2001). Both these variables have been ranked in quartiles (1=0-25%; 2=25-50%; 3=50-75%; 4=75-100%). People are in the highest economic class if they score in the top category on both aspects (N=149). I consider respondents economically middle class if they are in the highest quartile of economic job status regardless of their income, or if they are in the highest income category regardless of their economic occupational status. People are also economically middle class if they do not score in the lowest category on either of the measures (N=660). All the other respondents are regarded as being in the lowest economic class (N=442).

A representation of the social space as visualized in Figure 1 has been constructed, combining the two measures for cultural and economic resources. Appendix 1 gives a tabular representation of the construction of this social space. I have created a social space with seven categories. On the middle and high class level a distinction is introduced between people with predominantly cultural resources, people with predominantly economic resources and people with both types of resources. Among the respondents on the lowest class level, no differentiation is drawn between cultural and economic resources because the low quantity of their resources makes a distinction less appropriate. All the categories are filled with enough respondents which makes an analysis of their taste differences meaningful.

Describing taste differences

In this study I am primarily interested in a description of taste differences between the seven categories of the social space (see previous section). My research question refers to a comparison of people within the same class with different types of resources. Like Bourdieu (1984), I think it is relevant to show distinctions in taste for a large number of fields. Here, I choose to analyze lifestyle expressions pertaining to cultural events, financial products, book reading, durable ownership, television programs, eating, food preparation, drinking and moral attitudes. Social differences are presented for a total of 36 taste expressions. To compare the seven categories of the social space with respect to taste differences, I apply an analysis of variance (MCA). In all the models, I control for birth cohort and gender. A serious drawback of using the ANOVA method here is that it is formally inappropriate to model the variation in a dichotomous variable. However, the estimations are fairly robust, especially if a grand mean does not come close to the upper and lower range limit. In addition, a major advantage is the clarity of presentation. Parameters simply reflect the percentage of people with a certain taste. Hence, it should be clear that my analyses aim to describe taste differences. The association measure in the tables (*eta*) only indicates that the social space features as a whole are influential in the explanation of taste differences. More elaborate analyses should make it clear whether the differences within the class levels are significant. A list of dependent variables and their construction is presented in Appendix 2.

Cultural consumption

The first group of lifestyle expressions is restricted to cultural behavior. Bourdieu (1984) cites cultural tastes as the most appropriate and visible expressions of a lifestyle. I analyze cultural tastes in three fields: going to cultural events, reading preferences and preferences as regards television programs. I aim to select elitist as well as popular tastes to cover the complete field of cultural consumption. Table 1 gives information on the social differentiation of these cultural tastes.

In the top panel of Table 1, the distinction in going to cultural events (architecture, classical concerts, art museums, and the theater) is presented. This kind of cultural behavior might benefit from abundant financial resources in addition to cultural qualities. It seems clear from the results that my claim is supported, that the elite with cumulated resources is more cultural in taste than the elite with primarily cultural resources. All these four aspects of cultural participation exhibit the same pattern; the lower classes are the least culturally active, and the higher classes are the most involved in cultural events. Within each class people with cumulated resources score higher than those with primarily cultural resources. Almost all cultural participation here is characterized by an elitist

Table 1 Analysis of variance (MCA) of cultural consumption on the seven categories of the social space.

Social Space	percentage going to cultural events ^a			
	architecture	classical concerts	art museums	theater
Lower class				
Culturally low / Economically low	40.6%	12.6%	12.7%	17.5%
Middle class				
Economically moderate / Culturally low	56.5%	18.5%	22.3%	19.1%
Economically moderate / Culturally moderate	74.5%	43.0%	45.5%	38.0%
Culturally moderate / Economically low	57.8%	20.2%	29.6%	25.0%
Higher class				
Economically high / Culturally moderate-low	79.0%	46.8%	48.3%	33.9%
Economically high / Culturally high	91.6%	70.2%	76.4%	54.0%
Culturally high / Economically moderate-low	85.0%	54.0%	66.6%	50.8%
<i>Eta</i>	.35	.38	.41	.27
Social Space	percentage preferring book genres ^a			
	Dutch literature	detectives Science Fiction	romantic novels	literature in a foreign language
Lower class				
Culturally low / Economically low	32.6%	28.7%	26.9%	8.4%
Middle class				
Economically moderate / Culturally low	32.6%	40.7%	16.2%	9.2%
Economically moderate / Culturally moderate	59.4%	53.5%	15.6%	26.0%
Culturally moderate / Economically low	51.2%	51.2%	32.2%	16.3%
Higher class				
Economically high / Culturally moderate-low	73.0%	61.0%	7.1%	38.6%
Economically high / Culturally high	82.3%	59.2%	7.6%	40.9%
Culturally high / Economically moderate-low	63.7%	62.6%	4.5%	46.1%
<i>Eta</i>	.39	.24	.15	.32
Social Space	percentage preferring television programs ^a			
	soap operas	reality programs	action movies	artistic programs
Lower class				
Culturally low / Economically low	37.7%	48.4%	46.3%	15.7%
Middle class				
Economically moderate / Culturally low	31.2%	44.5%	43.2%	18.7%
Economically moderate / Culturally moderate	19.1%	30.0%	38.5%	40.5%
Culturally moderate / Economically low	22.3%	37.1%	33.6%	22.7%
Higher class				
Economically high / Culturally moderate-low	27.3%	16.5%	51.5%	47.1%
Economically high / Culturally high	14.6%	11.2%	36.3%	52.2%
Culturally high / Economically moderate-low	12.1%	14.6%	29.7%	52.2%
<i>Eta</i>	.20	.26	.11	.30

Source. Family Survey Dutch Population 2000 (N=1,251).
a Controlled for birth cohort and gender.

nature. At cultural events, because of the visibility of participants and the opportunities for social contact with similar cultural connoisseurs, it is relatively simple to show good cultural taste.

The middle panel of Table 1 depicts people's preferences for book genres. In addition to the elitist literary genres, more popular book genres, such as romantic fiction and exciting novels (detectives and science fiction) are considered. Although buying books presupposes financial means, books can also be lent from libraries rather inexpensively. Table 1 shows that reading literature is certainly a behavior of the higher social classes; more than 60% of the people in the highest class reads Dutch literature, and more than 40% reads literature in a foreign language. For Dutch literature in the highest class, again the pattern of the largest preference of people with cumulated resources is found; 82% of the people with cumulated resources reads Dutch literature, compared to 64% of the people with primarily cultural resources. Contrastingly reading literature in a foreign language is most favoured by people who have primarily cultural resources (46% versus 41%). This result refutes my expectation. For reading exciting books the within class differences are relatively small. The results do show that reading exciting books is preferred a bit more in the higher classes. Reading romantic fiction is visibly a lower-class phenomenon; in the lowest classes 27% admits to read romantic fiction, while less than 7% of the people in the highest classes reads these books. A striking result is observed in the middle classes. People with mainly cultural resources clearly prefer romantic fiction to a larger extent (32%) than the contrast groups. However, this may be a result of a female overrepresentation among the readers of romantic fiction. Women are also over-represented in the cultural middle class, which may cause this unexpected result.

The lowest panel of Table 1 shows the social differentiation of television program preferences. It is clear that watching television in general is something popular that does not require generous financial resources. Consequently, the lowest social classes are relatively often frequent viewers (Kraaykamp, 2001). This pattern is also evident in Table 1. Except for artistic programs on TV, people from the lowest classes prefer all the television programs most. A striking result, however, is that within each class the people with primarily economic resources like popular television programs more than the other members of their class. For instance, within the highest class, 27% of the people with economic resources prefer soap operas, compared to 14% of the other members in the highest class. The same pattern pertains to reality TV and action movies. A possible explanation is that for people with economic status, viewing popular television is an accepted leisure time activity, whereas for cultural people, television viewing harms their status. Preferring artistic television programs is atypical in the media sphere. Unlike all other television programs, the artistic

ones are favoured in particular by the higher classes. Within the middle classes, the differentiation between people with cumulated resources and people with primarily cultural or economic resources shows up again.

Consumption of materialistic products and moral attitudes

More materialistic preferences entail consuming luxury items and conveying traditional moral opinions. Bourdieu (1984) mentions these tastes as symbols of an economic lifestyle. I analyze materialistic taste expressions in three fields: owning consumer durables, using financial products and subscribing to traditional moral opinions. Again, I select items that cover elitist as well as popular lifestyle expressions. Table 2 gives information on the social distinctions in these tastes.

The top panel of Table 2 shows the differentiation with respect to owning consumer durables. In selecting certain goods, cultural competencies may play a role. As expected, the higher classes own a musical instrument, a cell phone, art objects, and over 5 luxury durables, more often than the lower classes. In particular, art objects like modern paintings and antique furniture are more regularly found in the homes of the elite. As to these art objects the expected pattern is observed for the middle classes; people with accumulated resources own art more frequently (49%), than their class alike counterparts (32% and 27%). A similar distinction, but less profound, is observed in the higher classes. In addition, playing a musical instrument is something that undoubtedly belongs to the taste expressions of people with cultural resources. Financial means do however matter, as is shown by the result that middle and higher class people with cumulated resources score the highest. When it comes to the quantity of luxury durables the economically advantaged possess more luxury items than the culturally advantaged. Owning a cell phone is distributed almost equally in all classes. What is more surprising is that people with abundant cultural resources from the middle and highest classes are within their class the least attached to the cell phone. To them the cell phone might well be a product that reflects a non-cultural taste.

The middle panel of Table 2 shows the results on the use of financial products. These products (stocks, options, credit facilities and annuity savings) are typically the taste expressions of an economic elite. People from the economic elite tend to feel that money makes the world go round. Products that enhance economic status are thus more attractive to people from these elites. Indeed, stocks and options are typically something for the higher classes; of the low class people 21% owns stocks compared to 60% of the people from the highest class. Among the middle classes people with cumulated resources more often have stocks than people with primarily cultural or economic resources. As regards owning options, the same pattern occurs in the middle classes, but in the higher classes people with predominantly economic resources score the

Table 2 Analysis of variance (MCA) of the consumption of products and attitudes on the seven categories of the social space.

Social Space	percentage possessing durables ^a			
	musical instrument	art objects	luxury durables (>5)	cell phone
Lower class				
Culturally low / Economically low	2.7%	23.0%	62.5%	64.3%
Middle class				
Economically moderate / Culturally low	4.4%	31.6%	75.8%	72.4%
Economically moderate / Culturally moderate	17.2%	48.6%	79.2%	71.3%
Culturally moderate / Economically low	8.8%	27.3%	66.6%	51.2%
Higher class				
Economically high / Culturally moderate-low	11.1%	62.2%	90.8%	90.2%
Economically high / Culturally high	27.0%	67.4%	83.7%	78.8%
Culturally high / Economically moderate-low	23.9%	63.9%	83.8%	68.7%
<i>Eta</i>	.25	.32	.20	.18
Social Space	percentage having financial products ^a			
	stocks	options	credit facilities	annuity savings
Lower class				
Culturally low / Economically low	20.7%	6.7%	20.0%	9.5%
Middle class				
Economically moderate / Culturally low	35.3%	6.4%	19.0%	21.4%
Economically moderate / Culturally moderate	43.0%	12.5%	16.3%	19.2%
Culturally moderate / Economically low	28.1%	6.4%	3.9%	13.5%
Higher class				
Economically high / Culturally moderate-low	58.9%	22.1%	10.8%	47.6%
Economically high / Culturally high	59.8%	16.5%	8.8%	41.2%
Culturally high / Economically moderate-low	60.8%	16.9%	13.8%	28.0%
<i>Eta</i>	.28	.15	.14	.26
Social Space	percentage subscribing to social attitudes ^a			
	sexual permissiveness	liberal on moral issues	religious involvement	post-materialism
Lower class				
Culturally low / Economically low	17.0%	11.4%	27.2%	15.5%
Middle class				
Economically moderate / Culturally low	12.0%	16.7%	25.1%	17.3%
Economically moderate / Culturally moderate	22.8%	27.6%	28.9%	28.7%
Culturally moderate / Economically low	23.6%	22.0%	28.7%	32.7%
Higher class				
Economically high / Culturally moderate-low	27.9%	30.2%	28.4%	34.7%
Economically high / Culturally high	31.2%	40.1%	17.3%	28.5%
Culturally high / Economically moderate-low	28.6%	28.0%	18.9%	46.4%
<i>Eta</i>	.14	.20	.08	.20

Source: Family Survey Dutch Population 2000 (N=1,251).
a Controlled for birth cohort and gender.

highest; 22% owns options. A possible explanation might be that the economic elite is more inclined to take risks and buys options to generate financial wealth. With respect to pension facilities through annuity savings, it is surprising that the cultural elite is less inclined to save for their old age. Putting money aside for a pension seems to be typical of people who are nowadays earning enough money to save some. The use of credit facilities is more widespread among the lower classes. Since a lack of money sometimes hinders consumption in these classes, this result is not surprising.

The bottom panel of Table 2 shows the social differentiation regarding moral attitudes. Bourdieu (1984) states that the economic elite is characterized by its relatively traditional opinions in moral issues, whereas the cultural elite is rather modern in its attitudes. As regards sexual permissiveness, the results reveal a clear class-based relation; the higher classes are much more liberal on sexual issues than the lower classes. There is however one exception. Middle class people with predominantly economic resources are quite conservative with respect to sexual permissiveness. To some extent, this underscores Bourdieu's notion of a traditional economic elite. When it comes to moral issues like abortion, euthanasia, and homosexuality, the expected pattern for people with cumulated resources shows up again. In the highest and the middle classes, people with cumulated resources are clearly more liberal than people with one type of resources. As to religious involvement and post-materialism a contrasting pattern is observed; religious affinity is apparently typical of the lower social classes, and post-materialism of the higher classes. More specifically, religious involvement is observed least among people from the highest class with abundant cultural resources; it seems that cultural competency reduces the belief in a divine creator. Post-materialistic attitudes are most widespread among the cultural elites. In general, on the moral issues cited here, the variations within the elite clearly underscore the notion that in addition to a cultural and economic elite, there is also an elite with cumulated resources that holds relatively liberal attitudes.

Eating and drinking habits

According to Bourdieu (1984) social differentiation can manifest itself in virtually all the domains of human life. Let us examine preferences in eating and drinking as regards the consumption of food products, food acquisition and preparation methods, and drinking preferences (Bourdieu, 1984; Warde, Martens & Olsen, 1999). It is obvious that there are elitist as well as popular taste distinctions in eating and drinking. I have tried to select features that illustrate both taste groups. In Table 3, I present the results of the analyses of the social distinction in eating and drinking.

The top panel of Table 3 analyzes the consumption of four food products: French fries, white bread, fried eggs and mushrooms. If a person has a product

Table 3 Analysis of variance (MCA) of eating and drinking habits on the seven categories of the social space.

Social Space	percentage had a product at least once a week ^a			
	French fries	white bread	fried eggs	mushrooms
Lower class				
Culturally low / Economically low	46.2%	41.1%	41.2%	46.7%
Middle class				
Economically moderate / Culturally low	52.4%	27.8%	39.3%	53.2%
Economically moderate / Culturally moderate	37.5%	30.0%	31.0%	58.9%
Culturally moderate / Economically low	33.8%	28.5%	32.6%	53.4%
Higher class				
Economically high / Culturally moderate-low	35.2%	30.2%	35.7%	62.6%
Economically high / Culturally high	20.7%	18.3%	22.3%	72.8%
Culturally high / Economically moderate-low	27.6%	15.2%	30.0%	67.0%
<i>Eta</i>	.18	.16	.12	.15

Social Space	percentage food preparation/acquisition at least once a week ^a			
	take-away or ready-made meals	home-made meals	preparation in olive oil	preparation in butter
Lower class				
Culturally low / Economically low	12.8%	82.5%	39.2%	12.4%
Middle class				
Economically moderate / Culturally low	13.8%	80.8%	50.6%	9.6%
Economically moderate / Culturally moderate	18.8%	85.3%	65.8%	19.1%
Culturally moderate / Economically low	17.4%	87.0%	45.8%	9.7%
Higher class				
Economically high / Culturally moderate-low	18.3%	83.9%	59.1%	31.0%
Economically high / Culturally high	26.7%	73.4%	66.1%	23.8%
Culturally high / Economically moderate-low	19.3%	84.7%	80.1%	18.8%
<i>Eta</i>	.10	.09	.26	.16

Social Space	percentage drinking at least once in the previous week ^a			
	fruit juice	red wine	white wine	liquor
Lower class				
Culturally low / Economically low	69.6%	19.3%	16.6%	17.2%
Middle class				
Economically moderate / Culturally low	69.3%	33.4%	17.5%	17.0%
Economically moderate / Culturally moderate	78.3%	39.2%	28.2%	24.2%
Culturally moderate / Economically low	72.8%	29.2%	22.9%	20.0%
Higher class				
Economically high / Culturally moderate-low	73.7%	50.2%	44.6%	26.4%
Economically high / Culturally high	84.5%	73.7%	49.6%	33.9%
Culturally high / Economically moderate-low	83.2%	50.6%	32.4%	22.4%
<i>Eta</i>	.12	.30	.22	.11

Source. Family Survey Dutch Population 2000 (N=1,251).
^a Controlled for birth cohort and gender.

at least once a week, this is considered a preference for it. Generally, the selection of food products is associated with knowledge on health effects and how well-to-do a person is. Our results show that French fries, white bread and fried eggs are definitely favoured by the lower classes. In the lower classes eating more greasy food and less grains is more common, due to financial problems, information deficits and status considerations. Surprisingly, within a class, people with mainly economic resources are the most unhealthy eaters; they relatively often have French fries and fried eggs compared to their class alike counterparts. It is the elite who combines the two types of resources that has the healthiest eating habits. This would seem to support the claim that an elite with cumulated resources is more cultural in taste than an elite with primarily cultural resources. Mushrooms seemingly have more of an appeal to the elites; the higher classes tend to have mushrooms more often (65%) than the lower classes (47%). Within the classes no meaningful distinctions can be drawn.

The middle panel of Table 3 consists of four food acquisition and food preparation techniques. We asked if the respondent had a take-away meal, a home-made meal, a meal prepared in olive oil and a meal prepared in butter at least once a week. Take-away meals are more frequently eaten by the higher classes than the lower classes. Within the higher classes, people with combined resources tend to prefer the convenience of take-away or ready-made meals the most. Not surprisingly, a contrasting pattern is observed for home-made meals. Here, the people with combined resources in the highest class are the ones who least frequently make their own meals at home. So, there is a clear pattern in food acquisition that confirms my expectations. The elite who combines both types of resources consumes more materialistically than those with primarily economic resources. The last two items refer to food preparation. The use of olive oil in preparing meals is a high class custom. It is the elite with mainly cultural resources who seems to favor olive oil the most. Within the middle class, the people with combined resources use olive oil the most. The use of butter in preparing food is rather expensive, and although it is unhealthy it is more restricted to the higher classes. In particular people with primarily economic resources use butter relatively often. A possible explanation might be that for people who are relatively unaware of its negative effects, butter gives the illusion of affluence.

The third panel of Table 3 shows the social differences in drinking habits. The respondents were asked whether they had fruit juice, red wine, white wine, and liquor at least once a week. Drinking fruit juice is undoubtedly healthy and one would assume it to be a preference of the cultural elite. Indeed, the elites do drink more often fruit juice than the lower classes. The elite people with cultural resources tend to drink fruit juice somewhat more than those with primarily economic resources, as was expected. Alcoholic beverages are also drunk more by the higher classes than the lower classes. An obvious explanation is the financial expense of drinking frequently. As regards taste differences in alcohol

drinking, some striking results have been observed. The people with cumulated resources have red wine more often than those who mainly have either economic or cultural resources. This underscores the point that combined cultural and economic resources provides the elite with the opportunity to buy expensive quality products that express good taste and prestige. Members of the elite with primarily one resource either lack the money or the knowledge to frequently enjoy red wine. A similar pattern is observed for white wine and liquor, but it is less profound. Within a class people who combine the two types of resources drink more white wine and liquor than those with only one type of resources. The observed differentiation in eating and drinking preferences is thought to confirm the claim that people with cumulated resources differ on several tastes from people with primarily cultural or economic resources.

Conclusion and discussion

Sociological research acknowledges that lifestyle distinctions stem from the social inequality in resources. The main factor responsible for inequality in resources lies in people's social positions. In studying lifestyle differentiation, scholars often distinguish a cultural and an economic ranking of social positions. Economic resources refer to financial wealth and are acquired through income and a job in the economic field. Cultural resources pertain to cultural competence, and are obtained through schooling and a job in the cultural field. These hierarchies of economic and cultural resources are presumed to hold their own elites. The cultural elite expresses its status position by cultural consumption and modern attitudes, and the economic elite is characterized by materialistic preferences and traditionalism.

In this article, I investigate the consequences of an accumulation of cultural and economic resources in particular status groups for taste differentiation. I emphasize that the common distinction of an economic and cultural hierarchy in society is too strict. There are people with cultural as well as economic resources and at each class level the people who combine cultural and economic resources can be expected to be the most elitist in their taste; people with accumulated resources are more cultural than those with primarily cultural resources and more materialistic than those with primarily economic resources. The research question reads: To what extent do people who have cultural as well as economic resources differ in taste from people with primarily economic or cultural resources? To answer this question, I have constructed a multi-dimensional social space in which I largely follow Bourdieu in differentiating between people's amount of resources and type of resources. First, I distinguish three class levels related to people's quantity of resources. In the lowest classes, people are mainly identified by their lack of either type of resources. Second, at the middle and high class level I draw a distinction between three

positions; people with cultural resources, people with economic resources, and people with resources of both types. I state that the third group that combines cultural as well as economic resources is a specific status group in the social space. More specifically, I argue that this group should not be situated between the cultural and economic status groups, but should be positioned above these uni-dimensional groups. It is in these groups that an accumulation of resources is apparent. I think my representation of the social space is an improvement over the standard measures of separate economic and cultural rankings. In fact, my multi-dimensional description concretizes Bourdieu's non-linear representation of the social space in combining aspects of the two types of resources.

I analyze cultural consumption, materialistic preferences and eating and drinking habits to test whether my representation of the social space is reflected in taste distinctions. At the high class level meaningful within-class distinctions have been observed for 27 out of the 36 taste expressions, and at the middle level up to 32 of the 36 taste expressions show relevant distinctions. For instance, in the case of cultural participation and reading literature within each class the people with cumulated resources score higher than those who mainly have cultural resources. This is a clear confirmation of my expectations. As regards television viewing, within each class the people who primarily have economic resources like popular programs more than their class alike counterparts. Furthermore, people with cumulated resources relatively often own art objects and musical instruments. The financial products I study are typically related to people with economic resources. With respect to moral issues, my analyses reveal that in addition to a cultural and economic elite, there is an elite with cumulated resources that is characterized by its liberal attitude. Finally, within each class people with predominantly economic resources eat in a comparatively unhealthy way; they fairly often eat French fries and fried eggs. The elite with accumulated resources has the healthiest eating habits and more often favors take-away or ready-made meals, which also is a confirmation of my expectations. A study of the taste differences in drinking revealed that red wine, white wine and liquor are usually preferred by people with both types of resources. This again confirms the expectation that a combination of cultural and economic resources gives the elite an opportunity to consume expensive products that express good taste.

In general, my research shows that in the Netherlands taste differences reflect the distinction in economic and cultural resources. Moreover, my refinement of Bourdieu's social space in distinguishing a group of people at each class level with both types of resources seems successful. For most of the 36 taste expressions, meaningful within-class differences have been revealed. Financial wealth not only gives elite groups an opportunity to consume more materialistically, it also makes it possible to consume expensive cultural goods. And abundant cultural abilities provides the elite with the competency to consume more exclusively.

ABSTRACT

Cumulative Advantages and Inequality in Lifestyle. A Dutch Description of Distinction in Taste

Gerbert Kraaykamp

In this article I study Bourdieu's distinction of status groups based on cultural and economic resources using recent data on a representative sample of the Dutch population (N=1561). More specifically, I examine the consequences of an accumulation of cultural and economic resources for taste differentiation. The research question reads: *To what extent do people with cultural as well as economic resources differ in taste from people with primarily economic or cultural resources?* First, I construct a multi-dimensional social space in which I largely follow Bourdieu in differentiating between a person's amount of resources and type of resources. As an elaboration at each class level a status group that combines cultural and economic resources is considered. Second, I analyze differences in cultural consumption, materialistic preferences and eating and drinking habits, to test whether my representation of the social space is reflected in taste differences. My research clearly shows that in the Netherlands there is taste differentiation between status groups with cumulated resources and status groups with specific types of resources (at each class level). For most of the 36 taste expressions meaningful within-class differences for the group with cumulated resources are revealed.

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- Appendix 1 Tabular representation of the social space based on the level of cultural and economic resources.

Appendix 1 Tabular representation of the social space based on the level of cultural and economic resources

		cultural resources		
		low	middle	high
economic	low	1	4	7
	middle	2	3	
	high		5	6

Lower class

1 = Culturally low / Economically low (N=317)

Middle class

2 = Economically moderate / Culturally low (N=191)

3 = Economically moderate / Culturally moderate (N=385)

4 = Culturally moderate / Economically low (N=123)

Higher class

5 = Economically high / Culturally moderate-low (N=64)

6 = Economically high / Culturally high (N=85)

7 = Culturally high / Economically moderate-low (N=86)

Appendix 2 List of Dependent Variables and Their Construction.

Variable	Description
Visiting Architecture	0 = Never; 100 = At least once a year
Visiting Classical Concerts	0 = Never; 100 = At least once a year
Visiting Arts Museums	0 = Never; 100 = At least once a year
Visiting Theater	0 = Never; 100 = At least once a year
Preferring Dutch Literature	0 = Never; 100 = Sometimes / Often
Preferring Detectives, Science Fiction	0 = Never; 100 = Sometimes / Often
Preferring Romantic Novels	0 = Never; 100 = Sometimes / Often
Preferring Literature in a Foreign Language	0 = Never; 100 = Sometimes / Often
Preferring Soap Operas on Television	0 = Not (at all) Attractive ; 100 = (Highly) Attractive
Preferring Reality Programs on Television	0 = Not (at all) Attractive ; 100 = (Highly) Attractive
Preferring Action Movies on Television	0 = Not (at all) Attractive ; 100 = (Highly) Attractive
Preferring Artistic Programs on Television	0 = Not (at all) Attractive ; 100 = (Highly) Attractive
Possessing Musical Instrument	0 = No ; 100 = Yes (refers to piano, violin or cello)
Possessing Art Objects	0 = No ; 100 = Yes (refers to antique furniture, modern art objects and classical art objects)
Possessing more than 5 Luxury Durables	0 = No ; 100 = Yes (refers to possessing CD-player, VCR, videocamera, micro wave oven, freezer, dishwasher, broad screen color TV, multimedia PC, internet-account, mini-disc player, CD-recorder)
Possessing a Cell Phone	0 = No ; 100 = Yes
Possessing Stocks	0 = No ; 100 = Yes
Using Options	0 = No ; 100 = Yes
Using Credit Facilities	0 = No ; 100 = Yes
Possessing Annuity Savings	0 = No ; 100 = Yes
Sexual Permissiveness	0 = 0-75% ; 100 = 75-100% (average rank score for 2 items referring to sexual permissiveness (disagree strongly (1) to agree strongly (5); $\alpha = .66$)
Liberal on Moral Issues	0 = 0-75% ; 100 = 75-100% (average rank score for 5 items referring to a liberal attitude in moral issues (disagree strongly (1) to agree strongly (5); $\alpha = .65$)
Religious Involvement	0 = 0-75% ; 100 = 75-100% (average rank score for 6 items referring to religious involvement (disagree strongly (1) to agree strongly (5); $\alpha = .64$)
Post-Materialism	0 = 0-75% ; 100 = 75-100% (average rank score for 8 items measuring post-materialism according to Inglehart)
Consuming French Fries	0 = Less than once a week ; 100 = At least once a week
Consuming White Bread	0 = Less than once a week ; 100 = At least once a week
Consuming Fried Eggs	0 = Less than once a week ; 100 = At least once a week
Consuming Mushrooms	0 = Less than once a week ; 100 = At least once a week
Acquiring Take-away/ready-made Meals	0 = Less than once a week ; 100 = At least once a week
Acquiring Home-Made meals	0 = Less than once a week ; 100 = At least once a week
Preparation in Olive Oil	0 = Less than once a week ; 100 = At least once a week
Preparation in Butter	0 = Less than once a week ; 100 = At least once a week
Drinking Fruit Juice	0 = Not in previous week ; 100 = At least once in previous week
Drinking Red Wine	0 = Not in previous week ; 100 = At least once in previous week
Drinking White Wine	0 = Not in previous week ; 100 = At least once in previous week
Drinking Liquor	0 = Not in previous week ; 100 = At least once in previous week