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Lifestyles in distressed neighborhoods A test of Bourdieu's "taste of necessity" hypothesis

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Abstract

In his theory of social inequality and lifestyle groups, Bourdieu (1979) argued that lower classes exhibit a "taste of necessity". His main argument is that members of the lower classes are not able to sufficiently convert economic capital into cultural or social capital and vice versa, i.e. to successfully increase their capital volume. This hypothesis has neither been operationalized nor tested so far. We will give an explicit formulation of Bourdieu's theory and develop a test, using indicators derived from Bourdieu's work *Distinction*. We then apply our model to data from lower class members living in distressed neighborhoods in Cologne, Germany.

Groups belonging to the lower classes are located in a "social space", with dimensions to be interpreted as "capital volume" and "composition of cultural and economic capital". We show that members of the lower classes cannot sufficiently increase their capital volume since they cannot efficiently convert "cultural capital" into "economic capital" and vice versa, a fact that supports Bourdieu's assumption of a "taste of necessity".

1. Introduction

Bourdieu's book "*Distinction*" (1984), first published in France in 1979, is one of the major contributions to social stratification research. Bourdieu is mainly interested in identifying different groups in a society (operationalized by occupation and labelled as "class fractions") within the upper, the middle and the lower classes. He describes groups of occupations by lifestyle attributes, thus combining elements of traditional stratification research with the concept of "lifestyles". In subsequent years, his work became important in many different areas in the social sciences (cf. Sallaz and Zavisca, 2007).

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Central to his work is the concept of ''taste''. Taste allows individuals to distinguish themselves from others in a variety by everyday life domains. They are described by combinations of common lifestyle attributes. Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) as well as Bourdieu (1984) were able to differentiate taste between different class fractions within the upper and within the middle classes, but not within the lower classes. They posit that due to economic restrictions members of the lower classes are unable to develop and perform a specific taste; instead they all have a uniform ''taste of necessity''.

Although there is discussion on this topic, it mainly refers to cultural reproduction (Aydin, 2006), showing that members of the lower classes are restricted in their consumption and in their possibilities to deal with it (Rey, 2004; Kochuyt, 2004). But taste is more than the absence of money, taste remains when people's income is increasing or decreasing. Further, Bourdieu (1984) assigned the ''taste of necessity'' to the lower classes in general, not to a subgroup of persons receiving social welfare or unemployment benefit. Neither Bourdieu nor any of his scholars formalized this theory, nor supplied sufficient details of the methodological background of his empirical applications. Thus, both confirmation and rejection of his argument require a formal statement of his assumptions and a methodology which allows for an empirical test, as shown by Lamont and Lareau (1988).

The aim of the paper is threefold: First, we formalize Bourdieu's theory, including the methodological background, and discuss Bourdieu's operationalization of economic and cultural capital, capital volume and the decomposition of capital, followed by the propositions on the ''taste of necessity''. Second, we introduce the neighborhood as an alternative indicator to subdivide the population along a stratification criterion within the lower classes. Third, we introduce indicators to measure economic and cultural capital and state how lifestyle attributes and taste are linked to the two forms of capital. To construct the *social space* of the lower classes we use correspondence analysis—which is the method Bourdieu applied in *Distinction* (cf. The BMS, 1994; Rouanet et al., 2000). This facilitates an empirical test of Bourdieu's assumptions about the ''taste of necessity'' using data from distressed neighborhoods in Cologne, Germany.

2. Theory

2.1. Basic concepts and recent developments in the theory of Bourdieu

In *La Distinction* (1979, 1984), Bourdieu takes on what has been characterized by Weber (1922) as manifestations of lifestyles (''Lebensführung''): clothing, eating, drinking and the manner of performing art. Bourdieu describes social classes by means of such lifestyle attributes, classifying them with respect to occupation. At the first level, which we call ''rough distinctions'', he differentiates between the upper, middle and lower classes. At the second level, Bourdieu decomposes these three classes into ''class fractions'', again according to their occupations. To each of the class fractions within the three classes he assigns specific compositions of lifestyle attributes which in turn generate what he refers to as ''taste'' or as ''dissociation (or distance) from necessity'' (Bourdieu, 1984: 57, 177). Both social classes and their subdivisions, i.e., class fractions, are differentiated by the taste of their members.

The upper classes are represented, for example, by executives, industrial managers, artists, self-employed academics and university professors; the middle classes by nurses, middle management positions and civil servants; the lower classes mainly by skilled and unskilled workers. Members of these class fractions are characterized by a specific composition of lifestyle

attributes. The differences in lifestyles and tastes between the fractions (within the classes) constitute ''subtle distinctions''.

To describe the composition of lifestyle attributes in relation to the social positions (the occupational groups), Bourdieu (1983, 1984) defines three types of capital: economic, cultural and social capital. The economic capital comprises all sources of income (e.g., salary, interests) as well as the security of income. The cultural capital comprises formal education, specific kinds of knowledge of arts (e.g., the names of operas and painters), and possessions of cultural objects such as paintings and antique furniture. Social capital combines the quantity and quality of social relationships, e.g., the size and the density of social networks.

The three types of capital are mutually transferable (Bourdieu, 1983, 1984: 125). Economic capital allows a person to acquire cultural capital, e.g., to buy paintings or to attend art performances, and to gain social capital, e.g., by becoming a member of a golf club. Further, the relationships are symmetric, since cultural capital can be converted into economic and social capital, and social capital into economic and cultural capital. The nature of the relationships between the three kinds of capital depends on the type of class, on the class fractions and the taste of their members; their exchange mechanisms are different (Bourdieu, 1983). We concentrate our analyses on cultural and economic capital, since the operationalization of social capital requires a large number of questions and because Bourdieu (1984) did not use this type of capital in his empirical work (for an inclusion of social networks, see De Nooy, 2003).

On the level of distinctions between the three classes (rough distinctions), Bourdieu defines the ''distinguished taste'' to describe the upper classes. Within these classes, Bourdieu (1984) describes different combinations of lifestyle attributes, i.e., different tastes. He further shows that the members of the different class fractions use their taste to distinguish themselves from other class fractions and especially from the members of the (upper) middle classes because the latter aspire to enter the upper classes. Bourdieu differentiates between those who hold above average cultural capital but relatively low economic capital, for example, university professors, and those who posses higher than above average economic capital, but relatively low cultural capital, for example, industrial managers. It has to be noted that – compared to the entire population – university professors also have above average economic capital and that industrial managers typically have a university degree. For a substantial increase of capital volume, members of the upper classes use that type of capital which is relatively high to increase those types of capital which are relatively low.

Bourdieu (1984) expresses the taste of the middle classes as the ''pursuit of educational achievements''. Within these classes, there is a distinction between the members of those fractions having a relatively high economic capital and a relatively low cultural capital and those who hold a relatively high cultural capital and a relatively low economic capital. Compared to the entire population, the economic and cultural capital of the members of the middle classes is average. Within the middle classes, members of the class fractions use their taste to distinguish themselves from the members of the lower classes and – like members of the upper classes – they employ that type of capital which is relatively high to increase those types of capital which are relatively low. They may, thus, by an increase of their capital volume aspire to become members of the upper classes.

Whereas the fractions (e.g. the occupational groups) of the upper and middle classes are able to convert their capitals so as to increase their capital volume, this conversion is not possible for members of the lower classes the taste of whom Bourdieu describes as the ''taste of necessity''. Although the class fractions are distinguished by the forms of capital, lower class members composition of economic, cultural, and social capitals is due to chance. Because of their weaker

economic position and lower education, members of the lower classes have to take care of ''the necessary'' and therefore their taste results from ''resignation to necessity'' (Bourdieu 1984: 380, cf. p. 53–55).

Lower class members live under conditions of scarcity, they act according to the principle of conformity as Bourdieu (1984: 378–379) posits: ''Thus, although working-class practices may seem to be deduced directly from the economic conditions, since they ensure a saving of money, time and effort, that would in any case be of low profitability, they stem from a choice of the necessary ('That's not for us'), both in the sense of what is technically necessary, 'practical' (or, as others would say, functional), i.e., needed in order to 'get by', to do 'the proper thing and no more' and what is imposed by an economic and social necessity condemning 'simple', 'modest' people to 'simple', 'modest' tastes''. However, Bourdieu (1984: 390) admits distinctions among lower class members, e.g., ''The proportion of individuals who have no educational qualification at all (or whose father had none) declines sharply as one moves from the unskilled laborers, through the semi-skilled and skilled workers, to the foremen''.

In contrast, the members of middle and upper classes have the (economic) means to dissociate themselves from the ''sphere of necessity''. The objective distance allows them to detach themselves purposively and, furthermore, to style – or as we might say: to design – their life (Bourdieu, 1984: 55). Thus, the basic mechanism accounting for class differences in taste is dissociation from the necessary. ''These conditions of existence, which are the precondition for all learning of legitimate culture, ..., are characterized by the suspension and removal of economic necessity and by objective and subjective distance from practical urgencies, which is the basis of objective and subjective distance from groups subjected to those determinisms'' (Bourdieu, 1984: 54).

Thus, the logic of necessity implies a somewhat nonlinear conception of culture. This may not be a valid assumption, since researchers from various countries (Peterson, 1992; cf. Peterson and Simkus, 1992; Peterson, 2005; Vander Stichele and Laermans, 2006; Coulangeon and Lemel, 2007) have shown that persons of higher social status exhibit a broad spectrum of musical preferences, including popular music, – they are ''cultural omnivores''. While this finding contradicts Bourdieu, a second finding supports his view: Lower class people have a restricted spectrum of musical preferences. A German test of the Peterson hypothesis has shown that high-status persons are much less tolerant towards low-brow or low-status preferences than those in the U.S. (Neuhoff, 2001). Hence, these findings support both of Bourdieu's assumptions.

2.2. *Explication of Bourdieu's theory*

Central to most work based on Bourdieu's theory as described in *Distinction* is the construction of a *social space*, which typically has two dimensions, described either as ''economic capital'' and ''cultural capital'' or as ''composition of economic and cultural capital'' and ''capital volume''. The *social space* is usually constructed by a set of unordered categorical variables, mainly lifestyle attributes. We agree with Bourdieu that the most adequate method for this aim is (multiple) correspondence analysis (cf. BMS, 1994; Rouanet et al., 2000).

Fig. 1 shows the *social space* constructed by indicators of cultural and economic capital within and between the three classes. The horizontal axis represents the ''cultural capital'' and the vertical axis the ''economic capital''. The upper right part of Fig. 1 belongs to the members of the upper classes, the center to those of the middle classes and the lower left part to those of the lower classes. The dashed diagonal line running from the lower left to the upper right symbolizes the ''capital volume''; it stretches from the lower classes via the middle classes to the upper classes.

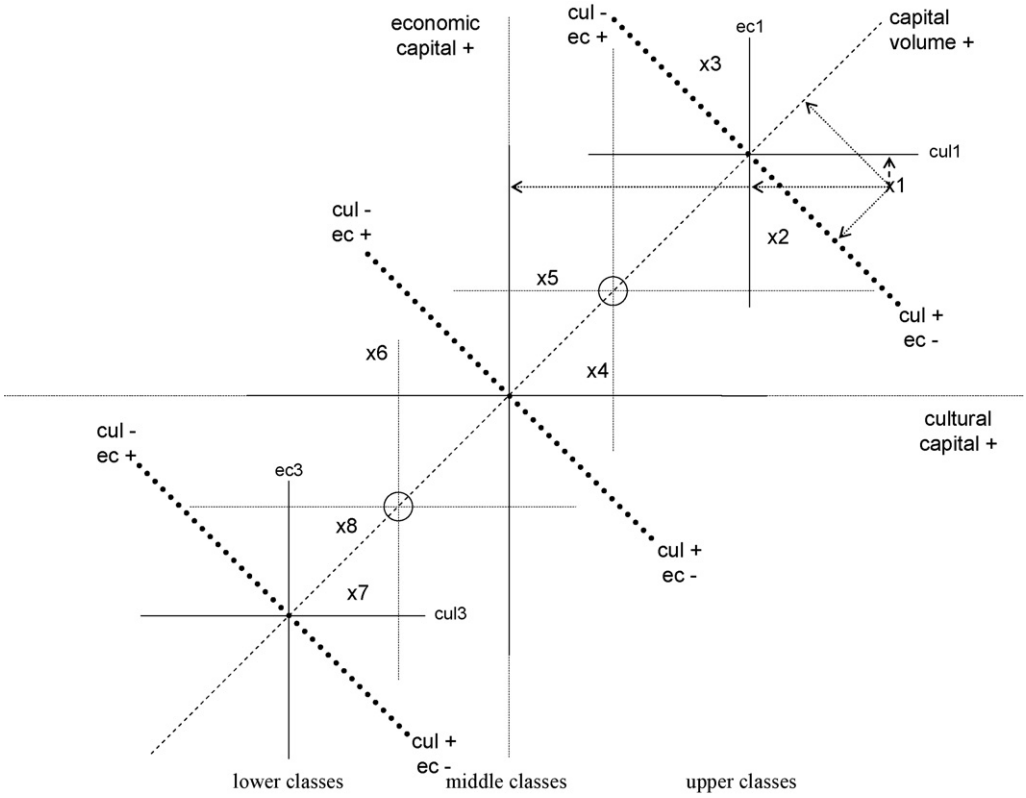


Fig. 1. The *social space* constructed by indicators of cultural and economic capital within and between classes.

The borders are marked by thin horizontal and vertical lines. For optimizing the graphical display, in Fig. 1 all three classes have approximately the same size.

It should be noted that there is no statistical algorithm within (multiple) correspondence analysis (as well as in other factorial approaches such as factor analysis and principal component analysis) which determines the direction of the principal axes. It is often only for aesthetic reasons that one prefers to have the high or positive values on the right part of the first dimension and on the top part of the second dimension of the map. If one obtains the opposite solution, it is possible – even without notifying the reader – to multiply every category of a certain axis with ''−1'' to change the direction (see, for example, Blasius and Greenacre, 1994). Further, the distinction between first, second and higher dimensions (they are not interchangeable) strongly depends on the number of items that belong to a certain dimension. In case there are significantly more items that describe the cultural capital than the economic capital, the cultural capital should appear on dimension 1, the economic capital on dimension 2 (for more details, Blasius, 1994). According to Bourdieu (1984), both capitals form the capital volume and the composition of cultural and economic capital (see below). And again, it depends on the composition of the chosen indicators which form of capital on which dimension (including the superimposed dimensions) appears. Further, in case the indicators of economic and cultural capital do not appear on different dimensions, as in the example ''of musical taste in contemporary France'' (cf. Coulangeon and Lemel, 2007), there is only a main dimension reflecting the ''volume of capital''

and there is no dimension on the ''composition of cultural and economic capital''. With respect to Fig. 1 and a *social space* with economic and cultural capital on different dimensions, for aesthetic reasons the capital volume is running from bottom left to top right, which is fully in accordance with the theory of Bourdieu (1984) and the construction of the *social space* (Rouanet et al., 2000).

Capital volume increases with increasing cultural capital and/or with increasing economic capital. After passing a threshold on the capital volume, marked by empty circles, we move from the lower classes to the middle classes and from the middle classes to the upper classes and vice versa; the position on the capital volume is the indicator for the assignment to a class. Both capitals have to be high to categorize people as members of the upper classes and both have to be low to assign a person or a group of persons to the lower classes. It has to be noted that this is an ''ideal type'' differentiation without any ''errors''. In empirical research one may find some lower class members with a high (or medium) capital volume and some higher class members with a low (or medium) capital volume (compare, for example, Bourdieu, 1984: 128–129).

We included dotted lines to mark the ''composition of cultural and economic capital''. These axes are the core of Bourdieu's empirical description (1984: 262, 340) of upper and middle classes. For these classes he provides a *social space*, which, in contrast, is not constructed for the lower classes. The ''composition of capital''-axes are at right angles to the axis of ''capital volume'' and at 45-degree angles to the axes of cultural and economic capital. Please note, it depends on the empirical data weather economic and cultural capital will serve as first and second dimension (and which of them reflects the first and which the second dimension) and composition of capital and capital volume as superimposed dimensions or if the opposite yields. To give some reading examples for Fig. 1: Suppose ''x1'' is assumed to be the position of a university professor (chair position) in the *social space* of the upper classes. Included are the projections from ''x1'' on all four axes: The economic capital is somewhat below average within the upper classes but clearly above average compared to the total population. The cultural capital is above average within the upper classes, with the effect that the volume of capital is somewhat above average. On the axis of capital composition, the university professor has a relatively high cultural and a relatively low economic capital – compared to the ''average upper classes'', symbolized by the cross of the axes in upper right of Fig. 1. In contrast, an ''associate professor'' (x2) has a cultural capital somewhat above average and an economic capital below average, resulting in a capital volume below average.

The ''industrial manager'' (x3) is assumed to have an economic capital far above average within the upper classes, and although he is assumed to have a university degree, his cultural capital is somewhat below average. With respect to the composition of capitals, he is in axis section of ''high economic and low cultural capital'', and his capital volume is above average.

Different strategies are available to the different social positions of upper class members to increase their capital volume (or to at least retain their position in the *social space* and to keep the distinction from the middle classes). The best strategy for industrial managers would be to use their economic capital (this is above average and can hardly be increased) for expanding their cultural capital (which is below average), for example by attending operas or buying expensive objects of art. University professors can increase their capital volume if they employ their cultural capital (they already have the highest formal education and a broad knowledge) in order to receive additional economic capital (they earn much less than industrial manager), for example, doing research for private companies outside their office hours.

Both class fractions (professors and industrial mangers) have in common that they try to increase their capital volume to retain or to improve their position in the upper classes. Given the

amount and the composition of cultural and economic capital, i.e., the position in the *social space*, the different strategies for increasing the capital volume lead to the development of different combinations of lifestyle attributes, or ''taste'', within the upper classes.

Bourdieu (1984) reported similar mechanisms of capital conversion for the middle classes. Their members either wish to increase their capital volume in order to enter the upper classes or at least to avoid downward mobility. If they have a relatively high cultural capital (for example, x4), it is most efficient to use this type of capital for increasing the economic capital. If they have a relatively high economic capital (x5), it is most efficient to increase the cultural capital.

If the cultural capital is low, e.g., below average for the entire population, even a very high economic capital would not qualify a person as a member of the upper section of the upper classes (x6). For example, if we assume a person to be on the vertical line of ''x6'' (not shown), or even on a line symbolizing a cultural capital above average with respect to the entire population, say on a vertical line of ''x4'', he or she might enter a position in the upper classes but not within their upper part. To achieve this position would require economic capital outside of the defined area of Fig. 1. In other words: independent of a person's economic situation, entering a top rank in the possession of capital volume clearly requires a cultural capital above average within the upper classes. Vice versa, without an economic capital clearly above average, a very high cultural capital is not sufficient for entering the upper part of the upper classes.

As shown by Bourdieu (1984), there are different strategies for increasing the capital volume within the upper classes and within the middle classes; they exhibit different ''tastes'' according to the specific composition of capital. *With respect to the lower classes, Bourdieu (1984) failed to find strategies for efficiently increasing the capital volume.* He concluded that individuals in positions such as ''x7'' and ''x8'' or below are not able to convert the type of capital they command above average to efficiently increase the other two. He assumed that – due to their distressed situation – members of lower class have to take care of their necessity and, therefore, they are unable to develop a particular ''taste''. If, for example, they receive some additional income which increases their economic capital, they cannot use it to significantly increase their cultural capital and hence for an efficient and constant increase of capital volume.

Cultural and economic capitals are independent from each other, as indicated by the right angle between them. As shown, Bourdieu used lifestyle attributes to create a *social space* with two main dimensions (two latent variables): ''composition of economic and cultural capital'' and ''capital volume'' (or when superimposing 45 degree angles, economic and cultural capital). It has to be noted that Bourdieu used the terms ''cultural'' and ''economic capital'' in different ways: In the theoretical part, he assigns different variables to these two forms of capital, e.g., income as part of the economic capital, and years of schooling as part of the cultural capital.

The *social space* is created by correspondence analysis, using lifestyle attributes only. Socio-economic indicators, such as income and years of schooling are included only as supplementary or passive variables, Bourdieu (1984) and some of his scholars use the term ''illustrative variables''. They do not have an impact on the geometric orientation of the axis; i.e., they do not have an impact on the principal inertia of ''economic capital'' and ''cultural capital''. Although these indicators are not involved in the construction of the *social space*, they can be interpreted together with the lifestyle attributes and they can be used to describe the dimensions (cf. Rouanet et al., 2000; Le Roux and Rouanet, 2004).

Like Bourdieu, we use correspondence analysis to construct a *social space* utilizing only lifestyle attributes. To cross-validate the interpretation of the axes of the *social space*, to test Bourdieu's assumptions about the ''taste of necessity'', and to follow his methodology, we project various socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents as supplementary information into

the *social space*. These are: age (with categories ''18 through 25 years'', ''26 through 35 years'', ''36 through 45 years'', ''46 through 55 years'', ''56 through 64 years'', ''65 years and older''), years of schooling (''nine years'', ''ten years'', ''13 years and more, including university degree''), family status (''single'', ''living with a partner'', ''married'', ''divorced'', ''widowed''), equivalent household income (''less than €500.- '', ''€500.- up to 750.- '', ''€750.- up to 1,000.- '', ''€1,000.- and more'') as well as four distressed neighborhoods, which we will introduce as lower class fractions (''Bilderstöckchen'', ''Kalk-South'', ''Kalk-North'', ''Kölnberg'').

Projecting the supplementary variables into the *social space* with dimensions characterized as economic and cultural capital, the manifest variable ''years of schooling'' should be positively associated with the latent variable ''cultural capital'' and the manifest variable ''equivalent income'' should be positively associated with the latent variable ''economic capital'': If these assumptions do not hold, the lifestyle attributes measure something different than expected. Further, age should be negatively associated with cultural capital due to the strong political emphasis in Germany given to an expansion of educational opportunities since the late 1960s which has resulted in educational advances indicated by younger cohorts having more years of schooling. Thus, the older the members from the lower classes (in Germany) are, the more they rely on traditional values which belong to a low cultural capital, for example, characterizing their furniture as ''clean'' and having a preference for ''German kitchen'' (cf. Blasius and Winkler, 1989). Finally, the categories of marital status should be associated with both dimensions: ''living with a partner'' should be related to a relative high cultural capital (because those people are relatively young and have an education above average) and to a relative high economic capital (usually, both are in the labor market in this stage of life), married and widowed respondents should have a relatively low cultural capital (because of their relatively high age), divorced respondents should have a relative low economic capital. (Because often the man is obliged to transfer payments, the woman is not able to work, since she has to take care of the children.) If these assumptions are empirically substantiated there is substantial confidence that our measurement of the latent variables is valid (for the economic structures in German households, see Statistisches Bundesamt, 2006: 619).

According to Bourdieu (1984), members from the lower classes are limited in converting one capital into another, since they must take care of their necessity. If this assumption has merit, members of the lower classes are not able to convert (additional) income into cultural capital and they are not able to transfer (additional) formal education (or additional knowledge) into economic capital. Thus, if members of the lower classes are not able to efficiently increase their capital volume by using any above average capital, first, the supplementary variable ''equivalent income'' has to be uncorrelated with the latent variable ''cultural capital'', second, the supplementary variable ''years of schooling'' should be uncorrelated with the latent variable ''economic capital''. If these correlations are close to zero, we can conclude that (additional) income cannot be used efficiently to increase the cultural capital and that ''years of schooling'' cannot be used efficiently for increasing the ''economic capital''. It should be kept in mind that Bourdieu's sample from the lower classes was relatively small, which might explain that he did not find empirical evidence for the postulated ''taste of necessity''.

2.3. Neighborhood as an indicator for social classes

Bourdieu (1984) used occupation to distinguish both between classes and class fractions. Classes are sets of occupations, whereas class fractions are single occupations of a given class. This indicator is associated with all three forms of capital as well as with the ''composition of capital''

and ''capital volume''. Further occupation allows – when connected with the habitus concept – the indication of specific tastes. Within the lower classes, occupation might not be the best indicator for assigning class fractions; many persons of this group are at least temporarily unemployed. If they are employed, most of them belong to the groups of skilled and unskilled workers.

Although we still follow Bourdieu's methodology, we deviate in one aspect: instead of using occupations to indicate classes and class fractions, we propose the neighborhood as an indicator. The basic assumption is that people search (and find) their neighborhood with respect to their occupational status, their income, their lifestyles, their friends, and so on; in other words, with respect to their economic, cultural and social capital; i.e., with respect to their capital volume. Social inequality was linked to space already by the Chicago school (Park et al., 1925) as well as in recent research in the USA (Massey and Denton, 1993) and Europe (Glebe, 1997; Friedrichs, 1998; Musterd and Ostendorf, 1998). Social-spatial inequality can particularly be observed in distressed urban areas in North-American cities (Galster and Killen, 1995; Jargowsky, 1997) and in Europe (Skifter Andersen, 2002; Blasius and Friedrichs, 2007).

Given the competition on the housing market in terms of supply and demand, different market segments are accessible for different households or classes. Although there might be some distinction in the kind of the capital that is the most important for being successful in the housing market, the residential area is highly associated with the volume of capital: households with a (very) high capital volume, e.g., the members of the upper classes, will live in the ''best'' neighborhoods, households with (very) low capital volume, e.g., the members of the lower classes, will live in distressed neighborhoods. Households differ not only by their economic capital, i.e., their rent-bidding capacity, but also by their cultural capital, i.e., the knowledge of ''good'' neighborhoods in the city, and by their social capital, i.e., their social networks.

Typically lower class members are restricted by their low capital volume to the segment of low-rent dwellings or social housing. Competition on this market segment is – at least in major German cities – very strong and lower status residential areas are also differentiated by the status of their residents. The best dwellings (from the list of those dwellings which are – notionally – available for the members of the lower classes), e.g., those which have the best location, highest dwelling quality, and a highly ranked neighborhood, will go to those households with the highest capital volume; the second-best will go to households with the second-highest capital volume. Eventually, lower class households are restricted to distressed neighborhoods, which they initially tried to avoid. As a result, lower status migrants will move into these areas; the areas exhibiting a far above city average share of foreign-born and of households receiving welfare benefits (Skifter Andersen, 2002: 774; Blasius and Friedrichs, 2007). Thus, we find differences among the lower-class neighborhoods, which we designate as ''class fractions''.

When choosing neighborhoods as class fractions for the lower classes, we have to select small neighborhoods in order to obtain internal heterogeneity within the distressed areas. The neighborhoods should be on different levels of distress, since we use them as a proxy for the amount of capital volume.

3. Operationalizing Bourdieu's lifestyle indicators

Our data come from four distressed neighborhoods, varying by poverty rate, in Cologne, Germany. In a first step, we describe these neighborhoods on the aggregate level and we show that the residents of the chosen areas belong to the lower classes. To describe tastes and to construct the *social space* for the lower classes, four of Bourdieu's (1984) questions were adapted and, in very few cases, transferred to a German context; for instance: instead of ''traditional French

kitchen'' we used the category ''traditional German kitchen''. Furthermore, to describe the differences between the lower, middle and upper classes, we included data from samples drawn from Cologne neighborhoods with middle class and upper class residents.

The first question refers to the place of furniture purchase: department store, flea market, antique dealer, auction, specialized dealer, inheritance, furniture shop, craftsmen, designer, and built by the person her/himself. The second question characterizes the respondents' dwellings: clean and tidy, comfortable, stylish, warm, easy to clean, harmonic, refined, full of fantasy, practical and functional, modern, classical, cozy, plain, and rustic. The third question ''What kind of meals do you serve when entertaining guests?'' has the following categories: simple but nicely decorated, fine and exquisite, abundant, good flavor, improvised, substantial and rich, original, exotic, typical German, and I never have guests. The fourth question refers to the preferred clothing: classical, good quality, fashionable, simple and correct, sportive, budget-priced, casual, chic and elegant, and daring. Following Bourdieu, all four questions admit a maximum of three categories.

The first three questions had already been used in previous studies (Blasius, 1993; Blasius and Winkler, 1989). In none of these studies, nor in Bourdieu's work, nor in the present study, do we have to assume that all respondents perceive all items in the same way. For example, ''clean and tidy'', which measures mainly (low) ''cultural capital'' (cf. Blasius and Winkler, 1989), does not imply a common understanding among all respondents; this variable category has more than one interpretation. If a respondent chose this category, it does not even mean that his home is ''clean and tidy'', the choice of this category only implies that it was important for the respondent to label his dwelling as ''clean and tidy''. A similar interpretation holds in the other direction: If someone did not give his priority to this item, it does not imply that his dwelling was dirty and untidy. A similar objection holds for categories such as ''stylish'' and ''comfortable'' furniture, which are assumed to be indicators of a high ''economic capital'' (cf. Blasius and Winkler, 1989); the categories can be understood in different ways.

The diversity of connotations may at first sight impair adequate measurement. Bourdieu (1984), however, makes use of this diversity of meanings since it constitutes a basis for assessing differences *between* and *within* upper, middle and lower classes when constructing his *social spaces*. This is an appropriate procedure, and like Bourdieu, we are interested to construct a two-dimensional *social space* with the dimensions ''capital volume'' and ''composition of cultural and economic capital''. Applying multiple correspondence analysis (Greenacre, 2007; Le Roux and Rouanet, 2004) will exhibit the categories that are indicators of economic capital, those of cultural capital, those that are measures for both and which are appropriate measures for neither cultural nor economic capital. Since lower class areas are heterogeneous, we also find members of the middle classes in these neighborhoods. This is in accordance with Bourdieu (1984: 128–129) who also assigned people to the lower classes although they could also belong to the middle classes, e.g., skilled workers with a good job position and high income.

4. Research areas and samples

Research was carried out in four distressed neighborhoods of Cologne, a city of one million inhabitants. Based on the knowledge of social workers, on the proportion of persons receiving social transfer payments and by personal inspection, neighborhoods were chosen where ''poverty'' is concentrated to varying extents: Bilderstöckchen, as the comparatively richest one (in classical stratification research, it would belong to the upper lower classes), followed by Kalk-South (also upper lower classes), Kalk-North (middle lower classes) and Kölnberg (an area of the lower classes); for a description of the areas, see Friedrichs and Blasius (2000).

Table 1
Socio-demographic characteristics of the four distressed neighbourhoods, and of Marienburg

	Bilderstöckchen	Kalk-South	Kalk-North	Kölnberg	Total	Marienburg
Marital status						
Married	59.6	47.9	53.6	45.2	51.9	51.2
Single	13.8	21.8	17.0	23.8	18.9	20.7
Living with a partner	8.3	13.4	6.3	19.0	11.3	11.6
Divorced	12.8	9.2	9.8	10.7	10.6	9.1
Widowed	5.5	7.6	13.4	1.2	7.3	7.4
Age						
18–25 years	7.4	7.6	7.1	13.1	8.5	8.3
26–35 years	15.7	23.5	18.8	14.3	18.4	14.0
36–45 years	20.4	26.1	17.0	36.9	24.3	9.9
46–55 years	14.8	9.2	8.9	15.5	11.8	21.5
56–64 years	23.1	16.0	18.8	9.5	17.3	21.5
65 years and older	18.5	17.6	29.5	10.7	19.6	24.8
Education						
9 years of schooling	48.6	55.5	68.2	52.8	56.4	4.2
10 years of schooling	31.8	17.6	18.7	33.7	24.9	10.9
13 years of schooling	19.6	26.9	13.1	13.5	18.7	84.9
Equivalent income (Euro per month)						
Less than 500	16.0	15.1	23.0	44.9	22.7	1.1
500 to 749	23.4	27.4	28.0	31.3	27.3	1.1
750 to 999	20.2	23.9	20.0	13.4	20.1	13.3
1000 and more	40.4	33.6	29.0	10.4	29.9	84.4
Transfer income						
Child allowance	25.9	20.3	17.9	45.5	26.3	27.5
Housing benefit	6.5	8.5	13.5	34.9	14.5	0.0
Maintenance allowance	6.5	8.5	2.7	6.1	6.0	3.3
Unemployment benefit	0.9	7.0	8.1	8.5	6.0	0.8
Unemployment support	6.5	1.7	8.9	20.7	8.6	0.0
Social welfare	8.3	4.2	12.5	37.3	14.0	0.0
N	109	120	112	89	430	121

In these neighborhoods, a total of 431 persons of 18 years and older with German citizenship were interviewed face to face by means of a standardized questionnaire in 1996; the response rate was 47.3%. The addresses were randomly selected by the Cologne Statistical Office. Table 1 gives a comparative socio-demographic profile of the respondents. To describe the ''rough distinctions'', we include results of a study in Cologne-Marienburg, an upper class district. This study was carried out with the same questionnaire as the one used in the distressed neighborhoods (Jürgens, 1998). In Marienburg, 135 persons were interviewed in 1997; the response rate was 58.2%.

Looking first at the subtle distinctions, with respect to marital status the relatively high percentage of singles in Kalk-South and Kölnberg is striking. Note further, the somewhat higher percentage of divorced inhabitants in Bilderstöckchen and Kölnberg. The four distressed neighborhoods also differ by age structure: in Kalk-South, the proportion of the 26–45-year-old is above average, in Kalk-North this holds for the elderly (65 years and older).

The neighborhoods reveal relatively large differences with respect to years of schooling. In Kalk-South and Bilderstöckchen, the proportion of inhabitants with ''13 years of schooling'' (the

German ''Abitur'') is above average, the percentage of inhabitants with ''nine years of schooling'' is particularly high in Kalk-North – due to the comparatively high share of elderly inhabitants. With respect to equivalent income, i.e. the weighted net-income of the household, Kölnberg is the neighborhood with the highest proportion of respondents of the two lowest income groups. The other neighborhoods are less differentiated but in the postulated direction – Bilderstöckchen being the least distressed one, followed by Kalk-South and Kalk-North.

In Kölnberg, many inhabitants depend on transfer payments, in Bilderstöckchen comparatively few. The ranking by extent of distress – Bilderstöckchen, Kalk-South, Kalk-North, Kölnberg – is appropriate for the indicators housing and unemployment benefits. Taking years of schooling, equivalent income, housing and unemployment benefits as indicators for the volume of capital, on average the lowest value belongs to the most distressed neighborhood, Kölnberg, the second lowest to the second most distressed area, Kalk-North. The two less distressed areas, Bilderstöckchen and Kalk-South, have quite similar values, since as mentioned before, both belong to the upper lower classes. These results confirm that the order of neighborhoods according to their amount of distress is positively associated with the average capital volume of their residents. The relationship between ''amount of distress'' and ''capital volume'' becomes even stronger if we include the data for the residents with non-German citizenship (cf. Friedrichs and Blasius, 2000).

The ''rough distinctions'' between the neighborhoods become apparent when we consider Marienburg. The differences concerning marital status and age are rather small, with Marienburg having even older inhabitants than Kalk-North, on average. The differences in education and equivalent income, however, could hardly be greater—the categories originally chosen for the four distressed neighborhoods are not sufficient for Marienburg. However, using the traditional stratification indicators, years of schooling and equivalent income, shows that neighborhood is the more appropriate one: even in the highly distressed areas there are residents with a high formal education and/or with a relatively high equivalent income (€1000 and more).

Assigning the lifestyle characteristics to the four distressed areas and to Marienburg yields large differences in most items; even within the four distressed areas there is a large variation. For example, ''budget priced clothes'' varies within the distressed areas from 22.3% to 45.6% of respondents who have chosen this characteristic, the value for Marienburg is 6.7% (cf. Friedrichs and Blasius, 2000)—and whatever people from Marienburg call ''budget-priced''.

5. Results

The technique we use for constructing the *social space* is multiple correspondence analysis (cf. Benzécri et al., 1973; Le Roux and Rouanet, 2004; Greenacre, 2007), in short MCA. The method belongs to the pool of techniques that are summarized under the title ''geometric data analysis'' (Le Roux and Rouanet, 2004), or under the French term ''Analyse des Données'' (Benzécri et al., 1973). Especially MCA has often been used by Bourdieu and his scholars for constructing *social spaces*, applications are given in very different fields of the social sciences and outside of them (Greenacre and Blasius, 1994, 2006; Blasius and Greenacre; 1998). Although it is possible to describe higher-dimensional *social spaces*, scholars usually restrict themselves to the two-dimensional version.

MCA can be understood as principal component analysis for categorical data. Using the concept of passive (illustrational) variables, it is possible to include socio-demographic variables in the given *social space* without influencing the geometric orientation of the axes (Greenacre, 2007).

In the following, we examine the relations between the different attributes of lifestyles. Do those persons who offer their guests exotic meals buy their furniture at the flea market less often than the average or do those who describe their furnishings as ''clean and tidy'' buy ''budget-priced'' clothes more often than the average? Since we want to test Bourdieu's taste of necessity hypothesis, we restrict the analysis to the data from the lower classes (or more precisely, to respondents in lower class areas).

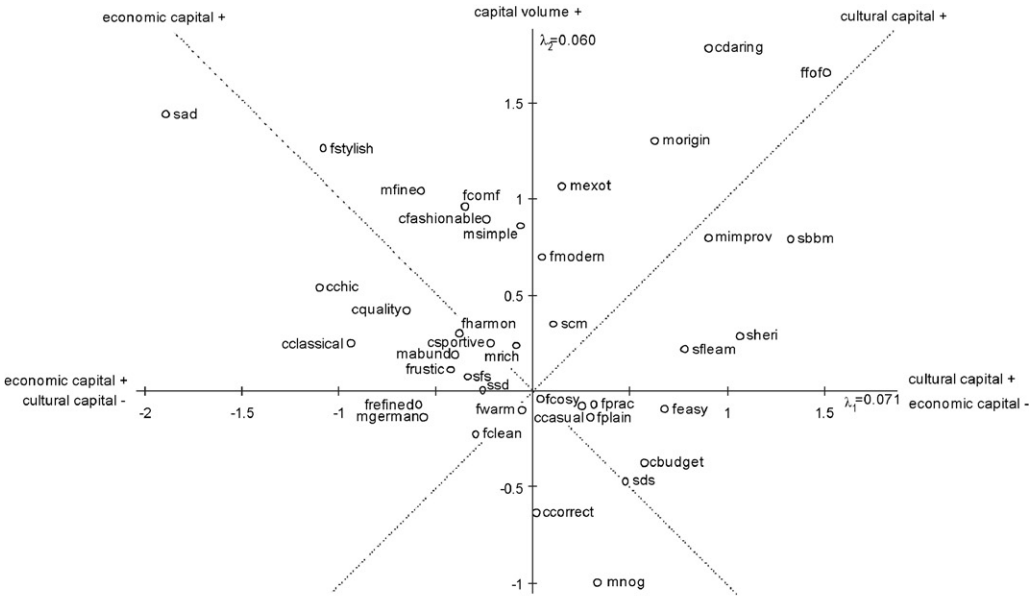
When certain combinations of lifestyle attributes are mentioned above average, their respective categories are positioned relatively close to each other in the *social space*. If they are jointly mentioned relatively infrequently, they are distant from each other in the graphical representation of the results. In addition to the description of associations, we will examine whether these associations co-vary with socio-demographic characteristics such as ''age'' (grouped), ''years of schooling'', ''equivalent income'' (grouped) and ''neighborhood''. To avoid any influence of these socio-demographic characteristics on the structure of the *social space* defined by lifestyles attributes, they will be projected into the *social space* only after this space has been calculated, i.e. as passive variables.

In the first of the following analyses, we restrict ourselves to the lifestyle attributes. As input information we use thirteen categories of furnishings, eight sources of furniture, nine ways of serving meals when entertaining guests and nine types of clothes (categories named by less than 1%, i.e. less than five persons, are excluded from the analyses). Each response category becomes a separate dichotomous variable, with categories ''mentioned'' and ''not mentioned''. Fig. 2 graphs the *social space* of the lower classes, showing the position of lifestyle attributes in the first two dimensions. For each of the lifestyle attributes we only show the category ''mentioned'', because in the case of dichotomous variables (in the given example, ''mentioned'' and ''not mentioned''), the categories are perfectly negatively correlated. To avoid overlap in the map, we use abbreviations: a leading ''s'' symbolizes the ''*s*ource of furniture'', an ''m'' ''what kind of *m*eals do you serve when entertaining guests'', an ''f'' for the ''characteristics of *f*urniture'', and a ''c'' for the ''characteristics of *c*lothes''.

The distances between the categories can be interpreted as similarities; the closer two categories are, the more similar they are, i.e., the more often they were mentioned by the same respondents. Fig. 2 shows, for example, that ''daring clothes'' (cdaring), ''furniture: full of fantasy'' (ffof) and ''meals when entertaining guests: original'' (morigin) are close to each other, i.e. they were often mentioned together and thus describe a common taste. A different taste comprises ''budget priced clothes'' (cbudget) and ''source of furniture: department store'' (sds).

The map can also be read off with respect to the axes: Projecting the categories in 90 degree angles onto the two dimensions shows which lifestyle attributes can be used for describing them. Note, as in other data reduction techniques such as factor or principal component analysis, categories (or variables) that are close to the centroid should not be used for interpretation, they might be associated with higher dimensions only. The first dimension (the horizontal axis) is determined by the opposites ''furniture full of fantasy'' (ffof), ''furniture built by myself'' (sbbm) and ''source of furniture: heritage'' (sheri) versus ''furniture bought at the antique dealer's'' (sad), ''stylish furnishings'' (fstylish) and by ''chic and elegant clothes'' (cchic). The explained variances, re-scaled according to Benzécri (1979), Benzécri (1979; compare also Greenacre, 2007), are 43.6% for the first axis and 24.7% for the second axis.[1]

[1] There are different ways of re-scaling the amount of explained variance (cf. Greenacre, 2007), but they do not affect the substantive solution. For the graphical displays we use the location parameter as given by SPSS, without re-scaling.



Source of Furniture

sheri	inherited
sfleam	flea-market
sds	department store
sbbm	built by myself
ssd	specialized dealer
scm	craftsman
sfs	furniture shop
sad	antique dealer

Meals for Guests

mimprov	improvised
mfine	fine and exquisite
mgerman	traditional German
mabund	abundant and good flavor
mrich	substantial, rich
morigin	original
msimple	simple, but nicely decorated
mexot	exotic
mnog	don't have guests

Characteristics of Furniture

fwarm	warm
fmodern	modern
fclean	clean, tidy
feasy	easy to clean
ffof	full of fantasy
fplain	plain
frefined	refined
frustic	rustic
fcomf	comfortable
fharmon	harmonic
fprac	practical, functional
fcosy	cosy
fstylish	stylish

Characteristics of Clothes

cclassical	classical
cquality	good quality
cfashionable	fashionable
ccorrect	simple, correct
csportive	sportive
cbudget	budget-priced
ccasual	casual
cchic	chic and elegant
cdaring	daring

Fig. 2. *Social Space* of the lower classes.

One of the most striking results is the outlying position of ''have no guests for dinner'' (mnog). Respondents giving this answer seem to be relatively distinct from the majority of the respondents (see their quite separated position in the *social space*). If they have something in common with other lifestyle attributes, it is mainly ''simple, but correct clothes'' (ccorrect), ''furniture from department store'' (sds) and ''budget-priced clothes'' (cbudget). The longest distances are to responses such as ''stylish furnishings'' (fstylish), ''furniture from antique dealer'' (sad) and ''daring clothes'' (cdaring); respondents not inviting guests for dinner gave these latter answers relatively rarely.

When interpreting these two main axes, neither the postulated cultural capital nor the postulated economic capital emerges. However, if two more axes with an angle of 45 degree are included into the *social space* (see the dashed lines in Fig. 2), these capitals become visible. Orthogonally projecting the lifestyle characteristics onto the dashed line running from the lower right quadrant to the upper left shows that the upper left section is characterized by ''furniture bought at the antique dealer's'', ''stylish'' and ''comfortable furnishings'', by ''fine and exquisite'' meals as well as by ''fashionable'' and ''chic and elegant'' clothes. All these lifestyle attributes have in common to belong to a somewhat luxurious taste. On the opposite part of this axis (bottom right) there are the categories ''do not have guests for dinner'', ''furniture from department store'' as well as ''simple, correct'' and ''budget-priced'' clothes; all these categories indicate a low economic capital. We conclude that the dimension running from top left to bottom right mirrors the economic capital.

The line orthogonal to the economic dimension is characterized, in the upper right quadrant, by ''furnishings full of fantasy'', ''daring clothes'', ''furniture built by myself'' as well as ''improvised'' and ''exotic'' meals – these are all indicators of a relatively high cultural capital. On the opposite side there are the categories ''do not have guests for dinner'' and ''entertaining guests with typical German meals'', ''simple, correct clothes'' as well as ''clean'' and ''refined'' furnishings – these are all indicators of a relatively low cultural capital. We therefore interpret this axis as cultural capital.

If the diagonal axes reflect the economic and cultural capital, the vertical axis symbolizes the capital volume. The positive part of this axis is characterized by a high cultural and a high economic capital, for instance, by ''stylish'' and ''full of fantasy'' furnishings, by ''furniture from the antique dealer's'' and by ''daring clothes''. The negative part of this axis symbolizes a low capital volume; especially characterized by the fact that one has ''no guests for dinner'' and ''correct clothes''.

As in the work of Bourdieu (1984), the horizontal axis represents the composition of the two capitals (for his upper classes, cf. Bourdieu 1984: 262). The negative part is characterized by a relatively high economic capital and a relatively low cultural capital (for instance, ''furniture from antique dealer's'' and ''typically German meals''), the positive section is characterized by a relatively high cultural capital and relatively low economic capital, for instance, ''furniture built by myself'' and ''budget-priced clothes''. In the following interpretation we concentrate on the two diagonal lines for testing Bourdieu's assumptions about the ''taste of necessity''.

Following Bourdieu's methodology, we project the socio-demographic characteristics described earlier into the given *social space*. To achieve a more readable visualization, we have prepared a figure for the five supplementary variables and omitted those lifestyle attributes located close to the centroid, i.e. the cross of axes (Fig. 2). However, they are taken into account when constructing the *social space*. The graphical presentation is given in Fig. 3.

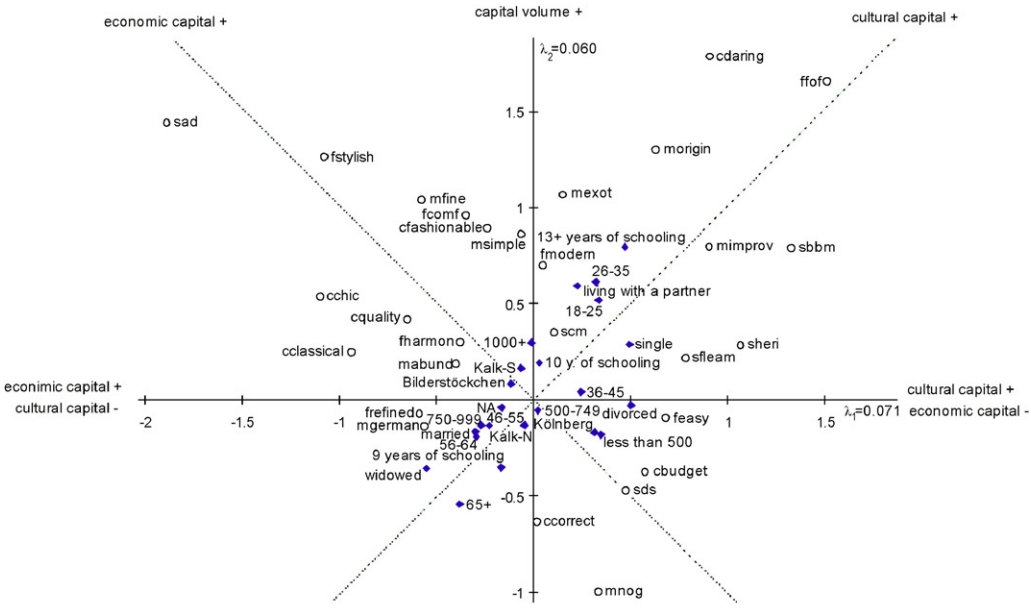


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Fig. 3. *Social Space* of the lower classes, with socio-demographic characteristics as supplementary variables.

Fig. 3 shows that age – as expected – is negatively associated with the dimension ''cultural capital''.[2] There is only one exception to the ordinal location of age groups: the categories ''18- to 25-year-old'' and ''26- to 35-year-old'' are out of order. As a relatively large number of the younger respondents were still living with their parents at the time the survey was carried out, they had probably not yet developed their own taste; we assume that they named the lifestyle attributes of their parents when asked where the furniture came from and which type of furnishings they preferred. In general, the younger the respondents are, the higher their cultural capital.

With the help of Fig. 3, single lifestyle attributes can be related to the different age groups. We find that answers such as ''do not have guests for dinner'', ''furniture from department store'', ''correct clothes'' and ''traditional German meals'' characterize the age groups of approximately 45 years onwards, the younger people prefer ''improvised'' or ''original'' meals for their guests, ''furniture full of fantasy'', ''daring clothes'' and ''furniture built by myself''. Age is not correlated with ''economic capital'', all categories are located very close to the centroid of this axis, and the sequence can be regarded as coincidental.

With respect to marital status, the categories are well spread over the cultural capital dimension and there is some variation along the economic dimension: The lowest amount of cultural capital is exhibited by the widowed, followed by married respondents, the highest amount by those living with a partner, followed by singles. As assumed in the theoretical part, these associations are mainly caused by age (not shown). Further, there is evidence for the postulated association with economic capital: divorced respondents exhibited the lowest values, respondents living together with a partner the highest.

As predicted, ''years of schooling'' differentiates respondents along the ''cultural capital'' dimension; the categories are in ordinal order and quite distant from each other (Fig. 3). This finding reinforces the previous interpretation for the *social space* of the lower classes. Thereby, respondents with ''13 and more years of schooling'' are characterized by the lifestyle attributes that were found for the younger respondents; the lifestyle attributes of respondents with ''nine years of schooling'' correspond to those of the elderly. Respondents with ''ten years of schooling'' are located between these two educational groups.

To test the taste of necessity hypothesis, it is assumed that the (supplementary) variable ''years of schooling'' is not related to the (latent) variable ''economic capital''. However, we find that respondents with ''13 years of schooling'' have the highest, respondents with ''nine years of schooling'' the lowest economic capital. With only three categories (hence, six possible orderings) and very low variation on that axis (compare their projections on this axis), the relatively small differences may have emerged by mere chance. The proximity to the centroid on economic capital is a first indication that Bourdieu's assumption about the ''taste of necessity'' is supported.

If our measurement of economic capital is valid, the projections of the (categories of the supplementary) variable ''equivalent income'' should result in a positive correlation of ''economic capital'' with an ordinal sequence of the income categories. This is the case, as the solution in Fig. 3 documents: The highest value is found with the categories ''€1,000.- and more'', followed by ''€750.- up to 1,000.-'', ''€500.- up to 750.-'' and finally ''less than €500.-'' (see the localizations of the categories along the axis ''economic capital''). The category ''no

[2] To avoid an overloading of the map, we did not include trajectories to connect the successive categories in ordered categorical variables, for example, ''age groups'', and ''equivalent income'' (grouped).

answer'' (NA; the household did not answer the question on income) lies very close to the category ''€750.- up to 1000.-''. Thus, the refusal to answer this question refers to an equivalent income slightly above the average (compare the projections on the ''economic capital'').

Drawing on Fig. 3, we can test the second part of Bourdieu's thesis of a ''taste of necessity''. If the assumption is correct that the members of the lower classes are not able to convert (additional) economic capital into cultural capital, the (supplementary) variable ''equivalent income'' should not be correlated with the (latent) variable ''cultural capital''. With respect to the *social space* of the lower classes: When projecting the categories of the variable ''equivalent income'' onto the dimension ''cultural capital'', ''equivalent income'' should not exhibit its original sequence of ordering. The sequence (from top right to bottom left) is as follows: ''€1,000.- and more'', ''less than €500.-'', ''€500.- up to 750.-'' and ''€750.- up to 1,000.-''. This further supports Bourdieu's assumption of a ''taste of necessity'': Members of the lower classes are not able to use their income to increase their capital volume.

With respect to the four distressed neighborhoods (Fig. 3), the expected differences on the economic dimension can be confirmed. In Bilderstöckchen and Kalk-South – the neighborhoods that are less distressed – the economic capital is higher than in Kalk-North where it is higher than in Kölnberg. If the localizations of the neighborhoods are related to the cultural capital, there is a sequence from Kölnberg with the highest value via Kalk-South, Bilderstöckchen to Kalk-North. This sequence does not correspond to the ranking according to the level of poverty in those four neighborhoods, i.e., the ''cultural capital'' is not negatively associated with the ''amount of distress'' and that again supports the assumption of a ''taste of necessity''.

On the basis of these results, Bourdieu's thesis of the ''taste of necessity'' gains considerable support. First, there is no systematic connection of ''equivalent income'' and ''amount of distress in the neighborhood'' with ''cultural capital'', and second, there is only a negligible relation between ''years of schooling'' and ''economic capital''. We conclude that there is no conversion of capitals to achieve a significant increase of the capital volume.

6. Discussion

With Bourdieu's *La Distinction* the terms ''lifestyle'' and ''taste'' became popular in stratification research. While most authors who adopt Bourdieu's approach concentrate on the upper and middle classes, we focus on the lower classes. The intention was to formalize Bourdieu's theory and to test his hypothesis of the ''taste of necessity''.

Bourdieu (1984) has constructed *social spaces* for the upper and middle classes by means of lifestyle attributes. Their axes can be interpreted as ''capital volume'' and ''composition of economic and cultural capital'', or as ''cultural capital'' and ''economic capital''. In our empirical analysis, we show that Bourdieu's methodology can also be applied to study the ''tastes'' of the lower classes; the interpretation of the axes is comparable. If ''age'', ''family status'', ''years of schooling'', ''equivalent income'' and ''distressed neighborhood'' are projected as supplementary variables into the *social space*, constructed by means of lifestyle attributes, the corresponding localizations of the categories of these five variables give further evidence of the *social space* of the lower classes and the interpretation of its dimensions.

In *La Distinction*, Bourdieu could not distinguish the taste of different class fractions *within* the lower classes along the dimensions ''cultural capital'' and ''economic capital'' or within ''capital volume'' and ''composition of cultural and economic capital''. Based on a relatively small number of cases he postulated the ''taste of necessity''. Therefore, the members of the lower classes are – due to their economic and educational restrictions – unable to cultivate their

own taste since they are unable to use their income to increase their cultural capital and they are unable to use their educational attainment for increasing their economic capital. According to our empirical test, Bourdieu's assumption that lower class members exhibit a ''taste of necessity'' cannot be rejected. The equivalent income is associated with the economic capital – as expected – but not with the cultural capital, and ''years of schooling'' is – as expected – associated with cultural capital, but only weakly related to the economic capital. In other words: according to our analyses the ''taste of necessity'' does exists.

There is an important implication of our findings: In the lower classes ''years of schooling'' is only weakly related to ''economic capital'' and ''equivalent income'' is not related to the ''cultural capital''. It follows that there is only a relatively small chance for the members of the lower classes to use their capitals to increase their ''capital volume'', i.e., to move up to the middle classes. Hence, for members of the lower classes the chances to significantly improve their conditions of life are limited. If this conclusion is correct, Germany and other countries in which our findings are corroborated will manifest lower classes with a low upward social mobility of their members.

The results have to be assessed with the proviso that we have included only those lifestyle attributes which Bourdieu (1984) had successfully used to distinguish his upper and middle classes. We may question whether these are adequate indicators to describe lower class cultural (and economic) capital. To counter this objection, we also tested other indicators in our study ''Life in Distressed Neighborhoods'' (Friedrichs and Blasius, 2000), especially manual skills such as ''decorating flats'', ''performing electrical work'', ''ironing'' and ''cooking''. It might have been more sensible to measure the cultural abilities of the members of the lower classes by means of these skills. But even when using these variables the result is the same: the command of skills was not correlated with the level of the equivalent income (Blasius and Friedrichs, 2003).

Another important step would be the inclusion of ''social capital''. This can be done within a network study where people are asked about their social contacts. ''Social capital'' would define a third dimension; the capital volume would increase with increasing cultural capital, with increasing economic capital and with increasing social capital. Further, there would be three orthogonal axes reflecting the composition of capitals.

We expect similar findings for other Western societies which have similar cultural backgrounds and it would be intriguing to see comparative research. A further research question is whether the ''taste of necessity'' can also be observed among ethnic minorities in the same societies.

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