Italian Sociological Review
ISSN 2239-8589
DOI: 10.13136/isr.v14i2.778 2024, 14(2), pp. 465 – 485

Exploring the Italian Space of Lifestyles: Food, Class, and Their Homology

Tomas Bilevicius[a]

Abstract

In his prominent *Distinction*, Bourdieu captured a homology between spaces of lifestyles and social positionings in 1960s France, in which he discerned a relationship between *tastes of necessity* and *tastes of luxury*, regarding numerous culturally-defined consumables, food included. Ever since, the relation between social actors' positionings, food consumption, and tastes has been explored in other European countries, but not yet in Italy. Against this background, from cultural-sociological and post-structuralist points of view, this study argues that to comprehend how food, invested with cultural and moral meanings, is being used to differentiate, it is necessary to map the homology between tastes and positions. It explores this relationship by using quantitative data from the Italian household budget survey, focusing on the expenditure on food. The study finds that regardless of previously recorded regional variations in foodways and cuisines, tastes of necessity and luxury can be identified. In the case of the former, consumed foods are predominantly associated with function, substantiality, cheapness, heaviness, and tradition, while in the case of the latter, it distances itself from necessity through foods that are exclusive, lighter, more expensive, fiddly to eat, exotic, and are consumed in all due form. Positioned relationally, such distinction through taste points towards a mechanism whereby ingesting said foods, social actors likewise embody the associated moral properties and participate in a constant struggle of *worth*. The article concludes with recommendations for the necessary further explorations of spaces of positionings and lifestyles in Italy.

Keywords: Italy, social space, space of lifestyles, food, symbolic power, taste.

[a] University of Trento, Italy.

Corresponding author:
Tomas Bilevicius
E-mail: tomas.bilevicius@studenti.unitn.it

Received: 28 December 2023
Accepted: 05 February 2024
Published: 31 May 2024

1. Introduction

More than 40 years have passed since, in his famous "Distinction," Bourdieu (1984) theorized and explored 1960s France's social space where, among other things, the distribution of tastes for food was identified as being homologous with the space of social positionings. One of the most famous findings of this work, the relational differentiation between *tastes of necessity* and *tastes of luxury*, now widely appears in the socio-scientific literature (*inter alia*, Blasius & Friedrichs, 2008; Pachucki, 2014; Sato et al., 2016; Sutherland, 2013; Trapp, 2016). Bourdieu's work was groundbreaking, given that such a quotidian topic as taste for food, so seemingly personal and unruly, was grounded and explained by the social: *de gustibus non disputandum est* was challenged and proven otherwise. To approach food as a topic of socio-scientific investigation from the cultural sociological point of view is, first and foremost, to see it as invested with meanings. That is, what food is cannot be grasped solely and singularly by its material properties. Food consumption cannot be reduced to social actors' biological needs, but rather has to be seen for its symbolic value and ability to constitute a subjectivity and mark boundaries between what social actors perceive as 'us' and 'them' (Lupton, 2015). In the same spirit, Bourdieu (1984) argued that food is used by social actors to differentiate themselves from their counterparts, and symbolically, from necessity. Thus, studying food, and, more specifically, what social actors consume, can provide a sociologist not only with an understanding of how cultural meanings are organised in the social space, but also enlighten over the structure of (and struggles within) such space.

The endeavours in approaching the organization of symbolic characteristics of food in countries other than France have been somewhat limited ever since. This might be due to the fact that approaches towards the study of food and eating are oftentimes highly instrumental (Lupton, 2015). However, some examples illuminate the fact that the phenomenon of homology is not limited to the French social space, and might be found elsewhere (see Atkinson, 2022; Atkinson & Deeming, 2015; Prieur et al., 2008; Ramos, 2023; Vandebroeck, 2017). Nevertheless, a Bourdieusian post-structuralist approach towards the study of food has not found its place in Italy yet. Whilst examples of studying food as invested with meanings and how such *signifiers* are being used by social actors to constitute their (and their in-group) identities (Lupton, 2015) exist (e.g., see Counihan (2019) on the role of food consumption in activism; Davolio & Sassatelli (2019) on middle-class and "quality food"; Harper & Faccioli (2010) on commensality and foodways), the relational symbolic differentiation between social actors through food consumption is yet to be studied. It is the sole purpose of this paper to initiate the study of the Italian space of lifestyles and its homology with the space of

social positionings, through the study of the field of food by exploring households' expenditure on food consumption.

The mapping of any field is a complicated task. It requires an impressive amount of triangulated data, as well as a good understanding of the social history of a given social universe. However, given that every voyage must have its beginning, this article will attempt to identify analytically-bound tastes through Italians' food consumption. The research question leading this study is whether the households' consumption of food does cluster into relationally-defined tastes, and how such tastes are related to the positionings in the social space. The paper is organized as follows. First, the concepts of space of social positionings and space of lifestyles will be introduced. Then, the formation of tastes, and tastes as dispositions held by social actors will be briefly discussed. Afterwards, an overview will be given on how food could be understood as a medium in studying the social and moral organization of a given society, followed by a short sub-chapter on the influence of Bourdieu's work in Italy. After laying down the theoretical and methodological frameworks, the performed analysis will be presented. This will be followed by the results section. The paper will end with a short conclusion, including a discussion of its findings and some recommendations for future studies.

2. Social space, space of lifestyles and moral order

In their practice, sociologists are busy with the task of social topology, which allows one to study the social world as a multidimensional space "constructed on the basis of principles of differentiation or distribution constituted by the set of properties active within the social universe in question" (Bourdieu, 1985, pp. 723–724). As in such spaces social actors and their practice are defined relationally, in principle it is possible to differentiate between two such spaces, which are united by the principle of homology: the space of lifestyles and the space of social positionings. The space of lifestyles, as initially argued by Bourdieu (1984), is organized around two cross-cutting oppositions: "a polarization defined by form / style / exclusivity versus functionality / substance / accessibility, with a middlebrow culture marked by self-consciousness and a deferential "cultural goodwill" to those above in between; and a polarization according to the *way* in which form / style / exclusivity – and middlebrow deference – was defined" (Atkinson, 2022, p. 1061). On the other hand, the social space is defined by the social actors' economic and cultural capitals (see Bourdieu, 1986) and shaped around two oppositions: the first differentiating the high and low volume of capitals (corresponding to the function / form dichotomy in the space of lifestyles), and the second

differentiating in their composition of capitals, with the dominance of economic or cultural (corresponding to the dimension of highbrow / luxury) (Bourdieu, 1984). Such homology between two spaces is of importance, as it is the ground for *symbolic domination* since different lifestyles are not assigned the same symbolic value: "the rare and exclusive are cast as *distinctive* and *valuable*, while those associated with the popular and accessible – and also the middlebrow – are considered "common" and "vulgar."" (Atkinson, 2022, p. 1061). In this sense, *good food* or *good taste* is always defined in opposition (or *negatively*), drawing distance from everything *cheap and easy,* providing *too obvious* and *too childish* gratification (Vandebroeck, 2017, p. 127).

Unavoidably, daily social life contains a *moral order*, in which social actors encounter and enact *normal* and *self-evident* courses of action (what Bourdieu (1979) called *doxa*), which are familiar, known in common with others and as such, taken for granted (Garfinkel, 1964). In such order, in the most general sense, *normal* and *abnormal* foods (or *dietary* regimes) exist, whereas the ability to form and instil dominant ideas of *normality* is granted by symbolic power, possessed by the dominant classes. The notion of the power to form subjectivities was also explored in depth by Foucault (1995). Any deviations from said normality are perceived as violations to an extent, for example, that "individuals who fail to take up the warnings of health promoters are portrayed as lacking rationality and proper self-control" (Lupton, 2015, p. 74). Goffman (2010), in his explorations of *normality* in quotidian life, studied the existence of social norms and their enforcement (through social sanctions of penalties and rewards) in social interactions, whose significance "is not meant to lie in their intrinsic, substantive worth but in what they proclaim about the moral status of the actor" (Goffman, 2010, p. 95). Moreover, one of the mechanisms through which actors with the highest concentration of symbolic power formulate what is *morally unacceptable* in a universe of meanings is the constitution of *stigma* (see Goffman, 2022). Lupton (2015, p. 95) concludes that "taste is thus both an aesthetic and a moral category".

Symbolic meanings of food are never isolated from other systems of meanings: they are metaphorical, homologous and cross-cutting throughout a multitude of fields. Reflecting on the work of Bourdieu, Warde (2016, p. 57) argues that "in modern societies what is eaten, how it is eaten and how it is prepared are a mean of expression of social distinctions". Such relational perspective on food contrasts with sociobiological approaches, which argue that food preferences are 'rational choices' based on social actors' knowledge of what is nutritionally *good* for their bodies and ignore the notion that knowledge(s) are socially constructed, unequally distributed, and culturally contingent. The moral, cross-cutting and relationally defined categories for distinction are also expressed in the way food is understood and consumed.

Such categories as *civilized* and *barbarian*, *good* or *bad*, *sacred* or *profane*, *right* or *wrong*, *powerful* or *weak*, *feminine* or *masculine*, *light* or *heavy,* and *healthy* or *non-healthy* (Lupton, 2015) are embedded in social actors' understandings through the practice of eating. Thus, to explore what social actors eat, which meanings are assigned to food, how such meanings are organized in the economy of morality, and how said structures are in homology with each other and social positionings is to illuminate not only the struggles over symbolic power but as well to indicate the distribution of *symbolic violence*, that is social differentiation where some social actors live *worthy* and *fulfilling* lives, while others pursue lives deemed *intrinsically subaltern*.

The principles of differentiation in capitalist societies are various forms of capital, which not only determine one's placement in the social space but also define "chances of profit in a given field" (Bourdieu, 1985, p. 724). Thus, argues Bourdieu, exploring the structure and distribution of owned capitals allows one to reconstruct the social world in question and to illuminate its struggles and constraints (Bourdieu, 1986). Moreover, each social actor's dispositions, being a product of particular class's conditions of existence, constitute a *habitus*, which contains durable and transposable dispositions as "structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 53). Analytically, one might partition a *food habitus*, which on the level of social actor contains specific dispositions towards food, generating specific practices of food consumption, which altogether constitute a system of classified and classifying practices, that is a lifestyle.

3. Formation of tastes

Owing to their shared history (in both psychological and sociological senses), social actors with a similar habitus enact comparable practices and maintain similar dispositions. Recent debates in the field of cultural sociology allowed sociologists to provide a theoretical explanation for long-lingering questions of acquisition, storage, and activation of *culture*, which are missing in Bourdieu's account. Specifically, what Bourdieu conceptualizes as habitus has also been called "personal culture," consisting of the analytical distinction between declarative and non-declarative cultures. Drawing his *theory of enculturation*, Lizardo (2017) argues that symbolically-mediated declarative culture is acquired in a relatively small number of exposures, and results in a long-term storage of such "flashbulb" memories (Lizardo, 2017). Non-

declarative culture is acquired instead through slow learning in "the form of implicit, durable, cognitive-emotive associations, bodily comportments, and perceptual and motor skills built from repeated long-term exposure to consistent patterns of experience" (Lizardo, 2017, p. 92). Food consumption is the practice open to enculturation *par excellence*. Social actors are exposed to foodways from the very first to the very last moments of their lives. Childhood, which in practice is a function of conditions of existence, constitutes habitus through modes of acquisition of predominantly non-declarative culture: social actors form durable dispositions early on through repetitive consumption of specific foods and repetition of practices of commensality. Lastly, due to the durability of acquired food dispositions, they do not change as fast as the actor's positions in the space might. That is, against the mechanistic explanations between *explanans* and *explanandum*, "the notion of habitus serves as a reminder that the necessity inscribed in a given class-conditions can *only* determine practices, *if* agents have already incorporated this necessity – as a "taste" for the possible and the given – and are hence predisposed to accept the limits it imposes as "self-evident", "natural" and even "desirable"" (Vandebroeck, 2017, pp. 154–155).

Having briefly discussed how food consumption might be situated in the space of lifestyles to which the social space corresponds, the faculty of habitus, and the process of taste-enculturation, further the approaches towards the study of taste through food as a symbolic medium will be introduced.

4. Food as a medium and as taste

The dispositions of social actors and their habitus might be accessed *through* the analysis of symbolic meanings variation, such as those of food. Bourdieu (1984) empirically captured tastes of *necessity* and tastes of *luxury*, homologous respectively to the dominated and dominant positions. He argued that whilst working classes' tastes were described by plenty and freedom, elasticity and abundancy, immediate pleasure and simplicity, the meals of the bourgeoisie were concerned with 'all due form,' deferred pleasure and complexity, "which is exposed in a particularly striking fashion in bourgeois ways of eating," and "is the basis of all aestheticization of practice and every aesthetic" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 194). Such a taxonomy of practice is doubly differentiated. First, the tastes of necessity, described by their materiality, substantiality, and function, were contrasted against the tastes for exclusive and rare (corresponding to the overall volume of capital). Secondly, the tastes for luxury and hedonism were contrasted against self-cultivation and asceticism (corresponding to the composition of capital). Empirically, such analyses were replicated in a few

Western countries. In their study of lifestyles in the United Kingdom, Atkinson & Deeming (2015) identified two dimensions of food expenditure. The first differentiates between heavy, fat, salty, and sugary (foods like bread, processed meats and pork, fat-milk, soft drinks, potatoes and tubers, all the most filling foods) and leaner, lighter foods like fish, a variety of fruit (such as citruses, stone fruits, berries, as opposed to bananas and apples), leaf and stem vegetables, and vegetables grown for their fruit (such as tomatoes or peppers). The second dimension differentiates between carbohydrates, cakes and puddings opposed to rice; lamb opposed to poultry; fish opposed to ham; whole milk opposed to low-fat milk; cheese opposed to yogurt; coffee opposed to tea. The authors argue that the second dimension differentiates between expensive / rich and bland / leaner foods (Atkinson & Deeming, 2015). In a similar endeavour, Prieur et al. (2008) explored the Danish space of lifestyles, where they have as well identified similar patterns, associating *plenty* and *traditional* food with a lower volume of capital, as compared to *new* and *exotic* food preferences found among those with the highest volumes. Exploring the space of lifestyles in Belgium (Flanders), Vandebroeck (2017) reached similar conclusions. He argues that "there is nothing that tends to polarize the different classes and class-fractions more than their relationship towards food as manifested both in their "choices" for particular types of food, as well as their distinctive *manner* of consuming them" (Vandebroeck, 2017, p. 127). Whilst dominated classes' preferences for food were defined by necessity, cheapness, substantiality and ability to fill, dominant classes' preferences were expressed through the consumption of light, economically expensive, and time-saving food (Vandebroeck, 2017). In Bourdieusian terms, differentiating between tastes of necessity and luxury, he argues that the dominated class reduces food to its bare function in a functionalist attitude towards it, and expresses preferences towards ""heavy" dishes, "solid" foods, "strong" flavors and "firm" textures. This insistence on substance and function also implies a rejection of any form of formalization or stylization of meals or the act of eating […]" (Vandebroeck, 2017, p. 130).

5. Italy, food and distinction

What Italians eat is a question of an extensive socio-historical investigation, and some attempts to write about it have already been carried out (*inter alia*, Capatti et al., 2003; C. F. Helstosky, 2005; Montanari, 2013). Since the Romans' encounters with the *barbarians* during the Middle Ages, the Roman Mediterranean agricultural tradition of wine, oil, and bread blended with the symbols of *barbarism* marked by a forest life of meat, milk, lard, and butter, resulting in an "agro-forest-pastoral" model of food production and

consumption (Montanari, 2013). Throughout time, the symbolic value of *pure, healthy, and good* food was in constant and non-linear flux (influenced by political, religious, and material factors). What is apparent and constant, however, is that cultural distinctions of *good* and *bad*, *high*, and *low* moral-value foods persisted throughout history, mainly underlined by the principles of necessity and exclusivity. When something once deemed as exclusive became accessible (i.e., spices, meat, or plenty of food in most recent times), it was either abandoned in the tastes universe of the symbolically and socially dominant, it underwent a process of differentiation through food preparation and processing method (what Montanari (2013) calls, for example, the *ennoblement of food*[1]), or was met with a change in meals and products consumed. During fascism, Italy dealt with serious food shortage problems, to which Mussolini responded by a reassessment of the symbolic order: eating less and local was urged upon lower and middle-classes, infused with a strong nationalistic character, promoted under the guise of a *healthy* diet (today recognized as Mediterranean diet) that was presented as symbolically superior (C. Helstosky, 2004). Ever since, Italian *macro*-alimentary symbolism has been changing from a conservative, bucolic fantasy and modernization-resisting stance towards food to adopting some internationalization, opening itself towards foreign cuisines (Buscemi, 2022). However, the Italian eating practice remains of paramount interest, since food consumption habits hardly changed since the times of fascism, with the main variation being an increase in the volume of consumed food (C. Helstosky, 2004). The constancy of the cultural order is also seen in the strong resistance to *American cultural imperialism* (Voinea, 2012), exemplified by the existence of such organizations as *SlowFood*, which originated in Italy, and strong foodways' infusion with a significant sense of nationalism (or *Italianicity*) (Buscemi, 2022; Sassatelli, 2019). Acting as a unifying belief around the peninsula, Italian cuisine is famous for its regional differentiation; however, whilst regional variation in *typical* meals or products indeed exists, it does not fully reflect the quotidian consumption, and it tends to hide the fact that the products used for such foods

[1] For example, a characteristic of the alimentary culture in Italy during the Middle Ages was the emphasis assigned to meat as a symbol of privilege and power in contrast to vegetables and legumes (grains, beans, and vegetables *en masse*) that represented the diet of a peasant. Such assignment of symbolic value enforced a significant social distinction through food. Furthermore, whilst smells of garlic and onion were first associated with peasant culture, later such produce entered the *haute cuisine*. However, such "popular" recipes required *ennoblement* before appearing on the tables of the elites, through strategies such as adding *exotic* (and popularly unaffordable) spices to fish or presenting peasants' main dishes as accompaniments for meat (Montanari, 2013).

share similar characteristics, which will be of help in identifying a national character of lifestyles.

6. Bourdieu in Italy

With food being such a defining characteristic in the space of lifestyles, one might wonder why the Bourdieusian approach has not taken off to its full extent in Italian sociology yet. Even if, especially in anthropology, the recognition of the objective status of taste emerged (see Dei 2013, 2018), food as a symbolic and cultural product, its homology with social positionings, and the competition in the social space over the definition of the meanings of *good* food are still unmapped. In explaining the lack of Bourdieu's intellectual legacy in Italy, Santoro (2009) argues that Bourdieu's work had a difficulty of perception due to social structural, temporal, epistemological and philosophical factors. He adds that Italian sociology is characterised by an innate resistance to intellectual stances which limit voluntarism. Whilst the Bourdieusian theory insists on the doubly deterministic nature of *praxis*, "anything which smells of determinism, holism, structuralism seems to sound problematic and unsatisfying to Italian tastes" (Santoro, 2009, p. 61). He underlines that the lack of Bourdieu theory's simple production of policy advice or lack of a painting of how a better society would look like, made its appearance "too little prophetical for someone, too little technocrat for others" (Santoro, 2009, p. 61). Lastly, Bourdieu's theory relies greatly on historicity, which might have also been unorthodox to Italian sociology.

With the theoretical background drawn, the analytical part of this paper will be now presented, followed by the discussion of results.

7. Methodology

To explore food consumption patterns, the cross-sectional household budget survey (HBS), wave 2021, conducted by the Italian National Institute of Statistics (ISTAT), was used, which collected household expenditure data, including that of expenditure on different food items. The sample is representative of the population, due to stratified sampling methods and its size. The data used in this study were collected by self-administered diaries filled in by participants, while socio-economic data were collected via interviews administered by ISTAT fieldworkers. The resulting data on food consumption is at the household level. However, for the purpose of the analysis, based on the dominance principle, the socio-economic data of the 'main earner' of the

household, that is, the member receiving the highest income, will be used. The dataset contains information on expenditure from 28 608 households across Italy and the analytical sample for this study contains data from 26 284 households.

Further analysis is based on the analytical class groupings in the social space, which were derived from the occupation of the main household earner. The analytical taxonomy was inspired by the classification used by Atkinson & Deeming (2015), which, however, could not be fully replicated due to the suppression of data on occupations for privacy protection reasons. The HBS provides a limited list of professions, which only allows us to explore the first dimension of the Bourdieusian social space, which is the one of distinction in terms of volume, and not composition, of capitals. The taxonomy of three analytical social classes was identified for the analysis, which are the *dominated*, *intermediate*, and *dominant* classes (for the distribution, see Table 1). The category of the dominated class includes unskilled and skilled manual professions, such as artisans, farmers, industrial machine operators, drivers, cleaners, builders, and miners. The category of intermediate class includes skilled service and retail professions and clerks, such as shop assistants, secretaries, cooks, personal care services, security services, small commercial and recreational activities managers, and basic social and healthcare service workers. Lastly, the dominant class consists of knowledge professions as well as entrepreneurs and senior managers, such as legislators, researchers, doctors and physicians, teachers and lecturers, artists, lab assistants, socio-medical services providers, and specialist white-collar workers. The occupational category of "Army service" was excluded from the analysis due to its ambiguous placement and low number of observations (1.66%). One will notice that the volume of capital increases as the analytical class is considered from dominated (lowest educational attainment and overall expenditure) to dominant (highest educational attainment and overall expenditure). Whilst such distinction is far from perfect, it should allow us to identify prevailing patterns. The analysis explores the household consumption of 60 food items, divided into 10 groups: grain, meat and poultry, fish and seafood, milk and milk products, eggs, fats and oils, fruit and fruit products, vegetables and legumes, sugar and sugar products, and non-alcoholic beverages (see Tables 2, 3 and 4). The data recorded for each food item marks the monthly household expenditure for it. To ensure comparability, the proportion of expenditure on items from the total household's expenditure on food was calculated for each item and will be further used in the analysis. Thus, expenditure on each food item always varies from 0 to 1.

Table 1. Distribution of the main earners throughout analytical classes (n = 26 284).

Class (%)	Class fraction	%	High school	Tertiary	Monthly expend. on food	% from total expend.	Sex ratio (M/F)
Dominated (38.15%)	Unskilled manual professions	10.47	22.36	2.29	312.33	24.14	62/38
	Skilled manual professions	27.68	29.47	1.46	481.77	22.53	87/13
Intermediate (27.13%)	Skilled service and retail professions	14.90	45.25	6.18	335.84	21.34	54/46
	Clerks	12.23	63.63	15.87	494.08	19.18	53/47
Dominant (34.72%)	Knowledge Professions	30.70	44.25	48.59	529.84	17.90	65/35
	Entrepreneurs and senior management	4.03	39.85	40.04	589.55	17.38	82/18

Note. The entries in the table should be read as follows: *In the dominant class, which represents 38.15% of the population, the class fraction of unskilled and manual professions represents 10.47% of the population. 22.36% of this class fraction have high school as the highest educational attainment, whilst 2.29% have tertiary education as the highest. On average, this class fraction spends 312.33 euros monthly on food, which constitutes 22.14% of the average total monthly expenditure. 62% of this class fraction main earners are males, and 38% are females.*

The relationship between different classes and their expenditure on food was analysed using one-way ANOVA with Bonferroni posthoc test. Whilst in tables 2, 3, and 4 the group mean is reported for the dominated classes, the differences from said means are reported for the intermediate and dominant classes. This approach allows not only to identify the average expenditure of each class but also to identify if the average class expenditures are statistically significantly different from the dominated class, which is the base group used in the interpretation of the results. Therefore, the results are supposed to be read as differing *relatively*.

This method has its shortcomings. First, the limited socio-economic data available limit the ability to analyse the Italian social space and the homology of food consumption with it to the full extent. However, being able to identify the initial differentiation between food expenditure between professions associated with different volumes of capital is a good stepping stone. Furthermore, this analysis does not include differentiation between regions. This might be an important factor, knowing that not only the social conditions, especially in Italy, are contingent on regions, but also that consumed items and food consumption habits have distinct regional characteristics. However, the objective of this study is to assess if a national differentiation between relationally-defined tastes might

be identified, and thus the approach taken seems the most appropriate. Moreover, the reader will notice that the actual differences in absolute value spent on food items are in some cases nominal. For example, if calculated based on class averages, the dominated actors spend 26.84 euros a month on bread, compared to 25.77 euros spent by the dominant ones. Whilst approached in absolute terms such differences might not seem significant, it can be argued that these differences are sociologically noteworthy in terms of their importance in classes' diets. A higher relative expenditure on given food items indicates its higher relevance in the household's diet. Lastly, the analysis does not consider other social taxonomies (i.e., gender, ethnicity, age etc.) which were identified by previous scholarship as factors informing food consumption. However, given that this study focuses on the dimension of social positions, without disregarding the importance of other factors, this approach seems adequate. In the following section, the results from the analysis will be presented and discussed in terms of the tastes of dominated and dominant classes.

8. Results: the Italian field of food

8.1. Dominated and dominant tastes

The initial differences between tastes of luxury and tastes of necessity appear in the expenditure for grain products (see Table 2). The diet of dominated social actors is described by proportionally higher expenditure on rice, bread, and pasta. The dominant actors spend relatively more on breadsticks and crackers, cakes and pizzas, and other bread products. Differences remain in the expenditure on meat and poultry. On average, in all products of the category, the upper classes spend proportionately less than their counterparts, with the exception of meat cuts, where the difference is not statistically significant. Proportionally higher meat consumption characterizes the lower classes consumption.

Regarding fish and seafood expenditure (see Table 3), the upper classes spend more on fresh fish, fresh seafood, frozen seafood, smoked seafood and fish, and preserved fish. The dominated social actors spend relatively more only on frozen fish (however, without a significant difference). Considering differences in expenditure on milk and milk products, the tastes of necessity are descriptive of higher expenditure on whole and low-fat milk. Other items in the category, such as yogurt and cheese are characteristic of the dominant taste, whilst the consumption of eggs is relatively higher among dominated tastes. Furthermore, considering fats and oils, most of the items assume lower relative expenditure on the part of the dominant class. Lower classes spend relatively

more on butter and other oils, with olive oil consumption not having statistically significant differences.

Table 2: Average expenditure differentiation on grain products and meat.

	A[a]	D-ted	Inter.	D-ant
Rice	***	*0.008*	-0.000	-0.002 ***
Bread	***	*0.058*	-0.007 ***	-0.010 ***
Bread-sticks	***	*0.009*	0.001 ***	0.002 ***
Pasta	***	*0.027*	-0.002 **	-0.002 ***
Cakes, etc.	***	*0.020*	0.002 *	0.006 ***
Pastry		*0.034*	0.000	-0.000
Other bread	***	*0.002*	0.001 ***	0.001 ***

	A[a]	D-ted	Inter.	D-ant
Beef	***	*0.068*	-0.008 ***	-0.007 ***
Pork	***	*0.024*	-0.005 ***	-0.008 ***
Sheep	***	*0.005*	-0.001 **	-0.002 ***
Poultry	***	*0.046*	-0.003 ***	-0.009 ***
Sausages and offal	***	*0.012*	-0.003 ***	-0.005 ***
Other meat	***	*0.005*	-0.001 ***	-0.001 ***
Meat cuts		*0.055*	-0.001	-0.001
Processed meat	***	*0.012*	-0.001 *	-0.002 ***

*** p<0.001; ** p<0.01; * p<0.05.
[a] – one-way ANOVA in-between group difference p-value significance.

Table 3. Average expenditure differentiation on fish, milk, eggs, fats, and oils.

	A[a]	D-ted	Inter.	D-ant
Fresh fish	***	*0.032*	0.002 *	0.008 ***
Frozen fish		*0.015*	0.001	-0.001
Seafood fresh	***	*0.008*	0.001	0.003 ***
Frozen seafood	**	*0.004*	0.000	0.001 **
Smoked seaf., fish	***	*0.004*	0.001 ***	0.002 ***
Preserved fish	**	*0.013*	0.000	0.002 ***
Whole milk	***	*0.012*	-0.001 **	-0.002 ***
Low-fat milk	***	*0.014*	-0.001 ***	-0.003 ***

	A[a]	D-ted	Inter.	D-ant
Preserved milk		*0.002*	0.000	0.000
Yogurt	***	*0.014*	0.004 ***	0.004 ***
Cheese	***	*0.067*	-0.002 *	0.002 *
Other milk		*0.004*	0.000	0.000
Eggs	***	*0.015*	-0.001 **	-0.002 ***
Butter	***	*0.005*	-0.000	-0.001 ***
Olive oil		*0.018*	0.000	-0.000
Other oils	***	*0.005*	-0.001 ***	-0.002 ***

*** p<0.001; ** p<0.01; * p<0.05.
[a] – one-way ANOVA in-between group difference p-value significance.

Considering fruit (see Table 4), the dominated classes spend more on bananas and apples. Citrus fruits, berries, stone fruit, figs, melons and other fresh fruits, dried fruit and preserved fruit are consumed more by the dominant classes. In the category of vegetables and legumes, the dominated classes spend relatively more on potatoes and canned tomatoes. The upper classes spend

more on salads, root and stem vegetables, legumes, preserved vegetables, and tubers, whilst both dominant and dominated tastes spend the same on fruit-bearing vegetables and tomatoes. In the expenditure on sweets, the dominated classes spend relatively more on sugar, while the upper classes spend more on jams, chocolate, and ice cream. Considering non-alcoholic beverages, the dominated classes spend relatively more on soft-soda drinks and water, whilst the upper classes spend more on coffee and tea.

Finally, in between the dominant and dominated tastes, we can situate the intermediate tastes, those of the middle classes, which are often equidistant. They could be described by a strong resistance to the tastes of necessity, towards which they naturally gravitate, and by a strive towards the tastes of dominant classes, to which they aspire. This mode of existence is also captured in the statistical results, which, however, will not be further approached.

Table 4. Average expenditure differentiation on fruit, vegetables, legumes, sweets, and beverages.

	A[a]	**D-ted**	**Inter.**	**D-ant**
Citrus fruits	***	*0.018*	0.000	0.002 ***
Bananas	***	*0.012*	-0.001 *	-0.001 ***
Apples	***	*0.014*	-0.001 **	-0.001 ***
Pears		*0.005*	-0.000	-0.000
Berries	***	*0.009*	0.002 ***	0.003 ***
Stone fruit	***	*0.011*	0.001 **	0.003 ***
Other fresh fruit	***	*0.011*	0.001 ***	0.002 ***
Dried fruit	***	*0.008*	0.002 ***	0.003 ***
Preserved fruit	***	*0.001*	0.000 *	0.000 ***
Frozen fruit		*0.000*	0.000	0.000
Tomatoes		*0.017*	0.000	0.00
Salads	***	*0.018*	0.003 ***	0.003 ***
Cole crops		*0.009*	-0.000	-0.000
Root and stem veg.	***	*0.012*	0.002 ***	0.002 ***
Fruit bear. veg.	***	*0.016*	0.002 ***	0.001
Legumes	*	*0.001*	0.000	0.000 *
Preserved vegetables	**	*0.007*	0.001 **	0.001 **
Potatoes	***	*0.009*	-0.001 **	-0.001 ***
Tubers	**	*0.001*	0.000	0.000 **
Canned tomatoes	***	*0.010*	-0.000 ***	-0.002 ***
Sugar	***	*0.004*	-0.001 ***	-0.001 ***
Jams	***	*0.006*	0.001 ***	0.002 ***
Chocolate	***	*0.011*	0.001	0.003 ***
Ice-cream	***	*0.011*	0.001 **	0.002 ***
Coffee	**	*0.024*	0.002 *	0.002 *
Tea	***	*0.004*	0.001 ***	0.001 ***
Water	***	*0.028*	0.000	-0.002 **
Soft-soda drinks	***	*0.012*	-0.000	-0.002 ***
Fruit juice		*0.007*	0.000	-0.000

*** p<0.001; ** p<0.01; * p<0.05.

[a] – one-way ANOVA in-between group difference p-value significance.

8.2. Light and heavy, function and form, and the Mediterranean diet

These analytical explorations of the Italian field of food identify patterns which could have been expected given the findings captured in other Western countries (Atkinson & Deeming, 2015; Bourdieu, 1984; Prieur et al., 2008; Vandebroeck, 2017). We find that the dominated tastes are described by the highest relative expenditure on the cheapest and most filling carbohydrates. The lowest-capital end also spends relatively more on meat products, food for a long time associated with ability, power, strength, virility, and status (Lupton, 2015; Montanari, 2013). As Vannoni et al. (2003) showed, the Italian lower-classes diet is rich in meat and fat products. Contrary to the previous findings, however, we do not identify the differentiation between fat and lean meats. This might be explained by the lack of consideration of the capital composition in our analysis and by the prominence and cultural significance of the Mediterranean diet. Previous studies (*inter alia*, Benedetti et al., 2016; Bonaccio et al., 2017; Cavaliere et al., 2019; Grosso et al., 2013; Ruggiero et al., 2019) explain that adherence to such diet is influenced by increasing socio-economic status, indicating that such regimen represents yet another cultural differentiation in food consumption[2]. The higher consumption of meat in the lower classes may be a result of the upper classes distancing from it. Dominated tastes are also associated with higher relative expenditure on fat products, such as butter and other oils. When it comes to fruit, we find that the most *substantial* and '*little effort'* fruit, such as bananas and apples, takes a higher proportion of the dominated diet. Vegetables and legumes which are most *substantial* and *filling*, such as potatoes and canned tomatoes (for example used for *pasta al pomodoro*, which is the simplest sauce for pasta consumption) are also more prevalent in such tastes. Lastly, the taste for sweets is differentiated by its form: the dominated tastes spend relatively more on sugar and soft-soda drinks, which both are energizing carbohydrates.

On the other hand, the dominant tastes are associated with *lighter*, *leaner*, *fiddly* food and, most importantly, dissociated from *simplicity* and *function*. Such social actors spend more on breadsticks and crackers and other bread products, which, compared to bread, are *less filling* and *lighter*. The diet, compared to tastes

[2] Interestingly, one might note, the Mediterranean diet found its way into the regimen of the culturally-dominant during the fascist period. In order to reduce the population's intake of food, due to its scarcity, the government propagated going back to the *old, bucolic ways* of eating locally, portrayed as a virtue of the 19th century (C. Helstosky, 2004). However, the Mediterranean diet itself is a product of necessity, which has only been granted its culturally-dominant status after it was no longer accessible to the social actors in the dominated class.

of necessity, avoids meat, which is *heavy*, appropriated by lower classes, and associated with *necessity*. However, *leaner* and *lighter* products, such as fresh fish and seafood, as well as smoked seafood and fish represent a higher proportion of upper classes' expenditure. Eggs, fats, and oils are also avoided in said tastes. With reference to fruit, more *complicated* to eat and *less substantial* fruits and berries are more apparent in dominant tastes. In the case of vegetables, one finds a relatively higher consumption of salads, root and stem vegetables, legumes, and preserved vegetables, which all point towards a predominantly higher consumption of *light* and *fresh* vegetables. Furthermore, the dominant tastes are associated with differentiated sugars consumption: jams, chocolate and ice cream are relatively more important in their diets, compared to the dominated tastes.

The comparison of the relative expenditure of the dominated and dominant tastes indeed implies the distinctions being homologous with the differing volumes of accumulated capital. The Italian dominated tastes are described by their propensity towards heavier, more filling, cheaper, energizing, substantial, and functional foods, including a prioritization of matter over manner rooted in their conditions of existence, as argued by Bourdieu (1984). Conversely, the dominant tastes are differentiated by a relatively higher consumption of products which are more expensive, exclusive, light, limited in quantity and endorsed by quality, focused on the form, fiddle, more varied, and *sophisticated*. Such prominence of said diet might be explained by the propensity of the dominant class to express control over their bodies as a proof of *virtuous living*, a form of neo-Stoic mode of thinking: "in an age of uncertainty and heightened self-reflexivity […] bodies are viewed as highly amenable to change, one way of taking control over the body is to exert discipline over eating habits […] As such, given the current emphasis in Western societies upon the value of self-discipline, bodies thus become potent physical symbols of the extent to which their 'owners' possess self-control" (Lupton, 2015, p. 16). Furthermore, an exception, that is the lack of variation in the consumption of meat cuts, tomatoes, or olive oil is to be explained by their central role in present-day Italian cuisine, equally consumed by both dominated and dominant tastes. The differentiation of such products might be expected to be found in their *qualitative* differentiation: price, place of purchase, value attached to their provenance, and so on.

Having presented the results, in the following and last section of this study a short discussion, conclusion and a direction for the further studies of food and the Italian social space will be provided.

9. Conclusion and discussion

What social actors eat is a question that in the eyes of the cultural sociologist must escape instrumentalist points of view, falsely pointing towards direct and momentous causes and effects. Food is a cultural product, invested with meanings and moral attributes, homologous to social, cultural, and moral orders in a given social space, and constructing the moral value of its consumer through its ingestion. From the post-structuralist point-of-view, this study has built on the theoretical framework for studying food consumption through its symbolic meanings and its ability of symbolic differentiation, by situating it in given social and lifestyle spaces. The Bourdieusian approaches towards such studies are of uttermost importance, as they shed light on the unexplored relations between cultural dominance and symbolic power (and violence), that was so focal for the Italian intellectual Antonio Gramsci (1998, 2015). Whilst this study faces its methodological shortcomings, its findings, regardless, serve as a stepping stone for exploring the Italian space of lifestyles and its homology with the social space. Findings conclude that regardless of the Italian cuisine's regionalism and despite the deeply rooted social and cultural differences between the Northern and Southern parts of the peninsula, the Italian space of lifestyles *does* exist in its differentiation between tastes of necessity and tastes of luxury. Potatoes, pasta, rice, canned tomatoes, meat, sugar, and soft-soda drinks, among other similar, serve as a basis for the dominated social actor's diet. Such filling, heavy, substantial, fat, cheap, and plentiful foods rise from necessity ingrained in the social actor's habitus. The dominant classes, instead, give higher priority in their diet to less filling, fresher, lighter, and more expensive and sophisticated foods, which points to a strategy of differentiation from necessity. The neo-Stoic manner of self-control and asceticism, expressed through a high importance of self-imposed dietary control, describes the properties of the dominant classes' habitus: "cultural categories comprise an integral way of conceptualizing different types of food and meals, and by extension, transfer their meanings to the individuals who incorporate these substances" (Lupton, 2015, Chapter 3). In this vein, as the dominant discourse goes, *unhealthy people* eat *unhealthy food*, and *healthy people* eat *healthy food*. The former are *irresponsible* and lacking *self-control*, whilst the latter spend a great deal on *taking care of themselves*, *knowing their limits*, performing *sacrifices* to *stay healthy*, and *knowing* how to *enjoy food*. Furthermore, our analysis points to some *universal* foods such as meat cuts, tomatoes, or olive oil, which in Italy are spread all over the social spectrum. Further analysis of such universals is in order.

Whilst in this study the exploration of the Italian social space and space of lifestyles was initiated, it is solely the beginning, and much is yet to be done. First of all, in terms of the space of lifestyles, the exploration of the secondary

dimension of the space, that of capital composition, is necessary; this will help to identify further distinctions between social actors with dominant cultural or economic capital in composition (especially the distinction between dominant classes hedonism versus asceticism, which was not fully captured in this study). More generally, the mapping of the space of social positions is required as well. Such efforts performed altogether would allow an analytical recreation of the Italian social space and space of lifestyles. For the scholars interested in exploring such cultural differentiation, it is needless to remind that the space of lifestyles consists of much more than the field of food: every product invested with symbolic meanings can be explored, analysed, and topographically situated in the space of lifestyles, illuminating the state-of-the-art of symbolic struggles in the given social space.

It was the purpose of this paper to initiate the study of the Italian space of lifestyles and its homology with the space of social positions. It has identified similar patterns of distinction to those Bourdieu (1984) and the scholarship afterwards captured in the last 40 years. Studying such differentiation and understanding social actors' food preferences as practice mediated through habitus allow sociologists to understand them not in terms of isolated "choices" made by social actors or in group, but rather structured relationally. In a morally and symbolically bound social universe, there is no *good* without its symmetrical opposition, just like there is no *worthy* without *unworthy*, and the symbolic power to determine who-is-who is a formidable faculty. Baumann et al. (2022) rightfully argue that a problematic relationship between *good food* and *good people* exists, where the latter "just happen to be affluent" (2022, p. 14). In the contemporary Western world, where inequality and distinction has become pronounced more than ever, in particular symbolically, such efforts to map and explain them are of uttermost value.

References

Atkinson, W. (2022). The U.S. Space of Lifestyles and Its Homologies. *Sociological Perspectives*, *65*(6), 1060–1080. https://doi.org/10.1177/07311214221084690

Atkinson, W., & Deeming, C. (2015). Class and Cuisine in Contemporary Britain: The Social Space, the Space of Food and Their Homology. *The Sociological Review*, *63*(4), 876–896. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-954X.12335

Baumann, S., Kennedy, E. H., & Johnston, J. (2022). Moral and aesthetic consecration and higher status consumers' tastes: The "good" food

revolution. *Poetics*, *92*, 101654. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2022.101654

Benedetti, I., Laureti, T., & Secondi, L. (2016). Exploring the Italians' food habits and tendency towards the Mediterranean diet. *Italian Review of Agricultural Economics*, *71*(1), Article 1. https://doi.org/10.13128/REA-18641

Blasius, J., & Friedrichs, J. (2008). Lifestyles in distressed neighborhoods: A test of Bourdieu's "taste of necessity" hypothesis. *Poetics*, *36*(1), 24–44. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2007.12.001

Bonaccio, M., Di Castelnuovo, A., Pounis, G., Costanzo, S., Persichillo, M., Cerletti, C., Donati, M. B., de Gaetano, G., Iacoviello, L., & Molisani Study Investigators. (2017). High adherence to the Mediterranean diet is associated with cardiovascular protection in higher but not in lower socioeconomic groups: Prospective findings from the Moli-sani study. *International Journal of Epidemiology*, *46*(5), 1478–1487. https://doi.org/10.1093/ije/dyx145

Bourdieu, P. (1979). *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (R. Nice, Trans.). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511812507

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste* (R. Nice, Trans.; 11. print). Harvard Univ. Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1985). The Social Space and the Genesis of Groups. *Theory and Society*, *14*(6), 723–744.

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (pp. 241–258). Greenwood.

Bourdieu, P. (1990). Structures, Habitus, Practices. In *The logic of practice* (pp. 52–65). Stanford University Press.

Buscemi, F. (2022). *Pasta, pizza and propaganda: A political history of Italian food TV*. Intellect.

Capatti, A., Montanari, M., & Capatti, A. (2003). *Italian cuisine: A cultural history*. Columbia Univ. Press.

Cavaliere, A., De Marchi, E., Donzelli, F., & Banterle, A. (2019). Is the Mediterranean Diet for all? An analysis of socioeconomic inequalities and food consumption in Italy. *British Food Journal*, *121*(6), 1327–1341. https://doi.org/10.1108/BFJ-06-2018-0373

Counihan, C. (2019). Food Consumption and Food Activism in Italy. In R. Sassatelli (Ed.), *Italians and Food* (pp. 101–125). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-15681-7_5

Davolio, F., & Sassatelli, R. (2019). Good Food and Nice People: Hospitality and the Construction of Quality Among the Italian Middle Class. In R. Sassatelli (Ed.), *Italians and Food* (pp. 127–150). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-15681-7_6

Dei, F. (2013). Buono da mangiare, buono da pensare. *Testimonianze*, *490/491*(4/5), 47–53. https://doi.org/10.1400/241277

Dei, F. (2018). Gusto popolare? *Etnografie del contemporaneo IV: Artification at large*, *14*(40/42), 81–85.

Foucault, M. (1995). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison* (2nd Vintage Books ed). Vintage Books.

Garfinkel, H. (1964). Studies of the Routine Grounds of Everyday Activities. *Social Problems*, *11*(3), 225–250. https://doi.org/10.2307/798722

Goffman, E. (2010). *Relations in public: Microstudies of the public order*. Transaction Publishers.

Goffman, E. (2022). *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity* (1st edition). Penguin.

Gramsci, A. (1998). *Selections from the prison notebooks of Antonio Gramsci* (Q. Hoare, Ed.; G. Nowell-Smith, Trans.; Reprinted). Lawrence and Wishart.

Gramsci, A. (2015). *The southern question*. Bordighera Press.

Grosso, G., Marventano, S., Buscemi, S., Scuderi, A., Matalone, M., Platania, A., Giorgianni, G., Rametta, S., Nolfo, F., Galvano, F., & Mistretta, A. (2013). Factors Associated with Adherence to the Mediterranean Diet among Adolescents Living in Sicily, Southern Italy. *Nutrients*, *5*(12), 4908–4923. https://doi.org/10.3390/nu5124908

Harper, D. A., & Faccioli, P. (2010). *The Italian Way: Food and Social Life*. University of Chicago Press.

Helstosky, C. (2004). Fascist food politics: Mussolini's policy of alimentary sovereignty. *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, *9*(1), 1–26. https://doi.org/10.1080/1354571042000179164

Helstosky, C. F. (2005). *Garlic and Oil: Food and Politics in Italy* (First Edition). Berg Publishers.

Lizardo, O. (2017). Improving Cultural Analysis: Considering Personal Culture in its Declarative and Nondeclarative Modes. *American Sociological Review*, *82*(1), 88–115. https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122416675175

Lupton, D. (2015). *Food, the body and the self*. SAGE Publications Ltd.

Montanari, M. (2013). *Italian identity in the kitchen, or, Food and the nation*. Columbia University Press.

Pachucki, M. C. (2014). Food choices and peer relationships: Examining 'a taste for necessity' in a network context. *Sociologie et Societes*, *46*(2), 229–252. https://doi.org/10.7202/1027149ar

Prieur, A., Rosenlund, L., & Skjott-Larsen, J. (2008). Cultural capital today: A case study from Denmark. *Poetics*, *36*(1), 45–71. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2008.02.008

Ramos, V. (2023). Food consumption, social class and taste in contemporary Portugal. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, *23*(4), 903–925. https://doi.org/10.1177/14695405221149114

Ruggiero, E., Di Castelnuovo, A., Costanzo, S., Persichillo, M., Bracone, F., Cerletti, C., Donati, M. B., De Gaetano, G., Iacoviello, L., Bonaccio, M., INHES Study Investigators, Iacoviello, L., Bonanni, A., Bonaccio, M., Bonanni, A., Cerletti, C., Costanzo, S., De Gaetano, G., Di Castelnuovo, A., Olivieri, M. (2019). Socioeconomic and psychosocial determinants of adherence to the Mediterranean diet in a general adult Italian population. *European Journal of Public Health*, *29*(2), 328–335. https://doi.org/10.1093/eurpub/cky127

Santoro, M. (2009). How 'Not' to Become a Dominant French Sociologist: Bourdieu in Italy, 1966-2009. *Sociologica*, *2–3*, 0–0. https://doi.org/10.2383/31372

Sassatelli, R. (2019). Introduction: Food, Foodways and Italianicity. In R. Sassatelli (Ed.), *Italians and Food* (pp. 1–15). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-15681-7_1

Sato, P. de M., Gittelsohn, J., Unsain, R. F., Roble, O. J., & Scagliusi, F. B. (2016). The use of Pierre Bourdieu's distinction concepts in scientific articles studying food and eating: A narrative review. *Appetite*, *96*, 174–186. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.appet.2015.09.010

Sutherland, L.-A. (2013). Can organic farmers be 'good farmers'? Adding the 'taste of necessity' to the conventionalization debate. *Agriculture and Human Values*, *30*(3), 429–441. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10460-013-9424-z

Trapp, M. M. (2016). You-Will-Kill-Me-Beans: Taste and the Politics of Necessity in Humanitarian Aid. *Cultural Anthropology*, *31*(3), Article 3. https://doi.org/10.14506/ca31.3.08

Vandebroeck, D. (2017). *Distinctions in the flesh: Social class and the embodiment of inequality* (1 Edition). Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.

Vannoni, F., Spadea, T., Frasca, G., Tumino, R., Demaria, M., Sacerdote, C., Panico, S., Celentano, E., Palli, D., Saieva, C., Pala, V., Sieri, S., & Costa, G. (2003). Association between social class and food consumption in the Italian EPIC population. *Tumori*, *89*(6), 669–678. https://doi.org/10.1177/030089160308900611

Voinea, L. (2012). Fast Food Paradox: Freedom and Cultural Imperialism. *Ovidius University Annals, Economic Sciences Series*, *XII*(1), 1243–1248.

Warde, A. (2016). *The practice of eating*. Polity Press.