European University Institute
Max Weber Programme

EUI Working Papers

MWP 2007/06

Social Stratification and Cultural Participation in Hungary:
A Post-communist Pattern of Consumption?

Erzsébet Bukodi

EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE
MAX WEBER PROGRAMME

Social Stratification and Cultural Participation in Hungary: A Post-communist Pattern of Consumption?

ERZSÉBET BUKODI

EUI Working Paper MWP No. 2007/06

ISSN 1830-7728

Printed in Italy
European University Institute
Badia Fiesolana
I – 50014 San Domenico di Fiesole (FI)
Italy

http://www.eui.eu/
http://cadmus.eui.eu/

Abstract

Drawing on data from a recent time-budget survey, this paper investigates the relationship between cultural consumption and social stratification in Hungary. Education continues to exert a powerful influence on cultural consumption just as it did under communism. A major change from the communist era is that cultural consumption is now also strongly affected by income. Social status exerts an effect on cultural participation, although not one as straightforward as expected. The probability of being active rather than inactive does rise with individuals' status in a rather steep linear fashion. But individuals' status does not have any significant influence in differentiating among types of cultural consumer. However, what does appear as a significant influence in this regard is the father's status. This latter finding suggests that in post-communist Hungary the direct intra-familial transmission of inequalities is becoming a yet more powerful process than before. The analyses suggest that in terms of stratification by education, income and status, the most salient dividing line is that between actives and inactives. As regards the types of consumer, three groups have emerged from these analyses: univores, exclusives and omnivores. Univores – who are in general at the lowest status level in other countries – seem to have been to some extent displaced 'upwards' by the unusually large numbers of the culturally inactive. Exclusives can hardly be taken as forming a social as well as a cultural elite; rather they appear to be the remains of the 'intelligentsia' of the communist era. If there is, in present-day Hungarian society, a pattern of cultural consumption that can be associated with socially more advantaged groups, it is that of the omnivores.

Keywords

Cultural consumption, Social stratification, Hungary

Social Stratification and Cultural Participation in Hungary:
A Post-communist Pattern of Consumption?

ERZSÉBET BUKODI*

Max Weber Post-Doctoral Fellow (2006-2007)
European University Institute, Florence, Italy

Introduction

Since the collapse of communism in Hungary, major changes have occurred in the level and pattern of cultural consumption. Although the overall amount of leisure time has increased, there has been a significant decline in the amount of time spent in attending concerts, theatres and cinemas or visiting museums (Falussy, 2004). In national surveys, the percentage of people who said they attended a theatre in the year preceding the interview was 36 per cent in 1986 but had dropped to 23 per cent by 2000 (Bukodi, 2005). Likewise, in the mid-eighties, 42 per cent of Hungarians claimed to visit a museum at least once over a 12 months period, but in 2000 this figure was only 22 per cent.

In the light of these developments, further enquiry needs to be made into the social bases of cultural participation. This is the main objective of this study. More specifically, the paper has two aims. The first one is to investigate the association between individuals' cultural consumption across several different public domains – i.e. attendance at musical events, at theatres and cinemas and at museums – and a range of different indicators of social stratification. The second one is to discuss the validity of three rival theoretical arguments on

* For very helpful advice and comments I thank *John H. Goldthorpe* and *Tak Wing Chan.* The research is supported by the ESRC/AHRC research grant under their Cultures of Consumption Research Programme Phase II, award number: RES-154-25-0006.

the relationship between cultural and social stratification – i.e. the homology, the individualisation, and the omnivore-univore approaches – in the Hungarian context.

In its most elaborated form, the so-called homology argument was developed by Bourdieu (1984) in his seminal book, *Distinction*. For Bourdieu, the correspondence between social and cultural stratification is very strongly determined. Social classes display different patterns of cultural taste and consumption – and also of distaste and aversion – as part of their characteristic lifestyles. The internal consistency of these lifestyles is the expression of the *habitus* of individual class members – that is the socially constituted 'system of dispositions' that they acquire in early life, that exerts a pervasive influence on their perceptions and practices, and that reflects the possibilities and exigencies that are created by particular 'class conditions'. Further, for Bourdieu the cultural field is one in which class competition and conflict are always present. The 'dominant classes' of modern societies use their superior 'cultural capital', no less than their economic capital, in order to maintain their position of dominance. More specifically, members of dominant classes seek to confirm the superiority of their own lifestyle over those of other classes by restricting it to cultural forms that they can represent as 'canonical' or 'legitimate' – while maintaining 'aesthetic distance' from other forms deemed to be inferior. Through such 'symbolic violence', cultural capital can in fact be converted into economic capital, and cultural reproduction thus serves as a crucial component of the social reproduction. Put it in a very simple way, cultural and social stratification map very closely onto each other; individuals in high social strata (members of the dominant class) tend to consume the 'elite' culture, while individuals in lower social segments prefer consuming more 'popular' genres of the culture. Mainly due to the influence of Bourdieu, sociological thinking about the relationship of social and cultural stratification tended to be dominated by concepts of homology at least up to the 1990s. At this time, however, Bourdieu's work began to receive a greater amount of criticism and this opened the way for the alternative theoretical approaches.

The first of these could be labelled as the 'individualisation' argument. Its stronger form emphasises that in modern societies lifestyle lacks any kind of connection to the basic structure of stratification; individuals are able to develop their lifestyle independently of their social locations, and cultural consumption is increasingly becoming an arena of individual 'self-realisation' (Featherstone, 1987). Its weaker version stresses that inequalities have not disappeared from advanced societies, but they have changed fundamentally, and other structural factors, such as gender, age or ethnicity, are as important in conditioning lifestyle and cultural consumption as employment relationships or status (Beck, 1992; Lash and Urry, 1994). What then is implied is that any homology between social and cultural hierarchies that may have existed in more 'traditional' forms of society is dissolving: no claim can be maintained that different patterns of cultural consumption stand in some systematic relationship to structures of social inequality. The processes that once created and sustained such a relationship – i.e. processes of socialisation into distinctive class values and practices – have lost their force.

The second main challenge that has been raised to homology arguments is the so-called omnivore-univore thesis (for leisure time activities see Lopez-Sintas and Garcia-Alvarez, 2002; for tastes in music Bryson, 1996 and Peterson and Kern, 1996; for arts participation DiMaggio and Mukhtar, 2004 and Lopez-Sintas and Katz-Gerro, 2005; for reading preferences Rees *et al.*, 1999). This idea derives, like individualisation arguments, from the claim that a close mapping of cultural onto social hierarchies no longer exists. Arguing instead that cultural consumption is now free of any systematic relationship with social stratification, proponents of the omnivore-univore thesis see a new relationship as having emerged. In present-day societies, they would maintain, members of higher social strata tend not to shun popular or lowbrow culture but regularly participate in it. Moreover,

they do so more actively than members of lower strata. However, a significant difference remains in the consumption of high-brow cultural forms. Such consumption is in fact largely confined to higher social strata, while in lower strata consumption tends not to extend beyond more popular genres. In other words, the cultural consumption of individuals in more advantaged social positions differs from that of individuals in less advantaged positions in being both greater and wider in its range. It comprises not only more high-brow culture but more middle-brow and low-brow culture as well. The crucial contrast that is created is not then that of 'snob versus slob' but rather that of cultural omnivore versus cultural univore.

In search of the social bases of cultural consumption in Hungary

The role of cultural and economic resources

There is no doubt that cultural participation is powerfully influenced by education. Bourdieu (1984) proposed that greater access to higher education increases the extent to which consumers are trained in artistic classification systems and enlarges their ability to interpret and to appropriate different expressions of culture. Further, Ganzeboom (1982) suggests that individual differences in information-processing capacity, which education is likely to enhance, will also be reflected in differences in cultural consumption patterns. The greater individuals' capacity in this respect, the more complex are likely to be the cultural genres that they seek out and from which they gain satisfaction.

In communist societies education played a particularly important role in shaping life chances. Since, under communism, nearly every other agency of social reproduction was eliminated, the educational system, with its legitimising facade of 'meritocracy', became of central importance for distributive processes. In research carried out in the 1980s, Ganzeboom *et al.* (1990) showed that educational attainment had a direct impact on all other aspects of social inequality – much in line with the thesis of cultural reproduction as a major determinant of social reproduction advanced by Bourdieu. In communist countries even members of less advantaged strata had, in principle, good access to cultural resources. However, their levels of cultural consumption remained relatively low. Drawing on data from five countries (Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, the Netherlands and the United States) around 1980, Ultee *et al.* (1993) found that cultural inequalities were in fact the highest in the communist states, and especially in Hungary, and that in these countries the association between educational level and cultural participation (going to the theatre, listening to classical music, buying books) was extremely strong. Further, De Graaf (1991) showed that, in Hungary, not only the individual's education but also the spouse's played an important role in the pattern of cultural consumption under communism. In accordance with the so-called status maximisation approach, the partner with the higher level of education chiefly determined the cultural behaviour of the family.

In the light of these research results, I expect that despite regime change, education will still prove to be one of the most powerful predictors of cultural consumption in present-day Hungary. In fact, cross-national surveys of literacy competency (e.g. OECD, 2000) have found that a significant part of the Hungarian population continues to have serious problems even with basic interpretative skills. In other words, one might say that the information-processing capacity of people in Hungary, and especially of those with relatively low levels of education, remains comparatively low, and this would then be likely to adversely affect their propensity to engage in cultural activity of any kind. Moreover, marked differences in basic literacy skills could be expected to lead not only to a major division between culturally actives and inactives but also, among actives, to marked contrasts between those who consume highbrow and lowbrow forms of the culture.

The ideological objective of governments in the socialist era was to make different cultural activities available to the broadest audience. In order to achieve this, the costs of cultural participation were kept at an artificially low level, and in fact financial resources were found to have no impact, or only a very modest one, on the amount and pattern of cultural consumption (Róbert, 1997). However, after the collapse of communism, former state subsidies were radically diminished and the 'cultural field' has become much more open to market mechanisms. For instance, in 2003 the average price of a theatre or a cinema ticket was four times higher than in 1996 (Bárdosi *et al.*, 2005)[1], and overall costs to the consumer for cultural and recreational goods increased by 96 per cent between 1996 and 2005 – the rate of increase being one of the highest across all European countries (Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe, 2007). In line with these unfavourable changes, a recent study (Dudás and Hunyadi, 2005) reports that about a half of those who had not attended a theatre or a cinema in the year prior to interview referred to high ticket prices as the main cause of their inactivity. Taking income as a proxy for individuals' economic resources, and having regard to the increasing income inequalities in the period of transformation and then again in the later 1990s (Tóth, 2003), I would expect a marked income effect on the overall level of cultural participation, in addition to that of education.

The role of social status

The starting-point here is Weber's (1968 [1922]) distinction between class and status as qualitatively different forms of social stratification. Class structure is taken to be expressed in the social relations of economic life and, more specifically, in relations in labour markets and production units. The status order, in contrast, is understood as a structure of relations expressing perceived social superiority, equality and inferiority among individuals, and reflecting the social 'honour' that attaches to certain positions they hold or to certain of their ascribed attributes.

Most research into social stratification under communism has pointed to generally low levels of class formation (Connor, 1988). As Wesolowski (1976) argues, the stratification of communist societies could be better described as a status order deriving from differentiation in education, occupational prestige and income, but one which incorporates inconsistencies, especially as regards occupational prestige and income (see also Kolosi, 1984). Consequently, individuals in high status positions could not always distinguish themselves by a high level of material consumption, and thus, for them, participation in high-brow cultural activities would appear to have been especially important and desirable (Wnuk-Lipinski, 1983). These findings justify a stratification model in communist Hungary that involves a conflict between culturally defined groups, in particular between individuals at the top and the bottom extremes of the occupational hierarchy, and between groups that differ in the possession of cultural resources more generally. High-level professionals, high-ranking administrators and well-trained technocrats formed the 'knowledge class' of the 1970s and 1980s, and constituted a status group with its own cultural means of establishing social closure, in a rather similar way to that suggested by Bourdieu.

Since the collapse of communism, Hungary would appear to have been moving towards a more Western-type stratification system, where social class is responsible for shaping economic inequalities[2], but the link between the amount and variety of cultural

[1] As regards costs of museum or art gallery attendance, the rate of increase in ticket price was more modest, and in recent years some new state subsidies have been introduced (Dudás and Hunyadi, 2005).

[2] As a recent study proved (Bukodi et al., 2006), in contemporary Hungary the stability/instability of the labour market is clearly determined by the social class, defined on the basis of employment relationships. Investigating the risk of recurrent and long-term unemployment, the persisting centrality of class in creating differentials is to be emphasised: the relative risk of these forms of unemployment is apparently higher for individuals holding

endowments and status might be fairly strong. The inconsistencies between education, occupational prestige and income seem to have been decreasing over the last decade (Kolosi, 2000). Nonetheless, it could still be expected that the present-day counterpart of the old 'intelligentsia' – for example, higher status professionals – would still be particularly motivated, and now better able, to show themselves as 'cultured'; and especially so as to distance themselves from 'people of new money' – for example, from higher-level managers, business professionals or large employers[3]. At the same time, if modern Hungary is moving closer to a Western pattern of cultural tastes and consumption, it might also be expected that a wider range of cultural participation comprising both high-brow and low-brow genres – in other words, omnivorousness – would predominate among certain elements of high status groups: for instance, among younger people or in fact among the new economic elite.

The role of the family of origin

Under communism, family background played a crucial role in shaping life-chances and lifestyle and its importance seems not to have diminished after regime change. Kraaykamp and Nieuwbeerta (2000), analysing high-brow cultural consumption in five former socialist countries, emphasise that parental cultural resources have remained extremely important since the collapse of communism. Transmission of inequality in the cultural domain predominantly takes place through socialization within the family, and in Eastern and Central Europe this mode of transmission seems to be more marked than in Western societies. In investigating the pattern of intergenerational social mobility in Hungary, Róbert and Bukodi (2004) show that, since the early 1990s, the association between fathers' and children's social class has been increasing. Moreover, Bukodi (1999), analysing trends in educational inequalities after the collapse of communism, finds that parents' education and cultural capital have substantial – and in some cases increasing – impact on children's educational attainment. In the light of these findings, one further expectation arises: that parents' social status will significantly affect cultural consumption in Hungary over and above the influence of the individual's own status.

Social status in contemporary Hungarian society

In order to develop a social status scale for present-day Hungarian society, I follow an approach pioneered by Laumann (1966) and then taken up by Chan and Goldthorpe (2004). The starting-point of this approach is the occupational structure of intimate association. If occupation is one of the most important positions to which status attaches in modern societies, (and if spouse selection can be regarded as an expression of social equality), a structure of social equality, and thus in turn of inequality, may be established by investigating the tendency for marriage to be formed between members of different occupational groups. Using a 20 per cent representative sample of the Hungarian Census from 2001, a multidimensional scaling (MDS) exercise was undertaken with data on occupational patterns of marriage and

working-class, especially semi- or unskilled, positions. Moreover, the chance of career advancement and the probability of upward mobility is also well predicted by class membership (Bukodi and Róbert, 1999).

[3] Domanki (2000), investigating the basic patterns of stratification in several post-socialist countries, also found that – in contrast to the communist era – different mechanisms seem to be responsible for the relations in economic life and in the domain of lifestyle and cultural consumption. Private entrepreneurs, especially with employees, tend to possess a privileged position in economic life (with regard to their prospects), but the amount and variety of their cultural consumption is modest; whereas, high status intelligentsia appear to follow an 'exclusive' cultural participation pattern, engaging chiefly in highbrow activities.

cohabitation[4]. The 4-digit occupational titles of the census data were collapsed into 36 occupational categories and the symmetrized matrix of dissimilarity indices for both men's and women's distribution of partners was taken as input to the MDS analysis. From this analysis, a 3-dimensional solution emerged, the first dimension of which could be plausibly identified as a status hierarchy. The ranking of the categories according to their scores on this first dimension is shown in Table 1.

Three features of this status order should be emphasised. First, status appears to be rather systematically associated with the degree of 'manuality' of work. More specifically, occupations that typically require working with symbols appear to be placed higher in the ranking than those that require working with material things, while those that require working primarily with people, as well as perhaps with things, such as many occupations in the growing services sector, have typically intermediate positions. Furthermore, within non-manual occupations, professional occupations tend to have higher status scores than managerial ones.

[4] Only those households in which there was a co-resident heterosexual couple, both partners were aged 20-64 years old and valid information on current or – for non-employed,– last occupation was available were taken into account, resulting in a sample size of 367,300.

*Table 1: The 36 occupational groups ranked in **descending order** of status score*

Rank	***Code***	***Score***	**Title**	***%***
1	LEGP	1.0383	Legal professionals	.3
2	TERT	1.0194	Professionals in tertiary-level education	.2
3	PNATS	0.8992	Physicians, pharmacists, natural scientists	.6
4	ECS	0.8186	Engineers and computer scientists	1.8
5	CULP	0.7071	Cultural and religious professionals	.7
6	SOCWEL	0.6318	Social science and welfare professionals	.2
7	BUSP	0.6248	Business professionals	1.6
8	GMAN	0.6232	General managers	.6
9	GOV	0.5068	Senior government officials	.2
10	TEACH	0.5054	Professionals in secondary and primary education	3.9
11	HARMED	0.4521	High-ranking members of the armed forces	.5
12	DMAN	0.3625	Department managers	2.8
13	SMALLM	0.3385	General managers of small business enterprises	1.4
14	LOHE	0.3058	Health related associate professionals	.3
15	ACUL	0.2252	Cultural and religious associate professionals	.4
16	ABUS	0.1202	Business, legal and financial associate professionals	6.2
17	ATECH	0.0179	Technicians and related associate professionals	3.0
18	CLERK	0.0135	Office clerks	4.9
19	SUP	-0.0793	Production supervisors, site managers	1.3
20	AHE	-0.1158	Health and welfare associate professionals	3.1
21	NCLERK	-0.2170	Numerical clerks and other clerical workers	1.4
22	PERSW	-0.2307	Personal service workers	.8
23	PRSERW	-0.2796	Public and private security workers and low-ranking members of the armed forces	2.2
24	SALESW	-0.3168	Sales workers	6.8
25	OSERW	-0.4309	Communal and other service workers	.7
26	HESERW	-0.4743	Health, welfare, cultural service workers	1.2
27	HOTELW	-0.4805	Hotel and restaurant workers	2.5
28	SHANDW	-0.5375	Skilled handicraft workers	2.0
29	TRANSW	-0.5851	Transport and postal workers	1.2
30	SMETW	-0.6258	Skilled metal trade workers	8.3
31	SFOODW	-0.7104	Skilled food and other light industry workers	6.0
32	SCONTW	-0.7368	Skilled construction workers	5.7
33	MPOPER	-0.7546	Machine and plant operators	12.3
34	EXTW	-0.8519	Extraction workers	4.4
35	RUTSEW	-0.8629	Routine service workers	6.7
36	GLABW	-0.9206	General labourers	4.0
				100.0

Source: Census, 2001; 20% representative sample

Second, although status correlates fairly strongly with income (at the occupational group level the correlation coefficient is 0.715), there are some occupational categories for which the

status score appears to be inconsistent with income level. For instance, high-ranking members of the armed forces, senior government officials, public and private security workers and construction workers all have notably low status relative to their income, while the reverse is the case for cultural professionals, teachers and clerks. However, so far as education (measured by the number of completed classes) is concerned, the correlation with status is very high (0.981 at occupational group level), and there is no substantial incongruence between the two measures. Further, it should be noted that when the status score is regressed on both income and education, the coefficient for income proves to be insignificant. This implies that social status as represented by the scale is distinct from 'socio-economic status' as determined by combining information on income and education (see e.g. Duncan, 1961, Ganzeboom and Treiman, 1996).

The third point concerns the relationship between social status and social class. If class is treated via a Hungarian version of the Erikson-Goldthorpe-Portocarero (EGP) schema (see further below), then a clear gradient in mean status scores shows up across the classes, from the higher salariat down to unskilled wage earners. On the other hand, there is a good deal of overlap in status among classes and often a wide spread of status within classes. For instance, status dispersion within the salariat and the class of self-employed workers is quite considerable. Thus, in the Hungarian case the conceptual distinction between class and status can readily be expressed empirically.

Data and analytical strategy

I draw on data from the Way of Life and Time Use Survey carried out in 2000 by the Hungarian Central Statistical Office. This data-set is well suited to the purposes of this study because it contains much factual information on the nature and extent of individuals' consumption in several cultural domains. Face-to-face interviews were carried out with a stratified probability sample of individuals aged between 15 and 85 living in private households (c. 10,000). In the subsequent analyses, I restrict the sample to those aged 20-64 years old, since the cultural habits of both younger and older groups may well require separate treatment.

As regards cultural consumption, I concentrate on responses obtained from a set of questions covering three cultural domains. Respondents were asked whether or not over the last 12 months they had been (1) to a cinema or (2) to a theatre for any kind of performance; whether or not they had attended (3) an opera or a classical music concert or (4) had been to a pop, rock or jazz concert; and whether or not they had visited (5) a museum or art gallery. Each of these five questions was designed to produce a binary, yes/no response.

Table 2 shows rates of participation in the three domains – labelled as 'theatre and cinema', 'music' and 'visual arts' – as indicated by the responses to the five questions. It may be noted that, in general, levels of participation are not high. Over a 12 months period, 30 per cent of respondents had visited a cinema, but less than 25 per cent had been to a theatre, to a pop, rock or jazz concert, or to a museum or gallery, and only 8 per cent had been to an opera or a classical music concert.

Table 2: Percentage of respondents who have taken part in various cultural activities in the past 12 months.

	%
Theatre & cinema	
Theatre	22.6
Cinema	29.8
Music	
Opera/classical music concert	7.8
Pop/rock/jazz concert	23.0
Visual arts	
Museum /art gallery	22.3

As a basis for studying the social stratification of cultural consumption, some typology of consumers both within and across the three domains I consider would seem desirable. To begin with, and following the results shown in Table 2, I propose types of consumer within each domain as indicated in Table 3 – drawing, in part, on 'omnivore-univore' terminology. As can be seen, for each domain alike those respondents who had not taken part in any activity over the last 12 months are treated as 'inactives'. In the case of theatre and cinema, those respondents who had attended *only* a cinema are labelled as 'cinema univores', while those who had visited *only* a theatre are labelled as 'exclusive theatre-goers'. Those respondent who had been to *both* a theatre and a cinema, are then treated as 'theatre omnivores'. Similarly, for music, those respondents who had attended only a pop, rock or a jazz concert become 'pop univores'; those who had been only to an opera or a classical music concert become 'exclusive classical concert goers', and individuals who had engaged in both activities become 'musical omnivores'. For the visual arts, of course, no further distinction beyond that of 'museum goers' as against inactives can be made.

Table 3: Distribution of respondents in the three separate domains of cultural consumption

	%
Theatre & cinema	
Inactives (I)	60.4
Cinema univores (U)	16.6
Exclusive theatre-goers (E)	9.3
Theatre omnivores (O)	13.7
Music	
Inactives (I)	73.3
Pop univores (U)	18.7
Exclusive classical concert goers (E)	3.2
Musical omnivores (O)	4.7
Visual arts	
Inactives (I)	77.4
Museum-goers (A)	22.6
Total	100.0

Note: I: inactive; A: active; U: univores; E: exclusives; O: omnivores

In each domain inactives are clearly the numerically predominant type – around three-quarters in the case of music and the visual arts. Turning to the actives, one can see that, in the case of theatre and cinema, cinema univores are relatively numerous as are omnivores, and exclusive

theatre-goers also amount to 9 per cent. However, in the case of music, while pop univores are also relatively numerous, both omnivores and exclusive classical concert goers appear rather rare.

In order to move on now to a cross-domain typology, I first apply a log-linear analysis to a 4 (theatre and cinema) x 4 (music) x 2 (visual arts) table that cross-classifies the types of consumer shown in Table 3[5]. The results of this exercise are reported in Table 4. As can be seen from the fit statistics[6], Model 8, which includes all two-way interactions, fits best with the observed data. This means that we can safely claim that there are pair-wise associations between types of consumer in the three domains considered here. Given, then, that cross-domain associations exist in this way, a four-fold typology of cultural consumers is suggested on the lines shown in Table 5.

Table 4: Goodness of fit statistics of log-linear models as applied to a three-way contingency table cross-classifying types of cultural participation in different domains

	L^2	Df	BIC
1. M, T, V	7428.10	24	3701.05
2. MT, V	2200.23	15	1920.23
3. MV, T	2864.34	21	2403.01
4. M, TV	2748.99	21	2147.54
5. MT, MV	892.88	12	622.20
6. MT, TV	595.66	12	366.75
7. MV, TV	1166.88	18	849.54
8. MT, MV, TV	59.14	9	-23.35

Note: M: music; T: theatre & cinema; V: visual arts

Type 1 is that of inactives – i.e. that of individuals who appear not to be engaged in any cultural activity of the kinds considered here. Half of the sample can be regarded as being culturally inactive in this sense[7]. Type 2 is that of individuals who are cinema univores and/or pop univores, but otherwise inactive, and who account for 17 per cent of the sample. Type 3 covers individuals who are exclusive theatre goers and/or exclusive classical concert goers: i.e. their defining characteristic is that they do not engage in any form of low-brow consumption in these two domains; they may be either attenders or non-attenders at museums and galleries[8]. Type 3 accounts for 10 per cent of all respondents. Finally, Type 4 is that of individuals who may be regarded as omnivores either in that they have an omnivorous style of consumption in theatre and cinema and/or music[9], or in that they have an exclusive style of

[5] In exploring the pattern of individuals' cross-domain cultural consumption, I also used latent class analysis. But this proved unhelpful, as I could achieve a satisfactory fit to the data from the five indicators only with a 5-class model.

[6] I use information criteria statistics (BIC) to compare model fit. The BIC weights for sample size, and is calculated as follows: $L^2 - df*\ln(N)$. The general rule is that smaller values of BIC indicate a better fit.

[7] A recent study (Bukodi, 2007) of the social stratification of book readership also indicates that about half of the Hungarian population can be considered as inactive in this respect: i.e. they practically never read books.

[8] Special interest might be thought to attach to those who are exclusive consumers in theatre and cinema and in music and who also attend museums and galleries. But, as can be seen, these individuals represent less than 1 per cent of the total sample.

[9] Again, a particular interest might be attached to those who are 'multiple' omnivores, i.e. have an omnivorous style of consumption in the domain of theatre and cinema and of music. However, this type of consumer accounts for less than 3 per cent of the total sample.

consumption in one domain – including being museum and gallery attenders – but at the same time are cinema and/or pop univores. Such omnivores amount to 23 per cent of the sample[10].

Table 5: Distribution of respondents by pattern of cultural consumption over the three domains

Overall level of participation	Types of consumption in			%	%
	music	Theatre & cinema	Visual arts		
Type 1: Inactives	I	I	I	50.37	50.37
Type 2: Univores	U	I	I	4.38	
	I	U	I	8.15	
	U	U	I	4.18	16.72
Type 3: Exclusives	E	I	I	0.25	
	I	E	I	3.52	
	E	E	I	0.29	
	I	I	A	3.27	
	I	E	A	1.67	
	E	I	A	0.18	
	E	E	A	0.73	9.91
Type 4: Omnivores	O	I	I	0.15	
	O	U	I	0.13	
	O	E	I	0.15	
	I	O	I	2.28	
	U	O	I	1.78	
	E	O	I	0.26	
	O	O	I	0.32	
	O	I	A	0.26	
	O	U	A	0.31	
	O	E	A	0.69	
	I	O	A	2.21	
	U	O	A	2.97	
	E	O	A	1.20	
	O	O	A	2.70	15.40
	E	U	I	0.19	
	U	E	I	1.02	
	E	U	A	0.15	
	U	E	A	1.17	
	U	I	A	1.58	
	I	U	A	1.88	
	U	U	A	1.62	7.60

Note: I: inactives; A: actives; : U: univores; E: exclusives; O: omnivores

Results

Cross-domain cultural consumption by social status and social class

The first question that arises is whether or not the types of cultural consumer that have been distinguished are stratified by social status and social class[11]. Table 6 and Figure 1 display the bivariate relationship between consumer type and status. The proportion of exclusives

[10] The rich data-set I use here makes it possible to investigate the extent to which omnivores engage in other spare time activities. Omnivores are not only more likely than univores or exclusives to consume classical and pop music or to attend theatre, cinema or museum, they are also more likely to take part in sports and other outdoor activities, to participate in volunteer activities, to go out to pubs and restaurants, to visit libraries. (Details are available upon request.)

[11] From the detailed occupational coding that is available in the data-set, respondents can be allocated to the 36-category status scale which is described above. In addition, the survey allows individuals to be allocated to a Hungarian version of the EGP class schema (cf. Goldthorpe, 2007, vol. II, ch. 5).

increases more or less linearly as status rises, but the proportion of omnivores increases with status even more steeply. The proportion of exclusives is especially high among welfare and legal professionals and professionals in tertiary education; the proportion of omnivores is particularly high among senior government officials, general managers[12], cultural professionals, and, again, professionals in tertiary education. In the case of univores, a more or less curvilinear, though rather weak, relationship shows up: i.e. this type of consumer tends most frequently to be found in the middle ranges or at the lower end of the status order. For instance, the proportion of univores is particularly high among protective service workers, small employers or hotel and restaurant workers. Finally, the proportion of inactives rises sharply, in a linear fashion, as status decreases.

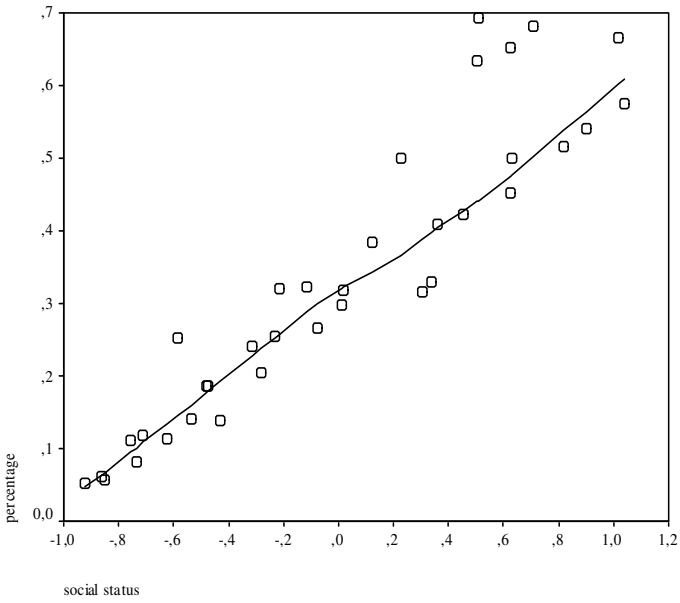
Table 7 gives results by class. Fairly clear class gradients show up for inactives, exclusives and omnivores. The proportion of inactives increases across the classes – i.e. is greater in less advantaged class positions than in more advantaged ones, although even in the latter, inactives represent far from negligible minorities. In contrast, the proportions of exclusives and omnivores tend to decrease across the classes: exclusives are relatively rare even within the higher salariat, at less than 1 in 5, but decline to only around 1 in 20 among unskilled workers, while omnivores decline from almost a half within the higher salariat to less than 1 in 10 among unskilled workers.

[12] Erickson (1996) also shows that managers and employers more readily mix high-brow and low-brow genres of cultural consumption than employees. She argues that business and governmental organisations, in seeking to exercise their control and co-ordination functions, need also to maintain social integration and promote effective communication. Thus, there is value for high ranking managers and officials in being able to display, in interaction with their subordinates, a wide range of cultural reference.

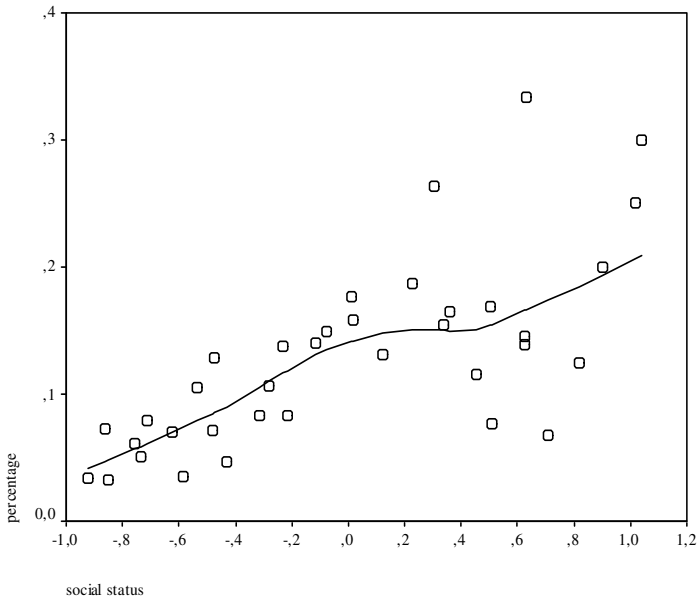
Table 6: Cultural activities across domains within status groups (%)

Title	**I**	**U**	**E**	**O**	**Total**
Legal professionals	4.2	8.3	30.0	57.5	100 .0
Professionals in tertiary-level education	8.3	..	26.0	65.7	100 .0
Physicians, pharmacists, natural scientists	18.0	8.0	20.0	54.0	100 .0
Engineers and computer scientists	20.8	15.0	12.5	51.7	100 .0
Cultural and religious professionals	15.9	9.1	6.8	68.2	100 .0
Social science and welfare professionals	16.0	..	34.0	50.0	100 .0
Business professionals	25.0	15.3	14.5	45.2	100 .0
General managers	16.3	4.6	13.9	65.1	100 .0
Senior government officials	23.1	..	7.7	69.2	100 .0
Professionals in secondary and primary education	12.3	7.4	16.8	63.5	100 .0
High-ranking members of the armed forces	26.9	19.2	11.5	42.3	100 .0
Department managers	31.7	11.0	16.5	40.8	100 .0
General managers of small business enterprises	26.8	24.7	15.5	33.0	100 .0
Health related associate professionals	26.3	15.8	26.3	31.6	100 .0
Cultural and religious associate professionals	12.5	18.7	18.7	50.0	100 .0
Business, legal and financial associate professionals	31.7	16.7	13.1	38.4	100 .0
Technicians and related associate professionals	36.6	15.8	15.8	31.7	100 .0
Office clerks	37.0	15.7	17.6	29.7	100 .0
Production supervisors, site managers	43.3	15.0	15.0	26.7	100 .0
Health and welfare associate professionals	40.9	12.7	14.0	32.3	100 .0
Numerical clerks and other clerical workers	47.4	12.4	8.2	32.0	100 .0
Personal service workers	35.3	25.5	13.7	25.5	100 .0
Public and private security workers and low-ranking members of the armed forces	37.7	31.1	10.7	20.5	100 .0
Sales workers	45.2	22.4	8.3	24.0	100 .0
Communal and other service workers	65.1	16.3	4.6	13.9	100 .0
Health, welfare, cultural service workers	61.4	7.1	12.9	18.6	100 .0
Hotel and restaurant workers	50.5	23.6	7.1	18.7	100 .0
Skilled handicraft workers	62.7	12.7	10.6	14.1	100 .0
Transport and postal workers	49.3	21.8	3.4	25.3	100 .0
Skilled metal trade workers	62.2	19.5	7.0	11.3	100 .0
Skilled food and other light industry workers	62.6	17.8	7.9	11.7	100 .0
Skilled construction workers	62.1	24.6	5.1	8.2	100 .0
Machine and plant operators	65.2	17.6	6.1	11.0	100 .0
Extraction workers	82.0	9.1	3.2	5.6	100 .0
Routine service workers	72.3	4.3	7.3	6.1	100 .0
General labourers	74.2	17.2	3.4	5.1	100 .0

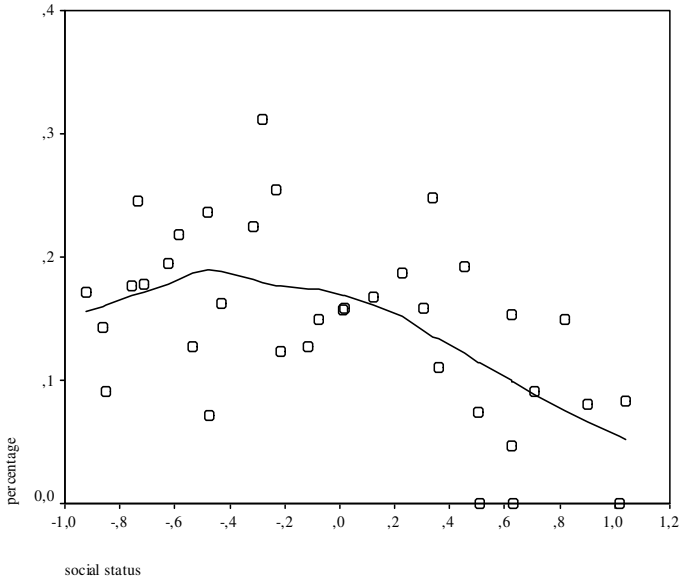
Note: I: inactives; U: univores; E: exclusives; O: Omnivores



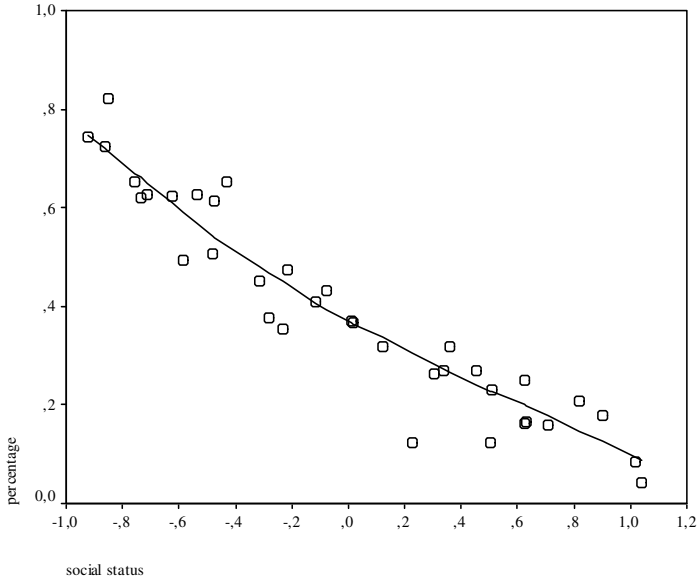
Omnivores



Exclusives



Univores



Inactives

Figure 1: Bivariate association between social status and types of cultural consumer

Table 7: Cultural activities across domains within social class (%)

Social class	**I**	**U**	**E**	**O**	**Total**
Upper salariat	24.5	9.4	17.2	48.8	100 .0
Lower salariat	28.1	14.0	14.9	43.0	100 .0
Routine non-manuals	37.5	16.4	15.0	31.0	100 .0
Routine service	48.7	19.1	8.4	23.8	100 .0
Self-employed	49.5	21.0	7.7	21.8	100 .0
Skilled workers	60.2	19.1	7.9	12.8	100 .0
Unskilled workers	69.1	17.0	5.5	8.4	100 .0

Note: I: inactives; U: univores; E: exclusives; O: Omnivores

Cross-domain cultural consumption: multivariate analyses

In proceeding now to a multivariate analysis, I take the four types of cross-domain cultural consumers that I have distinguished as forming the dependent variable in a set of logistic regression models, and focus on the effects of the status and class variables that I have already introduced, supplemented by those of individuals' educational qualifications and household income. Socio-demographic variables are also included in the models to serve primarily as controls[13].

In the first column of Table 8, results from a binomial logistic regression analysis are reported in which the contrast is simply that of being a cultural consumer of any type as against being inactive. In the second and the third columns of the table, results from a multinomial regression exercise are shown where exclusives and omnivores constitute the dependent categories, with univores as reference. Finally, in the fourth column of the table, I give results from a further binomial logistic regression model in which the contrast is between omnivores and exclusives[14].

From Table 8, it may first be noted that some of the socio-demographic variables included as controls do have significant effects on cross-domain cultural consumption. Gender does not affect the probability of being culturally active rather than inactive. However, where exclusives and omnivores are contrasted with univores, the sign of the coefficients for males are negative, implying that the chance of falling into either of these categories is higher for women than for men. And in the contrast of omnivores with exclusives, the coefficient for males is again significant but is in this case positive in sign, indicating that men are more likely to show an omnivorous style of cultural consumption than are women or, alternatively, that women are more likely to be exclusives than men. Age is significant in regard to the probability of being culturally active rather than inactive: older people are more likely to be inactive than younger. Further, age is clearly important in regard to cultural exclusiveness. Older people are more likely to be exclusives rather than univores and also more likely to be exclusives rather than omnivores. From the data at my disposal, I cannot tell how far these effects of age should be interpreted as ones of birth cohort or of life-cycle stage. But it can also be seen from Table 8 that another life-cycle indicator – marital status – does also have some significant influence on cultural consumption. Singles are more likely to be culturally active than their married (or cohabiting) and also their divorced (or widowed) counterparts. But individuals in these latter groups, if active, are more likely than singles to be cultural exclusives. Finally, living in an urban area and in larger settlements, especially Budapest, increases the likelihood of being culturally active rather than inactive, but does not appear to exert any effect on type of cultural consumption.

Turning now to stratification variables, it is apparent, first of all, from Table 8 that education has a quite systematic effect on cultural participation. The higher the educational level he or she has attained, the more likely an individual is to be culturally active rather than inactive, and also to be an exclusive or omnivore, rather than a univore consumer. In both these respects, the effects of having a tertiary qualification are especially marked, and are strongest of all in the latter contrast. Individuals with a university degree are around 8 times

[13] Descriptive statistics of the variables included in the analysis can be found in the Appendix.

[14] In fact, I also performed a binomial regression analysis where only omnivores were considered, and the dependent variable made a distinction between those with an exclusive style of consumption in one of the three domains and those that have an omnivorous style of consumption in theatre and cinema and/or music (see Table 5). As it turned out, in the effects of the stratification variables (income, education, status, father's status, social class) there were no substantial differences between these two types of omnivore, suggesting that in the multivariate analyses I can take them as one consumption category.

($e^{2.025}$) more likely than are individuals with primary education[15] to be exclusives rather than univores; or again persons with a college degree are about 7 times ($e^{2.004}$) more likely to be omnivores rather than univores. In the contrast between omnivores and exclusives, intermediate levels of education and lower tertiary degrees would appear to increase the probability of individuals belonging to the former rather than the latter type.

Income also proves to have pervasive effects on cultural consumption. Higher income significantly increases the probability of being culturally active rather than inactive[16]. Further, the chances of culturally active individuals being omnivores rather than univores also increase with income, as do the chances of individuals being omnivores rather than exclusives.

Coming now to the effects of social status on cultural consumption, the results shown in Table 8 are somewhat less straightforward than in the case of education and income. It can be seen that individuals' status, like their education and income, has a significant, positive effect on the probability of their being active rather than inactive. But individuals' status does not then appear to have any clear influence in differentiating among types of cultural consumer – despite the pattern revealed in this regard in the bivariate analysis of Table 6 and Figure 1[17]. However, it can further be seen that father's status has more general effects. Not only do the chances of individuals being culturally active rather than inactive rise with the father's status, but so too do the chances of their being cultural omnivores rather than univores and their chances of being omnivores rather than cultural exclusives.

Finally, I turn here to the effects of social class. Table 8 shows that these are rather slight, contrary to the impression that might be created by Table 7. With status and also education and income controlled, class has no significant effect on cultural activity as against inactivity; and as regards type of consumer, the only point of possible note is that members of Class IV, small employers and self-employed workers, seem more likely to be univores rather than either exclusives or omnivores, compared with members of Class I, the higher salariat.

[15] This proves to be especially true for exclusive classical concert attenders. When I restricted the analysis to the domain of music, and ran a multinomial logit model where exclusive and omnivorous classical concert goers constituted the dependent categories, with pop/rock univores as reference, individuals with a university degree were around 25 times ($e^{3.227}$) more likely to be placed in the exclusive category than in that of pop/rock univores than were individuals with a basic education. (The results are available upon request.)

[16] When I repeated this analysis for the three cultural domains separately, the coefficient for income turned out to be largest for theatre and cinema and smallest for the visual arts. This can be readily explained in terms of the differences in the costs involved – i.e. the admission prices of museums and art galleries are somewhat lower than that of theatres, cinemas or concerts. (The results are available upon request.)

[17] It is to be noted that when I ran a multinomial logit model where types of consumer formed the dependent variable with inactives as reference, the effects of status proved to be significant and positive for all the three types of consumer. (The results are available upon request.) This result can be regarded as further evidence of the importance of the active-inactive divide in cultural consumption in Hungary.

Table 8: (Multinomial) logistic regression of cultural activities across domains

	Actives vs. inactives			Exclusives vs. univores			Omnivores vs. univores			Omnivores vs. exclusives		
	B	S.e.	Si.	B	S.e.	Si.	B	S.e.	Si.	B	S.e.	Si.
Demographic attributes												
Male	-.118	.065		-.713	.122	**	-.423	.097	**	.324	.116	**
Age	-.054	.003	**	.074	.006	**	.009	.006		-.064	.006	**
Marital status												
Single	0			0			0			0		
living in partnership	-.721	.104	**	.721	.209	**	.130	.137		-.596	.205	**
divorced/widowed	-.682	.126	**	.668	.248	**	.339	.281		-.270	.237	**
Child 0-18	.075	.076		.153	.140		.081	.110		-.073	.135	
Size of settlement												
Number of inhabitants	.001	.0005	**	.000	.001		-.0002	.0008		-.000	.000	
Budapest	.286	.083	**	-.613	.442		-.025	.109		.560	.330	
Education												
Primary	0			0			0			0		
vocational school	.280	.088	**	.523	.192	**	.659	.171	**	.156	.229	
technical secondary	.687	.102	**	.768	.208	**	1.351	.179	**	.447	.215	*
academic secondary	.846	.118	**	.902	.232	**	1.477	.194	**	.725	.251	**
lower tertiary	1.265	.158	**	1.264	.283	**	2.004	.239	**	.710	.280	*
higher tertiary	1.334	.210	**	2.025	.343	**	1.741	.292	**	-.187	.313	
Log-household net income	.802	.070	**	-.043	.125		.234	.099	*	.263	.118	*
Status	.809	.158	**	-.183	.282		.087	.217		.358	.263	
Father's status	.382	.076	**	.070	.127		.397	.099	**	.356	.107	**
Social class												
EGP I (upper saleriat)	0			0			0			0		
EGP II (lower saleriat)	.231	.159		-.315	.228		-.255	.192		.029	.176	
EGP IIIa (routine non-manuals)	.279	.184		-.320	.281		-.439	.336		-.148	.234	
EGP IIIb (routine service)	.243	.192		-.547	.346		-.305	.272		.303	.310	
EGP IV (self-employed)	.332	.199		-.920	.345	**	-.643	.270	**	.349	.309	
EGP V-VI (skilled workers)	.332	.202		-.489	.360		-.552	.391		.036	.321	
EGP VII (unskilled workers)	.355	.216		-.914	.590		-.759	.407		.216	.359	
Constant	-5.69	.740	**	-3.52	1.350	**	-2.93	1.06	**	.729	.283	*
Log-likelihood	-3615.895			-3007.935						-1175.765		
N	6844			3397						2253		

Note: *: $p < 0.05$, **: $p < 0.01$

The magnitude of education, income and status effects

In present-day Hungary, education, income, individuals' own and their parental status all have in some way significant effects on cultural consumption. But how strong are these effects in relation to each other? In order to respond to this question, I take a hypothetical person and calculate, first, the probability of her being culturally active (Figure 2), and, second, – supposing that she is active – the probability of her falling into the category of omivores (Figure 3). More specifically, I consider pair-wise, the strength in these respects of the effects of education, income and status in relation to the case of a hypothetical women who is 35 years old, married, with at least one dependent child and living in a relatively small settlement (where the number of inhabitants is less than the mean of the sample excluding Budapest).

Let me first show the probability of our hypothetical woman being culturally active, if I set her status and education[18] at different values and fix the net income per capita in her household as being 25,000 Hungarian forints. The slopes of the lines in panel A of Figure 2 depict the strength of the status effect within each educational category. The first point to be noted is that at all three educational levels, our hypothetical woman is more likely to be active with increasing status. If she has only primary or lower vocational education, her propensity to engage in cultural activity of any kind increases by about 30 percentage points across the whole range of status. The rate of increase is fairly similar for intermediate level education, and for tertiary education – only a little lower, at about 20 percentage points. This suggests then that there are no major differences in status effects between persons at various levels of education, and that status may provide an additional motivation for being culturally active, more or less irrespective of the amount of cultural resources one possesses[19]. Education effects appear to be slightly larger than status effects – see the vertical distance between lines. At the bottom extreme of the status order, the maximum education effect (e.g. the difference between tertiary degree and primary education) is about 35 percentage points; at the top extreme of status order, it is smaller, at 25 percentage points.

The next question concerns the relative importance of income and status in the probability of our hypothetical woman being culturally active. In this case, I set her income and social status at different values and fix her educational attainment at secondary level (Panel B of Figure 2). It is apparent that the income effect is very strong, irrespective of status level. Other things being equal, the probability of her taking part in any kind of cultural activity increases by around 40 percentage points over the whole range of income for our hypothetical woman, whether taken as a business associate professional or as a skilled light industry worker. Furthermore, the effect of income is especially pronounced at the top level of the scale, implying that a relatively high level of financial resources promotes cultural consumption even at lower status levels.

Finally, Panel C of Figure 2 shows the magnitude of the income effect in relation to that of education. It is apparent that if our hypothetical woman has a low level of schooling, the probability of her being culturally active increases enormously, by around 50 percentage points, across the whole range of income. However, if she has a tertiary degree, the rise is more modest, at only about 12 percentage points. This indicates that for people with primary and lower vocational education, there is a much stronger effect from income than for the higher educated, suggesting that when cultural resources are scarce, a higher level of income is required in order to take part in any kind of cultural activity[20].

[18] In fact, in this exercise I collapsed the six schooling categories into three, as follows: Primary and vocationally educated individuals form the low qualified group, people with technical and academic secondary school diplomas constitute the middle educated category, and persons with tertiary education form the high qualified group.

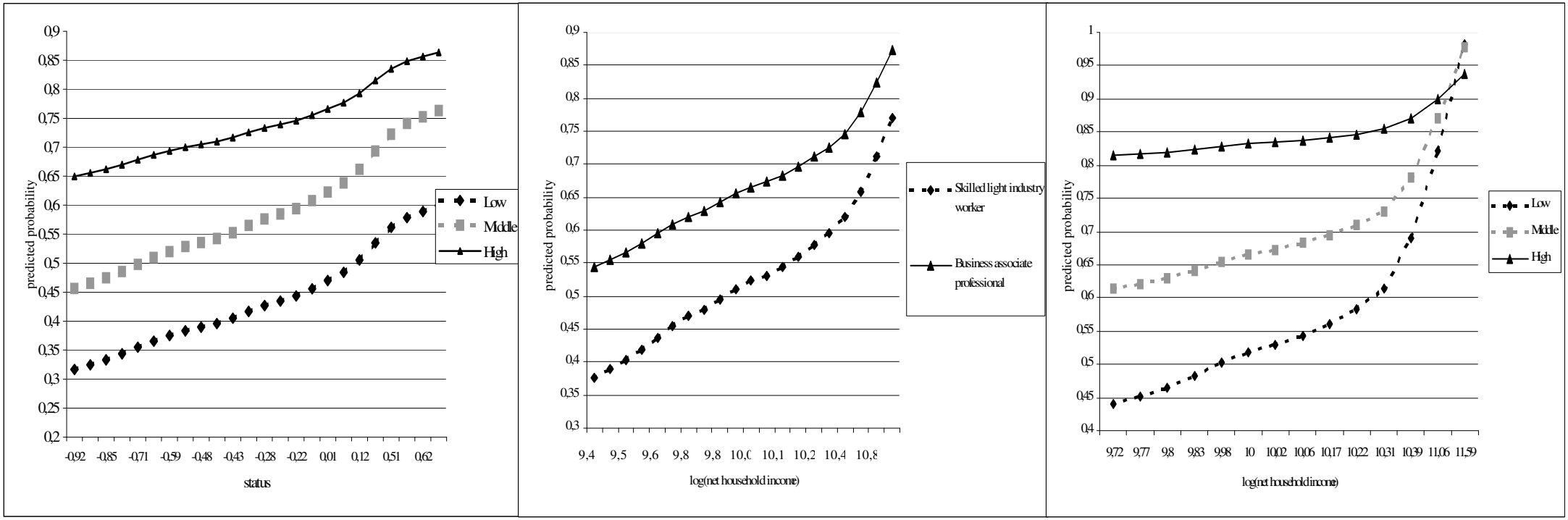
[19] In order to examine this question in a more rigorous way, I ran the same binomial logit model displayed in the first column of Table 8 omitting the variables on class and father's status and with two further modifications. First, as noted above, I collapsed the variable on education into three broader categories, taking intermediate education as the reference. Second, I added interactions between the education dummies and status to the model. The coefficients for interaction terms proved to be insignificant in all cases. This indicates that there are no substantial differences between individuals with different levels of education in the effect of status on the chance of being engaged in cultural activities of any kind.

[20] To check the validity of this claim, I followed the same strategy as described in the previous note. Namely, interactions between education and income are also included in the regression analysis. As expected, the coefficient for interaction term between low qualification and income proved to be significant (at level of $p < 0.05$) and positive in its sign (details are available upon request). This indicates that the effect of income on the chance of being culturally active is substantially stronger for individuals with low education than for persons with intermediate qualifications.

Reverting to our hypothetical woman as previously defined but focusing now on types of cultural consumer, Figure 3 shows the predicted probabilities under our regression model of her being found as an omnivore (rather than as a univore or exclusive). Since, as could be seen in Table 8, the probability of individuals being omnivores is significantly affected by their father's status rather than by their own, I calculate the same probabilities as in Figure 2 but replace the variable of own status with that of father's status. From the first panel of the figure, it is apparent that the probability of our hypothetical woman being an omnivore is strongly influenced by educational level – falling by around 35 percentage points as between low level schooling and tertiary degree. At the same time, the probability of her being an omnivore also rises with her father's status, in a more or less linear fashion and at roughly the same rate for each of the three educational levels considered, with the difference over the whole parental status range amounting to some 15-20 percentage points. Further, if we assume that our hypothetical woman has a degree, then the probability of her being an omnivore rather than falling into the two other consumption categories is in fact already quite high – 60 per cent, even if she ranks very low on the status scale.

So far as the magnitude of the income effect in relation to that of status is concerned, it is clearly less marked than that observed in the case of education (Panel B of Figure 3). Considering our hypothetical women where her father is a department manager, then the probability of her being found as an omnivore is around 55 per cent if she ranks low on the income scale, and about 75 per cent if she is placed at a high level on this scale. For her counterpart with a skilled metal trades worker as father, the rate of increase is more or less the same, around 17 percentage points over the entire range of income. As was the case with the probability of being culturally active, the effect of financial resources is also especially strong at the top extreme of income hierarchy, irrespective of our hypothetical woman's parental status.

Finally, the relative importance of the effects of income and education is shown (Panel C of Figure 3). It is apparent that income effects are less pronounced here than they were for the likelihood of being a culturally active person. The probability of our hypothetical woman being an omnivore, rather than a univore or an exclusive, increases only by about 10 percentage points across the whole range of income, irrespective of the educational level attained.



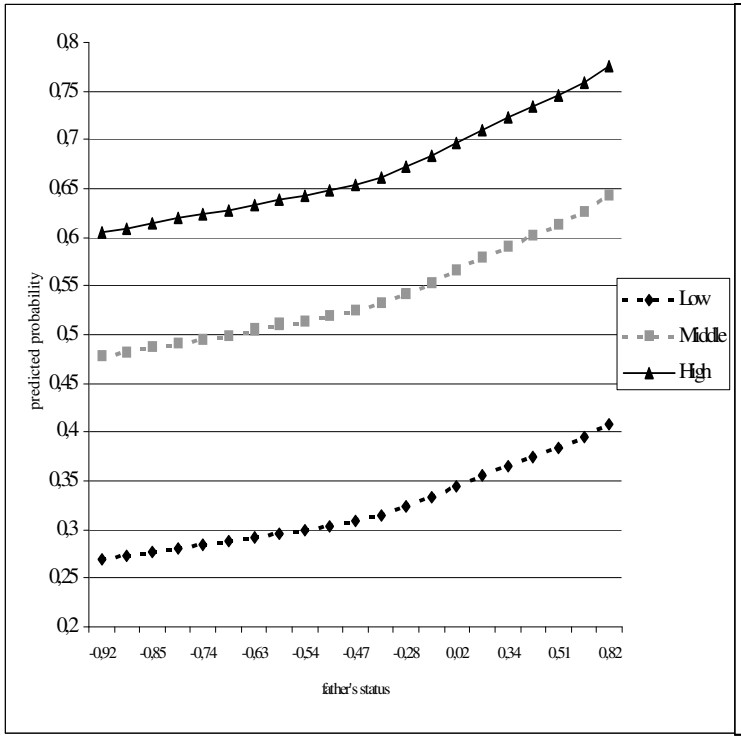
Panel A: by status and education
The covariate on net household income per capita is fixed as 25,000 HUF.

Panel B: by income and status
The covariate on education is fixed as secondary.

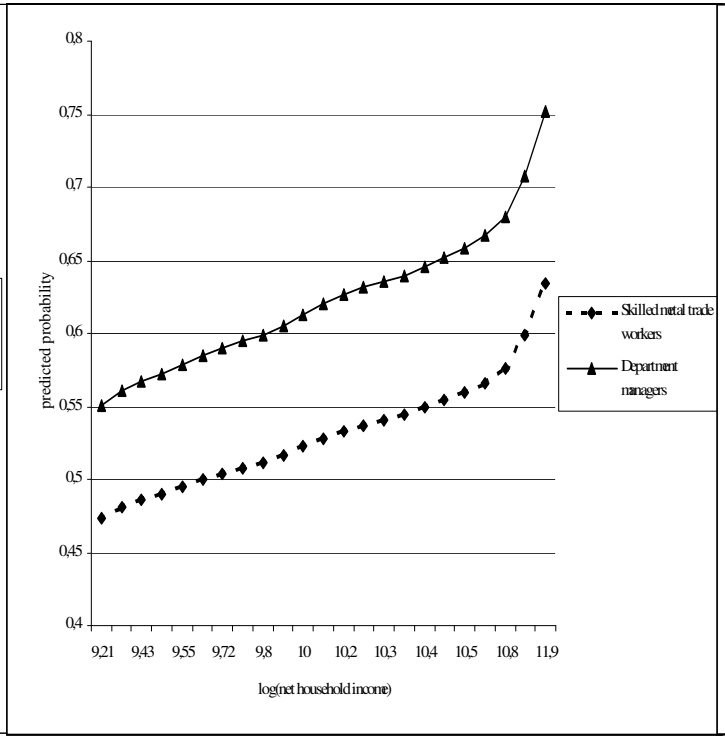
Panel C: by income and education
The covariate on status is fixed as business professional associate.

Figure 2: Predicted probabilities of being a culturally active

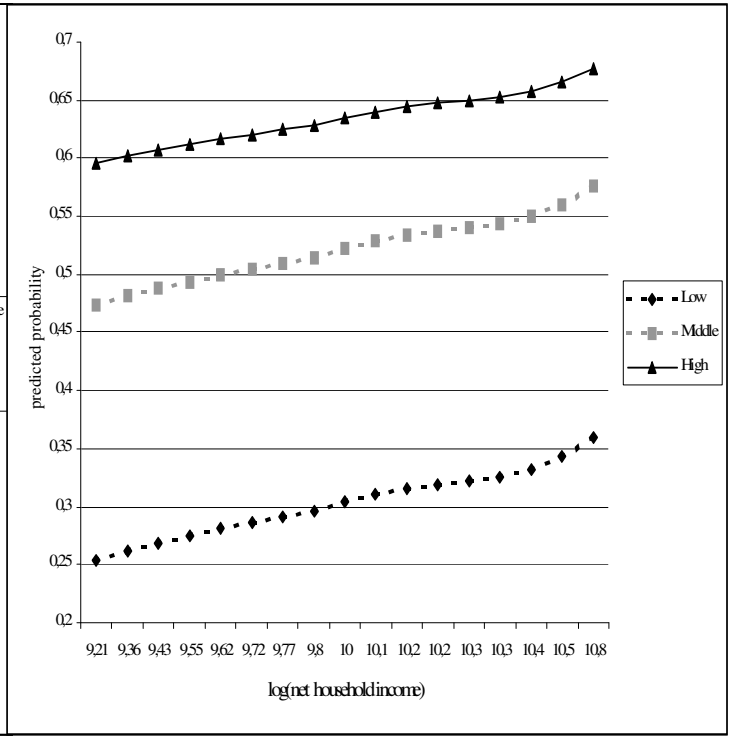
Note: The predicted probabilities are calculated under the model presented in Table 8, omitting the variables on class and father's status. Other covariates fixed as follows: married women aged 35 years old with child(ren), living in a smaller settlement (where the number of inhabitants is less than the mean of the sample excluding Budapest).



Panel A: by status and education
The covariate on net household income per capita is fixed as 25,000 HUF.



Panel B: by income and father's status
The covariate on education is fixed as secondary.



Panel C: by income and education
The covariate on father's status is fixed as skilled metal trades worker

Figure 3: Predicted probabilities of being an omnivore

Note: The predicted probabilities are calculated under the model presented in Table 8, omitting the variables on class and status. Other covariates fixed as follows: married women aged 35 years old with child(ren), living in a smaller settlement (where the number of inhabitants is less than the mean of the sample excluding Budapest).

To sum up, from these results it can be claimed that education and income are the two chief bases of the social stratification of cultural consumption in contemporary Hungary. Income has a very strong impact on the probability of being culturally active, suggesting that a lack of financial resources may make it practically impossible for individuals to engage in cultural activity of any kind. The effect of education is also pronounced in this respect, but it proves to be an even more salient stratifying force in predicting the likelihood of individuals being omnivores rather than other types of cultural consumer. This suggests that fairly substantial cultural resources are required in order to be able to mix different genres of cultural consumption. However, it should also be emphasised that status is still an important factor. Within each educational level, status has a clear and relatively large effect on the probability of being culturally active rather than inactive; and parental status systematically influences the probability of being an omnivore rather than a univore or an exclusive.

The influence of parental status

As was shown in Table 8, the higher the father's status, the more likely the individual is to be found among culturally actives rather than among inactives, and also to be an omnivore rather than a univore or an exclusive. The data used in this study allows me to investigate the processes at work here in a fairly detailed manner. With regard to the possible underlying mechanisms, three explanations can be put forward. First, it can be argued that upwardly mobile individuals (whose own social status is higher than their father's) might be eager to engage in the consumption of legitimate culture in order to demonstrate that they have good taste and that they have appropriated modes of sophisticated culture in accordance with what is expected of people in their position. This may be referred to as the status maximisation hypothesis (Ganzeboom, 1982).

Second, it might be suggested that childhood socialisation is the crucial determinant of cultural consumption. One would then expect that upwardly mobile people would be less culturally active than their immobile counterparts (who are intergenerationally stable in their high status positions) because they have been endowed with fewer cultural resources in their family of origin. The downwardly mobile (who achieve a lower status compared to that of their father) are in turn expected to insist on the consumption pattern they have been accustomed to in their childhood and will therefore be more inclined to consume 'serious' culture than their immobile counterparts. This could be labelled the socialisation hypothesis (Van Eijck, 1999). Third, a somewhat modified version of this latter hypothesis indicates that the upwardly and downwardly mobile not only retain the cultural practices in which they were socialised but also acquire new forms from their current social milieu (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007). As a result, they are likely to be culturally eclectic and tend to switch between different cultural genres according to the social context and the people with whom they are in everyday interaction. This might then be called the culture-switching hypothesis.

As an example of the different combinations of individuals' and fathers' status, let me first take a hypothetical woman with a tertiary education who is a primary or secondary school teacher, and let me calculate the probability of her falling into the four consumption categories that I have identified, depending on her father's status score. It is apparent from the first panel of Table 9 that the probability of her being an omnivore varies quite considerably according to the status of her father – ranging from 0.53 if he was a skilled metal trades worker (in other words, if our hypothetical women was upwardly mobile), to 0.67 if he was a physician (i.e. if his daughter was downwardly mobile). As regards the likelihood of being an exclusive, a quite similar pattern emerges. With the probability of being an inactive, again a consistent picture shows up: the higher the father's status, the lower the risk of falling into

this category. It has also to be noted that the probability of this woman being a univore seems to be unaffected by parental status. These findings are then broadly consistent with the socialisation hypothesis, which requires that more exclusives should be found among the downwardly mobiles than among their upwardly mobile counterparts or among those who have intergenerationally stable status position. But the results also seem to be consistent in some way with the culture-switching hypothesis. First, our downwardly mobile woman tends to a great extent to combine the cultural practices to which she was accustomed in her childhood with more popular genres of cultural participation; in other words, she tends to be a cultural omnivore. Second, if our hypothetical primary or secondary school teacher is upwardly mobile, she appears to have a fairly high probability of being culturally inactive. This means that for her the cultural switching in the context of cross-cutting relationships, that can be a result of social mobility, is a simple withdrawal from any kind of cultural activity.

However, if we consider another hypothetical person, a male plant operator with primary education, it is apparent that his pattern of cultural consumption is not affected by parental status. The risk of his being an inactive is around 0.68, and the chance of his falling into the omnivore category is about 0.07 irrespective of his father's status. A possible explanation might be that for people at low status level the lack of a reasonable amount of educational and financial resources inhibits the participation in any kind of cultural activity and, in this case, even a relatively high parental status does not mean an additional motivation to engage in the more high-brow forms of culture.

Table 9: Examples of predicted probabilities of cultural activities by father's social status

Sex	Education	Respondent's status	Father's status	Type of mobility	Predicted probabilities			
					I	U	E	O
F	Tertiary	Teaching professionals	Skilled metal trades worker	Upwardly mobile	0.2675	0.1001	0.1040	0.5284
			Teaching professionals	Stable	0.1250	0.0953	0.1159	0.6637
			Physicians	Downwardly mobile	0.0520	0.0806	0.2014	0.6659
M	Primary	Plant operators	General labourer	Upwardly mobile	0.6910	0.1945	0.0461	0.0682
			Plant operators	Stable	0.6906	0.1868	0.0514	0.0710
			Skilled metal trades workers	Downwardly mobile	0.6764	0.1826	0.0575	0.0832

Note: I: inactives; U: univores; E: exclusives; O: omnivores. Other covariates in the model: age=35, marital status = living in partnership, having at least one child aged 0-18, living in a relatively small settlement (where the number of inhabitants is less than the mean of the sample excluding Budapest), income: 25.000 HUF.

Discussion and conclusions

In this paper I have investigated the social stratification of public forms of cultural consumption in Hungary across three different domains: music, theatre and cinema, and the visual arts. An obvious focus of sociological interest is in the extent of continuity or change in the sources and emergent patterns of this stratification as between the present day and the former communist period.

As regards the sources of stratification, education, as expected, continues to exert a powerful influence on cultural consumption just as it did under communism. In general, the higher the educational level that individuals have attained – and thus, one may suppose, the

greater their cultural resources – the higher the probability of their being culturally active rather than inactive. Moreover, level of education is, overall, the most important variable distinguishing different types of cultural consumer, and in particular in distinguishing omnivores from either univores or exclusives – although in the latter contrast, university education is not a significant factor.

However, and again as expected, a major change from the communist era occurs in that cultural consumption is now also strongly affected by income. The higher the individuals' income – or in other words, the greater their economic resources – the higher the probability of their engaging in cultural activity of some kind or other. And, further, the probability of individuals being omnivores rather than univores or exclusives – that is, having a relatively wide range of cultural consumption – also increases with income, even though the magnitude of the effect is less marked here than in the active-inactive contrast. In other words, in contemporary Hungary, in contrast with the situation under communism, economic constraints would appear to have assumed great importance in the patterning of cultural consumption.

Finally, in this regard, status, which would appear to have been a major stratifying factor in cultural consumption under communism, still continues to exert an effect, although not one as pervasive or as straightforward as expected. The probability of being active rather than inactive does rise with individuals' status in a rather steep linear fashion. But individuals' status does not have any significant influence in differentiating among types of cultural consumer. However, what does appear as a significant influence in this regard is the father's status. The higher his or her father's status, the higher the probability of an individual being not only culturally active, but also an omnivore rather than a univore or an exclusive. Moreover, for individuals whose own status is different from that of their father, I have found evidence favouring the socialisation argument, at least at the top of the status hierarchy: intergenerationally mobile people tend to follow the cultural behaviour in which they were socialised in their childhood. This finding is, in fact, consistent with other indications previously noted that in post-communist Hungary the direct intra-familial transmission of inequalities is becoming a yet more powerful process than before.

What, then, is the general pattern of the stratification of cultural consumption that emerges from these effects of education, income and status? First of all, these results call into question the 'individualisation' argument. Cultural consumption does have a clear social basis in Hungary, and the most salient dividing line within its stratification has to be seen as that between the culturally active and the culturally inactive. Inactives, as determined in this paper, account for about half of the Hungarian adult population, and in an earlier publication (Bukodi, 2007), focusing on book readership, I showed that a similar proportion could be classified as inactive in this respect also, i.e. as being virtual non-readers. Inactives in theatre and cinema, music and the visual arts – in the same way as non-readers – tend to be individuals with relatively low levels of income, education and status: that is, to be more likely than others to be lacking in the resources and perhaps also the motivation to engage extensively in cultural consumption. However, the inactives obviously cannot be taken to represent the so-called 'socially excluded' in contemporary Hungary – if only on account of their numbers. They are in fact far from being uniformly unprivileged. They constitute quite significant minorities even within the higher status groups and more advantaged classes (see Tables 6 and 7). For instance, the proportion of those who do not engage in any of the cultural activities considered in this paper is 25 per cent among business professionals and some 20 per cent among engineers and computer specialists, suggesting that these groups seek to express and confirm their social status by high levels of material rather than of cultural consumption. The general implication then is that while in present-day Hungarian society

social and cultural stratification are clearly related, the relationship is not an especially close one of the kind that is envisaged in 'homology' arguments.

A similar conclusion is, moreover, indicated in regard to the different types of consumer that I have distinguished among the culturally active. For example, another notable feature of the Hungarian case is provided by the univores: that is, those men and women whose cultural activity appears to be essentially limited to going to the cinema and/or attending pop, rock or jazz concerts. While in much previous literature such univorous consumption has been most strongly associated with individuals at the lowest status levels and in the most disadvantaged class positions, in Hungary, univores would seem to have been to some extent displaced 'upwards' by the unusually large numbers of the culturally inactive.

Likewise, the exclusives would also appear to be a rather distinctive group. One of my main expectations was that, as an aspect of the communist legacy, an exclusive pattern of cultural consumption would still be found to persist in present-day Hungarian society. And exclusives – those who, while culturally active, avoid more popular genres – do in fact exist as a rather small but still readily identifiable minority. However, it further emerges that cultural consumers of this type can hardly be taken as forming a social as well as a cultural elite – as the 'homology' argument would require. Although having a university degree would seem an important factor in being an exclusive – as also is being an older woman – exclusives do not significantly differ from univores in their income or in their own or their family social status. One may speculate that they represent, at least in some part, the remains of the 'intelligentsia' of the communist era, who seek still to maintain the exclusive pattern of cultural consumption into which they were socialised, even though in the new Hungary they no longer enjoy especially privileged economic or status positions.

Finally, then, if there is in present-day Hungarian society a pattern of cultural consumption that can be associated with socially more advantaged groups, it is not that of the exclusives but rather that of the omnivores – those who engage in both highbrow and lowbrow cultural activities. Relative youthfulness increases the probability of being a consumer of this type; and, further, omnivores tend to be better educated and to have higher incomes and status than univores and also higher incomes and higher family status than exclusives. In other words, what is suggested is the emergence in the post-communist period of new social strata whose members come from relatively advantaged backgrounds, who enjoy relatively high levels of both cultural and economic resources, and who seek to make the cultural omnivorousness in which they are able to engage – rather than exclusiveness – the crucial marker of the high status that they wish to maintain.

References

Bárdosi M., Lakatos Gy. and Varga A. (2005). A kultúra helyzete Magyarországon. (The situation of the culture in Hungary.) In: Kuti É. (ed.): *Találkozások a kultúrával (Encounter the culture)*, MTA Szociológiai Intézet, Budapest.

Beck, U. (1992). *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*. Sage, London.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction*. Routledge, London.

Bryson, B. (1996). 'Anything but heavy metal': Symbolic exclusion and musical dislikes. *American Sociological Review*, 61, 884-899.

Bukodi, E. (1999). Educational choices in Hungary. *Hungarian Statistical Review* (special English edition), 77, 71-94.

Bukodi E. (2005). Szabadidő. (Leisure time.) Paper prepared for the Office of National Development Plan. Office of National Development Plan, Budapest.

Bukodi E. (2007). Social stratification and cultural consumption in Hungary: book readership. *Poetics*.

Bukodi, E. and Róbert, P. (1999). Historical changes, human capital, and career patterns as class determinants in Hungary. *Review of Sociology*. Hungarian Sociological Association. Special Issue. 42-65.

Bukodi, E., Altorjai, Sz. And Tallér, A. (2006). A magyar foglalkozási rétegszerkezet az ezredforduló után. (The occupational class structure in Hungary after the Millennium). *Statisztikai Szemle (Hungarian Statistical Review),* 84, 733-762.

Chan, T.W. and Goldthorpe, J.H. (2004). Is there a status order in contemporary British society? Evidence from the occupational structure of friendship. *European Sociological Review*, 20, 383-401.

Chan, T.W. and Goldthorpe, J.H. (2007). Social status and newspaper readership. *American Journal of Sociology,* 112, 1095-1134.

Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe. (2007). Changes in consumer prices for goods and services: All items vs. recreation and culture. http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/index.php (accessed: 29/01/2007).

Connor, W.D. (1988). *Socialism's dilemmas*. Columbia University Press, New York.

De Graaf, N.D. (1991). Distinction by consumption in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and the Netherlands. *European Sociological Review*, 7, 267-290.

DiMaggio, P. and Mukhtar, T. (2004). Arts participation as cultural capital in the United States, 1982-2002: Signs of decline? *Poetics*, 32, 169-194.

Domanski, H. (2000). Culture and lifestyle. In: Domanki, H*.: On the Verge of Convergence. Social Stratification in Eastern Europe*. Budapest: CEU Press.

Dudás, K. and Hunyadi, Zs. (2005). A hagyományos és a modern tömegkultúra helye és szerepe a kulturális fogyasztásban. (The role of the traditional and the mass culture in cultural consumption.) In: Kuti É. (ed.): *Találkozások a kultúrával (Encounter the culture)*, MTA Szociológiai Intézet, Budapest.

Duncan, O. D. (1961). A socioeconomic index for all occupations. In A. Reiss, (ed.), *Occupations and Social Status*. Free Press, New York.

Erickson, B. (1996). Culture, Class and Connections. *American Journal of Sociology,* 102, 217 – 251.

Falussy B. (2004). *Az időfelhasználás metszetei* (The structure of time-use). Új Mandátum, Budapest.

Featherstone, M. (1987). Lifestyle and consumer culture. *Theory, Culture and Society*, 4, 55–70.

Ganzeboom, H.B.G. (1982). Explaining differential participation in high-cultural activities: A confrontation of information-processing and status-seeking theories. In: Raub, W. (ed.): *Theoretical models and empirical analyses: Contributions to the explanation of individual actions and collective phenomena*. E.S. – Publications, Utrecht.

Ganzeboom, H.B.G., De Graaf, P.M. and Róbert, P. (1990). Cultural reproduction theory on socialist ground: intergenerational transmission of inequalities in Hungary. *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility*, 9, 79-104.

Ganzeboom, H.B. and Treiman, D. (1996). Internationally comparable measures of occupational status for the 1988 International Standard Classification of Occupations. *Social Science Research* 25, 201-239.

Goldthorpe, J.H. (2007). Social class and the differentiation of employment contracts, Chapter 5. in: *On Sociology. (Volume II).* Stanford University Press, Stanford.

Kolosi, T. (1984). Status and stratification. In: Kolosi, T. and Andorka, R. (eds.): *Stratification and inequalities*. Institute for Social Sciences, Budapest.

Kolosi, T. (2000). *'Terhes babapiskóta'. A rendszerváltás társadalomszerkezete.* (Regime transformation and social structure.) Századvég, Budapest.

Kraaykamp, G. and Niewbeerta, P. (2000). Parental background and lifestyle differentiation in Eastern Europe: Social, political, and cultural intergenerational transmission in five former socialist societies. *Social Science Research*, 29, 92-122.

Laumann, E. O. (1966). *Prestige and Association in an Urban Community*. Bobbs-Merrill, Indianapolis.

Lash, S. and Urry, J. (1994). *Economies of Signs and Space*. London: Sage.

López-Sintas, J. and Garcia-Alvarez, E. (2002). Omnivores show up again: The segmentation of cultural consumers in Spanish social space. *European Sociological Review*, 18, 353-368.

López-Sintas, J. and Katz-Gerro, T. (2005). From exclusive to inclusive elitists and further: Twenty years of omnivorousness and cultural diversity in arts participation in the USA. *Poetics*, 33: 299-319.

OECD. (2000). *Literacy in the information age. Final report of the international adult literacy survey*. OECD, Paris.

Peterson, R. A. and Kern, R. M. (1996). Changing highbrow taste: From snob to omnivore. *American Sociological Review*, 61(5), 900- 907.

Róbert, P. (1997). Social determination of living conditions in post-communist societies. *Czech Sociological Review*, 5, 197-216.

Róbert, P. and Bukodi, E. (2004). Changes in Intergenerational Class Mobility in Hungary, 1973-2000. In: Richard Breen (eds.) *Social Mobility in Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Tóth I. Gy. (2003). Jövedelem-egyenlőtlenségek: tényleg növekszenek vagy csak úgy látjuk? (Inequalities of income: are they increasing or do they just seem to be increasing?) *Közgazdasági Szemle* (Review of Economics), L:209-234.

Ultee, C.W., Batenburg, R. and Ganzeboom, H.B.G. (1993). Cultural inequalities in cross-national perspective. A secondary analysis of survey data for the 1980s. in: Rigney, A. and Fokkema, D. (eds.): *Cultural participation. Trends since the Middle Ages.* Utrecht Publications in General and Comparative Literature, 31, John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam/Philadelphia.

Van Eijck, K. (1999). Socialization, education and lifestyle: How social mobility increases the cultural heterogenity of status groups? *Poetics*, 26, 309-328.

Van Rees, K., Vermunt, J. and Verboord, M. (1999). Cultural classifications under discussion: Latent class analysis of highbrow and lowbrow reading. *Poetics*, 26, 349-365.

Weber, M. (1968) [1922]. *Economy and society*. University of California Press, Berkeley/Los Angeles.

Wesolowski, W. (1976). The notions of strata and class in socialist society. In: Faber, Bernhard Lewis (eds.): *The Social Structure of Eastern Europe*. Praeger Publishers, New York-London.

Wnuk-Lipinski, E. (1983). Patterns of leisure. In: Kolosi, T. and Wnuk-Lipinski, E. (eds.): *Equality and inequality under socialism: Poland and Hungary compared*. Sage, London.

Appendix

Descriptive statistics of covariates

Variables	%
Male (ref.: female)	49.0
Marital status	
single	17.7
living in partnership (ref.)	67.6
divorced/widowed	14.7
Child 0-18 (ref.: no child)	42.7
Residence: Budapest (ref.: other)	19.6
Education	
primary	23.2
vocational school	29.8
technical secondary	20.8
academic secondary	11.2
Lower tertiary (vocational college)	9.2
higher tertiary (university)	5.7
Social class	
EGP I (upper salariat)	8.8
EGP II (lower salariat)	16.5
EGP IIIa (routine non-manual)	9.4
EGP IIIb (routine service)	7.7
EGP IV (self-employed)	8.0
EGP V-VI (skilled workers)	21.9
EGP VIIab (unskilled workers)	27.7

	Mean	s.d.
Age	42.53	12.14
Size of settlement (number of inhabitants) (in 1000)	48.65	44.55
Log-household net income	10.19	0.533
Status	-0.327	0.499
Father's status	-0.531	0.475
N	6844	