

Comprehensive patterns of culture consumption in Hungary (How do Hungarians consume culture?)

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THE AIMS OF THE PAPER

Our research focuses on two questions:

- Have any general types of consumer or any characteristic features of the consumption of culture by the Hungarian population emerged over the last thirty years?
- What trends can be seen in the cultural stratification of society in this same period?

METHODOLOGY

To answer these questions, we first offer a summary of the theoretical models (mainly sociological) which deal with cultural stratification. This is followed by a comparative analysis of culture consumption patterns defined by the most remarkable comprehensive Hungarian cultural research between the middle 1980s and the end of the first decade of the new millennium, together with the patterns defined by the author from a relatively large sample primary research exercise undertaken in 2013. We also analysed the trends visible in these patterns.

RESULTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS IN

The analyses reveal that the currently prevailing types of culture consumption have basically been visible since the beginning of the period in question; the only changes were of proportion, and these moved in the direction of the consumption patterns of entertainment culture and cultural passivity. Consequently, several major types seem to have stabilised their position in the socio-cultural stratification of Hungarian society:

- the largest group is that of the *culturally passive* (although within this we can differentiate the old and new types of 'stay-at-home' consumers and the non-consumer group),
- the increasingly differentiated *classical cultural elite*, with a waning proportion
- cultural omnivores
- the *entertainment-oriented* group (which can be further differentiated)

These comprehensive behaviour types of consumption offer a general indication to the culture mediating institutions and other decision-makers of the particular sectors which match the cultural interests of the Hungarian population, and, within this, of the general form and level of participation in institutionalised cultural activities. Concrete decisions, however, need more information, and this can be drawn from research focused on actual preferences related to the different genres of culture and to the prevailing trends of taste in the different fields. However, for precise information, analyses at local level and focusing on the given target audiences also need to be carried out. It is also worth considering some issues in the methodology of culture consumption research, such as e.g. selection of appropriate cultural indicators, development of total analysing apparatus of popular genres, review of ICT on culture consumption and a more extensive exploration of non-consumption.

Keywords: consumption of culture, patterns of cultural taste, types of consumer of culture, cultural stratification

INTRODUCTION

Characteristic features of the behaviour of consumers are of special importance in marketing information, and the paper looks at this issue in the field of the consumption of institutionalised culture by the Hungarian adult population.

The research focuses on two issues:

- Have any broad and comprehensive types of consumer and any characteristic patterns of culture consumption emerged in the Hungarian population during the last thirty years?
- What trends can be seen in the cultural stratification of Hungarian society in the same period?

The concept of culture is interpreted mainly in the narrower and traditional sense, and analyses are from one single segment of culture: the services of institutionalised cultural venues such as, for example, theatre performances, exhibitions, concerts, festivals, libraries etc. This approach clearly narrows the concept of culture, but it is commonly seen as an important indicator of the condition of culture - and this is important background information for the marketing decision-makers of culture mediating institutions concerning the cultural interests of the population, and the general structure of participation in institutionalised cultural activities.

To answer the research questions, we first offer a summary of the theoretical models - mainly sociological - dealing with cultural stratification, and this is followed by a comparative analysis of patterns of the consumption of culture derived from comprehensive Hungarian research into culture from the middle 1980s to the end of the first decade of the millennium, together with the patterns defined by the (primary) analysis of the author from the outcomes of a large sample research conducted in 2013. Also analysed were the trends of the patterns as discerned.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH

In the survey of consumer behaviour, marketing generally utilises research findings and methods from several sciences.

The consumption of culture in the social sciences field

Cultural marketing has many links with the social sciences in terms of studying the features of culture consumption. Although here we can mention only a few of the most important, a more detailed analysis features in previous works by the author (Pavluska 2014).

Philosophy, since its birth, has dealt, with the basic issue of how the arts are received or evaluated, and, for cultural marketing purposes, it is mainly the findings of works on the aesthetic experience (e.g. Kant 1997, Baumgarten 1999, Welsch 2011), on hermeneutics (Ingarden 1977, Gadamer 1984), on the reception theory (Jauss 1997) and on the judgement of taste (e.g. Radnóti 2003) which can be utilised most appropriately.

In the culture consumption sector of *psychology*, we can first find impact theories, the typology of reception, the survey of the birth of the experience of reception (e.g. Halász 2002, Holland 2009), flow (Csíkszentmihályi 1997) and the correlations of personality and individual preference (e.g. Rentfrow *et al.* 2011).

The *economic* foundations of cultural marketing are laid down in *cultural economy*. Important *theoretical* findings include, amongst others, surveys of the consumption of experience (Holbrook and Hirschman 1982, Pine II. and Gilmore 1999, Boswijk *et al.* 2005, Schmitt 2003), the definition of cultural capital (Schultz 1961, Bourdieu 1986, Throsby 1999, Scitovsky 2000), descriptions of the characteristic process of culture consumption (Petró 2000) and the typology of leisure activities (Holt 1995).

The main direction in the field of *sociology* is the examination of the relationship between the consumption of culture and the structure of society. The early representatives of this discipline (Weber 1979, Veblen 1975) look at the issue in the framework of comprehensive class and stratum analyses. In Western countries, research into strata, into ways of life and lifestyles, launched in the middle of the 1960s for a more subtle analysis of the rearrangement of the social structure, deals with - as individual fields - values, taste and the consumption of culture, which reflect identity. The analysis of social stratification has, since then, *quasi-naturally* integrated the examination of the consumption of culture. The many and various research projects involved have led to new theories being defined and to new concepts, new patterns of consumption, which have also been accepted in the broader examinations of the consumption of culture - including eating and dressing (Kwon & Kwon 2013).

Types of consumer and patterns of taste in the major theories examining socio-cultural stratification

Hungarian research into culture analysed here in order to provide answers to our questions is largely focused on statements and categories produced by the latest research into the relationship between cultural and social stratification. It is, therefore, reasonable to take a brief look at the basic correspondence of these and their typologies of culture consumption and of taste.

Over the last thirty years, several notable, but competing trends have dominated the analysis of the relationship of culture consumption and social structure. According to the summing literature (e.g. Peterson 2005, Virtanen 2007, Chan & Goldthorpe 2010, Katz-Gerro 2011), these fall into the following main trends:

- class and culture compatibility/theory of cultural homology
- theory of individualisation
- omnivore–univore theory
- post-omnivore theories

Class and culture compatibility/theory of cultural homology

The first significant representative of this trend is Herbert Gans (1974) who – examining the social correlations of cultural taste and consumption on the basis of the vertical system of taste patterns known by his name – empirically verifies the coexistence of social and cultural stratification (homology). In the international literature also, the most widespread is the *highbrow–middlebrow–lowbrow taste pattern system* in which the respective patterns are differentiated by the level of sophistication. (It is common to simplify this typology to the opposing terms elite vs. mass culture consumers.)

- The *highbrow type* (the sophisticated) exclusively prefers elite culture. They are demanding consumers of culture, with sophisticated tastes. According to the traditional concept, certain genres – classical music, opera, and ballet – are necessarily parts of high culture, which can be differentiated by two features: their consumers belong to the social elite and consumption has an exclusive character. To measure sophistication, relative popularity can also be used: genres favoured by narrow social strata

are part of high culture, whilst popular genres belong to the lowbrow category (Virtanen 2007).

- *Middle-brow type* consumers have an average taste level, preferring the entertaining genres of culture; favourites include pop music and blockbuster films.
- Consumers of the *lowbrow type* have lower demands; they usually prefer non-sophisticated forms of culture originating from marginal social groups.

The main representative of the theory of cultural homology, Pierre Bourdieu (1984) was the first to state in an empirically proved way – on the basis of a several-years-long, large-sample questionnaire survey representing the citizens of Paris and its vicinity – the relationship linking taste, status and social class. According to his research findings, the more the income-based social differences decrease, the more significant determinants will be cultural features and lifestyle in the maintenance of the class structure: “there is no more ‘classificatory’ practice than concert-going or playing a ‘noble’ instrument” (Bourdieu 1984, 18.). Those in high positions in the social hierarchy consume high culture; the ones who belong to lower social classes are consumers of mass culture. As lifestyle is the symbolic expression of social class, people in the same social class follow the same or similar lifestyles. Taste and lifestyle are manifestations of the habit, which is evolving in the process of socialisation and is integrated into attitudes and thinking. People in the same social classes have similar habits, similar actions and evaluation schemes – taste. In other words: behind the differences in judgements of taste, we find objective class differences. The research by Bourdieu reinforces the concept prevailing in the first half of the 20th century which makes a clear distinction between people of sophisticated taste and the uneducated. The North American equivalents of these opposites are the “highbrow snobs” who prefer the arts and avoid popular genres, and the “lowbrow slob” who prefer philistine entertainment (Peterson 2005: 258). The fact that Bourdieu differentiates economic and cultural capital allows the identification of an upper class with significant cultural capital but not so much wealth, and one with great wealth but mediocre taste (Peterson 2005: 259).

The homology theory was the dominant model of cultural stratification surveys until the 1990s, and basically dealt with the differences between elite and popular cultural preferences. Several studies point out, however, that, unlike differences in status, cultural features are not among the univer-

sal characteristics (Peterson & Simkus 1992), i.e. although a large proportion of the consumers of culture with sophisticated taste belong to the groups of higher social status, sophisticated taste is only typical of a smaller proportion of the higher status citizens.

Theory of individualisation

A significant critique of the theory of cultural homology is the theory of *individualisation* whose representatives (primarily Giddens 1991, Beck 1992, Bauman 2000) emphasise that late 20th century Western societies are increasingly characterised by the individualisation of social inequalities. Traditional class has a diminishing impact on the development of lifestyle and the patterns of material and cultural consumption expressing lifestyle, i.e. status-based milieu is not a suitable orientation medium for the definition of cultural consumption (Chan & Goldthorpe 2010: 5). An outstanding representative of the trend, Beck (1992) differentiates simple modernity structured by the social classes, and the so-called reflexive modernity, *risk society* the social structure of which is characterised by individualisation. In risk societies the increase of general welfare improves the situation of each social class. Thus the values and socialisation processes typical of classes lose their significance, and it becomes possible that people define their self-identity and create their own lifestyle and own culture consumption habits by their own choice, on the basis of their alternative identity basis (e.g. gender, ethnic belonging, sexuality). The consequence is the birth of alternative cultures (Beck 1992). The limited impact of the trend on the research of the consumption of culture is explained by the fact that its representatives deal with consumption only in general, without paying a specific attention to the issues of the consumption of culture; also, they express their opinions not on the basis of empirical research, but mainly in essay-like papers (Chan & Goldthorpe 2010: 7).

Omnivore–univore theory

A critical trend with a much greater impact is the *omnivore–univore theory*, which supplements the theories of the relationship between social and cultural stratification. Its greater impact is also due to the fact that it specifically deals with the consumption of culture and its statements are supported by extended empirical research. The theory was worked out by American sociologists who

already in the 1960s pointed out that upper social classes were regular consumers, in addition to high culture, of popular culture as well. It was in 1982 when the research by Bourdieu was first tested by analysing the data of cultural consumption representing the population of the USA (Peterson & Simkus 1992). They pointed out that, although a higher proportion of the representatives of higher social classes claim a sophisticated taste for the arts and that they participate in such programmes, they also consume popular culture more actively than those of lower social status. In respect of music genres, for example, the upper professional classes prefer symphonic music and opera, but they also listen to several non-elite music genres, whilst the lower employment classes have a strong affinity to non-elite music styles. This means that the distinctive cultural consumption pattern of the upper classes shifts in a more tolerant direction, and it exceeds the cultural consumption of lower social classes not only in the demand level (vertically) but also in its spread (horizontally) – in fact, in quantity. Hence this pattern is more accurately termed *omnivore*, as opposed to the formerly used highbrow snob, whilst in the case of the lower social classes the term lowbrow slob is replaced by the attribute *univore*.

Others with their further research (Peterson & Kern 1996, Peterson & Rossman 2005) reinforce the initial results and work out a cultural consumption model which moves from the formerly prevalent highbrow–lowbrow status hierarchy towards the omnivore–univore distinction. The cultural breaking line between upper and lower social layers thus is not the elite vs. mass (highbrow vs. lowbrow), but the omnivore vs. univore distinction. The examinations also reveal that the decreasing tendency of the proportion of consumers of high culture in the 1990s is strengthened by the fact that the youth sector (less fond of high culture) is taking the place of their elders who have a preference for high culture.

The significant impact of the omnivore–univore theory is indicated by the research underway in most Western countries into this issue. These unequivocally confirm that, within the population, there is always a segment fond of diverse forms of culture, the educated omnivore consumers of culture with upper social status. However, there are different issues concerning the exact interpretation, measurement and international applicability of the omnivore concept:

- It is to be clarified whether the concept of omnivore relates to *taste*, *behaviour* or the *knowledge of art works/events*, as each of these is appropriate to the concept.

- There is a strong correlation between taste and consumption, but they do not necessarily coincide. Taste is a matter of attitude, whilst consumption is the behaviour, which may differ from the features of taste, impacted e.g. by age, marital status, health condition, supply etc. A problem about surveys concerning taste may be that respondents are inclined to give answers in accordance with the desirable taste pattern, whilst the reliability of research concerning consumption may be decreased by the fact that people do not exactly recall longer periods of time. The model-making research concerning "omnivorousness" (Peterson & Simkus 1992, Peterson & Kern 1996) analyse taste preference, others measure its level with actual consumption (Lizardo & Skiles 2009), with the use of time (Bukodi 2005), in some cases with all (Warde *et al.* 2007).
- It is a basic question of interpretation which *genres* should be considered when defining omnivorousness. The model-creating research after Bourdieu segment respondents along the *music genres*. In their surveys *classical music, opera and jazz* are high culture, whilst the other styles are popular culture. Those respondents are taken as consumers of high culture who mention one of the three genres as their favourite and at least two as preferred genres. As technical development, wide-spread use and easy accessibility decrease the status value of musical taste, other genres are also included now in the examinations. Already Bourdieu (1984) mentions e.g. visual arts, television programmes and dressing when defining groups of taste. Recent research also includes new popular genres. In the latest Hungarian survey of cultural stratification (Antalóczy és tsai 2010) 23 different cultural indicators are included, featuring besides the traditional genres e.g. plaza, internet café, cultural event at school, festival and club also. Popular music, most typical of the cultural consumption of youth is surveyed in a breakdown by several styles (Benett 2001).
 - The total analysing apparatus of popular genres is still to be worked out. As opposed to the stability of high culture, popular culture is changeable, and so more difficult to measure and its benefit is not obvious – and so less interesting. However, this field is becoming increasingly important in the definition of lifestyle.
 - An important factor in interpreting the omnivore concept is the clear distinction from the cultural consumption patterns of the elite. There are several practical solutions for the handling of this problem, but there is no exclusively accepted view. According to the original research, omnivores *are* at least *open* to non-elite genres (Peterson & Kern 1996), i.e. the range of their tastes and consumptions is broader than that of the elite culture consumers. Some interpretations require for the classification a certain level of the number of popular genres (Peterson & Rossman 2005), others think that some popular genres should be avoided, such as heavy metal by Bryson (1996) etc.
 - Another problem of the concept of omnivores is international applicability. This trend of tastes and consumption which became popular at the end of the 20th century is basically characteristic of the Western world, where formerly high culture was the standard of good taste. It is impossible or difficult to fit into this theoretical framework consumption patterns based on other cultural traditions, and this raises the issue of the relevance of the concept of omnivorousness in the international research into culture.

Post-omnivore theories

The *post-omnivore theories* reflect how the omnivore–univore theory is becoming a more sophisticated philosophy; also, they introduce new consumption categories. This differentiation of the concept of omnivore is summarised by Peterson (2005) (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1: The changing conception of omnivorousness

Panel A: The Conception of Peterson and Simkus 1982 data

	Taste
Highbrow	Snob to Omnivore
Lowbrow	Slob to Univore

Panel B: The Conception of Peterson and Kern 1982-1992 data

		Breadth of Taste	
		Narrow	Wide
Taste Level	Highbrow	Snob 1	Omnivore 2
	Lowbrow	Univore 3	unexamined 4

Panel C: The Conception of Peterson and Rossmann 1982-1992-2002 data

		Breadth of Taste	
		Narrow	Wide
Taste Level	Highbrow	Highbrow Univore 1	Highbrow Omnivore 2
	Lowbrow	Lowbrow Univore 3	Lowbrow Omnivore 4

Source: Peterson, 2005: 262.

In the original model the “omnivore” is the new cultural consumption trend replacing the elite type by the late 20th century (Peterson & Simkus 1992), whose birth is explained among other things by improved living standards, extended education, and the broader penetration of arts, which makes elite aesthetic preferences also available to the larger masses. Another aspect is that social mobility and migration allow many people to enter the social elite, bringing with them their usually non-elite tastes; also, from the 1950s, Rock and Roll became a music style accepted by the youth of all social classes (*Fig. 1/A*). In the third research phase the re-interpretation of the concept of omnivore is led by the recognition that theoretically four typical cultural consumption patterns can be defined by the level and breadth of taste (*Fig. 1/C*) (Peterson & Rossman 2005). Although all these four possible consumption patterns are visible in the research findings and the proportion of omnivores is considerable within the group of elite culture consumers, the most significant change is still the wide-spread general decline of the consumption of high culture. This is proof of the general shift of taste towards the non-sophisticated patterns of cultural consumption (Peterson & Rossman 2005).

A further extension of the original concept of the omnivore consumption pattern is, besides the participation in diverse genres, the consideration of

the intensity of the consumption of culture. These two dimensions together define the quantity of the consumption of culture, for the measurement of which they recommend the introduction of the category *voraciousness* (Sullivan-Katz-Gerro 2007), and for the intensity of participation they differentiate active and inactive types both at the level of omnivores and univores (Peterson 2005: 264). Cultural voraciousness can be interpreted as a new indication of status by the upper status groups, matching the spirit of the times. An appearance of this is the fastest possible acquisition of the diverse experiences, versatile pattern of cultural consumption that misses no opportunity, constant occupation, pressure of time, multitasking etc. (Sullivan-Katz-Gerro 2007). Although the concept of voracious consumer of culture is about the refinement of the pattern of omnivore consumers, on the basis of the two dimensions we could theoretically interpret consumer types to which little attention has been paid by academics previously. This is a serious deficiency, especially in the case of the *inactive univore* category. This type can actually be seen as a *non-consumer of culture*. As research usually found also internationally this type as the largest, their socio-economic correlations should be studied in more detail, both from the perspective of society and culture mediating institutions.

The main variables of the cultural consumption patterns are summarised in the three-dimensional taste pattern model by Virtanen (2007), which looks at the consumption of culture in a way which allows international comparison. To define a taste pattern three main factors are taken into consideration:

- The *quality of taste* dimension measures the level of sophistication of the cultural goods consumed; i.e., it relates to their highbrow–lowbrow character in the respective field of culture.
- The *intensity of the consumption of culture* dimension categorises by the heavy-users–light-users dichotomy.
- The *diversity of taste* dimension expresses the omnivore–nivore character within a respective field of culture and in the relationship among the respective cultural areas. Omnivores are those consumers who consume the most diverse forms of the cultural goods in a certain category, or are in the upper quarter of the group choosing from the largest number of cultural areas.

The three dimensions can be used both separately and together to draw the one-, two- or multi-dimensional patterns of the consumption of culture. This more subtle approach, on the one hand, more adequately reflects the practice of the consumption of culture and, on the other hand, better matches the new interpretation of arts which believes in the mutually enriching ability of elite and popular culture, contrary to the hierarchical categorisation (Almási 2003). Accordingly, instead of the large and opposite segments in the consumption of culture there is a possibility of smaller but more diverse patterns being defined.

On the basis of the model, Virtanen (2007) examines the consumption of culture in the EU-15 countries, by the secondary analysis of data from Eurobarometer. The analysis shows that the consumer type of demanding, diverse and large quantity of culture can be seen in Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Luxembourg and Finland in the largest proportions. Virtanen reminds us, however, that in these countries it is the general level of welfare, advanced welfare policy and the large-scale social equality which create a favourable environment for the consumption of culture. Therefore, in comparisons we must consider social, economic, political etc. characteristics which strongly influence cultural patterns.

On the basis of the research findings, we can state the following about the practical manifestation of the taste and consumption patterns of the theories dealing with the relationship of cultural and social stratification:

- Research usually identifies cultural structures consisting of diverse cultural consumption patterns, the internal proportions of which are influenced by the socio-economic and political characteristics of the respective country – i.e. there is no evidence of the exclusive validity of one theory or one typology.
- Research almost unequivocally proves the existence of the *omnivore* cultural consumption pattern, although some researchers (e.g. Warde et al. 2007) do not find its proportion particularly distinctive.
- Most research shows a very high proportion of the *non-culture-consuming* type, which is also, in most cases, the largest group.
- Each research identifies – although usually in minor proportions – *consumers of elite culture*, who only favour high culture.

CULTURAL CONSUMPTION TYPES IN HUNGARIAN RESEARCH INTO CULTURE

Typifying consumers is basic to the planning of any marketing activity targeting specific segments. Defining homogeneous consumer groups is a specific analysing and explorative work also in the field of the consumption of culture. This involves examining which *cultural consumption patterns* – clusters – are defined by the convergence and divergence of certain cultural activities (genres), and by the intensity of consumption.

Cultural consumption patterns according to the comprehensive Hungarian research pre-2010

Defining the segments of culture consumers typical of the Hungarian population was done either within the framework of independent research into culture or research into related topics such as social stratification and conduct (Bukodi 2005), lifestyle (Ságvári 2011, Töröcsik 2011), youth (Székely 2013) etc. The “Stratification Model Survey” for example, was initiated in the 1980s in the Institute of Social Sciences, and this categorised 10 groups of lifestyle on the basis of material and culture

consumption as the main distinctive features. According to the research findings, belonging to a social status group is influenced by cultural conduct in the first place (Sági 2010: 291). This indicates that the consumption of culture reflects the complexity of the social structure more subtly than the traditional indicators of stratification: employment and income (Fábián et al., 2000).

Comprehensive independent research into culture has been conducted in Hungary since the 1970s, and especially by sociology research workshops. They examine the development of culture consumption by genre preference (taste), by attendance at institutionalised cultural venues, by at-home cultural activities and the time spent on these, and as a research outcome they usually define typical socio-cultural groups, the types of culture consumers and tastes.

The comprehensive research into culture of the first decades describe the socio-cultural structure of Hungary basically with a typology built on the homology principle, and define four main patterns of culture consumption: *passive, unstable; clinging, recreational; open, accumulating; autonomous, with stable cultural orientation* (Vitányi 1997), which firmly fit into the hierarchy of the social groups. This typology dominated comprehensive research into cultural stratification until the early 2000s. In nation-wide research in 2003 a more detailed analysis of the data by Hunyadi (2005) distinguishes the horizontal *omnivore-univore* opposites, also creating further sub-groups within them. Within the category of omnivores she distinguishes *consolidated, traditional consumers of culture and youthful omnivores*, whilst the category univore contains *fun-minded cinemagoers and party animals, visitors to cultural centres, stay-at-home readers and passive, boring consumers neglecting culture*.

The validity of the omnivore-univore approach was examined by Bukodi (2007), using data of time budget analyses for the description of stratification. The main types – *cultural omnivore, univore, elite and boring* – not surprisingly show significant connection between the elements of social status, especially schooling and the consumption of culture: omnivores are more likely to belong to the higher educated group, whilst the boring pattern is more typical of the individuals with the lowest social status.

The most recent Hungarian research into the consumption of culture clearly rely upon the latest theories of cultural stratification. In the research project managed by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Political Sciences, Research Workshop of Values and Culture in 2008-2009, the patterns of culture consumption are analysed in a multi-dimensional cultural space formed by 23 institutionalised venues¹. The analysis distinguishes five clusters of culture consumption, on the basis of interest and activity: *culturally passive, omnivores, light amusement fans, culturally minded and cultural elite*. Almost half of the respondents are members of the culturally passive group, who are slightly older and less educated than the average. As opposed to this, omnivores are the youngest, with a high schooling level, more typically urban citizens (Antalóczy et al. 2010). In further analysis of the findings, Sági (2010) examines which theoretical model explains best the relationship between social status and the consumption of culture. Typical segments of consumption are defined by a cluster analysis: there are the *omnivores*, the *choosy*, the *univores*, and the *needy* whose status characteristics strongly challenge the validity of the homology approach but can neither refute nor persuasively confirm the validity of the competing theories (Sági 2010: 307). The same research database is analysed, from the perspective of the relationship of the new info-communication technologies and the consumption of culture by Csepeli and Prazsák (2009) who demonstrate a considerable difference in the consumption of culture between those who use and the ones who do not use the internet. A clear dividing line, however, is visible not between genres but in whether any cultural activity is pursued at all or not. Among the groups defined in the analysis – *culturally rich, culturally poor, audience of mass culture, audience of high culture* –, the culturally active groups are over-represented in the group of internet users, whilst three-quarters of the non-users of the internet are in the group of the culturally poor. This does not mean that internet use results in the consumption of culture in itself, but it reinforces the already existing willingness to participate.

A further range of cultural consumption typologies for example, to youth or respective genres is summarised by Pavluska (2014.)

¹ Cinema, videotape library, plaza, museum, gallery, bookshop, café, school organised cultural event, CD shop, internet café, library, cultural centre, opera, sports field, popular music concert, classical music concert, jazz concert, festival, club, place of amusement, dance event, theatre performance, theatre performance in external location

Types of consumers of culture defined by the author's own analysis of the 2013 research

In the framework of the TÁMOP²-4.2.2.A-11/1/KONV-2012-0058 project we conducted countrywide research into the social acceptance of environment friendly and ecologically sustainable technologies. During the research we looked at several topics supporting the main objective and providing the background of interpretation, including the issue of the spending of leisure time. For this a national personal representative questionnaire survey including 2,000 individuals was conducted in the spring of 2013. The sample is representative of the Hungarian population aged

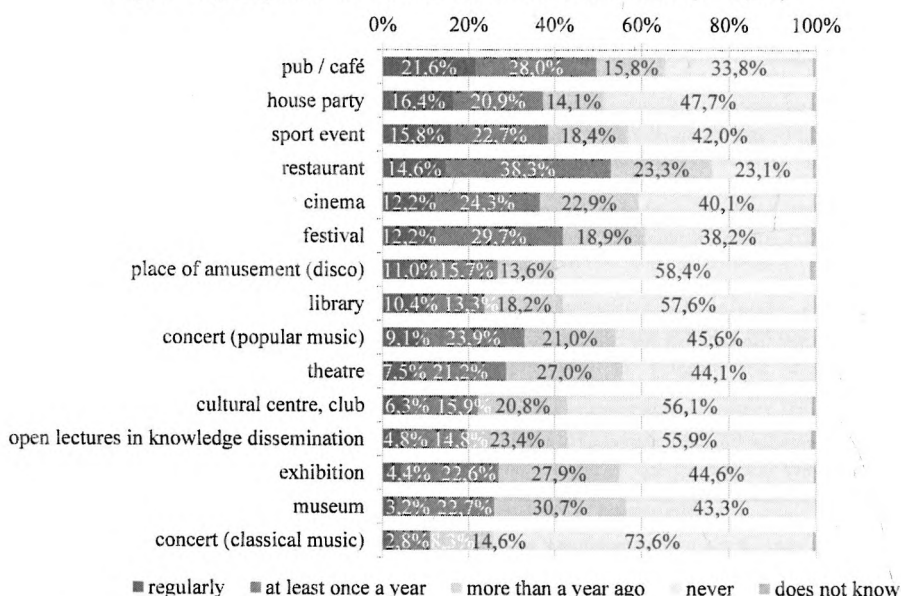
18–79 in respect of gender, age, school-leaving age, type of place of residence, position of place of residence within the region.

The database received from the field work was analysed with SPSS software. The basic data considered in defining the segments of culture consumers of culture were the answers given to the two questions below:

- “How often do you attend the institutions, events and places listed below?”
- “How many books have you read in the last one year?”

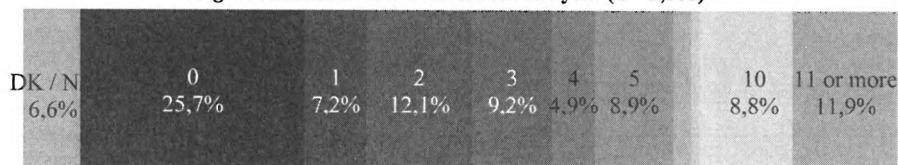
The first question surveyed the frequency of visits to 15 extra-home leisure time venues, the breakdown of which is shown in Fig. 2 Responses given to reading habits are summarised in Fig. 3.

Fig. 2: Frequency of the use of cultural and leisure time venues (n = 2,000)



Source: edited by the author

Fig. 3: Number of books read in the one year (n = 2,000)



Source: edited by the author

² TÁMOP stands for Social Renewal Operational Programme

According to *Fig. 2* the Hungarian population shows a below-average performance in the consumption of culture. There is not one single cultural venue which at least half of the respondents visit at least once a year. The neglect of classical music concerts is striking; at least three-quarters of the respondents totally ignore them, and they also visit libraries, cultural centres, exhibitions and museums in similarly low proportions. The most visited venues, however, match the trend shown also in the consumption of culture, where the preferences indicated are shifting increasingly in the direction of lighter, amusing genres, e.g. festivals, cinema and popular music. The general image of the cultural condition of the population is not improved by the reading habits, as a quarter of the respondents had not read a single book in the previous year. Presuming that behind the answer indicating “do not know/no answer” there is also non-reading; this is typical of one-third of the Hungarian population (*Fig. 3*).

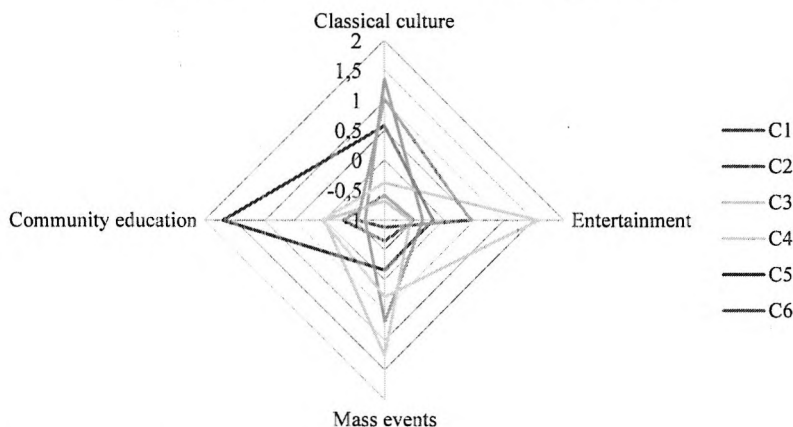
The main objective of our analysis is to define the general features of the cultural consumption habits of the Hungarian population, i.e. to describe the typical groups of consumers. In order to do this we analysed the base data with factor and cluster analysis. During the factor analysis process to rationalise the data, the number of factors was defined by the Scree test (elbow rule) (Sajtos – Mitev 2007). From the original variables set we withdrew those which were bad or whose interpretation was problematic (e.g., pub/café, house-parties, restaurants, open performances). As a result of

this, we made the analysis with 11 variables which defined 4 factors. (The KMO value indicating the suitability for factor analysis is 0.967, which is very good; significance is 0.000, the values of communalities which belong to the variables range from 0.543 to 0.816.) These factors explain 70.696% of the total information content of the sample, which is an acceptable figure for social science analyses. The factors were created from the responses of 1,940 individuals, since only those respondents were included who were able to answer the respective questions (to give at least value 1). When specifying the factors we tried to find names which best reflected the characteristics of the variables in them, and so the following factors were created:

1. classical culture (museum, theatre, exhibition, classical music concert)
2. entertainment (place of amusement–disco, cinema, popular music concert)
3. mass events (sports programme, festival)
4. community education (education centre or club, library)

For the clustering of the cleared database we did an analysis using the four factors, with a K-means cluster analysis method. The aim of cluster analysis is to define the groups of characteristic cultural consumption patterns, on the basis of which we can conclude the structure of the basic multitude. As a result of the cluster analysis, six patterns – C1-C6 – were defined, which can be seen as characteristic types of the segmentation by cultural consumption on the basis of attending 11 open cultural venues (*Fig. 4*).

Fig. 4: Clusters of the consumption of culture (n = 1,940)

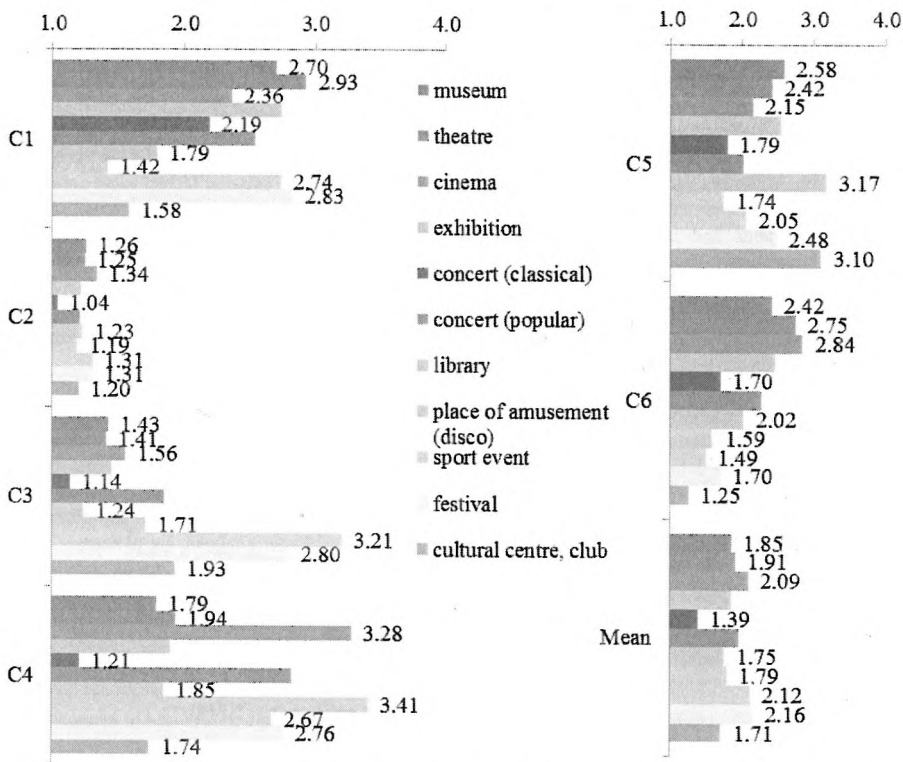


Source: edited by the author

The detailed analysis of the respective clusters can be described by the average individual and cumulative frequency of attendance at the cultural venues examined, and also by which cultural activities coincide and which do not within the respective

cultural patterns. These indicators were generated by the data featured in Fig. 5. (Value close to 1 means that the members of the cluster more typically never participate in the given cultural activity, whilst 4 indicates more regular participation.)

Fig. 5: Frequency of the attendance at cultural venues by cluster



The figure features the average values of the following codes of frequency: 1 - never; 2 - more than one year ago; 3 - at least once a year; 4 - regularly

Source: edited by the author

According to the analysis, the clusters can be described by the main cultural consumption characteristics, summarised in Table 1:

Table 1: Cluster specificities of the consumption of culture

No	<i>Clusters in the number of members, proportion and the specificities of the consumption of culture</i>
C1	<p><i>231 individuals, 11.9%</i></p> <p>The average cultural activity of the cluster is 2.35, which is significantly above the average of the sample (1.87) as a whole, and it is only attendance at places of amusement and cultural centres which is below the average. From all clusters, it has the members who attend places of high culture, such as museums, theatres, exhibitions and classical music concerts in the highest proportion, and they also visit libraries more than average. In addition, they are the ones who most frequently participate in festivals, they are the second most frequent visitors to popular music concerts and sports events and go to the cinema more frequently than the average. They also exceed the sample average in reading books.</p> <p>Hence the members of this cluster have an intensive interest in a broad range of genres of both elite and popular culture. Accordingly, this group matches the <i>omnivore type with diverse cultural preferences</i> the best among the patterns of cultural consumption.</p>
C2	<p><i>614 individuals, 31.6%</i></p> <p>This cluster has the largest number of members, and comprises those who typically do not attend any of the cultural venues examined. The level of their activity hardly exceeds 1 at each venue. They also read books less frequently than the average.</p> <p>Research typically calls this pattern the <i>passive, in some cases culturally boring type</i>.</p>
C3	<p><i>295 individuals, 15.2%</i></p> <p>Members of this cluster are characterised by a low average leisure time activity (1.79), which is restricted only to a few areas. Members of the cluster never or very rarely visit venues of high culture, but are the most frequent visitors from all clusters to sports events (3.21). They are the second most frequent participants in festivals, and they have an above-average occurrence in cultural centres also, whilst they read the least number of books.</p> <p>This pattern represents the <i>univore type attending mass events</i>.</p>
C4	<p><i>326 individuals, 16.8%</i></p> <p>The second largest cluster visits cultural venues more frequently than the average, with an average value of 2.31. Of the members of all clusters, these go most frequently to places of amusement (3.41), cinema (3.28) and popular music concerts. The first two are also the two most frequently pursued cultural activities of the total of the sample. Members of this segment participate in festivals and sports events much more frequently than the average, and they also show a somewhat higher frequency of visits to libraries and cultural centres, whilst they read fewer books than the average.</p> <p>This group preferring and intensively consuming diverse popular genres represents the <i>light entertainment seeking type</i>.</p>
C5	<p><i>266 individuals, 13.7%</i></p> <p>This cluster with its visits of average 2.37 value is the most active one in the sample. Its members have a higher than average frequency presence at all cultural venues, except for sports events and places of amusement, and they are especially active in the area of visiting libraries and cultural centres. Members of the clusters can be seen more frequently than the average at museums, exhibitions, theatres, concerts and festivals, and they read the most books in the sample.</p> <p>The group represents the <i>type consuming many kinds of traditional culture, with a strong preference for community venues</i>.</p>
C6	<p><i>208 individuals, 10.7%</i></p> <p>Members of this segment show an above-average but not truly outstanding (2.04) cultural activity level. They go regularly or often to the cinema and theatre, as well as to exhibitions and museums. In addition they also attend popular music concerts and occasionally libraries.</p> <p>The segment represents they type <i>selecting from traditional culture</i>, with preferences for a few fields.</p>

Source: edited by the author

The socio-demographic specifications of the clusters – their deviations from the average – are summarised in *Table 2*, compiled by using the statistical data of the background analyses promoting the description of the clusters.

Table 2: Specifications of the socio-demographic features of the clusters

<i>Deviations from average</i>	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	C6
<i>Specification of cluster</i>	Culturally diverse, omnivores	Culturally passive	Visitors to mass events	Seekers of light entertainment	Lovers of several traditional cultures	Those selecting from traditional cultures
<i>Breakdown (%)</i>	11.9	31.6	15.2	16.8	13.7	10.7
<i>Gender</i>			rather male	rather male	rather female	
<i>Age</i>	40-60 years old	above 50, mainly above 60 years	30-50 years old	below 40 years (typically young)	above 60 years old	40-50 years old
<i>Education</i>	higher education	elementary education		secondary education	higher education	
<i>Settlement type</i>	provincial city	provincial town	small village			Budapest
<i>Change in personal financial situation</i>	stable financial situation	significantly worsening financial situation		stable (improving) financial situation	somewhat worse financial situation	
<i>Friends, communication</i>	communication with average group of friends	narrowest group of friends, personal or telephone contacts		broadest group of friends, contacts on internet	broad group of friends, personal contacts	non-internet connections
<i>Number of non-home activities</i>		most bound to close up at home		intensive activity out of home		

Source: edited by the author

A COMPARISON OF THE HUNGARIAN TYPOLOGIES OF CULTURE CONSUMPTION

According to our objective, we now examine in the light of the research introduced above, how the development of the patterns of culture consumption – very important research findings from the perspective of marketing – characterises the Hungarian population since the middle of the 1980s, how stable the comprehensive patterns have proved to be and how their proportions have changed in the system of cultural stratification.

The types of consumer of culture/leisure time at the millennium and in the previous years were summarised in a table by Bukodi (2005), on the basis of the nation-wide survey of the cultural conditions carried out by the Institute of Sociology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Vitányi 1997) and ‘way of life-time’ budget survey by the Hungarian Central Statistical Office (KSH 2000). This was supplemented in our paper with the findings of the comprehensive Hungarian research into culture conducted in the decade following (Hunyadi 2005; Antalóczy et al. 2010) and the results of our own analysis. The comparison is featured in *Table 3*, in which the names of the categories were taken over from the respective research.

Table 3:
Types of consumer of culture/leisure time in Hungary
from the middle of the 1980s until the middle of the 2010s

<i>Mid-1980s</i>	<i>Mid-1990s</i>	<i>Millennium</i>	<i>2003</i>	<i>2008</i>	<i>2013</i>
Autonomous, culture-oriented (15%)	Autonomous, culture-oriented (15%)	High culture oriented (8%)	Consolidated, using culture in a traditional way (9%)	Cultural elite (10.1%)	Fond of diverse traditional cultures (13.7%)
Open – accumulators (24%)	Youthful, fun oriented (24%)	Cultural “omnivores” (18%)	Youthful “omnivores” (7%)	Consumers of all (8.6%)	Selecting from traditional culture (10.7%)
Clinging, recreational (26%)	Stay-at-home – reader (13%)	Recreation/ fun oriented (23%)	Univores in entertainment, cinema and party goers (14%)	Seekers of light amusement (13.8%)	Culturally diverse (omnivores) (11.9%)
Passive, instable (35%)	Passive – other (17%)	Passive (26%)	Univores in entertainment, visitors to cultural centres (10%)	Interested in culture (20.5%)	Seekers of light amusement (16.8%)
	Passive – stay-at-home, non-reading (26%)	Ones not consuming culture / isolated (23%)	Stay-at-home – reader (17%)	Culturally passive (47.1%)	Univores in entertainment, visitors of mass events (15.2%)
			Passive, extra-culture, boring (43%)		Culturally passive (31.6%)

Source: edited by the author, using Bukodi 2005: 13; Hunyadi 2005: 11; Antalóczy et. al. 2010: 27

Notes: ■ high culture oriented, ■ cultural „omnivores”, ■ seekers of amusement, ■ passive

The comparison of the findings of the research on culture shown in *Table 3* allows us to make the following main assertions about the comprehensive Hungarian cultural stratification:

– The basics of the cultural stratification of the Hungarian population aged over 15 which are typical today can be observed since the start of the Hungarian research on culture, as the surveys done at different times demonstrate more or less the same types of consumer of culture. In general we can say that, although no significant rearrangement took place in the thirty years among the types of consumer, on the whole there is a shift towards the consumption of lighter, entertaining culture and passive consumer behaviour.

– The largest group in each of the respective surveys is formed by the *non-users of the net-*

work of cultural institutions. They are specified as culturally passive, stay-at-home individuals. Their total proportion reached half of the population by the middle of the 1990s, and in some later surveys even exceeded that. Our own research estimates the proportion of this group at 32%. In this group we have to distinguish those who are *totally passive culturally*, whose cultural activity does not go beyond watching television. They are rightly specified by the cultural typology as the ones leading a boring way of life. Research reveals that this sub-group is where the oldest and least educated are concentrated, with the over-representation of inhabitants of villages in backward regions. For mediators of culture, the activation of these people is the biggest challenge. However, within this passive segment there is another sub-group

whose members pursue cultural activities outside the institutionalised cultural networks. Despite their stay-at-home way of life they are *specifically intensive consumers of culture* – according to the survey of 2003, e.g. they read 23 books a year on average. Group members are usually elderly citizens with above-average education, living in larger cities (Hunyadi, 2005: 14). Several research exercises indicated the rise of a new segment in the non-user part of the institutionalized cultural network, a segment which comprises passive young people who spend their leisure time at home, using the internet in the first place. The latest research on youth reveals that in the 15–29 year age group internet has become the leading leisure time activity (Székely ed. 2013: 218), which is an alternative even stronger than television for the services of the cultural institutions.

– At the other end of the spectrum of the consumers of culture we find the type of *classical, elite consumers of culture*, shown by each research exercise. Their differentiation and the decrease of their proportion are explained by several factors. On the one hand, the significance of the progress of popular genres is a fact; on the other hand, there is a natural process of decrease, as this segment more typically comprises elder people. At the same time we can witness effects which do not mean the death of demanding consumption of culture but the birth of new segments and niches. In the young and middle-aged generations the consumers of high culture are also significant consumers of popular culture and are now called omnivores as a separate group. In the birth of new groups visible in the segment, different social, economic and political effects also play a significant role, strongly influencing the development of cultural behaviour (Virtanen 2007). These include e.g. the changes induced by the worsening financial situation or a lack of supply of culture. In our analysis we identified three groups which can also be interpreted as different versions of the consumers of high culture.

– The groups between the two poles of the spectrum of consumers are leisure time middle classes (Bukodi 2005: 4). One of them is the group of the new type of consumers at the end of the 20th century, the *omnivores*. As they participate in almost all kinds of cultural activity, they are the most diverse and the most voracious (Sullivan-Katz-Gerro, 2700) group within the consumers of culture, and their presence is shown on every occasion. They are the ones in whose lives new information technology was already alive at the turn of the millennium. A favourable feature of this

segment is that group members are younger than average, and this segment has the highest proportion of students.

– The other group in the middle of the culture consumer range is the more univore group primarily *seeking entertainment*. Recent research differentiates sub-groups within this segment on the basis of the genres favoured. This segment represented 20-25% in the earlier research (Bukodi 2005: 13; Hunyadi 2005: 12–13). Our own research defined within this category the group seeking light entertainment and attending mass events, who together comprise 32% of the sample.

SUMMARY

The examination of the trends of culture consumption types in Hungary over almost thirty years reveals that the following types seem to have stabilised in the socio-cultural stratification of Hungarian society:

– the active *classical cultural elite* consuming high culture, the exact designation of which may be the most problematic as an effect of differentiation and the impact of influencing factors;

– at the other extreme we find - permanently - the largest segment, the *culturally passive* people who do not use the institutional system of culture; within this group we can differentiate *stay-at-home consumers* and the group of those who lead a boring way of life and *do not use culture*;

– the segment of *cultural omnivores* can be seen as a stable new type of consumer;

– another easily distinguished category of the cultural centre is the rising *group of fun-oriented* people.

It is important to note that the comprehensive consumer behaviour types provide a framework, a general orientation for culture-mediating institutions and other decision-makers of the cultural sector about the cultural interests of the Hungarian population and their participation in institutionalised cultural activities, but do not provide reliable aid for concrete decisions. For these, deeper background information can be provided by the research on the preference types of the respective cultural genres, examining the dominant trends of taste; in the different fields. For exact information, however, it is also necessary to carry out primary examinations at local level or focused at the given target audiences. Further comprehensive research into culture consumption needs some methodological considerations too, for example appropriateness of cultural indicators, analysing toolkit of different genres,

It is also worth considering some issues in the methodology of culture consumption research, such as e.g. selection of appropriate cultural indicators, development of total analysing apparatus of popular genres, review of ICT on culture consumption and a more extensive exploration of non-consumption.

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