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Social Standing and Lifestyle in Czech Society

Jiří Šafr

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Abstract

In this paper, I address two associated issues concerning differentiation of cultural consumption, lifestyle and stratification: first, I examine the hypothesis assuming that social classes in the Czech Republic are associated with distinct lifestyles, and second, I look at the social patterning of cultural omnivorousness. In the introductory part, I review cultural consumption and lifestyle theories along with the research agenda related to social stratification. Three theoretical models of class and culture, homology, post-modern individualisation and 'cultural omnivorousness' are introduced. In the second part, using data from the Market & Media & Lifestyle TGI 2004 (MEDIAN s.r.o.), I deal with three dimensions of lifestyle: highbrow cultural tastes/activities, luxury consumption and healthy lifestyle. The hierarchical association between social class (ABCDE Social Grades based on household position) together with education and household income on the one hand and lifestyle on the other is clearly present in the domain of highbrow cultural tastes/activities and luxury consumption but not in the case of healthy lifestyle which is primarily differentiated by education. However, other factors, namely gender, age, and a city as a place of residence, also have a strong impact. The boundary of cultural difference passes between the classes A, B, C and the lower classes D, E. In addition, an examination is made of cultural omnivorousness in the area of a general interest in topics of an informative and entertaining character in the media. Omnivores are more likely to be present in higher status groups defined by education credentials and household income, but the direct effect of social class, with other characteristics controlled for, is tenuous. Generally, cultural consumption and lifestyle is linked to vertical social standing. Consequently, it seems too soon to refer to post-modern stratification theory, with its emphasis on weakened cultural hierarchies and their eroded ties to social class, to clarify the Czech social structure.

Keywords

Sociální postavení a životní styl v české společnosti

Jiří Šafr

Abstrakt

Studie se zabývá dvěma tématy týkajícími se diferenciace životních stylů, kulturní spotřeby a sociální stratifikace. První představuje hypotézu, podle které se v České republice sociální třídy vyznačují rozdílnými životními způsoby, druhým je sociální zakotvenost kulturního všežroutství. Úvodní část shrnuje teoretické koncepty a výzkumnou agendu kulturní diferenciace a stratifikace. Představeny jsou tři teoretické modely vztahu třídy a kultury, homologický, postmoderně individualistický a kulturně omnivorní (kulturní všežravosti). Druhá část přináší analýzu dat z výzkumu Market & Media & Lifestyle TGI 2004 (MEDIAN s.r.o.). Nejprve ověřujeme hypotézu o homologii tříd a životních stylů ve třech dimenzích: vkus a aktivity svázané s vysokou kulturou, luxusní spotřeba a zdravý způsob života. Až na zdravý způsob života strukturovaný především vzděláním a příjmem jsou zbylé dvě oblasti životního stylu ve sféře vkusu/aktivit vysoké kultury a luxusní spotřeby hierarchicky vázány také na sociální třídu (Socioekonomická klasifikace ABCDE dle postavení domácnosti). Silný vliv mají i jiné faktory, zejména pohlaví, věk a velkoměsto. Hranice kulturní diference prochází mezi třídami A, B, C a nižšími třídami D, E. Dále zkoumáme sociální strukturaci kulturní všežravosti v obecném zájmu o mediální témata. Všežrouti témat pocházejí častěji z vyšších statusových skupin indikovaných vzděláním a příjmem domácnosti, vliv sociální třídy je ale při kontrole ostatních znaků slabý. Vazby kulturní spotřeby a životního stylu na vertikální sociální postavení jsou v ČR přítomny, proto postmoderní teorii stratifikace nelze považovat za model schopný věrohodně vysvětlit českou sociální strukturu.

Klíčová slova

životní styl, sociální třídy, kulturní spotřeba, kulturní všežravost, vysoká kultura, luxusní spotřeba, zdravý způsob života

Soziale Stellung und Lebensstil in der tschechischen Gesellschaft

Jiří Šafr

Abstrakt

Die Studie befasst sich mit zwei Themen zur Differenzierung von Lebensstilen, Kulturkonsum und sozialer Stratifizierung. Das erste Thema stellt die Hypothese auf, dass sich die sozialen Schichten in Tschechien durch unterschiedliche Lebensstile auszeichnen, das zweite Thema ist die soziale Verankerung der kulturellen Allesfresserei. In der Einleitung werden die theoretischen Konzepte und die Forschungsagenda der kulturellen Differenzierung und Stratifizierung zusammengefasst. Es werden drei Theoriemodelle der Beziehung von sozialer Schicht und Kultur vorgestellt: das homologe, das postmodern-individualistische und das kulturell omnivore (kulturelle Allesfresserei). Der zweite Teil bringt eine Analyse der Forschungsdaten von Market & Media & Lifestyle TGI 2004 (MEDIAN s.r.o.). Wir überprüften zunächst die Hypothese der Homologie der sozialen Schichten und der Lebensstile in drei Dimensionen: Geschmack und die mit der Hochkultur verbunden Aktivitäten, Luxuskonsum und gesunder Lebensstil. Bis auf den insbesondere durch Bildung und Einkommen strukturierten gesunden Lebensstil sind die verbleibenden zwei Bereiche des Lebensstils in der Sphäre von Geschmack/Aktivitäten der Hochkultur und des Luxuskonsums auch hierarchisch an die soziale Schicht gebunden (sozio-ökonomische ABCDE-Klassifizierung nach Haushaltsstellung). Einen starken Einfluss üben aber auch andere Faktoren aus, insbesondere Geschlecht, Alter und Großstadt. Die Grenze der kulturellen Differenzierung verläuft durch die Schichten A, B, C und die unteren Schichten D, E. Des weiteren untersuchten wir die soziale Strukturierung der kulturellen Allesfresserei im Bereich des allgemeinen Interesses an Medienthemen. Die Allesfresser von Medienthemen stammen häufiger aus höheren durch Bildung und Haushaltseinkommen indizierten Statusgruppen, wobei der Einfluss der sozialen Schicht jedoch bei Gegenprüfung anhand anderer Merkmale eher schwach ist. Beziehungen zwischen Kulturkonsum und Lebensstil und der vertikalen sozialen Stellung sind in Tschechien vorhanden, weshalb die postmoderne Stratifizierungstheorie nicht als geeignetes Modell erscheint, mit dem die soziale Struktur in Tschechien glaubwürdig erklärt werden könnte.

Schlüsselworte

Lebensstil, soziale Schichten, Kulturkonsum, kulturelle Allesfresserei, Hochkultur, Luxuskonsum, gesunder Lebensstil

Introduction

Goods are neutral, their uses are social; they can be used as fences or bridges.
(Douglas, Isherwood (1979) 1996)

In recent years growing attention has been paid to the cultural dimension of social inequalities, the most unique examples of which can be found in Lamont and Fournier (1992a) and Devine et al. (2005). The renewed sociology of culture devotes both wide-ranging quantitative and qualitative research to 'the symbolic character of cultural practices or artifacts and their relationships between belonging to specific social categories or groups' (classes, ethnic groups, etc.) and the existence of cultural hierarchies related to social status hierarchies (ESA culture).

First, I will look at theoretical concepts and the research agenda on the role of cultural differentiation in social stratification. Theoretical models of the class-based structuring of lifestyles and consumption practices: homology, post-modern individualization and 'cultural omnivorousness' are reviewed. Second, through an analysis of Market & Media & Lifestyle TGI's (MML TGI) lifestyle survey data from 2004, I will attempt to answer the following questions: Can we identify characteristic patterns of leisure behaviour and cultural preferences in Czech society linked to vertical social standing? Do these differences in cultural tastes and lifestyles involve distinct social distances that constitute class hierarchies? Can we find cultural omnivorousness among Czechs functioning as status markers? To answer these questions I will focus on cultural consumption in relation to the spheres of highbrow leisure activities/culture tastes, the tendency towards conspicuous consumption of luxury goods and services, the healthy lifestyle, and finally the interest in media topics.

1. Theory and Research on Cultural Differentiation and Stratification

1.1 Approaches to Culture and Social Stratification

In the Marxist perspective, "culture is not only a code or a mode of communication; it is also a form of domination, an ideology at the service of the dominant classes" (Lamont and Fournier 1992b: 3). Even in the Weberian view there are boundaries between different status groups that are cultural or symbolic in nature. Social stratification and its connection with lifestyle variation has been a focal interest of students of stratification since the very beginning of the post-war research agenda in this field (e.g. Kahl 1957).[1] This stance diverged somewhat from the original focus of Lloyd Warner's community studies on relational aspects. From a theoretical point of view most of these conventional approaches study only the effects of class membership on the diversity of lifestyles, primarily in the context of economic capacity, and do not take into account the role of culture as a source of the reproduction of social inequalities per se. How social classes are constituted through cultural practices was the cornerstone of the work of Pierre Bourdieu ((1979) 1984) and his successors, which shifted attention to the non-economic source of stratification, mainly the role of cultural capital in the process of social reproduction (DiMaggio 1982; de Graaf et al. 2000; Nagel and Ganzeboom 2002; Robson 2003). What these innovative scholars share is that "rather than seeing 'structure' as an influence on patterns of association, differential association and lifestyle are taken as constituting the stratification order. So stratification emerges from the routine daily activities of people's lives, in the patterned choices that we all make." (Bottero 2005: 164)

However, other scholars engaged in the question of cultural consumption and inequalities have brought forth outstanding theoretical standpoints. Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood ((1979) 1996) inquired into how goods and consumption rituals are used to mark social differences and operate as communicators. They proposed universal consumption classes determined by three sets of goods ranging from necessity to luxury: staples (e.g. food), technology (travel) and information (education, art). The higher up the social structure we move, the more it becomes necessary to consume a combination of these goods. Information sources about consumption goods are the most important, as they have the power to exclude. Peter Saunders ((1981) 1986) focused on patterns of consumption, holding that consumption had replaced production as the major differentiator in contemporary societies. According

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1   Differentiation according to lifestyles or types of cultural consumption has even been included in some stratification measures. The best-known example is Chapin's Social Status Scale based on living room furnishings/electronics, which was employed in American sociology in the mid-1930s. The items were intended to reflect the cultural acquisitions, the material possessions, and the socio-economic status of the family. It was assumed to represent the family's social position in the community (cf. Guttman 1942). Another example can be found in a multidimensional socio-economic status MDSS (Machonin 1970; Tuček et al. 2003), where a scale based on leisure activities was used in a pioneering way to represent one of five dimensions of status.

to Saunders, consumption classes (in his particular focus of attention 'housing classes' based on forms of tenancy) have replaced traditional employment classes. Even though their significance has been disputed, there are no doubts about the fact that consumption practices tend to strengthen and reproduce social hierarchies (Crompton 1996).

There has been more than a decade of so-called post-Bourdieuvian empirical analysis of the cultural field, studying the patterns of lifestyles and predictors of cultural capital, inspired by Bourdieu's *Distinction* ((1979) 1984). Studies on the stratification of cultural tastes have flourished since Peterson and Simkus came out with their influential Omnivore-Univore hypothesis in 1992. These analyses, a part of the post-structuralist approach, examine how distinctive consumption patterns and cultural practices express symbolic boundaries between collectivities (e.g. Bryson 1996), and therefore, we can refer to them as 'lifestyle as symbolic boundaries' (Holt 1997). Although the work of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu is regarded as pioneering in the area of empirical research on social class and cultural consumption, there are two other relatively parallel and prominent traditions in the analysis of art consumption and cultural tastes related to social stratification. In America, 'object signification studies' (ibid.) were developed to analyse the patterns of object meanings. The research was undertaken by Edward O. Laumann (Laumann, House 1970), Paul DiMaggio and Richard A. Peterson (Peterson and DiMaggio 1975; DiMaggio and Useem 1978; DiMaggio 1982, 1987). The latter authors' approach is also termed cultural-organisation analysis (DiMaggio 1979). Another related but distinct branch of sociological research on culture and stratification, which originated primarily in Europe, mainly in Dutch sociology, focused on the processes of the intergenerational transmission of cultural capital, conceptualised as cultural distinctions and activities (along with other forms of capital) as a general reproduction channel of social status[2] (e.g. de Graaf and de Graaf 1988; Ganzeboom 1990; de Graaf 1991; de Graaf et al. 2000; Nagel and Ganzeboom 2002; Robson 2003) together with DiMaggio (1982) in the USA.

Generally speaking the majority of these approaches offer a model of social distance and social interaction within a social space, which constitutes an alternative to both conventional stratification (position in the occupational structure) and 'post-modern' with blended cultural hierarchies frameworks. It is "founded on the idea that economic and social relations are embedded within each other … Differential association is therefore used to define distance within a social space, using close social networks and shared cultural tastes and lifestyles to identify social similarity" (Bottero 2005: 147). In addition, to the extent that social classes form cultural boundaries we can assess the post-modern proposition about the diminishing importance of the class concept in contemporary society (Katz-Gerro 2002).

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2   Since it is not the objective of this study to address the process of intergenerational reproduction of lifestyle, let me only just briefly mention that two main theories have been proposed in this area (cf. de Graaf et al. 2000; DiMaggio 1982). The *cultural reproduction theory* (Bourdieu) claims that preferences, attitudes and behaviours prevailing in the dominant class are rewarded by the school system and thus reproduce inequalities. The alternative *cultural mobility theory* (DiMaggio 1982) points out that cultural capital serves as a mobility path for children from lower social classes while it does not advantage children from higher classes.

1.2 Cultural Homology vs. Individualisation or Omnivorousness?

In general, the consensus is that lifestyle in the narrower sense of cultural taste and consumption is somehow influenced by social status in modern societies. Classes and class fractions possess characteristic cultural consumption patterns, which become a suitable instrument for class identification (DiMaggio and Useem 1978). However, the question is to what extent the relationship between social stratification and lifestyle exists, i.e. what role, compared to other influences, it plays in the construction of social boundaries and how the cultural practices of their reproduction contribute to the intergenerational transmission of inequality.

There are two main opposing theoretical perspectives on the conditionality of lifestyle among traditional groups, specifically social classes, in advanced post-industrial societies that can be identified in the current sociological literature (Tomlinson 2003). One perspective is associated with Bourdieu's view that different classes have available different levels and a combination of specific types of capital, and consequently they have embedded dissimilar lifestyles. In addition, lifestyle primarily influences cultural capital reciprocally. This argument can be referred to as *homology*. On the other hand, there is the post-modernist claim that differences between social classes in terms of consumption have become marginal - mass consumption has been disappearing as lifestyles are becoming more diversified into post-traditional forms of life. The social milieu and lifestyle associated with class culture has been waning in favour of individualisation and diversification (Beck (1986) 1992).[3] A post-modernist culture has emerged, rejecting the possibility of authoritative opinions and absolute standards of taste, and mixing aesthetics of distinct origin (Pakulski, Waters 1996). Citizens are witnessing the 'de-traditionalisation' of societal institutions, which is the outcome of a post-modern visualisation and fragmentation of meaning, the medialisation of culture, the development of instantaneous time, etc. (Urry 1994). Traditional distinctions and hierarchies have collapsed; what is popular and different is celebrated, and poly-culturalism is widely accepted (Featherstone 1991). Lifestyle and cultural consumption have become fragmented owing to the inflation of consumers' tastes and thus cannot simply be explained by social standing. Consequently, people in post-industrial countries no longer recognise or share any fixed cultural hierarchy. On that account the second argument might be termed *individualisation*.

Before the dispute between homology and individualization argument launched an empirical analysis of cultural consumption and distinctions, it was first formulated by Q. J. Munters (1977) for the relationship between social class and lifestyle (primarily as material consumption) as a 'levelling / equalisation' versus 'stratification / exclusivation' hypothesis. In order to determine which process has prevailed in the economically expanding post-war society he analysed the change in consumer behaviour between 1967 and 1972 in the Netherlands. Munters concluded that, although he found some support for the levelling hypothesis, mainly due to a general rise in prosperity in that period, status-feelings are extremely persistent. Conspicuous use of status symbols to denote status is more likely to "lead to a subtler, more reserved and camouflaged use of such symbols than to their disappearance" (ibid: 172).

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3   Although Ulrich Beck's argument of class and lifestyle dissolution is often quoted as generally valid for all western societies, he is explicitly arguing that it does not automatically hold well for all western Europe industrial states (namely Great Britain).

The so-called *omnivorousness thesis* (Peterson and Simkus 1992) represents an intermediate perspective between the notion of the persistence of the traditional cultural hierarchy involving social status and the radical post-modernist position, which denies the existence of any hierarchy or socio-economic determination of taste (Warde et al. 2000). Analysing the development of musical genre selection in the United States between 1982 and 1992, Peterson and Kern (1996) revealed a qualitative shift in the basis for marking elite status. The trend is that snobbish exclusion has been replaced by omnivorous appropriation. They conclude that people with high status (highbrows) have become more omnivorous, i.e. consume a broader genre spectrum than others. This shift was caused mainly by structural generational changes and by the fragmentation of standards in the art world and oversupply in the cultural market.

The view of loose boundaries (cultural declassification) in American culture proposed by Paul DiMaggio (1987) is further supported by the work of Michèle Lamont (1992), who conducted qualitative comparative research on the American and French upper-middle class. She asserts that differentiation in the area of culture is a relatively weak source of status competition for Americans compared to French middle-class incumbents. Cultural boundaries are thus less obvious and less rigorous than Bourdieu has suggested in the homology model. Since it is a relatively new idea, we will review the omnivorousness thesis in detail in the next section.

1.3 The Omnivore-Univore Thesis

Standing face to face with certain loose relations, the question was obvious - what had happened to the traditional stratification and culture distinction of homology in the past fifty years? Richard Peterson posed the theory that the system of cosmopolitan omnivorousness displaced distinct highbrow culture as a status marker (Peterson 1997). Regarding cultural tastes and consumption in connection with social stratification, we observe a division between omnivores and univores rather than between the elites and the masses (Chan and Goldthorpe 2005). Peterson's omnivore-univore thesis (Peterson and Simkus 1992; Peterson and Kern 1996) can best be illustrated in a metaphor of two mutually upturned triangles (see Figure 1). In the traditional consistency model (the higher the social status the more highbrow cultural tastes and consumption is) there is a pyramid of status and another pyramid, or, say, a ladder, of highbrow-lowbrow culture, which is orientated in the same direction. In the omnivore model the first triangle representing status remains, but the cultural one is upside-down and widens towards the top. This depicts the variety and also the quantity of cultural consumption or preferences of the highest status groups. Status is gained by knowing about and participating in all art forms (or at least as many as possible). Those at the bottom of the stratification pyramid have retained their lowbrow tastes (univores), whereas the privileged classes have kept their taste-exclusive highbrow and on top of that have embraced popular-culture consumption and taste distinctions (omnivores). Omnivores are people who consume large quantities of cultural articles and their preferences transcend conventional taste boundaries. As Bonnie Erickson has noted, from a theoretical point of view, 'cultural variety' has replaced 'Bourdieu's distinction' (Erickson 1996).

Figure 1. Social status and culture: homology vs. omnivorousness

Homology of class and culture   Cultural omnivorousness

Social status (class) ——————————
Cultural consumption and taste – – – – – – – – – –
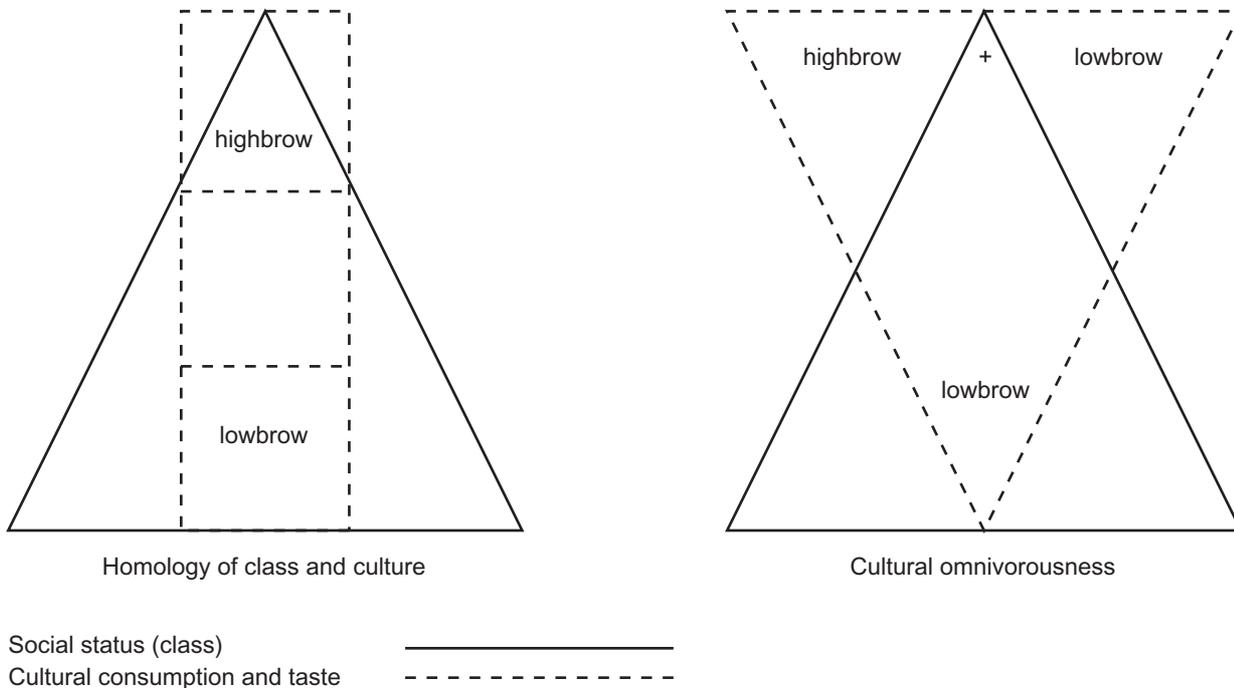
Source: author.

The idea of Omnivore-Univore thesis was developed in a study that focused on the "boundary-marking function of musical taste" (Peterson and Simkus 1992). Peterson's original musical-taste omnivore has been conceptually elaborated further. For example, Michael Emmison (2003) drafted three partial omnivore types: the highbrow omnivore (a dominance of highbrow preferences with some lowbrow ones) and the lowbrow omnivore (lowbrow preferences dominate with some highbrow). An ideal type of omnivore, representing Peterson's original concept, would be someone whose tastes vary across all genres. More sophisticated types combining art leisure activities and age cohorts (among them omnivore incidental art participants and omnivore art participants) were revealed in an analysis of cultural participation in Flanders (Stichele and Laermans 2006).

Peterson and Kern (1996) suggested five mutually interconnected factors contributing to a shift in taste from elite snobbishness to omnivorousness in the past few decades. Structural changes, such as broader education and art presentation in the media, have opened elite aesthetic styles up to the masses, whereas geographic and social mobility have resulted in the commingling of people with different lifestyles and tastes. Value change with regard to gender, ethnic, religious and racial differences has rationalized the shift as part of a historical trend towards greater tolerance. Art-world changes have contributed to the evolution of the omnivore by the abolition of the elitist aesthetic, which has been triggered

by market relations in art consumption.[4] Generational politics - after the boom of rock-and-roll in the 1950s fewer high-status Americans preferred the elite arts than previous generations. Finally, status-group politics, which stands for the fact that there has been a major shift from one strategy of defining popular culture, as vulgar and something to be repressed or eschewed, towards another strategy, aimed at refining and incorporating elements of popular culture into the dominant status-group culture.

Several studies in countries other than the United States (Australia, the Netherlands, Israel, Spain, the United Kingdom (for a list see Savage et al. 2005)) have tested omnivorousness and its social selectivity. Most of them have found it plausible (Warde et al. 1999, 2000; van Eijck 2001; Chan and Goldthorpe 2004, 2005, 2006). Nevertheless, some researchers have more or less disputed it. Bethany Bryson (1996) shows that high-status cultural exclusiveness still exists in American society, but it is cultural tolerance that creates 'multicultural capital' (familiarity with a wide range of cultural styles), which is distributed according to class-based exclusion. Mark Tomlinson concludes that the residual occupational class effect remains very powerful with respect to consumption and lifestyle patterns in Great Britain so that "traditional social groupings still remain associated with some aspects of social behavior" (Tomlinson 2003: 109-110). When the omnivore-univore thesis was redefined and tested on data from British and Swiss household panel surveys, the hypothesis that the stratification measure of people (social status) with different numbers of reported leisure and consumption activities would exceed their predicted status measure on the basis of their leisure/consumption profile was not supported (Lambert, Bergman and Prandy 2005).

1.4 The Conceptualisation and Measurement of Lifestyle and Cultural Taste

The notion of *lifestyle* varies to a large extent. For Bourdieu, lifestyle is a product of derived habituses (classificatory schemes and a shared system of dispositions). Different lifestyles are patterned by the structure of the established space of lifestyles, i.e. "different systems of properties in which different systems of dispositions express themselves" (Bourdieu (1979) 1984: 260). Fundamental to his concept are tastes, i.e. manifested preferences, which represent a "practical affirmation of inevitable difference" (ibid: 56). Rudolf Richter (2002), in reference to the work of S. Hradil (1987), distinguishes between *milieus* as the cultural background of everyday behaviour, i.e. the way people perceive everyday society, react to it and use it in line with common values and attitudes, and *lifestyles*, which are the patterns of typical everyday behaviour that guide distinctions in everyday life. Also, there is conventional marketing research on personality/values, where lifestyles are conceptualised as shared consumption patterns spanning a variety of consumer categories (Holt 1997). In this study I understand lifestyle as distinctive cultural tastes and consumer behaviour that can function as an expression of symbolic boundaries. This is close to, in fact it is a subset of, the renewed definition of cultural capital, specifically in its embodied form with the emphasis on its function in cultural and social exclusion (Lamont and Lareau 1988).[5]

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4   In view of the fact that the omnivore-univore thesis was developed in the sphere of music, technological changes that facilitated easier (and cheaper) distribution of music have certainly played a role. In my view, the shift from tape to cassette tape in the 1970s, and then to CDs in the 1980s and finally to MP3s in the late 1990s, along with internet accessibility and self-manufacturability, has been the main thrust towards omnivorousness in music consumption.
5   Drawing on Bourdieu's rather vague concept, the authors define cultural capital as „institutionalised, i.e. widely shared, high status cultural signals (attitudes, preferences, formal knowledge, behaviours, goods and credentials) used for social and cultural exclusion" (Lamont and Lareau 1988: 156).

The operationalisation of cultural capital can be wider than the predominantly used aesthetic measures (participation/preferences in high-culture art, etc.),[6] which can be viewed as proxies for unmeasured forms of cultural capital, such as self-presentation or linguistic skills. From a theoretical point of view there should be a distinction between the cultural resources that help people get ahead and the well-institutionalised cultural capital of more general utility (DiMaggio 2001).

There are many different ways of operationalising cultural tastes and lifestyle. With regard to acquiring a lifestyle, which demands a human investment, two main categories of variables can be distinguished (Svalastoga 1965). There are material lifestyle components, which can be purchased with money alone (residence, transportation, clothing etc.), and social skills or symbol manipulation (proper language, manners, etc.). In the case of the latter, the human cost is only partially replaceable by an economic investment; though sometimes it can only be acquired during childhood. Obtaining such lifestyle and cultural practices greatly depends on social interaction.

According to Michael Sobel (1981 in Ganzeboom 1990), two general criteria should be considered when we select indicators of lifestyle. Lifestyle elements ought to symbolise and express a certain mode of living, specifically, they should be connected to the objective social position and ought to be publicly manifested, i.e. recognisable to the outside world. This is in fact very close to the notion of lifestyle as symbolic boundaries (Holt 1997). Data on consumption behaviour and preferences represent, in Sobel's view, a prominent instance of this concept, since explicitly conspicuous consumption is the most visible behavioural choice that expresses social position.

Usually scholars are limited by available data, and it is unusual to have all possible variables of lifestyle dimensions together in one analysis (a complex matrix of dimensions and indicators of lifestyle are proposed in Table A.1 in the appendix, cf. Bourdieu ((1979) 1984: Chapter 3). Various attempts have been made to measure cultural capital and lifestyle in connection with stratification. Laumann and House (1970) investigated patterns of décor evident in people's living rooms as expressions of differences in personal value orientations (modern vs. traditional principles) and status location. Bourdieu ((1979) 1984), in his 1960s survey of French class practices and choices, used a wide array of questions to measure cultural refinement and taste, i.e. likes and partly also dislikes for highbrow/lowbrow art, attitudes to photography, furniture, clothing, cooking, favourite singers and knowledge of musical works.[7]

In line with his statement "nothing more clearly affirms one's 'class', nothing more infallibly classifies, than tastes in music." (ibid: 18), a preference for certain music forms is broadly employed as an indicator of cultural taste. Music preferences - how often people listen to (combinations of) musical styles

6   P. Bourdieu studied aesthetic distancing *inter alia* as the perception of various themes in photography (Bourdieu 1984: Chapter 1). For example Markku Kivinen examined not only positive or negative attitudes on cultural matters but also how much respondents internalised them, i.e. he asked them whether they recognise well-known figures in a given cultural field and whether they recognise certain expensive brand names.
7   There is a well-accepted critique of his conceptual approach by M. Lamont. She points out that Bourdieu highlighted the meaning of refinement and cultural-status signals while neglecting the importance of moral boundaries. The items he used for comparison of class cultures reflect only the culture of intellectuals. "Such items might operate as bases for distinction in the Parisian intellectual milieu, they are unlikely to be as salient to the French as whole" (Lamont 1992: 187).

(Van Eijck 2001), musical-genre likes (Peterson and Simkus 1992; Peterson and Kern 1996) and dislikes (Bryson 1996) are measured along with music consumption, indicated by the frequency of attendance at musical events and listening to music through various media (Chan, Goldthorpe 2004).

Though musical tastes occupy a prominent position, other spheres of cultural consumption have also been studied. In British sociology, a branch of research on dining-out habits (e.g. type of restaurant preferences) was recently launched (Warde et al. 1999; Warde and Martens 2000). Bonnie Erickson (1996) asked her respondents from the private security industry in Toronto about their knowledge in the area of four different cultural genres (books, restaurants, art and sports). Some recent studies have employed reading genres (e.g. Chan and Goldthorpe 2006) in the analysis of cultural consumption and other preferences thus far neglected. To better understand post-Soviet developments, Jane Zavisca analysed ten literature genres in a representative survey on consumption and in qualitative interviews on reading habits and tastes in a city in provincial Russia (Zavisca 2005).

Another common indicator of lifestyle is leisure activities. Here we can speak more of behavioural data. Highbrow consumption indicators, mostly without any corresponding counterpart in lowbrow activities, are used the most often (e.g. de Graaf 1991; Katz-Gerro 2002; Lizardo 2006). Focusing particularly on participation in sports and some popular-culture consumption, Alan Warde et al. (2000) first computes a simple omnivorousness score of Britons (the sum of positive answers to the questions about thirty-two sports and leisure activities), and later they derive from these activities eleven factors, two of which represent highbrow culture and traditionally popular or lowbrow taste. In another analysis of the same data (British Health and Lifestyle Survey), Tomlinson (2003) uses variables describing healthy versus unhealthy lifestyles as well as health consciousness (eating fruit, smoking, partaking in sports, avoiding alcohol). He distinguished four quadrants of health-related lifestyle: unhealthy, active, healthy and sober. The most complex attempt to conceptualise lifestyle is found in an analysis of fourteen lifestyle indices spanning a wide range of cultural consumption behaviour and norms, post-materialistic values, political preferences, economic spending and age-related lifestyle in the study of the Dutch town of Utrecht (de Graaf and de Graaf 1988; Ganzeboom 1990).

The lifestyle of Czechs at the end of the 1990s, indicated by the frequency of fourteen leisure activities (similar items were surveyed in the mid 1980s (cf. Gabal 1990)), can be divided into three factors representing highbrow culture, entertainment - relaxation and family (Duffková and Tuček 2003). The first one is highly associated with class (EGP6), whereas the others are not coherently embodied in any social status.

In my subsequent analysis I follow the suggestion for the further separation of lifestyles and cultural activities (Warde et al. 2000). The authors advocate differentiating between sports participation, spectatorship at public sporting and leisure events, cultural attendance, privatised leisure activities, and quasi-domestic activities (e.g. gardening). Bourdieu ((1979) 1984) distinguished three main structures of consumption within the dominant class: food, culture and presentation (clothing, beauty care, etc.). Inspired by his concept of the space of lifestyles (ibid: Chapter 3), I propose a wide conceptual scheme for investigating different fields of lifestyle and cultural consumption: leisure activities (active/passive), eating habits, cultural attendance and taste, interests in media topics and ostentatious consumption, fashion and personal care (see Table A.1 in the Appendix). Except for the 'social' dimension of leisure activities and to some extent lowbrow cultural participation, these various indicators of lifestyle are available in the MML TGI survey data set analysed below.

This study addresses not only the conventional operationalisation of cultural capital as highbrow culture activities and tastes but also material utilisation with symbolic meaning, i.e. conspicuous consumption. Here, clothing is attributed a substantial function as it allows for "examining culture as it is enacted by individuals in their negotiation of daily life. It allows us the observation of material culture as an active, daily means of communication" (McCracken 1988: 61). The third domain deals not only with healthy eating habits (choice of foods) but also with the cultivation of a person's physical condition, as the homology thesis posits that the "body is the most indisputable materialization of class taste" (Bourdieu (1979) 1984: 190).

At this point, I have to point out to the reader that this study is not a strictly typical lifestyle study, with the focus of attention on the segmentation of lifestyle per se, i.e. cultural and material consumption, preferences, and values patterns (cf. e.g. TNS AISA 2005). Instead, I focus on how lifestyles are structured by status differences primarily by social class. In general terms I am searching for a hierarchically ordered, embodied cultural-capital function in stratification, and not for a description of lifestyle typology in the Czech Republic today (cf. note 12).

1.5 Strategies of Quantitative Analysis of Lifestyles and Stratification

There are mainly two strategies for analysing cultural-consumption tastes and lifestyles as measured in a quantitative survey in connection with social status. Essentially they differ in terms of what the dependent variables represent. The first strategy uses a constructed numeric variable, usually a comprehensive index of cultural practices or preferences, for example, the amount or variety of highbrow culture. In the second strategy, a similar approach is used, but classification methods (mostly Latent class analysis) are applied to identify types of (the probability of belonging to) consumption for highbrows, lowbrows, omnivores, etc. Authors advocating the first policy usually utilise linear regression models or analysis of variance, while those adopting the second one employ mostly logistic regression to explain the conditionality of lifestyle typology.[8]

Nevertheless, there is a third way of analysing the social space of lifestyle, pioneered by P. Bourdieu ((1979) 1984) and French statisticians (particularly J. P. Benzécri) by means of the non-testing method of correspondence analysis. Bourdieu points out "it is a technique which thinks in terms of relation", which corresponds with his concept of the field (Bourdieu, Wacquant 1992: 96). The use of this method is not widespread, yet some elaborated exceptions have recently appeared, mapping the social space of the city of Stavanger in Norway (Rosenlund 2001) and Aalborg in Denmark (Prieur and Rosenlund 2005), and in Spain (Sintas and Álvarez 2002, 2004), Germany (Vester 2005) and the United Kingdom (Savage et al. 2005). However, Bourdieu's original application of the technique can be regarded as a kind of exploratory mapping of units and variables, mostly based on bivariate relations between lifestyle and social background indicators (Ganzeboom 1990). In particular, Bourdieu's account neglects household and gender relations (Savage et al. 1995: Chapter 6). Harry Ganzeboom attempts a unique causal modelling solution using a multiple mimic (multiple inputs, multiple causes) model (Ganzeboom 1990).

8   A reverse strategy, where a level of continuous status is measured for different types of leisure and consumption clusters, has appeared only recently (Lambert, Bergman and Prandy 2005).

In the analyses below I follow the first aforesaid strategy with a numerical dependent variable in a simple analysis of variance (one-way anova) and linear regression models to avoid simple one-dimensional associations. Finally, correspondence analysis is used to illustrate the associations of all the examined domains together with social class in a social space. Nevertheless, this analysis, inspired by a number of the above-mentioned studies, can be described as an 'occupationally driven approach' to the subject of cultural consumption (Longhurst and Savage 1996). Analyses of the interconnections between class and culture have assumed only a correlative line, adopted from Bourdieu. The authors warn of its serious shortcomings because it focuses only on variation in consumption practices, but it does not devote attention to the processes that bind people together. Hence they propose focusing on everyday life, socialisation, and especially on the role of social networks.

An example of such an approach can be found in Ganzeboom's above-mentioned causal model with respondent network relations (Ganzeboom 1990) and more elaborately in Erickson's (1996) research on social networks and class relations in the workplaces of small private security firms in Toronto. Examples of such a promising approach also include the analysis of leisure activities, associational participation and social capital from the longitudinal data of the British Household Panel Survey (Warde and Tampubolon 2002) and the case study of the role of informal recreational activities in the social capital formation of members of civic organisations by means of SNA analysis (Warde, Tampubolon and Savage 2005).

In Longhurst and Savage's view, studies on consumption should aim at the dynamics and complexities of everyday life. It is important to recognise that "consumption processes are driven by performative processes directed at impressing others" (Longhurst and Savage 1996: 296). Nevertheless, this task is somewhat difficult to solve in my analysis because the data from the MML TGI survey do not provide much information on that topic (except, perhaps, for the cultivation of body/image and ostentatious consumption dimensions), and there is no information on social network participation. I question an approach in which social class membership is used to measure social capital (Warde et al. 2000), as what we need is to distinguish the effect of class, i.e. the person's occupation itself, from the social networks in which a person is involved (including social contacts outside work).

2. Data and Measures

In this analysis I am using the data set on lifestyles, culture and consumption from the MML 2004 survey - Market & Media & Lifestyle TGI (MEDIAN; see also Tuček, Friedlanderová and MEDIAN 2000).[9] The data set provides an unusual source of consumer preferences, leisure activities and cultural tastes. The MML TGI survey also pools youth aged 12 years and over. Because my purpose is to study the variance of embodied cultural capital, I limited the analyses only to the adult population. There are 14 778 respondents aged 18 to 79 years in the data file. The survey is based on a quota sample (gender, age, education, residential community size, and region), which represents adult Czech population. Statistical significance can not be the main criterion for assessment of relationships among particular variables in the subsequent analysis because of the type of sampling and size of the sample.

In the subsequent analyses I deal with three dimensions of lifestyle comprising highbrow cultural tastes and activities, luxury consumption, and healthy lifestyle. Finally, I focus on cultural omnivorousness in the area of an interest in media topics. The composition and construction of comprehensive indices relating to these domains is described in detail in the relevant section. In the multivariate analyses I use various standard measures of socio-demographic characteristics as explanatory variables (see Table A.2 in the appendix). They need not be further described; however, the key concept of social class will be elaborated briefly.

2.1 Social Class as the Classification of Household Status

I am using a non-academic approach to social class, which was developed in the advertising industry and is known as the standard ABCDE ESOMAR Social Grades.[10] It reflects a different paradigm than social stratification, reflecting the post-modern idea that social class based on occupation is no longer of central relevance and that we need to classify people on the basis of consumption patterns or lifestyles (Kirby 1999). ABCDE Social Grades work on the assumption that the status of the household head affects the social status of the whole household (Mediaresearch 2002). Thus the respondent's position is classified on the basis of the head of the household's position (employment status, number of subordinates/employees, occupational class EGP, education); pensioners are assigned a class below that of their last

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9   I am deeply indebted to MEDIAN, s.r.o. for kindly providing the MML data set and to Věra Tůmová for the questionnaire set.
10   Hereafter I refer to these as Social Class ABCDE. A similar approach to class and the data from the TGI survey is used in an analysis of middle-class consumption patterns in Great Britain (Savage et al. 1995: Chapter 6).

job. At first glance the ABCDE classes are somewhat similar to Goldthorpe's class scheme (EGP5) applied to a household instead of to a respondent as an individual. There is a distinct difference in the lowest class (E), which besides unskilled workers also includes people who are not employed (unemployed, pensioners, students, etc.). The *upper class - A* consists of the households with the highest status, mostly high-ranking professionals and employers (top managers, general directors, high officials, lawyers, physicians); in the *upper middle class - B* there are lower-ranking professionals (managers, officials, technicians) and the *middle class - C* is a mixture of white-collar employees, technicians, the self-employed and tradesmen. The *lower middle class - D* is comprised of household heads who are skilled manual workers, technicians and lower white-collar workers. The *lower class - E* consists of unskilled manual workers and those not employed (mainly pensioners). When interpreting the results one must consider the fact that people are classified on the basis of their household status. A respondent with an individual lower status may even belong to a higher class. For example one third of respondents assigned to class A are outside the labour market (in comparison with 59% in class E).

Stichele and Laermans (2006) found that socio-professional status does not have an effect when combined with education, and therefore they omitted it as an explanatory category from their analysis. In my approach I attempt to separate the impact of institutionalised cultural capital operationalised as education from the direct effect of social class on various forms of embodied cultural capital (tastes and lifestyle). There are two reasons that lead me to do so. First, we know that the Czech social structure is relatively typical of status inconsistency (Tuček et al. 2003), and second, the concept of Social Class ABCDE represents more of a collective identity concept, with an individual's class position assigned on the basis of household status position. In my explanatory model education constitutes an individual social-status attribute, whereas Social Class ABCDE represents a collective one.[11] In this way Social Class ABCDE is close to what Warde et al. (2000) calls social capital reflecting the effect of influential others on the individual.

2.2 Lifestyle Indicators: Highbrow Culture, Luxury Consumption and Healthy Lifestyle

Considering that my preliminary analysis of many of variables related to all the dimensions in Table A.1 revealed a strong gender conditionality in some lifestyles,[12] for the analysis of the homology of lifestyles with social class I decided to choose only items that would not be sensitive to whether they are typical for men or women but would be typical of some life course. In the area of cultural consumption, in contrast to Duffková and Tuček (2003), I make use of questions on tastes and preferences for behaviour rather than questions on cultural participation, i.e. the frequency of behaviour per se. To effectively

11   The correlation between the Social Class ABCDE and the respondent's education is RC = -0,43, which is approximately the same as Goldthorpe's 7-class EGP scheme representing only the respondent's individual status position (my own computation based on data from the 1999 survey '10 Years of Transformation' (cf. Tuček et al. 2003).
12   The explanatory factor analysis of eighty representative items available in the MML TGI data, which comprise all the dimensions proposed in my lifestyle conceptualisation (Table A.1), provided a rotated solution of factors (the number was reduced to four) representing different lifestyles and consumption patterns that are considerably gender-conditioned: mainly women's *fashion and luxury*, gender universal *highbrow culture, women's care for appearance* and *men's hedonism* (36% total variance explained).

assess my research question regarding stratification and selected domains of lifestyle representing publicly manifest lifestyle modes, I chose only three dimensions from Table A.1: participation in and taste for highbrow culture, luxury (ostentatious) consumption,[13] and healthy lifestyle (dietary habits and personal care). All of them are based on questions asked on a four-point agreement scale; the first dimension is covered by fourteen items, the others by eight and seven, respectively. A list of these items and the descriptive statistics can be found in the section titled Question Wording of the MML TGI CR, and in Table A.3 in the Appendix. My concept, i.e. the selection of variables, may suffer in covering cultural participation and tastes for the same reason that Bourdieu's approach was criticised for being constructed only out of highbrow items and neglecting distastes (Lamont 1992; Bryson 1996). This is due to the limitations of the MML TGI data set: although it spans consumption widely, there are only a few items covering middle- or even lowbrow leisure activities.

To implement my conceptual scheme of lifestyles comprehensively and summarise the number of items, I constructed the indices as the arithmetical mean for each respondent[14] covering the three areas of lifestyle. All of them range from 1 to 4 and feature plausible reliability (the Cronbach's alpha can be found in Table A.3). These three dimensions comprise a large social space of lifestyles; they are, of course, interdependent to some extent, although the somewhat moderate correlations indicate that each dimension is unique.[15]

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13 Taking into account the formulation of the questions that were asked (on an agreement scale), in the case of luxury consumption we should speak of Bourdieu's 'tastes of luxury' expressed in preferences for 'brand names' rather than Veblen's conspicuous consumption intrinsically. Thorstein Veblen mentions that a relatively larger portion of income spent on "valuable goods is a means of reputability to the gentleman of leisure" (Veblen 1915: 75).
14 The cases where at least one missing value in a domain occurred were excluded.
15 The correlations between the indices range from 0,34 to 0,38 (hereafter all are significant at the 0,01 level). The explanatory factor analysis of all thirty items revealed the same three dimensions.

3. Findings

We begin with the description indicating the association between the three domains of lifestyle and social class. As Figure A.4 in the Appendix shows, all indices vary to a certain degree alongside class. Classes A, B and C are very similar. There is a notional boundary between them and the lower classes D and E. Social class shows the strongest connection with luxury consumption and highbrow culture (R = -0,23 and RC = -0,19), but the connection is rather weak in the case of healthy lifestyle (RC = -0,11).[16] A more detailed picture of social class profiles for each item comprising the indices is provided in Figures A.1 - A.3. We can clearly see that the most stratified is the Luxury consumption area followed by Highbrow culture, whereas the Healthy lifestyle domain is blurred. In all three spheres, a virtual border-line is expressed by the mean value between classes A, B, C on the one hand and D, E on the other. In fact, it follows the dividing line between non-manual and manual labour. The question of to what extent this is directly affected by class, or whether social class influences lifestyles indirectly, will be the subject of the analyses below.

3.1 Objectives of the multivariate analysis

In order to assess the validity of the theories in question, I propose two patterns. The first represents the traditional homology of class-connected lifestyle, whereas the second is based on post-modern theory, mostly consisting of non-vertical status (gender, age) and non-class status characteristics (education, income). This constitutes my general hypothesis, assuming that social classes in the Czech Republic are associated with distinct lifestyles. If the status and culture alignment model is applicable, we should be able to explain variance in three domains of lifestyle: highbrow-culture leisure activities/preferences, luxury consumption and healthy lifestyle, mainly by sole class position. Conversely, if the individualisation explanation of post-modern theory is more convincing, we should be able to predict the indices by non-vertical status characteristics alone (gender, age, marital status etc.) and with no effect of class or other socio-economic status characteristics (education, income). In fact the hypothesis is very general in nature because it does not explicitly specify to what extent class should affect lifestyle. It can merely illustrate the relationship between social class and lifestyle in different domains while controlling for other influences.

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16   The correlation with education representing an individual's status position is RC = 0,20 for highbrow culture and RC = 0,22 for luxury consumption, whereas RC = 0,09 for healthy lifestyle indicates only a weak association.

To study the above-mentioned propositions regarding the overall interdependence of lifestyles, cultural preferences, and social class, I use three OLS regression analyses with two models, i.e. subsequently added sets of explanatory variables. Their distribution is presented in Table A.2. The first model implies social class alone to be capable of predicting lifestyle conditionality. In the second one, various socio-demographic characteristics of horizontal (age, gender, place of residence) and vertical (education, household income) standing are applied. As suggested by Chan and Goldthorpe (2005), in order to avoid misinterpreting age effects as reflecting the life-cycle stage rather than generation, I included family composition variables (child presence in a household and marital status) in the model.

3.2 Highbrow Culture

Model 1 (the first column in Table A.4) explores the effect of belonging to only social class A, B, C, or D as opposed to the lower class E, comprised of households of unskilled manual workers and those outside the labour market. We can see the hierarchical association between social classes and highbrow culture, which explains 3.7% of the variance. A minimum difference between classes A and B is revealed by the analysis of variance (in Figure A.4). With the second model, involving socio-demographic variables in addition to the classes, we can explain more than three times more of the variance (12.1%) than with the base class model. This indicates that the social class of a household is not the only predictor. Highbrow culture can be best predicted by a respondent's university or secondary education, gender, and the respondent's place of residence being the capital, Prague. Also, while controlling for other variables, living in big cities appears to encourage highbrow lifestyle. The latter finding is of no minor significance because only four of fourteen items can be considered dependent on cultural accessibility in an urban environment (a liking for the theatre, seeking out movies by respected directors and movie premiers, visits to cultural events), as the others are possible at home (e.g. reading or TV programme choices). Also, corresponding cultural facilities are spread almost all over the country. However, as the rationale of the life cycle implies, having a child or being married poses an obstacle to highbrow cultural consumption.

3.3 Luxury Consumption

As suggested already by the simple association profile between eight items under the index of luxury consumption and social classes in Figure A.2, the biggest interclass variance is in the area of luxury consumption. The first multivariate model with only social classes (in the second column in Table A.4) then explains almost twice as much variation (6.4%) as highbrow culture. We can see that ostentatious consumption is associated most with the middle class C, consisting of households of white-collar workers, technicians, the self-employed and tradespeople. In the second-level model the net effect of social class decreases but does not vanish. Compared to the model with only social classes, about three times more variance has been explained (19%). Again a respondent's education plays a distinct role, although a university degree is not the strongest predictor. However, it is not any of the stratification indicators but age that has the strongest effect, as the younger a person is, the more likely it is that he/she prefers luxury consumption. All other influences controlled for, each additional 10 years of age reduces the 4-point scale of luxury consumption by 2.5% (coef. B = -0.01). This finding is actually in accordance with the prevailing generational cleavage that was particularly pronounced in the post-communist transformation. The young generation (post-revolution) is distinguished by material consumption whereas the older

generation, and to some extent also the middle-aged generation, can be characterised by less willingness to change their ingrained habits and lifestyle (Duffková and Tuček 2003). To some extent we find the predictable role of gender, where being a woman strengthens the demand for luxury consumption preferences. Unlike highbrow culture, luxury is not contingent on living in the capital city. Out of all three domains studied, the strongest effect of economic capital, represented by household income, is witnessed here.

3.4 Healthy Lifestyle

The third domain, healthy lifestyle, involving healthy eating habits and personal care, is the one least clarified by social structure. This is owing to the Czech market in organic products, which is still relatively small, though has recently begun to expand rapidly. Nowadays, only 3% of the adult population prefers to buy organic foodstuffs regularly (Bio Obchod 2006). As suggested in the items profile, no hierarchical difference between classes can be found in this domain (see Figure A.3). If we use just social class, the explained variance of the index amounts to only 0.7%. Nevertheless, the trend is still the same; the higher the class a household belongs to, the healthier the lifestyle of the respondent. But in the second-level model, which employs other variables (the third column in Table A.4), we can explain more than ten times more variance (0.08%), which is still very poor, than we can by just using social class. The role of social class is still present but the differences between classes are blurred. This is a result of the fact that class is interconnected with other individual and structural positions. Education again plays a role, although, as with luxury consumption, the secondary education has a stronger effect than a university degree. The effect of age is stronger than any class effect, but it is markedly less influential than in the case of luxury consumption.[17] One would expect younger people to prefer healthier leisure activities since the young generation is considered the bearer of modernisation trends; they are moving towards vitality and openness (cf. TNS AISA 2005).[18] The explanation could be that many statements asked specifically about taking care of one's health (e.g. protecting one's health, doing something for one's health; see the section in the appendix titled Question Wording), which is normal for older people, rather than asking about the consumption of organic foodstuffs. The most influential factors are gender and being a resident of Prague. Not surprisingly the strongest advocates of a healthy lifestyle and personal care are women. People with a healthy lifestyle are more likely to be found in Prague than in other cities. Even with Prague included in the cities variable (more than 100 000 inhabitants), the effect is negative.

3.5 Social Space of Lifestyles - an Overall Assessment of Social Class Effects

Generally, for all three domains the factors that most influence the lifestyles of Czechs are gender, education (university and secondary), being a resident of Prague and, at least in the case of luxury

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17   A simple scatterplot of age by the index of healthy lifestyle (not presented here) implies that there is neither a linear nor a quadratic association.
18   This fully corresponds with findings in a survey of organic foodstuff consumers carried out for the Ministry of Agriculture in 2006. The effect of age is nonlinear; those who most consume organic products is the cohort aged 25 to 44, particularly women, people with a university degree, people with higher incomes, and people who live in Prague, whereas younger and older people are less common customers (Bio Obchod 2006).

consumption, age. However, as regards my general hypothesis, the effect of a household's social class is considerable at least in two of the spheres studied. Moreover, in the first-level models of all three indices, the social class effect is clearly hierarchical. As far as sole class effect we could consider the homology theory being valid. But as we move to the second-level models, including also the respondent's education as institutionalised cultural capital and household income as economic capital, which explains about three times more of the variance, the relationship with class becomes partly blurred. Class still affects all three domains of lifestyle to some extent even when education together with horizontal status characteristics are controlled, but compared to gender influence it is rather weak. In the case of a healthy lifestyle the effect of gender is somehow the opposite of what one would expect in the first two domains. Being a male has a predictably negative effect on preferring a healthy way of life, while it prevents highbrow culture preferences and participation as well as luxury consumption. Here I must remind the reader that only those items that I considered not to be markedly gendered were selected for the construction of indices.

To restate the core of my findings, in Czech society at the start of the millennium there is a clear hierarchical association between social class based specifically on household status and education representing the purely individual dimension of status on the one hand and lifestyle as cultural tastes and consumption on the other. The correspondence analysis (Figure A.8) illustrates a comprehensive picture of the space of lifestyle reflecting the social distances of the classes in all the domains, including omnivorousness in media topics analysed hereafter.[19] The boundary between the classes A, B, C, distinguished by highbrow culture and luxury consumption, and the lower classes D, E, is evident.

We must be aware of the fact that the social space is comprised of single pole articles (highbrow, tastes for luxury, a healthy way of life), the limits of which anticipate the plasticity of social reality. This results in the fact that the lower classes D and E are associated with healthy lifestyle items only because there are no items that represent a culture of need, which we could expect to be associated with the lower classes (see note 28). Another explanation could be that the occupants of class E, two-fifths of whom are retired, are significantly older - the majority of the respondents over the age of 60 fall into this lower class. Older people naturally take care of their health.

Even using a variety of items, consistently elaborated with a high reliability of the scales, the total explained variance in all three domains is substantially lower than in other studies using similar indicators of lifestyle and cultural consumption. For example an analogous regression model of highbrow cultural consumption by Katz-Gerro (2002) refers to about one-third of the explained variation for the US, Israel and West Germany and one-quarter for Italy and Sweden. A previous regression model of highbrow-culture leisure activities in the Czech Republic, although employing also upward intragenerational mobility and a different measurement of status, explains 43% of the variance for the year 1999 and 35% for 1984 (Duffková and Tuček 2003). Additionally, in a parallel model using the same data from the mid-1980s, in the case of a culturally oriented lifestyle 45% of the variance was explained and for 'pop culture' even more (53%) (Gabal 1990). The significantly lower embeddedness of lifestyle in MML TGI 2004 data might be due to the fact that most items in the indices applied represent preferences rather than

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19   The correspondence analysis is based on profiles of the items by the ABCDE classes shown in the multiple response Table A.7. The analysis is strictly descriptive and for illustrative purposes only (Clausen 1998). The two-dimensional solution explains 7.5% of the total inertia; the canonical normalisation method was used.

real behaviour, and consequently they do not discriminate class differences as much. Another explanation might come from the fact that I am employing the Socio-economic Classification ABCDE as a measure of class, which emphasises the collective identity of a respondent's standing derived from the (head of) household status, and therefore the effect of an individual's occupational position was left out.[20] Nevertheless, the fact of lower explained variance in the multivariate models should not be ignored, since it somewhat casts doubt on the influence of lifestyle on social class formation in the Czech Republic. Further analyses need to be undertaken on different data sets using different analytical techniques.

3.6 Who Are Czech Cultural Omnivores in Media Topics?

In this section, I want to pursue the issue of the emergence and social patterning of cultural omnivores in the contemporary Czech Republic. So far we have examined the variation and association of lifestyles with social class where most of the items under study were somehow associated with respondents' behaviour, although most of them were declarative in character. Furthermore, most of the applied items came from just one pole of the cultural hierarchy associated with highbrow culture or luxury. This is due to the commercial purposes of the MML TGI survey, which focuses mainly on highbrow or somewhat middlebrow consumption preferences and leisure activities (see Table A.1). To the extent that we are able to test the omnivore-univore hypothesis directly, we need to match highbrow against lowbrow culture and to analyse whether higher classes enjoy cultural variety whereas the lower classes are aesthetically lowbrow univorous (see Figure 1 on the page 16).

As mentioned above, Peterson's omnivorousness hypothesis was elaborated in the area of musical tastes. However, recently there have been several attempts to test its plausibility in other areas, such as reading (Zavisca 2005; Chan and Goldthorpe 2006) and various kinds of leisure-activity participation (Warde et al. 2000; Chan and Goldthorpe 2005; Lizardo 2006).

The reason for giving preference to tastes and distinctions over behaviour such as spending leisure in order to test the omnivore-univore hypothesis is the time dimension. Whereas we can prefer many cultural forms and genres, in the case of free-time activities we are limited by the amount of time we have available.[21] Especially some upper status professions, such as managers, lack leisure time compared to lower classes owing to the career character of their work. However, in the omnivorousness model with a status-marking function of consumption it is not the number of hours spent in various forms of cultural activities that plays a role but rather the ability to move within the broader cultural spectrum, however much in just general and intentional terms. This constitutes a new form of cultural capital, somewhat different from Bourdieu's conventional highbrow distinctive form based on Kantian aesthetics.

In order to encompass lowbrow tastes as well, the option in the MML TGI data was to measure cultural omnivorousness in the area of an interest in media topics of an informative and entertaining character, which embraces a larger mixture of cultural distinctions and tastes than the cultural participa-

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20   The data set that I had available did not include any variable about a respondent's job position. However, in the MML TGI survey information about respondents' occupations is pooled.
21   The tension between limited free time and broad tastes or lifestyle is analytically elaborated in (Stichele and Laermans 2006).

tion and consumption habits examined in the previous analyses. I decided to look at the general interest in media topics because other questions available in the data set, asking identically about choices in connection with particular media, such as TV or newspapers, struck me as perhaps more or less influenced by available free time (see the argument above).

I constructed an additive index of positive answers to 36 items relating to a respondent's interest in media subjects.[22] The items cover a variety of both highbrow (history, art, culture, education, languages, nature, environment, etc.) and popular or lowbrow culture (criminality, sensational events, affairs, celebrities, sex, eroticism, etc.). In this sense, I try to follow the recommendation for the broad operationalisation of omnivorousness in leisure-activity participation covering the whole highbrow-lowbrow spectrum (Warde et al. 2000), whereas the approach of Peterson and Kern (1996) applies only middle and lowbrow forms of musical tastes. A ranking of topic popularity among Czechs by class position is presented in Table A.5, and the distribution of cumulative measure is shown in Figure A.5. There are predictable gender differences. Men tend to like sport, cars, politics, science and technology more; whereas cooking, fashion, stories, family and children, housing, health, scandals and celebrities are more typical for women.

In addition, in order to elaborate the omnivorousness thesis, further I created two supplementary separate indices derived from the basis of the hypothesis. The first *highbrow omnivore index* is comprised of six topics: history, music, cinema/movies, leisure tips, art/culture and education/languages. The second one, *lowbrow-popular omnivore*, consists of seven themes: scandals/affairs/celebrities, sex/erotica, do-it-yourself/handiwork/repairs, criminality/sensational events, entertainment, gardening/animal breeding, stories/serials/narratives. The items were chosen according to the logic of the highbrow-popular-lowbrow hierarchy, wherein I tried to minimise gender specificity. However, the relationship of class to the indexes is presented separately for men and women.

In Figures A.6 and A.7, I graph the mean of the highbrow omnivore and the lowbrow-popular omnivore indexes by ABCDE classes. The lower we move on the social ladder the less media topics are preferred (Figure A.6). We can see highbrow omnivorousness is typical of women from the upper classes A and B. But when we move to the second picture (Figure A.7) with lowbrow-popular topics, a distinct hierarchical relationship between classes and omnivorousness disappears. Indeed, the upper classes consume a broader genre spectrum than others. They remain interested in their highbrow intellectual themes but simultaneously appropriate lowbrow-popular ones. On the other hand, the lower classes adhere only to lowbrow-popular tastes (cf. with the graphs with the scheme in Figure 1). We can also see that women are more omnivorous particularly in lowbrow-popular topics, at least in the topics selected for the indices. This omnivore-univore model should be regarded as merely illustrational. Whether it is only class that determines the wider range of interests in cultural articles, or whether other individual features and contextual variables play a role will be the subject of the next analysis.

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22   The question was 'We would like to know what topics you are interested in and what topics you look up. Are you personally interested in …?', with the answers Yes / No. The list of items can be found in Table A.7. I also constructed a parallel index based on a subsequent question on reading interests, specifically in reference to magazines, comprised of the same 36 topics. A high correlation (0,46) with the general interest index indicates that omnivorousness is not produced by asking 'easily answerable' or vague questions in the survey. I carried out a regression analysis analogous to the following one using the same models; the results were very similar.

In order to simplify the interpretation in the following multivariate analysis, I operationalise omnivores as those respondents with the highest score on the additive index comprising the entire range of 36 topics. A dummy variable was created with a value of 1 assigned to those who belong to the top 10%.[23] The unusual size of the sample allows us to do this. In the sample there are 597 men and 823 women omnivores defined in this way. An additional test of the mean differences between omnivores and univores in terms of highbrow and lowbrow-popular omnivore indices confirms the central idea of the thesis that the omnivores consume both highbrow and lowbrow-popular topics.[24] Taking into consideration the gender specificity of media topics, the analysis is conducted for men and women separately.

In order to inspect whether constitutive segments of the Czech population were uniformly omnivorous, I examined the relationship between the omnivores and various socio-demographic variables (as in the previous analysis of lifestyle) with a binary logistic regression. The logistic regression model is used to estimate the factors that influence omnivorousness, i.e. the odds ratio for omnivores (1) vs. univores (0). The descriptive statistics for the independent variables are presented in Table A.2. The first model, utilising only social classes, explains just 0.4% of omnivorousness variance for men and 1% for women (see Nagelkerke R Square in Table A.6). However, the classes are positively ranked along the omnivorousness scale.[25] When we consider other characteristics (Model 2), the role of classes dissolves, whereas the overall explanative power increases to 2.2% for men and 0.31% for women, which is still very low. Education gives the most respectable prediction of omnivores. Secondary education as well as a university degree enhances the chance to be an omnivore approximately twice as much as elementary education. Apart from institutionalised cultural capital we can see a significant effect of economic capital expressed by household income. In addition, the fact that a respondent resides in Prague also has a noticeable influence. Surprisingly, Prague residents, when other influences are controlled for, are less likely to be omnivorous. Variables regarding lifecycle (age, marital status and children) and residing in a big city have no significant effect.

We can also map the social sources of omnivorousness in addition to the multivariate model using a crosstabulation of omnivores by categorical individual characteristics and structural variations, such as regions. However, class affinity is rather weak; the Czech omnivores are those with a high level of institutionalised cultural and economic capital, are aged 31-45 years (the age effect is not linear) and are single or pensioners.[26] As mentioned above, women (especially married women) tend to be more omnivorous, which is probably a result of the character of items included in the scale. Women's higher scoring on the index is expectable due to the slight prevalence of feminine issues. There are some regional differences as well. The highest level of omnivores can be found in West Bohemia (namely in the Karlovy Vary region) and North Moravia. On the other hand, Prague inhabitants, Southern Bohemians and inhabitants of the Vysočina region are less omnivorous in media topics compared to the expected frequency.

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23   Each omnivore chose at least 19 topics as interesting. See Figure A.5, where omnivores are marked in an oval. In fact there are only nine total omnivores in the data set who are interested in all 36 subjects.
24   The separate indices applied, omnivores favour on average four highbrow topics and five lowbrow-popular topics, whereas univores only one and two, respectively (T test, significant at p <0,001).
25   A simple analysis of the variance of the additive index showed that mean differences are not significant between the classes A-B, B-C, C-D. The lowest class E, comprised of unskilled manual workers and those outside the labour market, differs from all others (hereafter Bonferroni Post hoc test, significant at p <0,05).
26   All these findings are based on crosstabulation (Chi-Square Tests significant at p <0,001).

Omnivores and highbrows have similar socio-economic characteristics,[27] but as we have seen in the regression model they are less embedded in the social structure, with the effect of social class becoming weaker when other variables are introduced. This suggests that to be omnivorous in media topics is driven only by individual characteristic of educational capital rather than by a class defined according to household position. It is telling that the omnivores' position in the comprehensive social space of lifestyle is close to highbrow culture and luxury items (the forth quadrant in Figure A.8).

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27   A certain connection between the overall omnivorousness index and highbrow cultural lifestyle is indicated by mutual correlation (R = 0,22). In the case of luxury consumption (R = 0,15) and healthy lifestyle (R = 0,14) the association is slightly weaker (all significant at p < 0,01).

Conclusions and Discussion

The aim of this paper has been to focus attention on two associated but to some extent divided issues concerning the structuration of lifestyle based on the social stratification of contemporary Czech society. The first issue relates to a general hypothesis assuming that social classes are associated with distinct lifestyles in the three domains of highbrow culture, luxury consumption and healthy lifestyle; the second one is that of the social sources of cultural omnivorousness. From the theoretical point of view the latter is a subset of the former.

For the most part Czechs tend to be somewhat omnivorous, at least in the examined realm of interest in various media topics of an informative and entertaining character. Omnivores are more likely to be present in the higher status groups as defined by educational credentials and household income. But the effect of social class, when other characteristics are controlled for, is tenuous. The question is whether this is because a distinctive class culture, anchored in this sort of cultural capital comprised of cultural diversity, which would define explicit symbolic boundaries, has not developed yet. Here we need further analyses of other cultural tastes and consumption behaviour and an examination of their trends. On the other hand, we can see a picture similar to that of Russia (Zavisca 2005), where omnivores and highbrows overlap to some extent (see Figure A.8). This may indicate that omnivorousness could function as a basis for marking elite status in the Czech Republic.

I would suggest that there are two indications of omnivorousness that may increase further among Czechs in the future. First, although relatively affluent, Czech society has not yet reached the income level of the most advanced European countries, and broad consumption (and consequently also tastes) is certainly positively correlated with wealth. Second, in my view, omnivorousness is attached mainly to educational expansion. And here we still lag behind the other OECD countries (see e.g. Matějů and Straková 2006). In this respect we can consider omnivorousness to be connected with the intergenerational reproduction of inequalities. To what extent it will serve as the dominant status group's culture (Peterson, Kern 1996) is a question. Instead, parallel distinctive elite highbrow cultural patterns may develop among the highest social class. As the results regarding conspicuous consumption imply, I would expect snobbish exclusion to act as a marker of status as well (maintaining and, in the case of our society, chiefly creating social boundaries), at least until we approach the breadth of post-materialistic values typical in western countries. If this happens, we will have to pay particular attention to a highbrow/lowbrow omnivorousness distinction (Emmison 2003) in future cultural consumption analyses.

Likewise, on a more general level, I want to argue that two processes are simultaneously affecting the contemporary Czech social structure. The first one, individualisation, is the outcome of ongoing modernisation and globalisation processes. Here, omnivorousness takes an imperfect selective form as it reaches only young high-status groups with considerable educational capital (the so-called winners in globalisation) due to their capacity to adopt it. The other concurrent process is that of class structuralisation, i.e. the crystallisation of different status components (Matějů and Kreidl 2001; Tuček et al. 2003) that has been gradually occurring during the past decade and a half of post-socialist transformation. Thus, the chronological succession of the omnivorousness phenomenon can be observed in reverse, as it can only be an intermediate stage preceding the distinctive class cultural hierarchies and practices that will develop in the post-transformation period. Most likely this process of class closure will be weakened by concurrent post-modern individualisation, spread by globalisation.

Compared to omnivorousness, where education, and to a slight extent household income, is virtually the only predictor, the effect of social class on lifestyle, pursued as highbrow culture and an inclination towards luxury consumption, is present even when the effect of education is controlled. Only the third domain, healthy lifestyle, is not structured by class but by education alone, together with main influence of gender and age. In this way the analyses have confirmed previous results from the end of the 1990s that highbrow culture is associated with class position (Duffková and Tuček 2003). However, other factors, namely gender and age, and to some extent also the centrality of Prague as the capital city, have a very strong impact as well. Whether the trend of alignment has been more towards the vertical or horizontal dimension of the social structure is a matter for further analysis and particularly for a different temporal comparison. However, in accordance with the results presented, it is definitely much too soon to refer to post-modern stratification theory to clarify the Czech social structure, at least in terms of cultural tastes and material consumption spheres. In the case of healthy lifestyle (dietary habits and personal care) there is a more or less loose picture of a stratified social space. This may be due to the character of the items in the healthy lifestyle index, which are more declared than behavioural. Nevertheless, as the latest knowledge of organic products consumption implies, this as yet undersized sector is also becoming somewhat stratified (cf. Bio Obchod 2006). As an overall result, my general hypothesis assuming an association between social classes in the Czech Republic and distinct lifestyles in all three domains is plausible only for two spheres - highbrow leisure activities/preferences and luxury consumption. The boundary passes between the classes A, B, C, with an affinity for highbrow culture and luxury consumption, and the lower classes D, E (see Figure A.8). The position of the contemporary Czech middle class (C) near the higher classes somewhat resembles Bourdieu's ((1979) 1984) notion that this class (mainly the new petite bourgeoisie) moves within the social space and desires to acquire the taste of the dominant class fractions.

The indices of cultural consumption and lifestyle used here may to some degree suffer from the inability to reveal finer distinctions between different elaborate status groups. For a more precise examination of the omnivorousness thesis and class homology model we should apply as indicators not only

highbrow culture, luxury consumption[28] and healthy lifestyle but also their opposites (lowbrow/popular, modesty/taste of necessity, unhealthy lifestyle) in order to cover a wide social space of lifestyles.[29]

As shown in my analysis, consumption and cultural taste is still somehow interconnected with class position defined by household status. However, whether we can speak of a class-orientated cultural prevalence (Tomlinson 2003) is a matter for further analysis. The importance of other non-vertical factors, such as place of residence, presents substantive support for Lamont's critique of Bourdieu's simplified account that social actors with the same amount of capital and the same social trajectories have analogous tastes and attitudes, independent of the society in which they live (Lamont 1992).[30] In this context, a combination including details of the individual respondent's occupational status operationalisation could provide more insightful information.[31] The advertising industry standard Social Class ABCDE employed in this study has shown itself to be slightly limited because of the variation in both the respondent's and the household head's education level and also the fact that class C is quite heterogeneous occupationally. This one class includes households with tradespeople, clerical staff, technical operators and routine non-manual workers as heads.

Broadly speaking, Czech society has not come close to resembling the post-modern social space, with its weakened cultural hierarchies and their eroded ties to social class. In this way my findings on the Czech social space are in accord with empirical findings for Great Britain (Warde et al. 2002; Tomlinson 2003), Israel (Katz-Gerro and Shavit 1998) and Norway (Rosenlund 2001). Nevertheless, in the case of healthy lifestyles, we can see a somewhat weak relationship compared to the association found in contemporary Great Britain (Tomlinson 2003). However, the question remains as to whether this is a result of the extensive social change after the fall of communism, or, conversely, because the transformation is as yet incomplete, specifically the crystallisation of the social structure and the strengthening of social bonds, or whether and to what extent we are witnessing the results of the modernisation trends spread by the globalisation process. This issue needs further analysis employing comparable data sets from the 1980s, the 1990s and the present.

28   Elsewhere I analyse conspicuous material consumption using the same items as here in the luxury consumption index, together with its antipole taste of necessity (modesty in dressing, preferences for unbranded goods, discounts, etc.). The results show a significant association with social classes. Taste of necessity is typical for the lower classes D and E and for elderly and retired people. On the other hand, conspicuous consumption is characteristic of the upper classes A, B and C and for younger people. Regardless of social class, there are other influences on conspicuous consumption, namely gender and age (Šafr 2006).
29   In my view, for a better understanding of who omnivores are and where the strongest class and culture relationship occurs, further classification of cultural consumption and genre tastes on the basis of typology clusters would seem more appropriate. Another useful research strategy would be to study the cultural distinctions of clean-cut elites. This approach would make better allowances for the specificity of the Czech cultural milieu.
30   For further analysis of the Czech social environment, a promising approach is R. Rosenlund's revelation of a third dimension in the local social space and the space of lifestyles, which is comprised of gender and economic sectors (man private vs. woman public) (Rosenlund 2001).
31   Unfortunately, in the data set I had available on respondents, the profession (ISCO) or EGP was missing.

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Appendix

Table A.1. Dimensions and indicators of lifestyle available in the MML TGI 2004 data file

Dimensions	Examples of indicators in MML04
Healthy activities (sports)	**- maintains health**
	- follows regimen
Leisure activities (active/passive)	
holiday	- likes travelling
	- active holidays
	- holidays abroad
social contacts	- going to a pub mainly to see friends
Eating habits	**- eats plenty of fruits and vegetables**
healthy/unhealthy	**- follows a regimen of proper nutrition**
	- buys organic products
	- enjoys unhealthy food
exquisiteness	- likes exotic food
	- beer/wine at a meal
	- not picky in food choices
Culture attendance and taste	**- plays a musical instrument**
highbrow/lowbrow	**- interested in architecture**
	- reads poetry
	- likes going to the theatre
	- watches art/series on TV
Interest in topics (in media)	**- the news**
	- cinema, movies
	- sport
	- scandals, gossip, celebrities
Consumption (fashion)	- mindful of his/her appearance
cultivation of body / image	- keeps a neat appearance
	- wears fashion accessories
	- few clothes suffice for him/her
	- prefers dressing in nondescript manner
	- uses literary language
luxury (ostentatious)	**- prefers brand-name goods**
consumption	**- buys luxury goods**
	- likes luxury accessory

Source: author.
Note: highlighted items are used in my operationalisation of omnivorousness, highbrow culture, luxury consumption and healthy lifestyle.

Table A.2. Independent variables (percentages, means, standard deviations)

Variable	Percent	Mean	S.D.
Social Class - ABCDE household classification			
A - Upper class	6.1		
B - Upper middle class	7.3		
C - Middle class	29.1		
D - Lower middle class	24.6		
E - Lower class	32.9		
Male	47.6		
Female	52.4		
Education			
No qualification	17.4		
Vocational - trained	41.5		
High school	32.7		
University degree	8.4		
City*	20.4		
Prague (capital city)*	10.6		
Single	20.3		
Married	58.4		
Separated	21.2		
Child < 5 years in a household*	9.8		
Age		44.6	16.3
Household income (CZK)**		20398	10812

Source: MML TGI CR 2004, MEDIAN, s. r. o. (N = 14778), respondents aged 18-79.

Note: * Dummy variables

        ** Originally measured in 16 categories; replaced by means of ranges

## Table A.3. Descriptive statistics of highbrow culture, luxury consumption and healthy lifestyle items

	Mean	S.D.	Cronbach's Alpha	N valid (listwise)
Highbrow culture				
Uses literary language	2.53	.935		
Enjoys theatre	2.39	.983		
Likes fiction	2.31	.953		
Movies by respected directors	2.29	.920		
Loves paintings	2.29	.901		
Reads bestsellers	2.22	.902		
Goes to cultural events	2.04	.815		
Chooses art on TV	1.96	.855		
Interested in architecture	1.94	.835		
Interested in classical music	1.89	.849		
Acquainted with art	1.85	.798		
Likes reading poetry	1.81	.814		
Movie premiers	1.80	.840		
Plays a musical instrument	1.77	.981		
			0.88	14280
Luxury consumption				
Buys expensive clothing	2.54	.864		
Buys quality goods	2.53	.762		
No new clothing till old outworn [a]	2.48	.893		
Likes luxury accessories	2.33	.891		
Prefers brand goods	2.29	.892		
Content to pay for quality wine	2.25	.974		
Buys luxury goods	2.24	.869		
Dresses exclusively	1.98	.811		
			0.77	13609
Healthy Life Style				
Eats plenty of fruits and vegetables	2.98	.776		
Takes care of health	2.96	.727		
Minds suitable regimen	2.65	.750		
Does something for health	2.59	.752		
Protects health	2.55	.791		
Watches their nutrition	2.47	.821		
Prefers organic products	2.21	.862		
			0.79	14335

Source: MML TGI CR 2004, MEDIAN, s. r. o. (N = 14778), respondents aged 18-79.
Note: All items on a 4- point scale (strongly disagree / disagree / agree / strongly agree)
[a] Item 'No new clothing till old outworn has the opposite meaning to the other items, and therefore it is subtracted in the luxury consumption sum index.

**Figure A.1. Highbrow culture preferences and activities
by Social Class ABCDE (means)**

Soc. class

A		D	
B		E	
C		ALL	
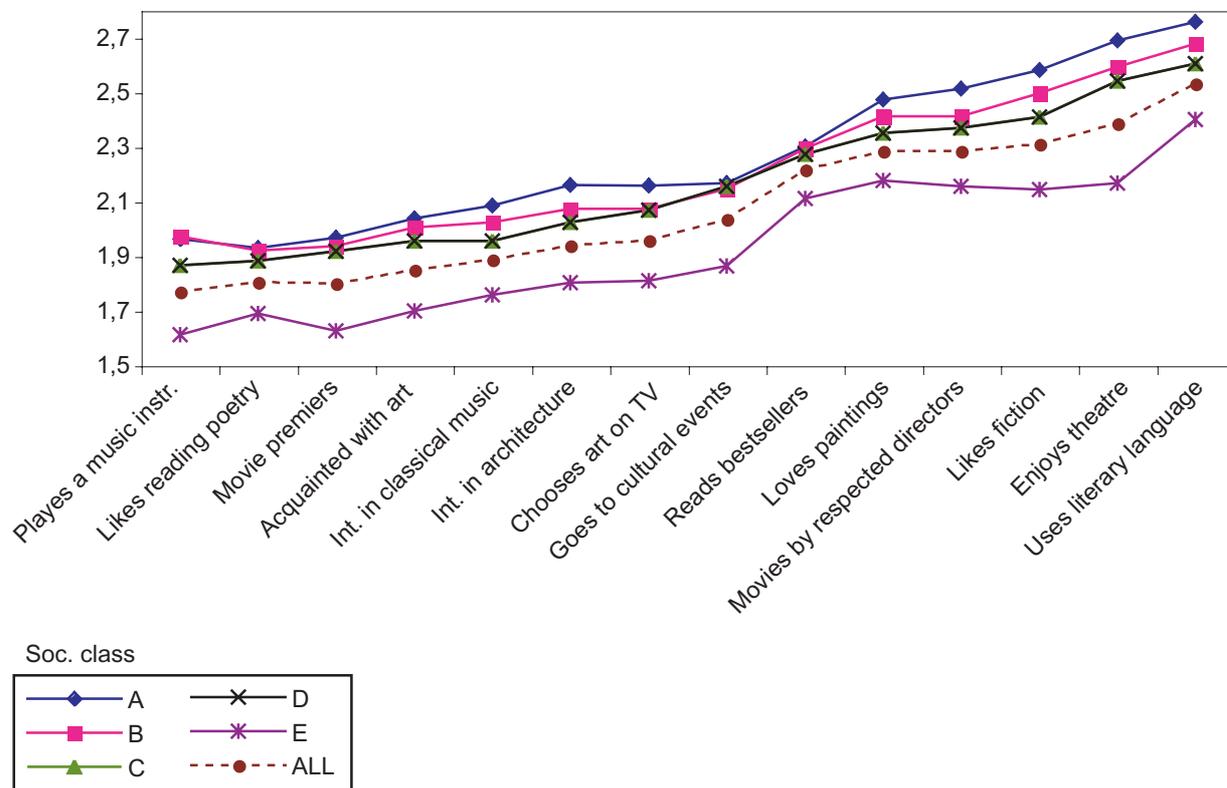
Source: MML TGI CR 2004, MEDIAN, s. r. o., respondents aged 18-79.

Figure A.2. Luxury consumption by Social Class ABCDE (means)

Soc. class

A	D
B	E
C	ALL
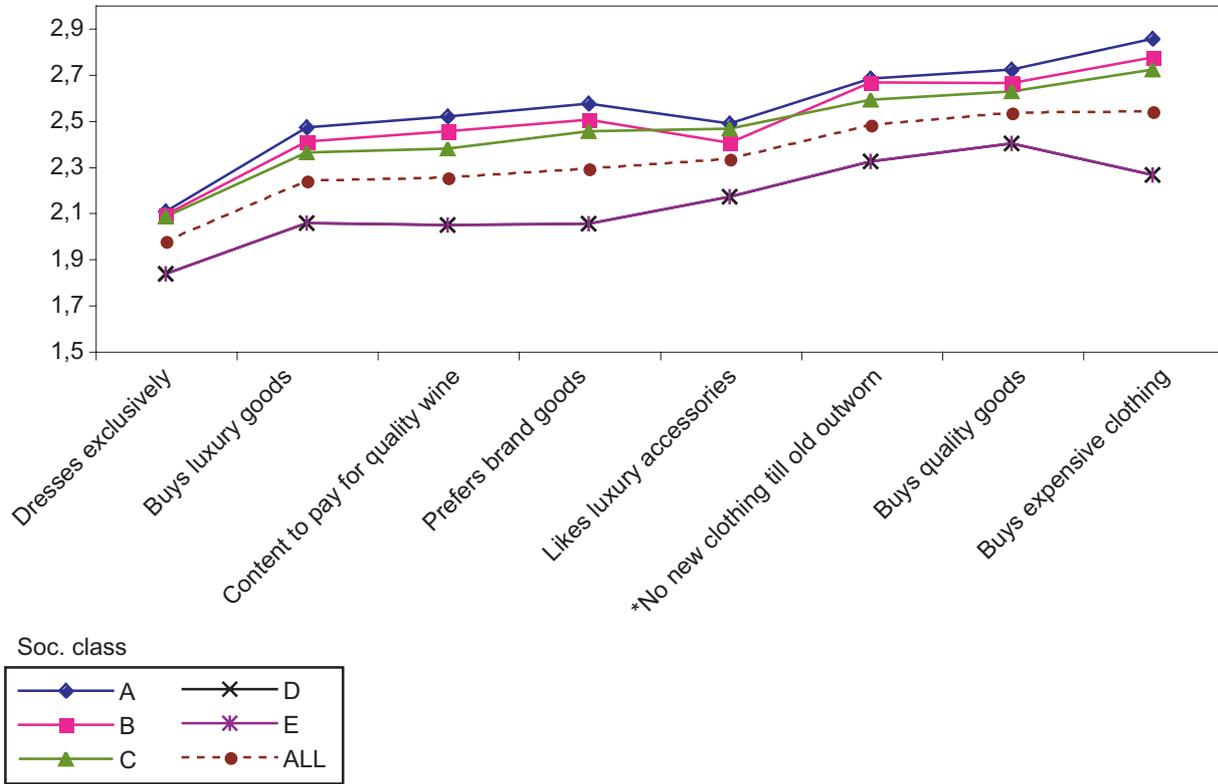
Source: MML TGI CR 2004, MEDIAN, s. r. o., respondents aged 18-79.

Figure A.3. Healthy lifestyle by Social Class ABCDE (means)

Soc. class

A		D	
B		E	
C		ALL	
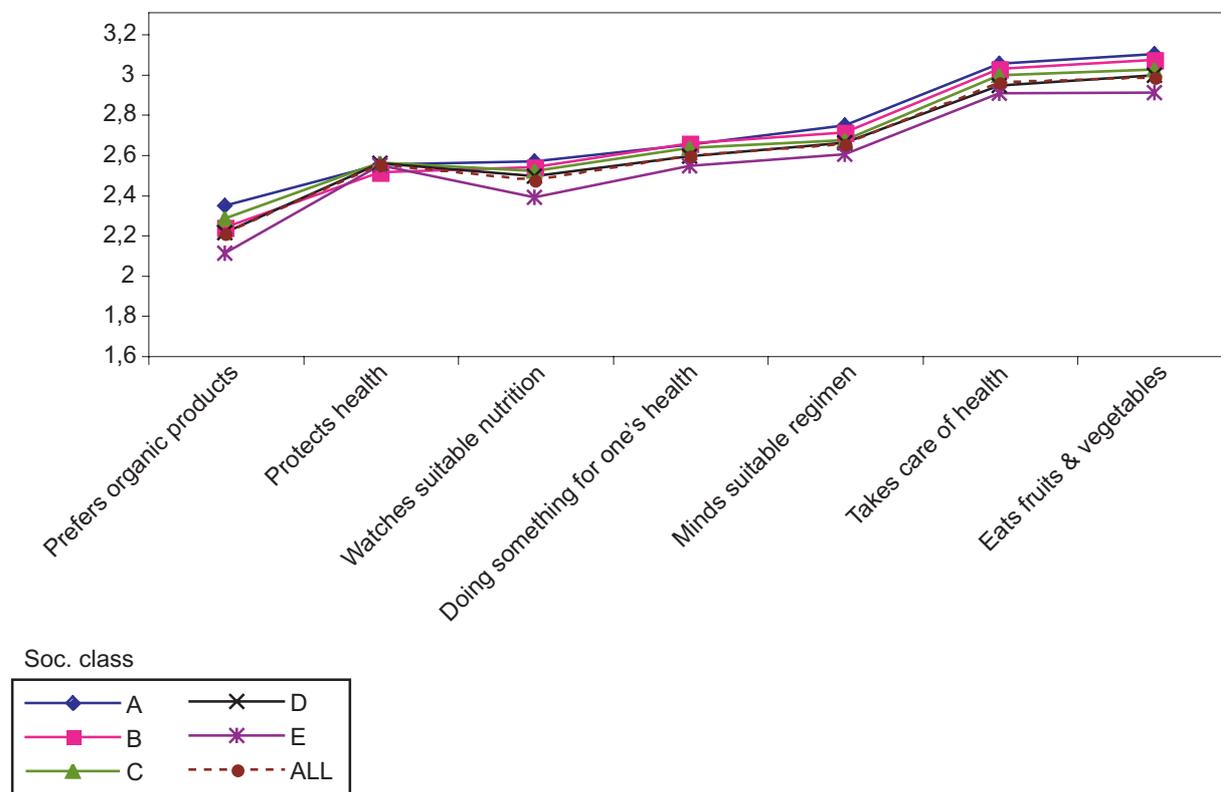
Source: MML TGI CR 2004, MEDIAN, s. r. o., respondents aged 18-79.

Figure A.4. Indices of lifestyles by Social Class ABCDE (means and 95% confidence intervals)
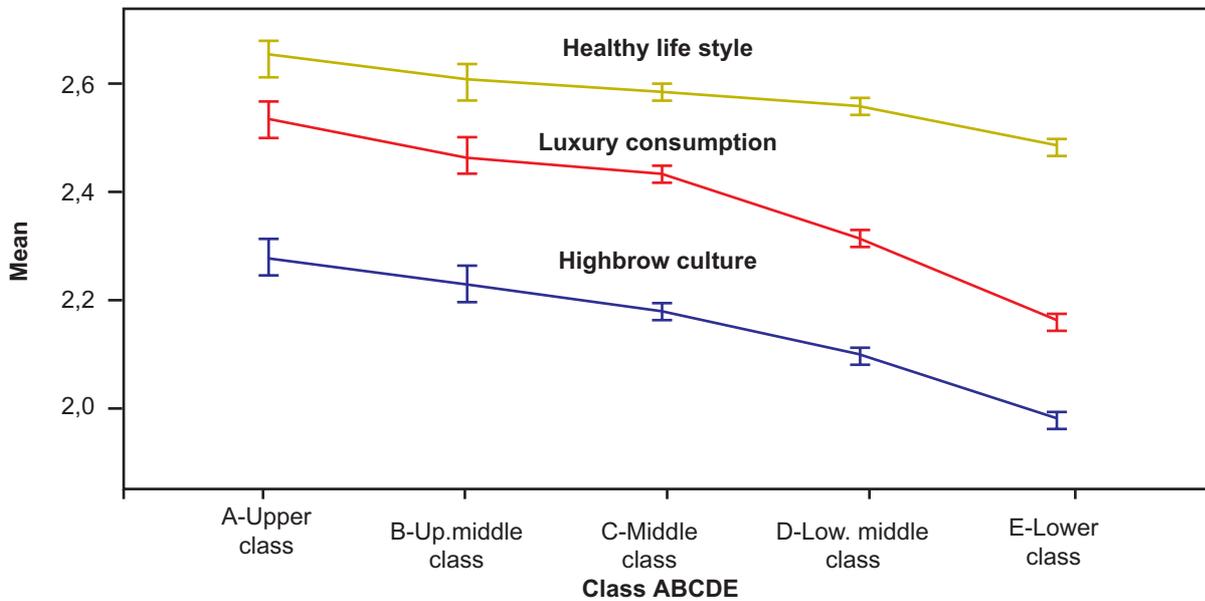
Note: The mean differences between classes are significant at the .05 level (Bonferroni Post hoc test) except for highbrow culture (A-B and B-C); luxury Consumption (C-B); healthy lifestyle (A-B and B-C).

Table A.4. Standardised and unstandardised coefficients from the OLS regressions of lifestyle indices on social class and other variables

Model	Highbrow culture		Luxury consumption		Healthy life style	
M 1 (Intercept)	1.977	.000	2.138	.000	2.581	.000
A - Upper class[a]	.298	.000	.375	.000	.141	.000
	(.129)		(.163)		(.065)	
B - Upper middle class	.271	.000	.316	.000	.098	.000
	(.130)		(.152)		(.049)	
C - Middle class	.214	.000	.298	.000	.092	.000
	(.180)		(.252)		(.082)	
D - Lower middle class	.134	.000	.187	.000	.066	.000
	(0.108)		(.152)		(.056)	
M 2 (Intercept)	2.021	.000	2.535	.000	2.559	.000
A - Upper class[a]	.056	.026	.111	.000	.049	.045
	(.024)		(.048)		(.022)	
B - Upper middle class	.085	.000	.067	.002	.029	.177
	(.040)		(.032)		(.015)	
C - Middle class	.075	.000	.098	.000	.031	.023
	(.063)		(.083)		(.028)	
D - Lower middle class	.053	.000	.035	.007	.039	.003
	(.043)		(.029)		(.034)	
Age	-.001	.027	-.010	.000	.002	.000
	(-.027)		(-.292)		(.063)	
Education - Trained[b]	.034	.015	.058	.000	.052	.000
	(.031)		(.053)		(.050)	
Education - Secondary	.168	.000	.154	.000	.110	.000
	(.146)		(.135)		(.101)	
Education - University	.352	.000	.225	.000	.162	.000
	(.180)		(.115)		(.087)	
Male[c]	-.146	.000	-.131	.000	-.247	.000
	(-.135)		(-.123)		(-.244)	
Household income (in thousands CZK)	.001	.018	.005	.000	.001	.014
	(.024)		(.104)		(.026)	

City (>100 t.)[d]	.112	.000	.027	.080	-.075	.000
	(.085)		(.020)		(-.061)	
Married[e]	-.021	.162	.025	.077	-.017	.251
	(-.019)		(.023)		(-.016)	
Separated	-.007	0.704	-.004	.802	-.012	.519
	(-.006)		(-.003)		(-.010)	
Prague[f]	.233	.000	.110	.000	.174	.000
	(.136)		(.065)		(.108)	
Child (<5 years)	-.060	.001	-.073	.000	-.013	.445
in household[g]	(-.034)		(-.041)		(-.008)	

		N =10950	N =11106	N =10928
M 1	**Adj. Rsq**	.037	.064	.007
M 2	**Adj. Rsq**	.121	.191	.080

Source: MML TGI CR 2004, MEDIAN, s. r. o., respondents aged 18-79.

Note: Standardised coefficients in parentheses; Reference categories: [a] E - Lower class, [b] No vocational qualification, [c] Female, [d] Residence < 100 t., [e] Single, [f] Other residents, [g] No child or child over the age of 5 in the household

Table A.5. Descriptive statistics of interest in topics in the media

	All		Men	Women
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	Mean
The news from the CR	0.84	0.37	0.88	0.80
The foreign news	0.72	0.45	0.78	0.67
The regional news where I live	0.68	0.47	0.70	0.66
Entertainment	0.55	0.50	0.52	0.58
Music	0.49	0.50	0.46	0.51
Cinema, movies	0.41	0.49	0.40	0.41
Sport	0.41	0.49	0.64	0.19
TV programmes, bulletins	0.40	0.49	0.38	0.43
Crosswords, riddles, competitions	0.40	0.49	0.32	0.48
Politics	0.35	0.48	0.43	0.27
Cooking, meals, drinks, recipes	0.32	0.47	0.11	0.51
Stories, series, narratives	0.30	0.46	0.18	0.41
Scandals, gossip, celebrities	0.28	0.45	0.19	0.37
Fashion, clothing, appearance care	0.28	0.45	0.10	0.44
Health, medicine	0.28	0.45	0.18	0.37
Housing, home	0.27	0.45	0.17	0.37
Travelling, holiday	0.27	0.44	0.24	0.30
Nature, environment	0.27	0.44	0.25	0.29
Garden, yard, animal breeding	0.26	0.44	0.22	0.30
Crime stories, sensational events	0.25	0.44	0.25	0.26
Cars, motoring, motorcycles	0.24	0.43	0.44	0.06
History	0.23	0.42	0.24	0.23
Family, children, human relations	0.23	0.42	0.12	0.33
Do-it-yourself, handiwork, repairs	0.22	0.41	0.24	0.20
Sex, erotica	0.19	0.39	0.23	0.15
Art, culture	0.17	0.38	0.14	0.20
Work, profession	0.14	0.35	0.15	0.14
Leisure tips	0.14	0.35	0.14	0.14
Science and technology	0.14	0.34	0.22	0.06
Economy	0.13	0.33	0.17	0.09
Finance	0.11	0.31	0.13	0.09
Education, languages	0.10	0.30	0.09	0.11
Real estate, dwellings	0.07	0.26	0.09	0.06
Business	0.07	0.25	0.07	0.06
Media, marketing, advertising	0.06	0.23	0.05	0.06
Computers	0.03	0.17	0.04	0.02
N valid (listwise)	14778		7039	7739
Cronbach's alpha	0.68			

*Source: MML TGI CR 2004, MEDIAN, s. r. o. (N = 14778), respondents aged 18-79.*
Note: All items dichotomous (0 = disagree, 1 = agree)

Figure A.5. Omnivorousness in interest in media topics - men, women

MEN

Omnivores
(top 10%)

Mean = 9,97
Std. Dev. = 6,069
N = 7039

WOMEN

Omnivores
(top 10%)

Mean = 10,59
Std. Dev. = 6,429
N = 7 739
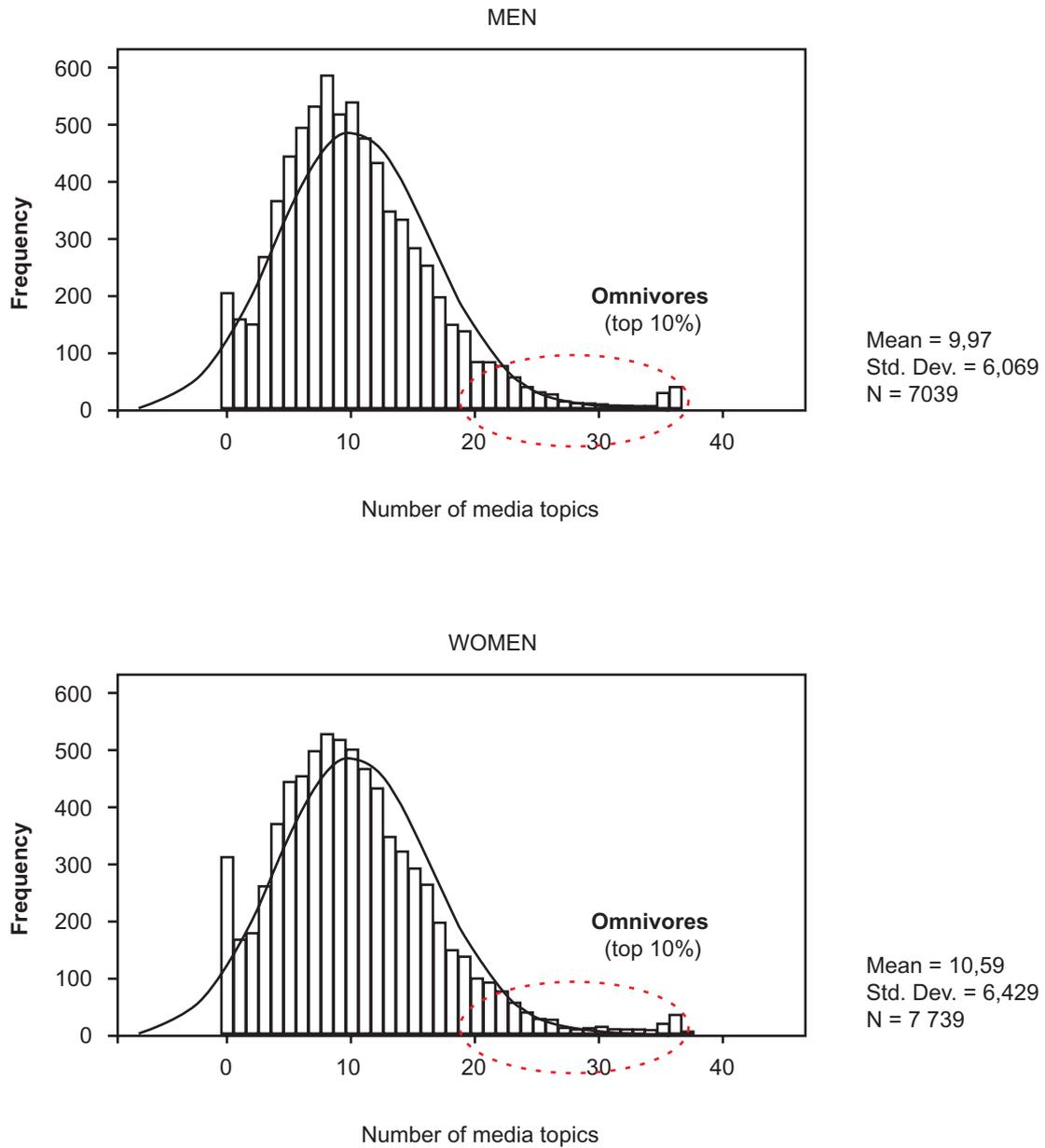
Source: MML TGI CR 2004, MEDIAN, s. r. o. (N = 14778), respondents aged 18-79.

Figure A.6. Highbrow omnivorousness in media topics index by Social Class ABCDE (means and 95% confidence intervals) - men, women
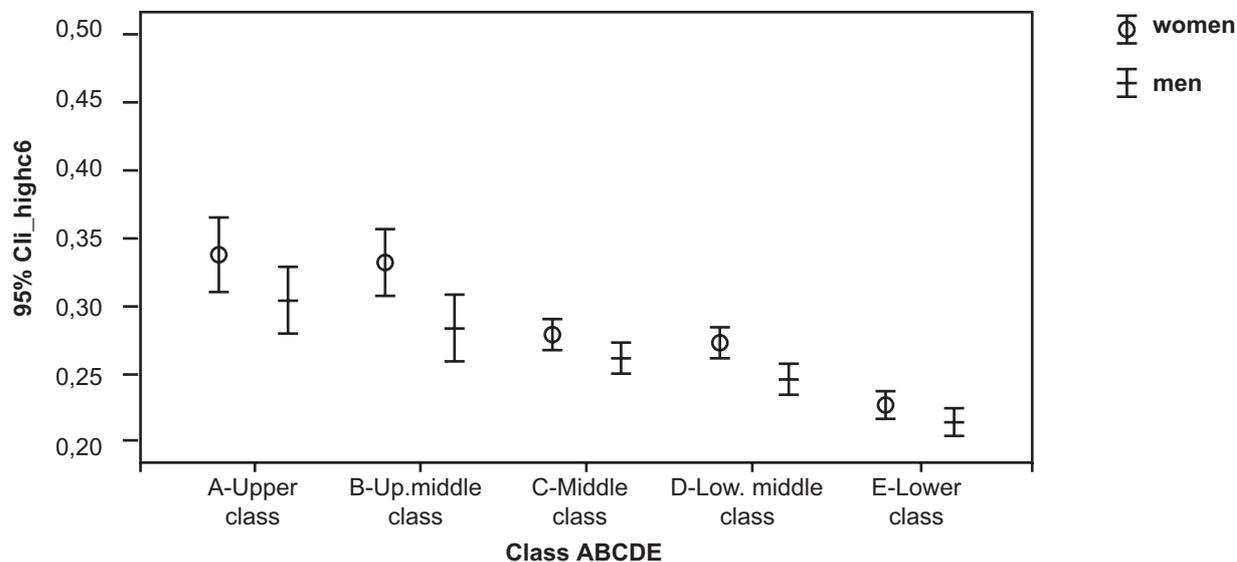
Source: MML TGI CR 2004, MEDIAN, s. r. o. (N = 14778), respondents aged 18-79.

Figure A.7. Lowbrow-popular omnivorousness in media topics index by Social Class ABCDE (means and 95% confidence intervals) - men, women
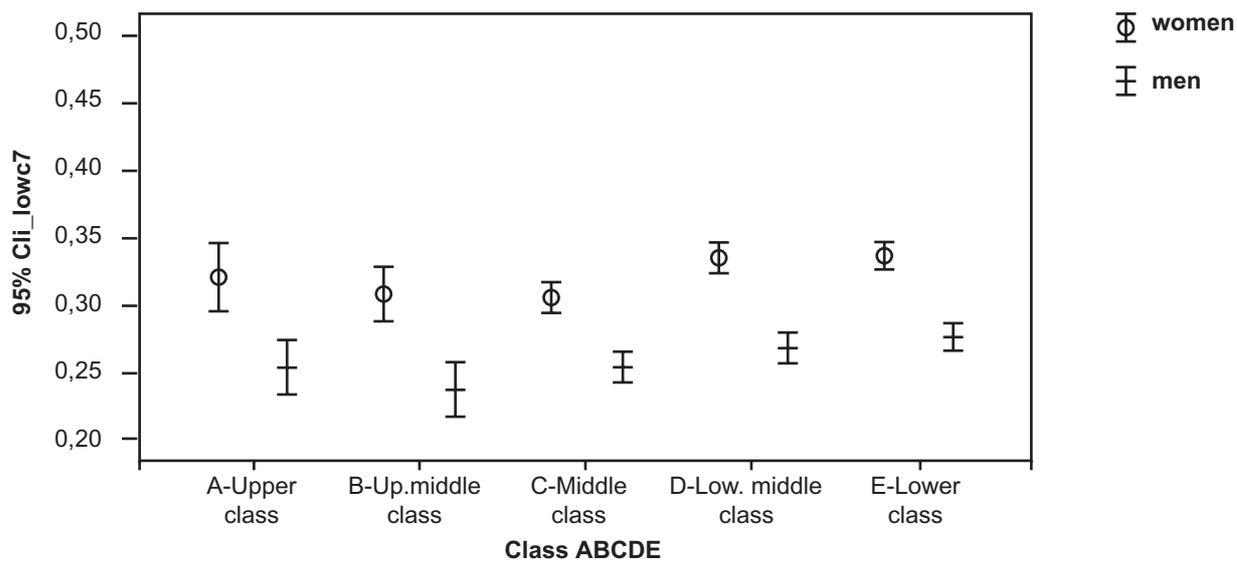
Source: MML TGI CR 2004, MEDIAN, s. r. o. (N = 14778), respondents aged 18-79.

Table A.6. Logistic regression of Omnivores vs. Univores in media topics[†]

Model	Men			Women		
	B	Exp(B)	Sig.	B	Exp(B)	Sig.
M 1 (Constant)	-2.577	.076	.000	-2.388	.092	.000
A - Upper class[a]	.504	1.656	.012	.699	2.012	.000
B - Upper middle class	.222	1.249	.266	.551	1.736	.001
C - Middle class	.322	1.379	.012	.470	1.600	.000
D - Lower middle class	.288	1.334	.025	.347	1.415	.003
M 2 (Constant)	-3.039	.048	.000	-2.559	.077	.000
A - Upper class[a]	.149	1.160	.545	.268	1.308	.169
B - Upper middle class	-.162	.851	.489	.141	1.151	.443
C - Middle class	.047	1.049	.762	.219	1.245	.068
D - Lower middle class	.085	1.089	.551	.130	1.139	.298
Age	.001	1.001	.847	-.002	.998	.539
Education - Trained[b]	.458	1.581	.006	.226	1.254	.099
Education - Secondary	.697	2.008	.000	.589	1.802	.000
Education - University	.637	1.890	.011	.733	2.082	.000
Household income (in thousands CZK)	.010	1.010	.025	.006	1.006	.152
City (>100 t.)[d]	.133	1.142	.391	.161	1.175	.204
Single[e]	-.110	.896	.463	.152	1.164	.228
Separated	-.140	.869	.341	-.079	.924	.486
Prague[f]	-.890	.411	.000	-.910	.403	.000
Child (<5 years) in household[g]	-.086	.917	.651	-.045	.956	.747
	N = 5375			N = 5916		
M 1 Nagelkerke R Square	.004			.010		
M 2 Nagelkerke R Square	.022			.031		

Source: MML TGI CR 2004, MEDIAN, s. r. o., respondents aged 18-79.

Note: [†] Dummy variable with value 1 (= omnivores) assigned to those who belonged to the top 10% of positive answers on 36 items of a respondent's interest in media subjects (see Table A.5).

Reference categories: [a] E - Lower class, [b] No vocational qualification, [c] Female, [d] Residence <100 t., [e] Married, [f] Other residents, [g] No child or a child over the age of 5 in the household

Table A.7. Social Class ABCDE and other variables for correspondence analysis (percentages of positive answers)

	A Upper class	B Upper middle class	C Middle class	D Lower middle class	E Lower class
TV-art	34.4	31.0	29.7	24.6	20.1
Acquainted with art	26.8	26.2	23.0	18.1	14.4
Classical music	32.5	28.8	25.5	22.7	17.9
Popular fiction	58.0	56.8	49.6	45.2	37.6
Architecture	34.3	29.6	27.6	23.0	18.8
Poetry	23.8	23.8	22.0	18.2	15.5
Paintings	46.6	50.4	54.5	58.2	62.6
Theatre	37.5	41.6	44.9	52.7	61.4
Movies by respected directors	50.6	47.9	45.5	40.9	36.3
Musical instrument	30.6	31.2	26.4	22.1	17.5
Reads bestsellers	41.6	42.4	41.2	41.3	35.3
Movie premiers	27.0	25.4	23.8	20.0	14.0
Language	66.5	61.8	58.2	55.0	48.5
Goes to cult. events	30.4	31.9	32.1	27.5	21.0
Organic products	41.6	38.2	39.1	35.8	31.1
Nutrition suitable	45.8	47.4	48.3	50.0	55.8
Regimen suitable	35.4	35.8	38.6	39.4	42.5
Looks after health	43.5	40.3	42.9	45.5	48.3
Takes care of health	81.0	81.7	78.5	76.5	74.2
Protects health	52.7	51.3	54.8	54.5	54.3
Eats plenty of fruits and vegetables	81.6	78.2	77.2	75.8	71.0
Dresses exclusively	26.8	26.6	26.4	22.2	19.0
Likes luxury accessories	48.5	45.9	47.1	41.0	33.8
Buys luxury goods	47.3	44.3	42.0	36.0	27.4
Pref. brand goods	56.4	51.6	48.4	40.4	30.4
Buys exp. clothing	68.5	65.1	63.4	53.9	38.8
Buys quality goods	63.9	61.8	59.5	52.9	44.5
Quality wine	54.7	53.6	49.7	43.0	33.3
No new clothes until old worn out	40.5	39.5	44.9	51.0	58.4
Omnivores-media, top 10% (36v)	12.8	11.5	11.1	9.5	7.3

Source: MML TGI CR 2004, MEDIAN, s. r. o., respondents aged 18-79.
Note: original answerers on a 4-point scale were recoded as dichotomies.

Figure A.8. Space of lifestyles and culture consumption, the CR 2004.
The correspondence analysis of data in Table A.7
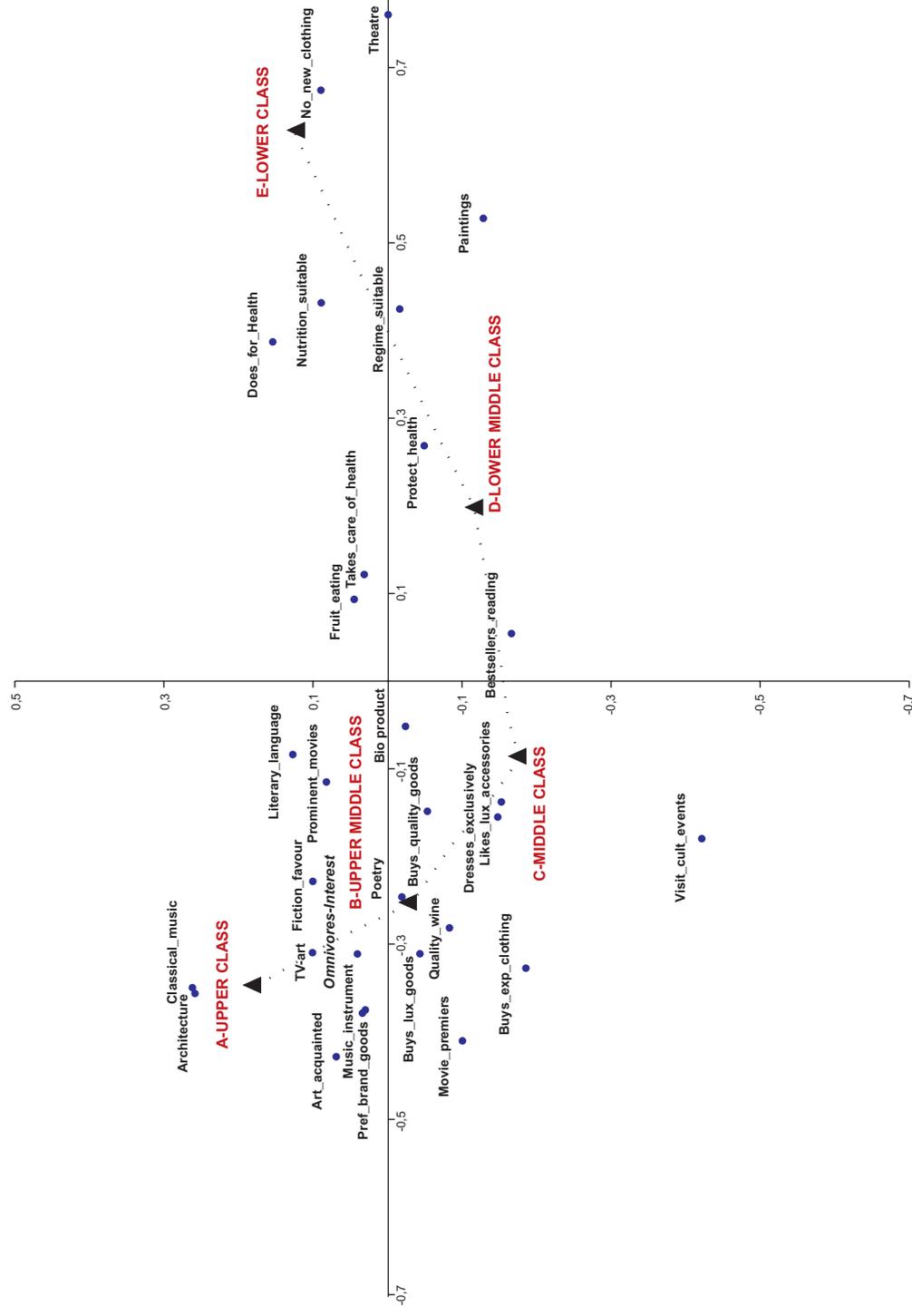
Question Wording of the MML TGI CR

Highbrow culture

Uses literary language
I try to use literary language.
Snažím se mluvit spisovně.

Enjoys theatre
I always enjoy attending the theatre.
Návštěva divadla mi vždy udělá radost.

Likes fiction
I like world and domestic literary fiction.
Mám v oblibě světovou a domácí beletrii.

Seeks out movies by respected directors
I seek out movies by respected Czech and foreign directors
Vyhledávám filmy významných českých a zahraničních režisérů.

Loves paintings
I love paintings.
Miluji obrazy.

Reads bestsellers
If I read anything, it's a bestseller.
Pokud něco čtu, tak jsou to bestsellery.

Goes to cultural events
In my leisure time I often attend various cultural events.
Ve volném čase často navštěvuji různé kulturní akce.

Chooses art on TV
I choose art programs on TV.
V televizi si vybírám pořady o umění.

Interested in architecture
I am interested in architecture.
Zajímám se o architekturu.

Interested in classical music
I am interested in classical music
Zajímám se o vážnou hudbu.

Acquainted with art
I know a lot about art.
Vyznám se v umění.

Likes reading poetry
I like reading poetry.
Rád(a) čtu poezii.

Movie premiers
I attend movie premiers in the cinema.
Navštěvuji premiérové filmy v kinech.

Plays a musical instrument
I know how to play a musical instrument.
Umím hrát na hudební nástroj.

Luxury consumption

Buys expensive clothing
I prefer to buy expensive but high-quality clothing.
Raději koupím dražší ale kvalitnější oblečení.

Buys quality goods
I buy only high-quality goods.
Kupuji pouze velmi kvalitní výrobky.

No new clothing till old outworn
I wear clothing until it's worn out. I do not buy new clothing as long as the old one's can still be worn.
Nosím věci do roztrhání - nekupuji nové šaty, dokud ty staré ještě slouží.

Likes luxury accessories
I like some luxury accessories.
Mám rád(a) nějaký luxusní doplněk.

Prefers brand goods
I prefer brand-name goods.
Dávám přednost značkovému zboží.

Content to pay for quality wine
I am happy to pay for quality wine.
Jsem ochoten zaplatit více za kvalitní víno.

Buys luxury goods
I like buying luxury goods.
Rád(a) kupuji luxusní zboží.

Dresses exclusively
I often dress exclusively.
Oblékám se často exkluzivně.

Healthy Life Style

Eats plenty of fruits and vegetables
I try to eat as much fruit and vegetables as possible.
Snažím se jíst co nejvíce ovoce a zeleniny.

Takes care of health
I take care of my health.
Pečuji o své zdraví.

Follows a health lifestyle regimen
I follow a healthy lifestyle regimen.
Dbám na správnou životosprávu.

Doing something for one's health
I do a lot for my health.
Dělám hodně pro své zdraví.

Protects health
I protect myself so as not to impair my health.
Šetřím se, abych si nepoškodil(a) zdraví.

Watches suitable nutrition
I take care of what I eat and I try to the rules of proper nutrition.
Dávám si pozor na to, co jím, snažím se dodržovat zásady správné výživy.

Prefers organic products
I prefer buying "healthy" bio/light products.
Dávám přednost nákupu „zdravých" (bio/light) výrobků.

All questions were asked on 4-point scale:
1 - definitely yes 2 - rather yes 3 - rather no 4 - definitely no
Note: For the construction of the cumulative indices the scale was reversed (1 = definitely no).

Summary

This study examines the mutual relationships between lifestyle, especially culture consumption, and stratification in contemporary Czech society. The hierarchically ordered differences in embodied culture capital between social classes are focused on. Thus we are interested on a general level in how cultural practices mark interclass symbolic boundaries.

In the first part, the theoretical framework of lifestyle, cultural consumption and stratification is discussed along with methodological issues of conceptualisation and measurement of lifestyle and cultural taste. Three theoretical models of social class and culture are introduced. The homology perspective proceeds from the assumption that social classes have a different volume and composition of specific forms of capital available, and consequently they have different embedded lifestyles. Classes or their fractions follow intrinsically characteristic cultural consumption patterns that maintain their identity. A different post-modern individualisation model claims that lifestyles, cultural consumption and tastes have become diversified and fragmented due to the fact that they cannot simply be explained by social standing. People no longer recognise or share any fixed cultural hierarchy and differences between social classes in terms of cultural consumption have become marginal.

The recent model of 'cultural omnivorousness' represents an intermediate perspective between the two. According to the omnivore-univore thesis cosmopolitan omnivorousness has displaced distinct highbrow culture as a status marker. High status groups consume a broader genre spectrum (omnivores) than others. Status is gained by knowing about and participating in all cultural forms. However, lower classes have retained their lowbrow tastes (univores), whereas the privileged classes have kept not only their taste-exclusive highbrow but also have embraced popular-culture consumption and taste distinctions.

The second part of the study presents the results of the analysis of the lifestyle and cultural consumption structure using data from the Market & Media & Lifestyle TGI 2004 (MEDIAN s.r.o.). First, hypothesis assuming that social classes in the Czech Republic (Social Grades ABCDE based on household head status) are associated with distinct lifestyles in three domains: *highbrow cultural tastes and activities* (going to cultural events, watching art TV programmes, interest in classical music, reading poetry, etc.), *luxury consumption* (a preference for purchasing luxury goods, expensive clothing, brand-name goods, dressing exclusively, etc.) and *healthy lifestyle* (taking care of one's health, watching one's nutrition, a preference for organic products, etc.) is examined. Second, we explore the social patterning of cultural omnivorousness in a general interest in topics of an informative and entertaining nature, highbrow (history, education, art, etc.) as well as lowbrow (sensational events, celebrities, sex, etc.), in the media.

The hierarchical association, proposed by the general hypothesis, between social class together with household income and education as an institutionalised form of cultural capital on the one hand and distinct lifestyle on the other is clearly present in the domain of highbrow cultural tastes/activities and luxury consumption but not in the case of healthy lifestyle. Only the third domain, healthy lifestyle, is not structured by class but by education alone and income, together with major influence of gender and age. The analyses have confirmed previous results from the end of the 1990s that highbrow culture is associated with class position. However, other factors, namely gender and age, and to some extent also the centrality of Prague as the capital city and other cities, also have a strong impact. The boundary passes between the classes A, B, C, with an affinity for highbrow culture and luxury consumption, and the lower classes D, E (households of manual workers and not working). Consequently, it seems too soon to refer to post-modern stratification theory, with its emphasis on weakened cultural hierarchies and their eroded ties to social class, to plausibly clarify the Czech social structure. In general, the findings are in accord with prevailing empirical results in advanced countries.

Omnivores in the interest in media topics are more likely to be present in higher status groups in terms of education and household income, but the direct effect of social class is tenuous. A decisively distinctive class culture, anchored in this new sort of cultural capital comprised of cultural diversity, has not yet developed in Czech society. However, omnivores and highbrows (taste and activities of highbrow culture) overlap to a large degree, which may indicate that cultural omnivorousness will function as a basis for marking elite status later on. To what extent it will serve as the dominant status group's culture is a question. Instead, parallel distinctive elite highbrow cultural patterns may develop among the upper classes as a consequence of the emergence of social classes in terms of economic capital during the post-communist transformation. The results regarding luxury consumption imply that snobbish exclusion also acts as a marker of status.

When studying how symbolic interclass boundaries are expressed as lifestyle in the contemporary Czech social space, two general and dual processes simultaneously affecting the social structure should be taken into consideration. The first one, individualisation, is the outcome of ongoing modernisation and globalisation processes. The other concurrent process is that of class structuralisation resulting from an increase in economic inequalities and the crystallisation of different status components, which occurred during the post-socialist transformation.

Shrnutí

Tato studie zkoumá vztah životního stylu, kulturní spotřeby a stratifikace v současné české společnosti. Hledáme odpověď na otázku, do jaké míry je objem vtěleného kulturního kapitálu hierarchicky uspořádán mezi sociálními třídami a v obecné úrovni se zajímáme o to, jak kulturní praktiky a vkus vymezují symbolické mezitřídní hranice.

První část diskutuje teoretický rámec studia vztahů životního stylu, kulturní spotřeby a stratifikace, spolu s otázkami konceptualizace a měření životního způsobu a kulturního vkusu. Představuje tři teoretické modely vztahu třídy a kultury, homologický, postmoderně individualistický a kulturně omnivorní. Podle homologické argumentace jsou sociálním třídám vlastní specifické životní styly, protože mají k dispozici odlišnou úroveň a kompozici specifických forem kapitálu. Distinktivní vzorce kulturní spotřeby napomáhají rozvíjet a uchovávat identitu tříd či jejich frakcí. Model postmoderní individualizace naopak tvrdí, že životní styly a spotřeba se postupně diverzifikovaly a roztříštily, vzniklou inflaci vkusů spotřebitelů tak nelze vysvětlit pouze společenským postavením. Lidé již nerozeznávají, ani nesdílejí pevnou kulturní hierarchii, rozdíly v kulturní spotřebě mezi sociálními třídami se staly okrajovými.

Středovou perspektivu mezi uvedenými teoriemi představuje nejnovější teoretický model „kulturní všežravosti". Podle hypotézy nazvané „všežrouti vs. vyhranění" (omnivore-univore thesis) byla vyhraněná vysoká kultura jako známka statusu postupně nahrazena kosmopolitní všežravostí. Skupiny s vysokým statusem dokáží spotřebovávat stále širší žánrové spektrum (všežrouti) než ostatní. Znalosti a participace na všech kulturních formách se současně stávají zdrojem statusu. Privilegované třídy si nejen zachovávají svou exkluzivní vysokokulturní preferenci, ale za svou přijaly taktéž spotřebu populární kultury a masový vkus, zatímco nižší třídy si uchovaly pouze pro ně typický vkus spojený s nízkou kulturou (vyhranění).

Druhá část studie představuje výsledky analýzy strukturace životního stylu a kulturní spotřeby na datech z výzkumu Market & Media & Lifestyle TGI 2004 (MEDIAN s.r.o.). Nejprve ověřujeme hypotézu, že sociální třídy (Social Grades ABCDE podle statusu hlavy domácnosti) jsou i v České republice hierarchicky asociovány s odlišným životním stylem ve třech oblastech: *vkus a aktivity spojené s vysokou kulturou* (návštěva kulturních událostí, umělecké pořady v televizi, zájem o vážnou hudbu, obliba poezie, a dal.), *luxusní spotřeba* (exkluzivní oblékání, preference nákupu drahého oblečení, luxusního a značkového zboží, a dal.) a *zdravý způsob života* (péče o zdraví, správná životospráva, upřednostňování bio výrobků, a dal.). Poté zkoumáme sociální strukturaci kulturní všežravosti v případě obecného zájmu o mediální témata informační a zábavné povahy, spojené jak s vysokou (historie, vzdělání, umění, apod.), tak nízkou (černá kronika, celebrity, sex, apod.) kulturou.

Obecná hypotéza proponuje hierarchickou asociaci mezi třídou na jedné straně a odlišným životním stylem na straně druhé. Analýza ukazuje na její platnost, spolu se silným vlivem vzdělání jako formou institucionalizovaného kulturního kapitálu a příjmem domácnosti, platí ve dvou oblastech, vkusu či aktivit spojených s vysokou kulturou a luxusní spotřebou, nikoliv však v případě zdravého způsobu života. Ten není strukturován třídou, ale pouze vzděláním a příjmem spolu s významným vlivem genderu a věku. Výsledky analýzy tak potvrzují předchozí zjištění z konce 90. let o významné asociaci vysoké kultury s třídní pozicí. Silný vliv na zkoumané sféry životního stylu nicméně mají i jiné faktory, zejména pohlaví a věk i centrálnost hlavního města Prahy a dalších velkých měst. Hranice kulturní diference prochází mezi třídami A, B, C s afinitou k vysoké kultuře a luxusní spotřebě a nižšími třídami D, E. V důsledku toho se zdá předčasné přijmout postmoderní teorii stratifikace, která klade důraz na oslabené kulturní hierarchie a jejich rozmělněné vazby na sociální třídu, jako model schopný věrohodně vysvětlit českou sociální strukturu. Celkově jsou tak výsledky analýz českého sociálního prostoru v souladu s empirickými zjištěními převažujícími v ostatních vyspělých zemích.

Kulturní všežravost v oblasti zájmu o mediální témata je pravděpodobnější u vyšších statusových skupin indikovaných vzděláním a příjmem domácnosti, přímý vliv sociální třídy je však mlhavý. To může být způsobeno tím, že distinktivní třídní kultura, která by byla zakotvena v této nové podobě kulturního kapitálu, se v české společnosti dosud nerozvinula. Nicméně fakt, že skupina těch, kdo vyhledávají nejširší varietu mediálních témat (všežrouti), se do značné míry překrývá s těmi, kdo mají vysoký kulturní kapitál (vkus a aktivity vysoké kultury), naznačuje, že kulturní všežravost nejspíše bude v budoucnu sloužit jako základ vytyčující hranici elitního statusu. Do jaké míry se stane kulturou dominantní statusové skupiny, je otázkou. Na druhé straně se totiž distinktivní vzorce vysoké kultury nejvyšších statusových skupin mohou paralelně rozvíjet, v homologickém smyslu, ve spojitosti s utvářením sociálních tříd na základě ekonomického kapitálu nabytého v průběhu postkomunistické transformace. Výsledky analýzy týkající se zejména luxusní spotřeby naznačují, že stejně tak, ne-li mnohem více, snobská exkluze funguje jako známka statusu.

Při studiu současné podoby stratifikačního systému české společnosti v perspektivě vytyčování symbolických hranic pomocí kulturních praktik bychom měli vzít v úvahu dva paralelně působící, avšak navzájem teoreticky protichůdně založené procesy, jednak proces individualizace spojený s modernizací a globalizací, kde právě kulturní všežravost zasahuje hlavně skupiny mladých s vysokým statusem a značným edukačním kapitálem, a na druhé straně proces postupné třídní strukturace, ke kterému došlo v průběhu postkomunistické transformace mimo jiné i v souvislosti s krystalizací rozdílných statusových komponent.

Zusammenfassung

In dieser Studie wird die Beziehung zwischen Lebensstil, Kulturkonsum und Stratifizierung in der heutigen tschechischen Gesellschaft untersucht. Wir suchten eine Antwort auf die Frage, in welchem Maße der Umfang des verkörperten Kulturkapitals zwischen den sozialen Schichten hierarchisch angeordnet ist. Auf allgemeiner Ebene interessieren wir uns dafür, wie kulturelle Handlungen und Geschmack symbolische Grenzen zwischen den sozialen Schichten ziehen.

Im ersten Teil wird der theoretische Rahmen der Untersuchung von Lebensstil, Kulturkonsum und Stratifizierung gemeinsam mit den Fragen der Konzeptualisierung und Messung von Lebensstil und kulturellem Geschmack diskutiert. Es werden drei Theoriemodelle der Beziehung von sozialer Schicht und Kultur vorgestellt: das homologe, das postmodern-individualistische und das kulturell omnivore. Laut homologer Argumentation stellen die sozialen Schichten spezifische Lebensstile dar, da sie ein spezifisches Niveau und unterschiedliche Zusammenstellungen spezifischer Formen von Kapital aufweisen. Distinktive Muster des Kulturkonsums helfen bei der Entwicklung und Bewahrung der Identität der sozialen Schicht oder deren Fraktion. Das Modell der postmodernen Individualisierung behauptet dagegen, dass Lebensstile und Konsum nach und nach diversifiziert und zersplittert wurden, so dass die bestehende Inflation des Verbrauchergeschmacks nicht allein durch die gesellschaftliche Stellung erklärt werden kann. Die Menschen erkennen und teilen keine feststehende kulturelle Hierarchie mehr, die Unterschiede im Kulturkonsum zwischen den sozialen Schichten wurden an den Rand gedrängt.

Die mittlere Perspektive zwischen diesen beiden Theorien nimmt das neuere Modell der „kulturellen Allesfresserei" ein. Nach der Hypothese „Allesfresserei vs. Abgrenzung" (omnivore-univore thesis) wurde die abgegrenzte Hochkultur als Statusmerkmal nach und nach durch eine kosmopolite Allesfresserei ersetzt. Gruppen mit hohem Status können ein zunehmend größeres Spektrum konsumieren (Allesfresser) als andere. Kenntnisse und Teilhabe an allen Kulturformen werden gleichzeitig zu einer Statusquelle. Die privilegierten Schichten behalten nicht nur ihre exklusive Hochkulturpräferenz, sondern nehmen sich auch des Konsums der Popkultur und des Massengeschmacks an, während die unteren Schichten lediglich den für sie typischen mit der niedrigen Kultur zusammenhängenden Geschmack beibehalten (Abgrenzung).

Im zweiten Teil der Studie werden die Ergebnisse einer Analyse der Strukturierung von Lebensstil und Kulturkonsum anhand der Daten der Erhebung Market & Media & Lifestyle TGI 2004 (MEDIAN s.r.o.) vorgestellt. Zunächst wird die Hypothese überprüft, der gemäß die sozialen Schichten (Social Grades

ABCDE gemäß Status des Haushaltsvorstands) in Tschechien hierarchisch mit einem unterschiedlichen Lebensstil in drei Bereichen assoziiert sind: *Geschmack und Aktivitäten i.Z. mit der Hochkultur* (Besuch von kulturellen Veranstaltungen, Kunstsendungen im Fernsehen, Interesse an klassischer Musik, Gedichten usw.), *Luxuskonsum* (exklusive Mode, Einkauf teurer Kleidung, Luxus- und Markenwaren usw.) und *gesunder Lebensstil* (Gesundheit, Ernährung, Bevorzugung von Bio-Produkten usw.). Anschließend untersuchten wir die soziale Strukturierung der kulturellen Allesfresserei hinsichtlich des allgemeinen Interesses an Medienthemen aus dem Bereich Information und Unterhaltung, die mit der Hochkultur (Geschichte, Bildung, Kunst u.ä.) und der niedrigen Kultur (Vermischtes, bekannte Persönlichkeiten, Sex u.ä.) zusammenhängen.

Eine allgemeine Hypothese proponiert eine hierarchische Assoziierung zwischen der sozialen Schicht auf der einen und dem unterschiedlichen Lebensstil auf der anderen Seite. Dies gilt, zusammen mit dem starken Einfluss der Bildung als Form des institutionalisierten Kulturkapitals sowie dem Haushaltseinkommen, für zwei Bereiche: den Geschmack und den mit der Hochkultur verbundenen Aktivitäten, nicht jedoch für den gesunden Lebensstil. Letzterer wird nicht durch die soziale Schicht strukturiert, sondern nur durch Bildung und Einkommen zusammen mit dem starken Einfluss von Gender und Alter. Die Analyseergebnisse bestätigen somit frühere Feststellungen vom Ende der 90. Jahre hinsichtlich einer starken Assoziierung von Hochkultur und gesellschaftlicher Stellung. Einen starken Einfluss auf die untersuchten Sphären des Lebensstils haben jedoch auch andere Faktoren, insbesondere Geschlecht und Alter sowie die zentrale Position von Prag und anderen Großstädten. Die Grenze der kulturellen Differenzierung verläuft durch die Schichten A, B, C mit Affinität zu Hochkultur und Luxuskonsum sowie durch die unteren Schichten D, E. Daher scheint es vorzeitig, die postmoderne Stratifizierungstheorie anzunehmen, die die Schwächung der Kulturhierarchie und die Aufweichung ihrer Beziehungen zur sozialen Schicht betont; dieses Modell scheint nicht geeignet, die soziale Struktur der tschechischen Gesellschaft glaubwürdig zu erklären. Insgesamt entsprechen die Analyseergebnisse des tschechischen sozialen Raums damit den empirischen Feststellungen der meisten entwickelten Länder.

Die kulturelle Allesfressei im Bereich des Interesses an Medienthemen ist bei den durch Bildung und Haushaltseinkommen indizierten höheren Statusgruppen wahrscheinlicher, ein direkter Einfluss der sozialen Schicht ist jedoch unklar. Dies könnte dadurch verursacht sein, dass sich eine distinktive Klassenkultur, die in dieser neuen Form des Kulturkapitals verankert wäre, in der tschechischen Gesellschaft bislang nicht entwickelt hat. Nichtsdestotrotz lässt die Tatsache, dass die Gruppe derjenigen, die die größte Vielfalt von Medienthemen konsumieren (Allesfresser), in großem Maße mit der Gruppe mit dem größten Kulturkapital (Geschmack und Aktivitäten der Hochkultur) übereinstimmt, darauf schließen, dass die kulturelle Allesfresserei in Zukunft wahrscheinlich die Grundlage für die Ziehung der Grenze zum Elite-Status bilden wird. Dabei bleibt die Frage, in welchem Maße sie zur Kultur der dominanten Statusgruppe wird. Auf der anderen Seite können sich die distinktiven Muster der Hochkultur der höchsten Statusgruppen nämlich parallel im homologen Sinne entwickeln, im Zusammenhang mit der Bildung von sozialen Schichten auf der Grundlage des im Verlauf der postkommunistischen Transformation erworbenen ökonomischen Kapitals. Die Analyseergebnisse insbesondere hinsichtlich des Luxuskonsums deuten darauf hin, dass die snobistische Ausschließlichkeit ebenfalls, wenn nicht gar noch stärker, als Statusmerkmal fungiert.

Beim Studium der heutigen Gestalt des Stratifizierungssystem der tschechischen Gesellschaft in der Perspektive der Ziehung symbolischer Grenzen mit Hilfe von Kulturpraktiken sollten wir zwei parallel

verlaufende, dabei aber theoretisch gegenläufige Prozesse bedenken: zum einen den mit der Modernisierung und Globalisierung verbundenen Prozess der Individualisierung, bei dem gerade die kulturelle Allesfresserei hauptsächlich die jüngeren Gruppen mit hohem Bildungskapital betrifft, und auf der anderen Seite den Prozess der allmählichen Klassenstrukturierung, zu dem es im Zuge der postkommunistischen Transformation u.a. auch im Zusammenhang mit der Kristallisierung unterschiedlicher Statuskomponenten kam.

Social Standing and Lifestyle in Czech Society

Jiří Šafr