

**Universal pattern of cultural omnivorousness? :
A comparison of cultural taste patterns in Estonia and the
Netherlands**

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Abstract

This paper seeks to examine the character of cultural taste patterns in the Netherlands and in previously formally 'classless' Estonia and argue what could be the reasons behind the potential differences. Information from nationally representative survey data collected by Eurobarometer in 2001/2003, 2007 and 2013 from Estonian and Dutch respondents on cultural participation is analyzed and, using multinomial regression analysis, linked to a set of indicators of social background and values. The results show that, although in both countries there are clusters of omnivores and non-consumers, these clusters are influenced differently by the chosen predictor variables. While in Estonia, where values concerned with individual background are prevalent, also individuals' own class position predicted omnivorousness best, in the Netherlands more socially responsible values such as social equality and solidarity and cultural diversity were of greatest importance in predicting taste patterns. The study exemplified that, in applying familiar theories about cultural lifestyles, it is important to consider specific country contexts.

Keywords: cultural taste patterns, omnivorousness, distinction, the Netherlands, Estonia.

Introduction

The aim of this study is to determine whether there are differences in cultural taste patterns and underlying social positions and attitudes in the Netherlands and Estonia and what could be the reasons behind the potential differences. In response to the argument that adequate comparisons of cultural inequality and cultural consumption patterns between countries are still deficient (Katz-Gerro, 2011), in the present paper I compare in detail the cultural consumption patterns of people in the Netherlands and Estonia, focusing on the following questions:

- *Can distinct groups of people be identified on the basis of their pattern of arts consumption in the Netherlands and Estonia?*
- *How can types of art consumption be explained by indicators of socio-economic background?*
- *How have these patterns of arts consumption changed in both countries during the period from 2001/2003 to 2013?*

In addition to their socio-economic background, people's values and social attitudes are also examined and linked to their taste patterns for a fuller explanation thereof, asking:

- *What is the impact of the social values of Dutch and Estonian respondents on types of arts consumption?*

These questions are answered drawing upon nationally representative survey data collected by Eurobarometer in 2001/2003, 2007 and 2013.

Cultural consumers

Several studies have shown that the consumers of highbrow culture are on average more highly educated and belong to higher status groups than people who primarily enjoy genres of popular culture (Bourdieu, 1984; DiMaggio & Useem, 1978; Peterson & Kern, 1996). Instead of taking the hierarchical nature of cultural genres and preferences as being intrinsic to genres, as the normative approach to culture (Gans, 1999) used to do, Bourdieu developed his theory of the cultural field. He argued that not the intrinsic qualities between genres, but rather status

characteristics of audiences were crucial for distinguishing between highbrow and lowbrow culture (Bourdieu, 1992). Highbrow culture, then, was a signifier and validator of the status of people in higher classes, who took care that it would not be too easily accessible for the lower classes.

However, during the past decades, scholars have recognized the broadening of tastes in cultural consumption among members of the upper and middle classes (Peterson, 1992; Peterson & Simkus, 1992) so that the hierarchic opposition between elite and mass culture was replaced by the distinction between univorousness and omnivorousness. Peterson (1992) noted that among the elite strata of society it became increasingly rare for people to limit the arts consumption to legitimate cultural forms only. This was not found among members of the lower classes, who were still likely to consume mostly or exclusively popular forms of art and thereby univorous in their tastes (Peterson, 1992; Peterson & Kern, 1996; Peterson & Simkus, 1992). The social structuring of cultural consumption, therefore, did not disappear – the omnivorous-univorous opposition was still structured around class and status lines (Chan & Goldthorpe, 2005; Peterson, 1992).

Research has generally confirmed the existence of omnivorous consumption patterns in various countries such as France, Belgium, England, the Netherlands, Finland, Russia, Israel, the US and Spain (respectively: Coulangeon & Lemel, 2007; Van Eijck & Lievens, 2008; Chan & Goldthorpe, 2005; Van Eijck & Knulst, 2005; Purhonen, Gronow, & Rahkonen, 2010; Zavisca, 2005; Katz-Gerro, Raz, & Yaish, 2009; Alderson, Junisbai, & Heacock, 2007; Sintas & Álvarez, 2002). The typologies that appear in different studies usually show four types of cultural consumers with similar characteristics. These are *exclusive highbrows*, *inclusive highbrows*, *inclusive non-highbrows* and *exclusive lowbrows* or *non-consumers* (Ollivier, 2008, p. 123). Studies on the determinants of omnivorous taste have mostly confirmed that class and status (Chan-Goldthorpe, 2005, 2007), education (Bennett, Emmison, & Frow, 1999; Roose, Van Eijck, & Lievens, 2012; Van Eijck & Bargeman, 2004), age (Bennett et al., 1999; Ollivier, 2008; Van Eijck & Bargeman, 2004), gender (Ollivier, 2008; Van Eijck & Knulst, 2005) and family socialization (Kraaykamp & Van Eijck, 2010; Van Eijck, 1999) have a great impact on this taste pattern.

Cultural omnivores are often studied in connection with their socio-economic background that is usually linked to the cultural taste of the respondent or frequency of attendance, but some researchers have considered using only these measures to

explain the patterning of tastes to be too cursory and started looking for better models for explaining cultural lifestyles by including people's values, attitudes and cognition. Daenekindt and Roose (2014) analysed how people's aesthetic dispositions influence the social patterning of cultural practices and preferences. Thus, they challenged the idea that dispositions and preferences are equivalent and found that *ways of preferring* the arts (aesthetic dispositions) that underlie the apparent eclecticism of omnivorous behaviour may reveal much more about people's habitus than their overt cultural consumption. The argument that socio-economic characteristics alone do not explain taste patterns and that other aspects affecting the perception and appreciation of art could be added to these, is also made by Van Eijck and Lievens (2008). They linked broader social values concerning social integration with tastes and background variables. Unlike Daenekindt and Roose, who argued that the dependent variable should be measured differently (using aesthetic dispositions instead of tastes), they used people's values concerning social integration as predictors of cultural taste patterns. The results indicated that omnivorousness (broad taste) *per se* is not necessarily related to these values because of the breadth of taste, but social values are more connected to the specific cultural schemes (highbrow, folk, pop) that are appreciated. These studies clarify that operationalizing taste patterns by considering aesthetic dispositions and combinations of cultural schemes increases the explanatory power of the studies, since these are important factors in trying to understand what exactly influences social and cultural patterns.

The need for a comparative perspective in taste patterns research

Research on omnivorous consumption patterns is mostly based on Bourdieu's distinction theory and the notion of homology. Put very simply: people with high status consume 'high' culture and *per contra*. From this starting point, stepping forward in time, researchers observe a gradual dissolving of highbrow-popular boundaries in the arts in increasingly (post-)modernizing societies. This seems to be the breeding ground of the omnivore and many scholars assume the progressive broadening of this type of a taste pattern over time. Chan and Goldthorpe (2007), for instance, take omnivores to represent 'a new aesthetics' (p. 3). At the same time, the diffusion of this taste pattern is questioned by some (Robette & Roueff, 2014; Rossman & Peterson, 2005). The discords in the findings are often due to different research methodologies used and not considering the specifics of contexts while comparing different countries (Peterson, 2005). A broader comparative perspective would contribute to seeing how closely status characteristics are tied with omnivorousness and would also clarify its possibly different characteristics in a diversity of contexts, both national and temporal. Great differences have already been found in how cultural taste relates to status in the United States versus France (cfr. Lamont, 1992), but looking into countries where stratification has taken an even more divergent shape might show omnivorousness (if it appears) in different perspectives and, thus, deepen the understanding of this pattern.

It is striking that, although omnivorousness is studied using numerous art forms and countries, mostly in Europe and America, only a few inquiries have focused on whether omnivorization also appears in previously classless societies in a large part of contemporary Europe with a communist past. Among these few is a study by Zavisca (2005), showing how the cultural meaning of omnivorous reading patterns that appeared in post-Soviet Russia remains distinct from what has been found in the European welfare states. She shows how having an omnivorous taste is not well predicted by one's socio-economic profile as is usually assumed, because the composition of this cluster is more diverse and the Russian reading omnivores possess heterogeneous underlying dispositions towards reading. Despite enjoying similar art genres, higher educated omnivores can be divided into two ideological groups based on their political attitudes (which in turn are based on their change of economic status for better or worse after the collapse of the USSR): those who are worried about the

decline of culture in general and blame it on the capitalist system ('earlier was better'-ideology) and those who welcome the broadening of cultural opportunities that the transition provided (Zavisca, 2005). In a similar vein, De Graaf (1991) demonstrated that different taste patterns are still recognizable in the Netherlands as well as in former Czechoslovakia and Hungary, but in previously socialist countries, political attitudes are much more important predictors of cultural consumption than in the Netherlands. These studies offer alternative views on the relation between status and omnivorousness and also exemplify the need to study cultural taste and its predictors in different contexts.

Daloz (2013) has stressed the need for a comparative perspective in distinction research due these kinds of contextual differences. He criticizes the practice of social scientists to base their research on established grand theories with universalistic ambitions and using these in deductive way, without questioning the assumptions made by these theories in contexts under inquiry (Daloz, 2013, p. 2). Therefore, different countries at different times give dissimilar results in analyses of social distinction – grand theories cannot be assumed to hold everywhere. For Daloz, looking into different socio-political contexts of countries under inquiry and questioning the underlying theories and concepts of social research in specific contexts of different countries is indispensable if we want to make sense of cultural consumption patterns. Such a perspective shows us that the grand theories from which interpretations are deduced are less universally valid than their proponents assume, wherefore it is important to look beyond the mere breadth of the taste to not only the aesthetic, but also the social attitudes of people who display these patterns – something that is seldom done (for example see Van Eijck & Lievens, 2008).

Deriving from the position that adequate comparisons of cultural inequality and cultural consumption patterns between countries are still deficient (Katz-Gerro, 2011), I will analyze in detail the cultural profiles of people in two countries – Estonia – a representative transition society – and the Netherlands – a representative Western welfare society – asking about both countries: *Can distinct groups of people be identified on the basis of their arts consumption in the Netherlands and Estonia? How can types of art consumption be explained by indicators of socio-economic background? How have these patterns of arts consumption changed in both countries over time during the period from 2001/2003 to 2013?*

To bridge analytical gaps that would appear in comparing these two countries if using only the theory of omnivorousness, I follow the suggestions of Daloz (2013) ‘to go much beyond a mere juxtaposition of cases emphasizing (dis-)similarities’ (p. 179) in socio-political contexts of the countries at hand. This is done by ascertaining different socio-political contexts and developments in these two countries, thereby moving beyond the theories by Bourdieu and Peterson. To do so, people’s values and social attitudes are analyzed and linked to their taste patterns, asking: *what is the impact of social values and attitudes of respondents of Estonia and the Netherlands on types of arts consumption?*

The following paragraphs concentrate on the two possibly most important concepts – class and value differences - that are to be considered before translating the framework of the theory of omnivorousness to Estonian context.

The context of the Netherlands

The Netherlands is usually considered one amongst the so-called West European welfare states with great social security expenditures, low levels of socio-economic inequality (Ferrera, 2008; McGinnity & Calvert, 2009) and relatively equal educational opportunities (Rijken, Maas, & Ganzeboom, 2007). The roots of this kind of societal type lie in the system of social stratification, where clear-cut cultural and social boundaries protected the right to privileges (Bourdieu, 1984) firstly by nobility and then by people with economic and cultural capital. In addition, the Netherlands has long represented a strong subcultural segmentation of society. This system of voluntary pillarization started developing in the 17th century, with some signs of it still present in today’s society. The pillarization is still a relevant organizational framework of the educational system in the Netherlands. Today, new pillars have been developed with immigrants, too, taking active advantage of the system (Sturm, 1993; Sturm, Groenendijk, Kruithof, & Rens, 1998).

With the modernization of societies, ideas such as equality, meritocracy, social security and openness started to emerge in Western Europe and this shook up the existing class structure. Despite the endeavor to equality, some studies show the increase in inequality in terms of higher education in the Netherlands (e.g. Rijken et al., 2007) although, considering the 15-year-old pupils, the extent to which their reading performance (measured by PISA test scores) is determined by their socio-economic background is rather limited (OECD, 2011, p. 96).

In terms of income, equality is not so successfully secured. The inequality-measuring GINI index has been increasing in the Netherlands between the mid-1980s and 2008 – a tendency appearing in many countries of the European Union (Bonesmo Fredriksen, 2012).

Nevertheless, omnivorous taste (e.g. Van Eijck & Knulst, 2005) and increasing popularity of popular genres among the Dutch (Janssen, Verboord, & Kuipers, 2011) was clearly observed in the Dutch context due the weakening of the hierarchy of cultural tastes made possible by the emancipation and social mobility of working and lower-middle classes.

The Estonian context

The image of class structure appears rather different if we turn to the historical developments of it in case of Estonia. By the time Peterson wrote his omnivore thesis, Estonia had been free from the communist occupation for only one year. According to Bennett et al. (1999, p. 189), an omnivorous consumption pattern can only exist in societies where forms of ‘highbrow’ and ‘lowbrow’ culture have been established earlier. What was different is that when Bourdieu emphasized the role of culture in reproducing class habitus and position in the 1970s in France, in the Soviet Union the official position was that there are to be no classes and social hierarchy at all, not to mention the markers of distinction such as expensive cars or distinctive affluence of one’s clothing. In this context, we could not speak of a unified ‘dominant class’ that was inclined to consume high forms of culture and its opposite that consumed only popular fare, as was the case in France. This allows us to question the applicability of the Bourdieusian habitus as a structuring concept of cultural consumption and lifestyles.

The historical background of Estonia is characterized by centuries under the rule of numerous conquerors (Germany, Russia, Denmark, Sweden, *et cetera*) from the 13th century until the beginning of the 20th century when it declared its independence officially for the first time. With its indigenous people belonging mostly to peasantry (there was no permanent Estonian feudal nobility – the role of which was mostly held by the Baltic Germans) by the times of different rulers, Estonia was a rather homogenous society. The period of the first independence (1918-1940) remained too short to establish a social hierarchy similar to that in the Netherlands or elsewhere in Western Europe. The Soviet occupation (1940-1941,

1944-1991) put an end to private property and eliminated the members of the economic or intellectual elites first. This complete interruption of the normal development at both the societal and individual level in Estonia makes the development of social hierarchy hard to grasp. As Stalin wanted to demolish the elite to build the state of the workers, earlier well-off or highly educated families were likely repressed. And often the members of the earlier elites found themselves at the bottom layers of society. It was very common to be a child of a farm laborer and become a party member, but also a child of a cultural elite to work as a worker. While socialization by parents influences later cultural dispositions of people (Van Eijck, 1999), it often occurred that a simple worker had high levels of cultural capital acquired in childhood in the Republic of Estonia, whereas Soviet officials (often born to workers families) appeared as 'uncultured' to them (Jõesalu & Kõresaar, 2013, p. 184). In this context, it was difficult to see straight connections between one's class affiliation and cultural capital.

Estonia's agriculturally based society only became more industrialized by the middle of the 20th century, when people's employment increasingly shifted from agriculture to industry (Saar, 2009, p. 4). But even then the formation of social hierarchy by means of the accumulation of social, economic and cultural capital was not possible due to communist ideology (at least officially; members of the party had greater privileges (Eglitis, 2011)).

After the regaining of independence in 1991 the picture changed – great neoliberal reforms were carried out and Estonia became characterized by social turbulence (Kalmus & Vihalemm, 2007:99) and a high degree of unemployment, which was almost non-existent earlier (Saar, 2009:5). Now, with the emergence of the 'winners' and 'losers' of the transition, a stable social hierarchy could develop (Lauristin, 2004). It is suggested that after the restoration of independence, social stratification appeared to be based on other elements than elite status and class. The study by Lõhmus, Lauristin and Vihalemm (2009) found ethnicity to be a strong predictor of one's affiliation in the system of cultural taste patterns. In analyzing Latvian society, Eglitis (2011) found classed distinction still to be present in society, although not in a sense of *habitus* as is the case in the Western Europe, but through differences in the extent of consumption. In other words, owning expensive objects started to define one's position in society in Latvia. Due social similarities, this process could be assumed in Estonia as well.

So, far from class and its concomitant *habitus*, socio-cultural hierarchy had different roots. Although the new free market of the 1990s gave a boost to social inequality, the following years have changed the societal income structure of Estonia to be 'fair' (Zickute, 2013; to compare, GINI index of 2013 was 32.9, in the Netherlands 25.1 (Eurostat, 2013)). Therefore the societal structure has moved closer to that of stable post-industrial countries such as the Netherlands, although the phase of a highly developed system of stratification by means of maintaining classed structure through access to different types of capitals that is the basis of Bourdieu's distinction-theory has been skipped from this process. Since some form of social distinction has appeared also in Estonia (e.g. in forms of distinction by ethnicity and consumption capacities), we could now assume the existence of cultural distinction in Estonia as well. But as the case of post-socialist Russia shows, this distinction and its consequent taste patterns could appear in modified forms compared to that of the Netherlands, since also in Estonia distinction did not explicitly take a form of classed *habitus* as in the West. This was due to the lack of socializing advantage (Lõhmus et al., 2009), that the parents of the new country with the exchanged elite could not provide to their children. While class formation can be more or less independent of parental class (in case of great social mobility), cultural consumption is usually something established in childhood, meaning that socialization plays a role in that. Parents who engage in highbrow cultural activities encourage their children's participation in highbrow arts later in life (Kraaykamp & Van Eijck, 2010). In Estonia, the ties between destination and parental classes started to tighten again (after increasing flexibility after the 1930s) for the cohort born between 1960 and 1975 (Saar, 2010), but have played a role in the Netherlands for much longer. Therefore, considering that socialization influences a person's cultural taste, it could be assumed that, due to possibly greater social mobility, people's tastes in Estonia are less explained by the occupational class and *habitus* than in the Netherlands where social hierarchy has a long history. This, in turn, may complicate the picture of the formation of taste patterns, since high culture has not always been linked more with higher class and the other way around.

Omnivorousness and values

Omnivorous art consumers are argued to be among the individuals who show openness, tolerance and are characterized by greater ‘cosmopolitanism’ and inclusiveness than earlier cultural elites (Chan & Goldthorpe, 2007; Emmison, 2003). DiMaggio (1996), seeing similar qualities among museum visitors suggests that these attitudes are distinctly modern in their nature. And modern these are, since in combination they suggest omnivores to be individuals who do not seem to care too much about what their parents would think of their taste. This is the kind of attitude usually seen to belong to the value dimension of individualism. At the same time, the qualities that are attributed to eclectic omnivores do not imply what is usually indicated by using the term ‘individualism’ – greater possibilities of forming one’s own identity (Beck, 1992; Giddens, 1991) with a little taste of self-centeredness to it, which is seen in the lack of group consciousness and little attention to the ‘common good’ (Bauman, 2002). Van Eijck and Lievens (2008) found that Flemish omnivores are rather concerned with others’ wellbeing and open towards new experiences and other people. This theoretical discord is to be overcome in what Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002, p. 161) wrote about new, ‘altruistic individualism’, being a more social form of individualism, where, next to furthering one’s individual goals, care for others, community and nature, and an active approach to improving these (e.g. ecological movements, political activism) are present. Omnivores with culturally mobile (Emmison, 2003), opened (Bennett et al., 1999; Ollivier, 2008), inclusive (Emmison, 2003; Peterson, 2005), tolerant (Bryson, 1996) and solidary (Van Eijck & Lievens, 2008) mindsets could fit well into the framework of altruistic, social individualism.

Value-atmosphere of the Netherlands

Empirical studies, too, confirm that new forms of sociality and solidarity have a potential in economically well-off Western welfare countries such as the Netherlands (Inglehart & Baker, 2000). In the value dimensions proposed by Inglehart and Baker (2000) who analyzed the data of the 1995-1998 World Values Survey, the Netherlands rank very high on both chosen value dimensions – the secular-rational (contrasted to traditional) and the self-expression (contrasted to survival) dimensions. The new type of social-economic reality that the shift towards postmodernity had

brought to the Netherlands, means moving from an emphasis on the economic growth and physical security of society (materialist values) towards deepening social and environmental responsibility of individuals as well as the political agenda (post-materialist values) (Inglehart, 1997). Today, the shift from materialist to post-materialist (emphasizing autonomy and self-expression) values among younger generations that Inglehart saw happening in 1971 is clearly apparent in the Western welfare states (including the Netherlands) that experience a gradual rise towards self-expression values (Inglehart, 2008).

Value-atmosphere of Estonia

At the time when the new type of individualism appeared in welfare states, Estonia was overcoming a period of great social change. Being a geopolitically and culturally closed society, the spread of cultural trends from abroad was hindered in the Soviet Union. Also, unlike the Netherlands, the authoritarian state of the USSR reduced personal choices to a minimum. Instead of encouraging individualization, the Soviet Union was known for its collectivist ideology. As is known from history, the utterly collectivist communism never became a reality. After the independence, when its society became opened again and oriented itself more to Europe, Estonia had to move from one value system to another very quickly.

In tracking the social value structure of Estonia, it is useful to understand that social settings shape the cultural values of people (Inglehart, 1977, as cited in Wang & Xu, 2009, p. 263). Since the shift from a closed to an opened society was so rapid in comparison to the gradual changes in value system of the Western welfare societies and since the rapid change from a plan economy to a free market economy brought pragmatic, materialist values to Estonia, individuals had to take the full responsibility for their performance in life (Kalmus & Vihalemm, 2007, p. 99). Therefore, the new social hierarchy that developed during the transition was characterized not by habitus, but by the materialist idea about the degree and evaluation of one's consumption possibilities (Lauristin, 2004), which made individual economic progress one of people's central goals. Kalmus and Vihalemm (2007) call this type of individualism a 'pure' individualism, in which modern values are more relevant than post-modern ones. Results of this complicated social situation are pictured again by Inglehart and Baker (2000). Their analysis shows that between 1990 and 1996 Estonia scored even higher than the Netherlands on the secular-rational value-dimension. In deep contrast

to the Netherlands, the survival values (with greater emphasis on economic and physical security) were much more strongly rooted in Estonia than values related to self-expression (with greater emphasis on subjective well-being and quality of life) that were prominent in the Netherlands. The movement on the survival-self-expression scale in this period is even negative – the tendency explained by the authors by the harshening of economic situation of the newly independent societies.

The socially responsible individualism is not easily appearing in Estonia, with great levels of rationalism as a core value of people, while at the same time few requirements of equality and social guarantees for the poor (Mattusch, 1997, as cited in Norkus, 2011, pp. 29-30; Eesti Koostöö Kogu, 2011). Next to it the 1990s saw the marginalization of class discourse in the public domain and research in Estonia (Helemäe & Saar, 2012). The latter is almost an allergic reaction that is apparent in thinking about equality and inequality as something that mirrors the rejected communist discourse of the past. The latter despite the fact that social stratification itself has been present in many post-socialist countries (Eglitis, 2011; Helemäe & Saar, 2012).

Still, social topics appearing to the media landscape and enlivening civic action¹ together with the development of corporate social responsibility (Alas & Tafel, 2008) show that the now economically stable society is opening up to embrace new types of values that engage individuals with the community. What Lauristin and Vihalemm (1997, p. 250) consider ‘cultural contradictions of transition’ is typical of Stamenova’s (1999) scenario – people with greater material assurance after the transition allow themselves to be opened and follow post-materialist orientations in contrast to the ones who remain economically insecure and hold materialist values.

The presented differences between value systems of both countries should influence the character or proportion of omnivorous taste pattern in comparing Estonia and the Netherlands, if values are indeed relevant predictors of omnivorous cultural taste as earlier studies show.

¹ The examples of both being the adoption of cohabitation law in parliament and heated debate about the role and rights of minorities, large-scale community activities such as ‘Let’s Do It!’ or the rise in importance of creative industries.

Aim and hypotheses

By taking as the starting point discussions about differences of social hierarchy and values in the Netherlands and Estonia, I explore omnivorous taste patterns in these two countries. I will, firstly, investigate the possible changes in taste patterns from 2001/2003 to 2013 in Estonia and the Netherlands. Subsequently, I am interested in which socio-economic variables and values best predict the grouping of tastes into distinct clusters in the Netherlands and which in Estonia, whether there are differences between the countries and why these differences exist, how these can be explained. The following hypotheses are guided by these three aims.

Class

One of the central concepts in taste patterns research is social class. Peterson's thesis (1992) presupposed the diminishing of the boundaries of cultural tastes among upper and middle classes and the overall shift from a Bourdieusian (1984) highbrow-lowbrow model of cultural consumption, to distinction between omnivores and univores. The question whether this shift is indeed happening and class is losing its relevance in distinguishing upper and middle classes has been central to the study of omnivorousness also during the following decades. And even if distinction between classes in terms of cultural consumption is diminishing for upper and middle classes, it is still relevant for people with lower-ranking occupations, who tend to engage in fewer cultural activities and mostly in those deemed popular (Peterson, 1992; Bennett et al., 1999; Van Eijck & Bargeman, 2004). Emmison (2003) searched for an explanation to this phenomenon and found the cultural knowledge and character features broad taste repertoires require being most prevalent among the professional and managerial knowledge classes and not accessible to everyone. Thereby, if upper-middle class consumers engage with popular culture, they still do so in a different manner than lower class members (for the latter, see Bryson, 1996; Ollivier, 2008; Zavisca, 2005) – in a manner that distinguishes their consumption from lower classes. Considering the prior it seems that class still matters in distinguishing cultural tastes.

Class discourse has long been present in the Netherlands, whereas in Estonia the social link between the origins and destinations tightened due to increasing educational inequality in turbulent times of the transition (Saar, 2009) and only since then we can see how cultural and economic capital started to play a role (Murd &

Saar, 2007). Since class hierarchies are now present in both of these societies I hypothesize that *the higher a person's occupational class, the more likely a person is to be an omnivorous cultural consumer.*

Distinction in Estonia did not explicitly take a form of classed habitus as in the West. Aspects such as ethnicity (Lõhmus et al., 2009) and presenting one's consumption possibilities (Eglitis, 2010) became more important indicators of status than parental class. But although the parents could not provide children with 'a shortcut' to higher occupations, they could still influence their later cultural consumption, since cultural consumption is mostly established not in one's destination class but already in one's childhood. Parents who engage in highbrow cultural activities encourage their children's participation in highbrow arts later in life (Kraaykamp & Van Eijck, 2010). The ties between destination and parental classes were disrupted with the communist occupation in Estonia, which meant that whereas parental cultural capital was transmitted to the children, the occupational class often was not. After the increase in social mobility for the cohorts born in 1930s and 1940s in Estonia, the association between origins and destinations started to increase again (Saar, 2009). But social reproduction has played a role in the Netherlands for much longer, wherefore the links between one's parental and destination class have possibly become tighter, hence the arts socialization matches more with both their parental as well as their own occupational class. People's tastes in Estonia may be less explained by their own occupational class (but their parental cultural capital) than in the Netherlands. Therefore I assume that *class plays a more important role in structuring people's cultural tastes in the Netherlands than it does in Estonia.*

Education

Education is considered to be a significant predictor of active art consumption and omnivorous taste patterns, since higher educated people are considered more capable and willing of appreciating both highbrow and popular art domains (Bennett et al., 1999; Roose et al., 2012; Van Eijck & Bargeman, 2004). Therefore I assume that *the higher a person's level of education, the more likely a person is to be an omnivorous cultural consumer.*

In both observed countries, secondary education is rather equally distributed, meaning that the scores of performance (measured as PISA test results of students aged 15 years) do not depend on the socio-economic rank of the parents of a student

more than OECD average. In Estonia, the link between the class of origin and pupils' capacities in secondary education² (age 15) are below the OECD average, whereas in the Netherlands it is slightly greater and does not significantly differ from the OECD average score (OECD, 2011). In addition, education played an important role in influencing the destination rank in the final years of Soviet Union's societies. The school system and teachers had a greater say than primary socialization (parental influence) in determining a person's next life decision, such as further education or work trajectory (Titma, Tuma, & Roosma, 2003). The people who were educated in the Soviet Union make up a great proportion of the Estonian population today. For these reasons I hypothesize that *in Estonia education plays a more important role in structuring people's cultural tastes than in the Netherlands.*

Values and attitudes

Fourthly, a value framework of a country may affect omnivorous taste that is closely connected to the value-dimensions of openness (Emmison, 2003; Ollivier, 2008), solidarity (Van Eijck & Lievens, 2008) tolerance (Bryson, 1996), inclusiveness/cosmopolitanism (Emmison, 2003; Peterson, 2005), *et cetera*. These values fit in the concept of altruistic, socially responsible individualism referred to earlier (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002). Therefore I assume, that *the more a person's value framework can be characterized as social instead of individualistic, the more likely a person is to be an omnivorous cultural consumer.*

The recent shift from pure individualism to altruistic individualism has been reluctant to appear in post-communist societies such as Estonia (Eglitis, 2011; Helemäe & Saar, 2012), where pragmatic and materialist values have been more prevalent than post-materialist ones. The self-expression dimension that is much higher in the Netherlands, but scarce in Estonia, implies high levels of tolerance, trust and social activism (Inglehart & Baker, 2000), which are important constituents of the phenomenon of altruistic individualism. These values are more widespread in the Netherlands and therefore probably more evenly spread across the taste patterns, whereas in Estonia these are expected to be more exclusively attributable to the cluster of omnivores (as we saw above, omnivores are more likely to hold these views than members of other taste patterns). These reasons give me grounds to assume that

² Pupils aged 15 years belong to the 'secondary school' level in the Netherlands and to 'basic school' in Estonia. In both countries the school attendance at these stages is mandatory.

social values play a more important role in structuring people's cultural tastes in Estonia than in the Netherlands.

In addition, since omnivores have been characterized as open, tolerant and cosmopolitan individuals, I hypothesize that *global orientation and values such as social equality and solidarity, cultural diversity, freedom of opinion, tolerance and openness play important roles in structuring people's cultural tastes in the Netherlands and in Estonia alike.*

Age and generational effect on taste patterns

Age has also been found to influence the patterning of tastes, since people from the same age cohort are socialized into arts through a similar education system and social context, which may differ from that of other cohorts (Van Eijck & Bargeman, 2004). Appreciation of high culture is usually higher among older people, whereas respondents with more eclectic repertoires are younger than the more exclusive highbrows (Bennett et al., 1999; Ollivier, 2008). The broadening of omnivorous taste pattern is assumed to be due to these generational differences. At the same time, the generational cohort theory holds that great historical changes shake existing social values, thereby giving birth to new generations with new value systems (Inglehart, 1977, as cited in Wang & Xu, 2009, p. 263). Since Estonian youngsters are brought up in an open society, whereas their parents and grandparents largely lived in a society closed to processes taking place in other countries, where an omnivorous taste might have been rare due to the demonization or the lack of availability of popular genres and art forms, I anticipate that *the development of the omnivorous taste has been more gradual in case of the Netherlands than in case of Estonia, where I assume more radical increase of the omnivorous taste pattern over the period under inquiry.* Also, since Estonian society became more opened to the world and its cultural diversity only 24 years ago, *the group(s) of omnivorous cultural consumers in Estonia may be assumed to be younger than these in the Netherlands*, where this group is not associated with young age (Van Eijck & Knulst, 2005). The latter gives reasons to assume that *age plays a more important role in structuring people's cultural tastes in Estonia than it does in the Netherlands.*

Data and measurements

Eurobarometer data

To test the hypotheses, I employed survey data collected in Estonia and the Netherlands in the framework of the Special Eurobarometer cross-national surveys collected in 2007³ (Eurobarometer 67.1) and 2013 (Eurobarometer 79.2) that have information on cultural access and participation in a range of arts activities for Estonia and the Netherlands. Next to that, the Special Eurobarometer survey data of 2001 (Eurobarometer 56.0) in case of the Netherlands that also has information on cultural participation is used. In case of Estonia that joined the European Union in 2004, I used the data from Candidate Countries Eurobarometer from 2003 (Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.1) that has information about the same indicators. In addition, next to information on cultural consumption in the countries at hand, the Special Eurobarometer survey from 2007 contains questions about social values and attitudes of people. Next to the variables about cultural participation and indicators of values, a variety of background characteristics are also included in this dataset. The dataset from 2007 is, therefore, employed in the second part of the analysis, whereas the first part uses information about all the measurement waves from 2001 to 2013.

All of these surveys with samples representative at the country level include answers from approximately 1000 respondents aged between 15 and 98 years for both countries.

Dependent variables: Cultural consumption

The main indicator I use to operationalize *cultural consumption* is given by asking people ‘how many times during the last 12 months have you...?’ done the

³ More detailed information on the interview data will be found at the following webpages:

1) Eurobarometer 56.0:
<https://dbk.gesis.org/dbksearch/sdesc2.asp?no=3625&search=Eurobarometer%2056.0&search2=&DB=e&tab=0¬abs=&nf=1&af=&ll=10>

2) Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.1:
<https://dbk.gesis.org/DBKSearch/SDesc2.asp?no=4159&ll=10&af=&nf=1&db=e&search=Cultural%20activities%20and%20participation&search2=¬abs=1&l=p&p=1>

3) Eurobarometer 67.1:
<https://dbk.gesis.org/dbksearch/SDesc2.asp?ll=10¬abs=&af=&nf=&search=&search2=&db=E&no=4529>

4) Eurobarometer 79.2:
<https://dbk.gesis.org/dbksearch/SDesc2.asp?ll=10¬abs=&af=&nf=&search=&search2=&db=E&no=5688>

following: 1) went to see ballet, dance (or opera) performances⁴; 2) went to the cinema; 3) went to the theatre; 4) went to see a concert; 5) visited historic monument or place (palace, castle, churches, gardens etc.); 6) visited a museum or gallery; and 7) read a book? The possible answer possibilities varied between datasets, therefore the recoded answer categories are slightly different, too⁵. In case of book reading, analyzing data from 2001 and 2003, the dichotomous variable about whether a person has read any books during the last 12 months is used, whereas in two more recent data sets (2007 and 2013) information about book reading covers the time spent on reading books.

These activities cover a great variety of genres and domains of art, whereas some categories could also be interpreted in terms of highbrow-popular division. Ballet, dance and/or opera and theatre represent the part of cultural consumption usually deemed ‘highbrow’, whereas cinema stands for more popular activities. Other categories stand somewhere in between on the scale of cultural hierarchy.

Independent variables: Values and attitudes

The Eurobarometer dataset from 2007 has information on several values-related questions. I apply three variables that complement each other well in assessing something as complex as one’s values: an individualism-social values scale, values a respondent finds most important and the global-local orientation scale.

The first set of variables is meant to track *social* and *individualist* values. What people consider the most important for having a good life, says a lot about the values they hold. Therefore the following question is employed: ‘Among the following aspects, please tell me what is the most important in order to have a good life nowadays?’ I recoded answers to this question into a dichotomous variable about whether or not a person holds social or individualistic value as most important. The basis of this divide was the mentioning of other people or social associations (e.g. importance of having children) versus mentioning of a more personal value (e.g. importance of having a good job).

⁴Answer to this question varied slightly over time. In Eurobarometer 56.0 and Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.1 the first question read ‘how many times during the last 12 months have you went to see ballet or dance performances?’, but in later studies ‘opera’ was added to this list (‘How many times during the last 12 months have you went to see ballet, dance or opera performances?’). The opera quests usually make up a small percentage in the overall arts consumption, therefore the results are unlikely to be significantly different when opera is added or left out.

⁵ The operationalization of *cultural consumption* and the other variables is given in the Appendix A.

Secondly, the variable *most important values* gives a more detailed picture about value dispositions of a respondent, since it describes values a respondent finds the most important to preserve and reinforce in current society. Three answers amongst the list given in Appendix A had to be chosen by respondents. All these 9 indicators were added to the analysis.

The third indicator useful for getting to know people's value-dimensions is their *global or local orientation* (see Appendix A for the operationalization). As expected, factor analyses presented in Appendix B1 and B2 revealed two factors with Eigenvalues over 1 in case of both countries, which gave grounds to compute two variables named 'global orientation' and 'local orientation'.

Independent variables: Political beliefs

As mentioned in case of Russia (Zavisca, 2004), *political beliefs* may prove to be a determining factor in separating dispositions people take towards the art. This is identified by respondents' self-positioning their political values on scale from left (1) to right (10).

Independent variables: Occupational class, Age, Educational level, Gender, Family situation, Type of community, Economic situation

Taking as the indicator of *occupational class* the 'current job of a respondent', I use the modernized EGP seven-class schema from Güveli, Need and Graaf (2007). From their seven classes, I combined 4-class composition (see in Appendix A) to be used in the analysis. The rest of the people (e.g. students, people at home, unemployed, pensioners) were those not working.

In analyzing the effects of *age*, I use categories recoded by Eurobarometer in order to be able to compare different age cohorts. These categories are useful to discover the generational effect of transition in case of Estonia, since the first cohort (aged 15-24) includes mostly people who are born and raised in freedom, the second (aged 25-39) people who grew up in Soviet Union, but started their adult lives in an independent county, and the third (aged 40-54) and fourth (aged over 55) people who spent a great part of their adulthood living under the conditions of occupation.

In all relevant Eurobarometer studies, a respondent's *educational level* is measured by asking: 'How old were you when you stopped full-time education?' I employed this straightforward linear measure of education.

Gender is coded male (0) and female (1).

For measuring *family situation* I grouped people into three categories based on the variables on ‘marital status’ and ‘size of household’ – ‘single’, ‘couple’ and ‘single living together’ (but not with partner). This distinction is relevant in order to understand whether a person’s economic, time or other resources are shared with someone or not. To get these indicators, I changed the original 9 categories of ‘marital status’ to ‘single’ and ‘couple’. ‘Size of household’ was linked with ‘singles’ to see whether a person is single and lives alone or single and lives together with someone (other than a partner). Since the dataset does not have information on the total number of children in a household (only the number of 14-year-olds and younger are given), I could not compute a variable about whether or not a couple has children, but the analysis⁶ showed that it would also not have influenced the results significantly.

The *type of community* may have a great influence on cultural consumption, especially its highbrow forms. I employed this variable with answers ‘rural area or village’, ‘smaller and middle-sized town’ and ‘large town’ to study this effect.

Finally, I measure *economic situation* with respondents’ evaluation of how a respondent’s household is able to manage financially.

⁶ To be able to see whether it is important to have two separate variables for ‘couple’ – these of couples without and these with children – I computed a variable, where I linked ‘living together’ with ‘size of household’. This allowed me to see whether there are more household members living together with a couple, but the age of them was not possible to distinguish and therefore I could not account for whether the household of couples, who live together with someone consisted of a couple and their child(ren) or, and more uncommonly, of a couple and their parents, roommates, *et cetera*. Since this variable about couple living together with other people also did not change the significance of the effect of the family situation to taste patterns in the regression analysis presented later, it was excluded from the analysis. Therefore only one variable about a couple (regardless of whether of not it has children) was added to the analysis.

Results

Table 1. Participation rates of cultural activities (at least once during 12 months prior to asking).

Art form	Participation rates					
	The Netherlands			Estonia		
	2001	2007	2013	2003	2007	2013
Ballet/dance(/opera)	183	254	242	147	211	248
	17.4%	25.9%	23.4%	14.4%	21.3%	24.5%
Cinema	565	554	665	407	278	414
	53.7%	56.0%	64.3%	39.9%	28.1%	40.9%
Theatre	409	564	537	462	456	443
	38.9%	57.2%	51.9%	45.3%	46.1%	43.8%
Concert	373	539	510	458	575	531
	35.5%	54.9%	49.3%	44.9%	58.1%	52.5%
Hist. sites/monuments	545	690	722	477	574	570
	51.8%	70.3%	69.8%	46.8%	58.0%	56.4%
Museum/gallery	480	611	617	412	438	452
	45.6%	62.2%	59.6%	40.4%	44.2%	44.7%
Reading	712	820	886	841	780	787
	67.7%	83.5%	85.6%	82.5%	78.8%	77.8%
Total	1052	982	1035	1019	990	1011

Note: Some rare cases had missing values, which are not excluded in the total number of visitors.

Table 1 presents participation rates of the art forms. It shows that the Netherlands outperform economically less well-off Estonia in art participation during the whole period. At the beginning, Estonians attended theatre and concerts more often and read more books. In 2007 they went more to concerts and in 2013 attended ballet and concerts slightly more than the Dutch, whereas in all other cases during this period the relation is the opposite.

Since the first aim was to identify structuring patterns of arts consumption, I applied K-means cluster analysis to the cultural indicators. The following tables show final cluster centers for the years under inquiry. A three-cluster solution turned out to be best applicable to compare all the cases at hand, since in this solution clusters are most comparable with only one cluster varying in the loadings of art forms in each context. In case of four- or five-cluster solutions (which also include non-consumers and omnivores) two or more clusters are dissimilar from year to year and country to country.

Table 2: Estonia 2003
Final cluster centers (N=1019)

Art form	Cluster		
	Arts consumers indifferent to dance performances	Non-consumers	Omnivores
Ballet/dance	-.404	-.369	2.367
Cinema	.480	-.503	.778
Theatre	.594	-.633	1.015
Concert	.544	-.570	.883
Hist. monuments	.642	-.550	.583
Museums/galleries	.470	-.526	.883
Read a book	.355	-.327	.384
N	337	537	145
% of total	33.1	52.7	14.2

Note: All the indicators contributed significantly ($p < 0.001$) to forming cluster solutions.

Table 3: the Netherlands 2001
Final cluster centers (N=982)

Art form	Cluster		
	Frequent cinema-goers	Omnivores	Non-consumers
Ballet/dance/opera	-.217	.976	-.374
Cinema	.684	.462	-.781
Theatre	-.014	.919	-.496
Concert	.149	.709	-.506
Hist. monuments	-.250	1.026	-.377
Museums/galleries	-.311	1.274	-.462
Read a book	.370	.461	-.538
N	347	251	454
% of total	33.0	23.9	43.2

Note: All the indicators contributed significantly ($p < 0.001$) to forming cluster solutions.

Table 4: Estonia 2007
Final cluster centers (N=989)

Art form	Cluster		
	Consumers of history- related art	Omnivores	Non-consumers
Ballet/dance/opera	-.057	1.590	-.415
Cinema	.195	1.064	-.447
Theatre	.243	1.469	-.596
Concert	.283	1.440	-.619
Hist. monuments	.502	1.037	-.660
Museums/galleries	.225	1.522	-.598
Read a book	.274	.535	-.351
N	354	143	493
% of total	35.8	14.5	49.9

Note: All the indicators contributed significantly ($p < 0.001$) to forming cluster solutions.

Table 5: the Netherlands 2007
Final cluster centers (N=982)

Art form	Cluster		
	Performing arts visitors	Omnivores	Non-consumers
Ballet/dance/opera	1.229	1.528	-.455
Cinema	.077	.505	-.488
Theatre	.582	1.323	-.603
Concert	-.062	1.367	-.544
Hist. monuments	-.292	1.031	-.729
Museums/galleries	-.399	1.071	-.747
Read a book	-.336	.549	-.541
N	150	363	469
% of total	15.3	37.0	47.8

Note: All the indicators contributed significantly ($p < 0.001$) to forming cluster solutions.

Table 6: Estonia 2013
Final cluster centers (N=1011)

Art form	Cluster		
	Visual arts consumers	Non-consumers	Omnivores
Ballet/dance	-.072	-.414	1.915
Cinema	.443	-.505	1.057
Theatre	.184	-.514	1.717
Concert	.304	-.512	1.423
Hist. monuments	.746	-.621	.820
Museums/galleries	.562	-.591	1.136
Read a book	.475	-.390	.502
N	319	559	133
% of total	31.6	55.3	13.2

Note: All the indicators contributed significantly ($p < 0.001$) to forming cluster solutions.

Table 7: the Netherlands 2013
Final cluster centers (N=1035)

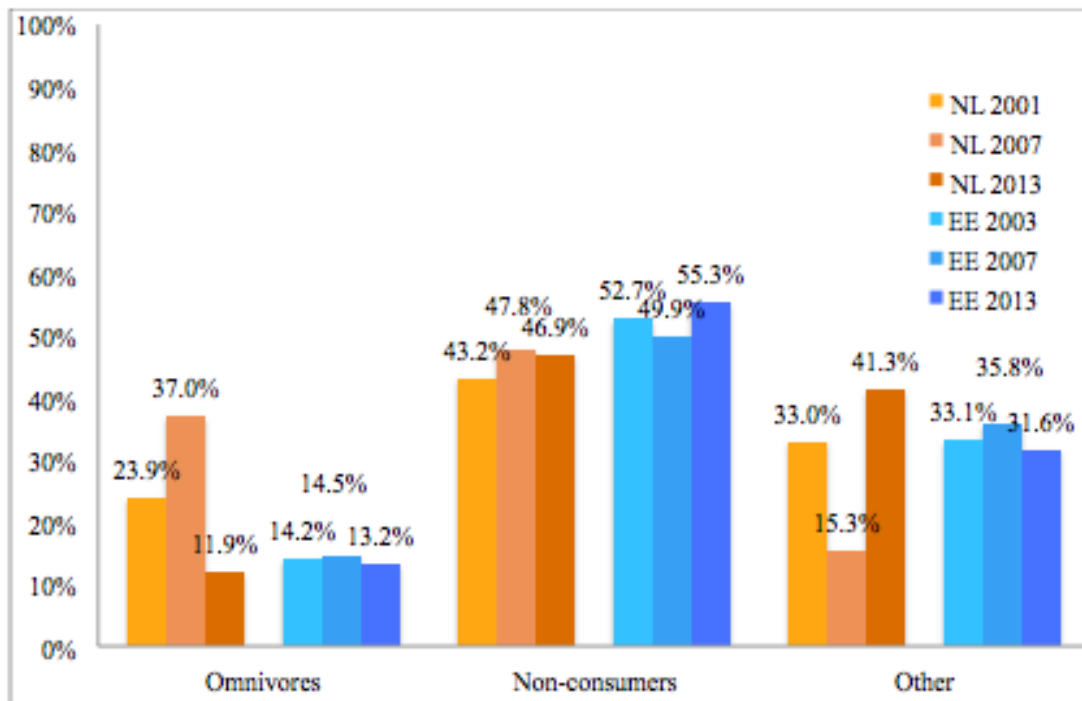
Art form	Cluster		
	Omnivores	Non-consumers	Visual arts consumers
Ballet/dance/opera	2.035	-.363	-.174
Cinema	.417	-.465	.408
Theatre	1.512	-.555	.195
Concert	1.138	-.531	.276
Hist. monuments	.901	-.719	.557
Museums/galleries	1.101	-.726	.508
Read a book	.503	-.468	.387
N	123	485	427
% of total	11.9	46.9	41.3

Note: All the indicators contributed significantly ($p < 0.001$) to forming cluster solutions.

Although there is always one group of people that varies in comparison to other sub-samples, there are also always two clusters that are present in each context; omnivores – people who consume almost all the different art forms frequently; and

non-consumers – people whose levels of consumption of all these art forms are very low (negative loadings). Since not many cluster solutions other than these two occur more than once (only ‘consumers of visual arts’ are present twice), these clusters remain central for the latter analysis. Nevertheless, also the clusters representing groups of people who, for example, consume history-related art or are frequent cinema-goers – in other words the third cluster different from non-consumers and omnivores – have a place in the following analyses. Graph 1 displays the changing in the cluster sizes of non-consumers and omnivores. Additionally, all other clusters that occur in these six contexts are presented as ‘others’. The biggest clusters consist of non-consumers, constituting 43.2 to 47.8 per cent of the samples of the Netherlands and 49.9 to 55.3 per cent of the samples in Estonia. Based on the conditional probabilities these clusters are named ‘non-consumers’ since they consist of people who do not actively consume any of the listed art forms. People in the cluster of omnivores have a very high probability of liking almost all the art forms. This cluster remains relatively small in comparison to non-consumers, covering 11.9 to 37.0 per cent of the samples of the Netherlands and 13.2 to 14.5 per cent of the samples in Estonia. These percentages represent the relative distribution of the people to the taste patterns, since respondents are redistributed separately each year and relevant criteria for separating them change with it. This is related to the changing of the ‘other’ cluster, which in some year comprises more active cultural consumers than in others. For example, in 2013 in the Netherlands the ‘other’ group was much more active than in 2007. This means that active consumers in 2013 were divided across two groups, while in 2007 most active consumers ended up in the omnivore cluster, which is therefore much larger. In 2007 omnivores were accompanied by 2 rather inactive groups and the omnivore group became larger. The other explanation of the rapid increase of omnivores in 2007 in the Netherlands (followed by a great drop later in 2013) and the quick increase of non-consumers in 2013 in Estonia may be found by returning to participation rates. The overall participation rates increased for all art forms in the Netherlands between 2001 and 2007, which can be a cause of the increasing proportion of omnivores and rapid decrease of non-consumers. After 2007, the world was facing an economic recession and since then a general decline in participation in most cultural activities was apparent all over the Europe (European Commission, 2013), which may partly explain why in 2013 participation rates decreased for most art forms (except reading and cinema which require less economic

capital for attendance than the other forms). In Estonia, too, – compatible with the economic growth – 2007 saw most of the art forms welcoming more visitors from the sample. Only activities that require no great expenditures – reading and cinema-going – were decreasing in popularity.



Graph 1. Changes in clusters from 2001/03 to 2013.

So far, the answers to the first two posed questions are already provided. Firstly, the cluster solutions show that it is possible to identify distinct groups of people on the basis of their art consumption both in Estonia as well as in the Netherlands. Graph 1 follows the change in clusters over time. The cluster compositions appear more stable over time in Estonia, whereas the Netherlands shows more diverse percentages. Therefore the argument about the increase of omnivorous consumption patterns is not supported by the data. In comparison to 2007, both countries have even experienced a decrease in the size of this cluster, with the Netherlands changing from almost 37 per cent of omnivores to only 11.9 by 2013 (while at the same time the cluster of performing arts visitors sharply increased in size). The proportion of non-consumers is more stable over time.

With the respondents distributed into the three clusters, we can move on to investigate the association between these consumption patterns and predictor variables. For this, I apply multinomial logistic regression to Estonian and Dutch cluster solutions of 2007, because the dataset of this year includes several questions

about people's values. In Table 9, six different contrasts among the clustered taste patterns in models that predict the probability of being classified into each cluster, conditional on socio-economic measures as well as value attainment of people are presented (reference categories are omnivores and non-consumers). The results of the regression should be interpreted such that significant positive effects imply a higher score on a variable under the condition that all other independent variables are equal.

The general pattern appearing in these contrasts is that the model predicts belonging to one or another consumption pattern slightly better in the case of Estonia than in the Netherlands. Variables with significant effects on cluster membership in the Netherlands are education, gender, type of community, value dimensions of social equality/solidarity, cultural diversity and respect for history⁷, global orientation and economic situation. For Estonia, the indicators of education, age, gender, class, type of community, value dimensions of social equality/solidarity, cultural diversity and tolerance/openness, the indicator of global orientation and economic situation have significant effects on cluster membership. Due to the greater number (11 versus 8) of significant effects and the fact that effect sizes tend to be larger in Estonia, the pseudo R^2 measure of Nagelkerke is higher for Estonia ($R^2=.358$) than the Netherlands ($R^2=.235$). The most striking differences in effects appear for age, occupation and the value dimension of tolerance/openness, where effects are much stronger for Estonia.

It is of interest to see how the cluster membership of art consumers is actually affected by status variables. A first striking difference between both countries is that class does not affect to which cultural type one belongs in the Netherlands while its impact is rather large in Estonia. Estonians in the two highest classes are much less likely than the non-workers to be non-consumers than either omnivores or historically interested participants. More specifically, non-consumers are less likely to belong to the group of technocrats ($b=-1.447$) or social or cultural specialists ($b=-1.270$) than to be non-working in comparison to the omnivorous cluster. When compared with the non-consumers, consumers of history-related art are more likely to be technocrats ($b=1.341$) rather than not working. Class in Estonia is, therefore, not so much related

⁷ To understand which values contribute to the analysis the most and should definitely be included, I conducted multinomial logistic regression with *most important values*, cluster solutions as dependent variables. The analyses showed that, both countries considered, there was only one value – peace – not significantly linked to any of the clusters. Therefore I employed eight indicators (excluding peace) of the variable *most important values* as separate variables in the analysis.

to omnivorousness, but rather to cultural activity *per se*.

I hypothesized earlier that level of education is positively related to being an omnivore and this effect appears also in the table. Although it does not separate the clusters of omnivores and consumers of history-related (Estonia) or performing arts (the Netherlands) from one another, the probability of being an omnivore or belonging to other groups in contrast to the non-consumers group increases together with the level of education. The significance of this effect is slightly higher in the Netherlands.

As for age, we can see that, in line with the hypothesis, this is one of the most important variables in predicting the clustering of Estonian cultural consumers, whereas this effect is absent in the Netherlands. Interestingly, the cultural omnivore appears likely to be younger than non-consumers ($b=.813$) and consumers of history-related art ($b=.398$). Age positively affects the likelihood of being a non-consumer in Estonia, but not in the Netherlands.

Despite the expectations, family situation does not predict to which cluster people belong in either country. Gender does, however; not surprisingly, Dutch ($b=-.313$) and Estonian ($b=-.492$) non-consumers were more likely to be males than omnivores or members of the third cluster.

Since one's cultural consumption is probably also influenced by the degree of cultural supply in one's close environment, the size of one's community is positively related to the likelihood of belonging to the omnivore-cluster ($b=-.543$ in Estonia, $b=-.281$ in the Netherlands) as well as the other consumption cluster ($b=.259$ in Estonia, $b=.300$ in the Netherlands) in comparison to non-consumers in both countries.

From the several value items considered, not many significantly predicted the affiliation to one or another group of cultural consumers. Still, in case of the Netherlands, cultural diversity was important in predicting it. Non-consumers were less likely to appreciate cultural diversity ($b=-.792$) than omnivores, and performing arts visitors did so even more ($b=.836$) than omnivores. Also somewhat important in the Netherlands were the value dimensions of social equality/solidarity and respect for history. Non-consumers did not find social equality and solidarity ($b=-.457$) and respect for history ($b=-.518$) as important as omnivores did. Cultural diversity is also a significant predictor of belonging to the consumers of history-related arts instead of the non-consumers cluster ($b=.747$) in Estonia. This cluster also appreciates tolerance and openness more than non-consumers ($b=.799$). The other significant effect appears

in contrasting historical arts consumers to omnivores – the former find social equality and solidarity more important than the latter ($b=.814$). A person's values were also tracked with the association of social or individualistic values. These indicators did not predict cluster affiliation. Similarly, a self-positioning to political left and right scale does not affect the positioning among these three clusters in Estonia or the Netherlands.

Although local orientation did not play a role in differentiating clusters, global orientation appears to be an indicator of cultural consumption. In Estonia, non-consumers are less likely to feel as global citizens ($b=-.292$) than omnivores. In addition, although there is no significant difference between omnivores and consumers of history-related art, the latter were, again, more globally attached than non-consumers ($b=.133$). Global orientation is also more typical of omnivores than non-consumers ($b=-.149$) in the Netherlands.

When looking at the estimation of one's own financial situation, it becomes apparent that, indeed, omnivores report being more well-off than non-consumers. The model predicts that non-consumers are more likely to experience financial stress than omnivores in both Estonia ($b=-.492$) and the Netherlands ($-.313$). In Estonia, omnivores also reported greater financial security than consumers of history-related art ($b=-.531$). The 'other' cluster in the Netherlands does not differ from the omnivores, as it is also wealthier than the non-consumers; even a bit more so than the omnivores ($b=.565$).

Table 9. Estimates (and standard errors) of logistic regression predicting cultural consumption patterns of Estonia and the Netherlands.

	ESTONIA			THE NETHERLANDS		
	Omnivores	Non-consumers		Omnivores	Non-consumers	
	Non-consumers	History-related art	History-related art	Non-consumers	Performing arts	Performing arts
Education	-.222**(.071)	-.070(.068)	.152**(.045)	-.213***(.037)	.018(.049)	.230***(.050)
Age	.813***(.143)	.398**(.131)	-.415***(.103)	-.014(.101)	.204(.139)	.218(.145)
Gender (female)	-.960**(.305)	-.439(.285)	.521*(.210)	-.617**(.174)	.152(.228)	.768**(.237)
Occupational class (not working)						
<i>Technocrats</i>	-1.447**(.516)	-.106(.413)	1.341**(.417)	-.414(.242)	.197(.305)	.611(.323)
<i>Soc&cult specialists</i>	-1.270**(.446)	-.731(.378)	.539(.380)	-.677(.675)	.579(.669)	1.256(.789)
<i>Routine non-manual</i>	.317(.386)	.102(.371)	-.204(.261)	.075(.206)	.295(.276)	.220(.284)
<i>Self-empl.&workers</i>	.102(.451)	.287(.438)	.186(.273)	.697(.434)	-.158(.825)	-.855(.771)
Family situation (single)						
<i>Couple</i>	.254(.407)	.390(.391)	.136(.260)	-.118(.220)	.194(.276)	.312(.287)
<i>Living together (not with partner)</i>	-.091(.349)	.231(.328)	.322(.248)	.117(.233)	-.100(.301)	-.217(.316)
Type of community	-.543**(.175)	-.284(.163)	.259*(.121)	-.281**(.108)	.019(.140)	.300*(.146)
Values						
<i>Respect nature/environ</i>	.134(.321)	.364(.307)	.230(.218)	.050(.196)	-.139(.260)	-.188(.266)
<i>Soc. equality/solidarity</i>	.672(.351)	.814*(.339)	.142(.224)	-.457*(.208)	.050(.272)	.526(.282)
<i>Entrepreneurship</i>	-.068(.423)	.060(.393)	.128(.317)	-.039(.320)	.597(.417)	.636(.409)
<i>Cultural diversity</i>	-.559(.369)	.187(.335)	.747**(.272)	-.792*(.309)	.836**(.318)	1.628***(.360)
<i>Progress/innovation</i>	-.785(.439)	-.369(.389)	.416(.358)	-.075(.251)	-.441(.364)	-.366(.372)
<i>Freedom of opinion</i>	-.082(.340)	.084(.321)	.166(.238)	-.070(.196)	-.091(.261)	-.021(.267)
<i>Tolerance/openness</i>	-.480(.312)	.319(.290)	.799***(.219)	-.311(.198)	.152(.271)	.463(.277)
<i>Respect for history</i>	-.510(.327)	-.144(.307)	.366(.229)	-.518*(.244)	-.091(.321)	.428(.334)
Social/individual	.288(.369)	.172(.341)	-.116(.256)	-.124(.182)	-.109(.239)	.015(.247)
Globalization						
<i>Local attachment</i>	-.006(.084)	-.054(.078)	-.059(.057)	.071(.039)	.014(.050)	-.057(.052)
<i>Global attachment</i>	-.292**(.096)	-.159(.090)	.133*(.067)	-.149**(.051)	-.065(.067)	.083(.069)
Left-right placement	-.021(.063)	-.008(.060)	.013(.042)	.044(.043)	.002(.058)	-.042(.059)
Economic situation	-.492**(.179)	-.531**(.171)	-.039(.113)	-.313*(.142)	.252(.225)	.565*(.225)

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

Note: $N(\text{Estonia})=684$; $N(\text{the Netherlands})=882$;

Nagelkerke $R^2(\text{Estonia})= .358$; Nagelkerke $R^2(\text{the Netherlands})= .237$

Discussion and conclusion

Previous pages were dedicated to cultural consumption patterns in different contexts. The starting points of the study were the historically very different social contexts of Estonia and the Netherlands. There are not many studies about taste patterns in Estonia or other new democracies and adding to this tradition is what I aimed for, since societies in transition are great laboratories for testing social theories. Analysis of the socio-historic background of these two cases allowed us to question, following Daloz (2013), the applicability of the grand theories of distinction and omnivorousness in both contexts. It came out that two concepts central to taste pattern research – class and values – have developed differently in both countries, which made me ask whether the cluster of omnivores is of similar size and composition in both countries.

The idea that class composition plays a role in omnivorous consumption, omnivores being higher in the occupational class hierarchy than others, is not supported in the Netherlands, whereas in Estonia class becomes the most important predictor of cluster affiliation. This result is contrary to the expectation, which assumed that, since stable social hierarchy in the Netherlands has a longer history, it is also more likely that intergenerational reproduction still influences the existence of hierarchy between the genres. It may be explained by the great economic differences that came into being more recently in Estonia. Due these people are eager to demonstrate their newly acquired position, and cultural consumption, like abundant material consumption, is a way to do that.

The difference in the influence of age is also striking. Although I expected a smaller age effect in the Netherlands, this effect was even insignificant, whereas, in Estonia, it was one of the best predictors of cluster affiliation. The reasons for this large age effect probably lie in generational cohort theory – great historical and economic changes that appeared in Estonia at the beginning of the 1990s shook existing social values (Inglehart, 1977, as cited in Wang & Xu, 2009) and since Estonian society opened up to the cultural diversity of the world only then, apparently, it has made young people consume more different forms of art. Also, Western popular art forms, which did not

belong to a 'great tone' in the Soviet's official ideology⁸, were made freely available only after the independence.

Great, but not gradual changes in percentages of all the consumer groups at different times were shown, even more so in case of the Netherlands, where 2007 saw a huge increase of omnivores (coupled with the decrease of the 'other' cluster, which probably influenced this great leap, since the clusters show relative distributions and act like communicating vessels). Since cultural consumption also greatly increased between 2001 and 2007 in most of the art domains, this can be one of the reasons behind this growth.

The data from interviews revealed many similarities in consumption patterns of the two countries. The omnivorous cultural pattern, seemingly more prevalent in the Netherlands, was present in both countries. Also, both countries had sizable groups of non-consumers, which were in fact the largest clusters in both countries, albeit more so in Estonia. In both countries economic situation, education, gender and type of community were significant predictors of taste pattern affiliation.

Contrary to my assumptions, the clusters did not differ significantly in terms of social and individualistic values and political beliefs. The analysis did support the other hypothesis on the effects of global orientation and values such as social equality and solidarity, cultural diversity, tolerance and openness, which I also expected to be connected with omnivorous taste pattern. We can see how omnivores in the Netherlands may be associated with global attachment and social equality and solidarity and, contrary to expectations, we can see the absence of the effects of values in case of Estonian omnivores. There, consumers of history-related art show how social equality and solidarity and global orientation are similarly connected with two consumer clusters in comparison to non-consumer cluster. Interestingly, it came out that it is rather the 3rd group than the omnivores that stand out in terms of values. This conclusion fits with the findings of Van Eijck and Lievens (2008), that omnivorousness in itself does not mean all that much in terms of values.

⁸ Soviet Realism became the only officially recognized art style from the 1934 onwards. Nonconformist art, that did not conform to the set political restrictions was banned. After Stalin's death over times the repressions and restrictions smoothed, but it was only after the fall of the empire, when art worlds could freely communicate with the artists outside the Iron Curtain.

The data did not allow me to measure actual hierarchy in terms of high and low genres, since the dataset did allow answers about some broad cultural forms, but not diversity of art genres. Therefore I did not work with the categories of highbrow and popular forms of art, which would have broadened the picture of the taste patterns in these countries and which is definitely a useful direction for further studies about taste patterns in Estonia. The other useful road to further develop the comparative tradition in taste patterns research may be on macro level, where analysis about riches (average income, GDP) or political environments of several countries would be added to the value-dimensions of the countries under comparison.

All in all, Estonia and the Netherlands are, indeed, different in terms of these central concepts – class and values. And these differences translate to taste patterns. Although in both countries we met omnivores and non-consumers, taste clusters were influenced slightly differently by different background variables. While in Estonia, where values concerned with individual background are prevalent, one's class position predicted omnivorousness best, in the Netherlands more socially responsible values (tolerance, openness, social equality and solidarity) were of the greatest importance for the taste pattern. So for Estonian omnivores, culture might be more materialized as a *status marker*, whereas in the Netherlands, where this step of cultural distinction has been taken earlier, omnivorous cultural taste stands more as an *identity-marker* that develops in connection with one's values. Further qualitative studies could explain these differences in profiles of omnivores and other taste patterns in depth and shed light on what aspects or variables should always be considered in applying the theories of distinction and omnivorousness.

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Appendix A.

Used variables.

Variable name	Indicative questions	Answer categories
Cultural consumption	<p>‘How many times during the last 12 months have you....?’</p> <p>1) went to see ballet, dance (or opera) performances⁹, 2) went to the cinema, 3) went to the theatre, 4) went to see a concert, 5) visited historic monument or place (palace, castle, churches, gardens etc.), 6) visited a museum or gallery, 7) read a book.</p>	<p>The datasets of 2001 (the Netherlands) and 2003 (Estonia):</p> <p>1) never, 2) 1-3 times, 3) more than 3 times.</p> <p>The datasets from 2007 and 2013:</p> <p>1) never, 2) 1-2 times, 3) 3-5 times, 4) more than 5 times.</p>
Social and individualistic values	<p>‘Among the following aspects, please tell me what is the most important in order to have a good life nowadays?’</p>	<p>Social values:</p> <p>1) having a good relationship with a partner, 2) having children, 3) being on family terms with neighbors, 4) going out with friends or family,</p>

⁹ Answer to this question varied slightly over time. In Eurobarometer 56.0 and Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.1 the first question read ‘how many times during the last 12 months have you went to see ballet or dance performances?’, but in later studies ‘opera’ was added to this list (‘How many times during the last 12 months have you went to see ballet, dance or opera performances?’). The opera quests usually make up a small percentage in the overall arts consumption, therefore the results are unlikely to be significantly different when opera is added or left out.

		<p>5) being useful to others, 6) being respected and accepted by society, 7) being a member of associations, labor unions or political parties.</p> <p>Individual values:</p> <p>1) having a good job, 2) having a good education, 3) having sufficient leisure time and being able to enjoy it, 4) going on holiday at least once a year, 5) having sufficient accommodation for everyone to have their own place.</p>
<p>Most important values</p>	<p>‘Which three values amongst the following are, in your opinion, the values that we should maintain and strengthen the most in today’s society?’</p>	<p>Three answers from the subsequent list had to be chosen:</p> <p>1) Respect for nature and the environment, 2) social equality and solidarity, 3) entrepreneurship, 4) cultural diversity, 5) peace, 6) progress and innovation, 7) freedom of opinion, 8) tolerance and openness to others, 9) respect for history and what one can learn from it.</p>

<p>Global or local orientation</p>	<p>‘People may feel different levels of attachment to their village, town or city, to their region, to their country, to Europe or to the world. Please tell me how attached you feel to...’</p> <p>1) your city/town/village, 2) your region, 3) the Netherlands or Estonia (depending on a respondent’s home country), 4) Europe, 5) the world.</p>	<p>The answers were given in 4-point Likert scale:</p> <p>1) very attached, 2) fairly attached, 3) not very attached, 4) not at all attached.</p>
<p>Political beliefs</p>	<p>‘In politics there are ‘left’ and ‘right’. Where would you position yourself in this scale?’</p>	<p>Answers on scale from left (1) to right (10).</p>
<p>Occupational class</p>	<p>‘What is your current occupation?’</p>	<p>I Technocrats:</p> <p>1) Business proprietors (full owners or partners of a company), 2) general management, director or top management (managing directors, director general, other director), 3) Middle management, other management (department head, junior manager, teacher, technician).</p>

		<p>II Social and cultural specialists:</p> <p>4) professionals (lawyer, medical practitioner, accountant, architect),</p> <p>5) employed professionals (employed doctor, lawyer, accountant, architect).</p> <p>III Routine non-manual employers:</p> <p>6) employed position, that require working mainly at desk,</p> <p>7) employed position, that require moving from one place to another (e.g. salesmen, drivers)</p> <p>8) employed position, not at desk, but in a service job (hospital, restaurant, police, firemen, etc.)</p> <p>9) Supervising employers.</p> <p>IV Self-employed people and workers:</p> <p>10) farmer,</p> <p>11) fisherman,</p> <p>12) other self-employed job (e.g. owner of a shop, craftsman</p> <p>13) skilled manual workers,</p>
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		<p>14) other (unskilled) manual workers, servants.</p> <p>Not working:</p> <p>15) Responsible for ordinary shopping and looking after the home, or without any current occupation, not working,</p> <p>16) Student,</p> <p>17) Unemployed or temporarily not working,</p> <p>18) Retired or unable to work through illness.</p>
Age	‘How old are you?’	<p>1) 15-24 years,</p> <p>2) 25-39 years;</p> <p>3) 40-54 years;</p> <p>4) over 55 years.</p>
Educational level	‘How old were you when you stopped full-time education?’	Answers in years.
Gender		Male (0), female (1).
Family situation	<p>Marital status:</p> <p>‘Could you tell me which corresponds best to your own current situation?’</p> <p>Size of household:</p> <p>‘Could you tell me how many children less than 10 years old/aged 10-14/aged 15+ live in your household?’</p>	<p>Single:</p> <p>Marital status:</p> <p>1) unmarried,</p> <p>2) having never lived with partner,</p> <p>3) unmarried, having previously lived with a partner,</p> <p>4) divorced,</p> <p>5) separated,</p>

		<p>6) widowed.</p> <p>Size of household=1</p> <p>Single, living together:</p> <p>Marital status:</p> <p>1) unmarried,</p> <p>2) having never lived with partner,</p> <p>3) unmarried, having previously lived with a partner,</p> <p>4) divorced,</p> <p>5) separated,</p> <p>6) widowed.</p> <p>Size of household=>1</p> <p>Couple:</p> <p>Marital status:</p> <p>1) Married,</p> <p>2) remarried,</p> <p>3) unmarried, currently living with partner.</p>
Type of community	‘Would you say you live in a...?’	<p>1) Rural area or village,</p> <p>2) smaller and middle-sized town,</p> <p>3) large town.</p>
Economic situation	‘Looking at this card, which of the following best describes how your household is keeping up with all its bills and credit	<p>1) I am/we are having real financial problems,</p> <p>2) I am/we are falling behind with some bills and credit commitment,</p>

	commitments at present? ’	3) I am/we are keeping up, but it is a constant struggle, 4) I am/we are keeping up, but struggle to do so from time to time, 5) I am/we are keeping up without any difficulties.
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Appendix B1.

Factors of global and local orientation in the Netherlands.

Factor	Explained variance	Components	Factor Loadings	Cronbach's alpha
1.Local orientation	43.255%	Attachment to region	.877	.749
		Attachment to town/village	.845	
		Attachment to country	.694	
2.Global orientation	25.561%	Attachment to Europe	.835	.535
		Attachment to the world	.793	

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization

Appendix B2.

Factors of global and local orientation in Estonia.

Factor	Explained variance	Components	Factor Loadings	Cronbach's alpha
1.Local orientation	44.270%	Attachment to region	.877	.750
		Attachment to town/village	.857	
		Attachment to country	.690	
2.Global orientation	29.578%	Attachment to Europe	.902	.794
		Attachment to the world	.902	

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization