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Omnivorism of Eating and 'Highbrow–Lowbrow' Distinction: Cultural Stratification in Poland

Abstract: The idea of the cultural omnivore is increasingly popular. Research in this vein argues that upper-middle class individuals prefer an above-average diversity of art, and that this diversity of tastes is the new marker of high status. Using data from the 2013 national survey, the current study replicates studies carried out in Western societies with respect to patterns of eating. By analyzing the preferences of tastes I try to establish, first—whether omnivorism in eating is mostly displayed among representatives of highbrow culture, referred to intelligentsia, second—to what extent it replaces hierarchical distinction between highbrow and lowbrow categories. It confirms that omnivorism in eating in Poland exists and dominates among higher managers and specialists—they overrun owners, middle lower classes, working class and farmers. Furthermore, although the cultural omnivorism is a new taste pattern, it correlates strongly with the cultural division in highbrow and lowbrow categories.

Keywords: social stratification, omnivorism, patterns of eating, highbrow and lowbrows, lifestyle

The dominant theme linking class and culture concerns liking music, reading, eating, recreation and other genres which are held to reflect cultural tastes (Lamont 2000; Peterson 2005). For Bourdieu (1984), there is a homology, a kind of one-to-one correspondence, between the multidimensional space of cultural tastes and multidimensional space of social positions. Specifically, cultural stratification can in large part be attributed to the distinction between highbrow, middlebrow, and lowbrow cultural forms (Peterson & Simkus 1992; Warde et al. 2007).

Highbrow tastes are especially enshrined in the better educated segment of the upper-middle class, professionals, representatives of the intelligentsia, the dominated portion of upper-middle class space. A series of studies showed these categories tend to have a taste for difficult, abstract music, especially for classical music, they attend museums, art galleries, ballet, operas, valorise "asceticism, rigor, legalism" (Bourdieu 1984: 331). Accordingly, highbrow genre facilitates development of consumption which stresses appreciation for the form of a cultural object rather than its function and tends to pass aesthetic rather than ethical judgments on it. As regards virtues of the upper-class space, they consist of etiquette and order (Levine 1998). The antithesis of highbrow culture is lowbrow practices, embraced by the less-wealthy, less-privileged, and less educated members of society. As the tastes of the dominant class are deemed to experience transcendence, popular culture is related to experience of pleasure and fun. Members of the lower classes exhibit preference for country, heavy metal, and gospel and rap (Warde et al. 1999); they also like to visit soccer games and discotheques. Finally, middlebrow culture reflects the attempts of the members

of the middle class (small proprietors and the lower clerical workers), to embrace highbrow culture and to emphasize their distinction from the lower class.

Homology arguments have been challenged by 'omnivore–univore' arguments. In the 1990s, a series of studies displayed that highbrow snobs were replaced—or rather supplemented—by consumption patterns termed omnivorousness (Peterson & Simkus 1992; Peterson & Kern 1996; Katz-Gerro & Jaeger 2013). Scholars have demonstrated the applicability of omnivore thesis in diverse cultural domains. In studies on musical likes and dislikes it has been shown that higher status group might be characterized as omnivores rather than as a group which orients itself exclusively towards legitimate culture. According to series of surveys, omnivorism displays in eclectic tastes. The omnivore has the ability to participate in a broad range of socio-cultural worlds, appreciating popular culture alongside highbrow activities. It is true that members of the higher strata are thought to demonstrate their openness to the modern painting, are enthusiast of avant-gardist literature, attend galleries of art, go to prestigious restaurants, and enjoy exotic and luxury food. However, at the same time, they like popular music, are pop concerts goers, and consume not refined foods.

Concerning stratification of omnivorism, empirical studies have repeatedly confirmed that the higher omnivorism can in a large part be attributed to the higher socioeconomic position while members of the lower status groups have cultural norms related to the lowbrow consumption (Knulst & Kraaykamp 1998). Like in case of homology-based patterns, representatives of the 'service class' exhibit more openness in adaptation of new forms of music, reading, and eating practices. Cultural heterogeneity allows them to demonstrate cultural tolerance, to emphasize moral worthiness, and proud of competence and skills. Representatives of the upper middle class know that it is more fashionable to express an involvement with a much wider range of cultural habits and demonstrate rejection of strict norms.

Since then, the concept of cultural omnivorism come to play an increasingly important role in recharging the sociology of stratification and in allowing a rethinking of concepts of class and status in a globalised world. Omnivorousness in cultural genres was detected in a number of countries (for overview see: Peterson 2007). However, despite its popularity, there has been an increasing recognition that the nature of cultural capital dissected in time and may not be that which operates today (Tampubolon 2008; Prieur & Savage 2011).

To follow up the ongoing debates, I emphasize three points. First, this study contributes to the vast tussle between the homology and cultural omnivorism perspectives by investigating whether the latter replaced distinction between highbrow and lowbrow categories or, rather—whether these two axes parallel each other. Peterson and Simkus (1992) original thesis on a transition from a snobbish taste to an omnivorous taste was challenged by scholars who established that the effect of social class is still relevant for taste formation. If the "highbrow snobs" have been replaced by the cultural omnivore then the mechanisms underlying cultural stratification are likely to have changed as well. In spite of this prediction, empirical studies continue to show that members of the higher status groups are still more active in the highbrow culture than members of the lower classes. In the musical field, for example, the omnivore-univore contrast corresponds with the distinction between high-

brow and lowbrow tastes rather than eliminates it. People listening to both opera and rock tend to retain their distinctive tastes from people who listen only to the popular music (Emmison 2003; Kraaykamp et al. 2010; Coulangeon 2013; Veenstra 2015). It suggests that the rise of cultural omnivorism does not translate to the declining significance of high culture as a status marker. According to an argument related to the omnivorousness-argument, the well-educated would be better characterised by cultural tolerance than by exclusive taste and the symbolic exclusion of forms of popular cultural.

Second, as the concept of cultural capital has gained increasing prominence, there has been a persistent trend to reify it through measuring it as a set of specific tastes. Here, I pick up on claims regarding cultural activity as interrelations between particular: (i) kinds and frequencies of cultural participation expressed in "behavior," (ii) tastes (including dislikes as well as likes), and (iii) kinds of cultural knowledge (Benett et al. 2009; Erickson 1996). Although, drawing on some empirical findings, one may insists that activities may not actually be that socially distinctive, but that it is rather how these practices are appreciated which is relevant (Atkinson 2011). This study will focus mostly on preferences ('the liking' of food) and on the actual patterns of activity (behavioural dimension): do respondents eat the same food items they declare they like? A number of studies have relied on measures of preferences of eating but others have relied on eating activities. Once the former are measurement of declared tastes, the latter capture behavioural aspects of eating that really occur. Certainly, both measures may be criticised. Eating activities does not necessarily reflect the desire to eat because of limited financial resources or living outside urban areas. What people report is also biased by measurement errors since people misremember what they have done in the past (Peterson et al. 1996). In addition, individuals tend often to report on their lifestyle in 'appropriate' way which does not reflect practical activity—it is more fashionable to express a involvement with a more wider range of cultural forms. Declared tastes, in turn, inform rather about attitudes and values. They are better to identify preferences although current activity seems to be more valid measure to predict future practices. In methodological section below I will explain how these two forms of the omnivorousness are empirically tested here. I will not examine domain of "knowledge" on meals since it was not tapped in the questionnaire schedule of my study.

Third, I will seek to move beyond a comparative strategy which simply contrasts cultural capital in different nations, as if these are autonomous entities. Taking seriously the critique of 'methodological nationalism' (Glick-Schiller 2008) I seek to demonstrate how the Polish case stands outside one's own national frame of reference in cultural activity. Existing research indicate that cultural practices are strictly ordered along the highbrow-popular axis. Representatives of intelligentsia (new upper-middle class) are more likely to listen classical music, attend opera and read books than manual workers and farmers (Domański 2000; Cebula 2013). It is apparent that class membership has some significant effect as regards highbrow-lowbrow dimension like in Western societies. Here, I pick up on claims regarding the cosmopolitan orientations of professionals and managers as contrasting with local tastes (e.g. Calhoun 2003). National random sample is applied to establish that cultural highbrow of intelligentsia combines with omniovorism in eating.

The Polish Context

At its root, omnivorousness refers to choosing a large number of distinct practices and tastes. From the above considerations, one may deduce that tendency to cultural omnvorism in Poland underwent similar processes that underlie its development in Western countries. Cultural drift to 'omnivore–univore' consumption was fueled there by growing international communications, diversity of lifestyles, emergence of new forms of art, and an increase of educational level—higher education increased tolerance and fostered knowledge of new eating tastes.

Historically, barriers to omnivorism in the communist societies were mainly related to shortages of consumption. Impediments in acquirement of food and underdevelopment of eating places, overlapped with ideological rejection of Western-type consumptionism. Under that circumstances, participation in variety of genres had to be confined and might be facilitated, at best, by receiving of food from family living abroad and by buying deficit products in „Peweks" (short for *Przedsiębiorstwo Eksportu Wewnętrznego—Internal Export Company*)—in Poland it was a chain of shops which sold otherwise unobtainable Western goods in exchange for Western currencies (most commonly the United States dollar) or bank checks. Since the rise of omnivorism was limited, the cultural stratification has to be dominated by demarcation between popular and highbrow culture. On the one hand, this kind of distinction was imposed by systemic constraints of centrally planned economy. On the other hand—the communist system was marked by relatively small inequalities of material conditions, hence intelligentsia tend to distinguish its exclusive and prestigious position from mass culture (Domański 2000).

Collapse of the communist era led to openness and diversity of eating. Turning to the present-day Poland, the forces at play over the last decades include, among others, at least three main kinds.

First, Poland, like other East-European countries, received growing scale of immigration that brought about different food products and various forms of culture. The increasing inflow, especially of Ukrainian, Chinese, and Vietnamese citizens, tend to enhance choices of new habits of eating. Omnivorousness may be also prompted, at least in part, by the growing raters of international mobility of Poles that regularly bridge a number of culturally diverse niches.

Second factor comes from increase in educational level. Since the 1990s Polish society faced expansion of university students. In 1990–2013 number of universities grew from 122 to 438, followed by growing supply of students—from 403.8 in 1990 to 1550 thousands enrolled in 2013 (Rocznik 2015: 341–342). It seems likely, that the lasting impact of the growing number of university graduates (from 56.1 in 1990 to 424 thousands in 2013) enhanced recognition of a wide array of food products and increased tolerance of those with different values. Well-educated consider themselves experts of diverse folkways and aesthetic choices. It was largely confirmed that education trains the individual intellectual ability to process complex information, inducing preferences for cultural activities that demand more complexity—particularly, the wide ranging omnivore style (Torche 2010).

Third precondition may stem from growing standard of life. According to Peterson and Kern (1996), shift to omniworism is a society-wide trend related to value change toward

greater tolerance and rejection of alien culture. In Western societies this tendency begun in the 1950s in response, in part, to Nazi brutalities and traumatic experience of the II World War (Takaki 1993). In case of Poland, the rise of omnivorism should be rather seen as resulting from growing access to a wide range of consumption after blockades produced by the former regime. As real incomes in Poland boosted from 100 in 1993 to 440% in 2013 (Rocznik 2015: 43), people are more eager to consume sub-cultures, ethnic specialities and luxury goods.

Research Questions

Since we do not have systematic research on the patterns of eating, we cannot examine their developments in a long term.[1] Empirical evidence coming from present-day studies suggests that, for example, omnivorism with habits of reading have become a norm among educated readers in post-Soviet Russia (Zavisca 2005). Similarly in Poland, a consistent finding with previous research is that combination of likes in classical and popular music is stratified by socio-economic position (Cebula 2013).[2] In case of Hungary, Bukodi (2010) disclosed that the probability of individuals being exclusive or omnivores in attending of art institutions and participating in various domains (music, visual arts) increased with educational level and socio-economic position. The univores, in turn tend to be most predominant in intermediary classes.

Based on the above description, I propose three hypotheses. The first hypothesis asks whether omnivorism replaced 'homological patterns'. The 'replacement' argumentation may be questioned by empirical evidence indicating that omnivorousness-univorousness axis corresponds with highbrow-lowbrow distinction (Peterson 2005; Zavisca 2005; Chan & Turner 2015). Although it may be true that representatives of intelligentsia turned to more inclusive choices, it does not necessarily mean that they tend to repel refined cuisines. Summing up, hypothesis 1 suggests that omnivirousness does not remove distinction between highbrow and lowbrow tastes of eating. Both axes are reflected in similar class barriers with categories of professionals and managers located on the top of this ranking.

Three next hypotheses relate to mechanisms underlying this framework. Hypothesis 2 refers to effect of social background. Works of many scholars revealed that parental social class is primary link in shaping cultural habits of children (Di Maggio 1982). The main reason for this association is the fact that cultural consumption requires so-called cultural resources, which are passed on from one generation to the next. Since Bourdieu's (1984) elaborations on the concept of habitus, the class of origin is considered to predominantly influence the deeply anchored cultural dispositions, such as tastes of eating. For example, individuals originating in intelligentsia are more likely to talk about food, and consumption. They are learned to aesthetic judgements on every occasion and are socialised to cultural forms that cut across tastes levels. This argumentation suggests that inheritance of parental

[1] Patterns of eating under People's Republic of Poland may be only indirectly revealed, by analyses on production, expenditures, import of food products, consumption provided by the state, as well as by examination of cooking books, guides on eating, and results of ethnographic studies (e.g. Brzostek 2010).

[2] However, cited data-sets from Russia and Poland were limited to population living in local areas.

resources maintains class barriers, especially those that separate intelligentsia from categories holding the lower positions. I therefore expect class background to affect both ordering of eating patterns along the highbrow-popular dimension and along omnivorism dimension.

Given the strong impact of social network (Bourdieu 1984; Lamont 1992; Chan & Goldthorpe 2006), I consider the third hypothesis that higher number of acquaintances and relatives, increases both highbrow culture and variety of eating. This is broadly in line with expectations that social networks are clearly associated with social structural grounding. For instance, omnivores can move easily among cultural realms or build social networks to get a better job (Erickson 1996). Additional factor is marital position. According to empirical findings, a highly educated partner not only provides spouse company in cultural participation but also socialise him/her into highbrow culture (Kraaykamp et al. 2010). I will extend this statement to hypothesis four: given that cultural activity is affected by socio-economic position, one may expect that also higher position of the partner contribute to both enjoyment of sophisticated meals and to combine them with variety of dishes.

Data and Variables

I draw on a Patterns of Eating, Lifestyles, and Social Stratification survey carried out in 2013 on a representative nationwide random sample of Polish citizens aged 15+.[3] CAPI interviews were carried out with 2,361 respondents. In order to control for seasonality of food consumption the study was conducted in two waves, in June and in autumn. The data set is well suited to the purposes of this study as it contains much factual information on the nature and extent of the individuals' culinary practices. The questionnaire consisted of detailed questions concerning the consumption of all meals on the day preceding the interview. Respondents were asked what they had eaten on that day, with whom, where, what they were doing at that time, etc.—detailed information is presented in Domański et al. (2015).

To capture association between class stratification and eating I used two dependent variables: omnivorism and highbrow taste. My measure of omnivorism is based on responses to the question asking respondents if they had ever tried certain foods and food products read out by the interviewer. The list comprised dishes typical of Polish cuisine—familiar to most respondents, but also more "exotic." Responses to the items in that question were coded as binary variables with 1 indicating that a subject had tried this particular food and 0 if he did not. I operationalized omnivorousness as a variable that can be regarded as a number of high- and lowbrow meals respondents choose. Following Peterson and Kern (1982) I differentated between highbrow and lowbrow because they seem dictinctly different in the Polish case. Eight eating genres are considered lowbrow: Russian salad, mashed potato dumplings, steak tartare, tripe, pig's trotters in aspic, black sausage (*kaszanka*), pota-

[3] The study was carried out by: Zbigniew Karpiński, Dariusz Przybysz, Justyna Straczuk and Henryk Domański in the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences. The fieldwork was provided by the CBOS (Public Opinion Research Center), and the study was financed from a grant awarded by the National Science Centre in Poland (UMO-2011/03/B/HS6/03983).

toes with sour milk, and pork knuckle. Each of these genres is rooted in specific traditional experiences of eating.

A total of 16 items were classified as highbrows. In order to avoid overlap between omnivorism and highbrow–lowbrow distinction two equal blocks of the highbrow items were randomly selected. Using Confirmatory Factor Analysis for nominal variables I received factor loadings for 16th items out of which I took one block to mix it with 8 "lowbrow" food genres.[4] Eight highbrow items mixed with lowbrow ones to build omnivorism index include: artichokes, baklava, carpaccio, couscous, porto, olives, parma ham, and tortilla. Using set of 16th items (consisting of low- and highbrow indicators of eating) I fit the CFA model to receive scores for respondents to capture omnivorism activity.

To capture taste to omnivorism I draw on responses to the question: "which of presented below food products you like?" The same list of food products was applied as in the former question (concerning activity), and respondents were asked to use 5-point scale, from "strongly like" to "strongly dislike." Next, the summary index of taste to omnivorism was performed, following exactly steps presented above.

Omnivorism will be compared with highbrow consumption which is defined as eating of more "elaborate" or "exotic" foods. The 'highbrow' activity index was then constructed based on the CFA for the second 8 (out of 16) binary variables selected. This set of items consists of: cholent, schrimps, blini, pilaf, mussels, moussaka, quail eggs, and tiramisu. Respectively, to establish the 'highbrow' index of cultural tastes I applied 5-point scales concerning "liking–disliking" food products.

Distribution of eating practices and tastes used to construction of dependent variables is described in Table 1. It can be seen that people tend rather to declare more frequently liking than eating. The most commonly consumed are popular products such as boiled vegetable salad with mayonnaise, mashed potato dumplings, blood sausage and sour milk with potatoes. Relatively least commonly eaten (or preferred) are exceptional foods that originate from other culinary traditions—cholent, baklava, pilaf, and moussaka.

The basic independent variable is social class recoded into six categories following Erikson and Goldthorpe (1992) class schema. Those are: (i) top managers, big owners, high public officials and specialists, (ii) lower-level white collar workers, such as department managers, technicians, nurses, accountants, clerks performing routine clerical jobs, as well as rank-and-file workers of services and trade (e.g. salespeople, hairdressers, post office cashiers, waiters), (iii) medium and small size owners and self-employed owners outside the agricultural sector, (iv) skilled workers, (v) unskilled workers, and (vi) farmers, including farm owners and farm workers. We applied this schema to identify social class of respondent, respondent's father, and the respondent's spouse.

Apart from age and gender (female = 1), independent variables include household incomes, and social capital. Household income was constructed from the question concerning average incomes over recent three months coming from all family members, and coded in thousands PLN per capita. The measurement of social capital is indicated by questions about availability of help from relatives or friends in various life situations. The question

[4] Correlation between scores for the two blocks of the highbrow scale stands for 0.734 that may be regarded as indicating reliability each one which means that both them reflect the same latent variable.

Table 1

Percentages of the Respondents Declaring Consumption of Specific Dishes

Percentages of the respondents	Respondents who:	
declaring consumption of specific dishes	ate	strongly like or like
Baklava	6.3	49.5
Blini	28.7	59.8
Carpaccio	3.0	45.2
Cholent	88.3	78.7
Tripe	7.4	58.5
Stuffed goose neck	84.4	77.5
Pork knuckle	24.7	56.9
Hot dog	30.4	55.8
Lamb meat	94.3	76.5
Quail eggs	96.4	91.8
Artichoke	42.4	58.7
Blood sausage	39.1	63.7
Mashed potato dumplings	10.5	59.9
Shrimps	8.3	72.4
Couscous	81.0	84.7
Salmon	71.0	61.4
Calf's or pig's brains	7.7	53.8
Mussels	29.3	64.6
Moussaka	97.4	92.1
Pig's trotters in aspic	26.2	59.8
Olives	70.7	74.6
Pilaf	58.2	86.4
Porto	55.6	83.4
Boiled vegetable salad with mayonnaise	91.7	89.8

concerning the family ('yes-no') was as follows: 'Do you personally know any family member/relative who: (i) would be willing to lend you a considerable sum of money, more than PLN 5,000 (for a few months, without interest), (ii) would be willing to arrange formalities for you in an important official matter, (iii) would take care of your flat/house for a few days if all your household members had to leave, (iv) would be willing to find a job for yourself or your loved one, (v) would put you up for a few nights if you were unable to use your own flat (e.g. in an emergency, flooding, home redecoration), (vi) would help you to make a repair or remove a failure in your flat/house?' The same items were asked to identify help from friends. The sum of responses 'yes' was taken as an indicator of the two variables concerning family and friendship.

Multivariate Results

To what extent omnivore-univore patterns of eating follow highbrow-lowbrow distinction? To address this question I present regression results. Tables 2–3 show regression equations predicting, respectively, omnivorism and highbrow genres. In the first two columns of the

tables these results refer to effects on eating activity and the two last columns to effects on "liking-disliking."

The associations here may be considered in theoretical perspectives of at least three main kinds. Authors of the first of these, that may be named "death of classes" thesis, maintain that the cultural divisions detach from class stratification which is attributed to individualization and commercialization of culture (e.g. Featherstone 1991; Bauman 2000). Thesis of 'dying classes' is challenged by second interpretation, drawing back to Bourdieu (1984), that advances close correspondence between cultural differentiation and class structure. The cultural field, as insist supporters of this thesis, no less than economic field, is one in which class competition is present (Chan & Goldthorpe 2007). Third interpretation concerns turning from highbrow to omnivorism. Advocates of this paradigm recognize reshape of class inequalities by individualization and other processes but—to repeat—they disagree with the statement that class distinctions are waning (e.g. Peterson & Simkus 1992; Peterson & Kern 1995).

It can be seen that any of three interpretations fit data well. Contrary to the "death of classes" thesis, we may say that omnivores-univores and highbrow-lowbrows distinctions are primarily stratified by class patterns. Remarkably, however, the patterns of effect for class membership differ from previous research. Other things being equal, the highest omnivorous activity displays among owners, and not intelligentsia, implying that a relatively high level of material resources can promote cultural consumption even at lower possession of cultural resources. In case of omnivorous activity, the parameter estimate for owners is 0.07, and in for intelligentsia 0.05. In case of omnivorism in tastes the difference between them is pronounced in the same way as the parameter estimates stand at 1.53 for owners and 1.34 for higher managers and professionals. Nonetheless, it confirms that omnivorism is significantly affected by a class position. Below the two top categories are lower non-manuals and lower omnivorism exhibit working classes and farmers (omitted category).

Turning to the highbrow culinary activities and tastes, fairly class gradient shows up for omnivores-univores distinction in that, in line with previous research, we find the largest difference between representatives of new intelligentsia and farmers. In case of omnivorous activity, the difference between the two categories is 0.96. As regards tastes, the highest elitism of eating displays among the intelligentsia (B = 1.65) followed by lower non-manuals (B = 1.29) and among owners the likelihood of being omnivore is lower (B = 1.00). On the opposite pole place themselves unskilled manual workers (B = 0.50) and farmers. The evidence suggests that class has significant effect on eating activities. Specifically, commercialization and individualization of lifestyle does not obliterate associations between class and culinary tastes.

These results contradict also both the homology argument, and an alternative approach that emphasizes replacement of the highbrow/lowbrow opposition by omnivorism. We do not see that 'eclectism' in eating tends to obliterate 'elitism'—rather the second is overlapped by the first which confirms hypothesis 1 saying that both activities and tastes tend to reinforce class contrasts.

The pattern supports hypothesis 2—that parents' class position affect cultural consumption. According to expectations, the coefficients for the father's EGP classes in models 1 (that comprise net and indirect effects) are stronger which indicates that indirect effect of

Table 2

OLS Regression of Omnivorism

Variables	Eat		Like–Dislike	
	Model (1)	Model (2)	Model (1)	Model (2)
EGP classes of respondents:				
High managers and specialists		0.05**		1.34
		(0.02)		(0.77)
Other non-manual workers		0.03		0.63
		(0.02)		(0.63)
Owners		0.07*		1.53
		(0.03)		(0.84)
Skilled manual workers		0.02		0.24
		(0.02)		(0.62)
Unskilled manual workers		–0.01		–0.23
		(0.02)		(0.64)
Farmers and farm labourers (reference category)		0.00		0.00
EGP classes of fathers:				
High managers and specialists	0.11**	0.06**	3.08**	1.74*
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.44)	(0.76)
Other non-manual workers	0.08**	0.05**	2.17**	1.27*
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.37)	(0.56)
Owners	0.06**	0.02	1.27**	1.25
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.44)	(0.73)
Skilled manual workers	0.03**	0.00	0.85**	–0.15
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.28)	(0.41)
Unskilled manual workers	0.03**	0.03	0.87**	0.77
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.28)	(0.43)
Farmers and farm labourers (reference category)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
EGP classes of spouses:				
High managers and specialists		0.00		0.12
		(0.02)		(0.03)
Other non-manual workers		–0.01		–0.55
		(0.02)		(0.61)
Owners		–0.01		–1.30
		(0.03)		(0.84)
Skilled manual workers		–0.02		–0.65
		(0.02)		(0.62)
Unskilled manual workers		–0.01		–0.21
		(0.02)		(0.61)
Farmers and farm labourers (reference category)		0.00		0.00
Help from friends		0.01**		0.33**
		(0.00)		(0.07)
Help from family		0.01**		0.22**
		(0.00)		(0.07)
Family incomes		0.003**		0.01*
		(0.001)		(0.03)
Female	0.01	0.02	–0.14	0.04**
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.20)	(0.01)
Age	0.001	0.001	0.06**	0.04**
	(0.000)	(0.090)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Intercept	0.41**	0.57**	12.65**	12.51**
	(0.01)	(0.04)	(0.46)	(1.10)
R^2 (adj.)	0.05	0.23	0.06	0.16

Note: standard errors are given in parentheses.

** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

Table 3

OLS Regression of Highbrow–Lowbrow Distinction

Variables	Eat		Like–Dislike	
	Model (1)	Model (2)	Model (1)	Model (2)
EGP classes of respondents:				
High managers and specialists		0.96**		1.65**
		(0.31)		(0.53)
Other non-manual workers		0.84**		1.29**
		(0.25)		(0.44)
Owners		0.64		1.00
		(0.33)		(0.58)
Skilled manual workers		0.52		0.91*
		(0.25)		(0.43)
Unskilled manual workers		0.24		0.50
		(0.25)		(0.44)
Farmers and farm labourers (reference category)		0.00		0.00
EGP classes of fathers:				
High managers and specialists	1.90**	0.99**	3.31**	1.98**
	(0.18)	(0.30)	(0.31)	(0.53)
Other non-manual workers	1.46**	0.92**	2.43**	1.43**
	(0.15)	(0.22)	(0.26)	(0.39)
Owners	0.97**	0.30	1.70**	0.78
	(0.19)	(0.29)	(0.33)	(0.51)
Skilled manual workers	0.84**	0.37*	1.37**	0.52
	(0.11)	(0.16)	(0.19)	(0.28)
Unskilled manual workers	0.44**	0.23	0.65**	0.26
	(0.11)	(0.17)	(0.20)	(0.29)
Farmers and farm labourers (reference category)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
EGP classes of spouses:				
High managers and specialists		0.53		0.82
		(0.30)		(0.53)
Other non-manual workers		0.42		0.64
		(0.24)		(0.43)
Owners		0.26		0.15
		(0.33)		(0.58)
Skilled manual workers		–0.04		–0.04
		(0.25)		(0.43)
Unskilled manual workers		0.06		0.02
		(0.24)		(0.43)
Farmers and farm labourers (reference category)		0.00		0.00
Help from friends		0.02**		0.31**
		(0.00)		(0.05)
Help from family		0.01**		0.17**
		(0.00)		(0.05)
Family incomes		0.04*		0.08**
		(0.01)		(0.02)
Female	0.65**	0.71**	1.08**	0.04**
	(0.08)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.01)
Age	–0.03**	–0.03	–0.05**	–0.06**
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)
Intercept	2.37**	1.00**	4.33**	2.05**
	(0.19)	(0.43)	(0.33)	(0.76)
R^2 (adj.)	0.18	0.39	0.19	0.38

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

social origin matters. In the framework of model 1, a father who belongs to intelligentsia increases omnivorousness in eating by 0.11, as compared to the farm background. Accordingly, the increase for the highbrow snobbery is 1.90. The same pattern emerges as regards preferences for omnivorism and highbrow genres (B = 3.08 and B = 3.31).

Social origin also directly affects the culinary activities and tastes which reveals in the net effects of father's class, presented in a model 2. A father who was placed in the top category most strongly contributes to socializing into omnivorous culture (B = 0.06) and for highbrow genres of eating (B = 0.99). The same holds true in the case of preferences for omnivorism and highbrow food products—effect of originating from intelligentsia appears to be mediated by the class of their offspring and other variables which is indicated by decline of the coefficients for the father's category when controls are added. Despite of it, net effect for the father's holding intelligentsia positions are not overtaken by coefficients for the father's from the lower non-manuals or owners not to say about working class categories.

The coefficients for help obtained from relatives or friends are positive in sign, indicating that rise in the network density increases omnivorousness and the highbrow snobbery in eating. It gives support for hypothesis 3 which suggests that unequal social capital translates into cultural distances. Another question concerns effect of the marital position. We see that having partners in the top category of the EGP classes, relatively most strongly increases omnivorousness and highbrow patterns in 'liking-disliking' of meals (respectively B = 0.12 and B = 0.82). Certainly, an effect of the partner's class resembles those of father's EGP classes. However, it is to note that effect of marital position is much less pronounced as compared to respondent's and father's class position which particularly concerns behavioral dimension of eating where the pattern disappears on the whole.

Finally, it turns out that culinary activity and tastes are also related to gender, age and incomes. Females are more likely than males to be highbrow with respect to culinary practices—implying that that they can feel more competent or more motivated by dominant family roles (in cooking and shopping). The younger people are more likely than older people to be omnivores in terms of tastes and highbrow in terms of activity that may result from going abroad and higher motivation to learn new genres. Conversely, as people get older, they are more likely to prefer refined foods that might reflect accumulation of higher experience. Income proves to have positive effect on cultural consumption. Invariably omnivores and highbrows in culinary tastes have higher incomes than univores and lowbrows.

Conclusions

In recent decades, higher status groups have shifted from highbrow to omnivorus consumption in music, reading, eating, and other cultural genres. This article extends this research to studies on stratification of eating in postcommunist societies. Since the collapse of the communist system, Poland has been approaching Western life style and cultural tastes in many respects. It exhibits also in culinary habits in that more well-being consumers tend to appreciate a broader array of cultural objects and to engage in a wider range of cul-

tural activities than their counterparts from the bottom. My findings, first, indicate that omnivorism/univorism divide identifies forms of cultural distinction which are differentiated by class position. Second, my findings support the assertion that omnivorousness does not removed highbrow choices displayed by representatives of advantaged categories. This result taken together with the relatively patchy class effect discussed above suggests that globalizing forces do not collide with established, historically entrenched, and meaningful patterns of eating.

In this article I argue that although omnivorism has emerged as an additional form of cultural divisions, it did not erode the highbrow activities and tastes. These analyses endorsed that both forms coexist. It reveals in the dominant exposure of higher managers and professionals (intelligentsia in Poland)—they not only appear to be most eclectic in eating but also refined. Net of age, gender, and other socio-demographic variables, members of the upper middle-class are more likely to belong to the omnivorous and highbrow profile in contradiction to manual workers and farmers. This regularity holds true in case of eating activities and tastes. The lower class respondents in this study demonstrated a predilection to dislike all sorts of omnivorous and refined genres that contrasted to behaviours and preferences of higher class people. Indeed, omnivorism appears to be one of factors that are reproducing class divisions. Cultural stratification maintains despite of uniformization processes brought about by rising standard of living, individualisation and other developments.

There are three basic limitations of this study. First is that it is restricted to the cross-sectional data. Consequently, I could not determine at what time in the past omnivorism in eating emerged. With just one data point it is not possible to say whether there is a long term secular trend toward omnivorousness in Poland—and to what extent the change is due, for example, to cohort displacement in eating or may be it developed across all ages. Second, these findings concern patterns of eating defined only in terms of food products. Further research should not only focus on the variety of items but take into account a broad repertoire of culinary experience. This particularly applies to format of dishes, preparation, provisioning, company, and rhythm of events that seem to be more strongly affected by the class position. Third shortcoming is that I tested my hypotheses only in one country. There is, however, reason to believe that the validity of my results is not restricted to Poland. Omnivorism seems to be on increase also in other East-European societies for decades now. Interesting avenues for for future research would be to investigate this association in a systematic cross-country perspective.

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