polish sociological review 3(223)'23
ISSN 1231 – 1413
DOI:10.26412/psr223.04

Social Mobility

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The Effect of Social Mobility on Cultural Barriers in Poland

Abstract: The main aim of this article is to show to what extent social mobility weakens cultural barriers. The findings are based on the results of a study on the stratification of musical tastes conducted in Poland in 2019 on a nationwide random sample. We demonstrate that upwardly mobile individuals adapt more to their status of origin than to their new position. Our results also disconfirm hypotheses concerning the "socialization" of downwardly mobile individuals to the highbrow culture. It shows that individuals moving down are closer to the lower classes in participation in culture as compared to "stayers." The results suggest an important shift: the upwardly mobile have ceased to translate their occupational success into a more esteemed culture to gain social approval. Respectively, the skidders do not resist the status implications of downward mobility by denying failure and striving to compensate socio-economic degradation with sharing their tastes with their status peers.

Keywords: social mobility, cultural stratification, social class barriers, musical preferences

Introduction

In academic or political discourses, social mobility is repeatedly considered a benevolent force that blurs the lines of the social hierarchy and ultimately diminishes social distances and class conflicts. There is also a long, parallel tradition of studies on the social-psychological impact of mobility that indicates that mobility has both positive and disruptive effects on individuals. While some research points to the fact that intergenerational mobility results in beneficial outcomes (e.g., Van Eijck 1999; Daenekindt and Roose 2013; Nikolaev and Burns 2014), other research has reported the detrimental consequences of upward and downward mobility on the well-being of newcomers, because mobile individuals do not adapt well to a class position to which they have not been socialized (Turner et al. 1995; Eaton et al. 2001; Hadjar and Samuel 2015; Schuck and Steiber 2018).

In this article, we focus on the relation between intergenerational class mobility and crossing cultural boundaries. The empirical underpinnings of the thesis about the relation between social mobility and the openness of class barriers are rather meager. The social-mobility argument neither precludes, nor requires, the blurring of cultural categories.

On the one hand, socially mobile individuals are expected to adapt to their new social circumstances, which suggests that a change in class position involves a cultural transition. If so, the transition would result in weakening the rigidity of class barriers. On the other hand, numerous sociological studies reveal that the habits, attitudes, and preferences acquired in the social position of origin may not suit the social position of destination (e.g., De Graaf and Ganzeboom 1990; Weakliem 1992; Nieuwbeerta et al. 2000; Daenekindt and Roose 2014; Monden and De Graaf 2013). The socially mobile individuals may stubbornly resist processes of acculturation, and thus, rather than the erosion or attenuation of cultural distances, they may never completely overcome the influence of their class background.

The core idea of this paper is that the dilemmas faced by mobile individuals have an impact on social integration based on cultural cohesiveness. Given that a higher cultural homogeneity in lifestyle may be reflected in a number of ways, we will attempt to shed light on the consequences of these relations for class stratification in Poland. Eastern European countries differ from Western societies in a number of ways that may prove relevant for the examination of the relationship between social mobility and cultural experience. The communist state reduced the importance of social class in society and thus made class mobility less important for lifestyle design. Even at present, no evidence suggests that there is a substantial clash of culture between specialists—called "the intelligentsia"—and the working class or farmers. This results, in part, from the defusing of distinctively class politics in a way that fostered alternative and oppositional values, which overflowed into the cultural realm. It remains unclear to what extent diverse cultural activities are incorporated into class barriers. The present study, which is based on a representative national survey conducted in 2019, extends the theoretical implications of prior research and asks how intergenerational class mobility influences cultural activity in Poland.

The structure of this article is as follows. Section 2 briefly reviews some of the previous literature on effects of mobility and cultural consumption and introduces our hypotheses. Then, we describe the dataset on which we draw, the construction of the main variables, and analytical approach. Section 5 presents the empirical evidence from the diagonal reference models that we applied to study the effect of mobility on cultural practices. The final section contains conclusions.

Theoretical Background and Hypotheses

The empirical studies of intergenerational class mobility basically intend to examine patterns of progress toward an open society. The recent historical developments in Eastern European countries come on the heels of the significant transformation from the semi-democratic proto-capitalism in the late 1940s to state socialism, experiencing, then, political stability under the communist regime, followed by the collapse of the communist system in the turn of the 1989/1990s. Research in Poland has yielded evidence that the upward mobility of men has ceased to increase as it did during the rapid industrialization of the early 1950s (Andorka and Zagórski 1979). Among women, on the other hand, upward mobility has steadily increased, although from an initially lower level than for men. In terms of relative mobility rates, there was a stable situation in the second half of the

twentieth century in which changes—if they occurred—displayed a trendless fluctuation rather than any sustained direction. Levels of fluidity were basically unaltered, or in other words, any directional tendencies took place despite the political changes and the "shock therapy" approach to restructuring the economy in connection with the transition from the communist system to the market society (Mach 2004; Nemeth 2007; Domański et al. 2018).

Contrary to basically invariant intergenerational mobility patterns, research on cultural activity shows that there has been a marked increase in almost all types of cultural outings—such as going to the theater or philharmonic performances, eating in restaurants, attending sport events, going to cinemas, and so forth. Over the past decades, a number of social processes—such as rising standards of living, broader education, migration, growing cosmopolitism, and omnivorism in cultural practices—have made cultural exclusion increasingly difficult. For example, in 1987–2018 attendance at theaters increased from 13 to 24 percent among adult Poles, visiting museums from 26 to 32 percent, and going to classical music performances, from 34 to 44 percent. Still, the most rapid increase appeared in other, and more popular, kinds of lifestyle participation: attendance at sports events increased from 26 to 43 per cent, and eating in restaurants from 22 to 76 per cent (CBOS 2019). One conceivable, but plausible, explanation is that the increasing availability of these goods has removed the cultural barriers and Polish society has shifted in a direction more open to diversity and individual choices. Different strands of the cultural democratization described above would suggest that cultural boundaries are weakening.

In speculations on the importance of intergenerational transmission for cultural participation, the main arguments fall into three categories. The first concerns the thesis of "acculturation," which assumes that mobile people can easily handle the shift from one social class to another and do not have much difficulty in being assimilated into their new class position. Newcomers come to have levels of cultural consumption similar to those who share their destination class. From this perspective, both upward and downward mobility can be expected to have psychological benefits and no assimilation problems in regard to the destination category (Goldthorpe 1980). Enthusiasm for certain cultural domains, whether it be sports, patterns of eating, or reading, is in such cases not carried over from the parents to their children in the higher (or lower) status groups (De Graaf and Ganzeboom 1993; Van Eijck 1999). Thus, social mobility can be seen as a process in which people's origin status gradually loses importance while their destination status gains importance as a predictor of outcomes.

In contrast to acculturation, which is a kind of adaptation, socialization might be considered the crucial determinant of cultural consumption. When this transitory component is emphasized, it should be expected that upwardly mobile persons will have less highbrow cultural tastes than their immobile new peers, because they acquired fewer high-cultural resources in their family of origin. Thus, they may have difficulty in internalizing new norms and values. Other experiences are involved with downward mobility. People who are moving down may resist the status implications of their declining class position by sticking to the consumption pattern they acquired in their family of origin. Consequently, it is expected that their engagement in lower-class patterns of behavior will be low (Blau 1956; Van Eijck 1999).

A third hypothesis asserts that social class mobility is neither strongly related to a person's class position of origin or destination. The "switching" hypothesis is at odds

with the above two hypotheses in claiming that although upwardly mobile persons gravitate toward the highest status, due to the lower cultural capital in their family of origin they will be less culturally active than their immobile peers. As newcomers, they are considered always to lag behind those who have been familiar with higher cultural consumption from childhood onwards (De Jager 1967; Coulangeon 2013; Daenekindt and Roose 2013). Downwardly mobile individuals, on the other hand, are never fully able to overcome the influence of the social position from which they come, because they are accustomed to view the world through the lens of high culture. The suggestion is that the lifestyle patterns of mobile individuals are equally impacted by their origin and destination categories. The switching effect might be considered the "weaker" determinant of class-based distances in culture.

Based on these ideas, the way class mobility affects cultural thoughts and behaviors can be divided into three sets of hypotheses. We take as a principle that the acculturation of mobile individuals to their class of destination reflects a lessening in the rigidity of class boundaries and ultimately reduces social distances and class conflict. Which type of acculturation prevails? In regard to upwardly mobile persons, we hypothesize that they are more prone to adapt to highbrow culture than their immobile peers. This is referred to as the "asymmetry argument" (Chan and Turner 2015), in which socially mobile people act as immobiles upon reaching their destination. They tend to adopt the cultural customs and preferences of their newly acquired class position, and the result is a reduction of social barriers in transitioning between the culture of origin and the destination class. So, openness here refers to adapting to a new situation, and to omnivorous taste patterns due to the mixing experiences of different classes.

The counter-hypothesis refers to the effect of socialization. What is at stake here is that socialization primarily occurs early in life, and many attitudes tend to remain constant throughout a person's life span. Hence, the "socialization" perspective assumes a greater role for the class position of origin than for the class position of destination, and implies less openness of class barriers. That is, mobile people may prefer to keep their class of origin as their normative reference group, wherever they land. We hypothesize that the downwardly mobile are more inclined to cling to the consumption pattern in which they were raised in their family of origin. As regards upwardly mobile individuals, our hypothesis implies that they are less inclined to adopt an interest in high culture than those who are immobile in high-status positions.

The third, "switching" pattern (Coulangeon 2013; Daenekindt and Roose 2013), represents a more complex configuration in which mobile individuals would tend to adjust their class of origin norms to the behavior and norms of the destination class. Conceptually, this means that downwardly mobile people would rather tend to retain to some extent the norms of their class of origin, without rejecting the lifestyle of their new, lower category. Respectively, upwardly mobile persons would tend to combine high-brow and low-brow cultural tastes. We hypothesize that this type of alignment, which can be called "mild acculturation," acts as a cultural bridge in moving across social classes.

These hypotheses remain largely unverified. Researchers have sought to test "socialization," "switching," and "adaptive" hypotheses, but past research was either hindered by a lack of sufficient information on the independent effects of people's experiencing a partic-

ular social class (Daenekindt and Roose 2013; Chan and Turner 2015; Schuck and Steiber 2018), or suffered from using conventional regression models that fail to tackle the challenge posed by the linear dependency of origin, destination, and mobility indicators (Van Eijck 1999; Emmison 2003). This study revisits and updates a classic sociological question regarding the effects of social mobility on lifestyle patterns for a society that has consolidated its democracy and full-fledged market economy, and in which class position is still a powerful force affecting individuals' chances of obtaining unequally distributed goods and values.

Data and Variables

Our analyses are based on data from a nationwide survey[1] on the social stratification of music-related behaviors and other lifestyle features. The random sample consisted of 4,200 inhabitants of Poland aged 15 and older. Finally, 2,007 interviews were completed using the CAPI method.[2]

The survey covered various aspects of leisure and cultural activities related to both high and popular culture. As regards musical preferences, the explained variable was disco polo music. Disco polo is electronic folk music characterized by simple melodies based on a few chords and banal lyrics. It represents a lower area of popular music, and is mostly preferred by less educated people, in lower social positions. Preferences for disco polo were captured first by asking respondents to indicate their preferred musical genres and favorite composers and performers. The answers were recorded by the interviewer and then classified into several fields of musical taste. In addition, the respondents were asked about their preferences for 17 selected musical genres, using a closed-ended question with a five-point scale ranging from "I definitely dislike it" to "I like it very much." Similarly, we asked respondents their opinions about the music of selected composers and artists. Finally, the interviewer had the respondents listen to 30-second excerpts of musical pieces. Based on the above information, an index was created measuring a liking for disco-polo music on a scale of 0 to 10 (Cronbach's alfa = 0.75). The highest value of the index was given to respondents who spontaneously named disco polo as one of their favourite genres in the open-ended question and indicated, in the above-mentioned closed questions, that they *liked* or *very much liked* this genre, its performers, and songs.

In regards to cultural activity, we asked questions about how many books the respondents read and how often they went to the theater, the opera, or philharmonic performance, or attended other concerts, based on a 7-point scale ranging from "never" through "once a year or less often," "a few times a year," etc., to "more than once a week."

[1] Study Musical tastes and social stratification in process of Poles lifestyles formation was funded by National Science Center (UMO-2017/25/B/HS6/01929). Research team comprised Henryk Domański, Dariusz Przybysz, Katarzyna Wyrzykowska, and Kinga Zawadzka from the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology Polish Academy of Sciences). The survey was administered by consortium Danae and Realizacja. Questionnaire and other technical characteristics are described in: http://www.md.ifispan.pl/.

[2] The sample was drawn from the PESEL (Universal Electronic System for Registration of the Population)—register maintained by the Polish government. The response rate calculated according to the standards of the European Social Survey was 50.3% (after excluding ineligible cases, e.g. emigrants, persons who died between the date of drawing of the sample and the interviewer's visit).

As regards theater-going, we recoded the answers into a zero-one variable with 0 given to the answers "never" or "once a year or less often" and 1 otherwise. The index of attending classical music or other serious music concerts was constructed as a sum of four dichotomous variables spanning a range of performances. Respondents who attended a ballet, an opera, a classical music concert at a philharmonic hall, a classical music performance in some other venue (a church, park, school, or cultural institution), or a jazz concert at least once every few years were coded 1, and otherwise 0. The index created from the sum of dichotomous variables almost perfectly correlates with the factor scores variable obtained from the Explanatory Factor Analysis produced from responses on the 7-point scales. They were all associated with factor 1 with the set of loadings ranged from 0.52 to 0.9. The Pearsonian correlation between the index of cultural activity and factor scores was 0.94.

In regard to their interest in literature, the respondents were asked about the number of books they had read (or listened to) in the past 12 months, including e-books and audiobooks, with the exception of those related to work.[3] We explored many other types of culture and recreation, including activities belonging to both highbrow and lowbrow culture, but for the purpose of this analysis we used only those that appeared relevant to our study. The list of four explained variables appears in Table 1.

Before we report the empirical results, two remarks of a general nature are in order. First, as most models of class divisions suggest, class cultural divisions are not solely hierarchical. Nevertheless, most studies find clear patterns of socioeconomic stratification in cultural consumption. There is also some evidence that omnivorous cultural tastes are often associated with higher education, higher income, and an advantaged social position. There is good reason, then, to follow this analytical design despite an obvious multiplicity of cultural space. The second point concerns the use of disco along with an index of attending classical concerts. This may be counted as reflecting opposite poles of the same thing that would make them redundant and raise a serious difficulty in estimating the effect of mobility on cultural tastes. The quick answer is that they are not closely related. The magnitude of correlation between a preference for disco polo and attending concerts is −0.248, and in the case of going to the theater and reading books, the correlation is also typical—standing, respectively, at −0.221 and −0.174. All of these activities operate through a different mechanism in their influence on consumption patterns. A relatively high correlation (0.591) appears only in the case of attending concerts and going to the theater.

The intergenerational mobility analyses were based on categorizing the respondent and his/her father on the basis of a reduced form of the EGP classification, with six socio-occupational categories (Erikson and Goldthorpe 1992). We distinguished three non-manual classes (higher managers and professionals, routine non-manual class, and small business owners) and three manual classes (skilled workers, non-skilled workers, and farmers, including agricultural laborers). Since it is difficult to decide which categories should come higher in a ranking (especially in regard to small business owners and clerical workers, or the working class and farmers), in order to gauge upward and

[3] Altogether, we considered 18 dependent variables. Thematically, they fall into several domains including some kinds of cultural omnivorism that showed not to be affected by mobility patterns.

Table 1

Liking music and cultural practices in Poland

Dependent variables	Percentages/ means	Standard deviations	Min	Max	Number of observations
Index of liking disco polo	4.34	3.56	0	10	1411
Index of attending classical music concerts, philharmonic, opera, ballet and jazz concert	0.63	1.10	0	4	1410
Visiting theatre	0.14	0.35	0	1	1395
Number of read books	4.68	10.26	0	50	1390

downward mobility we used two dummy variables. The first variable (called "UP") refers to intergenerational social mobility from the lower non-manual workers, small business, working class, and farm categories to the higher managerial and professional category (coded 1 and 0 otherwise). The second variable (named "DOWN") was defined as intergenerational social mobility in the opposite direction.

Table 2

Distributions of respondents by fathers' social class and own social class (%)

Father's social class	Respondent's social class						
	Higher managers and profession	Routine non-manuals	Owners	Skilled workers	Non-skilled workers	Farmers and agricultural laborers	Total
Higher managers and profession	3.1	3.3	0.5	0.1	0.1	0.1	7.3
Routine non-manuals	2.0	6.1	0.7	1.2	1.0	0.3	11.3
Owners	0.7	2.4	0.9	1.1	0.5	0.2	5.8
Skilled workers	2.5	9.8	1.6	7.3	5.1	0.5	26.7
Non-skilled workers	1.7	5.8	0.9	3.3	3.3	0.5	15.5
Farmers and agricultural laborers	1.8	6.1	2.0	6.5	5.1	11.9	33.5
Total	11.7	33.5	6.8	19.5	15.1	13.4	100.0

Table 2 cross-classifies the social class distribution of the respondents and their fathers. It can be seen that the share of routine non-manual workers tripled between the two generations (from 11.3 to 33.5%), whereas the proportion of agricultural categories dropped from about 34 to 13%. The results show that over a third (32.6%) of the respondents were immobile relative to their father's class (cells on the main diagonal of the six-by-six cross-classifications), 8.7% were upwardly mobile (cells in the first column below the main diagonal), and 4.1% of respondents originated from the managerial-professional class but held lower class positions.

Our control variables are straightforward. Educational level consists of four categories (from "primary school" to "completed university"); the age variable includes four categories (from "15–24" to "above 66"); and size of place of residence is divided into four categories (from "rural areas" to cities of over 500,000 inhabitants). Gender was coded 1 = male and 0 = female. In examining the impact of mobility on concert and theater attendance, we used family incomes per capita in thousands of PLN.

Method

To assess the effect of social mobility on cultural barriers in Poland we employed Diagonal Reference Models (Sobel 1981), which have been shown to be superior to other methods, especially to conventional regression techniques. The DRM make it possible to test whether mobile people are closer in their activities and tastes to the immobile members of their class of destination or to the immobile members of their class of origin. In our case, the "stayers" will be represented by the respondents who hold the same class position as their father.

The diagonal mobility baseline model without covariates for a dependent variable can be formally expressed as follows:

$$(1) \qquad Y_{ijk} = p\mu_{ii} + (1 - p)\mu_{jj} + \varepsilon_{ijk},$$

where Y_{ijk} reflects individual k in cell ij, and i and j refer to parents and respondents, ε_{ijk} is a stochastic term with expectation 0, and μ_{ii} and μ_{jj} are the population means of the *ii*th and *jj*th cells of the mobility table. The parameter p, and its reverse 1−p, refer respectively to the "origin" and the "destination" weight, ranges from 0 to 1. Higher weights indicate that mobile individuals' activities and tastes resemble their destination social class, whereas smaller values indicate a greater resemblance to their original social class. For example, if p is smaller than 0.5, the destination has a stronger relative impact on the dependent variable than the origin position.

To test our hypotheses we put forward two models. The extended model estimates two additional parameters (B_1 and B_2) for the dummy variables UP and DOWN, which identify net upward and downward mobility effects and can be interpreted as coefficients in the square additive regression model. Henceforth, the model is given by:

$$(2) \quad Y_{ijk} = (p+\beta_1 * UP+\beta_2 * DOWN)\mu_{ii}+[(1-p)+(1-\beta_1)*UP+(1-\beta_2)*DOWN]\mu_{jj}+\varepsilon_{ijk}.$$

The third model corresponds to the culture-switching hypothesis, according to which the cultural tastes of mobile individuals are affected equally by their origin and destination categories. According to this model, both origin and destination are equally significant as determinants of the outcome variables among the mobile subjects. Formally, cultural switching amounts to setting the weights to one-half: $p = (1-p) = \beta_1 = \beta_2 = 0.5$.

Models 2–3 include the control variables. The model fit indices are based on the Akaike Information Criterion (AIC) and Deviance test. We used the DREF subcommand of the "R" GNM package (Turner and Firth 2015).

Findings

Table 3 shows two diagonal mobility models predicting cultural practices. Model 1 simply shows estimates assuming that there are no upward or downward mobility effects on cultural practices. The weight parameters indicate whether the cultural activity, or musical

preferences, of mobile persons is closer to their non-mobile counterparts in their destination or origin class. We find that the effect of the respondents' own class position is comparable in magnitude to the effect of their fathers' position, although movers tend rather to resemble stayers in their destination rather than their origin class. The relative weight of respondents' class is greatest in regard to theater-going ($1-p = 0.61$; $p = 0.39$). The exception is liking disco polo, where the effect of origin appears slightly higher ($p = 0.56$). Descriptively, these results suggest that respondents' own class position is more important in regard to their cultural participation than their parents' class membership.

The estimates of the diagonal cell parameters indicate the mean values for stayers in their respective social classes. Concerning the class-based rank of cultural activity in the social class of stayers, the baseline model displays the highest cultural practices among higher managers and professionals, followed by small business owners and lower non-manuals, with agricultural categories and unskilled workers at the bottom. The predicted means are usually similar for theater-going, philharmonic concerts, and so forth, and basically reflect the "objective" socio-economic position of members of these groups. The findings echo those in most of the research on cultural consumption in that a lower social status is associated with less experience of highbrow culture.

Model 2 includes the upward and downward mobility effects to test hypotheses 1–3, net of the effects of class origin and destination. For all outcome variables, model fit statistics show that adding upward and downward mobility to the baseline model results in a significantly better fit to the data. As is apparent, upward and downward mobility parameters reached statistical significance—net of parental and own class position, and covariates.

In comparing mobility parameters, we find that in all cases the destination class provides a weaker reference point with respect to participation in highbrow culture for those whose father held a relatively lower class position than for those whose father was a member of the upper middle class. In the case of reading books, the weight parameter of the position of origin for upwardly mobile individuals is 0.95; for going to classical concerts and the theater it is 0.78 and 0.87 respectively. The same pattern can be observed for liking disco polo (0.60) and thus confirms that this type of music is favored mostly by the lower classes. The implication is that upward mobility does not necessary result in adaptation to the lifestyle of the higher classes, as the hypothesis on asymmetric acculturation insists. In fact, the destination class of those who have shifted their social affiliation serves to constrain them to change their lifestyle.

This does not mean that the cultural practices for upwardly mobile individuals are basically affected by the class position of their fathers. Our previous analyses, which were presented elsewhere (Domański et al. 2021), indicate that the logic of socialization does not apply in regard to liking classical music and eating in restaurants—individuals moving into the managerial or professional class tend to adopt attitudes to classical music more in line with their class of destination (0.99) than of origin (0.01). The impact of the destination category on going to restaurants is much less pronounced (0.57) but still plays a larger role when compared with the father's class (0.43). What is revealed, then, is that moving to the top does not always translate into an opening of class barriers. Perhaps the main reason for this is that the lifestyle related to a person's prior class is no less important than the occupational success and well-being related to their current class position. Apparently,

Table 3

Parameter estimates from the Diagonal Reference Models on attending concerts, and theatre, liking disco polo, and reading books

	Attends classical music concerts		Visiting theatre		Likes disco polo		Number of read books	
	I	II	I	II	I	II	I	II
Origin class weights								
Baseline	0.41** (0.04)	0.47** (0.12)	0.39** (0.06)	0.65** (0.23)	0.56** (0.06)	0.84** (0.14)	0.44** (0.07)	0.71** (0.30)
Downward		0.16 (0.22)		0.19 (0.54)		0.26 (0.56)		0.08 (0.20)
Upward		0.78** (0.13)		0.87** (0.30)		0.60** (0.24)		0.95** (0.13)
Main diagonal parameters								
Higher managerial	2.56** (0.14)	1.57** (0.34)	−0.17** (0.25)	−0.88 (0.91)	0.59** (0.20)	2.08* (0.40)	11.76** (1.10)	12.07** (2.29)
Lower managerial	1.59** (0.08)	0.65** (0.22)	−1.04** (0.18)	−1.71** (0.73)	1.50** (0.13)	2.26** (0.28)	7.96** (0.70)	5.53** (1.58)
Owners	1.73** (0.17)	1.17** (0.27)	−1.26** (0.38)	−1.42** (0.80)	1.72** (0.24)	2.48** (0.31)	6.42** (1.34)	6.28** (1.80)
Skilled workers	0.71** (0.08)	0.32 (0.23)	−2.75** (0.28)	−2.15** (0.75)	2.40** (0.12)	2.85** (0.27)	2.04* (0.67)	4.12** (1.53)
Unskilled workers	0.46** (0.10)	0.18 (0.24)	−3.78** (0.46)	−3.20** (0.85)	2.86** (0.15)	3.18** (0.28)	1.52 (0.85)	3.50* (1.57)
Farmers	0.41** (0.08)	0.36 (0.21)	−3.75** (0.40)	−1.90** (0.68)	2.81** (0.11)	2.89** (0.09)	1.90* (0.63)	3.47* (1.43)
Control variables								
Gender (male = 1)		−0.09 (0.08)		−0.71** (0.24)		−0.25** (0.09)		−2.26** (0.05)
Family income per capita in ths PLN		0.01 (0.04)		0.49** (0.12)				
Size of place of residence (reference category: rural area)								
Below 100ths		0.01 (0.01)		0.65** (0.31)		−0.26** (0.11)		0.345 (0.64)
100–499ths		0.25** (0.01)		0.44 (0.37)		−0.46** (0.15)		−0.39 (0.84)
500ths and more		0.57** (0.01)		1.09** (0.36)		−0.51** (0.18)		2.00* (0.96)
Category of education (reference category: primary)								
lower secondary		0.12 (0.13)		−1.08 (0.63)		0.26 (0.18)		0.29 (0.93)
Upper secondary		0.59** (0.14)		0.03 (0.56)		−0.11 (0.20)		2.86** (0.97)
Post-secondary		1.16** (0.17)		1.20** (0.59)		−0.95** (0.16)		6.34* (1.14)
Age (reference category: 15–24)								
25–40		0.02 (0.13)		−1.06** (0.36)		0.32* (0.16)		−1.08 (0.90)
41–65		0.19 (0.13)		−0.59 (0.36)		0.43** (0.16)		0.99 (0.92)
66 and more		0.13 (0.15)		−1.21** (0.43)		−0.02 (0.18)		1.30 (1.00)
Fit Statistics								
Deviance	1952	1357	891	588	3980	3629	120238	3151
df	1396	1032	1384	1024	1396	1373	1373	1350
AIC	4461	3300	905	619	5600	5234	10097	9963

upwardly mobile persons may have improved their economic position but they continue to associate largely with lower-class people. The upwardly mobile may be content with their occupational activity, but the cost of their socio-economic achievements may lead to dissatisfaction in other dimensions.

If acculturation works poorly in the case of moving up, it appears instead in the case of moving down. Comparing the weight parameters for the respondents' current class and their father's class, we see that persons who have moved from the intelligentsia into categories holding lower positions are less likely to retain the cultural patterns of the lifestyle acquired through socialization in their class of origin. The respondents' own class position appeared to be more important for their cultural choices than their parent's position. The relative weight of the father's class for downwardly mobile persons is lowest for the number of books read (0.08) and for going to philharmonic concerts (0.16) and the theater (0.19). This trend is largely mirrored in the case of disco polo as well. A stronger reference point here is the respondent's current position (0.74; $p = 0.26$). The significantly lower value for the impact of the class of origin (0.26) suggests a shift in preferences toward popular music (and a boosting of the impact of the class of destination) on the downwardly mobile respondents. They were far from being affected by their socialization in their family home.

In this regard, the cultural field in Poland exhibits considerable discrepancy with Bourdieu's depiction of class barriers. Bourdieu accentuated that the dominant culture ensured privileges in life—sustained over generations—to a ruling class. In line with this idea, downwardly mobile individuals should seek to deny failures in their individual striving. Intuitively, they ought to resist the status implications of their cultural degradation and still try to be more like "managers and professionals" in their lifestyle, as displayed, for example, by attending concerts in a philharmonic hall. Contrary to expectations, the rule does not hold. Our data provides no support for the argument that the downwardly mobile resist cultural degradation. In spite of the loss of status involved, they are inclined to adjust their cultural habits in the direction of their fall instead of trying to keep up with the more prestigious category.

The same holds for the acculturation of newcomers to the top categories. They are thought to engage zealously in the consumption of the dominant culture in order to demonstrate that they have the "proper lifestyle," in accord with what is expected of people in their class position. In fact, it appears that upwardly mobile individuals are not inclined to adopt highbrow tastes; they rather maintain lower cultural practices. In contrast to the stereotype (Palska 1994; Kulas 2017), having the cultural tastes of the intelligentsia may no longer be a state to which everyone unequivocally aspires. It would seem that upwardly mobile persons are seldom plagued by status anxiety or cultural alienation. Instead, more often than not, those individuals whose tastes derive from a family background in a lower class are likely to find their social group among other newcomers, who have experienced similar trajectories and share similar tastes. Therefore, such individuals do not experience social isolation in their class of destination.

To examine the "switching culture" hypothesis we used a "strict" switching-culture model, which assumed that origin and destination had an equal impact on the outcome variables. The model fit indices for this model and for Model 2 are presented in Table 4. They show that the switching-culture effect does not provide a worse fit to the data (at

0.05 significance level) in the case of participation in highbrow culture, as reflected in attending classical musical concerts, going to the theater, or liking popular music such as disco polo. This, substantively, suggests that individuals are affected equally by their origin and destination categories.

Table 4

Goodness-of-fit statistics for the diagonal reference models (Residual Deviance)

Dependent variables	Model 2	Switching model	p-value
Index of attending classical music concerts, opera, or philharmonic	1357	1362	0.255
Visiting theatre	588	589	0.822
Index of liking disco polo	3629	3646	0.092
Number of read books	3151	3156	0.367

Lastly, we found that women are significantly more likely than men to go to the theater, have more books, and prefer disco polo. The estimates of the parameters for place of residence are in the predicted direction in that living in more populous places generally increases the likelihood of a person's attending concerts, disliking disco polo, and reading books. Higher family income increases the likelihood of theater-going, but—contrary to expectations—does not influence attendance at concerts in philharmonic halls. Finally, one cannot find clear pattern of relationship with age, whereas education has a positive and large effect on the probability of visiting cultural institutions and of higher literacy, net of other controls.

Conclusions

In general, intergenerational mobility can be expected to reduce differences between social classes. According to the parallel sociological tradition, social class is regarded as a fundamental basis of cultural tastes. Cultural capital and its accompanying lifestyle patterns not only create class boundaries but tend to reproduce them by intergenerational transmission. In line with these arguments, this paper examined the consequences of upward and downward mobility on the division between popular tastes and higher culture. As Poland is often considered to be a country where patterns of highbrow lifestyle still affect social life (Podgórecki 1992), it seems useful to investigate the impact of social mobility on cultural attitudes in a comprehensive way.

It should be clear that mobile individuals can experience both cultural diversity and cultural stability. The impact of social mobility on cultural tastes is not ordered along a virtual axis with highbrow on one end and popular culture on the other. The four cultural genres analyzed here do not exhaust the possible dimensions. However, we believe them to represent key markers allowing the effect of upward and downward mobility on cultural stratification to be adequately tested. The theoretical expectation was that, among the downwardly mobile, the relative weight of an individual's own class position would be lower in comparison to their father's position. Yet, in contradiction to the "falling from

grace" hypothesis, our finding rather provides evidence that decline in class position may be harmful to highbrow habits, as the downwardly mobile adapt to popular culture. At the same time, those who are more successful than their parents tend to retain their cultural practices, in compliance with the cultural norms of the lower classes.

Our results also disconfirm hypotheses concerning the adherence of downwardly mobile individuals to highbrow culture. Individuals moving down from the "new intelligentsia" score substantially lower in regard to attending concerts of classical music, going to the theater, and reading books as compared to the "stayers." Furthermore, they are closer to the lower classes in liking disco polo: this suggests that the downwardly mobile do not resist the status implications of downward mobility by denying their failure and striving to compensate for their socio-economic degradation by sharing more or less exactly the tastes of their original-status peers. If mobile people are not attached to their class of origin but tend to integrate with those at their current level, this behavior can be expected to blur cultural boundaries. In such a case, social-class mobility is not unambiguously converted into cultural mobility. This expectation is borne out by the finding—in regard to the number of books read—that both the upwardly and downwardly mobile may read a number intermediate between those of the stationary highs and those of the stationary lows. The cultivation of regular social contacts with their new peers does not result in a feeling of contrast between them but provides channels of communication and influence through which the newcomers are encouraged to adopt a different style of life.

Overall, our findings do not provide convincing indications of either cultural reproduction or cultural mobility as a decisive mechanism in the weakness of class barriers. The employment of "brow" categories (i.e., the categorization of tastes into "highbrow," "middlebrow," and "lowbrow") implies a reification of a historically specific form of lifestyle differentiation: it is not obvious that the cultural landscape of today can reasonably be described as most models of class division suggest. We regard this seemingly contradictory result as due to the decline in esteem for the intelligentsia. Over the past 150 years in Poland, high-ranking specialists, forming the "knowledge class," have been the main agents of cultural dominance. As there was formerly a clear pattern of the lower classes seeking to enter that class, our analysis suggests that cultural consumption related to the intelligentsia has been losing its relevance in a number of areas. An important shift has taken place, and highbrow culture, which was associated with the intelligentsia, does indeed determine taste patterns less at present. Although the upwardly mobile are the chief beneficiaries of the systemic change and may be satisfied with the progress of their lives, they are not as eager as formerly to be approved in their destination category. The downwardly mobile, in turn, have relinquished maintaining their affiliation with a more prestigious group.

This definitely allows people more freedom to choose, in Polish society, from the increasing range of alternatives that shape the minds of the upper middle class and of people holding lower socio-economic positions. Being of the upper middle class, for example, involves not simply high-culture practices such as going to libraries, visiting galleries and museums, attending the opera and the ballet, or seeing historic sites, but may involve a series of practices and tastes emblematic of new forms of distinction. New sources of reputation and status have been accorded to sports, cooking, housing design, and travel, which do not require erudition but rather economic resources and knowledge of patterns of "good taste"

and of what is regarded as being interesting, exotic, and in vogue. These sources conform more to contemporary fashion than to legitimate culture, although this is not to say that legitimate tastes have been outweighed by popular practices (Domański et al. 2021). For example, eating in restaurants, and spending weekends in the countryside, which may be indicative of economic resources, do not relate to mobility patterns in a significant way.

Future studies should consider complementing research on the effect of mobility with a wider range of cultural activities or tastes. Our data did not allow for such an analysis, and this is a limitation of this study. Turning now to analytical problems, our study did not distinguish between absolute and relative rates of mobility. Such a distinction is recognized as being crucial in the sociological literature and has been a limitation of all studies on the cultural effects of intergenerational mobility. We applied a conventional approach in restricting patterns of mobility to absolute rates, which refer to the actual proportions of individuals of given class origins who move to different class destinations, whereas relative rates compare the chances that individuals of differing class origins have of arriving at different class destinations and thus indicate the extent of social fluidity. What relative rates of social mobility aim to capture are the chances of individuals of different classes of origin being found in different classes of destination when all the effects of class structural change are discounted (Goldthorpe 2013). A more comprehensive investigation should indeed require relative rates as well. Qualitative research would be also be needed to understand more thoroughly how people in the consumption groups for various cultural genres come to acquire their tastes. Another question of importance for further research is to what extent the 6 EGP classes that we used remain analytical abstractions created by the theoretical reasoning of analysts rather than categories that are institutionalized in the everyday practices and understanding of real people. We cannot exclude the possibility that the conclusions we draw are partly artifacts of the crude boundaries of locations in cultural space. Micro-classes generally have greater explanatory power than any of the models of large classes for a very wide range of individual-level outcomes.

Funding

National Science Centre, Poland, grant no. UMO-2017/25/B/HS6/01929.

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