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Intergenerational educational mobility and cultural practices: a study on cultural stratification using diagonal reference models

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Abstract: This study revisits and extends a classic question in sociology and tests three competing hypotheses about the effects of intergenerational educational mobility on cultural tastes. By means of diagonal reference models to data coming from nationally representative survey carried out in 2019, the study shows that mobile individuals come to resemble their nonmobile counterparts in their current educational level which confirms hypothesis of maximization. This is inconsistent with Bourdieu's view that habitus is largely determined by primary socialization at parental home. The study also demonstrates that upwardly and downwardly mobile individuals switch musical tastes of both parental and current educational level.

Key words: intergenerational mobility, educational achievements, cultural practices, musical tastes

SOCIAL MOBILITY AND CULTURAL CHANGE

According to the, perhaps, dominant view the mobile persons are overwhelmingly content with the progress of their lives and rarely plagued by any cultural disequilibrium (e.g. Goldthorpe 1980; Marshall and Firth 1999). As specified by the reverse understanding of the mobility experience, it had a largely disruptive

effect on the individual, resulting in a higher incidence of social and psychological problems. Mobility, these scholars argued, usually implies a process of detachment from, and attachment to, particular class cultures. These processes may be particularly stressful because they often leave individuals with uncertain cultural and personal ties to two distinct social realms (Jackson and Curtis 1972; Hopper 1981).

The present paper aims to examine effect of intergenerational mobility on cultural activities and attitudes, focusing specifically on musical tastes. My analysis concerns educational mobility that refers to the relative influence of parental level of education versus own educational achievement on cultural resources. The question is to what extent intergenerational advancement or degradation in educational achievements affects participation in culture and how it results in processes of cultural accommodation of mobile persons to the new status positions. Education is a central determinant of occupational class and income, the "main vehicle for intergenerational reproduction and the main avenue for social mobility" (Blau and Duncan 1967). Moreover, in comparison to income or occupation, education can also be measured for those not currently employed, which represents especially an important advantage for studying young adults and older cohorts. The fact that both family of origin and the attained educational level are strongly related to cultural participation indicates that both intergenerational transmission and cultural mobility are at work as mechanisms for cultural behavior. Furthermore, educational qualifications are particularly relevant to understanding cultural participation such as attendance at concerts, art galleries, museums, engagement in recreation etc. As noted, whatever social advantage might arise from heavy engagement in cultural activities, it will accrue to those who are highly educated, who occupy higher occupational class positions, and who have backgrounds within higher social classes. Higher education is associated with regular attendance at the theatre, art galleries, opera, cinema, musicals and rock concerts. It is also strongly related to owning paintings and reading books. In contrast, belonging to the lowest social classes tends to be associated with never doing these things (Lopez-Sintas and Alvarez 2002; Nagel 2009; Yaish and Katz-Gero 2010; Bukodi 2010). As regards the area of music the contrast is between the tastes of individuals with tertiary education for elite music – e.g. classical music, and to some extent, jazz, and rock – against the preferences of individuals with the low educational credentials for popular genres such as pop music, disco polo, and dance (Bennet et al. 2009: 77). Certainly, these associations are reciprocal, and for example, attending philharmonic may be beneficial for occupational career, esteem, and other rewards. Acculturation into elite groups became an entry to lucrative positions, although primary link of this is educational capital.

The aims of the present study is to examine the relative importance of educational mobility for cultural involvement in listening music, going to theatre, reading, and broadly understood consumption patterns. The social stratification of lifestyles was an important concern in the pioneering work of Simmel (1957), Sorokin (1958), Veblen (1934), and Weber (1968) restored in a number of studies that empirically established the importance of intergenerational transmission for cultural participation. These all show that having culturally active parents strongly enhances a person's interest in culture and the arts. Those brought up in a culturally rich milieu are more likely to develop aesthetic dispositions and to acquire cultural skills through the "habitus" that enables them to secure more easily potentially advantageous degrees. Moreover, higher-status parents would use their lifestyle to help their children attain a similarly high status, first through education (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990). As high-status culture corresponds to what is taught and valued in schools, children raised with highbrow culture in the parental home have an advantage in education. Consequently, the children of parents with a high cultural status are most successful in school, and as a result move on to higher cultural positions, as their parents did. One can therefore expect to find strong intergenerational transmission of parental lifestyle to their adult children, both a culturally oriented and a lifestyle oriented at luxury. Until now, consequences of educational mobility on cultural consumption have been neglected in Poland in the body of research on social mobility. This study extends theoretical implications of prior research and asks how intergenerational educational mobility influences cultural activity, based on the representative national survey carried out in 2019.

BACKGROUND AND RESEARCH QUESTION

A culturally oriented lifestyle is reproduced from parents to their offspring, and may be also developed during the educational career. The social-psychological impact of mobility can be largely grouped into five competing strands. The present analysis study revisits these questions drawing on a classic and frequently suggested explanations of the link between intergenerational educational mobility and cultural tastes. The first theory concerns the "dissociative" effect of social mobility. According to this pattern, the experience of social mobility – be it upward or downward – may be a disruptive, and subsequently detrimental experience for the individual arguably because mobile persons find it hard to adapt to a new class position they have not been socialized into (Sorokin 1927; Hollinghshead et al. 1954; Friedman 2015; Van Der Waal and De Koster 2014). The argument is that incongruity and conflicting demands between the class position of origin and the

class position of destination generate insecurity and may undermine well-being. Such contradictions may create cultural uprooting that leads to stress and anomie.

The second hypothesis refers more specifically to the effect of the downward mobility. It predicts that downward social mobility is the only mobility trajectory that will provoke problems for people's well-being. The general idea is that it is the experience of downward mobility that – in contrast to upward mobility – may spur feelings of frustration and failure (Blau 1956; Tolsma et al. 2009). In this vein, damaging impact of skidding down the occupational ladder is associated with feelings of failure, stress, social disorientation and loss of control. These interpretations suggest the "falling from grace" explanation to hold. According to this perspective, the downwardly mobile never become accustomed to life in their new social class, are unsure how to reverse their fall, and suffer from lasting feelings of failure and self-blame (Newman 1999; Houle 2011).

Whereas downwardly mobile individuals will tend to keep the norms of their class of origin, upwardly mobile people will tend to adopt those of their class of destination. According to the third hypothesis often referred to maximization (Daenekindt and Roose 2013), upwardly mobile tends to align their behavior with the one of their highest status reference group, i.e. the norms of the class of destination. Correspondingly, the maximization strategy applies also to the downwardly mobiles. Due to feelings of failure, downwardly mobile individuals may resist the status implications of their downward mobility. In such a case, they stubbornly reject processes of acculturation, denying their failure that forces them to keep the norms of their class of origin instead that of destination class (Wilensky and Edwards 1959). In case of upwardly mobile individuals, the maximization strategy may display well in ostentatious identification with highbrow culture. For example, in Poland, striving for distinction would reside in being visible in philharmonic, vernissages, and in emphasizing one's knowledge of art in order to show up, to be considered "cultural" intelligentsia.

The fourth competing explanation in the literature, which is tested, is termed the hypothesis of "socialization". Contrary to hypothesis on maximization, advocates of hypothesis of "socialization" emphasize the crucial role of social origin. Since socialization takes place primarily early in life and many attitudes tend to be rather stable during the life course, a "socialization" perspective would expect a larger effect for origin position than destination position (Durkheim 1956). Effect of the family background is so strong that persons who have moved from low to high find it difficult to accommodate to the dominant culture if that is even possible. These are not only to be stuck to old habits but they also do not feel to do reject them. According to pessimistic interpretation it works both ways which means that also people who experience downward mobility tend to identify themselves more strongly with class of origin than with lower classes (De Jager 2009).

An alternative to these understandings is the fifth scenario on "acculturation". The acculturation thesis describes the possibility that social mobility is not a harmful, and dislocating experience. According to this perspective, social mobility involves a process of resocialization, which does not necessarily generate dissociation or psychosocial problems (Blau 1956; Goldthorpe 1980). Thus, socially mobile individuals gradually abandon values, norms, and customs from the social position of origin and adopt those of their newly acquired status position. Because of their success, upwardly mobile individuals have more incentives to adopt the culture of their new social environment and to manifest their newly acquired, more prestigious social position. Possibility of acculturation in a weaker version assumes that mobile persons are not well integrated in either social class. They are marginal men, in some respects out of tune with others both in their new and original strata. They do not have sufficient opportunity for complete acculturation to the values and style of life of the higher or lower class "inheritors" which results from lack of extensive and intimate social contacts (Blau 1956; Daenekindt and Roose 2013).

The acculturation hypothesis may be reformulated to the "intermediate pattern". According to this argumentation, socially mobile people, both upward and downward, pose special dilemmas for establishing interpersonal relations and becoming integrated in the community. This leads to the formation of attitudes midway between those of people's class of origin and class of destination (Jackman 1972; Coulagenon 2015). Perhaps, in cultural domain the "intermediate pattern" is more likely to occur than any strict realignment since people's tastes result from the combination of both "primary" and "secondary" socialization, rather than from the exclusive influence of either the cultural norms of their class of origin (complete socialization) or the norms of their class of destination (complete acculturation).

HYPOTHESES

A great deal of quantitative work tested these hypotheses extensively and was the subject of contentious discussion. In this article, an empirical reappraisal of the way educational mobility affects the formation of cultural activities and tastes is proposed. The present study aims to examine how well it fares mostly in the distribution of musical tastes that – within Bourdieu's (1984: 18) homology framework – are in fact reflection of class-based habitus as they evoke hierarchy and power. The analysis extends the patterning of cultural life into two other fields – literary tastes and eating out – which provides a wider visualisation of the ordering of the cultural landscape. Based on the above description, hypotheses that seem relevant in the Polish context are proposed.

The first hypothesis to be tested refers to the effect of socialization. Musical preferences turn out to be strongly connected with social background, not giving way effect of educational attainment as some findings reveal (Sintas and Alvarez 2004; Yaish and Katz-Gero 2010; Katz-Gero et al. 2007; Nagel 2012). Research in Poland suggests that effect of social origin affects not only preferences for classical music – to which the results of most analyses were limited – but also preferences of other musical tastes. It shows that, preference for jazz and rock is largely related to parents' preference for jazz and rock and the same applies to popular music and disco polo (Domański et al. 2020). This stands in the clearest opposition to much lower effects of social origin on educational or socio-occupational achievements. Cultural patterns seem to be particularly susceptible to processes of intergenerational transmission despite contemporary cultural dynamics and transformation of the musical field.

In order to clarify these associations, a separate study is conducted to investigate effect of educational mobility on cultural activities – i.e. watching TV, going to theatre, eating in a restaurant, listening to rock music – and effect of educational mobility on preferences, expressed in likes and dislikes. The author of the article focuses on participation in musical events and on liking musical genres that most "infallibly" reflect class division in culture (Bourdieu 1984: 18). One may assume that socialization exerts greater impact on preferences than on cultural activity as the former are mostly rooted in the family background which hardly declines in adulthood. As regards mobility pattern, one would expect that those who have moved from low to high will be less culturally active than stationary highs, because they have been endowed with less cultural resources in their family. As newcomers, they are thought always to lag behind those who have been familiarized with cultural consumption from childhood onwards (De Jager 1967). This is also the case for identification with the conjugal family. The downwardly mobile are, in turn expected to maintain the lifestyle they were brought up in the family of origin and are therefore expected to be more prone to consume legitimate culture than stationary lows.

Second hypothesis relates to the strategy of status maximization. Its underlying idea is that people in general tend to adopt more prestigious identity and, thereby, to maximize their status. Specifically, it means that people may prefer to take as their normative reference group whichever is the higher of their classes of origin and destination. The status maximization hypothesis, then, is that those who have moved from high to low, orient themselves more to their origin class while upwardly mobile persons will orient themselves more to their destination class. A further question that has often been asked is whether there is an asymmetry in the patterns of acculturation of upwardly and downwardly mobile people: especially, whether upwardly mobile people adapt more quickly to their destination class

than those who are downwardly mobile (Lipset 1960; Parkin 1971). It is expected that strategy of maximization works better in case of cultural activity relative to cultural preferences given that mobile persons take care to demonstrate their higher position. Concerning acculturation the author predicts that upwardly mobile at least parallel stationary highs. In turn, people who have moved from high to low will tend to keep the norms of their class of origin, i.e. they are no less pronounced than stationary highs.

The third hypothesis refers to the aforementioned "intermediate pattern" (Daenekindt and Roose 2013). If mobility affects cultural patterns, one may expect that both upwardly and downwardly mobile individuals take up an intermediate position between their current educational status and their status of origin. The switching effect theory predicts that the cultural tastes of the mobile will be close to those of their class of destination, although given the evidence on counter-mobility (Goldthorpe 1980) one might expect some modest influence from social origins too. Given this interpretation, one would predict that the cultural preferences of the mobile will be closer to the typical cultural preference of their class of destination than to the one of their class of origin where people tend to align their behaviour with the one of their highest status reference group, i.e. the norms of the class of destination for the upwardly mobiles and the norms of the class of origin for the downwardly mobiles. In a stronger variant of "intermediate pattern" hypothesis, some people might expect their current class positions to be temporary and might anticipate returning to their class of origin – hence they might define their interests as those of their class of origin.

In the examination effect of educational mobility on cultural tastes one has to distinguish influence of father's and mother's. Research on cultural consumption in Poland reveals that women are over-represented among people attending theatres, operas, museums, libraries, and reading books. The sex differences' predictions are based on Parental Investment Theory in which the sex that invests more on offspring is choosier than the less investing sex that is more competitive and more prone to show off. Women have a greater obligatory parental investment (due to pregnancy, breastfeeding and continuous care), so they are the choosiest sex, and men are the competitive and performing sex (e.g. Schmitt et al. 2005). This leads us to the fourth hypothesis concerning gendering effect of educational mobility on cultural practices. The author predicts that educational mobility related to mothers exerts higher impact on cultural consumption as compared to father's effect. This difference would be reflected in higher effect of social origin than effect of destination in case of mothers'.

DATA AND MEASURES

To explore these questions, data from the stratification of musical tastes survey, conducted in 2019 between February and June by means of a computer-assisted personal interviewing (CAPI)[1] is used. The random sample of 4200 people aged fifteen or more was drawn on a personal sampling frame based on Polish national identification number PESEL. A final sample of 2007 cases was realized without a reserve sample with response rate of 50.3%. In many respects, the sampling design was like the pattern used in the Polish edition of the European Social Survey. In each city with more than 50,000 inhabitants, the simple random sample without replacement was drawn, with the number of people drawn proportional to the number of people aged fifteen and more, living in each city. In the case of smaller towns and villages, the selection was two-stage: first, within the stratum distinguished by voivodship, town, or village size, the towns and villages were drawn, and then – in each of them – eight-person groups of respondents. The sample included a surplus of people from big cities and young people (15–27). The data was weighted according to the sample selection scheme, and the post-stratification weight was also used, including the lower than assumed realization of the sample in large cities. The analysis of socio-demographic variables does not indicate any significant differences between sample distributions and results of previous studies, except for some underrepresented categories classified as "managers and specialists" and "owners outside of agriculture."

The questionnaire covered various forms of practicing culture, especially those concerning music. In this article, the emphasis is put on the analysis of selected musical preferences, and cultural activities which may be treated as representative of practicing culture. As regards preferences, the explained variables are classical music, jazz, ambitious rock, and disco polo. In order to capture them, answers to questions about liking different songs and music genres were used. Survey participants first responded to an open question: "What music do you like most? Please provide names of your favorite performers, bands, composers." The respondents recorded answers in their original form, which at the coding stage were assigned to several music genres. In a closed question the respondents received a list of seventeen genres which they were to grade on a five-point scale ranging from "I definitely dislike" to "I like very much". The same scale was used in another closed question about preference for the music of selected composers, performers, and music bands[2].

In order to measure musical tastes in a detailed way, we used a method of listening to fragments of music pieces. Respondents rated individual compositions on a scale from one ("I do not like this at all") to five ("I like it very much").[3] An indicator of preference for classical music is the sum of answers: (i) "I like it very

much" and "I like it" in the closed question on classical music; (ii) respondent's declaration that s/he "likes" or "very much likes" Bach, Mozart, and Wagner; (iii) a statement that s/he "likes" or "very much likes" the compositions of Bach, Boulez, Beethoven, Puccini and Tschaikovsky s/he just heard; (iv) respondent's answer to an open question, in which s/he declared that s/he listens to classical music. The classical music liking index created in this way ranges from zero to ten, with reliability (Cronbach's alfa) of 0.88. The indices for other music genres were constructed in a similar way. The attitude to jazz is the sum of answers indicating that the respondent "likes very much" or "likes" jazz and the music of Louis Armstrong, positively thinks of Miles Davis' "Kind of Blue" when listening to it, and includes jazz when answering the open question. Finally, an indicator of liking rock music is the sum of the answers "I like it very much" or "I like it" in reference to the music of Metallica, Led Zeppelin, U2, Nirvana, and in the case of listening to the song "Time" by Pink Floyd. The index of liking disco polo includes the positive rating of Bayer Full and Sławomir, the Weekend's song "She Dances for Me" (*Ona tańczy dla mnie*), and naming disco polo as the preferred genre in both closed and open questions. Indicators reliability ranged from 0.75 to 0.78. In order to ensure indicators comparability, they were transformed into a uniform scale ranging from 0 to 10.

Table 1. Liking music and cultural practices in Poland (2019)

Variables	Percentages/mean	Standard deviations
Attending classical music concerts	32.06	46.68
Attending rock concerts	15.4	36.1
Visiting theatre	12.8	33.5
Eating in restaurants	17.5	38.0
Number of books read last year	2.60	4.99
Index of liking classical music	2.42	2.82
Index of liking jazz	1.65	2.43
Index of liking rock	2.98	3.27
Index of liking disco polo	4.18	3.53

Table 1 (above) presents percentages and means for respondents who declared liking some musical genres, reading books and visiting cultural institutions. As regards cultural activity questions asking people how often they have visited a theatre, attended classical music concerts, ate in a restaurant, etc., based on 7-point grades from "never" to "more than once a week" were employed. These

were classified as zero-one variables coded 1 for "active" (visiting "on average from one a week" or "more") and 0 for "non- active"("no more than once a year" and "lower"). As far as reading is concerned, respondents were asked to assess number of books read last year including also electronic and speech-sound books with exception of books read for education and work.

Main explanatory variables are own educational attainment, parental educational attainment, and intergenerational educational mobility as the comparison between the two (i.e., distinguishing non-mobility, downward and upward mobility). Educational attainment is measured by means of a reduced form of the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED). Four educational levels were distinguished: (i) tertiary education completed, (ii) not completed tertiary education, post-secondary, and upper secondary (iii) not completed secondary and basic vocational, (in) elementary completed and below. Parental attainment was constructed in the same way. Mobility is captured by a categorical variable distinguishing the non-mobile (i.e., same educational attainment as parents), from the upwardly mobile (more highly educated than parents) and the downwardly mobile (less highly educated than parents).

Table 2. Distribution of respondents by parents' education and own education (cell percentages)

Mother/Father		Respondent				
		1	2	3	4	Overall
1.Elementary completed or lower	mother	9.2	14.2	9.8	2.5	35.6
	father	8.8	12.5	8.3	2.2	31.8
2. Basic vocational or secondary not completed	mother	2.5	10.2	12.6	6.2	31.5
	father	2.7	12.4	15.8	9.0	39.9
3. Upper secondary completed, post-secondary, or non-completed tertiary	mother	1.8	1.8	9.0	8.2	20.8
	father	1.8	1.8	7.6	6.9	18.0
4. Tertiary completed	mother	1.1	0.8	2.9	7.2	12.1
	father	0.7	0.5	2.9	6.1	10.3
Overall	mother	14.6	27.0	34.3	24.1	100.0
	father	14.0	27.2	34.6	24.2	100.0

Table 2 reports the distribution of respondents by their own educational level and that of their parents. It can be seen that, between the two generations, the share of university graduates has doubled from 10-12% to 24% (in case of mothers' and fathers' respectively), while the proportion of people with lowest education dropped from 35% to 14%. Also, just over one third (34.9-35.5% relative to fathers'

and mother's respectively) of the respondents are educationally immobile (i.e. found in cells on the main diagonal), 52-54% are upwardly mobile (found in cells above the main diagonal), and 10-11% suffer from downward mobility (below the main diagonal). High similarity between mobility patterns for fathers and mothers should be noted. The most common mobility experience is a short-range mobility, i.e., between educational categories found in cells close to main diagonal. Much less common is long-range mobility. The results show that percentage of respondents with basic vocational schooling originating from mothers with elementary education constitutes 14.2%, while only 2.5% of respondents with the same origin attain tertiary education.

Finally, individual-level controls include age (five categories), family incomes per capita (in PLN k), gender, and size of place of residence (6 categories from rural areas to cities above 500 k inhabitants).

METHOD

To assess the relative impact of social origin and destination position on cultural tastes diagonal mobility models are used (Sobel 1981). Social mobility is the difference between individuals' social origins, e.g., parental social class, and their social destinations, e.g., their own social class. As a result, any model of mobility effects is under identified and cannot be estimated using conventional statistical techniques. Diagonal reference was developed in response to previous methods, e.g., the linear additive model (Lenski 1954) and the square additive model (Duncan 1966), which were found inadequate to study effects of social mobility. It remains the most commonly used technique for analysing mobility effects in sociology and demography – on limitation of the diagonal reference model in capturing effect of social mobility on important outcomes see e.g., Fosse and Pfeffer (2019).

As educational mobility is measured through mobility effect, the impact of both parents' and respondents' educational attainment, these three effects cannot be incorporated simultaneously in a conventional regression framework. A diagonal reference model provides a way of disentangling the three effects so that the impact of intergenerational educational mobility can be examined over and above the influence of parents'. The central idea behind diagonal mobility models is that the immobile represent the "core" of each social position and bear the characteristics of that class more than anyone else. In my case, these core characteristics will be represented by respondents who have the same educational degree as their father. In a mobility table showing respondents' educational category by educational level of their parents, the immobile respondents will fall on the main top-left to bottom-right diagonal. Members of these referent positions establish their cultural practices and musical tastes without mobility experiences.

Formally, within diagonal mobility models, the attitudes of respondents in the *ij* cell of the mobility table are modelled as a function of the attitudes of the immobile respondents in social origin position i (cell *ii*) and of the immobile respondents of social destination position j (cell *jj*). The additive diagonal mobility baseline model without covariates for a dependent interval variable is given by:

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

where ε_{ijk} is a stochastic term with expectation 0, and m_{ii} and m_{jj} are the population means of the *ii*th and *jj*th cells of the mobility table. The parameter p indicates the salience of origin education relative to destination education to the dependent variable in question. Parameter p can thus be interpreted as the relative weight, or importance, of the origin category and 1 – p the relative weight, or importance, of the destination category for the explanation of the dependent variable, Y_{ijk}. If p is smaller than 0.5, the destination has a stronger relative impact on the dependent variable than the origin position.

To test present hypotheses two models are put forward. The extended model estimates two additional parameters (B_1 and B_2) for the dummy variables UP and DOWN that capture net upward and downward mobility effects and can be interpreted like OLS coefficients. Upward mobility as a shift from not tertiary to completed tertiary education (coded 1 and 0 otherwise) is characterized. Downward mobility was defined as intergenerational educational mobility in the opposite direction. Henceforth the model is given by:

$$(2) \quad Y_{ijk} = p\mu_{ii} + (1-p)\mu_{jj} + B_{1*}UP + B_{2*}DOWN + \varepsilon_{ijk},$$

The third model corresponds to the *culture switching* hypothesis according to which cultural tastes of the 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 Akaike Information Criterion (AIC) and a Deviance test were used to assess models fit. The models are estimated using the DREF subcommand of the General Nonlinear Models (GNM) package in R (Turner and Firth 2011).

RESULTS

Tables 3–6 show the diagonal reference coefficients estimating the association of educational mobility and cultural participation. Each table includes two models. Model one shows estimates with no mobility variables. Model two displays estimates for more detailed mobility pattern, including upward mobility, and downward mobility with control variables (not presented here). Deviance and AIC fit statistics are displayed beneath the reported coefficients for their respective models.

The origin and destination weights parameters inform us about the extent to which the mobile individuals represent cultural activity of their education of origin or destination. On average, these results show that mobile individuals tend mostly to resemble stayers in their destination, rather than their origin educational level in cultural tastes reported. In case of attending philharmonic concerts, for instance, the current education weight doubles the effect of origin ($p = .33$; $1\text{-}p = .67$). Then, destination is more important than origin for mobile individuals as regards cultural participation and liking music. These estimates strongly suggest that both weight parameters are significantly different from one which means that any educational mobility is associated with cultural tastes.

Across all models, predicted population means of cultural participations for stayers in their respective educational categories (the diagonal means) are reported. The predicted means vary slightly from model to model, though in general they indicate that the more educated, the more likely to engage with a greater variety of cultural forms than the culturally sedentary. Higher education translates also to higher preferences for classical music, jazz, and perhaps also other genres classified as representative for highbrow culture. For example, the score on liking classical music for immobile individuals who achieved – like their fathers – no educational or primary education is 1.51, whereas immobile individuals with the highest education score 4.31 (Table 5). Moving up the educational ladder, the diagonal intercepts show a clear monotonic increase in all cultural activities and musical tastes except of disco polo. As predicted, disco polo enjoys greater popularity among people at the lower status levels, favored mostly by farmers and non-skilled workers, and by people with low educational level (Domański et al. 2018).

Table 3. Diagonal reference coefficients estimating the association of educational mobility and attending classical music or rock concerts, and visiting theatre

	Attending classical music concerts				Attending rock concerts				Visiting theatre			
	Mother		Father		Mother		Father		Mother		Father	
	model 1	model 2	model 1	model 2	model 1	model 2	model 1	model 2	model 1	model 2	model 1	model 2
Origin Weights												
Baseline	0.33**	0.30**	0.30**	0.34**	0.70**	0.44**	0.62**	0.19	0.47**	0.21**	0.43**	0.35**
Upward		0.26**		0.22**		0.13		0.30		0.32**		0.18*
Degradation		0.21		0.40*		0.53		0.83**		0.55**		0.45**
Destination Weights												
Baseline	0.67**	0.70**	0.70**	0.66**	0.30**	0.56**	0.38**	0.81**	0.53**	0.79**	0.57**	0.65**
Upward		0.74**		0.78**		0.87**		0.70**		0.68**		0.82**
Degradation		0.79**		0.60*		0.47		0.17		0.45**		0.55**
Estimated effect for immobile by level of education												
Elementary	-1.88**	-5.60	-1.98**	-0.74	-3.35**	-2.364	-3.54**	-2.01	-1.89**	-3.49	-1.95**	-4.09
Basic vocational or uncompleted secondary	-1.36**	1.94	-1.55**	0.24	-1.18**	-1.171	-1.74**	-0.95	-1.48**	-2.18	-1.50**	-1.96
Secondary or uncompleted tertiary	-0.57**	1.20	-0.56**	0.86	-1.18**	-5.316	-1.36**	-0.56	-0.19**	-1.46	-0.06	1.27
Tertiary	0.74**	2.48	0.81**	2.08	-0.70**	-3.341	-0.64**	0.02	-1.56**	-0.51	1.47**	2.67
Number of observations	1845	1318	1769	1261					1828	1306	1753	1740
Deviance	2065.4	1444.3	1390.3.8	1405.4	1476	912.4	1409	12719	2026.7	1961.7	1371	1281.3
Degrees of freedom	1845	1318	1769	1261	1848	1318	1769	1756	1828	1306	1769	1250
Akaike Information Criterion	2075.1	1482.3	1981.8	1428.3.4	1486.2	950.3	1418.9	1307.9	2036.7	1971.7	1361	1319.3

**p<0.01; *p<0.05

Model two includes the asymmetry parameter and thus allows the relative weights of origin and destination to differ between upwardly mobile and downwardly mobile individuals. The result shows that in the case of upward mobility cultural tastes are mostly affected by the current education, i.e., cultural activity and liking of musical genres of moving upwards are predominantly related to the educational position of destination. In other words, cultural tastes of mobiles are closer to their immobile counterparts at the same level of education. This pattern mostly displays in liking classical music. For upwardly mobile individuals relative to mother's education the weight parameter of the destination for classical music is 0.96 and

that of the origin is 0.04. This means that for those who came from lower-educated backgrounds, but they themselves attained tertiary education, the preferences for classical music are 24 as high as among their immobile counterparts. The same holds true as to attending concerts of rock (0.87/0.13). Relatively weaker, although visible, tendency towards dominance of destination can be observed for attending philharmonic concerts and reading books (0.79/0.21). This provides some evidence for hypothesis that cultural choices for upwardly mobile individuals are predominantly rooted with destination rather than with origin on educational hierarchy.

Acculturation is less pervasive for upwardly mobile in liking rock and eating in the restaurant. A reference point for those whose mother had lower education than for those whose mother graduated from some university in liking rock destination is 0.54 and in case of visiting restaurant it accounts for 0.63 respectively. There are many arguments in favor of treating rock as appreciated as much as classical music among more educated people and its less popularity in the lower education categories. People with low education have difficulties in the reception of rock, especially avant-garde pieces. "Ambitious" rock may be also an alternative to classical music in that it requires musical preparation. Thus, it does not come as a surprise if the rock pieces became as emblematic for highbrow culture in recent decades as performative theatre did. Contrary to these expectations, rock seems not to gain tremendous esteem, at least in the Polish society, and it could be that – for example – *Led Zeppelin* or *Deep Purple* are not regarded as prestigious as classical music. In turn, eating in restaurants may spur feelings of negatively assessed conspicuous consumption and *nouveau riche* strategy. If this is true, the "new mode" still would consume low-brow culture and remain high-brow snobs.

Table 4. Diagonal reference coefficients estimating the association of educational mobility and eating in restaurants and reading books

	Eating in restaurants				Reading books			
	Mother		Father		Mother		Father	
	model 1	model 2	model 1	model 2	model 1	model 2	model 1	model 2
Origin Weights								
Baseline	0.77*	0.51**	0.78**	0.50**	0.33**	0.27	0.46**	0.20
Upward		0.37**		0.39**		0.21		0.47
Degradation		0.54**		0.48**		0.44*		0.45
Destination Weights								
Baseline	0.23**	0.49**	0.22**	0.50**	0.67**	0.73**	0.54**	0.80**
Upward		0.63**		0.61**		0.79**		0.53**
Degradation		0.46		0.52**		0.57**		0.55**
Estimated effect for immobile by level of education								
Elementary	-3.13**	-9.12	-3.38**	-3.82	3.28**	-0.80	1.67**	-1.99
Basic vocational or uncompleted secondary	-1.72**	5.57	-1.57**	2.46	1.04*	-1.62	1.68**	-1.83
Secondary or uncompleted tertiary	-1.07**	8.13	-0.97**	9.39	4.79**	1.83	4.43**	0.69
Tertiary	-0.40**	1.31	-0.55**	1.31	9.63**	6.74	11.24**	8.47
Number of observations	1830	1310	1753	1253	1610	1152	1610	1174
Deviance	1526.6	935.1	1478.8	914. 0	150021	108254	138967	132865
Degrees of freedom	1830	1310	1753	1253	1799	1291	1724	1711
Akaike Information Criterion	1536.6	973.1	1488.8	952	108254	9540.6	12503	12452

**p<0.01; *p<0.05

Overall, one has to reject hypothesis on socialization saying that the socially mobile individual is never completely able to overcome the influence of the social position of origin, and "is doomed to think and to look at the world through the glasses of his 'social box'"(Sorokin 1927: 509). The results lend rather support to hypothesis of status maximization insisting that whereas upwardly mobile people will tend to adopt cultural patterns of their class of destination, downwardly mobile individuals will tend to keep the norms of their class of origin (Nieuwbeerta at al. 2000). Tentatively one can hypothesize that downward educational mobility would foster feelings of frustration, cultural competition, and need to defend higher position related to parental education. It shows at strongest in liking disco polo, and slightly lower in liking rock. For individuals who moved from tertiary-educated backgrounds (relative to mothers) to secondary and lower education, the

odds for liking disco polo is 15.7 as high as among their immobile counterparts (0.94/0.06). They also tend to maximize social status in terms of attending rock concerts and liking rock (respectively 0.83/0.17 and 0.82/0.18) in case of outflow from fathers' education.

Table 5. Diagonal reference coefficients estimating the association of educational mobility and liking classical music, and jazz scores

	Like classical music				Like jazz			
	Mother		Father		Mother		Father	
	model 1	model 2	model 1	model 2	model 1	model 2	model 1	model 2
Origin Weights								
Baseline	0.00	0.10**	0.31**	0.32*	0.25**	0.21**	0.39**	0.31**
Upward		0.04**		0.25**		0.35**		0.29**
Degradation		0.38**		0.50**		0.56**		0.43*
Destination Weights								
Baseline	1.00**	0.90**	0.69**	0.68**	0.75**	0.79**	0.61**	0.69**
Upward		0.96**		0.75**		0.65**		0.71**
Degradation		0.62**		0.50**		0.44**		0.57*
Estimated effect for immobile by level of education								
Elementary	1.29**	-0.05	1.51**	-0.06	0.86**	-0.02	0.96**	-0.09
Basic vocational or uncompleted secondary	1.74**	-0.04	1.61**	0.01	1.16**	0.01	1.13**	0.02
Secondary or uncompleted tertiary	2.44**	1.08	2.60**-	1.48	1.60**	0.08	1.60**	0.09
Tertiary	3.72**	2.17	4.31**	2.86	3.02**	2.41*	3.27**	2.32
Number of observations								
Deviance	13294	8423.4	12686.2	8016.5	10019	6188	9388.2	6307.7
Degrees of freedom	1844	1318	1769	1261	1845	1236	1769	1261
Akaike Information Criterion	8896.2	6295.1	8536.3	1278.7	8387.3	5603.9	8002.3	5714

**p<0.01,*p<0.05

Table 6. Diagonal reference coefficients estimating the association of educational mobility and liking rock, and disco polo

	Like rock				Like disco polo			
	Mother		Father		Mother		Father	
	model 1	model 2	model 1	model 1	model 1	model 1	model 1	model 2
Origin Weights								
Baseline	0.61**	0.38**	0.57**	0.41*	0.61**	0.72**	0.54**	0.59**
Upward		0.46**		0.33**		0.36**		0.27**
Degradation		0.69**		0.82**		0.94**		0.89*
Destination Weights								
Baseline	0.39	0.62**	0.43	0.59**	0.39**	0.28**	0.46**	0.41**
Upward		0.54**		0.67**		0.64**		0.72**
Degradation		0.31**		0.18		0.06		0.11*
Estimated effect for immobile by level of education								
Elementary	0.93**	-0.30	0.82**	-0.49	5.35**	1.13	5.12**	-0.01
Basic vocational or uncompleted secondary	2.57**	-0.02	2.55**	0.02	5.45**	1.20	5.17**	-0.07
Secondary or uncompleted tertiary	4.22**	1.61	4.19**	1.70	3.67**	-0.48	3.88**	0.59
Tertiary	5.25**	2.61	5.29**	2.55	1.17**	-2.48**	1.13**	1.55
Number of observations								
Deviance	16817	10616	16241	10129	20046	13144	19452	12688
Degrees of freedom	1845	1318	1769	1261	1845	1318	1769	1261
Akaike Information Criterion	9345.4	6604.5	8974.5	6320.2	9670.3	6890	9294.6	6608.6

**p<0.01,*p<0.05

Predominant effect of status maximization does not exclude "switching culture" model meaning that mobile individuals are exposed to diverse cultural milieu. This view implies that both origin and destination play a non-negligible role in shaping cultural consumption. The downwardly mobile tend to retain the values and behavior patterns of their class of origin, but at the same time are assimilated into the social networks and culture of their class of destination. The same "switch" applies to newcomers into the top categories. Crucially, the "switching culture" strategy implies that both upwardly and downwardly mobile individuals are "in between" in cultural dimension: lowbrow taste established during childhood can be hardly rejected and highbrow tastes cannot be easy accommodated – i.e. to the same extent as among those who are immobile in high status positions. In line with this view, to speak of educational mobility effects, we need to establish particular combinations of origin and destination on the outcome of interest.

To verify this hypothesis, switching culture model assuming equivalent impact of origin and destination on the outcome variables is applied. It shows that the switching culture model does fit better in case of attending theatre, and concerts of classical music altogether with liking the latter – as compared to the model two – assuming competing impact of origin and destination on cultural tastes. The "intermediate pattern" holds also in case of liking disco polo with respect to mother's education. Regarding capital stock reflected in visiting "cultural" institutions, and musical preferences mobile respondents' are then expected to be halfway between their class of origin and in their class of destination. It suggests that neither the complete inheritance nor the complete acculturation models are supported by the data, whereas the "intermediate pattern" is. The switching culture effect does not provide a better fit to the data in case of reading books, and participation in highbrow culture related to attending rock concerts, eating in restaurants, and liking jazz, and rock. This, substantively, suggests that socially mobile individuals come to resemble those in their current (or origin) class position rather than being affected equally by their origin and destination categories.

Table 7. Goodness-of-fit statistics for the diagonal reference models (Residual Deviance)

Variables	Mothers		Fathers	
	Model 2 Switching model	p-value	Model 2 Switching model	p-value
Attending classical music concerts	9.09*	0.028	15.51**	0.001
Attending rock concerts	1.707	0.635	5.340	0.149
Visiting theatre	10.08*	0.018	17.84**	0.000
Eating in restaurants	0.282	0.963	0.914	0.970
Number of books read last year	605.89	0.065	136.44	0.624
Index of liking classical music	169.4**	0.007	66.51*	0.015
Index of liking jazz	30.67	0.106	26.29	0.154
Index of liking rock	15.35	0.592	26.41	0.349
Index of liking disco polo	88.08*	0.031	72.18	0,067

Finally, one cannot find support for hypothesis that cultural practices are more affected by mothers' than by fathers' education. Under this scenario, mothers are more involved in practicing culture to more extent as compared to fathers (Bihagen and Katz-Gero 2000). Mobile individuals, then, should be more affected

by mothers' education. However, we do not see significant gender differences regarding the estimated weights for parental education. It is apparent that effect of mothers overlaps, or mitigates, that of fathers' educational level.

CONCLUSION

Social mobility shapes both social structure and people's cultural identities. It has been suggested that on the macro-level approach upward mobility promotes modernization, democracy, and integration into political system though it also appears as a threat to class formation in having negative impact on the cohesion of classes. Concerning the individual level, there is a set of ideas connecting the experience of social mobility with a wide variety of positive consequences such as making mobile persons more dynamic, versatile and inventive (Sorokin 1959) but it is also an issue of paramount importance for adjustments of mobile individuals to new social environment, leading to severe strains on individuals, causing mental diseases, encouraging conformity to the dominant values, and to produce political conservatism among upwardly mobile people (Merton 1968).

This is in line with educational mobility effects research with regard to well-being, smoking, fertility, etc. (e.g. Missinne et al. 2015; Yang and Cheng 2018; Schuck and Steiber 2018; Gugushvili et al. 2020). The measure of intergenerational mobility focused on educational attainment as an important marker of social position. Empirical studies continue to show that members of the higher status groups participate more actively in highbrow culture than members from lower status groups and that differences in schooling levels are in large part responsible for this. The present article has offered a general endorsement of this statement, but, in addition, there has been an attempt to extend the arguments by showing how educational mobility affects cultural activity and musical tastes. Educational improvement which would lead "naturally" to gravitate to an appreciation of the higher taste cultures would imply certain disruption of social barriers. This could indicate that educational mobility does not boil down to occupational achievements but also transfers into openness in cultural domain. Contrariwise, relatively strong effect of parental education would provide evidence that educational mobility does not parallel by a decline in cultural barriers. In particular, this implies that the social origin of individuals determines their cultural consumption pattern, with destination playing little or no role.

Evidence for processes of acculturation has been found. That is, regarding cultural activity and liking music, educationally mobile individuals adapt to the characteristics of the social position of destination, suggesting that educational mobility is simply a process of resocialization. Crucially, processes of acculturation are asymmetric as they differ between upwardly and downwardly mobile individuals: Accul-

turation is more pervasive for upwardly mobile individuals, i.e. moving to the top of educational gradation associates with higher liking of the classical music, attending theatre, philharmonic concerts, and other attributes of the highbrow culture. The process of blurring cultural boundaries by educational achievements goes against the experience of downward mobility. In light of the present findings, decline in education relative to parents educational level did not eliminate cultural tastes related to social background. In fact, quite reverse: downwardly mobile tend to keep customs of their class of origin. They do not lose high cultural capital. Effect of socialization leads to defending prestigious position.

It is also worth considering that, contrary to expectations, musical tastes do not depend more on socialization as compared to cultural activity. In addition, upward mobility does not induce more cultural engagement than liking music. Finally, against stereotype educational mobility relative to mothers does not affect cultural tastes more than mobility related to fathers.

NOTES

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 researchers in 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 In the case of the closed question, the respondent was first asked if he or she knows a given composer, performer, or band. If the answer was negative, the question about liking the music of a given artist did not appear. In the question on liking respondent could also answer "hard to say".

3 The duration of each listening session did not exceed 30 seconds. Respondents could listen to the songs directly from laptop speakers or using headphones. After listening to each piece of music, respondents were asked: "Whose music do you think it is? Please pick one of the given possibilities". The respondents could pick from a list of 10 bands or composers and were asked to choose one correct answer. The next question was: "Do you like this music?". This question was asked regardless of whether the respondent identified the music correctly or not.

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