

Social Mobility and Stratification of Cultural Tastes: New Dimensions in Poland

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Effect of class mobility on lifestyle

- This analysis aims to test a classic and frequently suggested explanation for effect of social mobility on various outcomes, concerning e.g. political preferences, preventive healthcare use, antagonistic attitudes, smoking, fertility, and cultural activity (e.g. Nieuwbeerta & de Graaf 1993; de Graaf et al. 1995; Missinne et al. 2015; Tolsma et al. 2009; Couleagnon 2013; Daenekindt & Roose 2013; Yang & Cheng 2018; Gugushvili et al. 2020).
- We examine **effect of intergenerational mobility on cultural attitudes in Poland**, focusing specifically on musical tastes. Two questions deserve our attention:
 - To what extent intergenerational advancement or degradation in class structure affects musical tastes and how it results in processes of cultural accommodation of mobile persons to the new class positions.
 - Whether cultural mobility patterns tend to disrupt class divisions, as one should expect, or rather maintain them if a culturally oriented lifestyle is reproduced from parents to their offspring.

Hypotheses

We test **4 hypotheses**:

- 1. 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; Hollingshead et al. 1954; Van Der Waal & De Koster 2014; Friedman 2015).
- 2. Maximization of social status strategy.** **Upwardly** mobile people will tend to align their behavior with the one of their highest status reference group, i.e. the norms of the class of destination in order to adopt them (Daenekindt & Roose 2013). 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 case, they stubbornly reject processes of acculturation, denying their failure that force them to keep the norms of their class of origin instead that of destination class (Wilensky & Edwards 1959).

Hypotheses

3. Contrary to hypothesis on maximization, advocates of **hypothesis of „socialisation”** 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. These are not only to be stuck to old habits but also they don’t feel to do reject them.
4. An alternative to these scenarios is **hypothesis on the “intermediate pattern”**. According to this argumentation, socially mobile people, both upward and downward, poses 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 (Lopreato 1967; Thompson 1971; Jackman 1972; Coulagenon 2013).

Methodology

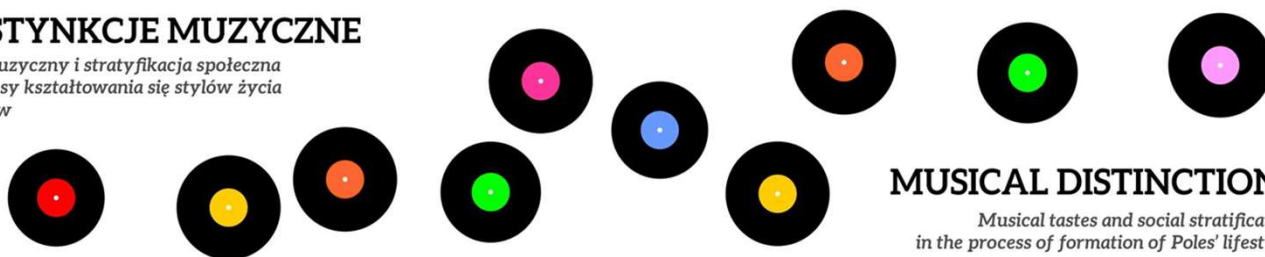
The presentation is based on the results of quantitative research (nationwide random sample) carried out as a part of the research project “***Musical distinctions. Musical tastes and social stratification in the process of formation of Poles’ lifestyles***”.

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DYSTYNKCJE MUZYCZNE

*Gust muzyczny i stratyfikacja społeczna
a procesy kształtowania się stylów życia
Polaków*



MUSICAL DISTINCTIONS

*Musical tastes and social stratification
in the process of formation of Poles’ lifestyles*

Methodology

- The research was pursued from February to June 2019 by the consortium of DANAE/REALIZACJA.
- Nation-wide probabilistic sample of population aged 15+
- 2007 interviews were completed.
- Overall response rate: 50.4% (calculated according ESS standards).
- Variables:
 - **Dependent variables** - musical taste indicators (classical music, rock, disco-polo and other musical genres).
 - **Independent variables** - respondent's class position, parents' class position (6 categories of EGP class scheme).
 - **Control variables:** Sex, age, place of residence, level of education.

Methodology - musical taste indicators

Liking classical music	Liking disco polo music*	Liking rock
<p>Based on the following criteria:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Respondent indicates classical music in open-ended question. Respondent indicates, they like (or like very much) classical music (closed-ended question). Respondent indicates, they like (or like very much) the music of Bach, Mozart and Wagner. Respondent indicates, they like (or like very much) the music of Boulez, Bach, Beethoven, Puccini, Tchaikovsky (listening of fragments of selected music pieces). <p>Next we sum up how many of the criteria the respondent fulfills. Index may take the values from 0 to 10.</p> <p>Cronbach's Alpha=0,88.</p>	<p>Based on the following criteria:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Respondent indicates disco polo music in open-ended question. Respondent indicates they like (or like very much) disco polo music (closed-ended question). Respondent indicates they like (or like very much) the music of Bayer Full and Sławomir. Respondent indicates they like (or like very much) the piece „Ona tańczy dla mnie” („She dances for me” by Weekend) <p>Next we sum up how many of the criteria the respondent fulfills. Index may take the values from 0 to 5.</p> <p>Cronbach's Alpha=0,745.</p>	<p>Based on the following criteria:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Respondent indicates they like (or like very much) the music of Metallica, Led Zeppelin, U2, Nirvana. Respondent indicates they like (or like very much) the piece of Pink Floyd. <p>Next we sum up how many of the criteria the respondent fulfills. Index may take the values from 0 to 5.</p> <p>Cronbach's Alpha=0,775</p>

Indicators were rescaled to 0-10 scale

* Disco polo is form of electronic folk music, created in Poland in the late 1980s, characterized by simple music based on several chords and banal lyrics. Its counterparts are eg. the Portuguese Pimba and Serbian Turbo-folk.

Liking classical music - means (0-10 scale)

Respondent's class position (EGP)	Father's class position (EGP)						
	Professionals and managers	Routine non-manual	Petty bourgeoisie	Skilled manual	Non-skilled manual	Farmers	Total
Professionals and managers	5,3	4,7	5,7	4,5	4,5	2,0	4,9
Routine non-manual	4,8	3,8	3,5	3,0	2,2	3,3	3,7
Petty bourgeoisie	4,9	4,1	3,6	3,1	1,8	4,3	3,8
Skilled manual	3,2	2,9	2,7	2,5	1,5	0,7	2,5
Non-skilled manual	3,3	2,3	1,6	2,7	1,8	2,7	2,4
Farmers	6,2	2,3	3,5	1,9	2,0	1,6	2,2
Total	4,6	3,1	3,2	2,4	1,8	1,7	2,8

Liking classical music - means (0-10 scale)

Respondent's class position (EGP)	Mother's class position (EGP)						
	Professionals and managers	Routine non-manual	Petty bourgeoisie	Skilled manual	Non-skilled manual	Farmers	Total
Professionals and managers	4,9	5,5	6,3	4,5	-	-	5,2
Routine non-manual	4,8	3,4	3,2	2,4	2,1	3,9	3,3
Petty bourgeoisie	4,6	3,4	2,9	4,0	3,6	6,6	3,9
Skilled manual	1,9	3,0	2,7	3,8	1,5	1,4	2,9
Non-skilled manual	3,2	2,7	3,8	2,3	2,3	0,0	2,5
Farmers	6,5	2,4	3,4	1,9	1,8	1,5	2,1
Total	4,6	3,1	3,3	2,6	2,0	1,7	2,8

Liking rock music - means (0-10 scale)

Respondent's class position (EGP)	Father's class position (EGP)						
	Professionals and managers	Routine non-manual	Petty bourgeoisie	Skilled manual	Non-skilled manual	Farmers	Total
Professionals and managers	4,1	4,3	5,8	8,0	4,3	7,0	4,4
Routine non-manual	4,3	4,2	4,1	3,9	3,8	0,9	4,1
Petty bourgeoisie	4,6	4,1	4,3	3,9	3,4	3,9	4,1
Skilled manual	4,5	2,7	4,9	3,4	2,7	0,9	3,2
Non-skilled manual	3,6	3,5	3,8	3,8	2,5	3,4	3,4
Farmers	3,8	2,0	3,5	1,8	1,7	1,3	1,9
Total	4,1	3,2	4,2	3,0	2,4	1,5	3,0

Liking rock music - means (0-10 scale)

Respondent's class position (EGP)	Mother's class position (EGP)						
	Professionals and managers	Routine non-manual	Petty bourgeoisie	Skilled manual	Non-skilled manual	Farmers	Total
Professionals and managers	5,1	6,8	8,3	8,0	-	-	6,1
Routine non-manual	4,9	3,5	4,8	4,6	3,7	6,1	4,1
Petty bourgeoisie	3,2	5,0	7,5	4,0	5,0	2,6	4,5
Skilled manual	3,3	3,3	4,3	4,4	3,0	1,5	3,6
Non-skilled manual	5,0	3,0	1,9	2,2	2,6	0,0	2,7
Farmers	4,6	2,3	3,7	1,6	1,1	1,3	1,8
Total	4,6	3,4	4,4	3,2	2,6	1,5	3,2

Liking disco-polo music - means (0-10 scale)

Respondent's class position (EGP)	Father's class position (EGP)						
	Professionals and managers	Routine non-manual	Petty bourgeoisie	Skilled manual	Non-skilled manual	Farmers	Total
Professionals and managers	1,4	2,5	1,9	2,9	6,9	4	2,1
Routine non-manual	2,3	2,8	3,3	3,6	3,5	5	2,9
Petty bourgeoisie	1,0	3,8	3,6	4,1	2,1	7,9	3,5
Skilled manual	2,3	4,2	3,8	4,8	4,9	4,8	4,3
Non-skilled manual	3,8	4,3	5,7	5,2	5,7	6	4,9
Farmers	3,2	5,1	5,1	5,2	6,2	5,3	5,2
Total	2,3	3,9	4,2	4,9	5,4	5,3	4,3

Liking disco-polo music - means (0-10 scale)

Respondent's class position (EGP)	Mother's class position (EGP)						
	Professionals and managers	Routine non-manual	Petty bourgeoisie	Skilled manual	Non-skilled manual	Farmers	Total
Professionals and managers	0,6	1,8	1,7	3,8	-	-	1,3
Routine non-manual	2,1	3,2	3,2	2,9	4,3	2,9	3,1
Petty bourgeoisie	1,0	2,5	4,5	3,6	6,5	6,0	3,2
Skilled manual	5,1	3,9	4,5	4,1	4,3	5,0	4,2
Non-skilled manual	4,4	5,0	6,3	7,0	7,1	8,0	6,1
Farmers	3,4	4,7	5,0	5,7	6,0	5,4	5,3
Total	2,3	3,7	4,2	4,8	5,5	5,3	4,3

Methodology - diagonal mobility models

To assess the relative impact of social origin and destination position on cultural tastes we use diagonal mobility models (Sobel 1981). The central idea behind diagonal mobility models is that the immobile represent the 'core' of each class position and bear the characteristics of that class more than anyone else. In our case, these core characteristics (musical tastes) will be represented by respondents who have the same class degree as their father/mother. In a mobility table showing respondent's class category by social class of their parents, the immobile respondents will fall on the main top-left to bottom-right diagonal.

Methodology - diagonal mobility models

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:

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

where 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 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} .

Methodology - diagonal mobility models

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. We characterize upward mobility as a shift from “farmers, manual workers, owners, and lower non-manuals” to “higher managers and specialists” (coded 1 and 0 otherwise). Downward mobility was defined as intergenerational class mobility in the opposite direction. Henceforth the model is given by:

$$Y_{ijk} = p\mu_{ii} + (1-p)\mu_{jj} + B_1*UP + B_2*DOWN + \varepsilon_{ijk},$$

Parameters of diagonal mobility models

	Impact of:	
	Origin	Destination
Liking classical music		
Upward mobility	0.265	0.735**
Downward mobility	0.628**	0.372
Liking rock music		
Upward mobility	0.124	0.876**
Downward mobility	0.999**	0.001
Liking disco-polo music		
Upward mobility	0.436**	0.564**
Downward mobility	0.224	0.776**

Conclusions

- Our results **confirms** the “dissociative” effect of class social mobility saying that both - upward or downward - mobiles differ in musical tastes from immobile respondents which means that **mobility shapes** in some way class divisions.
- Our results **confirms** also that **upwardly** mobile people tend to adapt in liking the classical music to the class of destination which may indicate some openness of the class barriers (maximization strategy).
- Hypothesis on maximization also holds true in case of liking rock, and disco polo – those who moved down tend to like these genres more than immobile in upper middle class which suggests acculturation in reverse direction.

Conclusions

- But we also **confirmed** hypothesis of „socialisation” emphasizing the crucial role of social origin in that the **downwardly** mobiles tend to keep the norms of their class of origin in preferences to the classical music in order – as it could be – to deny decline in the class position.
- **Nothing confirms** hypothesis on the “intermediate” mobility effect which, substantively, suggests that socially mobile individuals come to resemble those in their current (or origin) class position rather than being affected equally by them.

The basic conclusion, then, is that the class openness in the field of musical tastes in Poland seem to be counterweighted by tendencies to the class rigidity.