

Passions, Travel, and Cultural Participation—Intergenerational Transmission of Middle-Class Lifestyles

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Abstract: The article addresses the intergenerational transmission of a middle-class lifestyle in Poland. The analysis demonstrates mechanisms through which cultural practices are inherited in the context of leisure activities. The following categories of leisure activities were identified as being of particular interest: 1) passions, that is, the most pronounced leisure interests, including sport, 2) travel, 3) various forms of cultural participation, such as reading, visual and performing arts, or audiovisual content. The innovative research plan included reanalysis, revisits, and new in-depth interviews. The findings are based on a substantial corpus of qualitative empirical material, comprising 66 individual in-depth interviews. This material covers interviews conducted approximately twenty years before my research, new interviews with the same participants conducted subsequently, and interviews with their adult children. The aforementioned methodological procedures permitted comparisons over time and between generations. Middle-class parents proactively transmit values and practices to their children that are instrumental in maintaining their children's social status. The effort to format lifestyle messages has significant implications for the long-term viability of this social structure segment in Poland. The analyses conducted indicate the cultural identity of the middle class and the stability of values and practices enacted in non-work and non-educational leisure time. Consequently, they are expected to yield tangible benefits in the professional and educational domains for subsequent generations. This represents the anticipated return on investment in leisure time for middle-class children.

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In the context of the significant social, political, and economic changes that have occurred in Poland over the past three decades, Polish sociologists have repeatedly highlighted the value of the lifestyle concept as a lens through which to examine the cultural aspects of ongoing social transformation (Marody 1997; Ostrowska 1999; Grzeszczyk 2004; Gdula and Sadura 2012; Cebula 2013; Łukasiuk and Jewdokimow 2014; Burski 2016; Straczuk 2022). Theorists posit that this concept encourages the study of individuals from the vantage point of their everyday choices, consumption patterns, values, and aspirations (Domański 1994; Palska 1999; 2007; 2009; Giddens 2002; 2006; Siciński 2002).

More than two decades ago, Hanna Palska (2002:248 [trans. MB]) posed a question: “By studying lifestyles, can the middle class be ‘located’ (identified through the characteristics of this lifestyle)?” She highlighted that the observations made then would consolidate over time, but that the stabilization of the map of lifestyles that took shape in the 1990s will only occur, as might be expected, in the next generation. Two decades after her study of middle-class lifestyles in Poland, I verified whether the stabilization of the lifestyles map had been achieved. This was after the children of the participants in Palska’s study had reached adulthood.

The objective of this article is to identify the mechanisms of lifestyle inheritance between two gener-

ations of middle-class representatives in Poland in the 2020s.¹ The identification of these mechanisms is beneficial in addressing the question of the persistence of lifestyles, namely, the stabilization that Palska expected to occur. The aforementioned mechanisms are analyzed in greater detail by examining the practices associated with leisure time. The subject of the analysis was a few selected lifestyle areas in which the mechanisms of behavioral pattern transmission between generations were particularly evident.² The first area of focus is the interviewees' attitudes toward their leisure activities, which can be conceptualized as the most expressive and preferred modes of consumption. The second area of significant leisure time consumption is travel style, particularly in the context of traveling with children. The third area of interest is the style of participation in culture, encompassing forms such as reading, visual and performing arts, and audiovisual arts accessible through new media. The lifestyle spheres of the middle class analyzed in this study reveal attitudes and behaviors often considered distinctive (Mroczkowska 2012; Cebula 2015; 2017; Bachórz et al. 2016). These spheres also demonstrate clear intergenerational transmission processes.

The main research question concerned the nature and characteristics of lifestyle inheritance mech-

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² A variety of other lifestyle factors, which are subject to intergenerational transmission, have been investigated in a separate analysis. See: "Sukcesja codzienności. Mechanizmy międzypokoleniowej transmisji stylów życia polskiej klasy średniej [Succession of Everyday Life. The Mechanisms of Intergenerational Lifestyle Transmission among the Polish Middle-Class]" (Bielińska 2024). These are such areas of lifestyle as parenting styles and values, educational and occupational aspirations, attitudes to property and housing, and money management styles.

anism in the three above-mentioned thematic strands. This question stemmed from the desire to establish whether—similarly to the research on the "culture of poverty" (Lewis 1966) stating its heredity (Tarkowska 2000; Cooper and Bird 2012)—the "culture of affluence" is also subject to succession from generation to generation. Identifying lifestyle inheritance processes by observing certain regularities and patterns of behavior makes it possible to infer (at least partially) the intergenerational transmission taking place within the middle class. Observing the persistence of lifestyle practices, on the other hand, supports the thesis of the crystallization of the middle class through the inheritance of its cultural distinctiveness in the next generation.

The issue was formulated in such a way that it required the undertaking of empirical qualitative research and the adoption of an intergenerational comparative perspective. An in-depth and systematic analysis was conducted on three sets of research data. The data set comprised three distinct sources: 1) archival interviews conducted over two decades ago with members of the Polish middle class; 2) re-interviews with the same individuals conducted between 2020 and 2022; and 3) interviews with the children of previous interviewees, also carried out between 2020 and 2022. The newly conducted research, in conjunction with the previously gathered data, enabled an examination of both the evolution and the enduring aspects of lifestyle. Furthermore, it provided a basis for comparisons.

The first section presents the prevailing interpretations of the core concepts, namely, "middle class" and "lifestyle," emphasizing their intrinsic interconnectivity. Furthermore, the concept of leisure

time is discussed concerning its status as an emanation of lifestyle. In the second part of the text, I present the methodological solutions that were applied. I then present the results of the analyses that were conducted in selected areas of lifestyle. Finally, I discuss the mechanisms of intergenerational transmission of lifestyles that were derived from the analyzed empirical material. These provide an interpretative framework that allows for the extraction of regularities and processes occurring in everyday practices in the above-mentioned lifestyle areas.

The article addresses a significant gap in the existing qualitative research on the dynamics of social structure in Poland. Firstly, the study encompasses a range of lifestyle aspects of individuals belonging to the middle class. Secondly, the study employs a distinctive methodology of revisiting, which is seldom utilized in Polish and global sociology. This approach enables an understanding of processes through which structural positions are formed in the lives of the individuals under investigation. Thirdly, I identify mechanisms of intergenerational lifestyle transmission and display their manifestations in selected areas of leisure activities. The intergenerational transfer of middle-class lifestyles identified in this study provides a foundation for treating this class not as an ideological construct but as a class in the social sense.

Lifestyle and the Middle Class

The theoretical concepts of “middle class” and “lifestyle” represent a significant area of empirical investigation within social sciences. Despite that, the utility of these theoretical categories is frequently questioned due to the heterogeneity of their designates, which renders them ineffective as

heuristic tools (Domański 1994; Mokrzycki 1994; Drozdowski 1998). Yet, both concepts are frequently re-emergent during periods of transition (Mach 2007; Palska 2007). Their strength is not so much in their flexibility and sensitivity to the basic characteristics of the societies in which they are applied but in the capacity to reveal processes of social change in contemporary capitalist societies.

The middle class has been a subject of considerable attention in sociological studies, with notable contributions from authors such as Mills (1965), Riesman (1971), and Gouldner (1979). In the context of Poland, it is regarded as a catalyst for systemic transformation, a stabilizing force within the capitalist system, and a foundation for liberal values. Furthermore, it is ascribed the role of a flywheel of economic development (Mokrzycki 1994:37-39; Domański 2007:109). The emphasis is on the fact that this social category benefits from the widest possible range of consumption offerings (Palska 2002). The concept of the middle class has undergone a process of evolution in conjunction with changes in the definition and understanding of class, as well as the development of societies in the Western world. In the context of nineteenth-century class theory, as posited by Karl Marx and Max Weber, the middle class has been defined not only concerning occupation or economic position but also taking into account cultural factors (Vecernik 1999; Bieliński and Larkowska 2011).

Since the 1960s, new segments within the middle class have constituted a significant and growing proportion of the population. The essence of this process was the transformation of the capitalist system, particularly the shift from an economy based on the production of goods to one based on the production of services and knowledge. The

advent of a technostructure (Galbraith 1985), or a class of knowledge workers (knowledge class), comprising highly skilled corporate employees responsible for decision-making, was identified (Bell 1973; Gouldner 1979). In the years following the inception of the socio-economic system's transformation in Poland, Edmund Mokrzycki (1994:37 [trans. MB]) drew attention to the fact that

[t]he idea of creating a "middle class" defined in terms of a relationship to the means of production is an element of naive social creationism, and the belief that the "new middle class" thus created will become the natural social base of democracy and the principles of the market economy ignores both Polish empirical data and historical testimony from elsewhere.

As Mokrzycki (1994) and Domański (1994) observed, at the outset of the 1990s, the emerging middle class exhibited considerable diversity in its social composition. The new middle class included individuals from a range of professional backgrounds, such as those in liberal professions, the managerial sector, upper and middle-class civil service, teaching, the legal profession, and a variety of other specialized roles. Additionally, it encompassed representatives from medium and small businesses, as well as white-collar employees in various sectors. It is challenging to categorize this extensive social spectrum within a singular definitional framework. It is therefore unsurprising that the concept of "middle class," referring to a category occupying a position "in the middle parts of the stratification hierarchy" (Domański 1994:95 [trans. MB]), has been the subject of intense debate and criticism for over two decades. Since the beginning of the 1990s, the pivotal role of the "new intelligentsia" in defining the core of the

"new middle class" in Poland as the foundation for a modern capitalist society has been underscored (Mach 2007). Conversely, Mokrzycki (1994) posited that the category of the knowledge class, comprising qualified specialists and professionals, would gain greater significance. The term "middle class" is understood here to refer to those engaged in the production and distribution of what is broadly conceived of as "symbolic knowledge," as well as business representatives (Domański 2002).

The concept of "lifestyle" is shaped by two main sociological traditions. In the first tradition, lifestyle is directly related to an individual's position within the class and stratification of social order. In this approach, it is assumed that an individual's position in the social structure is manifested through certain behaviors, preferences, or possessions (Weber 2002; Veblen 2008). These manifestations can be seen as an expression of the homology thesis, which posits a correspondence between class position and aesthetic judgments (Bourdieu 2005). The second tradition tends to treat lifestyle as a dimension of differentiation that is not strictly linked to social structure. This indicates a notable decline in the significance of traditional class divisions, and lifestyle, understood as reflexive activities facilitating the active construction of individual identities (Giddens 2002), takes on a prominent role in this context.

In Poland, the issue of lifestyle was addressed by eminent sociologists such as Florian Znaniecki (2001), Józef Chałasiński (1946), Stanisław Ossowski (1957), and Jan Lutyński (cf. Palska 1999; 2009). Lifestyle Research Centre of the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences (IFiS PAN), created by Andrzej Siciński in the 1970s, strengthened the status of this the-

oretical concept and inscribed it into the permanent—though fashion-prone—research repertoire of sociologists. In the research concept developed by Siciński's team, the term "lifestyle" is used to encompass the totality of people's everyday behaviors, which are considered in relation to cultural, economic, and social conditions (Siciński 1976; 1978). Lifestyle is defined here as "a specific set of everyday behaviors of members of...collectivities, constituting a manifestation of their social position and thus enabling their social identification" (Siciński 1978:13-14 [trans. MB]). This approach may be characterized as a psychosocial conception of lifestyle. The individual's position in the social structure, together with their specific psychological dispositions, modify individual lifestyle realizations. This concept formed the basis for the typology of lifestyles referred to as *homo eligens* (Siciński 1988). This definition represents a compromise between Giddens' voluntarism of reflexivity and Bourdieu's social determinism. For this analysis, I adopt Siciński's understanding as the guiding one.

The middle-class heterogeneity, particularly concerning differences in education, qualifications, occupational mobility, social bonds, cultural differences, or market position (Archer and Blau 1993; Leszkowicz-Baczyński 2007), presents a challenge to the recognition of the middle class as a social class in the sociological sense. The differentiating characteristics of the middle class so understood are easier to discern than those factors that are common to those belonging to this social category. Nevertheless, three fundamental distinctions are identified that justify the use of the term "middle class" in sociological analyses: 1) income level, 2) work situation, and 3) lifestyle. As Henryk Domański (1994:121) points out, among the vari-

ous characteristics attributed to the "middle class," lifestyle is considered the most distinctive feature that sets them apart. In the context of the analyses presented here, it is assumed that lifestyle is a status determinant, that is, a qualitative characteristic that describes an individual's social position.

Leisure Time as Part of a Lifestyle

The theoretical framework for analysis is also provided by the category of leisure time. Similarly capacious to the notion of the middle class or lifestyle, it is defined in various ways and presents interpretative difficulties (Tarkowska 2001; Mroczkowska 2020). The traditional understanding of leisure allowed us to distinguish activities conducted outside the domain of professional life, that is, not directly associated with productive activity (cf. Veblen 2008), and the fulfillment of domestic or academic obligations. In this understanding, leisure time was defined as exclusively for entertainment, recreation, or personal development (Dumazedier 1974). Polish researchers defined leisure time similarly (Tyszka 1971; Wnuk-Lipiński 1975; 1981). The study of leisure time has evolved from statistical models to qualitative research on how it is spent, which has refined the concept's thematic scope. A diagnosis of leisure was made in terms of motives, meanings, and its different forms, including casual, project-based, and serious leisure (Stebbins 1982' 2007). Notable contributions to the advancement of leisure studies have been made through the introduction of new avenues for examining the multifaceted dimensions of leisure experiences (Veal 2006; 2017). Additionally, there has been a growing emphasis on the exploration of the less favorable aspects of leisure, which have been labeled as "dark" or "wild" leisure (Rojek 1995; 2000; 2005).

As Dorota Mroczkowska (2020:58) observes, synthesizing the multiplicity of approaches employed in the study of leisure is a challenging endeavor. She refers to Chris Rojek, who employed the term “multiparadigmatic competition” to characterize the prevailing climate of discourse on this subject over three decades ago (Rojek 1995). Consequently, within the Polish academic context, the concept of leisure time has been integrated into lifestyle studies (Siciński 1988; Palska 2002; Jacyno 2007; Domański 2012; Mroczkowska 2020). I contend that this relationship is of significant importance. In my view, the categories that constitute leisure time offer a robust framework for observation in the context of lifestyle studies.

In conducting the analysis within the context of lifestyle, the traditional understanding of leisure time as devoted to non-work practices, unrelated to formal education or domestic responsibilities, is of decisive importance. This comprehensive approach incorporates the categories suggested by Stebbins into the analytical framework. The term “leisure time” is defined as the potential for the pursuit of activities that facilitate relaxation and self-realization. This encompasses activities described by interviewees as hobbies (serious leisure), play and leisure, sports and recreation (casual leisure), and up to and including pursued tourist ventures (project-based leisure). Specific attention is devoted to hobbies, travel, and participation in culture.

The forms of leisure that individuals engage in are, according to classical concepts, a determinant of social prestige (Veblen 2008) and depend on affluence in various forms of capital (Bourdieu 2005). In capitalist societies, the availability of leisure time depends on the resources at hand enabling access to specific consumer goods and services. Such ac-

cess is unequal and contingent upon an individual’s position within the class structure. Engagement in specific leisure activities is an important part of strengthening social differences (Clarke and Critcher 1985; Zarycki 2008), thereby facilitating the intergenerational transmission of social status.

Methodology

The empirical research was conducted following qualitative methods. A qualitative case study was employed. The selection of this method was, to some extent, driven by the objective of enhancing the insights derived from Palska’s investigation into the lifestyles of the middle class between 1999 and 2002. The preceding study also established the criteria for participant selection and the composition of the research unit (the family). Palska stated that her objective was to include both typical and diverse representatives of the middle class. Her study encompassed individuals who owned the means of production (entrepreneurs), those who held prominent positions in the hierarchy of power or management (managers and politicians), professionals and freelancers, as well as categories distinguished by their high incomes and distinctive lifestyles (Palska 2002:30).³

My research employed three distinct methodological approaches. The first was reanalysis, which en-

³ Palska employed the concept of lifestyle to conduct a comparative analysis, thereby demonstrating the cultural discrepancies between the affluent and those experiencing poverty. The researcher considered not only the economic, social, and political aspects but also the cultural determinants and consequences of social inequality. It is salient to note that the objective of my research was distinct from that of the preceding study. My research, which was not a mere replication of previous studies, focused on the dynamics of lifestyles, both within one generation studied at two points in time and between generations.

tailed a re-examination of the content of interviews conducted two decades prior. The second was re-visiting, which involved returning to the original participants in Palska's study, who were members of the "parents" generation. The third was interviews with the successors of the "parents" generation. The reuse of the existing research data was made possible by obtaining consent from the original researcher. The reanalysis and reinterpretation of the data, in light of the newly acquired information, enabled the establishment of the content of the "old" lifestyle and provided a basis for comparisons of everyday practices over time. I undertook a comprehensive reanalysis of the extant data, comprising thirty-five surviving interview transcriptions from Palska's study, which collectively span 1,271 pages of standardized typescript. The second of the designed methodological procedures, namely, the research revisit (Burawoy 2003), proved to be of crucial importance. It was only feasible to conduct this analysis with the twelve individuals who participated in the earlier study, given the high proportion of refusals and the inability to reverse the anonymization of the earlier data. The heirs were interviewed concerning eighteen adult children of the previous interviewees.⁴ However, the assumption that all successors could be reached was not fulfilled due to refusals. The additional research material comprised 997 pages of transcripts.

The individual in-depth interview technique enabled access to the contexts of the issues under

⁴ The children's generation was represented by individuals between the ages of 20 and 43 at the time of the interviews. Representatives of the parents' generation were aged between 50 and 76 at the time of the research. The number of individuals aged 20-29 (born between 1992 and 2001): 11; aged 30-39 (born 1982-1991): 6; aged 40-49 (born 1972-1981): 1; aged 50-59 (born 1962-1971): 5; aged 60-69 (born 1952-1961): 4; aged 70-79 (born 1942-1951): 3.

investigation and facilitated exploration of how the interviewees articulated their perspectives on these issues, in alignment with Holt's (1998) post-structuralist analysis. By posing questions regarding the rationale and motivations behind engaging in specific activities or lifestyle practices, I could elucidate the meanings and sensibilities attributed to these activities by the interviewees. The objective was to comprehend the content of the statements, how they were expressed, and the circumstances under which they were made. To ascertain the motives for exclusion, both taste preferences and aesthetic rejections were tracked (Holt 1998; Cebula 2016). An examination of attitudes toward specific choices, including both aversion and sentiment, provides insight into the interpretation of lifestyle preferences (Jacyno 2012). As observed by Norbert Elias (1980), lifestyles form in relation to other groups—a phenomenon that correlates with Bourdieu's (2005) concept. This relationality allows for the potential distinctive nature of the middle class to be revealed.

Implemented years later, the new interviews were planned as face-to-face meetings. This approach was designed to facilitate observation of the interviewees and their environment, in addition to enabling active listening. The emergence of the SARS-CoV-2 pandemic necessitated a modification of the study format to one mediated by electronic communication. Of the proposed set of possibilities, the interviewees most frequently selected telephone conversations, and I was able to meet some individuals in person. All interviews were recorded on a digital voice recorder, and the average duration of an individual interview was three hours.

The present study investigates the lifestyles of two generations of the Polish middle class. To gain in-

sight into the general characteristics of these lifestyles, a variety of areas were observed and documented. These included family history (origin, ancestors, and childhood), educational and professional experiences, and leisure time dispositions (e.g., sporting activities, recreational and religious practices, diet, health, ecology, money management, and participation in various forms of culture), as well as activities related to collective identity (e.g., civic engagement, attitudes toward socially differentiating issues, and socio-political participation) and individual identity (e.g., future orientation). The relations of middle-class representatives with their immediate environment (family, relatives, acquaintances, and friends) and further circles of affiliation were also considered, as well as the subjective self-identification as regards their nation or social class. Although the empirical material allows for drawing conclusions about each of the analyzed spheres of lifestyle, the presented analysis is partial and focuses on selected everyday practices related to the use of leisure time.

In response to the critique of the reductionism and ethnographic bias inherent in the sociology of everyday life (Drozdowski 2019), my analysis of multiple datasets, spanning both historical and contemporary contexts, offers a comprehensive and nuanced understanding of the multifaceted dimensions of everyday life. The research encounters with parents and children facilitate intergenerational comparisons of narratives concerning the patterns that structure everyday life. In my view, these datasets allow us to trace the mechanisms of cultural reproduction of classes and the transformations of lifestyles that occur within the studied social structure, as well as in other segments of society. The methodological juxtaposition of accounts from different individuals at different points in

time represents a triangulation of data sources, thereby reinforcing the intersubjectivization of the research process (Denzin 1970).

Lifestyle Areas Subject to Transmission

In the section below, I present the lifestyle areas that structure the everyday life of the middle class in their leisure time, not regulated by professional or educational obligations. Indirectly, I characterize leisure time, the preferred forms of spending spare time, and the ways of organizing leisure. These are aspects that are realized in the private sphere of life and concern 1) passions, that is, the most attractive and regular preferences, 2) organization of travel, and 3) participation in culture in forms such as reading, visual and performing arts, or audio-visual content available through new media. These areas reveal patterns of inheritance, which I will discuss and interpret in the next section of the text.

Passions—The Most Expressive Leisure Consumption Styles

The leisure consumption practices most frequently pursued by the middle class are most clearly visible in the dominant and most positively evaluated free time spending patterns, which can be understood as the “passions” of this socio-economic category. The analysis of the research data indicates the presence of an intergenerational “infectiousness” of these passions. The transmission of hobbies from one generation to the next was observed in nearly all of the studied families. For instance, family S engaged in photography, family I in computer games, family L in travel, family R in music performance, family O in reading, and family Y in tennis, history, and art. In contrast, families where

this transmission was less evident, tended to prioritize other responsibilities, such as childcare (family T_2_1_D) or social engagement (pensioners B_2_1_R and T_2_1_R, who were involved in professional and social activities).⁵

The sharing of interests within a family is contingent upon the original bearers' expertise of the passions in question. Parents, in possession of cultural capital, manifested in the form of dispositions and knowledge and objectified in the form of material possessions, transmit this to their children. The hobbies of the older generation are relatively fixed over time, which can influence the intensity of the intergenerational diffusion of the pattern and stimulate the "giving" of passion to other family members. For example, one participant noted that his father's long-standing passion for photography had influenced his interest in the subject: "My father has always been very passionate about photography...so I kind of got infected with it" [S_2_1_D]. The older generation has accumulated a greater degree of experience in the pursuit of specific activities and has amassed the necessary resources to engage in these activities competently. This serves as an intergenerational transmission of knowledge and expertise. "My proficiency in photography is steadily improving, and I am fortunate to have the guidance of my father, who is also knowledgeable about my camera and able to provide valuable suggestions"

⁵ The syntax of the signature identifies the basic characteristics of the interviewees: first letter: family (designation identical to that used in the Palska study); first digit: research wave (1: conducted in 1999-2000; 2: conducted in 2020-2021); second digit: subsequent interviewee in a given generation; last letter: generation (Parent, Child, Grandchild). For example, the signature O_1_1_R denotes: family O, interview from 1999-2000, person 1 in a generation, parent; and the signature R_2_3_D denotes: family R, interview from 2020-2021, person 3 in a generation, child. Both research datasets have been deposited in the Social Data Repository (RDS, <https://rds.icm.edu.pl>).

[S_2_4_D]. There is intergenerational technological support in both directions: "I can use my father's lenses...since...I finally persuaded him to buy himself a digital camera...then I also discovered this whole world of actually more professional equipment" [S_2_4_D].

The professionalization of the hobby, in the case of photographers, was about turning pleasure into an activity with tangible financial benefits: "I do photography all the time, now not only as a hobby anymore but also professionally" [S_2_1_R]. In other cases, the relationship between work and passion can also be seen. For example, music lovers-instrumentalists derive their income from performing music, computer gamers are programmers by profession, bibliophiles are classical philologists by training, and, at certain stages of their careers, teachers. There is a strong feedback loop between passion and work in the family of a historian and his daughter, a fascination for art history, who is educated and works in design and textile art. This kind of parallelism between leisure time activities and the nature of paid work in an intergenerational perspective has already been research-diagnosed previously (Lareau 2000).

A specific form of passion, such as that associated with sport, is also susceptible to intergenerational transmission. The selection of a particular sport by children is influenced by familial preferences, a finding that is confirmed by other studies (Organista and Lenartowicz 2019). The act of instilling a sentiment toward sport may be either intentional or unintentional, and the same is the perception of this disposition. Nevertheless, it appears that a certain degree of routine is essential for the practice of sport to become both spontaneous and sustained. In the absence of automatism in this domain, it is

challenging to alter habits and motivate oneself to engage in specific physical activities:

Sport was one of the things my parents always encouraged me to do, but...they don't do any sport themselves, so I associated it with a duty...there was no sport in our daily home life. It's also a bit like I don't have it in my blood...It's not so natural for me to get up on a Saturday morning and rush off to go cycling or climbing...It's just that I have to sit down and plan it for myself and I want to do it precisely so that it's natural for my children to do sport. [L_2_1_D]

It is evident that there is a deliberate effort to influence the attitudes of the next generation toward sport. The recognition of deficiencies in this domain gives rise to deliberate action on the part of the heirs with a view to effecting change. Furthermore, an ingrained inclination toward sport can be observed in other families, where it has been passed down through generations:

My father...also instilled sport in me because he was a sportsman...First, he boxed, then he played tennis, and from a young age I played tennis, which was interesting because in communist Poland...it was an elite sport, and I was flattered that I was playing tennis and my friends were playing football... [Y_2_1_R]

In addition to the overtly perceived instillment from the father's side, a social distinction is observable: the awareness of selecting an attractive sport that is perceived as elitist. The tennis played in this family serves as a symbol of aspirations and class distinction, and these are transmitted to the next generation. This strategy is effective because the interviewee's daughters "play very well, really so cool. I played with them recently, and I can see that

they caught on. Which is not easy because it's hard in general, I think, for a parent to infect their kid with something and keep something like that. But, well, happily, they play" [Y_2_1_R]. In the domain of sports, there is a transmission of preferences and emotions between generations. From the perspective of parents, this transmission appears to be both deliberate and reflexive. The children's perspective reveals the important role of home-formed habits in sporting practices.

In the aforementioned spheres of passion, the object and direction of the sphere of extracurricular and non-educational interests do not appear to be influenced by parental coercion. However, the research data indicate that the possession of any interests by children represents an important field of parental activity: "The only thing they really wanted was for me to have any interests at all in life" [O_2_1_D]; "My parents had to fan that flame because those interests die if you don't nurture it" [Y_1_1_R]; "It's all thanks to them. Because they never said 'don't do something,' they just said 'do it, the more the better'" [Y_2_1_R]. In this context, the term that most accurately reflects the nature of the transmission mechanism of passion is discrete intentionality in parents, whereas in the case of heirs, it is habitual adoption.

Styles of Traveling

The analysis of research data indicates specific patterns of middle-class activity related to leisure. In each case analyzed, taking a break from professional or educational obligations is associated with the realization of travel. The style of travel differs between those without children and those with descendants. Given the focus of the text on inheritance processes, this study concentrates on cases

in which intergenerational patterns may become apparent, specifically in travel contexts involving two or more generations.

It can be observed that trips with children have specific functions, which correspond to the tastes of the parents. However, they also take into account the “added value” projected toward the children in the form of an assumed cognitive-educational mission. The middle class engages in thematic excursions, with a discernible and selective preference for the locations visited (“Last year, the theme was Italy and Greece, but up to 200 AD. We didn’t see anything beyond that period” [I_1_1_R]). The objective of these trips is to stimulate children’s interest in the world around them and encourage them to engage with it proactively rather than consume entertainment merely passively. Consequently, the locations chosen for these trips are carefully selected to align with a clear educational objective: “We want to infect children with something and show them something. It’s mostly a return to our youth, to our fascination. I was fascinated by ancient history and now I make the children participate in it” [I_1_1_R]. The undertaking of travel by those belonging to the middle class provides an opportunity for the acquisition of additional competencies, in addition to knowledge about different cultures: “I am very happy about a form of snobbery: that they want to stay in better hotels. It pleases me for the reason that they will not want to worsen their living situation in the future” [I_1_1_R]. The intentional imposition of snobbery upon children may prove an effective method of safeguarding against the potential socio-economic decline over time. Subsequently, the interviewee’s daughter, exhibiting a propensity to mimic this mode of travel, applies a comparable orientation: a thematically planned pursuit of a mission to explore the world.

This phenomenon is similar to her father’s vanity, manifesting itself as a love of luxury:

These tend to be trips planned to specific places...A few years ago we were in London...We looked at all these places...to make a connection between what I see and what I read in a book, saw on TV... Rather independently and just with this kind of light luxury. [I_2_1_D]

The travel style of the middle class is characterized by a pragmatic approach, as previously observed in the representatives of the working class (Gdula, Lewicki, and Sadura 2015). This is evident in the accumulation of useful knowledge through visiting monuments and learning about the cultural heritage of the world (Gdula and Sadura 2012). It can be argued that holidays are not merely a period of relaxation. Rather, it is an opportunity to satisfy one’s intellectual curiosity: “Of course, my flaw is that I only go where there are monuments, where I can show them some Romanesque church, or a Gothic church, or a Greek temple...I get bored on the beach” [Y_2_1_R]. This style is grounded in the interviewee’s assertion, articulated two decades ago, that “one does not travel to bricks, one travels to bricks with a soul, to see all these places that I used to read about and they fascinate me” [Y_1_1_R]. The benefits of traveling this way are revealed years later in the form of personal advantages. They prove helpful in shaping one’s educational and professional trajectory. Such journeys thus bear the hallmarks of successful investments, supporting the future achievements of one’s own and the expected achievements of one’s descendants:

It’s this kind of openness to the world that I have, I remember, also from my elders. In communist Poland, we didn’t go abroad much, I mean...to the East-

ern Bloc countries, yes. But I remember my parents got together financially, and we went to Tuscany. They wanted to show us Florence. [Y_2_1_R]

I have very fond memories of holiday trips with my dad to different countries and different cities, which gave me a lot also, so culturally...shaped, I think, my knowledge or skills, which I use later or even now at my work. [Y_2_1_D]

In some families under study, travel constitutes an important aspect of leisure time (families S, I, L, V, and Y), whereas, in others, it does not exert such a dominant influence over the sphere of everyday life (families R, T, X, O, and B). The analysis of the research data leads to the conclusion that where travel is a predominant or highly positively valued sphere of the parents' lifestyle, this is transmitted to the next generation. The manner in which travel is organized and the frequency of travel is consistent with that of the parents. The accumulation of traveling achievements applies here to both generations:

My only hobby outside of [work] is traveling. I just love moving around the world...For example, two years ago, we were in New York...Asia, yes, we have traveled the length and breadth of Asia, you could say. Recently, we have just been...in India...Sri Lanka. We were also in Burma or Myanmar...In 2006, we were in Peru and Bolivia. [L_2_1_R]

I like to be in a different place every year to see what it's like somewhere else...there might come a day when I find that I've already seen so much and this one place is the best. [L_2_1_D]

The younger generation's predilection for change and diversity of destinations triggers a kind of im-

itation. The heirs of the "travelers" have similarly extensive plans, although in some cases, these are deferred due to the economic constraints of the new "up-and-coming class." Mimicry also extends to the technical sphere of organizing expeditions. The planning and conduct of trips are generally carried out individually within the family, without the support of professional organizer-brokers. "Organized tours are not an option at all. We are absolute opponents of organized things" [S_1_1_R]; "I can't imagine going on any such organized trips...from a travel agency or something. I just know that it would absolutely destroy me" [S_2_1_D]. The independence of organizing trips provides the freedom to access knowledge about the world and independence, which are the dominant travel motives among interviewees.

Styles of Cultural Participation

The subsequent area of analysis focuses on a set of diverse cultural participation practices. The interviewees were asked to express their attitudes toward a range of cultural activities, including reading, music, visual and plastic arts, as well as out-of-home cultural forms such as cinema, theatre, philharmonic, and opera. Additionally, they were asked to share their perceptions of audiovisual culture, which is accessible through new media. The analysis revealed the existence of intergenerational patterns in the domain of cultural consumption. In the families considered in this study, specific forms of cultural activity appear to be the result of intergenerational transmission of preferences for different forms of participation.

The enthusiasm for reading, which is especially prevalent in families O and I, is perpetuated through the nurturing of familial routines: "Our

family has these rituals...for example, reading together" [O_2_1_R], "Everybody reads. From top to bottom, everyone reads" [I_2_1_D], "I read at least 3 books at the same time...I organize my life in such a way that this morning reading is such a key to enter the day" [I_2_1_R]. In these families, the reading preferences of the children are formed within the domestic environment through their exposure to a specific genre of literature:

I started reading books and fantasy through my dad...both my parents, my mum and my dad, urged me to read *Dune*, and I resisted for a very long time because my parents wouldn't tell me what to read here. Well, finally, I read it...Frank Herbert had the mind of a genius. [I_2_1_W]

Parents' reading aspirations are an expression of the pressure to achieve, articulated, for example, as follows: "A great method to teach self-development, self-education, and self-discipline, which is the most important thing to achieve anything" [O_2_1_R]. Intentionality in shaping children's reading tastes aims to develop habits and internalized dispositions toward this cultural activity.

The transmission of musical tastes across generations within the family is a notable phenomenon, as evidenced by the case of families R and S. The personal performance of music represents a long-standing aspect of the familial lifestyle within family R, undergoing both further intergenerational transfer through informal and formal educational channels and a process of professionalization. "Music is part of my life, so it is an important area. I also just grew up in such a home where pretty much everyone played an instrument" [R_2_1_D]. The musical initiation of the family, as evidenced in the statement, is based on

a myth involving the family patriarch from two decades ago: "it is some kind of hereditary trait... my grandmother, especially on my father's side, was musically gifted and we probably inherited it from her" [R_1_1_R]. The intergenerational sentiment toward music is justified here by a particular hereditary characteristic: talent. The talent was discovered by the father of the family, who was a multi-instrumentalist and professional organist in a Catholic church. This aptitude, as an expression of cultural capital, is transmitted within the family unit (Bourdieu 2005). The interests of the head of the family are shared by each of his three children: "the son plays the guitar, the other son plays the trombone" [R_2_1_R]. The daughter, who is also married to the organist, participates in two musical projects as a vocalist.

The analysis of research data indicates that musical taste is shaped within the family environment. The family plays a pivotal role in the development of initial receptive competencies, imparting musical sensibility and fostering the formation of musical preferences. The musical sentiments established in the domestic environment serve as the foundation for future explorations, choices, and reservations regarding preferences in the domain of music. Participation in a sometimes compulsory home education enables further orientation toward the dominant influences in this domain of lifestyle. Relational taste formation occurs in relation to ancestral tastes, and any contestation is not holistic but selective. Music lovers possess knowledge of the specific repertoire and the ability to choose from it:

You can't say I've alienated myself, but my father always listened to classical music...it was such an element of my rebellion that I always contested it...But I think there are also some composers that I some-

times listen to as if in a kind of unforced way. Some, I don't know. Claude Debussy, for example, is a composer I like. [S_2_1_D]

The imposition of parental interests on children in an unconditional and absolute manner has the potential to elicit a rebellious and rejecting response from the children in question. In the aforementioned case, there was no complete rejection of classical music, which supports the assertion that the transfer of musical taste between generations is an unintentional phenomenon. Parents influence their children's musical preferences and habits through their musical choices and practices. While this may occur in an oppressive manner, it nevertheless gives the freedom to shape the preferences of subsequent generations. Such messages do not contain elements of authoritarian coercion on the part of the parents nor on the part of the children a desire to be liberated from it.

In the case of the visual arts, the interviewees exhibit a broad range of attitudes along the low-brow-highbrow spectrum. This encompasses individuals with limited knowledge or interest in the subject matter, as well as those with a deep passion and expertise. In the latter category, more sophisticated aesthetic dispositions are revealed in their professional attitude to art (Y_2_1_D studies textile design), as well as in the thematically oriented journeys of connoisseur-collectors, determined by the footsteps of artists (Marc Chagall and Salvador Dali were reasons for trips to Nice and Florida by I_2_1_R), investments in valuable "pictures," decorating the interiors of flats (V_2_1_R and Y_2_1_R). With regard to the intergenerational transmission of the capacity to perceive art, an appropriate analytical and interpretative category appears to be "sensitivity" and its associated processes of pro-

duction or reproduction.⁶ To illustrate, the grandson of an admirer of Chagall did not have the opportunity to share his grandfather's passions or participate in his cultural excursions around the world ("There are some things that I had little exposure to and I don't think I ever had the opportunity to generate any sensitivity to these things" [I_2_1_W]). Similarly, an intergenerational deficit of appreciation for the visual arts is evident in Family V. The father-collector underscores both his snobbish tendencies and his altruistic rationale for amassing paintings. His son, in turn, is forthcoming about his lack of interest in art ("I never understood it...some paintings like that, I don't know what they're about, so it doesn't fascinate me too much" [V_2_2_D]).

It can be inferred that in these families, the inclination toward the visual arts was not the subject of deliberate intergenerational transfer. Here, intergenerational variability or diversity of tastes and preferences is permitted. Conversely, in other cases, a certain degree of intentionality on the part of parents in influencing their children's attitudes toward the arts can be observed. Perceived deficiencies in the reception of the arts ("I am genuinely completely unfamiliar with art" [L_1_1_R]) in the next generation are transformed into active measures to alter this disposition in subsequent generations ("if I have contact with art, it is in the sense that I want my child to have contact with art" [L_2_1_D]). Art sensitization succeeded in the Y family: the father, as an enthusiast of visual art, supported the deep-

⁶ In the preface to *Reproduction* (Bourdieu and Passeron 2006), Kłoskowska identified the category of aesthetic sensitivity. In her view, it is "the result of social training and social, arbitrary imposition" (Kłoskowska 2006:37 [trans. MB]). It is noteworthy that Bourdieu highlighted the social determinism of aesthetic dispositions and their correlation with class *habitus* (Bourdieu 2005; Cebula 2018).

ening of his daughter’s passion—a predilection for “pretty things”—by pursuing his passions for history and the resulting travels:

I infected this eldest daughter with history and art, and she...shared my passions, maybe not for history, well, because she is an artist...I noticed that she was really interested in it, that she liked pretty things. So...I funded her, but it was she who took me to Rome...we had a week-long tour of the Roman Baroque. There was a duel between Bernini and Cellini, and she was the one who had a lecture prepared, and she showed me all this. [Y_2_1_R]

His daughter has utilized her professional involvement in artistic creation to transform embodied cultural capital, understood as a habitual aesthetic disposition, into institutionalized capital.

It appears that we are witnessing the emergence of a middle-class approach to the arts that occupies a liminal space between the popular aesthetics prevalent in lower-class culture and the perceived autonomy associated with the upper-class lifestyle (Bourdieu 2005; Cebula 2017). For some middle-class parents, the transmission of an appreciation for the visual arts to the next generation may serve as a means of perpetuating class distinctions. However, for others, this field of social differentiation may not be a priority.

Further analysis of lifestyle transmission patterns was conducted in two additional spheres: 1) participation in culture through mass media (traditional and digital) and 2) participation in so-called out-of-home forms of culture, such as cinema and performing arts, including theatre, opera, ballet, philharmonic, and others. While discerning intergenerational transfers in these two areas proved

challenging, distinctions emerged, with interviewees’ class affiliations becoming evident (Bennett 2006; Cebula 2014).

The middle class, regardless of age, exhibits a preference for free choice in content delivered through mass media. They exercise discernment in selecting content and possess a refined sense of taste. They tend to gravitate toward reliable content, subjecting their choices to rigorous scrutiny and seeking out ambitious, educational content that challenges their perceptions, a tendency that is corroborated by other research findings (Cebula 2015; Cebula, Drabina-Różewicz, and Perchla-Włosik 2023). The preference for content delivered through streaming platforms, such as Netflix, HBO Go, Spotify, and YouTube, enables users to make their decisions regarding repertoire. They engage in media convergence processes and utilize the television receiver primarily to access audiovisual Internet content while accessing digitally distributed television on computer screens. They select podcasts as a substitute for radio. They conduct thorough analyses and comparisons in the reception of news channels and are capable of critiquing content broadcast through traditional media, including TV and radio:

That I watch TV, as we understood until recently, I hardly watch at all. I have Horizon Go on my computer, by the way, and I just watch TV on my computer, too. [O_2_1_R]

It’s not about cycling the pilot and what you hit is what you watch, it’s about choosing a particular film, a series, or a particular item. [L_2_1_D]

We are looking for very specific programs...documentary, scientific. [I_2_1_D]

[TV] is not a very used device in our house...movies, well, it's more Netflix, HBO, Canal+, some such. [V_2_1_R]

The primary mechanism of intergenerational transfer in the domain of mass culture is media literacy, operating in a reverse sequence from children to parents. In the context of mass media consumption, younger individuals transfer their digital competencies to older individuals, recommend content of their choosing, and even regulate parental access to media. It is my contention that this succession is contingent upon purposeful mechanisms in children and imitative mechanisms in parents.

An analysis of participation in institutionalized forms of culture, such as cinema, theatre, philharmonic, opera, or other types of performing arts, has not yielded unequivocal conclusions regarding intergenerational patterns of lifestyle mimeticism. The taste of representatives of the middle class can be diagnosed as diffuse, subject to individual choices and styling. Furthermore, interviewees highlight competence deficits in the reception of this artistic creation: "I'm not a big fan of opera and ballet in general. I lack a certain education here" [L_1_1_R]. The interviewees' predominant pattern of consumption of the performing arts is to rarely engage in practices traditionally identified with highbrow culture, preferring instead popular entertainment provided by the cinema. In place of the distinctive and exemplary highbrow culture that previously legitimized social divisions, alternative, technologically mediated spaces of cultural participation are now being created. These are more attractive and considered equally legitimate areas for building cultural capital (Cebula 2017). This shift was noted by one interviewee: "Cultural events now may have a slightly differ-

ent definition than they used to have. Probably somewhere, participating in social media might be considered cultural participation" [V_2_3_D]. Furthermore, the lifestyle sphere associated with the performing arts demonstrates a sensitivity to the biographical changes. Nevertheless, these lifestyle transformations require a different interpretative approach.

Discussion

The objective of the analysis conducted above was to examine the reciprocal relationship between culture and social structure. In particular, the focus was on how social structure reproduces itself in late modern societies, with a specific emphasis on the cultural dimension of reproduction. The objective of this article was to identify the mechanisms of lifestyle inheritance between two generations of middle-class representatives in Poland during the 2020s. The term "lifestyle" was selected as the main theoretical category and operationalized in accordance with Siciński's (1978) concept—as a broad spectrum of everyday practices.

Due to the framework of the text, the topics under examination have been limited to specific domains of leisure, although an effort has been made to encompass as many areas of lifestyle as possible. The objective was to illustrate the strength and consequences of the transmission, thereby addressing the cognitive deficit identified by Alice Sullivan (2011:211), who highlighted that

[p]arents' social position affects the cultural characteristics of the offspring, either directly or indirectly...But few studies are able to examine lifestyles across a range of domains, and still fewer allow an examination of both the intergenerational trans-

mission of lifestyles and the consequences (whether short or long term) of this transmission...It is not easy, for example, to address questions regarding the relative strength of intergenerational transmission across lifestyle domains.

For the sake of terminological order, it should be clarified that intergenerational transmission is a broader concept than inheritance, as it occurs in different directions: from ancestor generation to successor generation and vice versa. In contrast, inheritance is a unidirectional process that occurs from older to younger generations.⁷

In examining the patterns of intergenerational transfer, it is evident that there are striking parallels with the observations made by Margaret Mead (2000). I am particularly interested in Mead's postfigurativism as an expression of intergenerational persistence. In line with theoretical predictions, the research data also revealed spheres subject to change in the successor generation, for example, with the aforementioned cultural consumption mediated by mass media. A stylistic "reverse succession" is taking place here, which may be regarded as a symptom of prefigurative culture in Mead's terminology.

An additional framework for interpretation is provided by Pierre Bourdieu's sociogenetic studies. Bourdieu (1986) posits that inheritance can be understood as a transfer of different forms of capital,

⁷ Both processes, inheritance and intergenerational transmission, are revealed primarily in family structures, although they need not be limited to them. As Ziółkowski (2002) notes, these processes extend beyond the private sphere, facilitating the preservation of collective cultural distinctiveness and the formation of social identities. Regardless of the area of activity, these processes contribute to the consolidation of social positions and the opportunity to attain certain positions in subsequent generations (Ziółkowski 2002).

including economic, social, and cultural capital. The focus of my research is on the cultural type. The intergenerational transmission of dispositions to reproduce certain cultural practices is, according to the author of *Distinction*, directly transmitted through the family in the form of "good manners, good taste, or physical allure" (Bourdieu 2005:194). In my view, it is the tastes shaped by the environment of origin that provide the opportunity for an effective succession of class positions.

In this context, I am concerned with processes of inheritance that occur in a single direction and are confined to family circles. This study examines the role of parental intervention in shaping children's lifestyles and the formation of children's *habitus* through the transmission of cultural capital. This refers to the cultural practices and resources that parents pass on to their children, which are often shaped by the parents' cultural background (Ziółkowski 2002). The inheritance of lifestyles can be defined as the transfer of elements of cultural capital, which plays a significant role in the consolidation of class position and, more broadly, the permanence of social classes (Wesołowski 1966; Ziółkowski 2002).

These transmissions are discernible in the interviewees' statements through the use of specific language. The children describe being "instilled" by their parents with various rules governing everyday life. They report that these rules are "soaked up," for example, by the atmosphere of the home in relation to specific objects. They also describe being "absorbed," "infected," or "inculcated," and in some cases, even "programmed." These processes appear to serve to reinforce the transmission of role models to children or the absorption of specific cultural content from parents. The interviewees

also employ expressions that indicate an inverse relationship, such as “I don’t have it in my blood” or “I don’t have it encoded.” Interviews are either characterized by explicitly expressed intentions aimed at “rooting” or adopting certain attractive orientations, or by unconscious actions by both generations, which results in the transmission and acquisition of specific dispositions that shape lifestyle practices in an unintentional way.

The interpretative schema that most accurately differentiates inheritance mechanisms is their categorization in terms of the degree of intentionality involved in the transmission and reception of cultural messages. This schema is an intuitive one that emerges from the research data, although it corresponds to other findings (Mohr and DiMaggio 1995; Ziółkowski 2002; Notten and Kraaykamp 2009). It distinguishes between four categories of inheritance mechanisms: intentional, unintentional, imitative, and habitual. These categories function as an analytical matrix, enabling the interpretation of the degree of persistence and relevance of specific lifestyle practices (see: Table 1).

Table 1. Mechanisms of intergenerational lifestyle transfer

	Reflective (Giddens)	Habitual (Bourdieu)
Used by the sender	intentional	unintentional
Used by the recipient	imitative	habitual

Source: *Self-elaboration.*

The proposed mechanism types contain traces of the theoretical concepts of both Pierre Bourdieu (1977; 1990; 2008; Bourdieu and Wacquant 2001) and Anthony Giddens (2002). They mark the extremes of a scale defined by the giddensian category of reflexivity on the one hand and the bourdieian *habitus* on the other (Adams 2006). The intentional and imitative mechanisms are intentional strategies based on reflexive subjective causation. Unintentional and habitual mechanisms are routine, socially determined strategies, subject to unconscious transfers. In Bourdieu’s case, on the other hand, reflexivity, treated by him as a form of *habitus*, is revealed in crisis situations.

The inheritance mechanisms employed by parents can be situated on a continuum, ranging from reflexive intentionality to unintentional and habitual influences on children. From the perspective of the child recipients, the sequence ranges from reflexive imitation to the formation of habits that are instilled, internalized, and unconscious.

The diagnosis of intra-familial intergenerational relationships in leisure time management practices lends support to the thesis that these cultural practices are inherited, sometimes reflexively, at other times, routinely. In the families studied, specific forms of cultural activity appear to result from intergenerationally shared tastes. This is in accordance with the findings of Jarmo Kallunki (2023), who posited that generalized cultural participation is subject to inheritance.

There seems to be a lack of reflective parental influence in shaping children’s passions while heirs obtain them routinely. Nevertheless, parental involvement in children’s hobbies is discreet, as evidenced by the intergenerational transmission of interests

observed in the majority of families studied. Parental interactions are subtle and intentional, influencing the development of children's extracurricular and non-educational interests. Children's passions are subject to parental attention and, as a result, are reproduced.

It is apparent that there is a conscious and deliberate mechanism at play in the socialization of children through participation in sports and travel practices. The engagement with sport necessitates the involvement of the family and the development of reflexive practices in children. A convergence of transmission mechanisms can be observed, whereby parents transmit their intentions with a reflective and habitual reception by children. The domain of lifestyle with regard to travel is associated with the deliberate implementation of the assumed cognitive-educational mission toward the heirs, which posits travel as an investment, thereby supporting the future achievements of children.

The transmission of cultural participation styles occurs intergenerationally, with varying degrees of reflexivity. In the field of reading, I identify the intentionality of parental actions in influencing the preferences of children, who, in turn, develop habitual dispositions toward this cultural activity. In contrast, the field of music reveals unintentional patterns of transmission of parental dispositions. Parents shape children's habits through their routine musical choices. With regard to the field of visual and plastic arts, there is considerable variability in the degree of intentionality associated with intergenerational transfer. The extent to which this area of lifestyle is perceived as relevant and the degree to which parents acknowledge the legitimacy of fostering a sensitivity to it appear to be key factors. Participation in culture through mass media

reveals the regularity of reverse succession. The heirs become broadcasters in two distinct yet inter-related ways: firstly, in terms of their technical competence, and secondly, in terms of their capacity to shape the taste of their parents. In my view, this succession is governed by two mechanisms: the purposeful mechanism in children and the imitative mechanism in parents. An analysis of participation in so-called out-of-home cultural forms, most often associated with the performing arts, did not provide sufficient evidence of clear, repetitive patterns of imitation. Instead, the evidence suggests that the taste of middle-class representatives is subject to individual choices and styles.

The presented cultural succession mechanisms align with the proposed reflexivity-habituality scheme. The degree of intentionality in transmission illuminates hierarchies of importance within middle-class lifestyles. The hierarchical nature of the practices implemented is established and reproduced within the familial unit. The strength of transmission is contingent upon the explicitness and directive nature of parental guidance. The reflexive familial programming of cultural preferences and the imitative adoption of them reveal the agency and aspirations of both ancestors and successors. The aforementioned mechanisms indicate lifestyle elements that are more susceptible to intergenerational transmission than others. It is my contention that these elements represent the fundamental aspects of succession, as they play a pivotal role in ensuring the perpetuation of social position within subsequent generations. In contrast, habitual mechanisms appear to be less pertinent to the middle class with regard to social reproduction. These mechanisms influence the inheritance of such lifestyle contents, which are of lesser importance in the hierarchy of everyday life established within the family home.

Concurrently, they facilitate the autonomy and freedom of the heirs to make their decisions.

It must be acknowledged that the mode of interpretation presented here is not without limitations. The field of lifestyle inheritance presents a significant analytical challenge due to the complex and often ambiguous flows of values and practices, as well as the diverse degrees of internalization or familial negotiation. As a general rule, it is challenging to ascertain the extent of reflexivity in the transmission of cultural practices across generations. On occasion, the attitudes discernible in lifestyles exhibit an element of coercion that is characteristic of parental training, particularly in the domains of education and work. At other times, they are merely intended to foster specific dispositions, most commonly within the context of leisure organization. It is my view that the identified transfer mechanisms on the proposed dimensions require verification through survey research.

The above illustration demonstrates the manner in which certain aspects of lifestyle are transmitted and consolidated across generations, as a result of the mechanisms of inheritance. However, the analyzed research data also reveal the existence of lifestyle areas and practices that are not subject to such consolidation. It can be stated that there has been an interruption in the intergenerational transmission of lifestyles. It is noteworthy that none of the younger generation interviewed expressed alternative lifestyles as a form of rebellion, despite this being a topic of interest for other lifestyle researchers in Poland (Siciński and Wyka 1988; Gdula and Sadura 2012). Parents who are achievement-oriented and have been successfully navigating the capitalist order for years represent an attractive model for experiencing life. Nevertheless, I have identified the emergence of

novel strategies within specific domains of lifestyle. Still, to ascertain whether a distinction can be made between “young” and “old” lifestyles in the context of contemporary everyday life, it is necessary to adopt a different analytical approach.

The concept of lifestyle permanence pertains to the cultural and material heritage of the middle class. A lifestyle that is negotiated and constructed intergenerationally bears resemblance to a palimpsest, in that it retains the traces of previous records. Nevertheless, it is my contention that the fundamental structure established by the family home is susceptible to further individualization. Subsequently, each generation adds their choices and experiences to the layers of everyday practices of their “middle-born” ancestors. In this logic, lifestyle is realized as a common intra-family core between reflexivity and habit, carrying various values and meanings that are subject to intergenerational reconfigurations.

The present study was not a straightforward continuation or replication of analysis carried out by the preceding researcher, nor was it solely oriented toward the identification of lifestyle continuities. The intergenerational perspective applied has the advantage of pointing out not only permanence but also changes in lifestyles that occur across generations. The juxtaposition of narratives from two generations displays the process of lifestyle differentiation taking place over a 20-year period. It reveals discernible shifts in the significance of one domain of life in relation to another over time. This approach also highlights variations in the importance of lifestyle areas across generations. Furthermore, the research uncovered novel manifestations of lifestyle practices among the children’s generation that were not observed in the initial study or among the generation of parents currently.

In-depth cross-sectional analyses indicate that lifestyles are not merely determined by the strength of inheritance. Instead, they are clearly influenced by age and socio-occupational roles. Intergenerational disparities are also attributable to the distinct Polish and global historical experiences of successive generations. Life stages and social roles shape specific preferences but also impose different functions on lifestyles. The opportunities of individuals without children and those with children, professionals and those running their businesses are different. These disparities in responsibility and time devoted to work have significant consequences for the character of leisure time. The belonging of individuals to different generations is associated with divergent values orientations, which has a reciprocal effect on lifestyles and their individual manifestations. These observations are consistent with findings reported by other researchers. The younger generation engages in subjective “styling” in professional, political, and consumption social roles (Müller 2016). As Binkley (2007) pointed out, they make aesthetic consumption choices and actively self-manage their lifestyle. Lifestyle areas that are associated with choice, subjectivity, and reflexive behaviors are strongly manifested in the young Polish middle class. Changes in lifestyle are associated not only with their disintegration or

recomposition but also with excessive or intentionally insufficient stylization. These deliberate life projects align with the concept of social change in terms of late modernity (Giddens 2002). The conscious stylization of life, or “programmatically stylelessness,” serves to emphasize one’s subjectivity, identity, and the absence of limiting external factors.

It can be argued that lifestyle transitions merit detailed discussion and consideration. A brief overview of these mechanisms serves to underscore the versatility of the domain of intergenerational lifestyle research, which demands multidimensional analyses. The changes in lifestyles of the two generations under study also support statements of interrupted inheritance and that lifestyles are increasingly decoupled from social positions (Bauman 1988; Beck 2004), or “intra-generational homology” (Weingartner and Rössel 2019). These theses stand in contrast to the structural homology diagnosed since Bourdieu (van Eijck 2011; Domański et al. 2020). Nevertheless, it is worth raising the following questions: what are the mechanisms of lifestyle transformations, what factors trigger or accelerate them, and what are the effects of these transformations? These are challenging questions, but answering them will stimulate new research in the field of lifestyle.

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