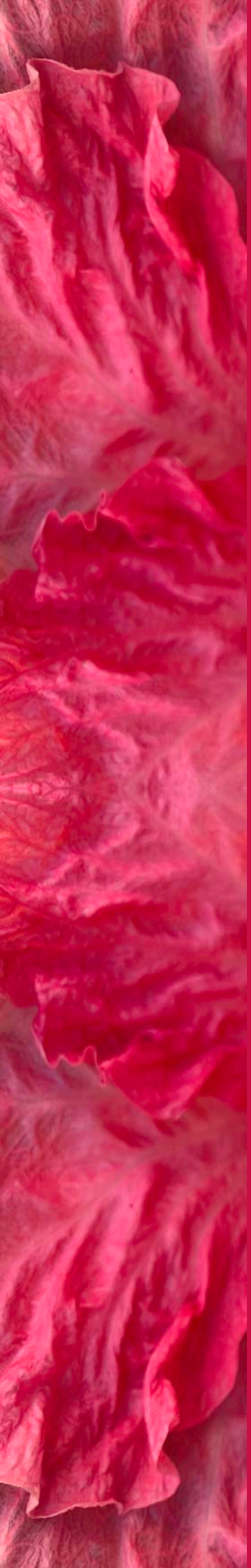


January 31, 2025

Qualitative Sociology Review

Volume XXI
Issue 1

Available Online
www.qualitativesociologyreview.org

QSR Qualitative Sociology Review

©2025 QSR • ISSN: 1733-8077

Qualitative Sociology Review

Volume XXI Issue 1

QSR Editorial Office
University of Lodz
Faculty of Economics and Sociology
Institute of Sociology
The Sociology of Organization & Management Department
Rewolucji 1905 r. 41/43, 90-214 Lodz, Poland
tel. (4842) 635 52 63
email: office@qualitativesociologyreview.org
www.qualitativesociologyreview.org

COPE
Member since 2019
JM14476

Note

EDITORIAL BOARD

CONTENTS

Aspirations and Networks of Italian Migrants to Bogota. A Typology

Angela Delli Paoli
University of Salerno, Italy

Domenico Maddaloni
University of Salerno, Italy

DOI: https://doi.org/10.18778/1733-8077.21.1.01

Keywords:
Aspirations; Mediators; Migration; Italy; Bogota; Typology

Abstract: This paper aims to understand the individual and relational motives supporting migration from Italy to Bogota. Our concern is to achieve a nuanced understanding of how aspirations, on the one hand, and social networks, on the other, shape migratory decisions and structure in broader migration patterns. To do this, we chose a qualitative approach based on narrative interviews with Italians living in Bogota, which were selected through snowball sampling. As a result, we produced a typology of five different migration pathways: *globetrotters* aspiring to international mobility with no mediators supporting their process of continuous migration; *careerists* who accept moving on demand of their company for advancing their career supported by professional mediators; *risk-takers* aspiring to professional independence and supported in their entrepreneurial project by weak ties; *tied migrants* aspiring to better family quality of life and supported by strong familial ties; and *exiled migrants* who find a refuge from the difficulties they encounter in Italy and supported by strong professional ties.

Angela Delli Paoli is a researcher (tenure-track) at the Department of Humanities, Philosophy, and Education (University of Salerno), where she teaches Sociology and Social Research Methods and coordinates the International Lab for Innovative Social Research (ILIS). She was a visiting researcher at the London Business School (UK), a visiting professor at the University of Finance and Administration of Prague, and a visiting lecturer at the Université Libre de Bruxelles. From 2010 to 2017, she was a Postdoctoral Research Fellow and Adjunct Professor of Sociology (University of Salerno).

She participated as a senior researcher and an expert evaluator in several European (Horizon 2020 interim evaluation, Eurofound expert groups), national, and regional expert groups. She also acts as an independent evaluator for the European Commission General Directorate for Research and Innovation and the European Commission Research Executive Agency (REA). Her research interests are qualitative and quantitative social research methods. She authored monographic studies, several essays, book chapters, and articles published in national and international academic journals on digital social research, digital ethnography, migration, and non-normative identities.

email address: adellipaoli@unisa.it

Domenico Maddaloni is a full professor of Sociology at the University of Salerno, Department of Political and Communication Sciences. He is the Head of the Sociology Unit at the Athens Institute of Education and Research (ATINER). He is also a fellow at the Italian National Research Council—Research Institute on Population and Social Policies (CNR-IRPPS). He is currently the Leader of the UNISA-IT Team in the framework of the Horizon Research Project TRUEDEM—Trust in European Democracies. In the last few years, he has been working in the fields of social and political change and international migration, making use of qualitative social research techniques.

email address: dmaddaloni@unisa.it

This paper focuses on a migration flow from Italy to Bogota. The latter is a small flow compared with other migration mass flows. Available data show that the Italian community in Colombia is small, although it has rapidly grown in recent years. According to the Registry of Italians Living Abroad (*Anagrafe degli Italiani Residenti all'Estero*, A.I.R.E[1]), there is an upward trend in the number of Italians who took up residence in Colombia for over 12 months. They have doubled in the post-2008 crisis period (from 10,690 in 2009 to 21,038 in 2020). This figure does not include temporary or circular migration to Colombia (such as the one that often concerns retirees, professionals in smart working conditions, or managers of large companies moving from one location to another) and Italians who, despite having resided abroad for more than a year, avoid registering with A.I.R.E. Therefore, it can be considered underestimated.

The paper aims to understand the forces and pathways through which Italian migration in Bogota occurs and is experienced, narrated, and represented. Our concern is to achieve a nuanced understanding of how aspirations and desires, on the one hand, and social networks, on the other, shape migratory decisions and structure in broader migration patterns.

To do this, we chose a qualitative approach based on hermeneutic interviews with Italians living in Bogota. As a result, we produced a typology of different migration pathways, allowing us to identify

[1] See: https://www.esteri.it/it/servizi-consolari-e-visti/italiani-all-estero/aire_0/. Retrieved December 12, 2024.

similarities and differences among the aspirations driving migration and the social networks supporting it.

The paper is organized as follows. The next section provides a short overview of the literature on migration as regards individual motivations and social supporting networks. In the following one, we briefly outline the empirical research methodology. After that, we present the classificatory principles of the typology and the different types of migration patterns we identified among the people we interviewed. In the conclusive remarks, we shortly discuss our main findings.

Aspirations and Social Infrastructures as Drivers of Migration

In the field of migration studies, the study of the factors that explain why people leave their country of origin and choose their country of arrival has been based predominantly on neoclassical models of rational choice and utility maximization, well summarized in the so-called push-pull theory (Massey et al. 1993). This model conceives migration as the result of a combination of economic push factors operating in the context of origin (poverty, unemployment, low social status, etc.) and pull factors operating in the country of destination (better wages and job prospects, more efficient welfare systems, etc.). Therefore, economic inequality in the country of origin is the driving force behind migration. This model has recently been reconceptualized by distinguishing between different structural elements that influence the agency of social actors (Van Hear, Bakewell, and Long 2018):

- *Predisposing drivers*, which consist of structural macro disparities between the place of origin and destination (economic, political, environmental, and geographic disparities) that indirectly make migration more likely;

- *Proximal drivers*, which consist of more localized structural contingencies, such as economic crisis, environmental degeneration in the place of origin or economic recovery, and new job opportunities in the place of destination, that may directly influence the decision to migrate;

- *Precipitating drivers*, related to an identifiable adverse push event in the place of origin, such as a factory closure or financial crisis, political persecution, environmental disasters, or an identifiable pull event in the place of destination, such as changing immigration laws;

- *Mediating factors*, including the quality of transportation, communications, information about the destination, and the "culture of migration," may all be seen as the migration infrastructure (Xiang and Lindquist 2014).

However, these structural drivers do not act in a vacuum, and most studies have shown the importance of individual motivations and infrastructure in shaping various mobility regimes (Glick-Schiller and Salazar 2012). Instead, they are socially accepted narratives supporting past, present, and future actions (Gu 2012). Objective factors will be perceived and interpreted differently by different individuals, and these differences in interpretation and identification of opportunities and advantages may explain much variation in individual migration paths (Verwiebe et al. 2010). How people narrate their motivations and the social contexts in

which they are presented and justified sheds light on links to broader social structures, enhancing in-depth understanding and sociological imagination.

Recently, an alternative way of framing migration has emerged, based on individual factors and focusing on the diversity of personal desires, aspirations, cognitions, emotions, and motivations underlying migration pathways (Collins 2017; Carling and Schewel 2018; Meyer 2018; Scheibelhofer 2018).

Under this perspective, individual mobility choices are considered part of a broader aspiration for self-development. Migration is a means to achieve what they aspire for in their life; it is part of a plan for individual becoming. Migration should not be seen as an end in itself but as a means to the end of realizing life aspirations (Carling and Collins 2018).

Within this perspective, the stream of research on lifestyle migration (Benson and O'Reilly 2009; 2015; Benson and Osbaldiston 2014; Benson 2015) conceptualizes the choice of migration as one related to how one aspires to live one's life.

Aspirations and desires are socially rooted in shared imaginaries (Salazar 2011; 2014). They are built within individuals' "aspirations window" and adhere to the aspirational norms of the socializing context (Ray 2006). This may shape a "culture of migration" (Timmerman, Hemmerechts, and De Clerck 2014) at the individual level (people who have migrated in the past are more likely to migrate in the future) but also at the community level, thus becoming a normative ideal which affects the individual aspirations to migrate. Another example may be the concept of "mobility fetishism" (Bauder, Hannan, and Lujan 2016) of the academic environment that led to aspire to mobility to strengthen career paths.

Also, infrastructures can be included in the "aspirations windows," playing a significant role in supporting migration processes. These infrastructures may be distinguished as commercial (recruitment intermediaries), regulatory (state procedures for working, licensing, studying, training, etc.), technological (material, architectural, technical, and digital infrastructures of communication and transportation), humanitarian (international organizations), and social (migrant networks) (Xiang and Lindquist 2014; Düvell and Preiss 2022:85). In different mobility regimes, infrastructures may play various roles. Specifically, their role may change according to the destinations. For instance, where physical infrastructures are lacking, as in the migration flow from Italy to Bogota, social infrastructures may have a crucial role in migration processes. They help to overcome transportation (the lack of direct air connections), regulatory difficulties, and the uncertainty deriving from media and people's misrepresentation of the destination.

Both weak and strong ties matter in the migration decision process, acting as complements in the migration choice, but they provide different types of support (Schapendonk 2015; 2018; Giulietti, Wahba, and Zenou 2018).

The attention to the individual, emotional, and relational components of migration helps blur boundaries between different types of migration also when the same places of origin and destination are involved.

Methodology

Our data are mainly based on qualitative research conducted through in-depth interviews. As stated in the literature (Collins 2017; Zapata-Barrero and Yalaz 2018), qualitative research based on migrants' narratives is useful to go beyond normalized scripts of migration and more apt to capture individual dimensions, expressions of aspirations and desires, unpredictable connotations, and the imaginary of migration. Feminist studies have shown the importance of narratives in listening to migrants' interpretive voices as a lens for accessing how migration is represented and understood and how structural factors are mediated to produce particular patterns, meanings, and experiences of migration (Silvey 2004). Therefore, as previous research has shown (Jensen and Pedersen 2007), the analysis of narratives provides a significant basis for understanding the relationship between individuals and structures in migration.

We used hermeneutic interviews, which, by focusing on the central role of participants and their perspectives, can derive interpretations from their narratives about migration experience (Montesperelli 1998). Hermeneutic interviews are based on the Gadamerian tradition, which moves beyond the epistemological emphasis on understanding essences to emphasize an understanding of the person being in the world (Gadamer 1975). The interviews were free-form, the sequence of questions was participant-driven, the interviews resembled everyday conversations, and the questions were open-ended and reflective.

The interviews were conducted on Italians living temporarily or permanently in Bogota at the time of the interviews (January-July 2020), selected through snowball sampling. Snowball sampling is particularly appropriate for a population that is hidden, indefinable, or difficult to locate, as migrant communities are. We used several reference chains (particularly thematic Facebook groups and physical communities) to identify initial respondents and avoid social homogeneity. The researcher discusses the research objective (the migration process) with potential participants during the recruitment process. This allows participants to reflect more deeply on their migration experience.

We used an interview guide (Silverman 2015) to keep the conversation focused on four main parts:

1. the life before migration (interviewees' education, career plans, and background information);

2. mediating drivers enabling or constraining migration (the presence and quality of transport, communications, the "culture of migration" in terms of previous experience of mobility and migration, the role of mediators, etc.);

3. their account of migration inception and perpetuation to Bogota;

4. their integration inside and outside Bogota.

The majority of interviews (25 out of 31) were conducted face-to-face; the remaining 6, due to the COVID-19 pandemic, were carried out online. Interviews had an average duration of 45 minutes, were audio-taped, and transcribed in full.

In the case of the face-to-face interviews, the setting was chosen jointly to ensure an environment that the participants considered safe and unencumbered so that they could feel comfortable sharing their stories.

We followed the canonical stages of qualitative interviewing: thematizing, designing the interview and the open-ended questions, interviewing, audio recording, fully transcribing, verifying, and reporting (Silverman 2010; 2015). Identifying features were removed.

In this research framework, data analysis is an iterative process that involves continuous interaction between data collection and analysis. Therefore, the texts collected through the interviews were explored inductively without predetermined categories and in search of relevant themes. This involves a reflexive movement between data collection, data coding, analysis, and interpretation, with new categories constantly being added and old ones reread in light of them. Barney Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss (1967) call this process a constant comparative method: a constant coding based on reanalysis of the same categories to capture differences and similarities. Differences allow existing categories to be refined and subcategories or new categories to be created. This process helps move from a descriptive level to a theoretical model, such as through creating typologies.

The total number of participants was 31. This group is quite heterogeneous regarding gender, age, geographical origin, and educational level. There is an almost equal representation of men and women (16 M, 15 F). Regarding age, most participants are between 36 and 45 years old, but younger and older age groups are also represented. The group shows a high level of education, with only 6 having a high school diploma and the rest having higher education (4 bachelor's degrees and 12 master's degrees) and 9 a postgraduate qualification (6 doctoral degrees and 3 international master's degrees) (Table 1).

Table 1. Group demographics (n=31)

Variable	Categories	Count
Gender	M	16
	F	15
Education	High school Diploma	6
	Bachelor and Master Degree	16
	Post-graduate qualification	9
Age	25-35	5
	36-45	17
	46-57	9
Geographical Origin	South of Italy	11
	Centre of Italy	8
	North of Italy	12
Arrival date	Less than 1 year	4
	More than 1, less than 5	**7**
	More than 5, less than 10	10
	More than 10	10
	Total	**31**

Source: Self-elaboration.

Aspirations and Social Infrastructures: A Typology

Based on the recent debate on results on the drivers and infrastructure of migration pathways, we have identified two classification principles to identify and sort differences and similarities in

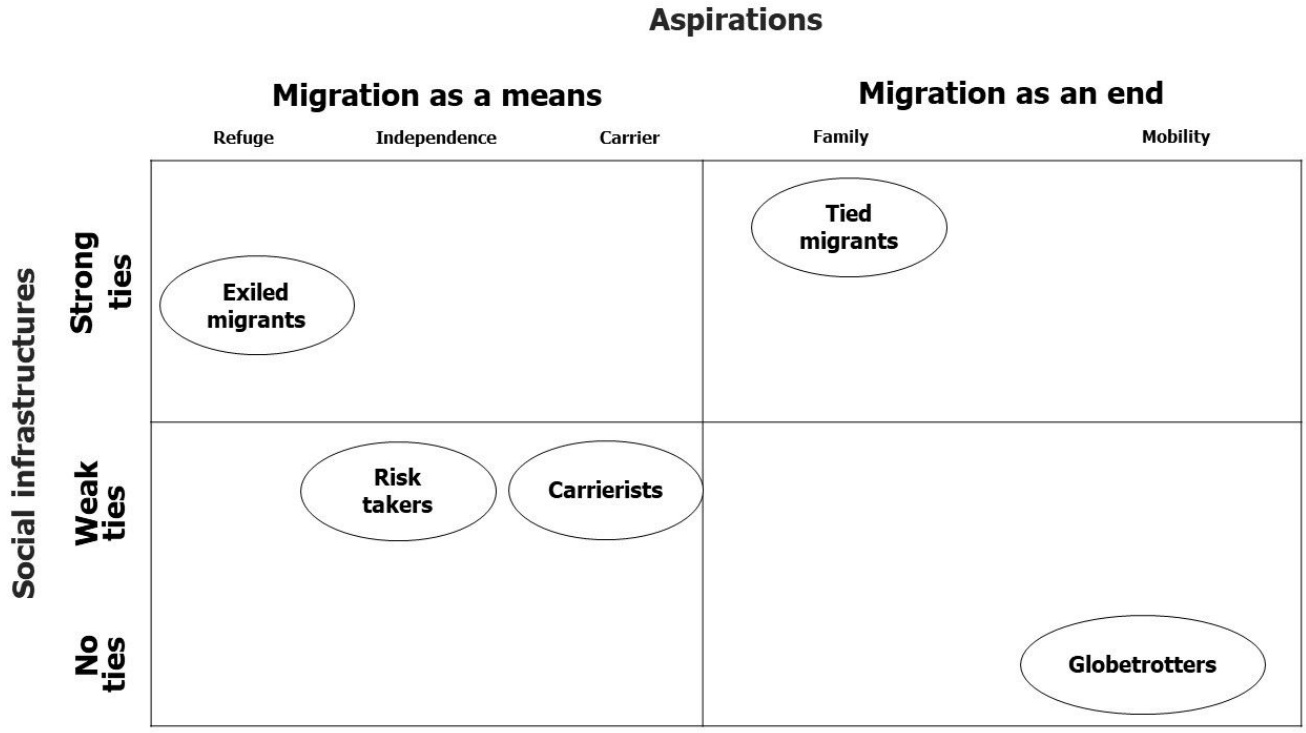
the migration pathways of Italians in Bogota in 2020.

The first is that of aspirations, as defined in the previous section. We distinguish between migration *as a means* of solving some contextual problem and that driven by aspirations for independence, revenge, or career. Contextual problems can take different forms, but the aspiration in this case is to improve one's life situation (with better working conditions, work environment, etc.). Conversely, some see migration *as an end*, a step toward achieving a life ambition that can take different forms (such as a better quality of life or an improved family situation).

The second is the extent and nature of the social infrastructure that supports the migration flow. We distinguish between autonomous migration flows not supported by social ties, migration flows supported by weak ties, and migration flows supported by strong ties.

From the intersection of these two classificatory principles, we derive the typology of Italian migrants in Bogota depicted in Figure 1. Although the 5 typologies identified, globetrotter, cosmopolitan, careerist, exile, and bonded, are neither exhaustive nor mutually exclusive, they do offer an attempt to distinguish migratory patterns.

Figure 1. A typology of Italian immigrants in Bogota



Source: Self-elaboration.

Globetrotters

This group includes five interviewees who share a strong individual "culture of migration" and show an aspiration to international mobility, which does not turn into an attachment toward a specific destination. They are high-skilled travelers who implement a permanent mobility pathway made up of different short-term destinations:

> I have been to Saudi Arabia, Nigeria, Burma, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, and other places like Indonesia, but not all for work, some for pleasure, to get to know, then Sri Lanka, Australia. So, various places where one could open one's mind a bit and get to know the local people…one always thinks, as Troisi used to say, that one goes to the North from the South to work, but this is not always the case. [04M55]

The migration project of these interviewees is based on an endogenous or proactive choice, aiming at fulfilling an individual aspiration—mobility—considered particularly important for constructing their identity. Driven by an inherent propensity and need to travel and discover the world, they value migration as a life experience. Mobility is their way of life (Urry 2002), their normative ideal (Elliott and Urry 2010), and a defining aspect of their identity (Cohen, Duncan, and Thulemark 2013).

This aspiration seems to be rooted in a "culture of migration" inherited from the family of origin or shared with a foreign partner who makes the experience of international mobility familiar even before the migration choice:

> Dad traveled all the time. Dad worked in a [large company in northern Italy], like Mum, for 40 years of their lives [laughs]. And Dad traveled, he worked in the foreign commercial part, so for a while, he also did, in addition to doing African markets, the Middle East, and South America, he also did Spanish markets. And so he liked to go there, the beaches, the city where we went...My mum loves to travel as well. So there's a family's vocation toward...all four of us have never been stationary as a family. In fact, my brother lives [in a city in Spain]. My mum's dad lived in Argentina for 30 years, then came back to Italy, got married, and had my mum. On Dad's side, Dad lived in Venezuela in the 1980s—early 1980s for four years. So, for my family, it was strange that I stayed in Italy for so long. [31F34]

> And nothing then along the way, over the years, I got married, my husband is [African], and we have two children. We have always traveled more than for tourism, for the family because we used to go to [country in Africa] to visit relatives. [13F47]

They move not because of material needs, as some are already employed in Italy, but because of aspirations to travel, which they pursue through targeted job applications and without the help of mediators:

> and then I wanted to gain experience outside Europe, so, almost for fun at the beginning, I sent four job applications around the world practically. I left, giving up everything: a permanent job, my home, my family, everything, and I've been here four years now. [29F34]

Instead of scaring them, the arrival in a spatially and culturally distant context excites them. Guided by the desire to get to know the local culture, they show a strong integration in the context of arrival. Integration is also favored by the condition of being a foreigner, a culturally privileged condition for a population that shows welcome and hospitality toward foreigners coming from Northern countries:

> At first, let's say that, as most Italians do, people in general try to focus on their compatriots. I decided not to make this choice, and so I started to create my own group of Colombian friends. If a person wants to have an experience and wants to move abroad, he has to live the reality and mix with the culture of the people because otherwise, it's not a full experience. [29F34]

> Here is an important thing about Colombia that I would like to say. It is very welcoming. We are in an era in which immigration is not always seen as a resource—in a good light, especially perhaps in Europe, even by us. Instead, here, one of the main qualities of Colombians is that there is a great idea of welcome. As soon as they feel you are a foreigner, they open their arms, their doors. [04M55]

They particularly appreciate certain traits of the Colombian culture, such as its widespread optimism and sunny disposition, to such extent to assimilate ways of life that fortify the construction of a Colombian identity without renouncing their Italian-ness:

> So the things I miss from Italy are my relatives: family, friends, et cetera. The things I would take from Colombia to Italy are the cheerfulness and the lack of schematism. As Italians, we have a much more organized mental predisposition. Instead, here sometimes I see that they are much more relaxed, something serious happens, something bad happens, well, let's see the good thing...in Italy, I wasn't so much like this, instead, I changed a lot my personality, too, so all this perspective of living for the day I would take it with me. One doesn't feel Colombian, of course, if one isn't, even if here they treat you like God in the sense that you're part of them, but it happened to me, especially the last year that I went home, that I didn't even feel like I belonged anymore to Italy. I don't feel fully either Colombian or Italian clearly, in short. I feel a bit divided, let's say in half. [29F34]

People in this group usually do not set limits to their migration pathway, which could either stop in Colombia, move to another destination, or finally end in returning to the homeland. Bogota may be just one step on the long path of continuous mobility sought by this type of migrants.

Risk-Takers

These include eight participants whose migration narratives denote an aspiration to achieve professional independence in the Colombian context. The migratory choice emerges from an aspiration to self-affirmation in the labor field. They aspire to a professional career that fully reflects their abilities and aspirations. For some, the main motivation for their migratory movement is linked precisely to the exploitation of market opportunities spotted in Colombia through the mediating role of third parties, mainly weak ties:

> I would have liked to realize my first experience abroad and for a series of coincidences. In a very indirect way, thanks to Facebook, I could say...a family friend of one of my current company partners, very well placed here in Bogota, had found her best friend from university, that is, my friend's mother, through Facebook. She invited my friend on holiday to Bogota. He was convinced that the country had great potential. He managed to convince me and another friend to follow him on this adventure, and that is why I am basically here. Interests and opportunities came together. I decided to come here after a year of studying the country. We realized that the perception of the country to the outside world is quite distorted in the sense that we, Italians in particular,

> have a conception that is still very much anchored in the 1990s. [08M37]

These are not people who undertake entrepreneurship out of necessity or survival, but in most cases, entrepreneurship appears to be a life choice. They were not experiencing unemployment or difficulty entering the labor market before departure. In some cases, they had dependent professions that they did not consider suited to their aspirations lacking the professional autonomy and independence they aspired to:

> After university, I entered the labor market at probably the worst time in Western history, in 2007. I had work experience in international logistics and then in a financial consulting company. After these experiences, I realized that salaried work was not for me in terms of attitude. That I felt more...let's say the calling was for autonomous experiences…at the work level, I was not doing well with salaried employment, so let's say it looked like a cycle was ending. There, I started to think seriously about carrying out some kind of entrepreneurial activity. [08M37]

While they are not escaping disadvantaged economic conditions, they are escaping from a context considered unfavorable to economic enterprise due to bureaucratic barriers, technological and social immobility, a generalized distrust and pessimism about the future, and young people:

> The problem of bureaucracy in Italy is very...If you open a restaurant here, you open a restaurant. Then the fire department comes and says, "Fix that. We come in a fortnight." Healthcare comes, "You have to fix this," you fix it. However, you work in the meantime. In Italy, for opening, first, you have to wait for them to come and check on you, you have to fix everything, and if you're not perfect, you can't open. And this penalizes you. Here, let's say it's much easier. You get here, and you open. Here, creating a business is much easier than in Italy. [18M47]

> I think the country [Italy] is dead. I'm sorry to say it so dramatically, but it seems that apart from Milan, the rest of the country is dead. Young Italians tend more and more to go outside, not necessarily to Colombia but to many other countries more dynamic from all points of view: technological, social mobility, economic growth, and even the consideration you have for young people. In Italy, there is really a snobbism toward anyone who presents any proposal, any idea who is under 40 years old, which is, frankly, scandalous…Here, there is a completely different mentality, much more favorable to economic enterprise, to betting on the future, to trusting the future, a trust that in Italy has been totally lost everywhere. In Italy, there is a frightening pessimism that does not exist here. Here, the ability to believe in the future has remained, to believe that one's social and economic position in twenty years will be better than it is now and certainly better than one's parents. A way of relating to the world that we have totally lost in Italy. [08M37]

Integration into the local context is also essential for the success of one's entrepreneurial activity, given that the performance of the enterprise depends on integration into local networks. The role of mediators appears particularly significant for this group. They provide the informational, administrative, and relational support needed to access new markets and represent bridges of social integration and channels for building social capital:

> The initial support, also in terms of introduction into the social context, was by the person I was telling you about who owns the most important cosmetic sur-

> gery clinic in the country. You know how important cosmetic surgery is here. So she introduced us, let's say...I don't like the expression so much but in the right social circles. This also allowed us to have a number of opportunities in terms of subsequent clients. We opened the business after a few months because we were waiting for export approvals, and so we mainly did public relations activities in the first six months in Colombia. [08M37]

They recognize difficulties in cultural adaptation due mainly to the diplomatic formalism that shapes relational arrangements and the implicit classism, also clearly visible spatially in the spatial stratification of the city that mirrors that of society. In any case, they seem to have overcome the initial difficulties of integration. Their relational networks appear heterogeneous, composed of both Italians and Colombians, and some appear so integrated that they feel like foreigners when they return home:

> I feel Italian, Colombian, European, Neapolitan, and a citizen of the world. Sometimes, I feel like a foreigner in my country. I mean, in Italy. Sometimes it happens, yes. Because you come back, and you find a reality that has become different from how you left it. We are very American. We are Latino Americans. But, the American presence in our way of doing things is clear. Mixed with our Latinness. In Italy, you are Latinos, and that's it. [12M50]

Carrerists

The *careerist* group includes three migrants. Their migration choice is based on career aspirations. They decide to fulfill an explicit request from their home organizations for reasons related to career advancement. They move because their employer wants them to and because it is good for their career ambitions. They are similar to the *assigned expatriates* studied in the literature: employees of companies or government organizations who are sent to a foreign country to accomplish some specific goals of the organization (Przytuła 2015).

Therefore, they are not driven by dissatisfaction with the local labor market, job immobility, unemployment conditions, poor working conditions, or inconsistent work positions. Rather, they are a highly spatially mobile category with a high personal and family "migration culture." However, they differ from *globetrotters* in that they do not meet the canons of cosmopolitanism (e.g., openness to cultural differences). In other words, they are not driven by an individual vocation toward cultural diversity or a desire to experience new worlds or destinations (Hannerz 1990; Delanty 2006). For these individuals, international mobility is a professional and economic elevator:

> After four years, the company where I worked was not doing well, and I had a proposal from another company. And that's when I started to discover the possibility of living as an expat. After the project, they sent me for eighteen months to Amsterdam. I came back every weekend, and then there was an opportunity to go to Indonesia. We're talking about [what happened] three years ago, and I said at that point, "I'll come as long as I can move with the whole family," and they said OK... Let's say it's a full-fledged detachment, and the company takes care of paying for your house, school for the child, and the car, and they treat you like a king. We lasted a year more or less in Jakarta, after which there was this opportunity in Colombia, and I said, "Yeah, OK, I'll come to Colombia, but you make me leave an expat contract where I'm served and revered, and you should give me an expat contract here, too." And they said OK. [15M46]

To these interviewees, Bogota appears to be a leap in the dark, a little-known destination. The initial integration is made easy through corporate intercession: the company offers a professional mediator, a relocation specialist who administratively and bureaucratically supports the relocation by personally taking care of transportation, legal issues (e.g., visas and related permits), access to healthcare, decent housing on site, language training, an appropriate school for the worker's children (if any), et cetera.

Their priority is to obtain an adequate remuneration package through a specific contract (supplementary to the original one), which is the outcome of a negotiation process:

> I do very particular and problematic projects...so I go and try to solve them. It was the same thing in Holland, it was the same thing in Indonesia, and it is the same thing here. The problematic project was here, if it had been in South Africa, I would have been called to South Africa. Here, there were two, actually, there was a project in Trinidad and Tobago, which is always near here, in the English Caribbean, and I did this interview for this project in Trinidad because I said, "We have to get out of here, and so..." They didn't accept the expat conditions, though. That is, the economic conditions offered were lower, and so I said, "I'm waiting for a new opportunity," and after a while, they called me. [15M46]

Driven by their professional and economic ambitions, they do not seem to celebrate cultural and lifestyle diversity and face difficult cultural adaptation. This results in daily life spent in close and homogeneous networks and international expatriate communities, where they share their leisure time in dedicated institutions (international schools, Italian restaurants, etc.).

It is therefore not surprising that the migration project, which is temporary and related to the completion of a specific project, is experienced as an investment for the future, a temporary sacrifice that allows them to return to Italy with sufficient economic income to lead a comfortable life:

> I mean, it's a situation where you invest now to capitalize as much as possible, to come back home, buy an apartment, so when I come back, I have an income... because then the expectation is to have a pension in line with my current salary. I would define an Italian who, in order to be better off and to be more peaceful, has decided to make a sacrifice now rather than do it later. I don't see it as a nice thing to be outside. I see it more as a sacrifice. It's nice to go to see the game on Sunday at the stadium. I'd like to see my grandchildren grow up, and I can't do that. I'd like to see my father and mother as well. You definitely make a sacrifice to stay out, but it's something you do now because the parents are well, the grandchildren are still small, and we'll go to the stadium when Roma comes back to win! [15M46]

Exiled

This group includes five interviewees who can be classified as *exiled migrants* because they live migration as a difficult response to a state of necessity and not as a choice motivated by a drive for individual self-realization. For them, migration is a way to escape a condition of job insecurity and low income and to pursue a career in line with their expectations and skills, even if at the cost of living far from their homeland. These are mainly high-skilled researchers and teachers who have experienced a condition of unemployment or precariousness in Italy (Armano and Murgia 2014), risking becoming trapped in unstable and fragmented careers (Barbi-

eri and Scherer 2009) that would prevent them from achieving economic independence.

> I graduated from college at twenty-four, finished my doctorate at twenty-six-twenty-seven, and basically a week later, I was already on my first contract—a staggering career in its first steps. The problem is that the first steps lasted practically seven years! The career stopped at the first steps! I had two teaching contracts at the university, which were two core teaching for the political science course. Can I say the contract amount? €500 gross per year precisely, so this is what also explains the need to move away. [24F39]

> I started my Ph.D. in 2003. I finished in 2007. I started doing small teaching contracts in Viterbo. However, these contracts were slightly enough to pay my travel expenses to go to Viterbo. Since 2007, when I had finished my doctorate, there has not been much evolution of this academic collaboration, which, while not allowing me to earn enough money, was also limiting my personal life because I couldn't go and live on my own, I was already thirty-three-thirty-four years old, and I was forced to stay at home with mom and dad. There also comes a point when you need your independence. You want to feel independent from the work point of view because the feeling of being an adult also depends on that. Here, this step was missing—going from a daughter to a person who manages her life. [05F42]

Many *exiled migrants* are in a stage of life in which some fundamental choices can no longer be procrastinated. They are also aware that staying in Italy would have entailed the search for an alternative job, perceived as a fallback opportunity:

> I would not be able to build an identity in academia. So, as the best alternative, I would have had to accept a fallback job somewhere, but it is complicated, especially for our fields and degrees. [24F39]

In other cases, they feel adrift and have no alternative options, especially when they have invested heavily in the academic path in disciplines with little traction in the labor market.

They see their life in Bogota as *revenge*, an opportunity to demonstrate they can do their desired work, and the chance to achieve their economic independence. Such a chance comes thanks to the social capital built in the university, for instance, through mediators—usually university professors with academic ties in Colombian universities—who acted as bridges by inserting them as lecturers first in short-term paths (teaching contracts in master's programs delivered jointly with Italian universities) that then led to the consolidation of academic positions in Colombian universities.

Their daily routine, marked by very tight work rhythms, is fuelled by network relationships with colleagues, especially compatriots who become surrogates for family members across the border. Within such Italian communities, symbolic practices such as the display of iconic Italian products, the enactment of Italian holiday traditions, and mealtime rituals (culinary rituals and traditions, typical dishes associated with traditional festivities, etc.) are used to reinforce Italian-ness:

> I have to tell the truth. We mainly hang out with Italians. It's easier for a foreigner, let's say, to hang out with other foreigners because the other foreigners, like you, don't have other networks of relationships. That is to say, on Sunday we meet because nobody has to go to eat at Mom's and nobody has to go to the cousin's wedding. So it creates a particular situation

> where you spend all the holidays together. Instead, Colombian friends, by necessity, spend them with family. And so you create a very close relationship because birthday is always us, Easter is always us, maybe Christmas is not because one goes back to Italy, and so, with one particular Italian friend here, we said to each other, "Friends are the family you choose." Because then in these eight years when a lot of things and traumas have happened, you are just you because there is no family, so in good times, especially in bad times, they are the ones who rush in, who come to the hospital if something happens, who keep your baby if...to say, last year that my father was sick, we had to run away on a Saturday and I had the baby, they come to the hospital, and they take the baby. You create a relationship that has an intensity that even Italian friendships don't have. [O5F42]

At first, these migrants had conceived their migration experience as a temporary phase in a process that was supposed to bring them back home as "returning brains." Most of them seem to manifest cultural resistance and acculturative stress by sometimes showing disapproval for the quality of life and, in particular, for a lifestyle centered on the preponderance of work time that sacrifices other spheres of life by making the home-work axis firm, for the difficulty in urban travel due to city congestion, the lack of security, and its consequences (such as not having the keys to one's home, which are instead on hand to an ever-present doorman).

> Here's the other problem with Bogota. It's the hours. It's a city where everything starts very early. So you have to get used to waking up at 5:30 a.m. It's a city where you also have classes very late at night, so I finish class at 10, get home at 11, and then wake up at 5:30. It is very tiring, the quality of life. According to them, the more you work, the more you do in a day. They have this expression in Colombia, the día terrible. So you have to wake up early because then you do a thousand things. I don't agree with that at all. So there's a lot of quantity at the expense of quality, that's for sure. And so, doing a lot of traffic hours, working sometimes late, starting classes early in the morning, sometimes even on Saturdays. That, yes, there is not this attention to workers. One reads that Nordic countries tend to reduce working hours. Here, they have not yet come to this idea. And it also seems absurd to me that children enter school at 7 in the morning, leave at 4 in the afternoon, and also have homework to do. That's why I say they get used to a super-life from an early age. [05F42]

> In many ways, it remains a very closed city, where the home-work axis is very strong. Let's say that I always have, over the years even more, complained about the insecurity and also the ugliness of the city because it is one of the ugliest cities in the world where the quality of life is really horrible because of the pollution and the violence in the streets. I mean, it's like being in the lowlands of Naples almost all the time. [02M55]

> Another aspect that struck me a lot and that I will never get used to is that here, in Colombia, nobody has the keys to his door because, for security reasons that are very well known, every building has a guard, and you don't have the key to your door—he is the one who has to open it for you. If he is in the garage, you wait for him to come back. I always wondered, "But if one day my doormen, or even yours, go on strike, what do you do?" You stay home, you can't go out. I've been living here for a year. These people are always working on Christmas and New Year, seven days a week, twenty-four hours a day. You can come back at any time. It happens to me because having a typical Colombian life, I come home at 4 in the morning. [14M33]

However, as their labor and social integration in the host country increases, the option of returning is often placed in a distant future—a wish that one does not know how and when will ever be realized.

Tied Migrants

Ten participants fall into the category of *tied migrants*. Among them, couple or family relationships—the "strong" ties *par excellence*—serve as a gateway for migration. More specifically, they migrate to Colombia because they are in a relationship and the partner has received a job offer that brings them to the country's capital. In these cases, the "strong" social bond acts as both a driver (Czaika and Reinprecht 2022) and an infrastructure (Düvell and Preiss 2022) of the migration path. The aim is to improve the well-being of the couple or (if there are already children) the family.

> What brought me to Colombia? What brought me to Colombia was an experience I had in a religious community. I came here for religious reasons... Just for that. Then, along the way... I met my current wife, I returned to Italy, I finished my studies, and having to decide where to live—there or here... The most opportune thing we thought of between us, also for work issues, was Colombia. [08M37]

> And then I met my husband there, my Colombian husband...but I had no idea where Colombia was when I met my husband. We got married in ''85. He had come to study there in Italy. And we got married and lived there, in Italy, for ten years. I had my daughters there...Then, my husband came here to visit his family, and they offered him an excellent job here...so he proposed, "Let's go to Colombia." I was so scared because I said..."Colombia, but I don't even know Spanish, what are the people like there"... The fact is that we packed our bags and came here... Luckily, let's say, my husband and...they offered him an excellent job, with good pay, so he was able to offer me the most exclusive area of Bogota and everything. [23F57]

Here, migration is a couple's joint choice that needs to be framed as the product of bilateral negotiations between partners rather than an isolated actor's decision. Such negotiations are based on the interaction between considerations related to maximizing family well-being, expectations related to gender roles, and power distribution between the two partners. While the prevailing and most documented pattern (Clerge et al. 2017; Erlinghagen 2021) is that of wives following husbands to improve their husbands' career prospects, there is no lack of men following women. However, in this second case, they are men who do not have much to lose by relocating and being employed in Italy under short and very short-term underpaid contracts without an established or yet-defined professional profile. There are also men with established career paths who negotiate migration to Bogota only under certain conditions, provided they find a more satisfactory professional position in Colombia:

> So I said, "Look, Sara, do you want us to go to Colombia? I work here. I have a permanent contract. What I earn, you know, too...I love and adore your country. However, it's not like it's in my head to go and live there. However, since you are the one insisting that we must go, these are the conditions. If they offer me better over there, I will evaluate." I gave my resume to the father, "He has a college degree, he speaks three languages, including Spanish, and this is what he brings home. What do we do? Find something that is, clearly, even more adequate." And he says, "Yes, you get the proposal." But, from the

> Senate of the Republic. My first job here was in the Senate of the Republic, in the UTL, International Affairs. And I couldn't say no. [12M50]

We could hardly consider these husbands as the weak link of the couple or as those who, to satisfy their wives' work ambitions, sacrifice their careers by accepting to worsen their economic or professional status. In the case of husbands following their wives, however, the decision to migrate appears to be guided by the men's job prospects and subordinated to them. We can say that the leading role of women is expressed not so much in improving their employment status but in considerations related more appropriately to the quality of family life through the buffer provided by the family of origin—support in child care and management of everyday life. Even in the case of migration flows following their husbands' professional needs, women maintain their economic independence in Bogota, many finding employment as teachers in Italian schools, others developing entrepreneurial projects, and some holding down multiple jobs:

> I started looking for work, but I couldn't find [it]. I reinvented myself by being an Italian teacher because all Argentines have Italian passports and can even vote, but they can't even read guidebooks. But they love Italian, the Italian language, and that's the only job I could do without really speaking Spanish because, being very close anyway, I could just speak Italian, and they could understand me. Then, I started making crocheted puppets I designed. I started a Facebook page, and I was selling them. When we arrived in Colombia, I got pregnant with our first daughter, Gaia. As soon as I gave birth to Gaia, I had an Argentine friend here who has a company, and he asked me to collaborate with him. So when Gaia was three-four months old, I started working with him from home because he didn't have an office. I worked with him until eight months into my second pregnancy. Then, when Seba was six months old, he came looking for me again because, in the meantime, he had found other clients, bigger ones, and had opened an agency with an office and everything, and was looking for a person with my profile. So I started working with him again. [10F39]

Integration into the host context appears higher in the case of mixed couples and couples with children. In the case of mixed couples, the Colombian partner is an agent of acculturation, allowing them to get to know local culture, traditions, rituals, and practices. With their inclusion in the local community and educational and recreational paths, the children strengthen social capital by opening up networks of more or less strong relationships with Colombians. On the contrary, in the case of Italian couples, some signs of cultural resistance emerge against, for example, the formalism of Colombian culture:

> There is an extreme respect for social classes, hierarchies, and foreigners. So, in Argentina and Italy, it is very easy for a person who is at a lower level of the social hierarchy to say no, to contradict you, to say, "I don't agree with this. I would do it a different way." Here, it's impossible, and very often, if someone asks you to do something, they say yes, even though they already know they can't do it. They can't say no, though, and, to me, this thing, culturally, kind of weighs. [10F39]

Such signs of cultural resistance do not seem sufficient to question the permanence of migration, which is a common feature of all members of this group who, for different reasons—some related to the inclusion of their children in the landing con-

text, others to the creation of a Colombian identity, and still others to the standard of living in Colombia—do not consider a return to their homeland to be feasible:

> I wouldn't uproot my children after elementary school so many times in so many places because, in my opinion, as they get older, it's a little bit more difficult to uproot, to uproot in order to then, let's say, replant somewhere else with a different language, a different culture. [10F39]

> So, I live in District Five, which is a district that allows you to have certain comforts. You feel that you live in a world where you can have a car, where you can move around well, and you can take a vacation. In Italy, I see that one has to have a lot of money to afford this. [23F57]

Discussion and Conclusion

This paper was aimed at a typological analysis able to classify migratory profiles based on aspirations and social networks supporting migration inception and stabilization based on the narratives produced by the migrants themselves.

Indeed, migration can be seen as (a) a refuge from the difficulties encountered in Italy; (b) a means to achieve career opportunities; (c) a resource to improve the quality of life of the couple or family; (d) a way to realize the normative ideal of mobility. On the other hand, the migratory path may have been triggered or supported by (i) strong ties, those of a sentimental or family nature; (ii) weak ties, that is, personal contacts matured in the workplace or leisure time; (iii) no ties at all—in this case, the migrant was involved in open recruitment procedures whose information was available in normal job search channels.

Five profiles of migrants emerge who are driven by different aspirations—independence, revenge, career, family, mobility—and supported or not by different types of social ties. The role of mediators appears to be relevant for 4 out of 5 types of migrants, but the nature of such ties ranges from family to friends and professional ties. Instead, the international openness of *globetrotters* allows them to cope autonomously with the physical, cultural, and political distance of Colombia.

The most integrated in the host context, who over time have managed to enter extended and multicultural networks of relationships, appear to be the *tied migrants* supported by the presence of a (Colombian) partner, the *globetrotters*, helped by their multicultural propensity, and the *risk-takers*, supported by their entrepreneurial activity that often allows them to meet many natives.

The study shows how aspirations and social ties can embrace a more multifaceted view of non-standard migration (not from economically deprived world regions). They help to overcome the view of migration as the result of a calculated rational choice and instead view it as an assemblage of aspirations and social infrastructures.

Different mixes of aspirations and social infrastructures move different migration paths with different outcomes. *Globetrotters* aspire to international mobility with no mediators supporting their process of continuous migration; *careerists* accept temporarily moving on demand of their company for advancing their career supported by professional mediators; *risk-takers* are moved by professional independence, supported by weak ties in their permanent migration process; *tied migrants* aspire to better family quality of life and are supported by strong familial ties, which

facilitate high integration and long-term stability; finally, *exiled migrants*, thanks to their strong professional ties, find a temporary refuge from the difficulties they encounter in Italy (see Table 2).

Although different aspirations shaped their migratory moves, all migrants seem to share the ambition for high levels of self-determination and self-realization. Social ties constitute a strong supporting infrastructure in this migration flow, where the lack of physical infrastructures would shape immobility (Maddaloni and Delli Paoli 2023). They help overcome transportation difficulties (the lack of direct air connections), regulatory difficulties (state procedures for working, licensing, studying, training, etc.), and the uncertainty deriving from media misrepresentation of the destination. In this way, they also help to draw positive imaginaries of the destination (Salazar 2014).

From this perspective, aspirations need not be viewed as something people either have or do not have. The conventional view would imply that if aspirations to move are present, actors would move. Otherwise, they would stay in their place of origin. Indeed, aspirations are blurred and multiple and derive from individual bricolage work in one's biography and life course. Our typology is not without limitations typical of any conceptual classifications, too abstract to catch the ever-changing nature of social reality. Actual individual mobility pathways are in continuous redefinition because the importance of specific aspirations and desires changes over the course of migration, making migration and post-migration difficult to isolate. This challenges the mutual exclusivity of the typology due to the mixture that is realized in the migration path between the motivations at departure and those that take over afterward, in the post-migration phase. Some examples may serve to explain the concept better. *Globetrotters* who aspire to know the new world or *risk-takers* aspiring to their professional independence may meet a Colombian partner and take the traits of *tied migrants*. This is also the case with some tied migrants who, to survive in the host country, decide to implement entrepreneurial projects that take on some characteristics of *risk-takers*.

Table 2. A short description of the 5 types of migrants

	Careerists	**Risk-Takers**	**Tied**	**Exiled**	**Globetrotters**
N	3	8	10	5	5
Aspirations	Career advancements	Professional independence	Family well-being	Professional revenge	International mobility
Integration	Low	High	High	Medium	High
Network	Homogeneous	Heterogeneous	Heterogeneous	Homogeneous	Heterogeneous
Mediators	*Relocation specialists*	Weak ties	Strong familiar ties	Strong professional ties	No ties
Migratory prospects	Temporary migration	Permanent migration	Permanent migration	Temporary migration	Continuous migration

Source: Self-elaboration.

In conclusion, aspirations cannot be viewed in static terms. They may increase, decrease, or change due to migration because migrants are exposed to new opportunities and lifestyles or fail to realize their life aspirations in their new destination.

The same can be said about the changing role of social networks and ties at different stages of the migrant's journey. For example, strong ties may enable individual mobility from Italy to Colombia but may not be sufficient in the search for a job.

Social researchers should consider the changing nature of these important dimensions of the migrants' lifeworlds to respect the complexity of migration.

References

Armano, Emiliana and Annalisa Murgia, eds. 2014. *Generazione precaria: Nuovi lavori e processi di soggettivazione* [*Precarious Generation: New Jobs and Processes of Subjectivation*]. Bologna: I Libri di Emil.

Barbieri, Paolo and Stefani Scherer. 2009. "Labour Market Flexibilization and Its Consequences in Italy." *European Sociological Review* 3:677-692.

Bauder, Harald, Charity-Ann Hannan, and Omar Lujan. 2016. "International Experience in the Academic Field: Knowledge Production, Symbolic Capital, and Mobility Fetishism." *Population, Space, and Place* 23(6):e2040.

Benson, Michaela. 2015. "Lifestyle Migration: From the State of the Art to the Future of the Field." *Two Homelands* 42:9-23.

Benson, Michaela and Karen O'Reilly. 2009. "Migration and the Search for a Better Way of Life: A Critical Exploration of Lifestyle Migration." *The Sociological Review* 57:608-625.

Benson, Michaela and Karen O'Reilly. 2015. "From Lifestyle Migration to Lifestyle in Migration: Categories, Concepts, and Ways of Thinking." *Migration Studies* 4(1):20-37.

Benson, Michaela and Nick Osbaldiston. 2014. "New Horizons in Lifestyle Migration Research: Theorizing Movement, Settlement, and the Search for a Better Way of Life." Pp. 1-25 in *Understanding Lifestyle Migration. Theoretical Approaches to Migration and the Quest for a Better Way of Life*, edited by M. Benson and N. Osbaldiston. London: Palgrave.

Carling, Jørgen and Francis Collins. 2018. "Aspiration, Desire, and Drivers of Migration." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 44(6):909-926.

Carling, Jørgen and Kerylin Schewel. 2018. "Revisiting Aspiration and Ability in International Migration." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 44(6):945-963.

Clerge, Orly et al. 2017. "'I Would Really Like to Go Where You Go': Rethinking Migration Decision-Making among Educated Tied Movers." *Population, Space & Place* 23(2):1-12.

Cohen, Scott A., Tara Duncan, and Maria Thulemark. 2013. "Lifestyle Mobilities: The Crossroads of Travel, Leisure, and Migration." *Mobilities* 10(1):155-172.

Collins, Francis L. 2017. "Desire as a Theory for Migration Studies: Temporality, Assemblage, and Becoming in the Narratives of Migrants." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 44(6):964-980.

Czaika, Mathias and Constantin Reinprecht. 2022. "Migration Drivers: Why Do People Migrate?" Pp. 49-82 in *Introduction to Migration Studies*, edited by P. Scholten. Cham: Springer.

Delanty, Gerard. 2006. "The Cosmopolitan Imagination: Critical Cosmopolitanism and Social Theory." *The British Journal of Sociology* 57:25-47.

Düvell, Franck and Carlotta Preiss. 2022. "Migration Infrastructures: How Do People Migrate?" Pp. 83-98 in *Introduction*

to Migration Studies. An Interactive Guide to the Literatures on Migration and Diversity, edited by P. Scholten. Cham: Springer.

Elliott, Anthony and John Urry. 2010. *Mobile Lives*. London: Routledge.

Erlinghagen, Marcel. 2021. "Love in Motion: Migration Patterns of Internationally Mobile Couples." *Population, Space & Place* 27(2):e2382.

Gadamer, Hans G. 1975. *Truth and Method*. New York: Seabury Press.

Giulietti, Corrado, Jackline Wahba, and Yves Zenou. 2018. "Strong Versus Weak Ties in Migration." *European Economic Review* 104:111-137.

Glaser, Barney S. and Anselm L. Strauss. 1967. *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*. Aldershot: Aldine.

Glick-Schiller, Nina and Noel B. Salazar. 2012. "Regimes of Mobility Across the Globe." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 39(2):183-200.

Gu, Chien-Ju. 2012. "Contextualizing Vocabularies of Motive in International Migration: The Case of Taiwanese in the United States." *International Migration* 52(2):158-177.

Hannerz, Ulf. 1990. "Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture." *Theory, Culture and Society* 7:237-251.

Jensen, Peter and Peder J. Pedersen. 2007. "To Stay or Not to Stay? Out-Migration of Immigrants from Denmark." *International Migration* 45(5):87-112.

Maddaloni, Domenico and Angela Delli Paoli. 2023. "Determinantes e infraestructuras de la migración: el papel de los mediadores y las redes en la migración italiana a Bogotá [Determinants and Infrastructures of the Migration: The role of Mediators and Networks in the Italian Migration to Bogota]." *Cultura latinoamericana* 37(1):127-146.

Massey, Douglas et al. 1993. "Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal." *Population and Development Review* 19(3):431-466.

Meyer, Frank. 2018. "Navigating Aspirations and Expectations: Adolescents' Considerations of Outmigration from Rural Eastern Germany." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 44(6):1032-1049.

Montesperelli, Paolo. 1998. *L'intervista ermeneutica* [*The Hermeneutic Interview*]. Milano: FrancoAngeli.

Przytuła, Sylwia. 2015. "Migrants, Assigned Expatriates (AE), and Self-Initiated Expatriates (SIE)—Differentiation of Terms and Literature-Based Research Review." *Journal of Intercultural Management* 7(2):89-111.

Ray, Debraj. 2006. "Aspirations, Poverty, and Economic Change." Pp. 409-421 in *Aspirations, Poverty, and Economic Change*, edited by A. V. Banerjee, R. Bénabou, and D. Mookherjee. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Salazar, Noel B. 2011. "The Power of Imagination in Transnational Mobilities." *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 18(6):576-598.

Salazar, Noel B. 2014. "Migrating Imaginaries of a Better Life ... Until Paradise Finds You." Pp. 119-138 in *Understanding Lifestyle Migration*, edited by D. Benson and N. Osbaldiston. London: Palgrave.

Schapendonk, Joris. 2015. "What if Networks Move? Dynamic Social Networking in the Context of African Migration to Europe." *Population, Space, and Place* 21(8):809-819.

Schapendonk, Joris. 2018. "Navigating the Migration Industry: Migrants Moving through an African-European Web of Facilitation/Control." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 44:663-679.

Scheibelhofer, Elisabeth. 2018. "Shifting Migration Aspirations in Second Modernity." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 44(6):999-1014.

Silverman, David. 2010. *Doing Qualitative Research: A Practical Handbook. 4th edition*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Silverman, David. 2015. *Interpreting Qualitative Data. 5th edition*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Silvey, Rachel. 2004. "Power, Difference, and Mobility: Feminist Advances in Migration Studies." *Progress in Human Geography* 28(4):490-506.

Timmerman, Christiane, Kenneth Hemmerechts, and Marie-Lou De Clerck. 2014. "The Relevance of a 'Culture of Migration' in Understanding Migration Aspirations in Contemporary Turkey." *Turkish Studies* 15(3):496-518.

Urry, John. 2002. "Mobility and Proximity." *Sociology* 36(2):255-274.

Van Hear, Nicholas, Olivia Bakewell, and Katy Long. 2018. "Push-Pull Plus: Reconsidering the Drivers of Migration." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 44(6):927-944.

Verwiebe, Roland et al. 2010. "Skilled German Migrants and Their Motives for Migration within Europe." *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 11:273-293.

Xiang, Biao and Johann Lindquist. 2014. "Migration Infrastructure." *International Migration Review* 48:S122-S148.

Zapata-Barrero, Ricard and Evren Yalaz, eds. 2018. *Qualitative Research in European Migration Studies*. Cham: Springer.

Citation

Delli Paoli, Angela and Domenico Maddaloni. 2025. "Aspirations and Networks of Italian Migrants to Bogota. A Typology." *Qualitative Sociology Review* 21(1):6-26. Retrieved Month, Year (http://www.qualitativesociologyreview.org/ENG/archive_eng.php). DOI: https://doi.org/10.18778/1733-8077.21.1.01

Sing A Song for Home: How Displaced Iranian Song-Writers in LA Conceive of Home and Homeland

Pouya Morshedi
Memorial University, Canada

Lisa-Jo K. van den Scott
Memorial University, Canada

DOI: https://doi.org/10.18778/1733-8077.21.1.02

Keywords:
Home; Diaspora; Music; Iran; Ethnographic Content Analysis

Abstract: We ask how being apart from home impacts the very definition of home. We conducted a content analysis of songs produced by Iranians who have left their first "home" in Iran and resettled in Los Angeles. Our findings suggest that distance from one's home expands the definition and image of home from a structure where one dwells and calls home, to an imagined community at the personal (home family), local (hometown), and regional (homeland) levels. The 1979 revolution in Iran caused many people, including singers and songwriters, to immigrate. Many of them moved to Europe and North America. We analyzed songs from 1979 to 1999, produced in Los Angeles, as the heart of Iranian pop music after the revolution, focusing on the concept of "home." Four main themes emerged: the "body of the home," which includes windows, niches, and gardens; "homeland as home;" "home and family;" "home as a heaven to remember and a haven for return," which involves home as a place for making memories and recalling them and home as a retreat. We explain how these themes are related to Iran's situation post-revolution, the image of the Iranian home, and the singers' situation in Los Angeles after the revolution. The most significant finding is the relationship between home and homeland. Songs use home as a metaphor for the homeland, even when describing the body of the home. The sadness about the destroyed home, hope to return to home, and the tendency to come back to their mother (or motherland) point to the singers' emotions about their homeland. The distance from home has changed the conceptualization of "home." The borders of home are not around the songwriters' houses or intimate families anymore, but they are around the homeland.

Pouya Morshedi is a Ph.D. candidate (ABD) in sociology at Memorial University of Newfoundland and Labrador. He is a qualitative researcher specializing in the sociology of space and place, the sociology of cinema, and the sociology of revolution. Pouya is one of the co-organizers of the *Qualitative Analysis Conference* from 2022. He also serves as the chair of the Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion Committee at the *Society for the Study of Symbolic Interaction* (SSSI). Pouya is one of the co-founders of Avalon Research Society.

email address: pmorshedi@mun.ca

Lisa-Jo K. van den Scott is an Associate Professor at Memorial University. Her interests include time and place in our everyday lives. She has introduced the concepts of "spatial fusion" and "spatial fission" to talk about how we conceptualize spaces as the same or distinct places. She has also studied public performances of social deaths and has coined the term "eulogy work" to talk about the emotional labor of publicly framing one's social death as a good death. She co-authored *Qualitative Research in Action* and her book, *Walled-In: Arctic Housing and a Sociology of Walls*, came out in 2024. She is currently the editor-in-chief of *Symbolic Interaction*.

email address: lvandenscott@mun.ca

I close my eyes and listen to the sounds of home. Some of the music I listen to is from Iran, some are songs written about Iran by those who also close their eyes and dream of home. But what is home for a migrant? It is neither a static concept nor easy to define.

We ask how time and distance from "home" change the concept of home. Nostalgia impinges on memories to varying degrees. Family locations shift and change. We ask how being apart from home impacts the very definition of home. We conducted a content analysis of songs produced by Iranians who have left their first "home" in Iran and resettled in Los Angeles. Our findings suggest that distance from one's home expands the definition of home from a structure where one dwells and calls home to an imagined community at the personal (home family), local (hometown), and regional (homeland) levels.

The concept of "home" is fundamental in Iran. The home belongs to the family, and it is a place to produce, cultivate, and curate traditions and ways of life (Paymanfar and Zamani 2022), including language—even in the diaspora (Gharibi and Seals 2020). In addition to emphasizing characteristics of the home, such as warmth and coziness, and processual elements, such as the enactment of home through interaction, Minou Gharebaglou, Hamed Beyti, and Shole Rezaei (2022) discuss the sense of home in Iran along three indices: physical-spatial, collective-behavioral, and attitudinal-perceptual. Critical studies of home in Iran argue for the importance of semi-private, everyday places for women to build networks and community (Mokhles and Sunikka-Blank 2022). Scholars point to the importance of spatial layout in the experience of home (Gharebaglou et al. 2022; Mokhles and Sunikka-Blank 2022; Paymanfar and Zamani 2022), including the importance of dying at home (Portorani, Dehghan, and Mangolian Shahrbabaki 2022). One excellent critical work stresses the importance of evaluating social-structural elements, such as economic sanctions, by looking at the home (Shahrokni 2023). Nazanin Shahrokni

(2023:295) defines the "shock-absorbing role of the household" and how this deepens patriarchal gender dimensions. Some critical work bemoans the loss of traditional ways of living with the influence of globalization and Westernization (Abdollahyan and Mohammadi 2020; Paymanfar and Zamani 2022), and their work is tinged with a similar nostalgia to North America's nostalgia and romanticization of rural life. In short, scholars do find that a stronger *sense* of home has a positive impact in Iran, specifically. These studies, however, all focus on the home as the dwelling and the site of family in Iran. What of the sense of home for immigrants who have left Iran?

Studies focusing on a sense of home in the Iranian diaspora have findings that do indeed evoke the pang of longing for a past sense of home, but studies shift the attention to individual feelings about Iran-as-home (e.g., Ranjbar 2022; Didehvar and Wada 2023), rather than looking at the dwelling-level sense of home, as local Iranian studies do (with the notable exception of Mohammadi 2023). Marie Ranjbar (2022:723) argues that, due to political circumstances and ongoing policies, Iranians in the U.S. find themselves in a double-bind where "in situ displacement becomes a defining feature of life." Mina Didehvar and Kaori Wada (2023) extend this focus on the individual experience of displacement. They point out that the literature over-pathologizes difficulties immigrants have in adjusting to new homes and argue that feelings of not-being-at-home are actually linked to the existential crises they face. Didehvar and Wada make a strong case that dismissing the feeling of not-being-at-home as simply an adjustment issue distracts from the real source of the problem. However, we still remain in the realm of individual troubles rather than social problems.

Being at home and having a place to call home play a crucial role in Iranian life. By studying songs of Iranian immigrants in LA, we look to the social processes of (re)presenting and (re)constructing home from afar. Songs embody particularly important data as oral language is particularly salient in the Iranian diaspora as a link to culture and identity (Gharibi and Seals 2020).

The 1979 revolution caused many people, including singers and songwriters, to immigrate. They had to leave their home and homeland to continue their art, primarily moving to Europe and North America. Many of these musicians settled in Los Angeles and, as a result, it became the heart of Iranian popular music outside of Iran. In the first years after the revolution, as new migrants to the U.S., they had to work to slowly establish a musical scene. After a short time, music production companies started producing their works professionally, such as Taraneh Records, Caltex Records, and Avang Music. Singers and songwriters came back to their art again. In addition to love songs, a standard topic for Iranian music, they also produced many songs about their home and homeland. In this paper, we argue that the elements of home in their songs describe how they conceive of home and how migration influences that understanding. This is in tension with how the metaphor of "home" in the narrative in Iran is a mechanism to deploy narratives of "reform and nation" (de Groot 2015:801). We analyze songs from 1979 to 1999 and ask: Which elements are essential to the concept of "home" for Iranian songwriters? How does being distant from home impinge on the definition and imagery of home?

Let us first discuss the extant literature on home, beyond Iran, collective memory and collective for-

getting, and how music production and diaspora are interrelated. As we review the literature, we will pay particular attention to what non-Western, and particularly Iranian scholars, have to say in relation to their Western counterparts.

What Is Home?

In this section, we explore the various sides of the concept of "home." While a home begins with the basic necessity of shelter, reducing the meaning of home to protection or a building prevents us from understanding the concept of home—its social meaning, home-making practices, and the sense of home all impact lived experience. Peter Saunders and Peter Williams (1988) state that home is something more than bricks and mortar, and certainly most people have experienced a yearning for something we call "home," but that is somehow more than shelter. Home is a context for particular social relations and activities that revolve around its social meaning. To illustrate this, the Finnish architect Juhani Pallasmaa distinguishes between home and house (Shirazi 2012), adopting a phenomenological approach to the experience of home. The first author has called this difference "home's spirit" (Morshedi 2015). Home is an interactional process (Boccagni and Kusenbach 2020), which is emergent from our social actions and the meanings we ascribe to those actions. It is also an ideal toward which we strive (Boccagni and Kusenbach 2020).

A sense of home emerges when people who live in a house engage in communication with both the place and the people therein. Home is related to family members, their way of life, their memories, and their sense of belonging to the place. As Robert Ginsberg (1999) states, human beings are homemakers. People need to live in a dwelling to make it home. We can extrapolate that residences are where people live, and their home is how they are, how they live, and how they conceptualize belonging and place. Margarethe Kusenbach and Krista Paulsen (2019) explain that you may not even own a place legally, but due to your interactions, time-in-place, and experiences, you may have a sense of home there. Gharebaglou, Beyti, and Rezaei (2022) demonstrate that a sense of home can be created for older people in residential homes by ensuring they each have enough privacy, interaction, and physical cues of belonging (such as personal memorabilia). Certainly, Jennifer Cross (2015) emphasizes time, place, and cultural experience in her framework of how we develop place attachment.

Of course, the size of a home is not equal to the house's size. A home can be as small as a garden or as big as a country:

> House is one of the greatest powers of integration for the thoughts, memories, and dreams of mankind. The binding principle in this integration is the daydream. Past, present, and future give the house different dynamisms, which often interfere, at times opposing, at others, stimulating one another. [Bachelard 1969:28]

Therefore, we cannot restrict the concept of home to a building structure. As Pallasmaa states, home is a view of personality, family, and unique patterns of their lives, and concludes that the essence of the home is closer to life than an artificial phenomenon (Shirazi 2012). Architects, as artists, create artwork that can be a house. However, home is something more than that artwork because it is a place to "live." Since home is an idea, even

an idealized goal, we work toward home as an achievement. Home, then, becomes a set of ideas that guide our home-making practices—practices that cannot always realize the goal of home or feeling at home. However, we strive to *perform* home interactionally as we move through our everyday landscapes.

Tim Cresswell (1996) argues about being in place or out of place. To illustrate the discussion of being out of place, he states that sometimes home is not the traditionally idealized image of home, with spouse, children, and family of various kinds. The concept of home can also include home-as-homeland—England, in Cresswell's example. We are particularly interested in this relationship between home and homeland. When does the concept of home expand to include country? How does the relationship between home and homeland emerge in Iranian immigrant songs?

Persian uses the same word for both home and house—*khaane*.[1] Houses, in the Iranian context, have a destiny: becoming home. The "home's spirit" changes a house into a home. This relates to the idea of home as a process (Boccagni and Kusenbach 2020). Home plays a crucial role in a person's identity because home indicates that a person belongs to a place. Therefore, home is not only a place to dwell but is also the basis for community members' identities (Relph 1976). When living "at home," whatever that may mean for each person, people perform home and work toward aligning their experience with their vision of home. However, we argue that when migrants must leave their *khaane*, their sense of home, a sense of previous identity and belonging expands to include their homeland. The concept of home separates from *khaane* and expands to include nostalgia. How can one work toward achieving home when home has been left behind? Home expands, in this experience, to include neighborhoods, regions, and home nations. It is, therefore, no surprise that home is a significant and recurring theme in the songs of immigrants.

Thomas Gieryn (2000) sees the place as a space filled up by people, practices, objects, and representations. Artistic representations play crucial roles in the process of place-making. These representations are both influenced by the collective memory and take part in shaping the collective memory, particularly when that collective memory engages with nostalgia. In this research, we examine the collective memory of home for migrant Iranians, some of whom have been exiled, and the representation of home in their songs. These contemporary representations of a past home, which includes homeland, may shape and change the collective memory of Iranians abroad about home.

Music, Diaspora, and Exile

One of the main push factors for Iranian immigrants is social and political change that forces people to leave their homeland and find another place to live (Naghdi 2010; Atashi 2018; Mohammadi 2023). Wars, revolutions, coup d'états, civil wars, and genocides are some of these big changes that spread people all over the world. The twentieth century was a century of revolutions. Revolutions took place in Iran, Cuba, Russia, and China, among other places. These revolutions caused tremendous amounts of movement, changing the

[1] In Persian (Farsi): خانه

global ethnoscape (Appadurai 1990), with each displaced community forming its idioculture (Fine 1979). These immigrants may not be able to carry all their material assets, but they bring their culture to the new place. They still have their stories to tell, their song to sing, and their way of life to live. They also produce new cultural objects, such as songs, in the new place.

Joseph Kotarba, Jennifer Fackler, and Kathryn Nowotny (2009) studied musical scenes in several different settings. They emphasize two findings relevant to our work here. First, they build on John Irwin's (1977) work on "scene." They demonstrate that scenes comprise complex and comprehensive social worlds, deeply meaningful in the everyday lives of many groups, with implications for identity (Shank 1994) and a sense of belonging (Kotarba, Fackler, and Nowotny 2009). Through music, we find our place—literally and figuratively. Hence, Kotarba and colleagues (2009:310) also emphasize how music scenes help to create spaces where migrants can "anchor the self in reference to country of origin, present music communities, or possible symbolic locations." In this sense, L.A., for many Iranians, becomes the place in which to dream of Iran as home. Iranian singers have established L.A., through the music scene, as *the* place for conceptualizing home as larger than a house—as a home country. This echoes Sara Cohen's (1995) focus on the role of music-making in place-making.

This process is intertwined with the political situation of migrants, of course. Horacio Sierra (2018) has worked on nostalgia and identity in the music of three famous Cuban-American singers. He states that the singers describe Cuba before the revolution as an Edenic past and hope to have a future based on that history. In the case of Iran's 1979 revolution, Los Angeles became the center of Iranian immigration and, consequently, of Iranian pop music. The social and political reasons behind their immigration mean that most singers and songwriters are positioned against the revolution and its consequences. This amplifies the sense of nostalgia as they strive to remember a time-before, as well as a place-far-away—not just Iran, but pre-revolution Iran, as their homeland.

The effect of the songwriters' and singers' artworks may not be restricted to outside of their homeland. James Roberson (2010) states that the songs that have been made outside Okinawa, Japan, about returning to this city not only play a role in the diaspora space but are also a part of the homeland's cultural memory. Therefore, the content of immigrant artists' works is quite relevant materials inside the homeland's culture. Here, however, we are concerned with the theme of home in these musician's works as we are specifically interested in how home is performed, remade, and reimagined post-migration.

Methodology

To answer research questions about song, home, and migration, we analyze the lyrics of songs produced in Los Angeles by Iranian immigrants after the 1979 revolution. We adopt the Ethnographic Content Analysis (ECA) approach because of its inductive nature (Altheide and Schneider 2013). Reducing data, being systematic, and being flexible are the main characteristics of this method (Schreier 2013). Since there is a huge amount of lyrics coming from different points of view, qual-

itative content analysis characteristics let us manage these data to be able to read for themes and subthemes. The two main procedures of qualitative content analysis are inductive category development and inductive category application (Mayring 2000). In this paper, we used inductive category development so that we would not be constrained in our findings to our imaginations and categories suggested by the literature. Rather than formulating the categories before the analysis, they emerged inductively during our analysis.

At the beginning of this research, we decided to select songs that were published from 1979 to 1989 to specifically be able to capture the connection to home for those who had been exiled during and after the 1979 revolution. During the data collection, we realized that singers had not produced many songs in the first few years after the revolution. First and foremost, singers had immigrated recently and needed time to adapt to a new country and build resources to start producing their artistic works. Second was the Iran-Iraq war, during the early and mid-1980s, which influenced all Iranian artistic activities, even outside Iran, especially during the first years of that war. Consequently, we decided to extend the period of the study until 1999. The reform era in Iran started in 1997. It brought many cultural and political changes to Iranian society, which affected Iranians inside and outside of Iran. We decided on 1999 as our endpoint because it captures many changes that did not come immediately after the political change (i.e., the reform era that began in 1997). This provided enough material to analyze, and also capture, the initial outputs of Iranian musicians in the first years in their newly-settled homes.

The next step was choosing the songs. We used theoretical sampling to address the research questions. In the first wave, we selected the songs that had the word "home" in their titles. ECA requires constant comparison between data and concepts, leading researchers to reflect on their sampling and analysis. This led us to our second wave of sampling. Next, we included songs that had the word "Iran" or synonyms for "homeland" in their titles. We hoped they might have mentioned home in these songs, too, which they most often did. In the third wave, we explored the songs of fifteen famous Iranian singers who had relocated outside Iran. In the end, we had 35 songs to analyze. We coded broadly according to the research questions, allowing surprising things to emerge inductively as they related to home, homeland, and related topics. This generated 11 primary categories (Table 1).

Table 1. Primary categories

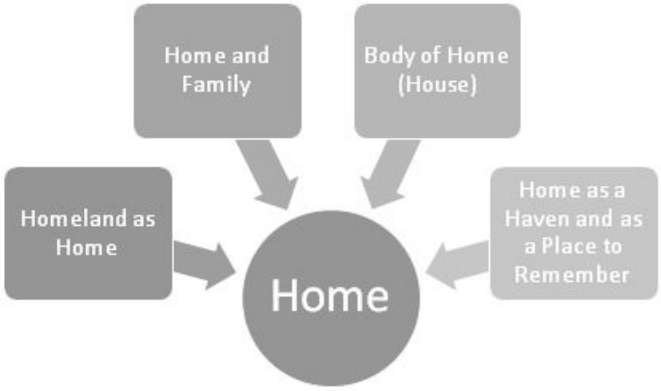
Primary Categories		
Home as a haven	Home and mother	Homeland as home
Belonging to home	Home as a place of memory	Home and windows
Destroyed home	Home and father	Home and niche
Home as a place to return	Home and garden	

Source: Self-elaboration.

The next step was organizing the primary categories into related category groups while at the

same time expanding the coding of the (now) sub-categories to include fine details. So, some of the primary categories became the subcategories of bigger ones. We wound up with four main categories (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Main categories



Source: Self-elaboration.

We now turn to a discussion of the main themes and findings, and illustrate the concept of home in the context of Iran and Iranian pop music. Please note that the first author translated the songs, and we present the translated English for our readership. These data demonstrate the main finding of this article—how the concept of home expands to include hometown and homeland when people find themselves located in a country other than their homeland.

Findings

In this section, we illustrate each of the main categories that emerged—the body of home, homeland as home, home and family, home as a heaven to remember and a haven for return. We will explain how these categories relate to Iran's situation after the 1979 revolution and elaborate on the concept of Iranian home and singers' situation in Los Angeles after migrating. First, we start with the body of the home, which is a tangible aspect of a home.

The Body of the Home

This theme is directly related to a house as a home. In this section, we discuss the spaces and elements that are mentioned in songs as spaces of a home. Courtyards, gardens, rooms, niches, windows, water fountains, and other spaces of a house are examples of physical components of a home that feature in Iranian-LA songs. We discuss the spaces that occur most often and also work as symbols for the homeland's situation, a love relationship, or a person's mood. Gardens, windows, and niches were among the most common and also served as symbols that embody, in the home, broader emotions. Let us start by discussing the role of gardens.

Songwriters have pointed out the garden as a specifically meaningful space in a home. This is evident in songs that directly and indirectly refer to the house. An Iranian garden hosts plants, flowers, and trees and is an important and substantial part of a traditional Iranian home. These gardens show the vitality of the home and the people who live there. Songwriters depict the flowers and trees of a home's garden as being in a bad situation when they want to portray a bad situation about themselves or Iran. For instance, in the below love song, the songwriters demonstrate her sadness by describing the illness of flowers in the garden.

> Home is suffering from the silence; oh I missed you
> I see the flowers in the garden are colorless; oh, I missed you.[2]

In another song, the songwriter illustrates the relationship between himself and his beloved one by describing the flowers in the flower pot.

> The dried flowers in the flowerpot tell us about the pain
> It informs us about the separation and the cold life.[3]

Flowers, plants, and even trees stood out as living things that replaced people in these lyrics. They echo the emotions of interactions, sadness, happiness, hope, and the lack of hope among people. Because of the central nature of gardens as part of an Iranian home (Paymanfar and Zamani 2022), wilting flowers in the garden are a powerful element of storytelling. The health of a home's participants is reflected in the health of a garden.

Windows are another common element in Iranian-LA songs. Windows provide a possibility to have visual communication with a yard, garden, or alley. Also, windows let sunlight go through the home. This communication is important in Iranian homes because the Iranian home gets its meaning through communication with the yard and neighborhood. Although this way of life is threatened in current Iran (Abdollahyan and Mohammadi 2020), traditional homes are alive and well in the nostalgia of immigrant songs. Windows are a tool to conduct the communication that embeds a house in a community, key for a sense of home in traditional homes.

In the lyrics below, the songwriter mentions the existence of thousands of windows on the wall as a symbol of a good quality of life. This symbol is intertwined with nostalgia about a home that "existed," but does not exist anymore.

> I won't forget those days
> The wall of the house was full of windows
> Our neighbors were the sea, the stars, and the landscape.[4]

This quote demonstrates the fundamental importance of widows as avenues for the sight of and communication with the surroundings, establishing an idyllic sense of nostalgia and home.

This relationship between window, home, and life is not restricted to the nostalgia and the home that songwriters left. It is also evident in songs that talk about the life of exiled songwriters in the new place. This songwriter talks about how he looks for a window to connect him to life.

> I am looking for an empty room for days so we can leave here
> I look for an empty room where the scent of a dewy bush flower passes its window
> where the wail of a mournful reed passes its window
> I am looking for an empty room for days so we can leave here.[5]

Here, the value of a window is in its ability to create ties beyond the room. Gazing out of a window

[2] *Delam Tangeh* (*I Miss You*), 1993, Singer: Mahasti, Songwriter: Jahanbakhsh Pazooki, Composer: Jahanbakhsh Pazooki.

[3] *Khooneh* (*Home*), 1988, Singer: Moein, Songwriter: Jahanbakhsh Pazooki, Composer: Jahanbakhsh Pazooki.

[4] *Khooneh* (*Home*), 1991, Singer: Dariush, Songwriter: Iraj Janatie Ataie, Composer: Babak Bayat.

[5] *Otaghe Khali* (*The Empty Room*), 1997, Singer: Shahrokh, Songwriter: Masoud Fardmanesh, Composer: Masoud Fardmanesh.

at a flower or reed connects people with their surroundings, giving the space meaning as an interconnected space.

A surprising element of the house in Iranian-LA songs was the niche. They mention niches as places where they display the holy book (either the Qu'ran or books of poetry by Hafez or others), pictures, flower boxes, mirrors, and candlesticks. The niche is a place for things that are important, memorable, sacred, or related to the concept of family. Iranian homes have niches visible in the main spaces of the home. They are a specific feature of Iranian architecture, which makes them key elements of nostalgia in remembering the body and shape of the home. Songwriters, therefore, leverage their meaning to stress embodied memory in the home.

As an example, mirrors and candlesticks are things related to Iranian weddings that are often stored and displayed in a niche. These mirrors and candlesticks are valuable for couples.

> The home has thousands of memories
> It reminds me of my childhood, money box, and gifts
> The flower box of Jasmin and violets in the garden
> Mother's mirror and candlestick on the niche.[6]

In these lyrics, the songwriter turns to the mirror and candlesticks in the niche to close a section of particularly strong nostalgia. Of course, these categories overlap and in this quote, you can also see how the home embodies memories and even childhood. The garden, which would have been visible through a window, and the niche work together in this lyric as the embodied home of the past.

In another lyric, the songwriter intertwines the process of returning home and putting old pictures on the niche.

> It's time for someone to take me home
> To put my old pictures on the niche.[7]

Singing about the niche invokes a space to remember the past, placing the songwriter in their past home, engaging with the niche as embodied memory.

The body of a house, different spaces of a house, and the interrelationships of these different spaces speak, in song, to the situation of the exiled or displaced songwriter, their homeland (Iran), their romantic relationships, and even the process of homemaking. The body of the house embodies the nostalgia and memories of home. Putting pictures in the niche, taking care of plants, and communicating with the world through windows are examples of this homemaking process. There are other spaces, such as verandahs, that songwriters also mentioned in these lyrics, following a similar pattern of memory and embodiment. However, we now shift our discussion to the homeland as a home.

Homeland as Home

Many Iranian pop singers, songwriters, and composers had to immigrate after the 1979 revolution. The most important reason for immigration was that they could not continue their work in Iran anymore. The new regime, which consisted of several Islamic clergies with varying degrees of pow-

[6] *Bahar Bahar* (*Spring! Spring!*), 1991, Singer: Hayedeh, Songwriter: Mohammad Heydari, Composer: Mohammad Heydari.

[7] *Khane'am* (*My Home*), 1996, Singer: Hassan Shamaizadeh, Songwriter: Hassan Shamaizadeh, Composer: Hassan Shamaizadeh.

er, had a serious problem with music. From the regime's perspective, music should be forbidden in an Islamic country. However, the Islamic clergies grouped under the regime's broader umbrella had different interpretations of Islam's approach to music. Some genres of music, such as traditional music, were able to continue after the revolution as a consequence of the ongoing debate on prohibition/non-prohibition of music in Islam, while other genres, such as pop music, were restricted or forbidden. Pop music was an especially targeted genre by both sides of Islamic clergies because of its relationship to Western music and a perceived lack of spirituality. This started changing in the second decade of the Islamic Republic regime (1990s) and gradually led to some production of pop music inside Iran, especially during the reform era (1997) and beyond. The music we examine was composed outside of Iran, in LA, after the revolution, and before the reform era (1979-1997, plus two years where things were in limbo, so to 1999).

We categorize pre-revolution pop singers, songwriters, and composers into three groups. First are those who left the country before the revolution victory day (February 11, 1979) and did not actually experience living in Iran under the new regime governance. Second are those who tried to escape from the country in the early days of the new regime. Some were successful on their first escape attempt, and some were not. The ones who could not escape had to stay without any permission to work, record, or engage in music. Many of these musical artists were also captured and interrogated by the new regime. Third are those who chose to stay in Iran but mostly could not work for years (or at all). The first and second groups are the ones who left the homeland. However, the second group is the only one that experienced post-revolution Iran, while the first group only heard about it from a distance.

Many songs describe images of pre-revolution and post-revolution times in Iran. This process happens in two ways. First, song lyrics may mention Iran, the idea of a lost or distant country, their hometowns, or their homeland directly. These songs poignantly address Iran as a homeland. Second, song lyrics may use the home as a metaphor for the homeland. By describing the home, particularly in nostalgic terms, they invoke Iran itself as a broader concept of home. In the latter, we can find Cresswell's (1996) argument about the relationship between home and homeland—that home can be broadened from the house to the homeland. We can also see how, as we argue, the distance from Iran increases the sense of homeland as a home beyond the scope of the place of the house.

In the following song, the songwriter points to their homeland directly, Iran, as home. The lyrics include both homeland and home, linking them to Iran to demonstrate the connection of home and country for those in LA.

> The white and blue peace, the bright, beautiful umbrella
> Will shadow on the sky of the homeland
> The love with me again, the love with us again
> The heartbroken people looking forward to peace
> Oh, the lovers of Iran who are tired of this time
> The bright, beautiful umbrella will be opened over the home.[8]

[8] *Tanine Solh* (*Resonance of Peace*), 1987, Singers: Moein, Morteza, Fataneh, Andy, and Kouros, Songwriter: Hadieh (Leila Kasra), Composer: Farokh Ahi.

These direct ties overtly shape Iran as the home for those located away from Iran.

Now, we turn to an indirect example. Using the word "home" as a metaphor to talk about homeland is not a new use of the word. Songwriters have long done that, especially in political-social songs. Usually, destroying the home is a metaphor for destroying the homeland in the songs. Mentioning the destruction of the home in songs is a way to protest whatever activity caused perceived negative changes in the homeland. The 1979 revolution in Iran is exactly this kind of activity. Songwriters describe the changes as "horrible" and use words such as "destruction." The lyrics below describe a ruined place where the songwriter cannot find his house-home anymore, as a metaphor for a lost homeland. This particular songwriter (Ardalan Sarfaraz) left Iran five years after the revolution and in the middle of the Iraq-Iran war. This generation of artists, who left Iran a few years after the revolution, witnessed the post-revolution events, which influenced the images they describe in their songs.

> Do not ask me where my home is in those ruins
> My clanmate, what could I say? The clan is wandering.[9]

The singer mentions the homelessness of clanmates (countrymen/neighbors) because of the ruins, which is a metaphor for political misdeeds, the migration of refugees and emigrants after the revolution, and the long, liminal sense of time and uncertainty during the Iran-Iraq war.

While we discussed using the home as a metaphor for the homeland, it is necessary to mention that hometown has also been mentioned with home and homeland in the songs.

> If only a bullet leaves in my gun
> With a voice in my heart to sing for the homeland
> I sing, I fight for you to go home
> My hometown, my hometown, I am far from you
> I sing my dearest song for you.[10]

Applying the word home to a house, a hometown, and a homeland shows how home gets bigger for an immigrant/exiled person when they are far from home.

The songs we discuss in this section not only show the relationship between home and homeland but also provide their narrative of what was happening after the revolution in Iran. In these songs, "music served as a way to take control of their narrative" (Alajaji 2015:2-3). While the regime in Iran, political opposition inside and outside of Iran, and foreign countries were sending their narratives of Iran to the whole world, musicians in exile expressed their narratives via the songs that they produced in Los Angeles. Their nostalgia, their political interests, and their social location influenced their narration.

Home and Family

Seeing home as a process (Boccagni and Kusenbach 2020:597) is not possible if we do not consider people who interact there, initiating and continuing the process of meaning-making and home-making.

[9] *Hamkhooneh* (*Roommate*), 1984, Singers: Vigen and Hayedeh, Songwriter: Ardalan Sarfaraz, Composer: Andranik.

[10] *Shahre Man* (*My Town*), 1984, Singer: Morteza, Songwriter: Hoda, Composer: Folkloric Melody.

Family, as the core group of a home, has a crucial role in this process. Carol Silverman (2012:60), in her work on Balkan music in the diaspora, argues that musicians miss family rather than the place. We found that this relationship between family and home emerged in the songs we studied. Missing home is not only missing the sense of place, but it is also missing people who make a house a home. Musical artists often had to leave parents, siblings, and other close relatives behind. Parents usually are the ones who start and frame the process of home, particularly for their children. As these children grew and eventually left not only home but Iran, they may miss their parents both as parents and as components of home and homeland.

Of all the possible family members, mothers and fathers are the most common references in Iranian-LA songs. Mothers have more mentions than fathers and their idealized respective identities take form in different ways. "Mother" is portrayed as a person who is waiting to see her children and to cook for them. A mother is the person who keeps the spirit of the home alive. A mother manages the affairs at home and finally, she is the one who is waiting for her children at home, both in the house and in the homeland. Using the word "mother" as a metaphor for the homeland is not unusual in Persian literature, so it is not surprising that songwriters use this metaphor in their lyrics, too. Homeland may, for example, be framed as a mother who is waiting for her children to come back.

The lyrics below illustrate the process of waiting during the Iran-Iraq war and the political executions in Iran:

> Oh, mother! Stay at your own silent home
> The disaster falls like rain from the sky on you
> Do not open the door of your mourning house to anyone
> There is no guest except death at the door.[11]

The danger at home, for the mother, mimics the danger for the country, where death is at many doors where fathers did not come home from the war. Iran, far from Los Angeles, is silent inside, where turbulence waits on the threshold of the country's borders, as the metaphor of thresholds of the home demonstrates.

Sometimes the lyrics invoke both parents. A house becomes a home in the process of home-making by the people who interact around and within the place. Of all the people who are involved, parents play a crucial role. In traditional homes, extended living meant that this parental role was not limited to their children's childhoods. In the lyrics below, home is the mother's beloved and the father's soul. We see that the house is a home because they make it meaningful.

> Home was my mother's beloved
> She planted Petunia in its garden
> Home was my father's soul
> He didn't love anything as much as home.[12]

It is interesting to note that the mother's role in the process of home is active, while the father is simply present. This reinforces the home as a realm of the mother, making sense of the homeland as a motherland rather than a fatherland.

Remembering, missing, and belonging to a home is intertwined with remembering, missing, and be-

[11] *Khooneh* (*Home*), 1989, Singer: Dariush, Songwriter: Nader Naderpour, Composer: Babak Afshar.

[12] *Khooneh* (*Home*), 1991, Singer: Dariush, Songwriter: Iraj Janatie Ataie, Composer: Babak Bayat.

longing to people who were/are living in the home. The father and mother frame the meaning of home, particularly as ones who are attached more to the concept than others. While extended living is part of nostalgia, today, children may leave home and continue their lives somewhere else, but the probability of parents staying at the same home is high. These musicians, as grown children, have established lives away from their parents. They long for their parents as the keepers and creators of meaning for the home.

As we discussed, mothers have more mentions than fathers in songs related to the concept of home. The role of "carer" is usually assigned to the mother, especially in a patriarchal system. Therefore, children look for care and emotional support from their mothers more than they do from their fathers. Because of these constructed gender roles, especially those assigned to women, we note this increase in the presence of mothers at home more than fathers. Additionally, where home is a process, so are imagined communities and the enactment of the homeland. The metaphorical connection of women and homeland draws out the connection of home and homeland, both as enacted and processual.

Home: A Heaven to Remember, A Haven for Return

Home is one of the places where memories emerge. As Gaston Bachelard (1969) says, it is a place for memory, thoughts, and dreams to come together. This is an element of home as a process (Boccagni and Kusenbach 2020). Recalling home-made memories is a recurring theme in the songs. These home-related memories are good memories that produce a nostalgic narrative. It is not surprising that, given the existential crisis in the face of feeling not-being-at-home (Didehvar and Wada 2023), nostalgia becomes prominent. Particularly poignant is the yearning to go home. Craving home as a haven makes sense in the context of nostalgia as a panacea for coping with loss, distance-from-home, and unsettled times.

The pattern that emerges from Iranian-LA songs emphasizes belonging to the home through the recollection of specific memories. Hence, the home became the place and a time of good memories in these songs. Destroying a home equates to destroying the potential for more good memories to be created and harms the sense of belonging to the home. This sense of lack-of-belonging evoked by the destroyed home speaks to the contemporary sense of the feeling of not-being-at-home. For example, in the song below, the songwriter states that he remembers thousands of memories, although the home is now in ruins. Even the ruined home evokes memories of belonging-at-home, while communicating a bleak view of the potential for feeling a sense of being-at-home again.

> Home, this ruined home
> Reminds me of thousands of memories
> Home, this dark home
> Reminds me those days.[13]

These expressions of home go beyond an embodiment of good memories and a sense of home. They invoke a temporal dimension that elevates the past through nostalgia while it depletes the future of possible belonging.

[13] *Khooneh* (*Home*), 1991, Singer: Dariush, Songwriter: Iraj Janatie Ataie, Composer: Babak Bayat.

In this paper, we use the word "haven" as a place where people go to shelter from what happens in the world. Using the home as a refuge or haven is not restricted to Iranian culture. We can follow it in Anglo-Saxon culture, too (Mallett 2004). While the privilege of home-as-haven is often only accorded to the middle class in the West (Jackson 1994), the ideal of home-as-haven operates as a meta-narrative across classes. In this sense, an inability to access home-as-haven results in symbolic violence (Bourdieu 1998).

In Iranian-LA songs, sometimes the songwriters mention that home is a haven directly, while other times they only describe a situation where home plays a role as a haven. In the latter, the father and mother have a crucial role in making the home a haven. The tendency to come back home is integrated with finding a haven, as in the example below.

> I want to go home
> Where [it] belongs to me
> The reason to live is to be alive of love
> I want to go home
> Where [it] is a haven
> All the words are in the eyes [of the home].[14]

For migrants, returning home can carry feelings ranging from wistful hope to deep yearning. As Eva Rodríguez (2016) writes, concerning exile, return is the other side of the coin. The concept of "returning to home" is intertwined with going back to the heaven that home was, in nostalgic memory, and to a haven where the songwriter could take refuge from being an immigrant, a nobody, homesick, and a stranger. In some of the songs, the songwriters want to go back home (to their homeland), even if the situation at home is dangerous. We found this theme in several songs. For example, in the aforementioned song:

> Take me to my home, there is no love here
> Take me to my home, although home is not the home.

Again, we have a yearning for home as a haven and a place of love. However, the home is also placed out of an accessible space and time. Having the ideal sense of home as a place of retreat and being unable to access it deepens the sense of the symbolic violence migrants experience when they are faced with barriers to building a new home, including the barrier of the feeling of not-being-at-home and the well of nostalgia pulling them toward the past rather than the future. Additionally, we can see how the home, both as a locus of nostalgia and as a haven, expands to the homeland rather than staying narrowed in on the house or dwelling.

Conclusion

The immigration of musicians from Iran to Los Angeles provided a context that offers new analyses of home through the lens of migrants. This interpretation leads us to emphasize the role that family members, social context, neighbors, and memories play in the construction and remembrance of "home." The music scene is a rich venue to learn about a group's symbolic locations and meaning-making around place and home (Kotarba, Fackler, and Nowotny 2009). As Bachelard (1969) states, home is a context in which memories, thoughts, and dreams come together. Here, we see empirical evidence of that.

[14] *Khooneh* (*Home*), 1996, Singer: Ebi, Songwriter: Jacqueline Derderian, Composer: Farokh Ahi.

The most significant finding of the concept of home in Iranian, immigrant musicians' artworks is the relationship between home and homeland. Iranian-LA songs use home as a metaphor for the homeland, even those that describe the body of the home as embodied forms of the sense-of-home. Although they use some language around the meaning of home as a structure, ultimately the distance from Iran means that songwriters now construct the whole of Iran as "home." Going "home" would mean returning to Iran rather than a specific house. The sadness about the destroyed home, hope to return home, and the tendency to yearn to go back to the mother point out the singers' emotions about their homeland. The distance from home has changed the borders of what constitutes a home. The borders of home are not around the songwriter's house anymore but they are around the homeland. Home is the house in which songwriters have lived, in addition to its surroundings.

The question that immigrants ask themselves is: Where is my home? Some find the new country their home, some believe their homeland is their home (or their house in their homeland, as a metaphor for the homeland), some explain that they have two or more homes, and some say they have no home (Mohammadi 2023). We argue that as long as the dream of return is alive and the immigrants are thinking about returning to their homeland, their home (or at least one of their homes) is their homeland. When there is no hope or intention for return, they experience their first home in the homeland as a loss, as located in the past, with tenuous or no ties to the future.

References

Abdollahyan, Hamid and Foroogh Mohammadi. 2020. "An Ethnographic Study of Communication between Humans, Nature, and Place: In Search of a Sense of Belonging in Abarkouhi Homes, Iran." *Space and Culture* 23(4):522-535.

Alajaji, Sylvia. 2015. *Music and the Armenian Diaspora: Searching for Home in Exile*. Bloomington, Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press.

Altheide, David L. and Christopher J. Schneider. 2013. *Qualitative Media Analysis*. 2nd ed. Los Angeles: Sage.

Appadurai, Arjun. 1990. "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy." *Theory, Culture & Society* 7(2-3):295-310.

Atashi, Elham. 2018. "Iranian Diaspora, Reality Television, and Connecting to Homeland." *Media and Communication (Lisboa)* 6(2):179-187.

Bachelard, Gaston. 1969. *The Poetics of Space*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Boccagni, Paolo and Margarethe Kusenbach. 2020. "For A Comparative Sociology of Home: Relationships, Cultures, Structures." *Current Sociology* 68(5):595-606.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1998. *Acts of Resistance: Against the Tyranny of the Market*. New York: The New Press.

Cohen, Sara. 1995. "Sounding Out the City: Music and the Sensuous Production of Place." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 20(4):434-446.

Cresswell, Tim. 1996. *In Place/Out of Place: Geography, Ideology, and Transgression*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Cross, Jennifer E. 2015. "Process of Place Attachment: An Interactional Framework." *Symbolic Interaction* 38(4):493-520.

de Groot, Joanna. 2015. "The Bureaucrat, the *Mulla*, and the Maverick Intellectual 'at Home': Domestic Narratives of Patriarchy, Masculinity, and Modernity in Iran, 1880-1980." *Gender & History* 27(3):791-811.

Didehvar, Mina and Kaori Wada. 2023. "Uncanny Phenomenon: Existential Experiences among Iranian International Students." *The Counseling Psychologist* 51(3):302-332.

Fine, Gary Alan. 1979. "Small Groups and Culture Creation: The Idioculture of Little League Baseball Teams." *American Sociological Review* 44(5)733-745.

Gharebaglou, Minou, Hamed Beyti, and Shole Rezaei Zunuz. 2022. "The Impact of the Sense of Home on the Quality of Life of Older Adults in Tabriz, Iran." *Journal of Aging and Environment* 36(4):410-432.

Gharibi, Khadij and Corinne Seals. 2020. "Heritage Language Policies of the Iranian Diaspora in New Zealand." *International Multilingual Research Journal* 14(4):287-303.

Gieryn, Thomas F. 2000. "A Space for Place in Sociology." *Annual Review of Sociology* 26(1):463-496.

Ginsberg, Robert. 1999. "Meditations on Homelessness and Being at Home. In the Form of a Dialogue." Pp. 29-40 in *The Ethics of Homelessness: Philosophical Perspectives*, edited by G. J. M. Abbarno. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Irwin, John. 1977. *Scenes*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Jackson, John Brinckerhoff. 1994. *A Sense of Place, A Sense of Time*. New Haven, London: Yale University Press.

Kotarba, Joseph A., Jennifer L. Fackler, and Kathryn M. Nowotny. 2009. "An Ethnography of Emerging Latino Music Scenes." *Symbolic Interaction* 32(4):310-333.

Kusenbach, Margarethe and Krista E. Paulsen. 2019. "Home/House." In *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Urban and Regional Studies*, edited by A. Orum. Oxford: John Wiley & Sons.

Mallett, Shelley. 2004. "Understanding Home: A Critical Review of the Literature." *The Sociological Review (Keele)* 52(1):62-89.

Mayring, Philipp. 2000. "Qualitative Content Analysis." *Forum Qualitative Social Research/Sozialforschung* 1(2): Art. 20. Retrieved December 16, 2024 (https://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/1089/2385).

Mohammadi, Foroogh. 2023. "At Home in Canada: Iranian Immigrants' Sense of Belonging, Homemaking Practices, and Racialized Experiences in the Atlantic Provinces and Ontario." Doctoral Dissertation, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Mokhles, Sombol and Minna Sunikka-Blank. 2022. "'I'm always Home': Social Infrastructure and Women's Personal Mobility Patterns in Informal Settlements in Iran." *Gender, Place, and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography* 29(4):455-481.

Morshedi, Pouya. 2015. "The Study of Human Communications in Iranian Homes through the Ethnography of the Role of Architecture in Human Communication, A Case Study of Boushehri Homes." M.A. Thesis, University of Teheran.

Naghdi, Asadulah. 2010. "Iranian Diaspora: With Focus on Iranian Immigrants in Sweden." *Asian Social Science* 6(11):197-208.

Paymanfar, Sepideh and Bahador Zamani. 2022. "A Paradigm Model of Traditional Iranian Neighborhood (Mahalleh): A Grounded Theory Approach, Memorial University of Newfoundland." *Space and Culture* 25(4):689-705.

Portorani, Azime, Mahlagha Dehghan, and Parvin Mangolian Shahrbabaki. 2022. "Death at Home: Iranian Nurses', Cancer Patients', and Family Caregivers' Attitudes." *Death Studies* 46(5):1123-1127.

Ranjbar, A. Marie. 2022. "The Double Bind of Displacement: U.S. Sanctions, the Muslim Ban, and Experiences of Dislocation for Iranians Pursuing Higher Education in the Unit-

ed States." *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 112(3):723-731.

Relph, Edward. 1976. *Place and Placelessness*. Los Angeles: Sage.

Roberson, James E. 2010. "Singing Diaspora: Okinawan Songs of Home, Departure, and Return." *Identities (Yverdon, Switzerland)* 17(4):430-453.

Rodríguez, Eva Moreda. 2016. *Music and Exile in Francoist Spain*. New York: Rutledge.

Saunders, Peter and Peter Williams. 1988. "The Constitution of the Home: Towards a Research Agenda." *Housing Studies* 3(2):81-93.

Schreier, Margrit. 2013. "Qualitative Content Analysis." Pp. 170-183 in *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis*, edited by U. Flick. London: Sage.

Shahrokni, Nazanin. 2023. "Depleted Households: 'Domesticating' Economic Sanctions." *Humanity (Philadelphia, PA)* 14(2):293-308.

Shank, Barry. 1994. *Dissonant Identities: The Rock 'n' Roll Scene in Austin, Texas*. Boston: Wesleyan University Press.

Shirazi, Mohammadreza. 2012. *Phenomenology of Space, Phenomenology of Architecture. Architecture of the Senses and the Fragile Phenomenology of Juhani Pallasmaa*. Tehran: Rokhdad-e No.

Sierra, Horacio. 2018. "The Cuban-American Sound Machine: Nostalgia and Identity in the Music of Celia Cruz, Gloria Estefan, and Pitbull." *The International Journal of Cuban Studies* 10(2):238-265.

Silverman, Carol. 2012. *Romani Routes: Cultural Politics and Balkan Music in Diaspora*. 1st ed. Oxford: University Press, Incorporated.

Citation

Morshedi, Pouya and Lisa-Jo K. van den Scott. 2025. "Sing A Song for Home: How Displaced Iranian Song-Writers in LA Conceive of Home and Homeland." *Qualitative Sociology Review* 21(1):28-45. Retrieved Month, Year (http://www.qualitativesociologyreview.org/ENG/archive_eng.php). DOI: https://doi.org/10.18778/1733-8077.21.1.02

Why Are There So Many Ways to Measure Pain? Epistemological and Professional Challenges in Medical Standardization

Hanna Grol-Prokopczyk
State University of New York at Buffalo, USA

DOI: https://doi.org/10.18778/1733-8077.21.1.03

Keywords:
Chronic Pain; Consensus Recommendations; Data Harmonization; Interdisciplinarity; Measurement; Standardization; Validity

Abstract: Pain is a profoundly subjective phenomenon, which remains largely impenetrable to the tools of biomedicine. How, then, do pain researchers—specifically, quantitative medical researchers whose work is predicated on transforming pain into numbers—measure pain in their studies? How do they select and justify specific measures, and does this process lead to measurement standardization? This article analyzes 79 published medical studies about low back pain (LBP) and 20 interviews with pain experts (including 15 with authors of the reviewed studies) to address these questions. Findings reveal that LBP researchers use an extremely diverse set of outcome measures in their studies, typically based on patient self-report. The subjectivity and interpersonal incomparability of self-reports are widely acknowledged but treated as largely unproblematic—a matter of acceptable measurement error rather than "epistemological purgatory" (Barker 2005). However, researchers frequently disagree on what constitutes a "pain measure." Many respond to the considerable challenge of treating pain intensity by redefining their work—sometimes in the face of resistance from patients—around other, putatively more treatable domains, such as disability. The diverse, arguably unstandardized approaches to measuring pain appear attributable less to pain's epistemological fragility than to its therapeutic intractability, and to the medical community's diffuse social structures and professional goals.

Hanna Grol-Prokopczyk is an Associate Professor of Sociology at the University at Buffalo, State University of New York. She is a medical sociologist who uses qualitative and quantitative methods to study the measurement of pain and other subjectively-described health conditions. She also studies social determinants of pain, and consequences of pain (such as opioid use, disability, and mortality). She received her Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

email address: hgrol@buffalo.edu

To have pain is to have certainty;
to hear about pain is to have doubt.
Elaine Scarry (1985:13)

When I see a patient with arthritis coming in the front door,
I leave by the back door.
Sir William Osler,
first chief of Johns Hopkins Medical School
(late 19th century; in Graf 2010:1976)

Quantitative researchers frequently advocate for measurement standardization to facilitate the comparison and pooling of research studies. Such standardization is a key facet of the data harmonization deemed "essential" for the advancement of medical and social scientific research (Fortier et al. 2012:96). Pain researchers are no exception to this line of thinking: calls to improve standardization of pain measures date back over three decades (Institute of Medicine 1987), and recur particularly frequently with reference to outcome measures in clinical trials (e.g., Deyo et al. 1998; Turk et al. 2003). Nonetheless, measurement of pain in research studies appears—at least from some perspectives—to remain highly unstandardized, with studies often differing substantially in which pain-related domains they examine and which specific measures of those domains are used (e.g., Hjermstad et al. 2011; Kamper et al. 2011; Mulla et al. 2015).

This study seeks to document and understand the diversity of pain measures used in medical research. Why are so many measures used, and why does this pattern persist despite recurring calls for standardization? Is the "fragile factuality" (Baszanger 1992) of pain—that is, its profound subjectivity and impenetrability to the tools of biomedicine—to blame? Or is the explanation a social and institutional one, in which barriers across professional worlds prevent standardization? What role do norms of scientific justification—which would seem, *prima facie*, to support comparability—play in standardization efforts? This study explores these questions by focusing on low back pain (LBP), a common and costly pain condition, and a paradigmatic one in its etiological and therapeutic characteristics.

This topic may interest researchers who study pain or other subjective health conditions or who are themselves involved in standardization efforts. But the case of pain also elucidates theoretical issues relevant to the sociology of science and medicine. Most social scientific studies of standardization have focused on successful cases of standardization. By analyzing a case that is, at best, ambiguously successful, this study elucidates the factors that undermine scientific consensus-building. Moreover, most studies examine efforts to standardize protocols, methods, or technologies. The current focus on *measurement* standardization may reveal challenges specific to this area.

Background

Pain Standardization Efforts

Since it coalesced in the 1970s, pain medicine has been a highly international and interdisciplinary field (Whelan 2009). The International Association for the Study of Pain (IASP), founded in 1974, currently has over 6,000 members in 125 countries (IASP website 2024), who represent "the highly diverse fields of anaesthesia, neurology, psychology, general practice, psychiatry, nursing, and social work, among others" (Whelan 2009:171).

For at least three decades, pain experts across specialties have expressed dissatisfaction with "[i]nconsistencies in definitions and measurement" of pain (Institute of Medicine 1987:7). In 1992, an international group of rheumatologists responded to frustration that clinical trials were "extremely difficult to compare and combine" by founding OMERACT (Outcome Measures in Rheumatology Clinical Trials), which periodically issues recommendations for outcome measures in studies of pain-producing conditions (Tugwell et al. 2007:1). In 2002, two American psychologists founded IMMPACT (the Initiative on Methods, Measurement, and Pain Assessment in Clinical Trials), which develops "consensus recommendations" for outcome measures in trials of chronic pain to "facilitate comparisons and pooling of data" (Turk et al. 2003:337-338). IMMPACT has thus far published at least seven highly-cited consensus recommendations focusing on outcome domains or measures (http://www.immpact.org/). Pain measures are also included in broader efforts at measurement standardization, such as the COMET Initiative (Core Outcome Measures in Effectiveness Trials) and the NIH-supported PROMIS system (Patient Reported Outcomes Measurement Information System).

Individual researchers or groups of researchers also regularly publish articles encouraging standardization. Richard A. Deyo and colleagues (1998) recommend outcome measures for studies of back pain; Alison M. Elliot, Blair H. Smith, and W. Alastair Chambers (2003) promote a measure of chronic pain severity; Bernhard Aicher and colleagues (2012) recommend pain measures for clinical trials of headache treatments; Elisabeth G. VanDenKerkhof, Madelon L. Peters, and Julie Bruce (2013) advocate outcome domains for studies of chronic pain after surgery, et cetera.

While some publications recommend certain outcome *domains*, others recommend specific *measures* of such domains (i.e., particular questionnaires). Some groups advocate for disease-, location-, or context-specific pain measures, while others, like IMMPACT, aim "to develop a consensus…that would transcend specific chronic pain syndromes" (Turk et al. 2003:338). Regardless, a majority of recommended measures are based on patient self-report. This reflects the dictum of Margo McCaffery, a nurse and founding member of IASP, that "pain is whatever the experiencing person says it is, existing whenever the experiencing person says it does" (McCaffery and Thorpe 1989:113). This idea, and the variant describing self-report as the "gold standard" of pain assessment, have diffused in the pain community to the point of being considered "conventional maxim[s]" (Schiavenato and Craig 2010:667). The following analyses consider how these features of measurement recommendations affect standardization.

Despite the proliferation of recommendations for standard measures, contemporary studies continue to demonstrate high variability in pain measurement. Steven J. Kamper and colleagues' (2011) review of 82 studies of LBP reveals a striking variety of measures in use, yielding 66 different definitions of recovery from pain. Sohail M. Mulla and colleagues (2015), examining opioid analgesic trials, find that fewer than 5% cite IMMPACT recommendations and that most IMMPACT-recommended outcome domains are omitted in a majority of studies. A 2011 Institute of Medicine report on pain reveals continued frustration with the "lack of a single, universally accepted metric," which "confounds" both clinicians' and researchers' work (2011:140). Thus far, pain standardization efforts appear not to have met with resounding success.

The Fragile Factuality of Pain

Philosophers and social scientists writing about pain show a consistent fascination with what Isabelle Baszanger (1992) calls its "fragile factuality," that is, its invisibility and interpersonal unverifiability. While some invisible health conditions achieve mediated visibility through the tools of biomedicine, pain maintains *profound invisibility*: no tool exists to prove and/or quantify its existence to others. Concerted efforts to identify objective measures of pain are ongoing, but thus far, only "*potential* pain biomarkers" have been identified (Davis et al. 2020; emphasis added). Both the original 1979 and revised 2020 definitions of pain promulgated by the International Association for the Study of Pain (IASP) explicitly acknowledge pain's subjectivity (Raja et al. 2020) and, like the new ICD-11 classification of chronic pain, note that pain is not always associated with actual or observable tissue damage (Treede et al. 2015). Consequently, those experiencing pain are vulnerable to accusations of malingering and/or drug-seeking from healthcare providers, employers, and family (Zajacova, Grol-Prokopczyk, and Zimmer 2021)—accusations that may take a high psychological toll (e.g., Glenton 2003).

And yet, when Jean Jackson (2011:378) describes "[r]elations between pain patients and health care deliverers" as "the worst in medicine," she attributes this broken relationship not only to patient-provider mistrust, but also to the sheer difficulty of treating pain, in particular chronic pain.[1] Reviews of pain treatment effectiveness are discouraging, finding that "none of the most commonly prescribed treatment regimens are, by themselves, sufficient to eliminate pain and to have a major effect on physical and emotional function in most patients" (Turk, Wilson, and Cahana 2011:2232). Physicians describe pain treatment as "frustrating and challenging" (Graf 2010:1976) and "one of the most difficult and unrewarding problems in clinical medicine" (Borkan et al. 1995:977).

In her 1992 ethnography of French pain clinics, Baszanger describes a schism between doctors who aim to *cure* chronic pain (and focus on biomedical causes and interventions) and those who aspire only to *manage* it (and typically focus on psychological mechanisms). At the time of her research, "no consensus" between the two approaches was in sight (Baszanger 1992:182). The present study may serve as an update to Baszanger's findings. Do contemporary pain specialists see chronic pain as something to cure or something to manage, and does this shape how they choose to measure it?

As Emma Whelan (2003) notes, scholarly examinations of pain's epistemological elusiveness have focused on its implications for people with pain and for their interactions with others, especially healthcare providers. Less research has examined implications for the biomedical *science* of pain—a claim that remains true over 20 years since Whelan first made it. Whelan's (2003; 2009) work analyzes lay- and expert-designed forms for assessing endometriosis pain to compare the goals and "knowledge concerns" of the respective communities; and elsewhere documents the difficulties of generating a classification of pain in the highly multidisciplinary and international pain research community. However, neither the classification nor the endometriosis forms were designed to be outcome measures in quanti-

[1] The present article focuses largely, but not exclusively, on chronic pain since acute pain may be assessed with similar measures and since some reviewed studies examine both acute and chronic pain patients.

tative studies. Indeed, even the gynecologist-developed form "carefully avoids any explicit suggestion that the patient's experience of pain can be reduced to a numerical value" (Whelan 2003:468).

While many of the researchers interviewed in the present study are clinician-researchers, the current focus is on how they measure pain in their quantitative research, where the demands for quantification are higher than in clinical settings. These researchers *must* represent pain via numbers. How, precisely, do they do so? What measures do they select, and how do they justify their use? Marion V. Smith (2008:993) matter-of-factly writes that "[s]urvey researchers' purposes are satisfied by statistical tests that demonstrate adequate levels of validity and reliability [of survey questions]." However, "validity and reliability," when examined closely, are not such straightforward goals—and may not, in fact, be the sole drivers of researchers' decisions about pain measurement.

Pain researchers operate not as isolated individuals but as members of professional social worlds—communities that can shape professional goals and scientific norms, including norms of measurement. As Whelan (2003:463) writes, "systems of pain measurement…must be seen as the products of epistemological communities with particular interests, aims and methods which affect the construction of pain." The present study builds on this insight in at least two related ways: by evaluating whether and how much pain researchers have been influenced by recent measurement standardization efforts in the field and by examining to what extent pain researchers (in particular, low back pain researchers) constitute an integrated epistemological community versus representing multiple communities with multiple norms.

The Sociology of Standardization

As Stefan Timmermans and Marc Berg (1997:273) write, "[u]niversality through standardization is at the heart of medical and scientific practice." In their interrogations of how standardization happens, Timmermans and Berg highlight two points of high relevance to the present study. First, standards rarely result from a single individual's efforts, but instead involve the interplay of many actors working across social networks. The role of networks, specifically pre-existing networks, is key: new standards are "plugged into a physical and cultural infrastructure that allows [them] to function" (Timmermans and Berg 1997:283). Second, "[u]niversality is always local universality" (Timmermans and Berg 1997:297), that is, standards must be adapted and integrated into local circumstances. A corollary of this is that "loose" standards may diffuse more successfully than "rigid" ones, as they are more easily molded to local requirements (Timmermans and Epstein 2010:81).

These characteristics are indeed evident in many examples of successful standardization (e.g., Fujimura 1996; Skloot 2010). Little research, however, explores cases of *unsuccessful* standardization. While Stefan Timmermans and Steven Epstein (2010:81) acknowledge that "[s]tandards may fail implementation for countless reasons," they provide no detailed examples. One may ask, then, what specific features of professional social networks—or what other factors altogether—undermine standardization. For example, if a field is highly international and interdisciplinary, does this help or hinder the adoption of standards?

Another question inviting exploration is how much flexibility in standards is optimal. Too little, and stan-

dards will be rejected for not meeting local needs, but too much, and their status as "standards" may be undermined. Timmermans and Epstein (2010:81) are explicit that standards that have been modified, "whether slightly or fundamentally," should not be considered failures, since "a standard's flexibility is often key to its success." But how, then, does one distinguish standardization from fragmentation? To explore this issue, I took an emic perspective in my interviews, asking pain experts directly whether they considered pain measures to be standardized and why.

Data and Methods

To shed light on how pain researchers measure pain, and to identify factors supporting or hindering measurement standardization, this study relies primarily on two sources of data. The first is 79 peer-reviewed medical research articles on LBP published between 1999 and 2008. These articles were originally identified by Kamper and colleagues (2011) in a systematic review of definitions of recovery from LBP.[2] While my research focus is different, the articles are well-suited for this study for several reasons.

First, LBP is not only extremely common and costly (with a lifetime prevalence in Western countries of approximately 80% [Brötz et al. 2003]), but it is also a paradigmatic pain condition in terms of its fragile factuality. That is, LBP is characterized by a surprisingly weak correlation between observable physical pathologies and experienced pain. Many individuals have spinal conditions such as herniated disks but report no pain, while for those who do report pain, "there is no correlation between the severity of the abnormality"—if one is observed at all—"and the degree of pain" (Cassar-Pullicino 1998:218). Next, the date range of the Kamper articles (1999-2008) conveniently straddles the publication of the first IMMPACT recommendations in late 2003 (Turk et al. 2003), permitting a comparison of outcome measures used before and after.

While Kamper and colleagues (2011) reviewed 82 articles, I excluded three because they were not in English or could not be located. My documentary analysis of how pain is measured in research publications is based on the remaining 79 articles, henceforth referred to as "the Kamper articles." Citations for all articles may be found in Kamper and colleagues (2011), and are available upon request.

Table 1 summarizes the characteristics of these articles and confirms the disciplinary and national diversity of the LBP research community. The articles were published in general medical, spine, pain, and other specialty journals, including physiotherapy, epidemiology, and rheumatology journals. Most journals were highly ranked, including *The New England Journal of Medicine*, *BMJ*, *The Lancet*, *Spine*, and *Pain*. Researchers with European affiliations authored 62% of the articles, those with US or Canadian affiliations authored 25%, and researchers in other regions authored 19% (see Table 1 note). 63% of the articles were published after 2003, that is, after IMMPACT's initial publication recommending specific pain outcome domains.

[2] Full inclusion criteria for the Kamper articles were: peer-reviewed articles accessible in medical electronic databases; published inclusively between 1999-2008; focusing on non-specific LBP; designed as "prospective, longitudinal stud[ies], including randomised controlled trials;" including references to "recovery" or "resolution" in their abstract, methods, or results sections; excluding studies of surgical management of LBP; and written in English or in a language where translation could be easily arranged (Kamper et al. 2011:10). Most Kamper articles focused on chronic LBP, although some focused on acute cases or included both (e.g., to examine which acute cases would become chronic).

Table 1. Characteristics of 79 analyzed studies of low back pain

	Number of articles	Percentage of articles
Study type		
Prospective	39	49%
Clinical trial	32	41%
Economic evaluation	3	4%
Other	5	6%
Journal type		
Spine	35	44%
Pain	10	13%
General medicine	9	11%
Other specialty	25	32%
Year of publication		
1999-2003	29	37%
2004-2008	50	63%
Region of authors' institutional affiliation (see note below)		
Europe	49	62%
US or Canada	20	25%
Other	15	19%

Note: Numbers by region do not add to 79 (100%) because five articles were co-authored by researchers with affiliations in multiple regions.

Source: Self-elaboration.

My second main source of data was interviews I conducted with 20 pain experts: 15 who were lead authors of one or more Kamper articles and 5 who had other valuable experience with pain measurement or standardization. The 15 lead authors had collectively authored 25 (32%) of the 79 Kamper articles and represented a range of specialties and geographic regions (with 6 affiliated with US or Canadian institutions, 7 with European ones, and 2 with institutions from other regions). The five additional pain experts included a US researcher involved with IMMPACT since its inception; an Australian researcher involved in efforts to standardize definitions in LBP research; a US clinical nurse specialist whose pain assessment questionnaires are used in over a dozen countries; and two heads of US pain clinics. For brevity, I refer to researchers who authored Kamper articles as "authors," to the other five interviewees as "specialists," and to interviewees collectively as "pain experts."

This research was approved by the University of Wisconsin-Madison IRB. Interviews were conducted in person, by telephone, or by Skype in 2013, with occasional email follow-ups. Reflecting the regimented schedules of physicians and academics, interviews were typically scheduled in 30- or 60-minute blocks and averaged 45 minutes. For confidentiality, interviewees are referred to by pseudonyms, with identifying geographic and professional details omitted. Interviews were semi-structured. I first asked respondents about their professional training, conference attendance, and what journals they frequently read to better understand their professional affiliations and identities. Thereafter, questions focused on what pain measures respondents used in their work and why, whether they were familiar with organizational efforts to standardize pain measurement, and what they saw as their main research and/or clinical goals. I also read many other publications about pain measurement and standardization and attended academic pain conferences and IMMPACT meetings. I conducted an inductive, grounded theoretical analysis of all texts, including interview transcripts (Glaser and Strauss 1967). The main findings are presented in eight subsections below.

Findings

The Diversity of Pain Measures in LBP Research

One aim of this study was to document and classify all pain outcome measures used in the Kamper articles. However, as discussed below, pain researchers disagree about what constitutes a pain measure. For the initial classification, I adopted a broad view of the term, including measures both directly and indirectly presented as pain measures. For example, if a study treated reduction in a particular score as a mark of improvement in pain, I considered that score a pain measure.

The diversity of pain-related outcome measures in the articles is shown in Table 2, where they are classified into 12 domains. No domain was represented in all studies. The most common domains were pain-related disability (appearing in 73% of articles) and numeric pain intensity (in 63%); all others appeared in fewer than half of articles. There was a large variation in the number and permutations of domains included in individual articles: some included a single outcome measure (e.g., Tubach, Beauté, and Leclerc 2004), while others included up to seven domains (e.g., Smeets et al. 2006). The selected domains showed no clear association with each other, year of publication, or authors' institutional location.

Table 2. Pain-related outcome measures in 79 studies on low back pain

Outcome measure type	Example	Number of articles	Percentage of all articles
Binary pain outcome	Had LBP during study period (yes/no)	11	14%
Numeric pain intensity	Current pain intensity on 100mm VAS (Visual Analogue Scale)	50	63%
Other directly pain-related outcomes	Pain frequency (1-6, no pain to constant pain)	17	22%
Disability/function	Roland-Morris Disability Questionnaire	58	73%
Work	Ability to return to work	26	33%
Global perceived effect (GPE)	5-point self-rating scale, from "completely recovered" to "much worse"	34	43%
Satisfaction	Patient satisfaction on a 3-point scale	12	15%
Measured outcome (not self-report)	Range of motion (fingertip-to-ground distance)	21	27%
Healthcare or medication utilization	Number of pills taken daily	15	19%
Time	Time until disability claim closure	12	15%
Mental health or affect	Beck Depression Inventory	6	8%
Other (less directly pain-related) outcome	Tampa Scale of Kinesiophobia	16	20%

Source: Self-elaboration.

Moreover, *within* each of the 12 domains, there were usually many different measures in use. Pain intensity, for example, was often measured with a 0-10 Numeric Rating Scale (NRS) or a 100-mm Visual Analogue Scale (VAS; a line scored by measuring the distance from 0 to the patient's "X"). However, many studies used other measures: the pain intensity section of the McGill Pain Questionnaire (e.g., Burton et al. 2004); the Short Form 36 Health Survey's (SF-36's) pain subscale (McGuirk et al. 2001); a 0-10 pain relief scale (Collins, Evans, and Grundy 2006); et cetera.

Furthermore, not all NRS- or VAS-based measures were identical. They often varied in the recall period specified, which could be current pain, daytime pain, pain over the last week, pain over the last three months, et cetera—or could remain unspecified. One study constructed a measure averaging NRS scores of current pain, usual pain during the past two weeks, and least pain during the past two weeks (Dunn, Jordan, and Croft 2006); another used a similar procedure but asked for *worst* pain (Jensen et al. 2007); another used worst pain but specified the past *four* weeks (Skillgate, Vingård, and Alfredsson 2007). Nor were labels for VAS and NRS endpoints consistent: the right-most point could be designated "very severe pain" (Van der Roer et al. 2008:446), "unbearable" pain (Ozturk et al. 2006:623), "the worst pain ever" (Peul et al. 2008:181), et cetera. Existing reviews of non-site-specific pain research reveal similar inconsistencies. For example, Marianne Hjermstad and colleagues (2011) found 41 different versions of NRSs among 54 articles (see also Smith et al. 2015).

The pain-related disability category (sometimes referred to as "function") also comprised a diverse set of measures. Those appearing repeatedly included the Roland-Morris Disability Questionnaire (RDQ), the Oswestry Disability Index (ODI), the Quebec Back Pain Disability Scale (QBPDS), and 10-point Patient-Specific Functional Scales. Many studies used modified versions of measures: Federico Balagué and colleagues (1999) excluded one question from the ODI; Kate M. Dunn and colleagues (2006) did the same with the RDQ; Eva Skillgate and colleagues (2007) modified the Hoving Whiplash Disability Questionnaire to refer to back or neck pain instead of whiplash; et cetera.

Overall, the articles showed high variability in terms of chosen domains, chosen measures, and specific implementations of measures. Direct comparison or pooling of findings across studies would often be challenging or impossible. Before fully exploring the causes of this variability, however, I examine whether researchers consider these measures to be measures of *pain*.

What Counts as a Measure of Pain?

The Kamper articles provide initial evidence that researchers disagree about what constitutes a measure of pain. For instance, some studies explicitly presented the Oswestry Disability Index (ODI) as a measure of disability and treated it as a separate concept from pain (as in Unlu et al.'s discussion of "reductions in pain *and* disability" [2008:191; emphasis added]). However, others introduced the scale specifically as a measure of "back pain" (e.g., Giles and Muller 2003:1494). Some trials did not directly classify the ODI or other disability measures, but included no other more direct measures of pain among their outcomes (e.g., Rattanatharn et al. 2004). One can thus assume that the disability measure was considered a measure of pain; otherwise, the study would be evaluating a treatment for pain without ever assessing pain.

Responses to my initial interview question about pain—"How do you measure pain in your work?"—also revealed a range of understandings of what it means to measure pain. A minority of interviewees interpreted this narrowly, volunteering only information about pain intensity measures. Dr. Nussbaum, for example, mentioned the VAS and NRS as his primary pain measures. When I later asked about other measures in his publications, he responded, "[T]he Quebec Back Pain Disability Questionnaire is actually a measure of disability… Not really a pain measurement. And neither, by the way, is the EuroQol…[T]hese are not measures of pain or pain intensity but disability." Some authors took an intermediate position, limiting "pain" to pain intensity, but describing other domains as essential to studies of pain nonetheless: "They're not pain scales *per se*. They're sort of functional impairment. But… with back pain, you really have to deal with both" (Udovitch interview).

The majority of authors I interviewed, however, spontaneously mentioned domains other than pain intensity before I brought them up, presenting them as measures of pain. Indeed, several explicitly rejected the notion of pain as synonymous with pain intensity. Dr. Legac, for example, explained that he assessed pain using measures of intensity, disability, and work capacity because "[s]ome people consider that measuring pain is more or less equivalent to measuring pain intensity…but… you need several domains to be more or less comfortable with what you are doing."

Pain experts with a clinical focus appeared more likely to argue for broad conceptions of pain. [Dr. Nussbaum, who earlier limited "pain" to pain intensity, was an epidemiologist with no clinical experience.] Moreover, several interviewees made a distinction between acute and chronic pain, explaining that measures of pain intensity might suffice when treating the former but not the latter. As one specialist explained, acute pain settings are "fairly transactional situation[s]," in which patients provide a pain intensity number and caregivers respond with a medication or prescription. In contrast,

> [P]eople like myself, who deal with these folks [chronic pain patients], don't really care about the pain rating scale…Typically what we're doing when we assess outcome in chronic pain states is… to assess disability, function, depression, anxiety, anger, work satisfaction, et cetera, et cetera. And so that's why you see this plethora of standardized questionnaires, that are desperately trying to say, what is the pain experience? The chronic pain experience. [Nadeau interview]

Dr. Ostergaard similarly dismissed the importance of pain intensity: "[T]he most interesting thing about doing chronic pain work, the most surprising thing to me, is pain itself is not a vital outcome measure." The very feature of pain that most laypeople see as its essence—how much it hurts—is here presented as *in*essential.

In short, to measure pain may mean to assess pain intensity, to assess intensity along with other domains, or to assess *primarily* other domains. The diversity of pain measures in use reflects, in part, disagreement on what counts as a pain measure to begin with. An explanation for this lack of consensus is presented in the final Findings section.

How Are Pain Measures Justified?

How do pain experts justify their choice of pain measures? Among the Kamper articles, a small proportion included no justification of chosen mea-

sures, even indirect justification through citations (e.g., Brötz et al. 2003). The majority, however, directly justified their measures in one or both of two ways.

First, selected measures were very frequently described as "valid," "reliable," and/or "responsive." For brevity, I sometimes abbreviate this set of characteristics as "validity" below. Rob J. E. M. Smeets and colleagues (2006:5), for example, described their various outcome measures as "a valid and reliable instrument," "a reliable measure of pain intensity," "a reliable, valid…questionnaire," "[having] fairly good validity and reliability," et cetera. Second, pain authors often highlighted that their chosen measures were "from the literature" (e.g., Balagué et al. 1999:2518), were "similar to the outcomes used in other prognostic studies" (Bekkering et al. 2005:1882), or, simply, "ha[ve] been used previously" (Mehling et al. 2005:46). Footnotes were typically provided after each measure, signaling these same attributes: prior validation and/or prior use. A prototypical justification, then, might resemble this: "All these questionnaires have been validated in the literature with the references cited above" (Ferguson et al. 2001:59).

These same themes emerged clearly in my interviews. Indeed, 17 of 20 interviewees spontaneously mentioned "validity and reliability" (Oilman interview), "multiple validations" (Udovitch interview), "validated scales" (Fow interview), et cetera in explaining their choice of measures. Several indicated that they conducted thorough literature reviews at the onset of every project to identify the most valid measures (e.g., Dr. Heddy). I explore what researchers mean by "validity" in the next section, but here note that interviewees often presented validity as a property *inherent in a measure*: a measure was validated or not, and this was context-independent.

Thirteen of my interviewees volunteered that their selected measures came from "the literature." In a minority of cases, "the literature" was seen to represent the expertise of individual or organizational authorities. Dr. Xanthos chose measures "by looking at the literature. Mostly by reading some papers by Deyo… He's kind of the papa of back pain research." Dr. Staab volunteered that he chose his measures based on IMMPACT recommendations. More commonly, however, authors appeared indifferent as to what particular literature was being invoked, mentioning neither specific authors, journals, or organizations. Instead, the most relevant feature of "the literature" was typically its *quantity*. Describing questionnaires as "widely used in the literature" (Nicolson interview), "all over the place" (Ostergaard interview), or "all over the literature" (Udovitch interview) was high praise. "The literature," then, served primarily as a sign of collective justification. Researchers' nearly universal reliance on existing measures (or minor variations thereof) further underscores their desire to conform to established measurement norms.

At face value, either validity or comparability with "the literature" could encourage movement toward standardization. If "validity" is inherent in a measure, then researchers might independently recognize the superior validity of a certain measure, and eventually all come to select the same one. Alternately, the desire to emulate professional peers could, with time, lead to growing comparability of measures as researchers drop rarer measures in favor of those "all over the literature." To assess the plausibility of such processes, I now scrutinize the concepts of "validity" and "comparability."

Scrutinizing Validity

When asked what they meant by "validity," my interviewees often began by providing textbook definitions of the term and/or enumerating key types of validity: "[T]hings like face validity. Do they measure what both physicians and patients would generally perceive to be the correct items, say around back pain? Do they have construct validity?...Criterion validity against standard measures. That's the sort of thing I'm talking about" (Hannigan interview). Other aspects of validity mentioned included "reliability" (e.g., Nussbaum interview) and "sensitivity and specificity" (e.g., Heddy interview). Pain experts expressed concern not only with the validity of specific measures but also with validity at the level of the study. Thus, validity encompassed designing a study with a limited number of outcome measures and sufficient statistical power (to avoid false positive findings due to multiple hypothesis testing) (e.g., Staab and Eusanio interviews). Study-level validity also entailed avoiding patient fatigue, confusion, or non-response, as from an excessive number of questions (e.g., Cata and Hannigan interviews). Finally, multiple researchers mentioned that the validity of scientific findings could be improved by combining studies in a meta-analysis, which depended on comparability of measures (e.g., Hannigan interview); comparability thus bolstered validity. In short, "validity" was a complex and multidimensional concept.

Not all interviewees mentioned all these facets of validity, but no interviewee rejected any of them. That is, I found no evidence of incommensurable beliefs about—or less than universal desire for—validity *in the abstract*. Nonetheless, my interviewees often came to highly divergent evaluations of specific measures. For example, some chose the Roland-Morris Disability Questionnaire over the Oswestry Disability Index because it "showed better reliability and validity" (Maquet interview); others strongly preferred the ODI, arguing that "we should get rid of the Roland Morris" due to its lack of construct validity (Staab interview); and still others rejected both in favor of other scales (Cata and Nicolson interviews), also citing concerns about validity.

How can researchers agree on definitions of validity, yet come to such different conclusions about the validity of specific measures? The answer emerging from my data is that validity was not, in practice, inherent in measures; instead, it was contextual. Local circumstances determined or negated a measure's validity. Moreover, because of its multifaceted nature, two or more facets of validity could come into conflict even in a specific context.

Perhaps the most easily predicted example of this is that validity is culture- and language-dependent. The Kamper articles indicated this, as when Balagué and colleagues (1999:2518) explained that the Oswestry question about sexual function showed "low acceptance" among local participants, and thus was excluded; or when studies specified that they used questionnaires validated in local languages. One interviewee noted that even relatively subtle differences between American and British English could undermine measure validity (Hannigan interview).

Most examples of the locality of validity, however, were based on study setting, design, and goals. Clinicians often described themselves as working under tremendous time pressure— "[W]e have one patient every ten minutes" (Cata interview)—and thus prized measures for their brevity. One clinician desired "measures that can be incorporated into electronic medical records" and which patients could

answer by computer before appointments (Udovitch interview). Researchers conducting telephone interviews had their priorities. Dr. Ehrling rejected the multiple-choice Oswestry scale because it could not be easily used by phone; Dr. Nicolson avoided visual analog scales for the same reason. Dr. Hannigan, who conducted large mail surveys, prized "instrument[s] that people find easy to complete." Several authors limited the number of outcome measures in their studies due to time or space constraints (e.g., Udovitch interview), or due to small sample size (to avoid "too much [statistical] testing," [Staab interview]).

The severity, type, or location of the pain under examination also affected evaluations of a measure's validity. Dr. Udovitch described the Oswestry scale as "most sensitive at the high end of impairment," while the "Roland scale is a bit more sensitive at the middle and lower ends," and chose his measure accordingly. Dr. Xanthos explained that in post-surgical settings, "the Oswestry is very good. But in primary care, it's the Roland Morris score." Dr. Staab, who previously used the McGill Pain Questionnaire, vowed "never to use it again. Because it's really not telling you anything more for people with no specific pain. It might be more interesting with neuropathic pain." As it happens, a specialist examining neuropathic pain considered the McGill questionnaire and found it had too *few* relevant questions; he extended it with additional ones (Eusanio interview). One LBP researcher found certain LBP-specific disability questionnaires sufficiently valid, but switched to a general pain disability scale for comparability with his colleagues, who studied many different pain conditions (Staab interview).

As such examples suggest, researchers frequently found themselves contending with competing notions of validity, especially when defined broadly to include comparability with other studies. Dr. Legac had foreign workers among his patients, so generally used the ODI rather than the RDQ because he could find the former in five relevant languages. However, he used the RDQ in his studies of teenagers, for comparability with "studies in the UK… we tried to reproduce the same protocol." Desire for comparability with others' studies competed with and undermined his desire for consistency across his studies. Using both scales simultaneously was rejected as causing excessive respondent burden. Dr. Udovitch praised the SF-36 disability measure's "good validation and responsiveness," but nonetheless used a back-pain-specific measure because it had "good benchmarking" and because it "relates to the back. The patient's going to like it. So, how's that for rationale?" Comparability with his previous research and patient approval competed with and ultimately trumped the desirable properties of the SF-36. That Dr. Udovitch recognized a degree of arbitrariness in this outcome is suggested by his closing rhetorical question.

The local and multifaceted nature of validity helps explain the earlier example of four authors who came to divergent conclusions about pain-related disability scales. Dr. Maquet worked in primary care—and thus, sharing Dr. Xanthos's evaluation of the RDQ as more valid in such settings than the ODI, preferred the former. Dr. Staab came to the opposite conclusion, rejecting the RDQ for its poor construct validity, as it includes items about sleep and other topics that are not strictly "disability." Dr. Cata, whose research was based on mailed questionnaires, dismissed both measures, reasoning that their length would suppress response rates; he preferred the shorter Chronic Pain Grade. Dr. Nicolson preferred the Patient-Specific Func-

tional Scale for its customizable content and the resulting benefits to content validity and responsiveness. All four authors, then, justified their chosen measures by invoking "validity"—but they were different validities, leading to different choices of measures.

Timmermans and Berg (1997:273) argue that "universality is always 'local universality.'" The present data support a parallel argument, namely, that validity is always local validity—constrained by circumstances including language, study mode and setting, research topic, choice of reference study, et cetera. Simultaneously, such constraint is often incomplete: even in specific contexts, researchers may face a proliferation of competing validities, due partially to the multifacetedness of validity itself.

Scrutinizing Comparability

Most interviewees readily acknowledged that self-reports of pain are subjective and ultimately incomparable: "My six isn't the same as your six, and no two sixes will ever be the same" (Washington interview); "I don't think we can ever really be certain that ratings across respondents on self-report measures are comparable or mean the same thing" (Ehrling interview). Nonetheless, many interviewees saw a lack of interpersonal comparability as posing little problem for their research. What mattered, interviewees repeatedly told me, is "[n]ot actually what the number is, it's whether I can change it" (Bembery interview). For example, if a subject's self-reported pain declined from six to four, that indicated improvement, regardless of how that six corresponded to another person's six (Eusanio interview). In such contexts, it was not interpersonal but *intra*personal comparability that was essential—and that was assumed to be present.

Some pain experts did suggest that for certain types of research, lack of interpersonal comparability could be problematic: "From a perspective of doing epidemiological research, ideally yes[, you'd have interpersonal comparability]" (Zahar interview); "that's a problem when you want to compare groups, yeah" (Staab interview). And yet, even researchers specializing in pain epidemiology sometimes denied that interpersonal incomparability posed a problem (e.g., Dr. Udovitch) or resisted its characterization as "a problem": "[I]n epidemiological studies, you have to just take what you get and assume that seven equals seven, irrespective. [Interviewer: So do you think this poses a problem in your research?] You can call it a problem if you like. It's definitely a factor. But again, we have to go by what the patient says…'Pain is what the patient says it is'" (Cata interview).

As this invocation of McCaffery's dictum suggests, most interviewees supported the idea that "the gold standard" of pain measurement "is patient report" (Udovitch interview)—some quite adamantly (e.g., Dr. Hannigan). Others were more circumspect, defining self-reports as the best *available* rather than the best possible measures (Oilman interview). Overall, however, most researchers did not express a desire for more objective measures of pain.

In her presentation of "a sociology of measurement," Linda Derksen (2002:803) argues that "credible scientific knowledge is produced through the systematic erasure of uncertainty and random variation." All measurement, she notes, involves error, but how much error is deemed "reasonable" is socially negotiated (Derksen 2002:805). For the researchers I interviewed, the error introduced by the subjectivity of self-reported pain *was* considered reasonable. This is shown by a reluctance to even deem it a "prob-

lem," as in the Cata quote above, and also more directly, as when Dr. Hannigan stated, "There is definitely noise in the system. But despite that noise, we are able to pick up some quite strong signals of predictors for onset or outcome of back pain." Interpersonal incomparability of pain is here depicted as "noise" in a system characterized by a high signal-to-noise ratio—that is, something undesired, but forgivable.

In contrast—and as predicted by the valorization of "the literature" described earlier— interviewees highly valued comparability *across studies*. Dr. Xanthos declared inter-study comparability "very important. On a scale from zero to ten, ten." As Dr. Nicolson explained, consistency of measures is "the only thing that really enables us to compare findings across studies. Generally, we don't believe anything these days from one study. So we want to have multiple studies and…we want to be able to pool data." Such views were widespread.

But with *which* studies should researchers pursue comparability? For several pain experts, comparability with their prior work was paramount: "You want to be able to…look at your body of research over a period of time in a way that's somehow comparable" (Zahar interview). Sometimes a single study captured a researcher's attention and became the basis for comparison (e.g., Nicolson interview). Many interviewees desired broad comparability with others, but had to choose precisely *which* others to prioritize. Dr. Staab, as noted, measured pain-related disability with a general rather than LBP-specific scale, to match local colleagues who studied many types and sites of pain. In the process, however, he reduced his work's comparability with that of other LBP researchers. Other interviewees, in contrast, committed to comparability with a specific field, as when Dr. Nussbaum rejected a general measure in favor of measures "commonly used in the field of back pain research." Sometimes measure choice appeared shaped by broad geographical norms: "Scandinavian countries [are] very much used to us[ing] the ODI…England and the United States are more fond of the RDQ" (Staab interview). It should be noted that *every* measurement decision involved a comparability trade-off: increasing comparability with one reference group necessarily decreased comparability with others.

Overall, inter-study comparability, like validity, was multiple and underdetermined: researchers had many reasonable choices for which studies to emulate in terms of measurement outcomes. I next explore how the informational structure of the LBP research community constrained—or failed to constrain—this plethora of choices.

Informational Push and Pull, and Organizational Recommendations

During interviews, I asked pain experts what professional journals they subscribed to or frequently read. Responses were often minimally revealing of professional identity, as many interviewees listed numerous journals from many disciplines, or declined to name *any* journals, noting that they searched in electronic databases rather than restricting themselves to specific periodicals.

Reference lists in the Kamper articles confirm that, when it comes to pulling information for literature reviews, LBP researchers put up few disciplinary or national barriers.[3] Balagué and colleagues (1999),

[3] Most cited articles were authored by researchers in the US, Canada, Europe, or Australia—which, if the Kamper articles are indicative, is precisely where most LBP research is conducted.

for example, included citations from spine, pain, physiotherapy, neurology, rehabilitation medicine, orthopedic, rheumatology, internal medicine, and general medicine journals and monographs, published by authors in no fewer than nine countries. Such citational heterogeneity was typical.

However, when asked what conferences they most frequently attended, pain authors' responses paint a picture of a less integrated field. Six respondents regularly attended an LBP-specific conference, with several of these also attending other pain conferences. These respondents often directly identified as back pain researchers. Dr. Nicolson, for example, though trained as a physiotherapist, explained, "[M]ost of the research I do now I would describe as back pain research across the disciplines rather than physiotherapy as such." Other authors, in contrast, embraced specifically disciplinary identities, as when Dr. Legac—despite prolific publication on low back pain—asserted that he is not "a specialist in pain. I am a rheumatologist." Consequently, the other conferences listed by interviewees, while numerous (e.g., primary care, physiotherapy, rheumatology, epidemiology, complementary and alternative medicine, work disability prevention, health economics, etc.), were rarely listed by more than two interviewees each. Indeed, three authors' preferred conferences did not overlap with those of any other respondent. Geography also affected conference attendance, with researchers most likely to attend conferences on their home continent.

These data suggest that the LBP research community consists of a minority of "insiders" (who attend LBP conferences and see themselves as LBP researchers) along with a majority for whom "low back pain researcher" is a second-order identity, or perhaps not an identity at all. Members of the latter group move in professional circles that are somewhat or even highly isolated from other LBP researchers.

Additional evidence that interviewees often occupied minimally overlapping professional worlds is that they were frequently aware of very different recommendations for measurement standardization. During interviews, I asked if respondents were familiar with the recommendations of OMERACT (the longest-standing group focused on pain-related outcome standards) or IMMPACT (whose recommendations have been highly cited, and which has aimed to publicize its recommendations through "lots of word of mouth, lots of visibility, lots of publications" [Eusanio interview]). Approximately half of the pain authors had heard of one or both groups. ["Approximately" because some gave equivocal answers, for example, "Yeah… I think there's a couple groups" (Udovitch interview).] Five said that they had, or in the future likely would, incorporate IMMPACT's or OMERACT's recommendations in their research. Many interviewees, however, immediately pointed me to *other* groups working on measurement standardization—typically groups reflecting their professional identity or location. Dr. Nicolson, who identified as an LBP researcher, mentioned recommendations made by LBP researchers; Dr. Udovitch, who attended the National Center for Complementary and Alternative Medicine (NCCAM) conference, volunteered, "I know the NCCAM group;" Dr. Heddy, located in northern Europe, suggested "maybe you want to go to a website called COSMIN…It's an effort to improve measurements, and it's run by people in the Netherlands;" et cetera. There were exceptions—as when Dr. Hannigan, located in Europe, mentioned the US-based PROMIS system—but overall, information about specific measurement recommendations appeared to concentrate in disciplinary or geographic pockets, leav-

ing different researchers familiar with different recommendations.

Just how interdisciplinary and international the LBP research community is, then, depends on which informational flows are being examined. The "pull" of information characterizing literature reviews indeed appears largely unimpeded by disciplinary or national borders. In contrast, the "push" of information—as when researchers or organizations attempt to disseminate and promote standard measures—appears at least partially blocked at such borders. This difference may reflect the fact that, thanks to Internet-based search engines, informational pull can be easily achieved without leaving one's office. Publicizing recommendations, however, may require more direct interpersonal interactions, facilitated by professional organizations and conferences. This thesis is supported by Dr. Nussbaum's explanation of the two measures' relative popularity: "[T]he person who developed the Quebec Back Pain Disability…actually didn't travel around the world to go into scientific conferences to promote his instrument. And the Roland-Morris…has [been] widely promoted and therefore more often used." Failure to broadly publicize recommended standards appears common. At the 2014 American Pain Society meeting, I attended a presentation on the NIH Pain Consortium's new recommendations for measuring LBP. When I asked whether the recommendations were publicized outside the US, I was told they were not: because the initiative was NIH-sponsored, it was seen as an American endeavor.

A final point about recommendations for standardizing pain measurement is that they are often not particularly specific. Some list many outcome domains that researchers are invited to select among (e.g., Turk et al. 2008a). Others recommend a specific construct but provide multiple options for measuring it—sometimes not particularly intercomparable options (e.g., Deyo et al. 1998; Dworkin et al. 2005). While flexible or multiple-choice recommendations may appeal to a larger number of researchers, they may also ultimately undermine study comparability.

Are Pain Measures Currently Standardized?

When asked whether pain measures are well-standardized in pain research, interviewees provided a wide range of responses, ranging from "No, definitely not. There are way too many measures" (Ehrling interview) at one end to "that [i.e., standardization] has been quite successful" (Nicolson interview) at the other. Most responses were equivocal, for example, "I think they're not that bad" (Udovitch interview) or "Some are and some are not" (Nussbaum interview). What explains such a variety of opinions?

How standardization is evaluated often depends on what is meant by a "pain measure." Dr. Oilman was largely positive in his evaluation of standardization efforts: "[T]he research community is coming toward some sort of consensus as to which are the best outcome measures to use." When asked to specify those "best outcome measures," he named "a Visual Analogue Scale or Numerical Rating Scale"—that is, he took "pain measures" to refer to pain *intensity* measures. Indeed, in the Kamper articles, the pain intensity measures were relatively small in number and relatively comparable, apart from the problems of inconsistent recall periods and endpoint labels. However, researchers who defined pain broadly generally took a more critical view of the state of pain measurement. Dr. Washington, who espoused a highly multidimensional view of pain ("It's phys-

ical and emotional and functional interference"), described the state of standardization as "very disappointing": "It's really hard to compare all of this research. Everybody's kind of out there doing their own thing." Disagreement about what constitutes a pain measure led to disagreement about whether such measures are well-standardized.

Researchers also varied in whether they focused on standardization of *outcome domains* or of specific measures, and in whether they evaluated standardization in pain research as a whole or in specific areas such as LBP or fibromyalgia research (e.g., Hannigan and Udovitch interviews). Opinions about standardization were more sanguine when aspirations were lower, that is, when domain-related or cause-specific standardization was considered sufficient. Variant measures of a single measure were accepted as consistent with standardization more easily than varying permutations of concepts.

Attempts to harmonize pain measures may be hampered by disagreement on what counts as a pain measure, what counts as standardization, and at what scale standardization efforts should be evaluated. To better understand the first of these, I now explore why researchers have such varied understandings of pain.

The Intractability of Pain

A recurring theme in the Kamper articles is the difficulty of predicting or alleviating pain. Studies seeking to identify prognostic factors report null findings with striking frequency. Eva Vingård and colleagues' (2002:2159) key conclusion—"No predictive factors for recovery were found"—accurately summarizes the results of many Kamper articles. A similar pattern is observed among clinical trials: here, Pieter H. Helmhout and colleagues' (2008:1675) finding that, "No significant differences between the 2 groups were shown for any of the outcome measures, at any time" is emblematic. Given the likelihood of publication bias favoring positive findings, the high proportion of negative findings is all the more remarkable—and gives a strong sense of the intractability of LBP (cf. Turk et al. 2011).

While such findings are clearly discouraging for those who suffer from LBP, they also pose a problem for those who study and treat it. Kristin Barker (2005:17-19) describes the field of rheumatology as struggling with low prestige and a "gloomy mood" due to its lack of effective treatments. Quotes from doctors specializing in pain attest to the disheartening effects of treatment failure: "[H]onestly, it can be a thankless task working with chronic pain patients. Who wants to be confronted with failure every day?" (Kenny 2004:302). One may wonder how LBP researchers (or chronic pain researchers more broadly) contend with their frequent failures. My data provide one answer to this question: LBP researchers (and clinicians) focus on facets of "the pain experience" that appear amenable to improvement or prediction.

Interviewees were often forthcoming about the relationship between choice of outcome measures and expectations of therapeutic efficacy. As Dr. Nussbaum explained, "We measured these outcomes because we expected an effect of the intervention on these outcomes." Dr. Hannigan gave a similar rationale:

> [W]hen we were doing this study on chronic widespread pain, there was a lot of discussion amongst the investigators on what was it that we thought would improve. Did we think that people's pain would im-

> prove? Or did we think that people's pain would stay the same but they could just manage it better? Or would it be that their sleep would improve? Or their fatigue?

Dr. Ostergaard further noted that outcomes should register change before a study's completion. In the Kamper articles, preference for measures indicating success was also apparent: studies often highlighted outcomes improved by the intervention and deprioritized others. Pim Luijsterburg and colleagues (2008:509), for example, found that only one of five measures responded to the intervention but presented precisely this one as the "primary outcome."[4] Pain experts desire measurable success in their work and choose outcome measures to support this goal.

To explore interviewees' therapeutic aspirations, I asked 19 of the pain experts whether they saw pain as something to manage or something to cure. Thirteen described it as something to manage, including several who likened chronic pain to a lifelong condition such as diabetes (e.g., Ostergaard and Washington interviews). Four volunteered that while acute pain can be cured, chronic pain can only be managed. A mere two expressed hope for curing chronic pain. The Kamper articles also repeatedly argued for a management-based model (e.g., Burton et al. 2004). While Baszanger (1992) could not, 25 years ago, predict whether cure-based or management-based approaches would come to dominate in pain medicine, the answer is increasingly clear: most contemporary pain experts view chronic pain as something requiring potentially lifelong management; something that typically cannot be cured.

[4] Such practices can occur even when outcomes are pre-registered: a systematic review found that 30% of registered trials showed primary outcome discrepancies, including treating registered primary outcomes as non-primary in publications (Smith et al. 2013).

One reason LBP studies include many outcome domains besides pain intensity, then, is because researchers believe they have little chance of eliminating or reducing pain, but that they can achieve improvements in other domains. As Dr. Ehrling stated, "Pain is really a secondary outcome of interest since there is no guarantee that pain can be cured or reduced, but we know we can help people improve functionally despite the pain." Dr. Ostergaard's claim that "pain itself is not a vital outcome measure" reflects similar reasoning.

Notably, professionals' framings of pain as largely intractable were often at odds with patients' understandings and hopes. In multiple interviews, clinicians described how substantial "expectations management" (Udovitch interview) was required to "talk people out of the 'cure' belief" (Ehrling interview)—and noted that "many patients will not accept that initially" (Hannigan interview). The multidimensional view of pain, in which professionals aim to improve diverse aspects of "the pain experience" but not necessarily pain intensity itself, often appeared more acceptable to professionals than to patients.

Patient desires notwithstanding, persistent pain is not, at present, a "doable problem" (Fujimura 1996) for clinicians and researchers. Pain experts thus reconfigure it, through the use of varied outcome measures, to make it more "doable," that is, treatable or predictable. This contributes to the diversity of pain measures in use.

Discussion

Despite long-standing calls to standardize pain measurement, especially in the context of clinical trials, contemporary pain research continues to

feature a wide variety of pain-related outcome domains and specific measures of those domains. The present study confirms this finding in the case of LBP research, and uses qualitative methods (including interviews with centrally-positioned pain researchers) to better understand *why* standardization efforts have been only partially successful.

From the attention paid by scholars to pain's "fragile factuality" (Baszanger 1992), one might suspect that epistemological challenges explain the difficulty of settling on standard measures of this profoundly invisible, self-reported condition. However, while LBP researchers do acknowledge the subjectivity of self-reports of pain, they do not see this subjectivity as an epistemological roadblock. In some study designs, interpersonal incomparability of self-reports is deemed irrelevant; in others, it is treated as a form of acceptable measurement error. The "systematic erasure of uncertainty" (Derksen 2002:803) required for scientific knowledge production is achieved without noticeable tension. Bruno Latour's (1987:99) argument that "Nature" does not itself explain scientific closure is supported here: Nature (pain) is admittedly inaccessible to the technoscientific gaze, and yet inspires minimal scientific doubt.

What factors, then, do undermine measurement standardization? Previous research suggests that the desire to avoid type I errors, doubt that specific outcomes will change during the trial period, and concerns about patient burden (Mulla et al. 2015; Turk et al. 2008b) contribute to the rejection of recommended outcomes. These concerns were, indeed, salient to my interviewees, but this study identifies several additional factors undermining standardization, summarized below. Each theoretical point is accompanied by a practical corollary, of potential relevance to participants in standardization processes.

Validity and Comparability Are Local and Multiple

In explaining their choice of pain measures, LBP researchers typically highlight their desires for validity (broadly defined) and for comparability with existing literature. However, the pursuit of these attributes does not lead straightforwardly to standardization, and may, indeed, lead away from it. Validity is contextual, and pain researchers work in many linguistic, cultural, conceptual, and study-design-related contexts; it is also multidimensional and multiple, meaning that multiple valid measures are generally available in any circumstance. Pursuing comparability also has unpredictable results because there are so many answers to the question, "Comparable with *what or whom*?" With one's prior work? With specific studies to be replicated? With geographically local colleagues or disciplinary colleagues? With organizational recommendations (and if so, which organization's)? Overall, researchers face a surfeit of legitimate scientific justifications, which leaves measurement choices underdetermined.

Practical Corollary

Researchers could advocate more effectively for preferred measures if they acknowledged the locality and multifacetedness of validity. That is, rather than simply proclaiming a measure "valid," they might establish and advertise its local validities: can it be administered by phone, mail, and iPad? Will it work across disease types, demographic and linguistic groups, different types of research (e.g., clinical and survey-based), et cetera? Advocates of standardiza-

tion could also constrain measurement choice by acknowledging and adjudicating among competing facets of validity. For example, if one measure has better construct validity but another has higher responsiveness, which should be prioritized? Targets for comparability could be constrained through better diffusion of organizational recommendations, as discussed in the next section.

Barriers to Informational Push Are Greater Than Barriers to Informational Pull

In LBP research, and likely in many other scholarly fields, there is a disjuncture between how knowledge is pulled and how it is pushed. Informational pull—the deliberate seeking out of information, as for a literature review—appears minimally impeded by national or disciplinary boundaries. In contrast, informational push—publicizing information to recipients who are not actively seeking such information—reveals clear effects of such boundaries. Organizational recommendations for standard measures, which depend on informational push, are thus often unknown to researchers outside of specific disciplinary or geographic pockets. This limits the recommendations' potential to harmonize pain measurement. In addition, recommendations sometimes present very general or multiple-choice options; these may constrain measurement choices weakly even if they reach their intended audience.

Practical Corollary

Campaigners for standardization would do well to acknowledge the substantial effort required to push recommendations to a diverse research community (see Timmermans and Epstein [2010"81] on standardization as an "active, time- and resource-intensive process"). Advocates may need to physically cross disciplinary and national borders, as by publicizing recommendations at conferences in fields and countries beyond those of the standards' originators. Doing so may lead to a greater number of competing recommendations; if so, the recommendations themselves may need to be harmonized. Ideally, this would not occur through multiple-option lists: suggestions for specific, individual measures are likely to enhance standardization more than menu-style ("pick one from column A and one from column B") recommendations. Finally, institutional *requirements* would be more effective than recommendations at constraining the choice of measures; for example, if a large funding agency began requiring the use of specific pain measures, standardization would be hastened.

Researchers Select Outcome Measures to Enhance Their Professional Credibility and Success

LBP researchers disagree about what, precisely, is meant by "pain." While for some, pain refers to pain intensity, for others, pain encompasses multiple, varied domains (e.g., "disability, function, depression, anxiety, anger, work satisfaction, etc., etc." [Nadeau interview]). A key reason many researchers take a broad view of pain is that this enables them to focus, in their clinical and academic work, on outcomes less resistant to improvement and prediction than pain intensity. That is, researchers redefine the problem of pain to improve their chances of professional success. In particular, many LBP experts embrace a multidimensional, management-based approach to pain, which treats the reduction of pain intensity as an unlikely or secondary goal. However, patients frequently resist this approach (cf. Kamper et al. 2010 on the salience of pain elimination to patients). The idea that pain intensity "is not a vital

outcome measure" (Ostergaard interview) is a hard sell to make to pain sufferers and may contribute to their poor relations with healthcare providers (Jackson 2011). One may ask whether researchers' interest in multiple facets of pain should be lauded for its holism or critiqued for its negation of patient perspectives.

Practical Corollary

Researchers should include standard measure(s) of pain intensity in every study, even if other outcome domains are also represented. This way there is at least one measure that is constant across studies—and one that reflects patient priorities. More broadly, reflection on how definitions and measures of pain contribute to the nonalignment of expert and patient goals could improve relations between the two.

Standardization May Be More Appealing as an Ideal Than in Practice

In publications and interviews, LBP researchers were enthusiastic supporters of measurement standardization—in the abstract. When asked about measurement choice in specific scenarios, however, they often had good reasons to reject standardization (including those pertaining to validity, comparability, and professional success described above).

Practical Corollary

Arguably, before any other considerations, researchers may wish to acknowledge the downsides of measurement standardization: It can undermine local validity and comparability, and it may reduce the appearance of professional success. Before asking, "How do we achieve standardization?," researchers should ask, "Do we *want* standardization?"

These findings emerge from a close examination of LBP research but are likely relevant to many other scientific fields, including social scientific ones. Desires for valid and comparable measures, and for measurable professional success, are widespread. So, too, is the asymmetry between relatively unconstricted informational pull and more narrowly channeled informational push. Such factors may undermine measurement standardization in many contexts.

This study confirms that standardization is a distributed activity occurring across social networks (Timmermans and Berg 1997; Timmermans and Epstein 2010) by highlighting how standardization is impeded when networks are constricted, as when recommendations fail to diffuse across professional subgroups. In this case, the "resistance" stage in the "life course of standards" (Timmermans and Epstein 2010:74) takes an indirect or accidental form: resistance results from sheer ignorance of the standard's existence. At the same time, integrated networks *also* present challenges for standardization: researchers plugged into multiple professional circles are particularly likely to encounter multiple competing standards with no clear basis for adjudicating among them. Timmermans and Epstein (2010:79) note that voluntary standards may not catch on without "built-in incentives [to] promote compliance." Indeed, strong incentives for adoption are typically absent for recommended pain measures, while competing incentives (e.g., pursuing local validity or comparability, building professional credibility, etc.) are numerous. This study also shows that standardization can be a difficult phenomenon to demarcate. LBP researchers varied

widely in whether they considered pain measurement to be well standardized, with their opinions shaped by their definitions of pain and of standardization itself.

Cases of successful standardization feature many of the factors undermining pain measurement standardization, but in reverse. Joan Fujimura (1996) describes the unification of 1980s cancer research around an oncogene-based "theory-methods package." A large part of this package's appeal was that it suited scientists' professional goals, generating "publications, and academic career boosts, along with applied products…and financial profits" (Fujimura 1996:69). Indeed, because technologies in this package could be (and were) commercialized, corporations had financial incentive to engage in informational push, as when Du Pont advertised its "OncoMouse" in multiple science journals (Fujimura 1996:7-8). For this reason and others, news of the oncogene approach diffused thoroughly in the interdisciplinary cancer research community. Similarly, the successfully standardized protocols described by Timmermans and Berg (1997:286, 289) helped advance professionals' goals—and when they did not, were resisted. They were also effectively diffused by a host of institutions and organizations. Because few studies examine *measurement* standardization, it is difficult to comparatively assess my findings about measurement validity and comparability, but the importance of standards both supporting professional goals and being forcefully diffused is supported by these examples.

This study is limited by focusing on articles on low back pain published before 2009 and on interviews conducted in 2013. Research using more recent articles in other substantive areas, as well as my readings of newer articles, suggest that the lack of standardization described here is restricted neither to pre-2009 articles nor to LBP studies (Mulla et al. 2015), but further research formally analyzing more recent publications and measurement practices is warranted. Though desires for valid and comparable measures, and for measurable professional success, are likely common in many regions and fields, further qualitative work could build on and clarify the generalizability of these findings to other scientific domains. Another limitation is that I lacked data on patient characteristics and how they may shape pain measurement. This could also be an important direction for future research, given evidence that stereotypes—such as of "stoic men" and "hysterical women" (Samulowitz et al. 2018), or of racial/ethnic minorities as less sensitive to pain than whites (Hoffman et al. 2016)—shape clinicians' assessment of pain. This, in turn, shapes the treatment of pain, for better or worse. Nearly half a million Americans have died from opioid overdoses since the turn of the century (Zajacova et al. 2021), highlighting how determinations of pain may have life-or-death consequences. The role of pharmaceutical companies in developing markets for pain medications is outside the scope of this article (and was not mentioned as a factor shaping pain measurement by interviewees) but is, nonetheless, an important topic for research.

Scientists continue to search for objective measures of pain (e.g., Wager et al. 2013; Davis et al. 2020). Would achieving this goal end the difficulties of standardizing pain measurement? An objective pain measure—if valid for clinical use, for assessing intermittent pain, et cetera—could revolutionize patient-provider interactions, since accusations of malingering or drug-seeking could be confirmed or denied. However, my findings suggest that such a measure would have only moderate effects on research study design since many pain researchers to-

day seek not more *objective* pain measures but more *treatable* ones.

Thus—perhaps counterintuitively—the development of successful treatments for pain has greater potential to standardize pain measurement than the development of objective pain measures. If pain intensity comes to be seen as something highly treatable, or if chronic pain becomes a curable condition, then pain studies may come to prioritize pain intensity over the diverse sets of other domains currently in use. Reducing these alternate measures would enhance standardization. Standardization of pain measures—which is pursued so that researchers may better advance their knowledge of pain, including how to treat it—may thus ultimately be a *result* of therapeutic advances as well as, ideally, their *cause*. We may hope that this cycle progresses rapidly, to sooner reduce the suffering caused by pain.

References

Aicher, Bernhard et al. 2012. "Pain Measurement: Visual Analogue Scale (VAS) and Verbal Rating Scale (VRS) in Clinical Trials with OTC Analgesics in Headache." *Cephalalgia* 32(3):185-197.

Balagué, Federico et al. 1999. "Recovery of Severe Sciatica." *Spine* 24(23):2516-2524.

Barker, Kristin. 2005. *The Fibromyalgia Story: Medical Authority & Women's Worlds of Pain*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Baszanger, Isabelle. 1992. "Deciphering Chronic Pain." *Sociology of Health & Illness* 14(2):181-215.

Bekkering, Geertruida E. et al. 2005. "Prognostic Factors for Low Back Pain in Patients Referred for Physiotherapy: Comparing Outcomes and Varying Modeling Techniques." *Spine* 30(16):1881-1886.

Borkan, Jeffrey et al. 1995. "Talking about the Pain: A Patient-Centered Study of Low Back Pain in Primary Care." *Social Science & Medicine* 40(7):977-988.

Brötz, Doris et al. 2003. "A Prospective Trial of Mechanical Physiotherapy for Lumbar Disk Prolapse." *Journal of Neurology* 250(6):746-749.

Burton, A. Kim et al. 2004. "Long-Term Follow-Up of Patients with Low Back Pain Attending for Manipulative Care: Outcomes and Predictors." *Manual Therapy* 9(1):30-35.

Cassar-Pullicino, Victor. 1998. "MRI of the Ageing and Herniating Intervertebral Disc." *European Journal of Radiology* 27(3):214-228.

Collins, Daniel L., Joseph M. Evans, and Reed H. Grundy. 2006. "The Efficiency of Multiple Impulse Therapy for Musculoskeletal Complaints." *Journal of Manipulative and Physiological Therapeutics* 29(2):162e1-162e9.

Davis, Karen D. et al. 2020. "Discovery and Validation of Biomarkers to Aid the Development of Safe and Effective Pain Therapeutics: Challenges and Opportunities." *Nature Reviews Neurology* 16(7):381-400.

Derksen, Linda. 2002. "Towards a Sociology of Measurement: The Meaning of Measurement Error in the Case of DNA Profiling." *Social Studies of Science* 30(6):803-845.

Deyo, Richard A. et al. 1998. "Outcome Measures for Low Back Pain Research: A Proposal for Standardized Use." *Spine* 3(18):2003-2013.

Dunn, Kate M., Kelvin Jordan, and Peter R. Croft. 2006. "Characterizing the Course of Low Back Pain: A Latent Class Analysis." *American Journal of Epidemiology* 163(8):754-761.

Dworkin, Robert H. et al. 2005. "Core Outcome Measures for Chronic Pain Clinical Trials: IMMPACT Recommendations." *Pain* 113(1):9-19.

Elliott, Alison M., Blair H. Smith, and W. Alastair Chambers. 2003. "Measuring the Severity of Chronic Pain: A Research Perspective." *Expert Review of Neurotherapeutics* 3(5):581-590.

Ferguson, Sue A. et al. 2001. "Predicting Recovery Using Continuous Low Back Pain Outcome Measures." *Spine Journal* 1(1):57-65.

Fortier, Isabel et al. 2012. "Harmonizing Data for Collaborative Research on Aging: Why Should We Foster Such an Agenda?" *Canadian Journal on Aging* 31(1):95-99.

Fujimura, Joan. 1996. *Crafting Science: A Sociohistory of the Quest for the Genetics of Cancer*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Giles, Lynton G. F. and Reinhold Muller. 2003. "Chronic Spinal Pain: A Randomized Clinical Trial Comparing Medication, Acupuncture, and Spinal Manipulation." *Spine* 28(14):1490-1502.

Glaser, Barney and Anselm L. Strauss. 1967. *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. New York: Aldine Publishing Company.

Glenton, Claire. 2003. "Chronic Back Pain Sufferers—Striving for the Sick Role." *Social Science & Medicine* 57(11):2243-2252.

Graf, Jonathan. 2010. "Analgesic Use in the Elderly: The 'Pain' and Simple Truth." *Archives of Internal Medicine* 170(22):1976-1978.

Helmhout, Pieter H. et al. 2008. "Isolated Lumbar Extensor Strengthening versus Regular Physical Therapy in an Army Working Population with Nonacute Low Back Pain: A Randomized Controlled Trial." *Archives of Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation* 89(9):1675-1685.

Hjermstad, Marianne Jensen et al. 2011. "Studies Comparing Numerical Rating Scales, Verbal Rating Scales, and Visual Analogue Scales for Assessment of Pain Intensity in Adults: A Systematic Literature Review." *Journal of Pain and Symptom Management* 41(6):1073-1093.

Hoffman, Kelly M. et al. 2016. "Racial Bias in Pain Assessment and Treatment Recommendations, and False Beliefs about Biological Differences between Blacks and Whites." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 113(16):4296-4301.

IASP [International Association for the Study of Pain] website. Retrieved December 30, 2024 (https://www.iasp-pain.org/membership/).

Institute of Medicine; Committee on Pain, Disability, and Chronic Illness Behavior. 1987. *Pain and Disability: Clinical, Behavioral, and Public Policy Perspectives*. Washington, DC: National Academies Press.

Institute of Medicine; Committee on Advancing Pain Research, Care, and Education. 2011. *Relieving Pain in America: A Blueprint for Transforming Prevention, Care, Education, and Research*. Washington, DC: National Academies Press.

Jackson, Jean. 2011. "Pain: Pain and Bodies." Pp. 370-387 in *A Companion to the Anthropology of the Body and Embodiment*, edited by F. Mascia-Lees. West Sussex: Blackwell Publishing.

Jensen, Tue Secher et al. 2007. "Magnetic Resonance Imaging Findings as Predictors of Clinical Outcome in Patients with Sciatica Receiving Active Conservative Treatment." *Journal of Manipulative and Physiological Therapeutics* 30(2):98-108.

Kamper, Steven J. et al. 2010. "How Little Pain and Disability Do Patients with Low Back Pain Have to Experience to Feel That They Have Recovered?" *European Spine Journal* 19(9):1495-1501.

Kamper, Steven J. et al. 2011. "How Is Recovery from Low Back Pain Measured? A Systematic Review of the Literature." *European Spine Journal* 20(1):9-18.

Kenny, Diana T. 2004. "Constructions of Chronic Pain in Doctor-Patient Relationships: Bridging the Communication Chasm." *Patient Education and Counseling* 52(3):297-305.

Latour, Bruno. 1987. *Science in Action*: *How to Follow Scientists and Engineers through Society*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Luijsterburg, Pim et al. 2008. "Physical Therapy Plus General Practitioners' Care versus General Practitioners' Care Alone for Sciatica: A Randomised Clinical Trial with a 12-Month Follow-Up." *European Spine Journal* 17(4):509-517.

McCaffery, Margo and D. M. Thorpe. 1989. "Differences in Perception of Pain and the Development of Adversarial Relationships among Health Care Providers." Pp. 113-125 in *Advances in Pain Research and Therapy, Volume 11*, edited by Ch. S. Hill and W. S. Fields. New York: Raven.

McGuirk, Brian et al. 2001. "Safety, Efficacy, and Cost Effectiveness of Evidence-Based Guidelines for the Management of Acute Low Back Pain in Primary Care." *Spine* 26(23):2615-2622.

Mehling, Wolf E. et al. 2005. "Randomized, Controlled Trial of Breath Therapy for Patients with Chronic Low-Back Pain." *Alternative Therapies* 11(4):44-52.

Mulla, Sohail M. et al. 2015. "Reporting of IMMPACT-Recommended Core Outcome Domains among Trials Assessing Opioids for Chronic Non-Cancer Pain." *Pain* 156(9):1615-1619.

Ozturk, Bulent et al. 2006. "Effect of Continuous Lumbar Traction on the Size of Herniated Disc Material in Lumbar Disc Herniation." *Rheumatology International* 26(7):622-626.

Peul, Wilco C. et al. 2008. "Influence of Gender and other Prognostic Factors on Outcome of Sciatica." *Pain* 138(1):180-191.

Raja, Srinivasa N. et al. 2020. "The Revised International Association for the Study of Pain Definition of Pain: Concepts, Challenges, and Compromises." *Pain* 161(9):1976-1982.

Rattanatharn, Rattana et al. 2004. "Effectiveness of Lumbar Traction with Routine Conservative Treatment in Acute Herniated Disc Syndrome." *Journal of the Medical Association of Thailand* 87(Suppl 2):S272-S277.

Samulowitz, Anke et al. 2018. "'Brave Men' and 'Emotional Women': A Theory-Guided Literature Review on Gender Bias in Health Care and Gendered Norms towards Patients with Chronic Pain." *Pain Research and Management* 2018:6358624.

Scarry, Elaine. 1985. *The Body in Pain*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Schiavenato, Martin and Kenneth Craig. 2010. "Pain Assessment as a Social Transaction: Beyond the 'Gold Standard.'" *Clinical Journal of Pain* 26(8):667-676.

Skillgate, Eva, Eva Vingård, and Lars Alfredsson. 2007. "Naprapathic Manual Therapy or Evidence-Based Care for Back and Neck Pain: A Randomized, Controlled Trial." *Clinical Journal of Pain* 23(5):431-439.

Skloot, Rebecca. 2010. *The Immortal Life of Henrietta Lacks*. New York: Crown Publishers.

Smeets, Rob J. E. M. et al. 2006. "Active Rehabilitation for Chronic Low Back Pain: Cognitive-Behavioral, Physical, or Both? First Direct Post-Treatment Results from a Randomized Controlled Trial." *BMC Musculoskeletal Disorders* 7:5.

Smith, Marion V. 2008. "Pain Experience and the Imagined Researcher." *Sociology of Health & Illness* 30(7):992-1006.

Smith, Shannon M. et al. 2013. "Discrepancies between Registered and Published Primary Outcome Specifications in Analgesic Trials: ACTTION Systematic Review and Recommendations." *Pain* 154(12):2769-2774.

Smith, Shannon M. et al. 2015. "Quality of Pain Intensity Assessment Reporting: ACTTION Systematic Review and Recommendations." *The Journal of Pain* 16(4):299-305.

Timmermans, Stefan and Marc Berg. 1997. "Standardization in Action: Achieving Local Universality through Medical Protocols." *Social Studies of Science* 27(2):273-305.

Timmermans, Stefan and Steven Epstein. 2010. "A World of Standards but Not a Standard World: Toward a Sociology of Standards and Standardization." *Annual Review of Sociology* 36:69-89.

Treede, Rolf-Detlef et al. 2015. "A Classification of Chronic Pain for ICD-11." *Pain* 156(6):1003-1007.

Tubach, Florence, Julien Beauté, and Annette Leclerc. 2004. "Natural History and Prognostic Indicators of Sciatica." *Journal of Clinical Epidemiology* 57(2):174-179.

Tugwell, Peter et al. 2007. "OMERACT: An International Initiative to Improve Outcome Measurement in Rheumatology." *Trials* 8:38.

Turk, Dennis C. et al. 2003. "Core Outcome Domains for Chronic Pain Clinical Trials: IMMPACT Recommendations." *Pain* 106(3):337-345.

Turk, Dennis C. et al. 2008a. "Identifying Important Outcome Domains for Chronic Pain Clinical Trials: An IMMPACT Survey of People with Pain." *Pain* 137(2):276-285.

Turk, Dennis C. et al. 2008b. "Analyzing Multiple Endpoints in Clinical Trials of Pain Treatments: IMMPACT Recommendations." *PAIN* 139(3):485-493.

Turk, Dennis C., Hilary D. Wilson, and Alex Cahana. 2011. "Treatment of Chronic Non-Cancer Pain." *Lancet* 377(9784):2226-2235.

Unlu, Zeliha et al. 2008. "Comparison of 3 Physical Therapy Modalities for Acute Pain in Lumbar Disc Herniation Measured by Clinical Evaluation and Magnetic Resonance Imaging." *Journal of Manipulative and Physiological Therapeutics* 31(3):191-198.

VanDenKerkhof, Elizabeth G., Madelon L. Peters, and Julie Bruce. 2013. "Chronic Pain after Surgery: Time for Standardization? A Framework to Establish Core Risk Factor and Outcome Domains for Epidemiological Studies." *Clinical Journal of Pain* 29(1):2-8.

Van der Roer, Nicole et al. 2008. "Economic Evaluation of an Intensive Group Training Protocol Compared with Usual Care Physiotherapy in Patients with Chronic Low Back Pain." *Spine* 33(4):445-451.

Vingård, Eva et al. 2002. "Seeking Care for Low Back Pain in the General Population: A Two-Year Follow-Up Study: Results from the MUSIC-Norrtalje Study." *Spine* 27(19):2159-2165.

Wager, Tor D. et al. 2013. "An fMRI-Based Neurologic Signature of Physical Pain." *New England Journal of Medicine* 368(15):1388-1397.

Whelan, Emma. 2003. "Putting Pain to Paper: Endometriosis and the Documentation of Suffering." *Health* 7(4):463-482.

Whelan, Emma. 2009. "How Classification Works, or Doesn't: The Case of Chronic Pain." Pp. 169-182 in *The SAGE Handbook of Case-Based Methods*, edited by D. Byrne and Ch. Ragin. London: Sage.

Zajacova, Anna, Hanna Grol-Prokopczyk, and Zachary Zimmer. 2021. "Sociology of Chronic Pain." *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 62(3):302-317.

Citation

Grol-Prokopczyk, Hanna. 2025. "Why Are There So Many Ways to Measure Pain? Epistemological and Professional Challenges in Medical Standardization." *Qualitative Sociology Review* 21(1):46-72. Retrieved Month, Year (http://www.qualitativesociologyreview.org/ENG/archive_eng.php). DOI: https://doi.org/10.18778/1733-8077.21.1.03

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

Magdalena Bielińska
Polish Academy of Sciences, Poland

DOI: https://doi.org/10.18778/1733-8077.21.1.04

Keywords:
Lifestyle;
Middle Class;
Intergenerational Transmission;
Reanalysis; Revisit

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.

Magdalena Bielińska is a sociologist and social researcher. Since 2006, she has been involved in the activities of several NGOs. Since 2013, she has cooperated with the Qualitative Data Archive of the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences (IFiS PAN). Since 2024, she has been a member of the Open Science Platform team of the Interdisciplinary Centre for Mathematical and Computational Modelling of the University of Warsaw (ICM UW). She is enthusiastic about scientific openness, sharing and reusing research data, and research revisits. Her academic and research interests include: the lifestyles of Poles, identity in postmodernity, social structure, social mechanisms of middle-class formation, and the methodology of social research. She is the head of the research project entitled *Transformations of Polish Middle-Class Lifestyle—Twenty Years Later. Mechanisms of Intergenerational Transmission of Lifestyle* (NCN grant no. 2018/29/N/HS6/00958), conducted at the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences.

email address: mbielinska@ifispan.edu.pl

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 mechanism 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

[1] This publication was prepared within the framework of a project funded by the National Science Centre, Poland, granted under decision number: 2018/29/N/HS6/00958.

[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.

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 various 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 access 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 revisiting, 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 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-

[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.

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" [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

[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).

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 imitation. 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 production 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 different 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, 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

[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).

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 bourdiean *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 interrelated 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 "programmatic 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.

References

Adams, Matthew. 2006. "Hybridizing Habitus and Reflexivity: Towards an Understanding of Contemporary Identity?" *Sociology* 40(3):511-528.

Archer, Melanie and Judith R. Blau. 1993. "Class Formation in Nineteenth-Century America: The Case of the Middle Class." *Annual Review of Sociology* 19:17-41.

Bachórz, Agata et al. 2016. *Kulturalna Hierarchia. Nowe Dystynkcje i Powinności w Kulturze a Stratyfikacja Społeczna* [*Cultural Hierarchy: New Distinctions and Duties in Culture and Social Stratification*]. Gdansk: Instytut Kultury Miejskiej.

Bauman, Zygmunt. 1988. *Freedom*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Beck, Ulrich. 2004. *Społeczeństwo ryzyka. W drodze do innej nowoczesności* [*Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*]. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar.

Bell, Daniel. 1973. *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society*. New York: Penguin Books.

Bennett, Tony. 2006. "Distinction on the Box: Cultural Capital and the Social Space of Broadcasting." *Cultural Trends* 15(2-3):193-212.

Bielińska, Magdalena. 2024. "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]." *Studia Socjologiczne* 2(253):109-137.

Bieliński, Jacek and Magdalena Larkowska. 2011. "Elementy stylów życia a struktura społeczna we współczesnej Polsce. Codzienne zachowania i strategie rynkowe [Elements of Lifestyles and Social Structure in Contemporary Poland. Everyday Behaviors and Market Strategies]." Pp. 141-166 in *Meandry Legitymizacji. Studia i Analizy* [*The Meanders of Legitimization. Studies and Analyses*], edited by I. Pańków. Warsaw: Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN.

Binkley, Sam. 2007. "Governmentality and Lifestyle Studies." *Sociology Compass* 1(1):111-126.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1986. "The Forms of Capital." Pp. 241-258 in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, edited by J. G. Richardson. New York: Greenwood.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1990. *The Logic of Practice*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 2005. *Dystynkcja: społeczna krytyka władzy sądzenia* [*Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*]. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 2008. *Zmysł praktyczny* [*Practical Reason*]. Cracow: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.

Bourdieu, Pierre and Jean-Claude Passeron. 2006. *Reprodukcja. Elementy teorii systemu nauczania* [*Reproduction in Education, Society, and Culture*]. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.

Bourdieu, Pierre and Loïc J. D. Wacquant. 2001. *Zaproszenie do socjologii refleksyjnej* [*An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*]. Warsaw: Oficyna Naukowa.

Burawoy, Michael. 2003. "Revisits: An Outline of a Theory of Reflexive Ethnography." *American Sociological Review* 68(5):645-679.

Burski, Jacek. 2016. "Klasa średnia a perspektywa biograficzna. Empiryczne studium przypadku [Middle Class in Biographical Perspective. Empirical Case Study]." *Przegląd Socjologii Jakościowej* 12(2):78-93.

Cebula, Michał. 2013. "Społeczne uwarunkowania gustów i praktyk konsumpcyjnych. Zbieżność pozycji społecznych i stylów życia czy autonomizacja kultury? [Social Patterning of Consumption Tastes and Practices: Convergence of Social Positions and Lifestyles or Autonomy of Culture?]." *Studia Socjologiczne* 2(2):97-125.

Cebula, Michał. 2014. "Społeczne zróżnicowanie umiejętności informatycznych. Redukcja czy reprodukcja nierówności społecznych? [Social stratification of IT Skills. Reduction or Reproduction of Social Inequalities?]." *Ruch Prawniczy, Ekonomiczny i Socjologiczny* 76(1):255-268.

Cebula, Michał. 2015. "Dystynkcja na szklanym ekranie? Telewizja, praktyki odbiorcze a struktura społeczna [Distinction on the TV Screen? Television, Viewing Practices, and Social Structure]." *Przegląd Socjologiczny* 3:53-83.

Cebula, Michał. 2016. "Teoretyczno-metodologiczne wyzwania badań stylów życia: Od psychografii do analizy poststrukturalistycznej [Theoretical and Methodological Challenges of Lifestyle Research: From Psychographics to Poststructuralist Analysis]." *Marketing i Zarządzanie* 3:117-124.

Cebula, Michał. 2017. "Miłość do sztuki? O (nie) słabnącym związku między dyspozycją estetyczną a pozycją społeczną [Love of Art: On the (Un)Diminishing Link between Aesthetic Disposition and Social Position]." *Studia Socjologiczne* 1:43-70.

Cebula, Michał. 2018. "Społeczne uwarunkowania odbioru sztuki. Pomiędzy dyspozycją estetyczną a pluralizmem nastawień [Social Conditioning of Art Reception. Between Aesthetic Disposition and Pluralism of Attitudes]." *Studia Socjologiczne* 2(229):115-145.

Cebula, Michał, Aleksandra Drabina-Różewicz, and Aleksandra Perchla-Włosik. 2023. "Kolejny przypadek dystynkcji? Oglądanie telewizji a przestrzeń społeczna w Polsce [Another Case of Distinction? Watching TV and Social Space in Poland]." *Studia Socjologiczne* 4(251):145-175.

Chałasiński, Józef. 1946. *Społeczna genealogia inteligencji polskiej* [*The Social Genealogy of the Polish Intelligentsia*]. Warsaw: Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza Czytelnik.

Clarke, John and Chas Critcher. 1985. *The Devil Makes Work*. London: Macmillan.

Cooper, Elizabeth and Kate Bird. 2012. "Inheritance: A Gendered and Intergenerational Dimension of Poverty." *Development Policy Review* 30(5):527-541.

Denzin, Norman K. 1970. *The Research Act: A Theoretical Introduction to Sociological Methods*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company.

Domański, Henryk. 1994. *Społeczeństwa klasy średniej* [*Middle Class Societies*]. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN.

Domański, Henryk. 2002. *Polska klasa średnia* [*Polish Middle Class*]. Wroclaw: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego.

Domański, Henryk. 2007. *Struktura Społeczna* [*Social Structure*]. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar.

Domański, Henryk. 2012. *Prestiż* [*Prestige*]. Torun: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK.

Domański, Henryk et al. 2020. "The Homology of Musical Tastes in Poland." *Studia Socjologiczne* 4 (239):183-211.

Drozdowski, Rafał. 1998. "Kontrowersje wokół klasy średniej w Polsce lat dziewięćdziesiątych [Controversy Over the Middle Class in Poland in the 1990s]." *Kultura i Społeczeństwo* 1(42):85-102.

Drozdowski, Rafał. 2019. "Wokół społecznych badań nad codziennością. Socjologia codzienności jako krytyka socjologiczna [Social Research on Everyday Life. Sociology of Everyday Life as Sociological Criticism]." Pp. 65-85 in *Życie Codzienne (w) Archiwum* [*Everyday Life (in) Archive*], edited by M. Zawodna-Stephan. Poznan: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM.

Dumazedier, Joffre. 1974. *The Sociology of Leisure*. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Elias, Norbert. 1980. *Przemiany obyczajów w cywilizacji Zachodu* [*On the Process of Civilisation*]. Warsaw: PIW.

Galbraith, John Kenneth. 1985. *The New Industrial State*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Gdula, Maciej and Przemysław Sadura. 2012. *Style życia i porządek klasowy w Polsce* [*Lifestyles and the Class System in Poland*]. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar.

Gdula, Maciej, Mikołaj Lewicki, and Przemysław Sadura. 2015. *Praktyki kulturowe klasy ludowej* [*Cultural Practices of the Folk Class*]. Warsaw: Krytyka Polityczna.

Giddens, Anthony. 2002. *Nowoczesność i tożsamość: Ja i społeczeństwo w epoce późnej nowoczesności* [*Modernity and Self-Identity. Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*]. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.

Giddens, Anthony. 2006. *Socjologia* [*Sociology*]. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.

Gouldner, Alvin Ward. 1979. *The Future of Intellectuals and the Rise of the New Class*. New York: Seabury Press.

Grzeszczyk, Ewa. 2004. "Bobos, milkies i postmaterialiści w poszukiwaniu poczucia więzi: amerykańskie wzory i polska rzeczywistość [Bobos, Milkies, and Postmaterialists in Search of aSense of Connection: American Patterns and Polish Reality]." Pp. 381-399 in *Niepokoje polskie* [*Polish Unrest*], edited by H. Domański, A. Ostrowska, and A. Rychard. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN.

Holt, Douglas B. 1998. "Does Cultural Capital Structure American Consumption?" *Journal of Consumer Research* 25(1):1-25.

Jacyno, Małgorzata. 2007. *Kultura indywidualizmu* [*Culture of Individualism*]. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.

Jacyno, Małgorzata. 2012. "Style życia [Lifestyles]." Pp. 271-312 in *Współczesne społeczeństwo polskie* [*Contemporary Polish Society*], edited by A. Giza and M. Sikorska. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.

Kallunki, Jarmo. 2023. "Cultural Reproduction in Finland: Symmetric Intergenerational Transmission of Cultural Orientations." *Acta Sociologica* 66(1):26-43.

Kłoskowska, Antonina. 2006. "Teoria socjologiczna Pierre'a Bourdieu. Wstęp do wydania polskiego [Pierre Bourdieu's Sociological Theory. Introduction to the Polish Edition]." Pp. 11-52 in *Reprodukcja. Elementy teorii systemu nauczania* [*Reproduction in Education, Society, and Culture*], edited by P. Bourdieu and J. C. Passeron. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.

Lareau, Annette. 2000. "Social Class and the Daily Lives of Children: A Study from the United States." *Childhood* 7(2):155-171.

Leszkowicz-Baczyński, Jerzy. 2007. *Klasa średnia w Polsce? Sytuacja pracy, mentalność, wartości* [*Middle Class in Poland? Work Situation, Mentality, Values*]. Zielona Gora: Uniwersytet Zielonogórski.

Lewis, Oscar. 1966. "The Culture of Poverty." *Scientific American* 215(4):19-25.

Łukasiuk, Magdalena and Marcin Jewdokimow. 2014. *Socjologia zamieszkiwania* [*Sociology of Dwelling*]. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Sub Lupa.

Mach, Bogdan W. 2007. "Między służbą a karierą: uwagi o społecznych funkcjach inteligencji polskiej [Between Service and Career: Notes on the Social Functions of the Polish Intelligen-

tsia]." Pp. 299-313 in *O życiu publicznym, kulturze i innych sprawach* [*About Public Life, Culture, and Other Matters*], edited by B. W. Mach and E. Wnuk-Lipiński. Warsaw: Collegium Civitas, Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN.

Marody, Mirosława. 1997. "Styl życia jako kategoria opisu socjologicznego [Lifestyle as a Category of Sociological Description]." Pp. 7-13 in *Wartości, praca, zakupy… O stylach życia Polaków* [*Values, Work, Shopping… About the Lifestyles of Poles*], edited by M. Falkowska. Warsaw: Centrum Badania Opinii Społecznej.

Mead, Margaret. 2000. *Kultura i tożsamość: studium dystansu międzypokoleniowego* [*Culture and Commitment: A Study of the Generation Gap*]. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.

Mills, Charles Wright. 1965. *Białe kołnierzyki: amerykańskie klasy średnie* [*White Collar: The American Middle Classes*]. Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza.

Mohr, John and Paul DiMaggio. 1995. "The Intergenerational Transmission of Cultural Capital." *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility* 14:169-200.

Mokrzycki, Edmund. 1994. "Nowa klasa średnia? [New Middle Class?]." *Studia Socjologiczne* 1(132):37-52.

Mroczkowska, Dorota. 2012. "Wymarzone style życia Polaków. O pragnieniach, fantazjach, aspiracjach dotyczących wypoczynku i czasu wolnego [Free Time—Fantasy, Dreams, and Disappointment, or on Systemic Expectations Reflected in the Emotions]." *Kultura i Społeczeństwo* 4:165-176.

Mroczkowska, Dorota. 2020. *Zrozumieć czas wolny. Przeobrażenia, tożsamość, doświadczanie* [*Understanding Leisure: Transformations, Identity, Experiencing*]. Poznan: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM.

Müller, Jörg. 2016. "Engineering Lifestyles: Career Choices in Late Modernity." Pp. 37-56 in *Virtual Workers and the Global Labour Market. Dynamics of Virtual Work*, edited by J. Webster and K. Randle. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Notten, Natascha and Gerbert Kraaykamp. 2009. "Parents and the Media. A Study of Social Differentiation in Parental Media Socialization." *Poetics* 37(4):185-200.

Organista, Natalia and Michał Lenartowicz. 2019. "Klasa społeczna a poziom i zróżnicowanie rodzinnej aktywności sportowo-rekreacyjnej. Wyniki badań jakościowych [Social Class and the Level and Diversity of Family Sport and Leisure Practices. Qualitative Study Results]." *Przegląd Socjologii Jakościowej* 15(3):116-135.

Ossowski, Stanisław. 1957. *Struktura klasowa w społecznej świadomości* [*Class Structure in Social Consciousness*]. Wroclaw: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich.

Ostrowska, Antonina. 1999. *Styl życia a zdrowie: z zagadnień promocji zdrowia* [*Lifestyle and Health: From Health Promotion Perspective*]. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN.

Palska, Hanna. 1999. "Styl życia. Stan badań i nowe potrzeby badawcze [Lifestyle: The State of Research and New Research Needs]." In *Homo eligens. Społeczeństwo świadomego wyboru. Księga jubileuszowa ku czci Andrzeja Sicińskiego* [*Homo Eligens. A Society of Conscious Choice. A Jubilee Book in Honor of Andrzej Siciński*], edited by D. Gawin. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN.

Palska, Hanna. 2002. *Bieda i dostatek. O nowych stylach życia w Polsce końca lat dziewięćdziesiątych* [*Poverty and Prosperity: On New Lifestyles in Poland at the End of the Nineties*]. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN.

Palska, Hanna. 2007. "Trwałość i zmiana stylów życia [Stability and Changing Lifestyles]." Pp. 159-176 in *Jedna Polska? Dawne i nowe zróżnicowania społeczne* [*One Poland? Old and New Social Differences*], edited by A. Kojder. Cracow: Wydawnictwo WAM, Komitet Socjologii Polskiej Akademii Nauk.

Palska, Hanna. 2009. "Dawne i obecne badania nad stylami życia. Analiza dwu przypadków [Past and Present Lifestyle Research: A Two-Case Study]." Pp. 121-134 in *Socjologia i Siciński. Style życia. Społeczeństwo obywatelskie. Studia nad przyszłością* [*Sociology and Siciński. Lifestyles. Civil Society. Future Studies*], edited by P. Gliński and A. Kościański. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN.

Riesman, David. 1971. *Samotny Tłum* [*The Lonely Crowd*]. Warsaw: PWN.

Rojek, Chris. 1995. *Decentring Leisure. Rethinking Leisure Theory*. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Rojek, Chris. 2000. *Leisure and Culture*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Rojek, Chris. 2005. *Leisure Theory. Principles and Practice*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Siciński, Andrzej. 1976. *Styl życia: koncepcje, propozycje* [*Lifestyle: Concepts, Proposals*]. Warsaw: PWN.

Siciński, Andrzej. 1978. *Styl życia: przemiany we współczesnej Polsce* [*Lifestyle: Changes in Contemporary Poland*]. Warsaw: PWN.

Siciński, Andrzej, ed. 1988. *Style życia w miastach polskich (u progu kryzysu)* [*Lifestyles in Polish Cities (On the Threshold of Crisis)*]. Wroclaw: Ossolineum.

Siciński, Andrzej. 2002. *Styl życia, kultura, wybór: szkice* [*Lifestyle, Culture, Choice: Sketches*]. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN.

Siciński, Andrzej and Anna Wyka. 1988. *Badania rozumiejące stylu życia: narzędzia* [*Lifestyle Understanding Research: Tools*]. Warsaw: IFiS PAN.

Stebbins, Robert A. 1982. "Serious Leisure: A Conceptual Statement." *The Pacific Sociological Review* 25(2):251-272.

Stebbins, Robert A. 2007. *Serious Leisure. A Perspective for Our Time*. New Brunswick, London: Transaction Publisher.

Straczuk, Justyna. 2022. "Kwestia smaku. O klasowym wymiarze upodobań kulinarnych, alternatywnych systemach wartości i legitymizacji nierówności społecznych [A Matter of Taste. On the Class Dimension of Culinary Preferences, Alternative Value Systems, and the Legitimization of Social Inequalities]." *Studia Socjologiczne* 2(245):33-57.

Sullivan, Alice. 2011. "The Intergenerational Transmission of Lifestyles." *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* 50(1):196-222.

Tarkowska, Elżbieta. 2000. *Zrozumieć biednego. O dawnej i obecnej biedzie w Polsce* [*Understanding the Poor: On Past and Present Poverty in Poland*]. Warsaw: Typografika.

Tarkowska, Elżbieta. 2001. "Czas społeczny a czas wolny: koncepcje i współczesne przemiany [Social Time and Leisure Time: Concepts and Contemporary Changes]." Pp. 17-33 in *Kobieta i kultura czasu wolnego* [*Women and the Culture of Leisure*], edited by A. Żarnowska and A. Szwarc. Warsaw: DiG.

Tyszka, Andrzej. 1971. *Uczestnictwo w kulturze. O różnorodności stylów życia* [*Participating in Culture: On the Diversity of Lifestyles*]. Warsaw: PWN.

van Eijck, Koen. 2011. "Vertical Lifestyle Differentiation: Resources, Boundaries, and the Changing Manifestations of Social Inequality." *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* 63:247-268.

Veal, Anthony James. 2006. *Research Methods for Leisure and Tourism. A Practical Guide*. Harlow: FT Prentice Hall.

Veal, Anthony James. 2017. "The Serious Leisure Perspective and the Experience of Leisure." *Leisure Sciences* 39(3):205-223.

Veblen, Thorstein. 2008. *Teoria klasy próżniaczej* [*Theory of the Leisure Class*]. Warsaw: Muza.

Vecernik, Jiri. 1999. "The Middle Class in the Czech Reforms: The Interplay between Policies and Social Stratification." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 32:397-416.

Weber, Max. 2002. *Gospodarka i społeczeństwo: zarys socjologii rozumiejącej* [*Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*]. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.

Weingartner, Sebastian and Jörg Rössel. 2019. "Changing Dimensions of Cultural Consumption? The Space of Lifestyles in Switzerland from 1976 to 2013." *Poetics* 74:101345.

Wesołowski, Włodzimierz. 1966. *Klasy, warstwy i władza* [*Classes, Strata, and Power*]. Warsaw: Polskie Wydawnictwo Naukowe.

Wnuk-Lipiński, Edmund. 1975. *Czas wolny: współczesność i perspektywy* [*Leisure Time: Present and Future*]. Warsaw: Instytut Wydawniczy CRZZ.

Wnuk-Lipiński, Edmund. 1981. *Budżet czasu, struktura społeczna, polityka społeczna* [*Time Budget, Social Structure, Social Policy*]. Wroclaw: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich.

Zarycki, Tomasz. 2008. *Kapitał kulturowy: inteligencja w Polsce i w Rosji* [*Cultural Capital: Intelligentsia in Poland and Russia*]. Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego.

Ziółkowski, Marek. 2002. "Dziedziczenie i wybór. Zwiększone możliwości wyboru, nierówności społeczne i problemy społecznej tożsamości [Inheritance and Choice. Increased Possibilities of Choice, Social Inequality, and Problems of Social Identity]." *Studia Socjologiczne* 3(166):5-33.

Znaniecki, Florian. 2001. *Ludzie teraźniejsi a cywilizacja przyszłości* [*People of Today and the Civilization of the Future*]. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.

Citation

Bielińska, Magdalena. 2025. "Passions, Travel, and Cultural Participation—Intergenerational Transmission of Middle-Class Lifestyles." *Qualitative Sociology Review* 21(1):74-99. Retrieved Month, Year (http://www.qualitativesociologyreview.org/ENG/archive_eng.php). DOI: https://doi.org/10.18778/1733-8077.21.1.04

QSR

Available Online
www.qualitativesociologyreview.org

For all sociologists for whom interpretative paradigm and qualitative research methodology are basic perspectives of studying social reality. In order to enable a free flow of information and to integrate the community of qualitative sociologists.

EVERYWHERE ~ EVERY TIME

Volume XXI ~ Issue 1

January 31, 2025

ISSN: 1733-8077