




Henryk Domański 


Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences

Dariusz Przybysz 

Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences

Katarzyna Wyrzykowska 

Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences

Kinga Zawadzka 

Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences

## THE HOMOLOGY OF MUSICAL TASTES IN POLAND

The main aim of the analysis is to determine to what extent preference for specific musical genres is related to social position. The study was based on data from a survey conducted in 2019 on a random sample of Poles. The explained phenomena are six genres representing broad spectrum of musical tastes: classical music, jazz, rock, rap, pop, and disco polo. The results of the analysis indicate that the diversity of musical tastes does not come down to one dimension. Family socialization, educational level, and, in part, class position exert the highest impact not only on preferences of classical music but also on liking jazz, rock and disco polo. The class effect appears almost negligent in preference for pop and rap which lead us to general conclusion that cultural stratification does not cover all forms of activity having a selective effect. Musical preferences turn out to be extremely strongly connected with parent's cultural capital and respondents' level of education.

**Keywords:** Musical taste; social stratification; lifestyle

**Henryk Domański, Instytut Filozofii i Socjologii PAN**

**Dariusz Przybysz, Instytut Filozofii i Socjologii PAN**

**Katarzyna Wyrzykowska, Instytut Filozofii i Socjologii PAN**

**Kinga Zawadzka, Instytut Filozofii i Socjologii PAN**

### Homologia gustów muzycznych w Polsce

Głównym celem tej analizy jest ustalenie, preferowanie jakich gatunków muzyki związane jest z usytuowaniem w hierarchii społecznej silniej, a jakich słabiej. W artykule wykorzystano dane z badania zrealizowanego w 2019 roku na ogólnopolskiej próbie dobranej metodą losową. Wyjaśnianym zjawiskiem jest sześć gatunków, które wydają się w miarę trafnym odzwierciedleniem szerokiego spektrum upodobań muzycznych

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Henryk Domański, IFiS PAN, e-mail: hdomansk@ifispan.edu.pl, ORCID 0000-0001-5078-5027; Dariusz Przybysz, IFiS PAN, e-mail: przybysz@ifispan.edu.pl, ORCID 0000-0001-9872-3140; Katarzyna Wyrzykowska, IFiS PAN, e-mail: katewyrzyk@gmail.com; ORCID 0000-0002-1889-9865; Kinga Zawadzka, IFiS PAN, e-mail: kzawadzka@ifispan.edu.pl; ORCID 0000-0002-0852-4314.

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Polaków: muzyka poważna, jazz, rock, rap, pop i disco polo. Wyniki analizy wskazują, że zróżnicowanie gustów muzycznych nie sprowadza się do jednego wymiaru. Wprawdzie hierarchia klasowa odtwarza się najsilniej w preferowaniu muzyki poważnej, jednak niewiele ustępują jej upodobania do jazzu, rocka i disco polo. Poza stratyfikacją klasową lokują się preferencje do muzyki popularnej i rapu. Wynikałoby stąd, że mechanizmy stratyfikacyjne nie obejmują wszystkich form aktywności i oddziałują wybiórczo. Preferencje muzyczne okazują się wyjątkowo silnie związane z kapitałem kulturowym rodziców i wykształceniem respondentów. One to głównie uruchamiają kształtowanie dystansów klasowych.

**Słowa kluczowe:** gust muzyczny; stratyfikacja społeczna; styl życia

## Introduction

Empirical studies indicate that the stratification of culture is not limited to a one-dimensional gradation (Bennett et al. 2009; Prieur, Savage 2013; Cebula 2013; Bachórz et al. 2016). It is not the case that people with high social status listen only to classical music and at the same time are ballet enthusiasts, read classical literature, enjoy sophisticated dishes, and limit their activities to golf or tennis. Simultaneously, members of lower classes do not only like simple popular music, watch westerns, read color magazines stars and books bashed by critics. This would be close to homology where a system of class differences ('the social space') corresponds to a system of lifestyle differences (Bourdieu 1984).

The phenomenon that violated the homologous vision of social space was omnivorism, understood as a variety of tastes and forms of practicing culture (Peterson, Kern 1996). The appearance of omnivorism was interpreted as another argument for the decline of class divisions (Peterson, Kern 1996; Peterson, Simkus 1992). It might seem that increasing diversity – combined with globalization, growing consumption, and the accessibility of culture – should blur class barriers. Contrary to these expectations, omnivorism rather maintained class profiles. It showed that the greatest omnivores – experiencing and appreciating a variety of cultural tastes – are people of a higher social status, and univores are members of lower classes, who tend to valorize tastes of necessity. Enjoyment and fun, impropriety, and fulfilling material needs are virtues in lower space. The functions rather than forms of cultural objects are of central importance here (van Eijck 1999; Warde et al. 2007; Atkinson 2011; Veenstra 2015). In line with this research omnivorism triggered new processes of class divisions instead of blurring them.

The "discovery" of omnivorism confirmed the doubts expressed by Bourdieu's critics who say that distribution of lifestyles is not structured in accordance with the structures of social space. Another "discovery" or, rather, another aspect of cultural choices was cosmopolitanism consisting in the ability and readiness

to exceed the area of one's national culture (Ciccelli, Octobre 2018) and the division between "active" and "passive" people, i.e. between people who are engaged and people who are indifferent or dislike musical genres. Research conducted in England, Denmark, Norway, and partly in Poland shows that the latter is the most visible form of "distinction" (Weingartner, Rössel 2019: 6; Le Roux et al. 2008; Szlendak et al. 2019).

This study tests the applicability of these theses to the stratification of musical tastes in Poland. Based on data from a survey administered in 2019, we want to determine to what extent musical preferences are related to the class position. There are three main issues worthy of our attention. First, the results of previous analyses revealed that cultural stratification resides in various areas of lifestyle. Therefore, it would be an out-of-date if we narrowed it down to classical music and jazz, and ignored e.g. popular music, including different varieties of rock and "younger" genres such as hip hop or disco polo.

Second, the research should consider the impact of the national context. Although the stratification of culture is created and organized around universal rules, there also are some local contexts that influence it (Warde, Gayo-Cal 2009; Cvetičanin, Popescu 2011). For example, studies conducted in Denmark and Norway indicate that elements classified as "higher culture," such as going to the theater or preference for classical music, are not reflected in class divisions (Prieur et al. 2008; Rosenlund 2019). No evidence of omnivorous culture was found in Germany (Neuhoff 2001), while in Denmark and the United States the percentage of omnivorous people increased until the 1990s and then decreased (Jaeger, Gero 2008). In Serbia, the most popular music genres are contemporary folk music, the so-called turbo folk, and Latin American music (Cvetičanin 2019).

Our third contribution is highlighting the homology framework by claiming that breadth of cultural tastes has supplanted possession of specified highbrow/lowbrow tastes as the notable cultural delimiter of class boundaries. Results of previous analyses do not undermine the standpoint of Bourdieu's homology framework that musical tastes and distastes, seemingly personally idiosyncratic in nature, are in fact reflections of class-based habitus. Instead, they indicate that stratification does not cover all spheres of activity. Moreover, strong and weak forms of cultural activity can be distinguished by the degree to which breadth of taste has supplanted specified highbrow or lowbrow tastes. Above-mentioned results showed that the opposition between popular and highbrow tastes based on class patterns needs to be updated. We need to unravel what all these principles are, how they relate one another and to what extent the class position affects different musical preferences.

## Research Questions

According to Bourdieu (1984), a key principle underlying the homology of class positions and cultural tastes, consists in transfer of the same pattern of activity in various domains. In sociological terminology, this may mean that cultural practices are subject to the same regularities, which in particular refers to the existence of similar mechanisms of class stratification. There are many music genres and it is unlikely that people evaluate them according to similar criteria, and that it displays in set of practices relationally in a one dimensional space.

Another issue is how these vary by both nationality and social position. Although the influence of social class on liking of classical music seems to have an international dimension, jazz pieces may be received differently in Poland than in Anglo-Saxon countries, not to mention Latin American compositions or Jewish music. A third aspect in favor of broadening the field of analysis is the emergence of new musical trends, which have not yet managed to blend in with processes of the reproduction of cultural capital but are becoming elements of the broadly understood social space.

Our analyses focus on the homology of musical tastes in Poland. We identified six genres that cover a fairly diverse spectrum of musical preferences. The first is classical music that traditionally belongs to a sophisticated and most prestigious culture – also called highbrow culture – which is legitimized by the school system and the media, at least until recently (Di Maggio 1982; Bourdieu 1984; Bennett et al. 2009). Most studies have been content to demonstrate that people who enjoy classical music are especially enshrined in the better educated but less-wealthy segment of the upper class, the home of the intelligentsia, whereas the members of the lower class tend to consume music with simple, repetitive structures (such as the popular waltzes of Strauss) which are easy to listen to, called music- and lyricswise “unambitious” (Chan, Goldthorpe 2007; Coulangelon, Duval 2015; Cebula, Pilch 2020). In this context, the concept of highbrow subsumes a variety of meanings: e.g. some business elites demonstrate their preferences for the classical music in order to compensate for the scarcity of cultural capital, while for the typical intelligentsia these preferences stem from the need to emphasize exclusivity as a counterbalance to lower material status (Jarness 2013; Dubois 2015). One may assume that the homology exists to the extent in which there is isomorphic relation or one-to-one correspondence, between the multidimensional space of positions and the multidimensional space of musical tastes.

The second analyzed genre is jazz. There are several arguments in favor of treating jazz as much appreciated as classical music among people of upper-middle class and its lesser popularity in the lower classes. The first argument comes down to the fact that people with low educational capital who are at the bottom

of the social hierarchy have difficulty in the reception of jazz music, especially avant-garde pieces. Second, jazz music is an alternative to classical music, which may be perceived as “bourgeois,” lacking dynamics, or even repetitive, associated with the music of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, which offers the same elements and structures over and over again. Modern classical music does not satisfy the needs of modernity because it belongs to a niche with but a few listeners. Hence, jazz pieces are more easily accessible. Third, although classical music and jazz differ in many respects, we may observe the interest of classical music composers in the jazz style and, on the other hand, the use of classical music elements by jazz composers. The list of artists exemplifying this tendency includes Igor Stravinsky, George Gershwin, or Charlie Parker. Attempts to combine both these currents began in the mid-twentieth century, both among cool jazz and classical music composers such as Robert Graentinger, Milton Babbitt, and Rolf Lieberman (Schaeffer 1987). Given that jazz is associated with Western music and the American upper middle class, it can be seen as part of a more comprehensive cosmopolitan syndrome.

If classical music is “replaced” by jazz the same may apply to “ambitious” rock, i.e. rock pieces or artists regarded classical in the genre that inspire successive generations of artists. This category includes Led Zeppelin, King Crimson, Deep Purple, Pink Floyd, and – in the case of Poland – Hey, Manaam, Republika. Just like jazz, “ambitious” rock requires preparation and its recipients are listeners who are musically “prepared.” Moreover “ambitious” rock may be associated with the positively evaluated western lifestyle and focus on cosmopolitanism. What reinforces the iconic character of rock bands in public perception is that the canon of this genre was created by British and American performers, some of whom are already dead; hence, whose output is “closed.” It seems that most listeners of ambitious rock – both Polish and foreign – belong to the metropolitan intelligentsia, while its supporters should come from the same categories as classical music and jazz enthusiasts. Research on rock music and its derivatives like metal or punk shows that enthusiasts of this genre comes usually from men (Berkers, Schaap 2018).

The fourth piece of music is rap. It is a relatively young genre, formed in the 1970s in the United States of America, popularized in Poland in the 1990s, currently represented by such performers as Paktofonika, O.S.T.R., and Molesta. Unlike classical music and jazz, preference for rap is situated in a different dimension of musical tastes. The key element of rap is the textual layer, which uses simple, “real” language, as close as possible to the everyday language, sometimes rich with vulgarisms. The lyrics are about everyday life but also about relationships, emotions, conflicts with the authorities. Rap is an expression of fight against injustice embedded in social inequalities and rebellion against the establishment. Noteworthy, despite the relatively low number of rap listeners

(CBOS 2018), they form a devoted and loyal group, revealed by the fact that rap records dominate the bestsellers' rankings in Poland (see Sokołowski et al. 2019). Over time, from an alternative music of a counterculture, rap – or at least some of its variations – has evolved toward a genre affiliated with pop music, which undoubtedly has contributed to rap's popularity. In the Polish context, this especially means the increasing popularity of so-called blends – i.e. DJ combinations of hip-hop and pop songs – and the emergence of mainstream performers combining music solutions of both genres, such as Taco Hemingway and Quebonafide. There also appeared opinions in circles outside of this music that rap has already become part of Poland's national cultural heritage (Szarecki 2019: 155). However, in its dominant and original current, rap remains “urban” and “male” (Hobson, Bartlow 2008; Mohammed-Baksh, Callison 2015). Therefore, we may expect that supporters of rap will be mainly young, poorly educated men from cities and blue-collar workers.

Fifth, we employed preferences for pop. Unlike rap, which is based on a strong text layer, pop uses possibly simple texts. This genre is presented on almost all radio stations, including a very wide category of musicians, which (in Polish case) includes both artists such as Zbigniew Wodecki or Irena Santor and Doda, Madonna, or Lady Gaga (Sokołowski et al. 2019: 84). In our analysis, we focus on “cosmopolitan” pop, i.e. mainly British and American performers such as Rihanna, Adele, or Ed Sheeran. In light of the survey conducted among Polish teenagers, only foreign artists rank at the top of their lists of favorite pop performers (see Narodowe Centrum Kultury 2018). This music is very well-prepared technique-wise, popular, and dominating the charts around the world. In terms of social background, pop finds listeners in almost all social categories, it represents popular music, and for both these reasons it should differ from the mechanisms of class stratification. We expect that its supporters are slightly more often young women, people with secondary education, and owners of small businesses.

Finally, we examine liking disco polo, i.e. the “child” of Polish political transformation, initially called “sidewalk music” and associated with a village party in a fire station (Borys 2019), which in recent years has entered the salons thanks to the appreciation of public media. Disco polo is form of dance folk music characterized by simple electronic music based on several chords and banal lyrics. In many aspects, the history of disco polo reflects broader social processes that accompany Polish social and political transformations that happened after 1989. We may perceive disco polo as one of the ways of modernizing Polish rural areas and as an attempt to create one's own language that reflects the specificity of broadly understood Polish province (Socha 2019).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Noteworthy, the aesthetics of contemporary disco polo significantly differs from that of the 1990s disco polo aesthetics. Since then, the quality of production has improved, and the ac-

Bearing in mind that social composition of the listeners of disco polo is generally unknown, our study will verify the stereotypical conviction present in the public discourse that disco polo is preferred mostly by people with low level of education, middle-aged and the elderly, inhabitants of small towns and villages, while the least interested in disco polo are young city dwellers, senior managers, and specialists. Disco polo is a product of Polish culture. Nevertheless, we find equivalents in other countries, e.g. in the Portuguese *pimba* or the German *heimatmelodie*. Therefore, we may assume that the interest in disco polo will stand in contrast to the cosmopolitan taste. Moreover, from the very beginning, the creators of disco polo openly disregard music canons, ignore unfavorable reviews, record new albums, and give a lot of concerts: these are both open-air events broadcast by the media and more intimate concerts at rural festivals. Disco polo artists are active, positive, and always close to people. In this sense, we may perceive disco polo as an alternative to the so-called ambitious music. Moreover, because disco polo is dominated by the spirit of fun and entertainment – for which there is social demand – and the assumed listener has no secondary education, this genre should trigger a homological process in the direction opposite to the one engendered by classical or rock music.

### Data and Variables

The data were obtained from the stratification of musical tastes survey, conducted in 2019 between February and June by means of a computer-assisted personal interviewing (CAPI).<sup>2</sup> The sample of 4200 people aged fifteen or more was drawn on a personal sampling frame based on Polish national identification number PESEL.<sup>3</sup> In total, 2007 cases were realized without a reserve sample.

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comparing visual message has changed. Moreover, there appears an ambivalence of attitudes toward this genre. For example, musicians frequently criticize disco polo yet envy high earnings of musicians and peaceful life (Wyrzykowska, Zawadzka 2018). Moreover, disco polo in social perception shows a phenomenon – unprecedented in the early days of the disco polo era – that can be described as ironic participation in disco polo culture, i.e. listening to disco polo or dancing to it at a home party or wedding “just for kicks.” People who do it declare that they do not usually listen to disco polo or even dislike it (Wyrzykowska 2017).

<sup>2</sup> Study *Musical tastes and social stratification in process of Poles lifestyles formation* was funded by National Science Center (UMO-2017/25/B/HS6/01929). Research team comprised Henryk Domański, Dariusz Przybyś, Katarzyna Wyrzykowska, and Kinga Zawadzka researchers in the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology Polish Academy of Sciences). The survey was administered by consortium *Danae and Realizacja*. Questionnaire and other technical characteristics are described in: <http://www.md.ifispan.pl/>.

<sup>3</sup> In many respects, the sampling design was like the pattern used in the Polish edition of the European Social Survey. In each city with more than 50,000 inhabitants, the simple random

The analysis of socio-demographic variables does not indicate any significant differences between sample distributions and results of previous studies, except for some underrepresented categories classified as “managers and specialists” and “owners outside of agriculture.”

The questionnaire covered various forms of practicing culture, especially those concerning music. The questions concerned not only respondents’ preferences, knowledge, and musical activity but also those of their spouses, parents, and friends. In this article, we focus on the analysis of selected musical preferences, which may be treated as representative of practicing culture. The explained variables are classical music, jazz, pop, ambitious rock, rap (hip-hop), and disco polo. In order to make the variables operational, we used answers to questions about liking different songs and music genres. Survey participants first responded to an open question: “What music do you like most? Please provide names of your favorite performers, bands, composers.” The respondents recorded answers in their original form, which at the coding stage were assigned to several music genres. In a closed question the respondents received a list of seventeen genres which they were to grade on a five-point scale ranging from “I definitely dislike” to “I like very much.” The same scale was used in another closed question about preference for the music of selected composers, performers, and music bands.<sup>4</sup>

In order to get a detailed insight into the structure of musical tastes, we used a method of listening to fragments of music pieces. Respondents rated individual compositions on a scale from one (“I do not like this at all”) to five (“I like it very much”).<sup>5</sup> An indicator of preference for classical music is the sum of answers: (i)

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sample without replacement was drawn, with the number of people drawn proportional to the number of people aged fifteen and more, living in each city. In the case of smaller towns and villages, the selection was two-stage: first, within the stratum distinguished by voivodeship, town, or village size, the towns and villages were drawn, and then – in each of them – eight-person groups of respondents. The sample included a surplus of people from big cities and young people (15–27 y.o.). The data was weighted according to the sample selection scheme, and the post-stratification weight was also used, including the lower than assumed realization of the sample in large cities.

<sup>4</sup>In the case of both closed questions, the respondent could also answer “hard to say.” In the case of the closed question, the respondent was first asked if he or she knows a given composer, performer, or band. If the answer was negative, the question about liking the music of a given artist did not appear.

<sup>5</sup>The duration of each listening session did not exceed 30 seconds. Respondents could listen to the songs directly from laptop speakers or using headphones. After listening to each piece of music, respondents were asked: “Whose music do you think it is? Please pick one of the given possibilities.” The respondents could pick from a list of 10 bands or composers and were asked to choose one correct answer. The next question was: “Do you like this music?” This question was asked regardless of whether the respondent identified the music correctly or not.



“I like it very much” and “I like it” in the closed question on classical music; (ii) respondent’s declaration that s/he “likes” or “very much likes” Bach, Mozart, and Wagner; (iii) a statement that s/he “likes” or “very much likes” the compositions of Bach, Boulez, Beethoven, Puccini and Tschaikovsky s/he just heard; (iv) respondent’s answer to an open question, in which s/he declared that s/he listens to classical music. The classical music liking index created in this way ranges from zero to 10, with reliability (Cronbach’s alfa) of 0.88.

The indices for other music genres were constructed in a similar way. The attitude to jazz is the sum of answers indicating that the respondent “likes very much” or “likes” jazz and the music of Louis Armstrong, positively thinks of Miles Davis’ “Kind of Blue” when listening to it, and includes jazz when answering the open question. An indicator of liking rock music is the sum of the answers “I like it very much” or “I like it” in reference to the music of Metallica, Led Zeppelin, U2, Nirvana, and in the case of listening to the song “Time” by Pink Floyd. The index of liking rap is a combination of answers “I like it” or “I like it very much” in the closed question about music genres, regarding the music of Eminem and Peja, Paktofonika’s *Jestem Bogiem* (I Am God), and naming rap in the open question. The disco polo preference indicator includes the positive rating of Bayer Full and Sławomir, the Weekend’s song *Ona tańczy dla mnie* (She Dances for Me), and naming disco polo as the preferred genre in both closed and open questions. Finally, the index of foreign pop preference is the sum of responses “I like it very much” or “I like it” in relation to the music of Rihanna, Adele, and Ed Sheeran and a positive response to the song *Perfect* by Sheeran. Options of ‘liking’ ranged from zero to four (for rap, jazz, and pop), from zero to five (for rock and disco polo), and from zero to 10 for classical music. Indicators’ reliability ranged from 0.75 to 0.78. In order to ensure indicators’ comparability, we transformed them all into a uniform scale ranging from zero to 10.

The main independent variables are social origin, education, and respondent’s social class. The Erikson–Goldthorpe–Portocarero class scheme that we used includes six categories. These are: (i) big owners, top-level managers, high government officials and specialists, referred to the *service class* by the authors of the EGP scheme, (ii) lower-level white collars such as technicians, nurses, accountants, clerks in routine jobs, and sales and service workers, (iii) owners and self-employed outside agriculture, (iv) skilled workers, (v) unskilled workers, and (vi) farmers, which includes farm owners and farm workers (Erikson, Goldthorpe 1992).

Social origin is identified by the EGP classes of mother and father – measured identically as in the case of respondents – and by selected aspects of cultural capital. We employed the number of music recordings in the respondent’s family

home and whether mother and father liked disco polo, jazz, and classical music.<sup>6</sup> Education is defined by five categories: (i) representatives of higher education who hold a diploma, (ii) incomplete higher or post-secondary education, (iii) secondary education, (iv) base vocational or incomplete secondary education, (v) primary or lower education. Concerning cultural capital of respondent we use the experience of learning to play musical instruments outside of school, e.g. in a community center, in an extracurricular work campus, or in a parish. We have chosen the experience of learning an instrument outside of school, because it is relatively most strongly correlated with the types of musical tastes analyzed here, especially when compared to taking private lessons, learning in private schools, and other indicators of cultural activity. Finally, also included is socio-demographic information, in particular regarding respondents' sex, age divided into five categories, and the place of residence divided into six categories, from village to city with more than 500,000 inhabitants.

### **Class Stratification and Music Preferences**

As with the homology thesis, cultural stratification is relatively homogenous, i.e. it reveals within all of different musical tastes in the same way. Thus, members of the upper class should like classical music more than members of lower classes. The former should also have a stronger preference for jazz and rock. On the other hand, members of the lower classes should have a greater predilection for disco polo and popular music, commonly regarded as simple and unambitious. At this point, we should emphasize that the use of the terms "upper class" and "lower class" somewhat trivializes the essence of the class structure, which is a set of positions that covers variety of social distances. Therefore, we cannot clearly define the advantage of workers over farmers or owners over office workers. Nevertheless, we will not make the mistake when asserting that the lifestyle of specialists places them at the top of the social hierarchy and provides them with "higher" reputation.

The first question that arises here is whether the types of music tastes that have been distinguished are stratified by social class. Table 1 shows relationships between preferences for musical tastes and class divisions. Higher values indicate stronger preferences for music genres and lower values respectively weaker. As expected, the higher-class position is associated with a greater

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<sup>6</sup> The respondents answered the question "How much did your mother like the following music genres when you were of school age," using a five-point scale ranging from "She liked it very much" to "She disliked it very much" to "I dislike it very much." The list of genres included classical music, jazz, rock, pop and festive music/disco polo. A similar question was asked in relation to father.

preference for classical music and jazz. Managers and specialists enjoy classical music and jazz the most. They are followed owners, then by office workers, next are skilled, non-skilled workers, and farmers. Thus, liking jazz and classical music steadily decreases across the classes. As can be seen, similar pattern displays in case of preferences for rock music with minor irregularities in that owners come before specialists. Although this difference is not statistically significant, the result is surprising, because the radical ideas of some kinds of rock (punk, heavy metal) should be more appreciated by specialists than business people. After all, left-wing supporters are usually members of the intelligentsia. Perhaps rock has not yet advanced to the role of a dominant culture and does not match the prestige of classical music enough to gain the recognition of people with highest class position. On the other hand, owners may have greater esteem for milder – rather than radical – rock varieties that do not encourage rebellion.

**Table 1.** Preference for music genre according to social class (arithmetic mean); Poland 2019

Social Class	The Type of Music a Respondent Likes:					
	Classical Music	Jazz	Rock	Disco Polo	Rap	Pop
Managers and specialists	4.59	3.12	4.03	2.21	1.59	4.75
Office workers	3.08	2.03	3.12	3.83	1.95	5.26
Owners	3.50	2.70	4.33	4.28	2.06	4.87
Skilled workers	2.25	1.62	2.93	4.81	2.03	3.92
Non-skilled workers	1.81	1.07	2.32	5.15	1.75	3.51
Farmers	1.63	1.07	1.45	5.36	1.05	2.90
Eta-squared	9.1%	6.5%	5.8%	6.9%	1.4%	5.8%

The reverse is the case with preferences for disco polo. As predicted, it enjoys greater popularity among people at the lower status levels. Disco polo is most favored by farmers and non-skilled workers, i.e. people who often change work, with undefined jobs, and low education. Not far from them are skilled workers followed right behind them by owners and routine non-manual workers. However, remarkable, there are no clear class pattern as if the entertaining qualities of disco polo outweighs its “commonness”, although markedly the lowest preferences of disco polo exhibit the managers and professionals.

Neither strict class gradient in preferences for pop and rap occurs. Given that we analyze foreign pop represented by Rihanna, Adele, and Ed Sheeran, it may suggest that what lies below preferences for pop music is a positive attitude

to cosmopolitanism, associated, for instance, with openness to other cultures, regardless that pop represents a wide cross-section of music. Certainly, “active” cosmopolitanism, in reading, for instance, books in foreign languages or understanding lyrics, does not exclude unintentional cosmopolitanism, who likes foreign songs without understanding them. Recently, Ciccelli and Octobre (2018: 78–79) demonstrated that cosmopolitans recruit themselves mainly from the upper middle class and students, while anti-cosmopolitans are over-represented among manual workers and people with low educational capital. Table 1 shows that in case of Poland, pop music is mostly liked by clerical workers. They tend to like pop more than owners and specialists followed by lower classes that is more or less close to the opposition between cosmopolitans and anti-cosmopolitans exhibiting in the Western societies. Unconditionally, then, there is no clear relationship between the preferences for pop and styles of highbrow and lowbrow musical consumption – it meets the principle of homology only to a limited extent. It applies even more to preferences for rap music. As can be seen the strength of the relationship between preferences for rap and class membership is several times weaker compared to other music genres ( $\eta^2=0.014$ ).

### **Influence Patterns of Social Position Characteristics on Musical Preferences**

The net influence of social class on the preference for different kinds of music is assessed from the OLS regression. Results are reported in Tables 2–4.<sup>7</sup> It is of interest to ask whether, if homology of cultural and class stratification reveals, it is structured in a similar way. If so, categories with larger “capital” should prefer more reputed and refined music and people from low-brow categories should like disco-polo and pop music. The values for Model 1 in Tables 2–4 inform about the total effect of social origin on musical tastes.<sup>8</sup> In Model 2, we add variables related to the respondent’s education and the experience of learning to play an instrument and in model 3 – effect of the EGP classes of the respondent.

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<sup>7</sup> Tables 2-4 present metric coefficients. Since education is included in the Models 2-3, to maintain the comparability of the regression in all Models, we excluded persons under 26 years of age, i.e. those who have not yet completed the education. Since EGP classes for respondents and parents contained many missing data (for not working/no employed), and some respondents did not live with both parents, we included such cases in analyses in terms of separate categories (in Tables 2-4 they were omitted). We imputed values in case of missing data for the number of music recordings in the respondent’s family home.

<sup>8</sup> “Total” in the sense that they take into account both direct and indirect effects.

**Table 2.** The relationship between classical and jazz music preferences and selected variables; OLS regression models (raw coefficients). Poland 2019 (respondents aged twenty-six and older)

Dependent Variables	Classical Music			Jazz		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Constant	0.643**	-0.490	-0.608*	0.296	-0.323	-0.381
Sex (0=male; 1=female)	0.336**	0.295*	0.351**	-0.001	-0.018	0.051
Age (ref. cat.: <sup>a</sup> the previous one)						
35–44	0.528**	0.649**	0.652**	0.484**	0.567**	0.565**
45–54	0.383	0.582**	0.569**	-0.074	0.053	0.046
55–64	0.312	0.367	0.370	0.343	0.373*	0.365*
65–74	-0.029	0.007	0.003	0.180	0.181	0.196
75 or older	-0.146	0.090	0.073	-0.480*	-0.354	-0.349
Place of residence (ref. cat.: village)						
Town up to 19,999 residents	0.305	0.103	0.091	0.352	0.244	0.275
Town between 20,000 and 99,999 residents	0.258	-0.027	-0.076	0.322	0.156	0.150
City between 100,000 and 499,999 residents	0.767**	0.472**	0.411*	0.753**	0.571**	0.551**
City up to 500,000 residents	1.280**	0.696**	0.662**	0.945**	0.570**	0.586**
Father's class categories (ref. cat.: farmers)						
Managers and specialists	0.859**	-0.028	-0.080	0.631*	0.021	0.051
Office workers	0.056	-0.555*	-0.586*	0.260	-0.142	-0.120
Owners	0.765*	0.237	0.130	0.192	-0.154	-0.246
Skilled workers	-0.212	-0.470*	-0.506*	-0.293	-0.456*	-0.458*
Non-skilled workers	-0.287	-0.545*	-0.570*	-0.402	-0.575**	-0.564*
Mother's class categories (ref. cat.: farmers)						
Managers and specialists	0.560	0.276	0.176	-0.142	-0.377	-0.408
Office workers	0.482	0.221	0.219	0.606**	0.419	0.450*
Owners	1.109*	0.651	0.609	0.866*	0.535	0.560
Skilled workers	0.386	0.419	0.369	0.238	0.262	0.254
Non-skilled workers	0.360	0.634*	0.613*	0.303	0.489	0.533

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**Table 2** (*continued*). The relationship between classical and jazz music preference and selected variables; OLS regression models (raw coefficients), Poland 2019 (respondents aged twenty-six and older)

Dependent Variables:	Classical Music			Jazz		
Independent Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Father liked classical music	1.568**	1.378**	1.371**	1.003**	0.863**	0.866**
Mother liked classical music	2.093**	1.859**	1.854**	0.785**	0.617**	0.599**
Father liked jazz	0.697*	0.664*	0.678*	0.922**	0.894**	0.905**
Mother liked jazz	-0.847**	-0.751**	-0.759**	0.160	0.242	0.243
Father liked rock	-0.287	-0.181	-0.175	0.231	0.305	0.300
Mother liked rock	0.636**	0.614**	0.615*	-0.020	-0.027	-0.032
Father liked pop	-0.151	-0.179	-0.158	0.335*	0.325*	0.333*
Mother liked pop	-0.379*	-0.475**	-0.509**	-0.128	-0.191	-0.232
Number of records at respondent's family home	0.010**	0.005**	0.005**	0.005**	0.002	0.002
Did the respondent learn to play an instrument (except school courses: 0=no, 1=yes)		1.441**	1.427**		1.135**	1.127**
Education (ref. cat.: <sup>a</sup> the previous one)						
incomplete secondary and base vocational		0.706**	0.590**		0.327	0.271
secondary		0.647**	0.619**		0.304*	0.312*
post-secondary and incomplete higher		0.517	0.514		0.398	0.425
higher		0.584*	0.520		0.486	0.483
Respondent's class categories (ref. cat: farmers)						
Managers and specialists			0.631			0.062
Office workers			0.252			-0.069
Owners			0.859**			0.654*
Skilled workers			0.480*			0.299
Non-skilled workers			0.067			-0.203
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.277	0.356	0.359	0.176	0.228	0.233

\*p&lt;0.05, \*\*p&lt;0.01

<sup>a</sup> In the case of age and education, the reference category is the previous one, for example for people aged 45–54 people aged 35–44 are the reference category.

**Table 3.** The relationship between rock and pop preferences and selected variables; OLS regression models (raw coefficients). Poland 2019 (respondents aged twenty-six and older)

Dependent Variables:	Rock			Pop		
Independent Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Constant	2.916**	2.509**	2.435**	4.162**	3.606**	3.726**
Sex (0=male; 1=female)	-0.861**	-0.947**	-0.819**	1.168**	1.104**	1.092**
Age (ref. cat.: <sup>a</sup> the previous one)						
35–44	0.274	0.371	0.357	-0.397	-0.324	-0.346
45–54	-0.897**	-0.752**	-0.771**	-1.243**	-1.123**	-1.12**
55–64	-0.671**	-0.620**	-0.633**	-0.800**	-0.749**	-0.772**
65–74	-0.778**	-0.804**	-0.766**	-1.215**	-1.197**	-1.190**
75 or older	-0.588*	-0.516	-0.527	-0.528	-0.418	-0.414
Place of residence (ref. cat.: village)						
Town up to 19,999 residents	0.329	0.239	0.265	0.499**	0.387	0.420
Town between 20,000 and 99,999 residents	0.625**	0.495*	0.477*	0.730**	0.564*	0.582*
City between 100,000 and 499,999 residents	0.766**	0.616**	0.618**	0.545*	0.392	0.412
City up to 500,000 residents	1.040**	0.718**	0.753**	0.384	0.126	0.139
Father's class categories (ref. cat.: farmers)						
Managers and specialists	0.104	-0.354	-0.265	0.678	0.284	0.327
Office workers	0.454	0.102	0.142	0.527	0.234	0.254
Owners	0.433	0.151	-0.017	0.152	-0.072	-0.145
Skilled workers	-0.157	-0.277	-0.290	0.326	0.209	0.227
Non-skilled workers	-0.065	-0.188	-0.182	0.503	0.401	0.422
Mother's class categories (ref. cat.: farmers)						
Managers and specialists	2.062**	1.859**	1.863**	-0.334	-0.401	-0.355
Office workers	0.590*	0.376	0.410	-0.039	-0.178	-0.164
Owners	1.052*	0.753	0.808	0.435	0.238	0.297
Skilled workers	0.884**	0.850**	0.808**	-0.205	-0.229	-0.222
Non-skilled workers	0.197	0.324	0.376	0.274	0.415	0.447

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**Table 3** (*continued*). The relationship between rock and pop preferences and selected variables; OLS regression models (raw coefficients). Poland 2019 (respondents aged twenty-six and older)

Dependent Variables:	Rock			Pop		
Independent Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Father liked classical music	0.211	0.124	0.159	0.663*	0.636*	0.659*
Mother liked classical music	0.311	0.171	0.135	0.024	-0.080	-0.090
Father liked jazz	0.045	0.071	0.086	-0.707*	-0.726*	-0.723*
Mother liked jazz	-0.210	-0.168	-0.173	0.110	0.118	0.096
Father liked rock	0.693**	0.752**	0.733**	-0.095	-0.081	-0.089
Mother liked rock	0.548*	0.523*	0.527*	0.100	0.070	0.069
Father liked pop	0.566**	0.546**	0.552**	0.899**	0.858**	0.852**
Mother liked pop	-0.108	-0.137	-0.178	0.216	0.181	0.164
Number of recordings at respondent's family home	0.012**	0.010**	0.009**	0.005*	0.004	0.004
Did the respondent learn to play an instrument (besides compulsory school lessons: 0=no, 1=yes)		0.658**	0.666*		0.189	0.177
Education (ref. cat.: <sup>a</sup> the previous one)						
incomplete secondary and base vocational		-0.111	-0.180		0.236	0.200
secondary		0.864**	0.921**		0.713**	0.673**
post-secondary and incomplete higher		0.495	0.546		-0.221	-0.266
higher		-0.137	-0.096		0.511	0.519
Respondent's class categories (ref. cat: farmers)						
Managers and specialists			-0.290			-0.209
Office workers			-0.182			0.012
Owners			0.898**			0.391
Skilled workers			0.368			-0.027
Non-skilled workers			-0.132			-0.364
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.277	0.299	0.306	0.275	0.285	0.285

\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ <sup>a</sup> In the case of age and education the category of reference is the previous category; e.g. for people aged 45–54 it would be people aged 35–44.



**Table 4.** The relationship between rap and disco polo and selected variables; OLS regression models (raw coefficients). Poland 2019 (respondents aged twenty-six and older)

Dependent Variables:	Rap			Disco polo		
Independent Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Constant	2.778**	2.949**	2.991**	4.15**	4.71**	4.615**
Sex (0–male; 1–female)	-0.398**	-0.415**	-0.363**	0.378*	0.556**	0.555**
Age (ref. cat.: <sup>a</sup> the previous one)						
35–44	-0.998**	-0.997**	-1.002**	0.255	0.117	0.118
45–54	-1.247**	-1.246**	-1.253**	0.444	0.136	0.128
55–64	-0.210	-0.214	-0.232	-0.086	-0.159	-0.160
65–74	-0.271	-0.298	-0.267	-0.367	-0.320	-0.276
75 and more	-0.002	-0.040	-0.029	-1.667**	-1.772**	-1.777**
Place of residence (ref. cat.: village)						
Town up to 19,999 residents	0.392*	0.419*	0.461**	-0.408	-0.296	-0.338
Town between 20,000 and 99,999 residents	0.147	0.197	0.229	-0.814**	-0.553*	-0.598*
City between 100,000 and 499,999 residents	0.437**	0.463**	0.516**	-1.176**	-0.859**	-0.855**
City up to 500,000 residents	0.022	0.029	0.097	-1.269**	-0.827**	-0.845**
Father's class categories (ref. cat.: farmers)						
Managers and specialists	-0.380	-0.322	-0.176	-1.247**	-0.495	-0.392
Office workers	-0.185	-0.168	-0.101	-0.547	0.068	0.087
Owners	0.047	0.055	0.006	-0.584	-0.172	-0.233
Skilled workers	-0.048	-0.026	-0.009	-0.207	-0.051	-0.085
Non-skilled workers	0.321	0.333	0.363	0.301	0.453	0.420
Mother's class categories (ref. cat.: farmers)						
Managers and specialists	0.801	0.737	0.848	-1.714**	-1.228**	-1.107
Office workers	0.212	0.189	0.223	-0.942**	-0.562	-0.591
Owners	0.037	0.021	0.125	-1.371*	-0.913	-0.856
Skilled workers	0.224	0.216	0.218	-0.490	-0.472	-0.514
Non-skilled workers	0.164	0.121	0.195	1.404**	1.097**	1.097**

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**Table 4** (*continued*). The relationship between rap and disco polo preferences and selected variables; OLS regression models (raw coefficients). Poland 2019 (respondents aged twenty-six or older)

Dependent Variables: Independent Variables	Rap			Disco polo		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Father liked rock	0.574**	0.598**	0.558**	-0.291	-0.320	-0.339
Mother liked rock	0.165	0.169	0.181	-0.181	-0.176	-0.149
Father liked pop	0.075	0.092	0.073	0.053	0.100	0.089
Mother liked pop	-0.344*	-0.330*	-0.343*	-0.348	-0.319	-0.302
Father liked festive music/disco polo	0.194	0.201	0.183	0.955**	1.007**	0.993**
Mother liked festive music/disco polo	0.139	0.148	0.141	0.654**	0.582**	0.556**
Number of recordings at respondent's family home	0.002	0.001	0.001	-0.006**	-0.004	-0.004
Did the respondent learn to play an instrument (besides compulsory school lessons: 0=no, 1=yes)		0.129	0.138		-0.293	-0.278
Education (ref. cat.: <sup>a</sup> the previous one)						
incomplete secondary and base vocational		-0.263	-0.242		0.204	0.190
secondary		0.072	0.154		-1.034**	-0.994**
post-secondary and incomplete higher		0.549*	0.605*		-1.035**	-1.04**
higher		-0.660*	-0.561*		-0.321	-0.196
Respondent's class categories (ref. cat: farmers)						
Managers and specialists			-0.898**			-0.654
Office workers			-0.368			0.137
Owners			-0.045			0.130
Skilled workers			0.027			0.160
Non-skilled workers			-0.305			0.259
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.234	0.236	0.240	0.204	0.249	0.250

\*p&lt;0.05, \*\*p&lt;0.01

<sup>a</sup> In the case of age and education the category of reference is the previous category; e.g. for people aged 45–54 it would be people aged 35–44.

Let us begin by tracing the first link of this process. The impact of social origin is indicated by the regression coefficients obtained for mothers and fathers. As predicted, it is apparent from Table 2 that respondents originating from the category of managers and specialists, are most likely to favor classical music, jazz, and rock. These genres appear less important for the categories coming from the families of owners and clerical workers, which in turn prefer classical music, jazz, and rock more than the lower classes. For example, after controlling for the place of residence, age, gender, and other variables included in model 1, having father's in the category of managers and specialists increases preference for classical music by 0.859 and for jazz by 0.631, relative to farmers (reference category). For mother's holding these positions, increase preference for rock by 2.062. Note that relatively small net effect of the parameters for fathers and mothers probably has to do with the internal homogeneity of class.

Contrariwise, people coming from "intelligentsia" are less likely to prefer popular music. They are least interested in disco polo – by -1.247 for fathers and by -1.714 for mothers – relative to people originating from farmers. As expected, the greatest followers of disco polo are people from non-skilled worker families: the regression coefficient for mothers is 1.404. Further, it confirms that class divisions are slightly reproduced in preferences for pop and rap music. Popular music is appreciated both by people coming from intelligentsia (0.678 for fathers) and from non-skilled worker families (respectively 0.503). The same is true in case of liking rap music. The associations between preferences for rock and parent's EGP classes are nonsignificant although relatively the greatest contrasts may be seen between those whose fathers belonged to category of managers and specialists (-0.380) and to the category of non-skilled workers (0.321).

Moving now to effect of cultural capital we made use of distinction between "institutionalized," "objectified," and "embodied" capitals implemented in empirical research by Bourdieu (1984). Institutionalised cultural capital confers honour deriving primarily from holding educational qualifications. Objectified capital consists of the possession of goods subject to social esteem such as books, musical instruments, paintings, carpets, and household appliances. Finally, embodied capital applies to specific behaviors, language skills, dressing, knowledge, appearance, and demonstrating one's own exclusiveness. In our analysis, the "embodied" cultural capital of mothers and fathers is measured in terms of their preference for classical music, jazz, rock, pop, and disco polo.<sup>9</sup> In turn, the number of recordings at the family home identifies "objectified" capital. As it results from Tables 2–4, both capitals can be regarded as the two chief basic

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<sup>9</sup> Tables 2–4 show only the regression coefficients for those parental preferences that significantly affect the preferences of the respondents. However, each of the Models includes the same set of variables.

bases of musical preferences regardless of parents' class. The more fathers and mothers like classical, jazz rock, pop and disco polo music, the more likely are their children to like it too. However, the relationships between the respondent's taste and that of his parents include different types of preferences and are more complex. An example of it is the relationship between the respondent's preference for classical music and his or her parents' attitude toward jazz. While in the case of fathers, it is a positive relationship (0.697), in the case of mothers it is negative and amounts to -0.847. Thus, the positive influence of the father's preference for jazz on the respondent's preference for classical music seems to be neutralized by the negative influence of mother's preference for jazz. On the other hand, mother's preference for pop is related to the negative attitude of respondents to classical music (-0.379). As far as mothers' preference for rock is concerned, the coefficient is positive in sign (0.636) implying that liking rock by mother's is an asset increasing preference for classical music by daughters and sons.

The influence of "embodied" capital is reinforced by objective capital. The more music recordings at the family home significantly increases liking classical music, jazz, popular music, and rock. It may be so that a greater "objectification" of musical tastes is associated with greater accessibility and more frequent listening, thus with a general interest in music. One would then expect that the transfer of materialized cultural capital happens since early childhood: individuals are endowed with higher cultural resources that socialize them to acquire new tastes (i.e. rap or disco polo) from their current social milieu.

Certainly, the total effect of social origin hides its direct effect and mediating role of education, social class of respondents, and other variables. So, for instance, direct effect of parents may be reflected in listening to music with children and going to the philharmonic together. In turn, the direct influence of education displays in learning music from teachers and through contact with peers. Transmission of inequality in the cultural domain predominantly takes place through socialization within family and educational system. Those schooled in forms of "legitimate" culture enjoyed advantages over those who stood outside of, or tangential to it. Those parents equipped with cultural capital are able to drill their children in the cultural forms that predispose them to perform well in the educational system through their ability to handle 'abstract' and 'formal' categories. These children are able to turn their cultural capital into credentials, which can then be used to acquire advantaged positions themselves (Atkinson 2011; Michelson 2013; Bull 2019). This is the reproduction circuit associated with schooling and formal education. Such arguments contradict claiming education system a device for allowing social mobility from disadvantaged origins. Thus, on the one hand, the school is a transmitter of parents' strategy and, on the other hand, it acts independently, contributing to a more open social structure.

How large are these effects relative to one another? If the educational system acts as a relay station, it should strengthen class divisions in cultural domain. However, to the extent to which it acts independently, it should weaken them. In our analyses educational assets are indicated by formal education and learning to play musical instruments outside of school. The comparison of parameters obtained for the social class of fathers and mothers in Models 1-3 informs about taking over the role of social origin by education and respondent's class position, which is the last link in the sequence of factors shaping musical tastes that we consider (one may assume that ending of an educational career usually precedes the beginning of an occupational activity and ensuing class determinants).

Apparently, effect of EGP classes of mother's and father's decrease strongly after partialling out the level of education and the experience of learning an instrument. The strength of the relationship between the origin from a social class of managers and specialists and preference for classical music decreases with respect to fathers from 0.859 to a statistically insignificant -0.028, and the effect of origin from the category of owners decreases from 0.765 to 0.237 (Model 2 in Table 2). The same decline occurs in effect of the class position of mothers. We interpret this as evidence that socialization in family equips people with educational resources, but it is mainly these resources that shape their musical tastes. Educational capital appears to contribute more than social class of respondent in shaping the musical tastes, as evidenced by the lack of significant changes in the influence of parents on musical preferences after controlling for respondents' EGP class (Models 2-3). However, it is to emphasize that the effect of transmission via educational resources does not completely eliminate the direct impact of parental class position. Note that the net positive influence of mothers who are non-skilled workers on liking disco polo is still visible (1.097), and having a father who is a non-skilled worker is connected with the lack of preference for jazz (-0.564). It may suggest that social class of parents relates to the style of communication and transfer of values to children, which are not neutralized by education and attributes related to the social class of the respondent. Nevertheless, the parents' class affects musical tastes mainly through educational capital.

Turning from social background indexed by class position to the cultural capital we show that cultural assets "embodied" in musical preferences of parents is more resistant to mediating role of educational resources. Mothers' and fathers' preference for classical music exerts a substantial positive impact on preference for classical music by respondents (respectively 1.854 and 1.371) net of education, class positions and other controls. The same holds true for other music genres. The father's and the mother's preference for disco polo (or festive music) increases preference for disco polo (0.993 and 0.556 for fathers' and mother's respectively). It also shows that the father's (0.733) and mother's

(0.527) preference for rock are positively related to liking rock by respondent. In other words, the hypothetical respondents having the same level of education, belonging to the same social class, being in the same age (other things equal) differ in terms of their musical tastes depending on preferences of their parents. The results on musical preferences of parents are similar to results on effect of objectified cultural capital captured in terms of music recordings' collections. People who had more recordings in their family homes have the most "chances" of liking classical, rock, and pop music. Noteworthy, holding recordings appears not important for liking jazz, rap, and disco polo.

Let us return to the unresolved question whether school fulfill the role of an institution reducing or maintaining class barriers. Although the transition to higher levels of the school system increases the opportunities for social advancement of people from lower classes, it still depends on social origin class. Using rhetoric developed by Bourdieu (1984), one may assert that school is an instrument of unequal distribution of cultural capital, and one of its goals is to consolidate the existing social structure. Of course, one does not have to agree with such statement. In fact, results of our analysis imply that school plays rather the role of a conveyor belt that transmits the cultural capital of parents to musical tastes.

To what extent does it reduce class stratification in preferences for different kinds of music? In order to determine this question let us see on the regression parameters for categories of education presented in the last Model of Tables 2–4. It is apparent that education affects preferences for classical music, jazz, and rock irrespective of other factors. The biggest enthusiast of these genres are persons with higher education, while those with education below secondary level like them the least. The fact that gradation of these preferences is visible after controlling for social origin suggests that educational career tend to alleviate class barriers. In fact, it occurs in a selective way as educational level is slightly marked in preferences for rap, while preference for pop is clearly nonlinear: pop attracts mostly people with secondary and higher education.

Roughly the same pattern reveals in effects of learning music outside of school. There is a good chance that people learning to play an instrument tend to like classical music (1.427), jazz (1.127), and rock (0.666) otherwise equal.<sup>10</sup> It also repeats that learning music is much less predictor of preference for rap, disco polo, and pop. In overall, educational resources measured by school experiences are not associated with a greater predilection for all musical genres.

Most crucial is whether musical tastes are shaped by current class position. A glance at the regression parameters for EGP classes shows that social class does

<sup>10</sup> We refer to the the regression coefficients for the variable "learning outside of school" shown in the last column of Tables 2–4.

not prove to have pervasive effect on the preferences for classical music, jazz, etc., controlling for other variables, contrary to impression that might be created by Table 1. In particular, the fact that managers and specialists prefer classical music, jazz, and rock, and dislike disco polo seem to result mainly from their highest educational assets and cultural capital of parents. Overall, the findings highlight that cultural consumption is affected by several components of class situation which is consistent with Weberian “causal components of life chances” (Weber 1978).`

Finally, preference for music is related to age, size of the place of residence, and gender. Classical music and jazz are rather the choice of older people, they also tend to dislike disco polo, while younger people usually prefer rock, pop, and rap. When it comes to gender, women have stronger preference for classical music, disco polo, and pop, while men prefer rock and rap. Living in larger towns enhances preferences for classical music, jazz and rock, as opposed to liking disco polo, which is more appreciated in villages and smaller towns.

**Table 5.** The strength of relationships between musical preferences and selected variables: coefficients of partial determination. Poland 2019

	Classical music	Jazz	Rock	Pop	Rap	Disco polo
R <sup>2</sup> (all variables)	35.9%	23.3 %	30.6%	28.5%	24.0%	25.0%
Partial R <sup>2</sup>						
Sex	0.3%	0.0%	2.0%	2.9%	0.5%	0.7%
Age	4.6%	2.0%	7.6%	13.5%	14.9%	2.8%
Place of residence	0.8%	0.6%	0.6%	0.3%	0.5%	0.8%
Parent's social-occupational categories	0.5%	0.5%	0.6%	0.0%	0.1%	1.6%
Father	0.3%	0.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Mother	0.2%	0.3%	0.7%	0.0%	0.0%	1.4%
Parent's musical preferences	13.8%	6.8%	2.4%	2.1%	2.2%	6.1%
Father	2.9%	2.9%	1.3%	1.2%	0.5%	1.6%
Mother	5.6%	0.6%	0.1%	0.0%	0.5%	0.7%
The number of recordings at respondent's family home	0.5%	0.1%	1.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.3%
Did the respondent learn to play an instrument	4.3%	3.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%
Respondent's level of education	4.2%	2.3%	2.1%	0.8%	0.3%	3.7%
Respondent's social-occupational categories	0.5%	0.6%	1.0%	0.0%	0.5%	0.1%

Table 5 provide us with the summary outlook at the explanatory power of analyzed variables across musical preferences presented in terms of net contribution. Musical tastes are mostly affected by parents' musical preferences with slightly less effect of education and learning music. It confirms that cultural capital and educational level have a large effect on cultural consumption in any form and it also stratifies consumer types (Lopez-Sintas, Garcia-Alvarez 2002; Yaish and Katz-Gero 2010: 11; Katz-Gero et al. 2007; Nagel 2009). At the same time, our findings contrast with the incomparably weaker impact of family background on occupational position, incomes, different attitudes and values. This may mean that the cultural space is particularly vulnerable to intergenerational transmission compared to achievement variables. Moreover, this confirms that musical preferences are shaped in various ways. The cultural capital of parents exerts the highest impact on liking classical music and jazz, while it less strongly affects other musical tastes. At the same time, age has the biggest impact on preferences for rap, pop, and rock, while the place of residence – on disco polo. This leads to a more general conclusion that the homology of social stratification and cultural tastes works to a limited extent. The main field in which class distances take shape encompasses areas classified as “higher” culture, which probably concerns not only music.

## Conclusions

Cultural stratification includes musical tastes considered as more clear and “infallibly” classifying class position than other tastes (Bourdieu 1984: 18). In our study we attempt to retrieve the map of stratification of music in Poland. We have distinguished six genres, which cover a fairly representative spectrum of musical preferences. The most important findings may be summarized in three points.

The first point concerns the homology of class hierarchy and musical tastes. The results of our analysis confirm earlier work focusing on various domains of cultural activity according to which the stratification of musical tastes cannot be reduced to a single dimension. As expected, effect of family socialization, educational level, and, in part, class position exert the highest impact not only on preferences of classical music but also on liking jazz and rock. The biggest supporters of these genres are representatives of high managers and specialists, and people with high education whereas working class and farmers exhibit moderate level of preferences for sophisticated and refined fields of music. It works in opposite way in the case of disco polo, which enjoys the greatest enthusiasm in the lower classes. The class effect appears almost negligent in preference for pop and rap which lead us to general conclusion that cultural



stratification does not cover all forms of activity. According to our predictions, about 40% of the adult Poles may be located outside of these relationship, given the percentage of respondents who declared preference for pop and rap. To sum up, class stratification overlaps cultural distances but it works in a milder version of the Bourdieusian homology framework.

The second conclusion concerns the role of musical tastes in the reproduction of class divisions. Musical preferences turn out to be strongly connected with social background. Our findings indicate that this concerns not only preferences for classical music – to which the results of most analyses were limited – but also intergenerational transmission of other musical tastes. It shows that, preference for jazz and rock is largely related to parents' preference for jazz and rock and the same holds true for popular music and disco polo. This is in clearest opposition to mechanisms shaping educational inequalities or socio-occupational achievements. Cultural patterns seem to be particularly susceptible to processes of parental inheritance, despite the replacement of old class patterns with new ones.

Third, these results may contribute to the long-standing debate on the adequate measurement of class divisions: are families or individuals the primary link in this process? And, if the latter, which ones? Social class is mostly assigned to men, which assumes that family resources are more dependent on males than females (Goldthorpe 1984). Previous attempts of resolving this question have not yet led to a clear conclusion, although researchers usually prefer an approach that considers the class position of both parents (see Tomescu-Dubrow, Domański 2010). The results of our analyses support such an approach, although it depends on the preferred music genre. Social class of mother's, relative to father's, has a smaller explanatory value in terms of preferences for classical music and jazz. In turn, mother's class has a slightly stronger effect on positive attitude toward disco polo and rock. Apparently, musical preferences of both parents overlap and to a certain extent cancel each other out.

Our analytical approach allowed us to go beyond analyses on the stratification of musical tastes limited to classical music. What concerns further research is the national context, which we have not studied. We do not know whether correspondence between preferences for classical music and preferences for rock and jazz appear also in other countries. The same applies to disco polo. Based on research conducted in Serbia, one may assume that the equivalent of disco polo is turbo folk (Cvetičanin 2019). Nevertheless, without cross-national study, the above are only speculations with no empirical evidence to ground them. Another limitation of this study was that we focus on preferences without taking into account activity, such as attending musical concerts, and music knowledge.

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