

Justyna Kajta¹

ORCID: 0000-0002-2428-8876

Institute of Social Sciences, SWPS University, Poland

*Moving between the fields.
On the role of family in the experiences
of intergenerational upward mobility*

Abstract

Drawing on Bourdieu's (1984; 1987) conceptual toolkit of capital, fields, and habitus, this paper examines intergenerational upward mobility experiences in Poland focusing on the family's role. Specifically, this study uses grounded theory methodology (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Charmaz, 2006) and biographical method (Schütze, 2012) to investigate the life stories of individuals in their thirties and forties who have experienced upward mobility and entered one of three prestigious professional fields: academic, artistic, or business. The analysis of 30 biographical-narrative interviews reveals four main scenarios of parental involvement in upward mobility processes: (a) general encouragement, (b) ambition-driven guidance, (c) multifaceted withdrawal, and (d) hesitant observation. To illustrate the complexity of these scenarios, each one is accompanied by a biographical case study highlighting the interplay between various public and private factors that shape upward mobility paths. These cases also demonstrate the role of family capital and their potential (mis)match with recognised capital in specific professional fields.

Keywords: family, biographical method, upward mobility, capital, parent-child relationships

¹ **Corresponding author:** Justyna Kajta, Institute of Social Sciences, SWPS University, Chodakowska 19/31, 03-815, Warszawa, Poland; email: jkajta@swps.edu.pl

Introduction

Similarly to other countries, we observe a growing interest in cultural approaches to class analysis in Poland (see: Cebula, 2022; Domański et al., 2022; Gdula & Sadura, 2012; Świrek, 2022). However, unlike the studies conducted in the UK, France or the US (cf. Crew, 2020; Friedman, 2016; Hanley, 2017; Reay, 2018), in Poland, there is still relatively little research dedicated to the biographical experiences of crossing class boundaries (Łuczaj, 2023; Rek-Woźniak, 2016). Simultaneously, such an approach enables the acquisition of deeper insights into social mobility. Firstly, it lets us analyse the interplay between public and private, and explore how structural conditions translate into family and individual lives (cf. Mallman, 2018; Pustulka & Sarnowska, 2021). Secondly, it makes it possible to unpack the complexity of potential experiences of social mobility. While upward mobility is usually framed as a success, this meritocratic discourse overlooks other aspects of the process, e.g., challenges resulting from navigating between different (sometimes conflictual) dispositions of the class habitus (Bourdieu, 1999; Friedman, 2016).

Drawing on Bourdieu's conceptual toolkit of capital, fields, and habitus, this paper explores the intergenerational upward mobility experiences by focusing on the relation between parents' class position, including parents' portfolio of capital, and the individuals' educational, and professional paths. More specifically, it enfolds the life stories of people in their thirties and forties who had experienced intergenerational upward mobility in Poland. It encompasses the situations where an individual (highly educated academic, artist, top manager/business owner) was brought up by parents without tertiary education. Moreover, the study focuses on the individuals who entered one of the three prestigious professional fields chosen for this study, namely, academic, artistic, and business careers. The selected fields can be perceived as holding (publicly recognised) symbolic capital, which is, however, defined differently depending on the field. Both academic and artistic fields can be seen as the spaces of cultural production (and cultural capital), while business is believed to be governed mostly by market-economic logic, hence, being aligned with economic capital flows (Bourdieu, 1984).

Importantly, the post-1989 transition in Poland constitutes a relevant context here as it has created various opportunities and challenges in terms of social mobility, both for narrators and their parents. Firstly, the transition from a centrally planned economy to a market economy had a significant impact on the class structure in Poland: manual workers and farmers experienced a decline in their status, whereas managers, experts, and supervisors continued to enjoy advantages. Additionally, new professional categories (e.g., entrepreneurs) became a part of the emerging middle class (Słomczyński et al., 2007). Against this backdrop, metaphors such as “winners” and “losers” are frequently used to describe the contrasting situations of different social groups or individuals resulting from their varied situations and opportunities for adjustment to the post-communist transition (cf. Jarosz, 2005; Słomczyński et al., 2007).

Secondly, the accessibility of higher education has increased. Already earlier, in the 1950s and 1960s, there were attempts aimed at making higher education in Poland more attainable, e.g., by introducing points for certain class origins (Sadura, 2017; Zysiak, 2016). It corresponded with the assumption that “higher education is the main

channel of upward social intergenerational mobility” (Kwiek, 2013, p. 245). The post-1989 changes, including the increase in the number of private higher education institutions and the spread of meritocratic discourse, effectively influenced the growth in the number of students (cf. Kwiek, 2013; Sadura, 2017). Due to the popularisation of higher education, non-tertiary-educated parents also shared aspirations towards their children’s educational paths (cf. Pustulka & Sarnowska, 2021). Eventually, despite expectations, the barriers to social mobility in Poland, including educational inequalities, remain relatively stable, and the level of inheritance of parental educational and occupational status is high (Domański et al., 2019; Kwiek, 2013; Lessky et al., 2021; Sadura, 2017). Neither the importance of the (cultural, economic, social) capital associated with the class position, nor social inequalities have diminished, and they influence the individual and collective experiences.

Against this backdrop, this paper focuses on the experience of those who – in post-1989 Poland – experienced intergenerational upward mobility. Drawing on the analysis of biographical-narrative interviews, this paper seeks to answer the research questions as follows: How do upwardly mobile narrators present their social advancement experiences in the context of their parents’ role in this process? If and what family capital was employed to make it happen? What capital was needed in the new field they missed? What other (public or private) factors structured their social mobility paths?

The article proceeds as follows: the first part outlines the theoretical framework, including a discussion on the relationship between social background and educational path, and a conceptual model of relations between structural conditions, social fields, and individuals’ upward mobility. Subsequently, the presentation of the methodological approach is followed by the findings organised into four distinct scenarios of the parents’ involvement in the upward mobility processes. Four biographical cases are used as illustrations. The main outcomes of the empirical inquiry are summarised and discussed in the concluding part.

Moving between fields and shuffling with capital: intergenerational upward mobility

The relationship between individuals’ educational and professional paths and their social background is widely discussed in the literature (Helemäe et al., 2021; Hanley, 2017; Lareau, 2011; Mallman, 2018; Pustulka & Sarnowska, 2021; Ule et al., 2015). In general, both qualitative and quantitative studies confirm that the capital held by parents significantly shapes the opportunities their children have. Assuming that classes are “reproduced through a wide range of relations and processes: economic, cultural, social, including more specific educational and linguistic processes” (Sayer, 2005, p. 224), “the horizons are inevitably wider for some than for others” (Reay, 2018, p. 2). Thus, parents’ economic resources as well as cultural, and social capital, translate into (limited/expanded) abilities to navigate their children in their educational or career-oriented decisions. Taking into account the neoliberal logic of “shifting the burden for the reproduction of society to the shoulders of individuals” (Ule et al., 2015, p. 339), family capital seem to be one of the sources of the reproduction of social inequalities.

It is argued that primary school can be potentially the most accessible for all parents, regardless of their social background. Contrary, knowledge about secondary and higher education as well as access to and navigation within these educational levels require more social and cultural resources that are unevenly distributed (Seghers et al., 2021). Especially the transition to university seems to be more challenging for first-in-family students than for those whose parents had tertiary education (see: Crew, 2021; Pustulka & Sarnowska, 2021; Reay, 2018). Although working-class parents have educational aspirations for their children, they often lack recognition of educational fields and the prospective notion of the labour market, and simply accept children's (sometimes random) choices, or derive their advice from their own experiences and popular discourses (Pustulka & Sarnowska, 2021).

While exploring relations between parents' structural position and the upwardly mobile paths, this study draws on Bourdieu's (1984; 1987) crucial concepts (capital, habitus, field). The approach is summarised as a conceptual model of relations between structural (public) conditions, (family-related and professional) fields and individuals' mobility between these fields (see: Figure 1).

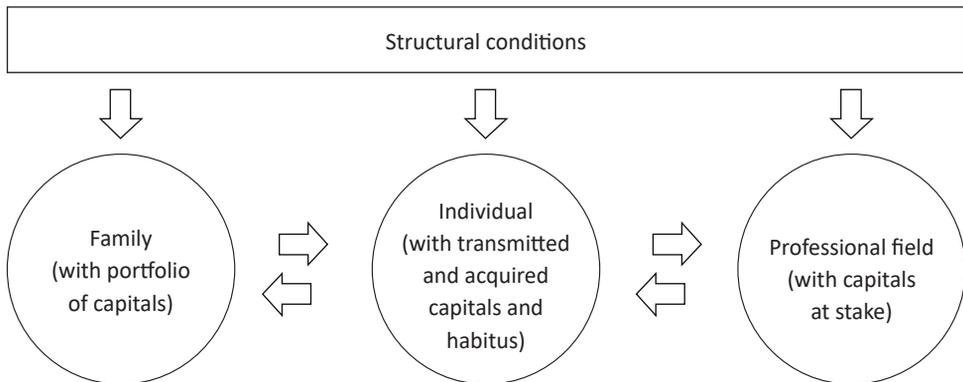


Figure 1. Conceptual model of relations between structural conditions, social fields, and individuals' upward mobility

Source: Own elaboration of Bourdieu's approach

Both family background (encompassing the totality of social relations and capital with which family members are endowed), and professional milieu can be perceived as fields with different rules, habitus, and capital at stake. While understanding habitus as schemes of perception related to a specific field, the article adopts its dynamic character (Atkinson, 2021). Thus, it is assumed that with the life experiences and relationships within various fields, the individual's dispositions transform. As Atkinson argues, "[t]he individual starts with a ('primary') habitus forged within the familial field, which then, with progressive entry into the social space and other fields, is translated and transformed into field-specific ('secondary') habitus. Familial habitus persists and mutates over time, in line with the evolving state of play in the family, but

now, as a component part of the social surface, it plays off the schemes of perception adapted to the new fields too" (2021, p. 205). While gaining new experiences, the individual's situation no longer depends only on the family transmitted capital, but also on those she or he acquires and converts.

As the studies show, "moving between" the fields can be a challenging experience. The upward mobility pathways to a professional field can prompt a "clash" of (familial) and (profession-related) habitus, which might result in the experience of cleft habitus (*habitus clivé*). It is a state of dislocation resulting from the incoherence of previous dispositions and experiences with the "new" life conditions (Bourdieu, 1999; Friedman, 2016). While the meritocratic narrative enables people to leave their class origin, it simultaneously places them in a complicated position, creating feelings of cultural discontinuity (Jin & Ball, 2020; Mallman, 2018). Therefore, social mobility involves much biographical work, including coping with emotions such as uncertainty, anxiety, dislocation, impostor syndrome, and guilt over leaving one's "old" class (Crew, 2020; Friedman, 2016; Hanley, 2017; Łuczaj, 2023). Also, achieving middle-class status is based on uncertainty since upwardly mobile individuals often possess only limited resources to rise into the upper class and continue to fear degradation back to a lower class position (cf. Świrek, 2022). Importantly, cleft habitus (Bourdieu, 2000; Friedman, 2016) is not a necessary result of upward mobility, and it can depend, e.g., on the type of mobility (Mallman, 2018), including its range.

As regards capital, Bourdieu focuses on three main types: economic, cultural, and social. The former is most obvious and refers to material assets that can be "convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights" (1986, p. 242). In turn, social capital encompasses both actual or potential resources connected with more or less institutionalised networks an individual has, and the portfolio of capital possessed by all those network agents to whom the individual is connected. Finally, cultural capital means an accumulation of symbolic elements "linking" the individual with a particular social class, but simultaneously it is used mostly in reference to legitimate or high culture. As Bourdieu states, cultural capital can exist in three forms: embodied (long-lasting dispositions, competencies, tastes, manners); objectified (possessed cultural goods, such as books, pictures, instruments), and institutionalised (educational credentials and qualifications). Although Bourdieu states that cultural capital can be – to a varying extent – acquired, it is assumed that "embodied capital is necessary for objectified capital to be effectively used for enhancing institutionalized capital" (Helemäe et al., 2021, p. 5).

Drawing on Bourdieu's concept, other scholars discuss and modify the types and understanding of particular capital. Based on these arguments, this article takes into consideration two other types of capital as potentially relevant in the upward biographies. Firstly, Lessky et al. (2021) introduce a notion of informational capital which combines social and cultural capital, referring to "the link between a student's study-related information resources and their ability to use them to successfully navigate transitioning to university". As expected, having a higher level of education, and thus cultural and social capital, provides relatively more "opportunities" to navigate children's journeys through the system: it can concern the opportunity to attend extra-curricular activities, including foreign language classes, choosing a good school, having

a home library, or just urging offspring to work hard (Ule et al., 2015, p. 331; Domański et al., 2022, p. 144; Helemäe et al., 2021). Secondly, in line with other scholars (see: Nowotny, 1981; Reay, 2005), the analysis includes emotional capital, which “can be understood as the stock of emotional resources built up over time within families and which children could draw upon” (Reay, 2005, p. 572). As Reay (2005) summarises, support, attention, patience, concern, care, expenditure of time or commitment can constitute such resources. Crucially, the authors highlight the gendered character of emotional capital and state that it is more represented by women (mothers) than men.

Taking into consideration the literature discussed above and the conceptual model, the analysis in this paper tracks the individuals’ mobility paths between family and professional fields. Importantly, it needs to be analysed in reference to (a) the structural conditions within which the family life and an individual’s educational and professional paths happen, and (b) the relation between capital possessed by family and this recognised/needed in the “new” field. As entering university constitutes one of the elements of upward mobility, it is crucial to explore how the individuals find themselves during and after their studies – both in terms of career-oriented decisions, gaining recognition in a professional field, and further relationships with family.

Methodology

The findings are based on the analysis of 30 biographical-narrative interviews (Schütze, 2012) carried out in 2021 in the framework of the author’s exploratory research project *Crossing (in)visible boundaries. Experiencing upward mobility in the individuals’ biographies*² with individuals who had experienced intergenerational upward mobility and are now academics (14), artists (8) or business managers/owners (8)³.

In line with the theoretical sampling (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), the initial categories taken into account in the sampling process were: parents’ educational status, the narrator’s professional field, and age. The narrators were born between 1975 and 1990. Firstly, as 30- and 40-year-olds, they already have experience in their respective professional fields. Secondly, their (primary and secondary) education happened mostly in the post-1989 socio-economic context in Poland. Hence, their opportunities could depend on their parents’ portfolio of different forms of capital. Moreover, as a result of fieldwork, both heterogeneity and balance guided the sampling process for gender and parents’ occupations. As regards gender, 17 of the narrators were women, and 13

² The work was supported by the National Science Center, Poland under the Miniatura grant number 2020/04/X/HS6/00399.

³ As the project was a pilot, 18 interviews were planned (6 in each professional field). However, thanks to social media recruitment (Facebook), more people signed up for the study than planned, and I decided to conduct more interviews. Taking into account that – as an academic – I had easier access to this professional field, this category of interviews is slightly larger.

were men. The detailed socio-demographic information about the narrators is presented in Appendix 1.

Empirical data were collected with the use of modified Schütze's (2012) biographical-narrative interviews method (cf. Mrozowicki, 2011). The interviews had three parts: the first, narrative part, started with an open question to tell the narrator's life history; the second part included additional biographical questions about issues not covered in the first part; and the third part was dedicated to such topics as relations with co-workers, definition of success, concept of good life, perception of inequalities in Poland, or class self-identification. Due to the pandemic and the restrictions it imposed, six interviews were conducted online, whereas 24 were carried out in person. The interviews lasted two and half hours on average. They were audio-recorded, then transcribed and anonymised.

The analysis followed the grounded theory methodology (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Charmaz, 2006). The data were coded with the support of the MAXQDA software. First, it was open coding, which involved reading the interview in detail and coding it line by line. The codes created in this process were intended to initially categorise the data. At this stage, each case was supplemented by analytical memos. The second stage was selective coding, during which the initial codes were sorted, synthesised, and integrated to develop the relevant categories. A key element in the coding was a "constant comparative method" as it enabled seeing analytical similarities and differences between the cases (Charmaz, 2009, p. 74). Based on the analysis of 30 life stories tracking the educational and professional paths, and narrating the role of family, four main scenarios of the parents' involvement in upward mobility processes have been identified and discussed below.

Results: parents' involvement in upward mobility processes

Following the analysis, four main scenarios pertaining to parents' role in upward mobility processes have been identified: (a) general encouragement; (b) ambition-driven guidance; (c) multifaceted withdrawal; and (d) hesitant observation. These scenarios have been categorised according to two key dimensions. The first one refers to the initial sources of higher education aspirations: parents (the idea of going to university was obvious at the family home from the very beginning) or non-parents (applying for the studies was an idea emerging outside the parental context). The second dimension pertains to the parents' reaction to their children's specific educational and professional choices, which could either be non-interfering or questioning.

To better understand the complexity of these scenarios, each one is accompanied by a biographical case study that highlights the interplay between various public and private factors that shape upward mobility paths. These cases also demonstrate the role of family capital and their potential (mis)match with the recognised capital in specific professional fields.

Table 1. Scenarios of the parents' involvement in upward mobility processes

		initial sources of HE aspirations	
		parents	non-parents
parents' attitudes towards individual's chosen educational and professional path	non-interfering	general encouragement	multifaceted withdrawal
	questioning	ambition-driven guidance	hesitant observation

***“They simply thought it was a great choice”:
general encouragement***

The first scenario pertains to cases where parents held general educational aspirations for their children and encouraged them to pursue studies from an early age. However, due to their limited social and cultural capital⁴, they were unable to provide more specific guidance. While these parents employed all available capital to support their children, their portfolio was often dominated by emotional capital.

This scenario is exemplified by Radek, a 38-year-old associate professor. He highlighted the relationship between structural conditions – such as living in a medium-sized town during the 1990s transformation and rising unemployment – and his family's economic situation. Radek depicted his parents as *hardworking* and *honest* individuals who faced numerous challenges due to post-1989 changes. His mother worked as a nurse for most of her life, while his father's situation was more complex, starting from a stable working-class position before the 1990s, then moving to failed small business and episodes of working abroad, and ultimately facing precarious work conditions.

In terms of education, Radek excelled as a student from a young age as *learning came naturally to him*. He realised the importance of meeting others' expectations, particularly, those of his parents (who held high hopes for his academic performance) and teachers. He liked being appreciated by them. After completing primary school, Radek made the decision to apply to a better secondary school in a larger city, a pivotal turning point in his life. While he adapted well to the new environment, it also influenced his leisure activities, with a focus on artistic classes and cultural events.

When it came to higher education, Radek chose a beleaguered and seemingly prestigious major that aligned with his interests in social issues. However, he had no clear career path in mind and received no guidance in this regard. His entrance to universi-

⁴ This does not suggest that representatives of the working class do not have social or cultural capital. Such phrases as “limited” or “scarce” refer to specific types and amounts of capital needed and recognised in the educational/professional fields chosen by the narrators.

ty was another crucial turning point in his life, and a time he became acutely aware of the significance of social inequalities. Notably, prior to attending secondary school, Radek's mother had attempted to prepare him for the challenges he might face in a more demanding and ambitious environment. However, it was only during his university studies that he fully grasped the magnitude of the obstacles he faced, including a sense of class-related clash with the more demanding reality and his own shortcomings in the required capital needed to succeed. Specifically, he came to understand the power of cultural and economic capital in translating into vastly different life chances:

Well, and that's when it hit me what a difference there was between me and many of the people I met here, with whom I attended classes: not only material, financial, class-wise differences, but also such a cultural difference and they were, well, so much ahead, that even if I were aware that maybe, I don't know, they weren't more capable or somehow particularly different from me in the sense of... intellectually, they certainly had already better baggage with them. They were well-versed in some, you know, various socio-political issues and scientifically... In my case it was all the time, you know, just reading newspapers, well, without any spectacularly great thinking [while doing it].

During his studies, Radek's encounter with reality dampened his ambition and he focused solely on performing well enough to receive a scholarship. Only as a result of meeting colleagues who were already interested in pursuing a PhD path, he was inspired to do the same. Spending time with them allowed him to acquire his own social capital and opened new doors for him, providing an escape from uncertainty about his post-studies future. Radek utilised his ability to learn quickly and focused on his academic performance, *accelerating the acquisition of competencies and knowledge*. Despite facing economic and institutional challenges, he was determined to complete his PhD and secure a job at a university. At the time of the interview, Radek held two PhDs, a habilitation, and worked as an assistant professor.

Radek expressed confidence in his agency and acknowledged the significant role of his determination and efforts in achieving his current position. However, he also discussed his lack of navigation and informational capital as well as the enormous tone of effort he had to employ to achieve today's position. His decisions were made *blindly* since his parents were not able to provide guidance, and his teachers were not interested in advising him. Additionally, the internet was not easily accessible during his formative years, which limited his access to information:

It seems to me, from my parents' points of view... well [my ideas] were indisputable in the sense that they thought [my choice] was a great choice, right? I mean when I'm going to high school, to [a bigger city], well this is already higher than the ambitions of everyone, everyone around, so well, it satisfied them. In a situation where I said I was going to [study this major] since my parents didn't have the ability to evaluate it [...] whether it's a good major or it's a bad major [...]. First of all, I decided to go to university at all, I was the first generation in this family that went to university. Secondly, well for them the indicator was that oh... that it's hard to get there. That means that it's

a good major, well, because if nine people are rejected and one is accepted, well, that means that it's something important. But they didn't have such an awareness of how important this choice probably was.

Although Radek's parents encouraged him to study, they mainly provided emotional support and trusted his choices, without being able to offer merit-based or financial assistance. Radek understood their limited capacity in this regard, which he linked to their structural position. He acknowledged the emotional capital he received from them but recognised that their approach did not provide him with the resources to start from a more advantageous position. He attributed any potentially lost opportunities or the immense efforts he made to overcome this disadvantage to systemic conditions.

During the interview, Radek highlighted how economic inequalities can limit students' opportunities, as happened in his case. His limited financial resources prevented him from participating in paid extra-curricular activities (e.g., English lessons) or studying abroad (Erasmus), and made it necessary for him to work while studying and worry about the housing situation. This financial insecurity remained a concern for him, despite having achieved stability in his job and personal life. His story illustrates what can be called the fragility of achieving a middle-class position (cf. Świrek, 2022) as he experienced a constant need to secure for the future and have a plan B.

Such a talented girl and you're going to [be a craftsman]? ambition-driven guidance

The second scenario encompasses the cases in which parents expressed educational aspirations for their children and wanted them to pursue higher education. However, in contrast to the first scenario, these parents had more specific ideas about their children's professional paths, which may not always align with their children's interests and plans. Importantly, in this case, parents often had more economic capital at their disposal, which they could use to provide their children with language lessons and other opportunities.

The interviewee, Karolina, is a 38-year-old artist who grew up in a medium-sized town with her parents and an older brother. She described her mother as *smart, strong-willed*, and *entrepreneurial*, while her father was characterised as a *reckless "Peter Pan"*. The family dynamics appeared to be complicated, with Karolina expressing feelings of growing up alone and experiencing strict parental (mother's) control, particularly in relation to education. Importantly, Karolina's mother had become pregnant by completing technician school, which prevented her from pursuing further education, and it seemed that she projected her unrealised ambitions onto her children. As a result, good academic performance was highly valued in Karolina's home from an early age:

[...] actually, in terms of school, I remember very well that there was a very big push to study in my case, my mother pushed us very hard to study... it stressed me tremendously, well, for me it was a hardcore. I was a good student, even a very good one, but

it was just such a terrible effort for me. [Laughs]. Well, that [stress] I wouldn't be able to cope, that I wasn't good enough and so on.

It is crucial to note that Karolina's parents' economic situation underwent a significant transformation during her lifetime, shifting from reliance on church food support to a state of relative affluence. This shift was a direct result of Karolina's mother's establishing her own successful company in the early 1990s. The newfound financial stability enabled Karolina's mother to provide her daughter with substantial economic capital, including the purchase of an apartment in the city in which she commenced her studies. The narrator expressed gratitude for these safe and privileged financial circumstances.

As for Karolina's educational path, she discovered her attraction to the artistic world relatively early on. This interest was further strengthened during a school trip where she was introduced to craft art and became tempted by it:

When I saw [it]...it was my greatest intuition in life, really, but so strong [...] I couldn't move at all. I didn't know at all what [this craftsman] was doing, this guy, but I knew I was going to do exactly the same thing.

Significantly, Karolina's mother disapproved of her daughter attending a secondary artistic school and instead compelled her to choose a different high school. Consequently, Karolina was quite rebellious during this period. She also coped with some psychological difficulties then. Drawing on this uneasy experience, Karolina's mother stopped objecting to her daughter's passion for art and applied to the Academy of Fine Arts. In fact, she even supported Karolina in this pursuit by finding her a teacher to prepare her for the entrance exam. However, the initial attempt to gain admission was unsuccessful and thanks to her mother's financial support, Karolina began extramural studies there. Importantly, her mother felt ashamed of this failure and urged Karolina to deceive others into thinking that she had succeeded. Instead of providing emotional support, Karolina's mother reinforced her feelings of being not enough.

Despite the initial difficulties, Karolina found her time at the academy to be highly rewarding, working tirelessly and immersing herself in self-development. She also took part in numerous study exchanges abroad during this time. Her final artwork was highly successful, and this experience encouraged her to apply for studies at a prestigious, *brilliant* artistic university abroad. As a result, she spent several years studying there. Upon her return to Poland, she began her PhD, which was near completion at the time of the interview. Despite receiving many objective indicators of her artistic abilities such as exhibitions, scholarships, and awards, Karolina continued to experience uncertainties and an inability to acknowledge her own success.

Karolina felt that her parents did not regard her choice of career as a serious pursuit for a significant time period:

I also remember such a conversation with [my mother], that she said something like this – “Karola, such a talented girl and you're going to [be a craftsman]?”. [Laughs] [...] for a long time my parents didn't believe at all that what I was doing was serious.

When I was coming home during the first years [of studies] I remember, I hated going back there, because [...] I was getting such messages – “Listen, if you don’t succeed there, you can always, you know, you can come back, right? You’re so communicative, you’ll be great running the [family] company. And you’ll be able to keep this [crafting tool] in the basement, right?”. Well, it was a total lack of understanding.

Their attitude only changed when they saw her discussing her project on a TV programme. Although they started to express more pride in Karolina’s achievements, she presented a hesitant approach towards it. Despite their expressions of pride, years of not receiving compliments from her parents have left her unable to fully believe in their praise, which she found somewhat *kind of strange*.

Like Radek, Karolina also spoke at length about the limited cultural and informational resources available in her family home. According to her, art and *intellectual conversations* were nonexistent in her household, so she had to *forge her own path*. She regrets not growing up in an intellectually stimulating environment that could have provided her with the assets highly valued in the artistic field: exposure to art and social capital, leading to entirely different opportunities for recognition. Moreover, she also criticised the lack of guidance coming from school and university teachers. Therefore, she felt that while studying and working abroad, she had to put a lot of effort into working, learning of the “new field” and acquiring social capital that she can now capitalise on.

“Nobody was suggesting such things to me”: multifaceted withdrawal

Another identified scenario encompasses the stories in which parents did not encourage their children to pursue higher education, nor did they have any specific plans for their children’s educational and professional paths. At the same time, the family had limited resources available. Consequently, the narrators had little to no economic or emotional resources at the outset of their educational journey. Additionally, in some cases, parents’ withdrawal was combined with more general relational difficulties, including addictions. This often led to the narrators being forced to rely on themselves or to feel motivated to “escape” from the family home.

Zuza’s story serves as an example of the aforementioned scenario. She is a 41-year-old artist residing in a large city with her partner. The context of the post-1989 transition in Poland and her life in a medium-sized town during her adolescence were significant to Zuza. During this time, she lived with her parents, older brother, and grandmother. Post-1989 changes resulted in her mother losing her job, which caused financial difficulties in their lives. Her mother was never able to find another job, and, like Zuza’s father, struggled with alcohol addiction. This, in turn, affected Zuza’s situation at school:

I don’t know, [I had] big absences from school, because I also, I don’t know, I was a truant or my mum, when she was still working, then I don’t know, due to her different problems, when she wasn’t able or didn’t want to go to work, for example, she would take me or my brother to the doctor to get sick leave, of course then, as a child, I was

happy about that, [laughs] but well... it wasn't a good situation.

Regarding her school experiences, Zuza was known to be a rebellious troublemaker, but she also had a natural talent for art and was a quick learner. This artistic talent was *the only thing* she excelled at, according to her narration. Zuza's interest in art as well as the encouragement and support of significant others led her to pursue an art class in high school, and later, make the decision to study an arts-related field. As regards the high school, she was initially afraid of not getting in, but with the help of her teacher and aunt who provided her with math tutoring, she gave herself a chance. Against the backdrop of limited informational capital, Zuza's studying cousin was helpful in making a non-obvious decision to study:

Indeed, if I'd never had this cousin who started studying or something, I don't even know whether I would have been interested in it, because I might not even have thought it was for me, because, you know, well nobody was suggesting such things to me either, right? And then also the access to information wasn't so, you know, seamless, I couldn't go to the Internet to see where I could go to school, right? [...] I think it's more difficult, that it's just, like, well, I don't know, like you've just got an educated family and they all graduated from university, it's natural for you to go to university.

Leaving home was an ambiguous experience for Zuza. On one hand, she felt a sense of stress and responsibility for what was happening at home without her presence. Even before commencing her studies, she showed signs of psychological distress related to growing up in an alcoholic household. However, she did not receive appropriate professional support. On the other hand, living in a dormitory and attending university *gave her a boost*. Her inspirational and supportive peers and the knowledge she gained in her classes made her feel at ease, empowered and presented new opportunities. Following the example of her colleagues, she decided to apply to the Academy of Fine Arts, and she succeeded the third time.

Zuza's parents were not involved in her educational choices, and she made the decision independently, only informing them afterwards. Despite the overall sense of self-reliance, the interviewee remembered her parents expressing pride in her going to high school, and then – university. She also appreciated the freedom of choice she had – although her parents *were not very supportive* and she felt self-relied, they also did not question her choices, so she could follow her own path. As regards economic capital, she received minimal financial support during her studies, so she was eager to get scholarships and worked abroad during holidays to finance her education, including all materials needed during artistic studies.

In terms of financial deficits, these caused Zuza to be heavily involved in working hard. She was diligent in her studies, driven by her artistic passion, as well as the ongoing financial uncertainty, and fear of falling behind:

For example, during my studies, I really had this pressure that I'm going to finish it, I'm going to get my diploma right away, I didn't even want to postpone it, even though I thought that if I had more time I could do it differently, better, more, and so on, I just

couldn't, right? [...] Precisely for financial reasons [...] Well, it's more difficult if you don't have some kind of background, for sure.

After acquiring various work experiences, receiving some artistic scholarships, and having her own exhibitions, Zuza embarked on her own arts-related business activity. This mirrors the complex situation artists often face, where they frequently hold multiple jobs. At the time of the interview, Zuza was in the process of redefining her artistic identity. Although art was her passion, due to overworking and having to take up other professional activities for financial reasons, she had let go of painting a few years earlier and was afraid to return to it. Additionally, she struggled with a lack of self-confidence and difficulty with recognising her achievements.

Regarding her current family relations, only through her life experiences and therapy has Zuza been able to work through her family issues and give herself the freedom from responsibility for her parents (as since childhood she *had this feeling that [she] had to shoulder it all*). Her father passed away a few years ago, and she had limited contact with her mother and brother:

My mum doesn't know where I live. [Laughs] [...] I don't even inform them anymore [about my life], because they also [...] haven't manifested that kind of, well, I don't know, for example, [...] until now I feel terribly sorry [...] when I had that diploma, there was such a huge diploma defence, we just all had this huge exhibition [...] Well, and I was the only person nobody came to at that time, for example.

In Zuza's case, we observe a gradual and mutual withdrawal from family relationships. For her, it does not necessarily result from the experiences of upward mobility. Rather, it is strongly connected with the psychological and relational challenges she has experienced since childhood. As a result of feeling unsupported by her family, she stopped having any expectations and found a safer space in her relationship with her partner and his family.

***“I don't think anyone was interested in it”:
hesitant observation***

The final scenario pertains to situations where parents possess limited or no expectations regarding their children's pursuit of higher education. Although they permitted them to decide on their own paths, they often offered advice based on their own biographical experiences. Consequently, when it comes to choices that were not “rooted” in family experiences, parents sometimes expressed doubt or incomprehension, resulting in general misunderstandings and disappointment.

The scenario is illustrated by Dariusz who is a 46-year-old esteemed scholar residing in a large urban centre. He was raised in a traditional working-class family. With the exception of his aunt (who completed high school), none of his relatives had received education beyond vocational schools. Nevertheless, he appeared to seek some form of biographical continuity by drawing upon his father's literary abilities. Although

his father eventually attended a vocational school, their household remained filled with books. For Darek, both the home library and his friendship with a middle-class peer were associated with him acquiring various forms of cultural capital:

Being in kindergarten, I had a friend [...] he was from a doctor's family. And I used to go in to see them, it was so, like again, when I think about it like that, very important socially. They had a microscope, they taught me to play chess. I remember, already in kindergarten, and [I started] to read then, too, some basic things, right. I was already reading then. When I went to the first grade, I was already reading, I was even writing there. So that was important.

In terms of Darek's educational journey, it was rather turbulent. Initially, he followed his family's pragmatic advice that emphasised the importance of acquiring a trade and getting enrolled in a vocational-technical school. Importantly, Darek's family guidance was based on their own experiences (*we all have a trade*), pragmatism (continuation of education prolonged him getting social benefits), and the gendered notion of education (*high school is for girls*). However, he never liked the technical school and desired a change after completing it. Another factor that influenced his decision to modify his educational path was the increasing unemployment rate in his trade resulting from the post-1989 restructuring. Still, the idea of pursuing higher education was foreign to Darek and his family. Although his mature exam went very well, his mother discouraged him from the idea of university:

My mother said something like this and this is also what I remembered: "You're definitely not going to do well in higher education. There is no one [in our family] in higher education, after all. Well, maybe a post-secondary college?". [...] Well, and so, I thought, I can't do it, what higher education!

Therefore, he started a two-year post-secondary college. Simultaneously, owing to his interest in music and the new friends (coming from *intelligentsia*) he made through this passion, broadened his horizons, and made previously unattainable options more feasible. His increasing social and informational capital translated into a decision to apply for studies. Although he failed the first time, he was pretty eager to try again and succeeded. This new stage was presented as finding the right place for himself:

I felt like in one's element, eh, in this world. [...] I got so interested that I went to the library every day. Every day, until it closed. After class. Every day. And I read [...]. Passionately. All the time. [...] And later on, when I was studying for my Master's degree, I got completely absorbed in it and met people who were more scientifically oriented. [I met a friend who] was from a typically intellectual family [...] he was very inclined scientifically to stay at university, I wasn't yet, and well, he introduced me to this, to this world.

Due to a lack of self-confidence, Darek chose to combine his extramural PhD studies with non-academic work. Only his aforementioned colleague served as a guide for

him in the academic field. Along with the social capital that he gained, Darek also enhanced his self-confidence and recognition in academia. After completing his PhD, he began working in an academic institution and sought out opportunities for international collaborations. What mattered most to him was how his work was perceived and recognised by others. Thus, as he felt undervalued in his current job, he sought to change it. He found himself to be well-suited to the academic world: he enjoyed teaching, discussing, and reading, and did not experience impostor syndrome in terms of scientific knowledge. His insecurities, however, stemmed from his difficulty with the English language and a lack of embodied capital revealed during informal academic gatherings.

In terms of recognition, Darek did not receive it from his family and felt undervalued in that context. While he has a clear understanding of class differences and his mother's position in social structure, he expressed disappointment with both lost chances resulting from his mother's lack of understanding (e.g., his desire to attend language classes) and her current disinterest in his work:

Nobody [in my family] seemed to be interested in [my studies]. [...] Well my mum to this day doesn't know what it is. Well, "Today you have a day off". Well, I don't have classes [with students] today. [For her] it's a day off. She doesn't grasp it at all, she doesn't understand, and I don't think she wants to understand what it is, what scientific work is. It's so far from the working-class experience that they don't even want to think about it.

As he stated, social background has a *fundamental meaning* for one's findings in an academic field. First of all, he emphasised cultural and informational capital that he had to acquire on his own and it *was really difficult*. Against this backdrop, his friend coming from a family of intellectuals was narrated as a significant guide here.

The issue of cleft habitus is a crucial element in Darek's life story. He distanced himself from the working-class habitus and sought to break free from it. Instead, he associated more with his wife's upper-middle-class family. As he stated, compared to his parents, his parents-in-law understood the academic world, and thus, supported him, and were proud of his accomplishments. It appears that Darek felt more at ease in his "new class world" than in the old one. Furthermore, he has never truly felt at home in the working-class milieu, as he has always been searching for something different.

Discussion and conclusions

This article posed a question about the upwardly mobile individuals' experiences regarding their parents' roles in the processes related to educationally and professionally advancing paths. The key contribution is the identification of the parent's position in light of the potential mismatches between "inherited" capital and those recognised in educational and professional fields that the interviewees have chosen. The analysis draws on a sample of 30 biographical-narrative interviews with individuals who have

experienced intergenerational social advancement and work in three selected professional fields: academic, artistic, and business. Four biographical cases were selected to illustrate the main scenarios of parental involvement in upward mobility processes, including general encouragement, ambition-driven guidance, multifaceted withdrawal, and hesitant observation.

This analysis contributes to previous research on the challenges of educational and professional paths of young people in Poland, and beyond, particularly, in terms of the difficulties resulting from limited capital in families of origin (cf. Lareau, 2011; Łuczaj, 2023; Mallman, 2018; Pustulka & Sarnowska, 2021; Reay, 2004; Ule et al., 2015). Unlike the typology developed by Pustulka and Sarnowska (2021), which explores intergenerational flows of capital and parental impact on educational pathways in differently positioned young adulthood more generally, this paper focuses specifically on upwardly mobile individuals whose parents were assumed to possess a relatively limited portfolio of capital. Additionally, this paper tracks not only the initial entrance into higher education but also subsequent, longer-term biographical processes, considering retrospective outlooks on both experiences of studying and gaining recognition in professional fields.

Although none of the interviewees' parents had higher education, their career paths varied. It is worth taking into account the post-1989 transformation and its influence on their professional and economic situation. For some parents (e.g., Zuz'a's mother or Radek's father), transformation-driven restructuring was followed by unemployment which affected the later family's economic situation. Others, such as Karolina's mother, "benefited" from the new economic opportunities and succeeded in new businesses (cf. Jarosz, 2005; Słomczyński et al., 2007). As successful business ventures or temporary labour migration converted into greater economic capital, the family's "stocks" of capital were reshuffled, which could restructure their children's opportunities. Another structural condition that needs to be taken into account is the place of living. Importantly, all narrators presented in this article grew up in middle-sized towns, which influenced their (limited) access to a variety of educational or cultural institutions. Compared to interviewees living in the bigger cities, the distance from the universities made them leave their parental home and pay for a room or apartment relatively soon.

Importantly, in the majority of cases, the interviewees' families acknowledged the significance of education. However, in the cases where parents provided general encouragement or pushed their children to pursue higher education based on their ambitions, the desire to attend university was evident. Conversely, for the other two scenarios, the notion of attending university, or even completing high school, was not within the realm of the narrators' parents' consideration. Another dimension concerns the parents' attitudes towards their children's educational choices: questioning and non-interfering. The latter one seems to be more ambiguous. The space for own choice often given by parents could be seen as a freedom to construct life in their own way as well as a kind of burden, and a source of uncertainty. Noteworthy, the scenario of hesitant observation is the most gendered one: working-class families presented rather pragmatic expectations towards sons and hesitation about their choice of (non-technician) academic or artistic fields (cf. Pustulka & Sarnowska, 2021).

As regards the capital, the narrators were aware of the relations between (post-1989) structural conditions and their families' opportunities. Thus, they rather expressed an understanding of (usually) scarce economic resources and limited informational capital. As for the former, except for those coming from families benefiting from the transformation changes, economic shortages have created numerous limitations: from lack of participation in extra-curriculum language classes to the necessity of work during studies. In some cases, a sense of economic insecurity still accompanies the narrators. It reveals that upward mobility does not necessarily go hand in hand with economic capital. As for the informational capital, resulting from limited cultural and social capital (Helemäe et al., 2021; Lessky et al., 2021), it was translated into parents' inability to navigate their children within the educational system. Therefore, the narrators' paths were sometimes quite shattered, and constructed *blindly*. Against this backdrop, the narrators highlighted the sense of lost chances or random choices resulting from being non-navigated. In some cases (mostly in general encouragement scenario) emotional capital (Nowotny, 1981; Reay, 2005) was the one which, to some extent, compensated for other shortages and gave the narrators a sense of relational backup.

Moving between fields was "easier" or more possible with the significant others' (other family members, teachers, or peers) presence in the narrators' lives (cf. Lessky et al., 2021). For instance, colleagues equipped with more informational capital "opened" new life options and "guided" within new fields. It illustrates the assumption that young people do not depend only on family capital, but with years, acquire their own ones (Atkinson, 2021) which makes their upward mobility path feasible. However, although institutionalised and objectified forms of cultural capital can be acquired, the embodied one is harder to catch up (cf. Bourdieu, 1986).

As regards gaining the knowledge of rules of the game (Lessky et al., 2021) and navigating between two social fields (family-related and professional), the selected narratives confirmed that habitus cleft (Mallman, 2018; Friedman, 2016) is not a necessary outcome of upward mobility. On the one hand, some of the collected interviews presented stories of experiencing cultural discontinuity, impostor syndrome or anxiety (Crew, 2020; Friedman, 2016; Hanley, 2017; Łuczaj, 2023). On the other hand, there were also narratives on being self-confident and feeling of fitting in. In some interviews, these two experiences intersected as the narrator felt very confident regarding their knowledge/skills, and simultaneously, struggled with the lack of embodied cultural capital or difficulties with recognition of own achievements.

Drawing on the proposed conceptual model, in further studies it would be important to investigate additional potential flows of capital. Firstly, it is essential to determine if and how the acquired capital of narrators are transferred to their families of origin. Secondly, it is necessary to explore if and how upwardly mobile individuals (can) modify the capital at stake in their respective professional fields. Additionally, it would be valuable to examine the relationship between upward mobility experiences and the type of selected professional fields more comprehensively.

Appendix 1. Socio-demographic characteristics of the interviewees

	Pseudonym	Gender & age	Professional field	Mother's occupation	Father's occupation
1.	Magda	woman, 40	academic	clerical support worker	electrical engineer
2.	Natalia	woman, 44	academic	entrepreneur	entrepreneur
3.	Radek	man, 38	academic	nurse	technician
4.	Agata	woman, 38	artistic	salesperson	driver/salesperson
5.	Dominika	woman, 32	(own) business	homemaker	construction worker/ entrepreneur
6.	Kamil	man, 34	academic	nurse	mechanical engineer
7.	Damian	man, 42	(own) business	clerical support worker	electrical engineer
8.	Bartek	man, 32	academic	clerical support worker/cleaner/ salesperson	security guard
9.	Karolina	woman, 38	artistic	farmer/ entrepreneur	technician/service worker
10.	Darek	man, 46	academic	various occupations in service/manual jobs	driver
11.	Iga	woman, 31	business	salesperson	construction worker
12.	Nina	woman, 32	business	dressmaker	driver
13.	Grzegorz	man, 37	academic	homemaker	health associate professional
14.	Agnieszka	woman, 35	business	nurse	construction worker/ salesperson/ entrepreneur
15.	Beata	woman, 46	academic	salesperson	driver

16.	Miłosz	man, 33	business	clerical support worker	toolmaker
17.	Hanna	woman, 31	academic	entrepreneur	construction worker
18.	Eliza	woman, 37	business	clerical support worker	driver
19.	Anna	woman, 46	academic	nurse	farmer/technician
20.	Tomasz	man, 37	academic	cook	electrical engineer
21.	Eliasz	man, 35	artistic	clerical support worker	security guard
22.	Antek	man, 41	artistic	stock clerk	toolmaker
23.	Daria	woman, 38	artistic	teacher	miner
24.	Filip	man, 32	artistic	farmer	farmer/construction worker
25.	Jagoda	woman, 43	academic	clerical support worker	mechanical engineer
26.	Kamila	woman, 34	artistic	cleaner and help	mechanical engineer/ armed forces occupation
27.	Dagmara	woman, 34	academic	clerical support worker	vocational teacher
28.	Aleksandra	woman, 35	business/ academic	farmer/cook	mechanical engineer/ driver
29.	Marcin	man, 43	academic	clerical support worker	driver/electrical engineer
30.	Zuza	woman, 41	artistic	metal working machine tool setter/ unemployed	electrical engineer

References

- Atkinson, W. (2021). Fields and individuals: from Bourdieu to Lahire and back again. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 24(2), 195–210. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368431020923281>
- Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction. A social critique of the judgement of taste*. Harvard University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. Richardson (ed.), *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education*. (241–258). Greenwood.
- Bourdieu, P. (1987). What makes a social class? On the theoretical and practical existence of groups. *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, 32(1984), 1–17.
- Bourdieu, P. (1999). The contradictions of inheritance. In P. Bourdieu et al. (eds.), *The Weight of the Worlds. Social Suffering in Contemporary Society*. (507–513). Stanford University Press.
- Cebula, M. (2022). Inequality in social capital: assessing the importance of structural factors and cultural consumption for social advantage. A case from Poland. *International Review of Sociology*, 32(3), 501–528.
- Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory. A practical guide through qualitative analysis*. Sage.
- Crew, T. (2020). *Higher Education and Working-Class Academics*. Palgrave Pivot.
- Domański, H., Mach B.W., & Przybysz, D. (2019). Otwartość polskiej struktury społecznej: 1982–2016. *Studia Socjologiczne*, 1(232), 25–63.
- Domański, H., Przybysz, D., Wyrzykowska K.M., & Zawadzka, K. (2022). Praktyki wychowawcze a transmisja wzorów kulturowych. *Kultura i Społeczeństwo*, 66(1), 123–148. <https://doi.org/10.35757/KiS.2022.66.1.6>
- Friedman, S. (2016). Habitus clivè and the emotional imprint of social mobility. *Sociological Review*, 64(1), 129–147. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-954X.12280>
- Gdula, M. & Sadura, P. (eds.). (2012). *Style życia i porządek klasowy w Polsce*. Scholar.
- Glaser, B. & Strauss, A. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory. Strategies for qualitative research*. Aldine Publishing Company.
- Hanley, L. (2017). *Respectable. Crossing the class divide*. Penguin Books.
- Helemäe, J., Saar, E., & Lauri, T. (2021). How educational, economic, and cultural resources do matter: cohort differences in the impact of parental resources on educational attainment in the socialist and post-socialist contexts. *International Journal of Sociology*, 51(2), 105–134. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00207659.2020.1856543>
- Jarosz, M. (2005). *Wygrani i przegrani polskiej transformacji*. Oficyna Naukowa, Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN.
- Jin, J. & Ball, S.J. (2020). Meritocracy, social mobility and new form of class domination. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 41(1), 64–79.
- Kwiek, M. (2013). From system expansion to system contraction: access to higher education in Poland. *Comparative Education Review*, 57(3), 553–576.
- Lareau, A. (2011). *Unequal childhoods: class, race, and family life*. University of California Press.
- Lessky, F., Nairz-Wirth, E., & Feldmann, K. (2021). Informational capital and the transition to university: First-in-family students' experiences in Austrian higher educa-

- tion. *European Journal of Education*, 56(1), 27–40. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ejed.12437>
- Łuczaj, K. (2023). Upwardly mobile biographies. An analysis of turning points in the careers of working-class faculty. *Advances in Life Course Research*, 56, 100545. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.alcr.2023.100545>
- Mallman, M. (2018). Disruption in the working-class family: the early origins of social mobility and habitus clivé. In S. Lawler and G. Payne (eds.), *Social mobility for the 21st century: Everyone a winner?*. Routledge.
- Mrozowicki, A. (2011). *Coping with social change. Life strategies of workers in Poland's new capitalism*. Leuven University Press.
- Nowotny, H. (1981). Women in public life in Austria. In C.F. Epstein, R.L. Coser (eds.), *Access to power: cross-national studies of women and elites*. George Allen and Unwin.
- Pustulka, P. & Sarnowska, J. (2021). Educational choices of Polish youth in an inter-generational perspective. *Journal of Education and Work*, 34(4), 414–428. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13639080.2021.1943332>
- Reay, D. (2005). Gendering Bourdieu's concept of capitals? Emotional capital, women and social class. *The Sociological Review*, 52(s2), 57–74. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.2005.00524.x>
- Reay D. (2018). Working class educational transitions to university: the limits of success. *European Journal of Education*, 53(4), 528–540. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ejed.12298>
- Rek-Woźniak, M. (2016). *Młodzi dorośli. Wzory ruchliwości społecznej w okresie transformacji systemowej*. Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego.
- Sadura, P. (2017). *Państwo, szkoła, klasy*. Wydawnictwo Krytyki Politycznej.
- Sayer, A. (2005). *The moral significance of class*. Cambridge University Press.
- Schütze, F. (2012). Analiza biograficzna ugruntowana empirycznie w autobiograficznym wywiadzie narracyjnym. Jak analizować autobiograficzne wywiady narracyjne. In K. Kaźmierska (ed.), *Metoda biograficzna w socjologii: analiza tekstów*. (141–278). Zakład Wydawniczy „Nomos”.
- Seghers, M., Boone, S., & Van Avermaet, P. (2021). Classed patterns in the course and outcome of parent-teacher interactions regarding educational decision-making. *Educational Review*, 73(4), 417–435. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00131911.2019.1662771>
- Słomczyński, K.M., Janicka, K., Shabad, G., & Tomescu-Dubrow, I. (2007). Changes in class structure in Poland, 1988–2003: crystallization of the winners–losers' divide. *Polish Sociological Review*, 1(157), 45–64
- Świrek, K. (2022). Klasa średnia i „choroba braku granic”. *Praktyka Teoretyczna*, 3(45), 339–359. DOI: 10.19195/prt.2022.3.14
- Ule, M., Živoder, A., & du Bois-Reymond, M. (2015). “Simply the best for my children”: patterns of parental involvement in education. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 28(3), 329–348. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09518398.2014.987852>
- Zysiak, A. (2016). *Punkty za pochodzenie. Powojenna modernizacja i uniwersytet w robotniczym mieście*. Zakład Wydawniczy „Nomos”