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Intergenerational transmission of food habits in the context of globalization processes illustrated with the example of Upper Silesia

Transmisja międzypokoleniowa zwyczajów żywieniowych w kontekście procesów globalizacyjnych – przykład Górnego Śląska

Abstract

Introduction. The issue of food habits can be considered on many levels: medical, dietetic, economic, or anthropological. It results in problems with the objectifying of views, analyses, and forecasts within this scope. Adopting a sociological perspective allows the emphasizing of the social factors of consumption of food understood as a culture code and an element of social structure. In the context of unification of cultural patterns and uniformization of the world, reflection on intergenerational transmission of food habits in modern households is of key importance.

Aim. Due to dynamic socio–economic–cultural transformations, the role of a family understood as an individual and unique educational environment creating good conditions to hand down social values, consumption patterns, and practices to children/youth is growing. The goal of the research that this article was based on was to find manifestations of intergenerational transmission within the scope of food habits and identify its role and importance in the age of globalization.

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Materials and methods. Due to the uneven and fragmentary scope of globalization processes, comparative analysis of data from two different areas (urban and rural) of Upper Silesia was conducted. The source of research data were interviews with twenty people.

Results. Food habits of households are modifying, emphasizing intergenerational differences. Many people see relations between observed changes and ongoing globalization. The awareness of the role and importance of intergenerational manifestations in positive meaning is growing – perceived as a tool necessary to maintain the continuity of family history – but in the context of some burdens having an impact on everyday choices and the possibility of free choice of alternative consumption patterns. Balancing between the habits of ancestors, and food trends unified at the international level imply the necessity to focus more on the social and cultural functions of food.

Keywords: food habits, intergenerational transmission, globalization, family, Upper Silesia.

Abstrakt

Wprowadzenie. Zagadnienie zwyczajów żywieniowych może być rozpatrywane na wielu płaszczyznach: medycznej, dietetycznej, ekonomicznej czy antropologicznej. Skutkuje to trudnością w zobiektywizowaniu poglądów, analiz oraz prognoz w tym zakresie. Przyjęcie perspektywy socjologicznej umożliwia wyeksponowanie społecznych uwarunkowań konsumpcji żywności rozumianej jako kod kulturowy i element struktury społecznej. W kontekście ujednolicenia wzorów kulturowych i uniformizacji świata kluczowa staje się refleksja nad transmisją międzypokoleniową zwyczajów żywieniowych we współczesnych gospodarstwach domowych.

Cel. W związku z dynamicznymi przeobrażeniami społeczno–gospodarczo–kulturowymi wzrasta rola rodziny rozumianej jako indywidualne i niepowtarzalne środowisko wychowawcze stwarzające dogodne warunki do przekazywania dzieciom/młodzieży wartości społecznych, wzorów konsumpcyjnych, sposobów postępowania. Celem badań stanowiących podstawę artykułu było poszukiwanie przejawów transmisji międzypokoleniowej w zakresie zwyczajów żywieniowych oraz rozpoznanie jej roli i znaczenia w dobie globalizacji.

Materiały i metody. Ze względu na nierównomierny i fragmentaryczny zasięg procesów globalizacyjnych zastosowano analizę porównawczą danych pochodzących z dwóch różnych obszarów (miejskiego i wiejskiego) województwa śląskiego. Źródłem danych badawczych były wywiady przeprowadzone z 20 osobami.

Wyniki. Zwyczaje żywieniowe gospodarstw domowych podlegają modyfikacji, podkreślając różnice międzypokoleniowe. Wiele osób dostrzega zależności pomiędzy obserwowanymi zmianami a postępującą globalizacją. Wzrasta świadomość roli i znaczenia przekazów międzypokoleniowych zarówno w pozytywnym znaczeniu – postrzeganych jako narzędzia niezbędnego do podtrzymania ciągłości historii rodzinnej – jak i w kontekście pewnych obciążeń rzutujących na codzienne wybory i możliwość swobodnego wyboru alternatywnych wzorów konsumpcyjnych. Balansowanie pomiędzy zwyczajami przodków a trendami żywieniowymi, zunifikowanymi na poziomie międzynarodowym, implikuje konieczność zwrócenia większej uwagi na społeczną i kulturową funkcję jedzenia.

Słowa kluczowe: zwyczaje żywieniowe, transmisja międzypokoleniowa, globalizacja, rodzina, Górny Śląsk.

Introduction

The multiplicity and diversity of the concept of globalisation causes many difficulties for researchers. The lack of definitional uniformity and the impact, to a greater or lesser extent, on almost all aspects of life imply concerns about the need to analyse social reality in a comprehensive manner, which in turn may lead to excessive generalisations, shortcomings or the formation of simplified conclusions. Science has not developed an unequivocally accepted theoretical foundation, including globalisation in a group of concepts without a universal, satisfactory definition. Some proposals present a fragmented treatment of the topic, while others are too inclusive.

The difficulty of formulating a static definition of globalisation raises concerns about the need for a casuistic analysis of the conditions of its impact, which seems to contradict the basic principle of the researcher to present his arguments in a clear and simple way. For the sociologist who claims the right to include all social phenomena within the circle of scientific interest, another challenge arises. "When one says that globalisation is a phenomenon of border crossing, one usually has in mind economic activity and the movement of labour" (Zdanowski, 2000, p. 7). The subject of economic networks and the discovery and formulation of laws governing the global market are mainly dealt with by economists. Analysing hard, measurable data is made possible through the use of quantitative methods, with particular emphasis on mathematical modelling, which allows for efficient explanation and control of the phenomenon under study.

> Meanwhile, globalisation means the movement of intangible values – social norms and behaviour, cultural norms and political norms – across the globe, and its result is the constant formation of new and as yet unknown cultural ties that differ from those previously formed by nations and ethnic groups (Zdanowski, 2000, p. 7).

The mathematisation of socio-cultural issues met with a critical reaction from the sociological community, dissatisfied with the need to operate with quantitative methods, which, although it was made possible to carry out analyses in the economic sphere, it failed in a situation where the researcher's attention was focused on trying to define the nature of the problem more closely, finding a way of explaining given phenomena and checking their impact on human experience or reactions. The patent for overcoming this methodological impasse appeared to be to liberate oneself from the constraints determining the individual sciences and to adopt an interdisciplinary stance. Thus, based on the thesis of three fundamental theoretical perspectives (Boli, Lechner, 2011), individual academics were given the opportunity to consider globalisation in the dimensions of interest: economic, political and

socio-cultural. Each of the outlined areas "flows from different theoretical traditions, conceives globalisation in different ways and defines different aspects of it" (Boli, Lechner, 2011, p. 321).

Sociological orientation, in creating the defining framework of globalisation, emphasises "the intensification of social relations of global scope, connecting distant places in such a way that local events taking place there are influenced by events taking place many kilometres away and vice versa" (Giddens, 2006, p. 47). Given the essence of the considerations carried out in this article, it becomes legitimate to draw attention to the progressive universalism observed in the process of exchange of values and behavioural patterns between cultural centres and peripheries, detraditionalizing family traditions and customs. "It can [...] be understood as a gradual homogenisation or unification of national societies according to some common pattern, but it can also be read as "hybridisation," i.e. assimilation into local culture only of certain common elements" (Wnuk-Lipinski, 2004, p. 28). The second possibility seems quite attractive; for it assumes a multicultural variant, taking into account the possibility of preserving local colour while accepting trends, values recognised by global creators of the world. The problem is that the increase in mobility and media activity, aided by communication and information technologies, has discredited native customs, which lack the freshness, lightness and brightness that distinguish mass, easily accessible Western models. And so these

> [...] the old "coordinates," defining our place in society, a set of norms, values, and beliefs, which we would be inclined to recognise as our own, are subject to relativisation, in the sense that although they are still important points of reference for the vast majority, they are no longer absolute. This is because new, transnational coordinates are emerging alongside them, which are similarly important points of reference for us in everyday life (Wnuk-Lipiński, 2004, p. 24).

Which variant will prevail? Will the global village hypothesis become a thesis of the unification of the world, in which the tendency towards the rapid assimilation of hedonistic patterns of (not only) consumer behaviour characteristic of Western culture will prevail? The process of free movement of people, goods, services or patterns of behaviour has been observed for a long time, and the orientations of efficiency, calculability, predictability and universality of the world form a solid basis of the scientific trend (Wallerstein, 2001, 2007; Jameson, 1988; Robertson, 1995; Barber, 1997). If these predictions turn out to be accurate, we are in danger of an imbalance or at least a symmetry between openness to new trends and protection of one's own traditions, the aftermath of which could be a permanent transformation of contemporary cultural communities into a transnational society.

The aim of this study was to look for manifestations of intergenerational transmission in terms of transmitted and realised eating behaviour patterns. It also pointed out the need for further research on the role of the family in the process of shaping values and cultural belonging in a globalising environment.

Intergenerational transmission in the context of globalisation

In traditional societies, the overall process of educating the younger generation was based on simple, clear principles. The foundation in shaping and organising cultural flows was the local environment, understood as a delimited territory within which certain organisations, such as the school, the Church, service and social institutions and, of course, the family, operated. Educational goals were pursued along the lines of socialisation seen "as a continuous process of learning social roles and qualitative changes in ways of valuing based on the basic interactions and interactions of others in the immediate living environments and the wider socio–cultural background" (Wawro, 2016, p. 1073). Such an arrangement meant that parents and/or grandparents were responsible for cultural and civilisational transmission, who – as "significant others"[1] – constituted the primary, often the only point of reference, shaping patterns of thought and action. This rule made it possible to preserve the continuity of traditions while guaranteeing the permanence and cohesion of the various groups.

In the case of modern, pluralistic societies, the socialisation process is no longer so obvious and unambiguous. Nowadays, the construction of the identity of the younger generation increasingly involves the mass media, which broaden the scope of other primary groups (other than the family) and secondary groups. Clearly, therefore, the role and importance of the older generation is being modified, as it not only loses much of its authority to a group of peers, but also has to consider the possibility of considering the young as role models in a rapidly changing reality. For it is obvious that it is the young, with their characteristic absorption and openness to "newness," who find themselves better and faster in the mosaic of globalist multiculturalism; they can therefore serve as support in the process of adapting the elders to the constantly evolving cultural conditions. At the same time, it must be remembered that participation in reverse socialisation (Giddens, 2006, p. 67) is tantamount to consenting to the softening of customary norms, the implementation of

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[1] The concept of the significant other (see: G. H. Mead's concept of symbolic interactionism) refers to the person(s) who play an important role in the formation of the personality of the social individual. The intensification of these activities occurs during the period of primary socialisation (Mead, 1909).

the rules and ways of behaviour of the latest generation. After all, the co-figurative or even pre-figurative arrangement[2] introduces the principle of treating children and youth as equal social partners, thus changing the direction of the flow of transmission of social or cultural content. Far-reaching implications in the organisation of individual life and family relations arise from this fact. The confrontation of multiple cultural patterns nullifies the sustainability of previous ways of doing things, fostering the development of individualism, the deterritorialisation of culture, and homogenisation. Of course, it should be borne in mind that the discussion of globalisation carries many value judgements and simplifications. Some of them concern unification and universalism, treated as immanent properties of globalisation processes. In this context, there is a real danger of disturbing the hitherto stable structure of local cultural arrangements, subject to the progressive homogenisation and macdonaldisation of life[3]. However, the intensification of intercultural contacts may, somewhat paradoxically, "cause the stimulation of tradition, which in contact with others perceives its own distinctiveness and uniqueness even more clearly" (Mrozek-Dumanowska, 2003, p. 111).

Uncertainty and research curiosity provoke questions about the fate of cultural heritage understood as the heritage of past generations. The distribution of individual assets is in fact a choice between one of the (few) available options.

> They [may] be continued almost unreflectively, on the basis of habit, but they may also be transmitted quite consciously, with a view to the persistence of a given pattern in the lives of future generations, they may be quite consciously modified or intentionally condemned to oblivion, pushed out of public discourse, from the social space and the lives of members of a given group (Pokrzyńska, 2019, pp. 149–150).

Previous scientific works produced within the framework of axiological-educational issues point to the significant influence of the family environment in the transmission of patterns, values or moral norms (Bulla, 1987; Ziółkowski, 1981; Mika, 1972; Brzozowski, 1988; Kłoskowska, 1972). However, it must be remembered that these studies were conducted in a different social reality. Currently, academia (Slany, 2002; Giddens, 2012; Nowak, 2012; Tyszka, 1995,) is sounding the alarm

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[2]   Reference is made to Margaret Mead's concept of the study of intergenerational distance. According to this concept, culture is divided into three types: post-figurative (children learn mainly from their parents), co-figurative (children and adults learn from their peers) and pre-figurative (adults learn from their children) (Mead, 2000).

[3]   According to George Ritzer's concept, macdonaldisation means implementing the principles of fast food restaurants (predictability, efficiency, calculability) into other aspects of social life (education, healthcare, leisure activities, the sphere of paid work, tourism, etc.) (Ritzer, 1997, 2004).

that we are facing a number of phenomena that are reconstructing the previous model of family life (falling birth rate, less willingness to formalise relationships, higher number of divorces, etc.)[4] "It [is] still seen as an important value, but it is no longer considered as a universal, supra-individual moral norm, but as a value belonging to self–realisation and therefore freely chosen" (Lubowicka, 2019, p. 154). Indeed, one would expect that the evolution of the family implies a transformation in terms of intergenerational transmission, referred to as family background (Bradshaw, 1998), generational continuity (Jaworska, 1984; Rostowska, 1995) or social inheritance (Rostowska, 1995; Ziemska, 1969) in terms of beliefs, values, ideals, customs, mores, moral norms or behavioural patterns (Sitarczyk, 2002; Brzezińska, 2006; Farnicka, Liberska, 2014).

Eating habits in Upper Silesia

The tradition of Upper Silesia, which is the result of the coexistence and interpenetration of Silesian, Czech, borderland and German cultures, not without reason deserves to be called a cultural melting pot. Shaped by rapid social, national and religious changes, by the exchange of experiences and views of various ethnic groups, it delights with its diversity and multidimensionality and is a perfect example of syncretism of customs. It is easy to succumb to its charms; however, it can just as easily become a source of social tensions and conflicts resulting from the conflicting interests of individuals. Interculturalism as a space in which different cultural codes clash gives rise to different cognitive, emotional and world-view reactions. It is therefore not surprising that the Silesian Voivodeship is historically adapted to function in a permeation, movement and mutual exchange of ideas and values. This results in a unique identity for the inhabitants, in which a high level of consciousness and attachment to ancestral traditions have been shaped on the basis of an opposition between self and non-self. In a broader perspective, two main reasons for this can be identified. Firstly, the historical context already mentioned, with particular reference to the region's changing political affiliation in the past. Secondly, the consequences of contemporary migration, border movements and the influx of ever new ethnic groups. These conditions can be seen as the main

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4   The use of the term crisis was intentionally abandoned, which – according to the definition by Władysław Kopaliński (Kopaliński, 1967, p. 283) – means "a moment, a breakthrough period, a turning point, a decisive turn: a period of economic collapse." Although postmodern conditions of socio-economic development may result in a "breach of equilibrium" in the family environment, according to the sociological and psychological interpretation, it is assumed that we are rather dealing with a transformation of family life and a redefinition/reconstruction of the family in changing circumstances.

determinants of the region's cuisine, not only modelling daily menus, diets or specific dishes, but also influencing a whole spectrum of activities defined as eating behaviour.

In the literature, this concept can take on different meanings, depending on the scope and purpose of the research. For sociologists, the socio-cultural context is particularly important: "despite the many determinants of human behaviour with regard to food and nutrition, they [are] an important element of the culture of a given community" (Jeżewska-Zychowicz, 2007, p. 8). The subject of eating behaviour and related rituals is subject to further categorisation, which in practice boils down to using the distinction between: 1) eating habits understood as characteristic, repetitive behaviours undertaken in the process of satisfying biological-social-cultural needs and 2) eating habits denoting such behaviours which – dependent on a given culture – are shaped in the process of upbringing, thus determining the choice, place, manner of eating (Gawęcki, Flaczyk, 2012). In view of the subject matter addressed in this text, it seems justified to use the term "eating habits."

One of the characteristic elements of Upper Silesian cuisine is a wide range of high-calorie and fatty dishes. Among those most identified with the area are: wodzionka[5], roulade, Silesian potato dumplings, red cabbage, mozgoł[6] or karminadle[7]. Incorporating large quantities of cabbage, flour and potatoes into the daily menu was a consequence of the working and living conditions of the local community, concentrated in large industrial centres. Satiating meals guaranteed to increase the miners' psychophysical fitness while determining the diet of the rest of their families. The rhythm of work in the mines determined the times and ways in which meals were served: cooked, hot breakfasts, later ("after shift") lunch, and the cultivation of and attachment to tradition, which was the result of the relatively low level of employment of women miners' wives (Kawka, 1977, p. 192). It should be emphasised at this point that when thinking/writing about Silesian cuisine, we allow ourselves to make far-reaching generalisations resulting from a stereotypical perception of the area of the voivodeship in question. We unwittingly focus our attention on food habits linked to the mining environment, forgetting about other communities. Silesia has never been a monolith; neither the diverse geographical conditions nor the complex interpretations of Silesian national identity have allowed this. This had to leave its mark on the eating habits cultivated in the various parts of the voivodship, which developed their own specific technology for preparing food and drink and a set of the most commonly used raw materials and addi-

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[5]   A traditional Silesian soup served at any time of day, with boiling water, dry bread, cracklings or bacon as the main ingredients.

[6]   A heavy, filling dish consisting of potatoes and sauerkraut and lard.

[7]   A type of minced cutlets prepared from pork, deep-fried.

tives. Silesian cuisine is not, therefore, linked by specific flavours or dishes but by a regional respect for tradition, a sense of distinctiveness and individuality in food culture. Indeed, all the traditions associated with the preparation and consumption of food are regarded as an important carrier of the territory's cultural identity, constituting a significant component of its cultural heritage.

Upper Silesia prioritises the promotion, dissemination and protection of cultural heritage (including eating habits) (*Strategia Rozwoju Województwa Śląskiego* [Development strategy of the Silesian Voivodship]…, 2020, p. 122). This is particularly important now, at a time of promoting healthy eating habits, lifestyle transformation, increased environmental awareness, and the spread of Western patterns and trends. Without denying the validity in promoting the principles of a balanced diet, it is worth considering the scale of the transformation of eating habits that is taking place. It can already be seen that this process extends not only to the selection of ingredients necessary for the preparation of specific dishes, but also to the ways in which meals are served or consumed. Young people, who are overwhelmed by the freedom of dietary choices, are trying to find their way through the plethora of daily messages and contradictory information coming from the family environment, peers and the mass media. There is a lack of unambiguous messages and the range of options available, on the one hand, gives an impulse to reinforce local values, but on the other hand, tempts with the prospect of tasting the delicacies of exotic cuisines of distant countries. In the midst of this chaos, one thing remains certain: Upper Silesia, like other areas of Poland, is facing the powerful challenges of the globalisation of culture. The paradox is that with equal probability we can expect both the dominance of a pattern of food consumption on a global scale and a climate conducive to integration, assimilation or acculturation, with a simultaneous appreciation of indigenous culinary traditions.

Methodological note

In the context of the homogenisation and digitalisation of the world, the mechanism that allows for generational continuity is intergenerational transmission. It is subject to numerous analyses in the literature, most often oscillating around manifested values, a system of norms or rules. The aim of this study was to find an answer to the question of whether similar intergenerational transmission is also observed in the area of eating habits. At the same time, specific questions were formulated about similarities and differences in the realised eating habits of the three considered generational groups. The answers to these questions were provided by the analysis of the research results, the methodology of which is presented below.

There is no doubt that a permanent feature of globalisation is its spatial differentiation and – although globalisation processes are assumed to be ubiquitous – their extent is uneven and fragmented. Dynamic, essentially open to development, are urban areas; rural areas, on the other hand, are still treated as the refuge of tradition. This thesis was the starting point for the design of the research, especially as "the food base always comes from rural areas. It consists of tangible components on the one hand and intangible resources on the other" (Ochmanski 2016, p. 86). Given the above, as well as the main aim of the research, it was important to select the sites for the activities in such a way that it was possible to frame eating habits in the context of a socially and culturally different background. Finally, the research was carried out with a group of 20 interviewees (10 coming from an urban area, 10 from a rural area).

The first study area was a settlement located within the Upper Silesian city (Lipiny, a district of Świętochłowice). It is a typical example of a former patron settlement, intended for employees of the nearby industrial plants. The community, strongly linked to the mining environment, not only nurtured the values governing that world with particular care, but also influenced generations of miners and their families, for whom traditional rituals and daily customs became a key pillar of cultural heritage. The restructuring of the mines and other industrial plants in the region has led to the degradation of the area and the pauperisation of the district. Despite significant depopulation, a large number of retired miners' families still live there.

The next project site was Świerczyniec (*sołectwo*[8] of the rural municipality of Bojszowy, Bieruńsko-Lędziński County). The natural setting of the area indicates a high proportion of agricultural and forest land. It is the forests that are regarded as the municipality's greatest natural resource, thus providing the basis for planning recreational development. This is one of the oldest settlements in Upper Silesia; the attachment to place and cultural heritage is strongly evident here. This once homogeneous community (made up of native Silesians) is now becoming increasingly dispersed. Alongside older people who have lived in the area for generations, we are seeing a large influx of young people, tempted by the vision of attractive green areas well connected to the conurbation.

The study used a snowball sampling method. The sampling criteria were: having offspring[9] (aged 10+)[10] and place of residence. The research was conducted

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[8]   Smallest administrative unit in Poland.

[9]   Intergenerational transmission can be said to occur when different forms of behaviour are adopted in at least two generations (Rostowska, 2001). However, the research presented here was intended to cover the perspective of three generations (grandparents, parents, children) and was therefore directed at those with children aged 10+.

[10]   Eating habits are derived from the influence of the family, pre-school and/or school environment and external factors (mass media, social media). While in the first years of

from December 2022 to March 2023 using a narrative interview technique, covering dietary habits, which focused on the choice of specific products/dishes, where and how they were consumed. During the interviews with respondents, it was crucial to obtain data to allow for three main lines of analysis:

A comparative analysis of the dietary habits of the respondents, their parents and their children with a particular focus on those of all three generations.

An analysis of those elements of eating habits that have not been transmitted intergenerationally but are the aftermath of globalisation processes.

> The research proper was preceded by a pilot questionnaire interview conducted in two households. This activity proved extremely helpful; it enabled the selection and communicability of questions developed on the basis of established dispositions to be checked, correcting those which, according to the respondents, created ambiguities and difficulties in accurately reading the researcher's intentions.

Intergenerational transmission of dietary habits – research findings

"Parents' belief systems play an important role in determining what parenting actions they take, and this in turn influences the development of the child's behaviour and belief system" (Jezierska-Wiejak, 2013, p. 296). It should therefore be assumed that the experiences and way of life of previous generations are not without influence on the cultivated habits and methods of behaviour, manifested in the available and learned eating habits evident at later stages of life. Of course, in research on intergenerational transmission, there is always a concern as to whether the transmission of certain patterns is regarded as an important element in the protection of indigenous values or simply the result of functioning under similar economic, socio-cultural conditions. This issue was the starting point of the interviews. Respondents were asked to present such elements of the family biography that had a decisive influence on the lifestyle pursued in the household. This request was intended to see how the socio-economic and cultural context determined and determines the customs practised in each generation. The vast majority of respondents grew up under different historical conditions (systemic transformation, free market

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a child's life eating behaviour remains the responsibility of the parents/guardians, in the early period of a child's personal identity formation (coinciding with the exploitation stage) this influence is decisively reduced. At the age of 10–12, attempts to seek alternative (to native) patterns and activities are clearly noticeable. The possibility of choice, or lack thereof, in the case of implemented eating habits is of cognitive interest, which is why respondents with a child/children aged 10+ participated in the study (Marcia, 1980).

economy) than their parents (communism). It might seem that this factor should significantly condition a given lifestyle. However, the results do not support this thesis. Yes, the respondents pointed to significant intergenerational differences, especially in terms of housing conditions, standard of living index or economic potential, but they treated this as an obvious consequence of the intensive development of science and technology, and not as an effect of modifications initiated by family members themselves. Importantly, they felt that core values and beliefs were firmly in place regardless of generational changes: "Do I know if so much has changed? We here, lady, how we lived, that's how we live [...], Sure, I won't say, we have all these netflixes and internets, more of this stuff in the shops, but like I said, how we lived, that's how we live" (W:3)[11]. Similar observations are noted for the urban community: "I come from such a family, as they say, from *my grandfather's grandfather* [...] we have always been firmly[12] supporting each other, we are firmly close to each other, some holidays or celebrations, it's always together, and so we also teach the children that they have each other first and foremost" (M:1). Another respondent adds:

> I suppose we are a little bit out of touch. I can't even pinpoint why, but I have the impression that we don't fit in with today's times (*laughs*). The society we live in is changing, everything is changing, but we probably change the least (*laughs*) (M:9).

One might venture to say that there is a widespread tendency to leave principles and value patterns as they have been induced by the older generation: "I'm afraid of all this change, this haste, this kind of insensitivity, and maybe that's why I try hard to at least keep things the same at home, even though the children, you know, don't like it very much" (M:8).

Another interesting aspect emerges in the respondents' statements. It turns out that despite the depersonalisation and alienation of individuals in today's society, which is so accentuated in the mass media, the disappearance of neighbourhood ties and *face-to-face* relations is not everywhere noticeable. The nurturing of such relationships is particularly evident in the case of rural communities:

> Well maybe it's not like it used to be anymore, but we try, we really try though, to talk to each other, to get together. Well, maybe what's changed is that now we socialise on WhatsApp [...] we have different integrations, matches, activities, now for example we're going to have a rally for those who want to (W:10).

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[11] Coding of the interviews was done using the determinant: M – town (Świętochłowice), W – village (Świerczyniec). Interviews were therefore numbered M:1–M:10 (Świętochłowice), W:1-W:10 (Świerczyniec).

[12] The transcriptions retain the original pronunciation of the respondents.

The family was the axis of the first part of the discussions held. The discussion on this topic was necessary in view of the attempt to capture the changes that are taking place in it and those values and behaviours that – stored – are passed on to the next generation. Two strategies of action emerged in the statements of the interviewees. It is interesting to note that this differentiation was not determined by the different living conditions taking shape on the village-urban line, but appeared mainly within one – rural – community. It is here that a clear division became apparent between the two communities operating there. The first is made up of people who have lived in the area for generations; the second is made up of incomers treating the area as a "bedroom community" of nearby Katowice or Tychy. It is in this second group that opinions suggesting the presence of certain changes in the ways in which the family functions appeared. Apart from the rather obvious modification in the sphere of communication (telephones, text messages, instant messaging), attention was drawn to the greater autonomisation, the separateness of the individual units comprising a given household, which can be seen as a consequence of the reorganisation of working life, especially the parents' more frequent stay away from home, the longer working day, the need to look for additional sources of income: "My husband and I work a lot, we come back late [from Katowice], the children inevitably have to be more independent, they organise their own time because they also commute to school [...], well it certainly affects our way of life" (W:5). Another allochthonous respondent spoke in a similar vein:

> My wife and I both work, I in Katowice, my wife in Tychy [...], the children study here, on site [...], they have to sit in the day care centre, because the grandparents are unfortunately far away. We don't really have anyone to help us here, there are neighbours, but they actually work outside Świerczyniec just like we do (W:1).

Completely different patterns are present for people who have a long-standing relationship with the region they live in: "The institution of grandparents works full time (*laughs*). My mum laughs that she is doing her homework now, because when I was a child my grandmother took care of me too" (W:10).

The urban environment recognises the following as the most important differences in family functioning: lack of time, faster pace of life, divorce, unemployment, recession, one spouse working abroad, single parenthood. Although in the interviews there were indications of respondents' awareness of the important role of modern technology on the life of modern families, these tended to be positive or neutral rather than negative. There was an emphasis on the significant reduction in the intergenerational distance (less formalised language in contacts with parents/grandparents), greater freedom to express oneself and one's individuality through

dress or style of being, and the possibility of contact via telephone or instant mes-
saging. On the other hand, less interest in spending leisure time together by indi-
vidual family members was assessed negatively. In conclusion, we can see that
elements of the impact of history on respondents' current lives are felt in terms of
greater consumer, communication or economic opportunities. However, the consid-
erations so far indicate a rather strong resistance to radical changes in principles,
values consolidating families, although at the same time the respondents have a
sense of greater separateness and the possibility to choose more freely the elements
shaping the lifestyles of both individuals and whole families.

The issue of individualisation and the apparent entrenchment of individuals in
social structures provided a contribution to the discussions about the eating patterns,
tastes and culinary traditions of individuals in the family. In both environments
studied, attachment to childhood tastes, to the need to preserve them for one's own
offspring, was strongly emphasised:

> The famous tomato soup, although I have to admit that in my case it's broth
> [...]. It's clear that I brought this from home, this predilection for certain dishes.
> I introduce some of them at home and, of course, I modify some of them, be-
> cause not everything the children will eat, but in general, yes – I try to make my
> tastes last (M:9).

Nostalgia and a sense of generational continuity appear in the respondents' state-
ments: "[...] at my home they used to eat like that, so I eat like that too [...], maybe
I would like to cook differently, maybe in a healthier way, but my husband does not
agree (*laughs*), so I cook the way they used to cook" (W:3). Among the dishes unit-
ing the generations, respondents mentioned: tomato soup, broth, roulade, Silesian
dumplings, pork chop, buchty, cheesecake (and other cakes), fried cabbage.

A qualitative analysis of the diets used provided interesting conclusions. Al-
though the respondents were inclined to find similarities and to adopt patterns from
the older generation, they found it difficult to point to specific examples confirming
the above. This motivated the researcher to explore the topic more strongly. Accord-
ing to the respondents, food traditions are the glue that binds us to earlier genera-
tions and – as an important element strengthening family ties – should be nurtured
and passed on to younger generations. Meanwhile, however, the topic of dietary
composition generated a wide variety of emotions, not always positive. Respond-
ents were reluctant to admit that, although they found many similarities between
their parents' menus and those currently practised, this was not something to be
proud of. Increased awareness of rational eating (including the need to eat regular
meals, take care of their quality, pay attention to the composition of the food pur-
chased, avoid sugar/sweets) stands in opposition to the habits cultivated in the fam-

ily. On the one hand, this dissonance causes a feeling of discomfort ("I know it's a bit *passé* already", W:1); on the other hand, however, it gives consent to the lack of change ("[...] well, I justify myself that after all, the roulade and those noodles must, must simply be" (M:9).

Eating behaviour is also linked to food preparation/eating patterns. This was particularly evident in the case of the urban community, where attention was drawn to the significant changes taking place particularly in relation to where grocery shopping is done. Respondents stressed that although they would like to continue certain consumer traditions (shopping at the market, better quality food), this is hampered by both less access to such places and economic issues. In this case, villagers were more likely to share stories indicating an attachment to patterns brought up from home: "my mother used to buy from Mrs Jadzia, I buy from Mrs Jadzia and probably my daughter will buy from her" (W:4). One respondent adds: "I remember that my grandmother always made the sign of the cross on the bread before she started to cut it. With me, although this is no longer celebrated, but I have taken from home this respect for bread, that it is, as it were, such a sacred thing, and I teach this my children, too" (W:6).

When looking for commonalities in eating habits, attention was drawn to issues of table setting. Nicely and aesthetically served dishes are seen as an indispensable part of the daily meal. This aspect is mainly accentuated by rural residents: "Well, I can't imagine eating, I don't know, on plastic. I'm not saying that I have a white tablecloth on my table every day (*laughs*), but it just has to be neat, clean [...]. That's the way we've always eaten" (W:10). The common denominator for both communities, on the other hand, turned out to be an adherence to the principle of "pledge yourself and put up for yourself". Residents of both Świerczyniec and Świętochłowice took it as a natural continuation of the principles instilled in them on the family farm. The analysis of the survey results showed that this care for the image of the family applies not only to large, important family celebrations (communion, wedding), but is also relevant to everyday social gatherings in smaller or larger groups: "I can't imagine anyone leaving hungry from my place, I always do my best, even if a friend comes for coffee, I at least serve cakes" (M:8). Another adds: "As it was with our noses, as it is now. We were taught from a young age that you have to host, even with potatoes. To be able to host, to prepare something from nothing, I say, from literally nothing" (M:1).

Looking for similarities in the eating habits present in the different generations, respondents also pointed to the continuation of methods associated with rational food management: "I think that's what I got from home too, that you don't waste food. If you buy a chicken, on the first day I make a soup out of it, on the second day – you know, tomato soup, and on the third day I use the meat for pota-

toes and some kind of salad" (W:10). Similar experiences are present in the urban environment:

> It is similar, I would even say, it is very similar to what I had. But do I know if it's that good. It's always been uphill in my house, and I'm uphill now too, so we have food that's so, how shall I say, budget. But all in all, it's also good that I was brought up that way, to cook something out of nothing (M:1).

A significant proportion of dishes, as well as food-related rituals, which have been passed down from generation to generation, form an integral part of festivals (Christmas, Easter). The food consumed at these events is treated in a special way: "It's different every day, but poppy seeds are a must at Christmas" (W:10). The respondents strongly emphasised that in this case they very often go back to family traditions: "I remember how we used to make dumplings for borscht together at my house [...]. Nowadays, we also make them together with my mum and my children, because I don't think I could do it alone" (M:9). Attachment to tradition and old food customs is also observed in relation to other family or religious celebrations. Patterns regarding the ways in which communion, weddings or even birthdays are celebrated largely boil down to specific foods or methods of serving them. Although attention is paid to the appropriate setting of the respective events in both communities, rural society leads the way in scrupulously honouring tradition: "There must be a cake, the same one every year, chocolate with cherries [...] it's such a family tradition" (W:2). In the case of the town, there is more freedom in interpreting customs (a cake from a cake shop instead of a homemade one), but even here the rituals related to, for example, the guest/cake handed over after the wedding or greeting the bride and groom with bread and salt are still quite strictly observed. In both Świerczyniec and Świętochłowice, the differences between everyday and festive eating are maintained: "I'm raising my daughter by myself, I don't really have time to cook dinners during the week, my daughter either eats at school or out, but at weekends I want it to be homely, decent, and we have our little traditions that there has to be a pork chop, well it just has to" (M:1).

Research into eating habits would be incomplete without considering how and where food is eaten. There is a widespread belief that the variety of social roles and tasks undertaken adversely affects the amount of leisure time, resulting in the abandonment of jointly celebrated meals. The respondents' statements do not allow for a clear assessment of the situation: some adhere to the old tradition, others say: "With me it was different, my mother didn't work, she was at home, so, you know, lunch was waiting on the table after school (*laughs*). Now we save ourselves with lunches at school" (W:1). The factors differentiating belonging to one of the two factions is not so much the place of residence, but rather the lifestyle resulting from

the current work situation; it is this that not only determines the choice of dining location (home, away from home), but also translates into the ability to participate in a family lunch or dinner.

As well as looking for commonalities, the research carried out also aimed to identify differences manifested in the eating habits of the different generations. The explosion of urban lifestyles, the revolution in the production and distribution of food products (especially in the context of the production of ready meals in jars or cans and chilled dishes requiring only reheating), the appearance of new, previously unknown foodstuffs, the development of catering establishments such as fast-food bars, pubs, cafés, as well as the introduction of dishes inspired by different cuisines and cultures to menus, draw attention to the possibility of numerous modifications in the behaviour of contemporary food consumers. These changes, conditioned by micro- and macroeconomic factors, are of particular interest to young people, for whom the trends promoted by the mass media are an attractive alternative to existing patterns. Respondents were therefore asked about their experiences, opinions on opportunities and limitations resulting from globalisation. Both urban and rural residents are aware of the fact that their children's generation is being brought up in completely different socio-economic conditions, which translates into a weakening of the mechanism of inter-generational transmission. Respondents emphasise that some traditional dishes or customs are not understood by the generation raised in the so-called instant culture:[13] "The young now want to do things differently, faster [...], for example, my daughter, I can already see her wanting to make dumplings or cook broth for several hours" (M:7). Respondents also draw attention to the issue of joint (or rather non-joint) administration of meals, which has already been raised. Residents of the urban settlement emphasise that children dine out more often than they do. For the youngsters, this is not only a form of satisfying their hunger, but also an opportunity to integrate with their peers: "I've already got used to Nadia needing it [eating out], all in all I don't blame her, she studies in Katowice, she spends more time there than here, so she also wants to go with her friends after school for a pizza or something" (W:1). Such behaviour, although accepted with understanding, evokes a feeling of regret, a certain nostalgia for limiting or giving up old rules altogether. The analysis of the data collected allows the conclusion to be drawn that these actions are seen as an offshoot of a lifestyle, rather than a voluntary agreement or acceptance of such actions.

Discrepancies in the realised eating habits between the respondents' generation and their children also appear with regard to different attitudes in openness to new

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[13] "The symbol of this culture can be the triad: fast food, fast sex, fast car. Fast food is the microwave oven, instant coffee, hot cup, McDonald's, and Coca-Cola" (Melosik, 2003, p. 21).

culinary experiences. This is mentioned by one respondent who notes a fascination with Thai or Japanese cuisine in her children: "Take, for example, such sushi. It doesn't appeal to me at all, and my son is drawn to such things" (M:8). The identification of differences may have – as the respondents themselves point out – its genesis in more frequent contact with a different culture, experiences drawn from travel or trips: "For us it was all new, we had to learn a bit about these, let's call it, new tastes [...]. The children had already grown up in other times, for them hummus or, I don't know, let's say kebab, was the norm" (W:1).

There is a lot of criticism of the popular fashion among young people of buying "takeaway food" or ordering ready-made meals with the possibility of eating them at home. Although the respondents admit that this is a considerable time-saver, at the same time they point out the financial issues and the lack of economic rationality: "You can't do anything about it, it is two, sometimes even three times more expensive for me [...], well sometimes my daughter wins" (M:1). There is also some concern about the modification of practices related to the food buying process: "Well I don't like that the young ones prefer supermarkets" (W:4).

Not all comments on the observed intergenerational differences have a pejorative tinge:

> You know, I'm the generation for whom Coca-Cola was a thing. I would drink it non-stop, but my children, especially my daughter, are critical, saying that it's unhealthy, that it's not compatible with my body (*laughs*). Now children are very aware of what's healthy and what's calorie content. On the other hand, I don't know if it's so good because I can't, well I can't drink that cola at home (M:5).

Among the positive examples, there are also threads concerning greater awareness of the principles of good nutrition, paying attention to the composition of the products purchased, limiting sugar, introducing the principle of superfood or slow foods. Given the framework form of the study, it is difficult to conduct a detailed analysis here, but it is worth highlighting the presence of a prefigurative model. Some trends promoted by youth are recognised by elders and are slowly being implemented into the permanent household behavioural repertoire. These include the cultivation of zero waste or less waste and the promotion of plant-based products at the expense of animal–based ones. Children are also proving to be motivators for replacing high-calorie snacks with healthy substitutes. However, as the respondents themselves acknowledge, the changes proposed by the younger generation do not happen immediately; not only time is needed here to implement new habits, but also a great deal of determination in pursuit of the goal: "My daughter has already persuaded me several times to go running and diet together, but I am one of those people who always plan to lose weight from Monday onwards" (W:7).

Intergenerational transmission of dietary habits also translates into less flexibility to modify diets for medical indications:

> It's funny, but it's fair to say that we've got these habits from our family home and they're a bit of a burden. When my son developed a gluten allergy, we all had to modify our menus and I can tell you that it was hard for me and my husband to get used to it. With the children it went smoothly overall (M:3).

Conclusion

The importance of the family climate for the process of intergenerational transmission of eating behaviour is based on the belief in the influence these interactions have on the choices and actions of the next generation. The research intention was to find out how strongly the patterns passed on to children are internalised by them and are a determinant of the cognitive perspective adopted. This was based on the conviction that "humans make (or should make) decisions and choices independently and subconsciously, but these are based on the foundations brought from the family home" (Elżanowska, 2012, p. 110). The analysis of the collected research material confirms the earlier assumptions. There is no doubt that the respondents' childhood experiences shape their eating habits. The respondents are aware of their adoption and cultivation, and feel that it depends on their attitudes and involvement whether and to what extent this legacy of past generations can be passed on. Some take this task extremely seriously, treating it as a kind of mission: "If we [the children] do not pass on to them [the children], who will?" (W:4). Culinary habits brought from the family home very often evoke positive childhood memories; there is a desire to return, if only in thought, to the good old days. Food and the customs revolving around it awaken memories of past people, places or events. This is accompanied by a reflection on the importance of social bonds: "When I think back to those dinners we had together, when we waited for my father to sit down at the table with us, it feels like everything was done together after all, together" (M:9). The context of family life is treated as an overriding value, as the main determinant of intergenerational transmission: "Mealtimes have always been this time reserved for those closest to me [...], I'm very, very keen to pass this on to the children" (W:4). The focus on traditional eating habits is particularly evident in the context of holiday rituals and significant family celebrations. Residents of both rural and urban areas regard them as the quintessence of these rituals, the centre of the whole event. The examples of birthday cake, wedding cake or the dishes that make up the Christmas Eve meal are worth mentioning here. The attachment to tradition is so strong here that – despite increasing flexibility and openness to

alternative patterns – they mobilise the strength and commitment of all members of the household. Respondents emphasise that they feel that these key elements of culinary tradition are also important for the younger generation. Moreover, there were statements in the narratives indicating that children or young people are kind of guardians of these values: "You know, sometimes I would even let it go, because I don't want to, well you don't always have the head for it, but then my daughter is like: no, no way, we need to make the gingerbreads, we need to have them [...], so I prepare them, there is no way out" (M:9).

The situation is slightly different for the habits practised on a daily basis, especially among urban communities. Above all, the (previously very clear) distinction between daily and weekend eating is blurring significantly. Although some have signalled an attempt to maintain and emphasise the uniqueness of the Sunday lunch, increasingly meticulously and carefully prepared dishes are being replaced by simpler, quicker to make dishes. However, this does not mean that weekend meals are not celebrated; they are still, for a significant proportion of respondents, an important element of family integration and bonding. In the case of the rural community, we observe a greater care for the Sunday lunch to be composed of dishes that our interviewees know from their childhood. They also see it as an opportunity to meet in a larger family group. Such practices, however, mainly concern those who have lived in the area for generations; they are of much less importance to the immigrant population.

When conducting research among the population of Upper Silesia, it is impossible to avoid questions about the cultural determinants of food consumption. After all, the intergenerational transmission of food habits is an element of cultural heritage, a carrier of traditions and customs. Jerzy Smolicz claims that culinary art is one of the most inclusive elements of ethnic culture (Smolicz, 1998). However, this claim was not necessarily confirmed in the research conducted. The respondents are attached to the rituals, customs of the region, but this sentiment is rather due to the fact that they are an important part of the family tradition. It is the latter that plays the "primary role" here and generates the need to preserve certain activities for future generations. Respondents emphasised that the given food practices are important to them because this is how they ate/behaved in their families, households:

> Well, I'm the daughter of a miner and probably some of our culinary traditions are a bit related to that environment, but I wouldn't say I think of it that way on a daily basis. We used to eat like that at home and that's probably how I think of it, as something homely, ours, and not necessarily that of miners' (M:9).

Attachment to eating habits does not exclude transformations in the shaping of consumer reality. This modernisation takes place by contesting certain patterns and rejecting them as inconsistent with current living conditions. The impulse for change is most often macro-factors, among which the issue of economic change plays a special role. It is in these factors that the respondents see the main reason for the transformations in culinary practices. Technological innovations (spread of mass media, the Internet, development of social media), constituting an important regulator of young people's lives, as well as lifestyle modifications resulting from changes in the area of professional activity, are also of great importance. Respondents perceive a correlation between the changes taking place and increasing globalisation. Although there were difficulties in operationalising the concepts, the respondents were quite well-versed in the consequences of globalisation. There was an emphasis on integration, international interdependence, the possibility of free transfer of people and capital and, above all, achievements in technology (especially digital technology) and science. While the removal of technological, physical, political or social barriers was relatively well appreciated, there was much controversy and ambiguity regarding the modification of eating habits. On the one hand, the contribution of globalisation to the possibility of freely choosing the dietary trend pursued was appreciated; on the other hand, however, the direction and trend of change did not always fit with the needs and expectations of respondents. This dissonance was present in both settings surveyed, with the rural community more often signalling that the innovations being introduced were the result of specific work and lifestyle reorganisation rather than following nutritional innovations. This gives rise to frustration and a belief not only that traditional ways of doing things are being lost, but also that such a way of eating and managing food is being undermined so as to fit in with the principle of rationality. The latter, moreover, is seen as an important contribution of the previous generation to the ability to manage available resources.

In the social sciences, it is assumed that the practices and behaviours carried out as part of family functioning should be regarded as an important manifestation of social life, enabling the acquisition of experiences and accumulating knowledge about social reality. In principle, the statements of the respondents make it possible to defend the above thesis; however, it is worth noting that the respondents admitted that they sometimes interpret the eating habits passed on through intergenerational transmission in terms of hindrances, certain burdens that, while allowing them to maintain awareness of their roots, at the same time make it difficult to adapt to life in conditions different from those of the previous generation.

Eating habits are an important aspect of our functioning. In recent years, there has been an increasing and clearer emphasis on the need to pay attention to the social determinants of food consumption, especially with regard to the changes re-

sulting from globalisation processes. Although not all food habits are included in intergenerational transmission, it is encouraging that there is a need to pass on to the young not only certain tastes, dishes and customs but above all their importance in building relationships and family ties.

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