

P
A
N
54159

Połączone Biblioteki WFIS UW, IFIS PAN i PTF
P.54159
1905415900000



Polish Academy of Sciences
Institute of Philosophy and Sociology
University of Warsaw
Institute of Sociology

Anna Titkow

Child and Values

Polish Academy of Sciences
Institute of Philosophy and Sociology
University of Warsaw
Institute of Sociology

Anna Titkow

Child and Values

Warszawa 1984

Cover design

Michał Bernaciak

Publisher:

The Institute of Philosophy and Sociology

00-330 Warszawa, Nowy Swiat 72

Tel. 26-52-31 ex. 97

Druk: IFiS PAN zam. 5/84 N.125 , A5, L-107

Contents

Magdalena Sokółowska: Preface	5
Introduction.....	11
Chapter I. Research assumptions. Chief hypotheses. Characterization of the population in question.....	15
Chapter II. The structure of attitude to the child. Emotional and behavioural components and the way they function. The share of the components to the child in the shaping of procreational behaviour.....	21
Chapter III. The place of the child in the value system. General values, life models and goals of marriage. Components of attitude toward the child vs. chosen values.....	83
Chapter IV. Correlatives of attitude about the child. Rigourism in sex life. Occupational activation of women. The opera- tion of social policy.....	113
Conclusions	137
Appendix I: Tables characterizing the sample	141
Appendix II: Questionnaire of interview	153

Magdalena Sokołowska

Preface

Value systems of social groups, communities and global societies are frequent topics of sociological research. Without going into the wide spectrum of viewpoints they have been tackled from embracing almost all possible angles, orientations, methods and practical purposes it would be tempting to draw a certain theoretical division where different values would belong to different compartments filled with the findings of systematic research. What is most likely to appear is that some of these compartments would be almost bursting with data, others would have much room to spare while others still would be vacant. What's more, it would often be the case that the vacancies refer to the values of major significance for social life. One of these empty compartments is reserved for the phenomena connected with population reproduction which the world sociology classifies among the most intricate and at the same time the least rewarding research territories. The child as a value belongs to this class and hardly anything has been written about this so far.

This statement may seem paradoxical seeing the host of existing studies on children. However; looking closer one cannot but conclude that as a rule they all fall wide off the convention of sociological value research. What they have in common is a peculiar self-centred, utilitarian approach to the child largely predominant in surveys carried "before" as

well as "after" a child is born. Most of the surveys dealing with prenatal period are focussed either on sex as a value or on contraceptives which serve the implementation of this value. The child as a value cannot usually get through until its birth becomes a fact or when its "creators" deliberately renounce contraceptives having decided that for various reasons they need a child. Quite often it is planned as an element of the stabilized life, a new success, upholding or providing formal bonds for an uncertain or crumbling marital union, remedying loneliness or securing senility etc. It is this context that the phrase "to afford a child" has come into use. And immediately following the childbirth is an avalanche of studies on time budget /the baby changes it entirely/, leisure /which the baby takes away/, popular cycles on nurseries, kindergartens, schools, helpful grannies, female employment etc., which may be particularly impetuous in Poland due to our well-known strains but which even the richest countries are not immune from.

This entire domain has been most conspicuously affected by the technological revolution in the sphere of population reproduction. The term "reproduction" seems slightly better than "procreation" but both are so deeply rooted in demography and biology that to show them in terms of value is a very hard task indeed. The point is, however, that by far too few studies of medical sociology have gone to examine the dramatic case of social repercussions and the overwhelming influence on social life of the technological progress made in medicine. We are much more prone to consider it in terms of how the improvement in the treatment of diseases helps to control endemics or lengthen life expectancy. Meanwhile, mounting right under our eyes and within less than one generation has been something that continues to beg an account doing justice to its enormous scale and significance for all the spheres of human life: namely, the rise and vast use of modern contraceptives responsible for the separation of conjugal life from childbearing. The new processes that have been put in motion make it hard to tell causes from effects; the concatenation of demographic developments are blended with social, cultural and economic

phenomena; the term "culture" has come to stand for the centuries-long taboo of sexual life, religious convictions, ethical views - both old and those ushered in quite recently - as well as the new situation of women in society and the intertwinings of many other substantial phenomena and processes that transform the texture of societies. The reduction of unwanted pregnancies resulted in a considerable drop in natural increase in all the developed countries which is enough to trouble the minds of demographers and politicians. For his part a sociologist can take as a point of departure for his considerations the question of the resultant option in the most fundamental of all spheres of human life where so far there has been no option at all. Such selected results of the phenomenon in point may involve, for instance, childlessness by choice, the lot of unwanted children /eg. born because abortion was impossible/, adopted children etc. This field offers vast opportunities for sociologists.

However, all these and similar sociological ventures would in themselves be of merely secondary significance vis à vis the necessity of placing the problems involved in the mainstream of theoretical and empirical sociology which is now dispersed in haphazard sociological contributions in demography, psychology, medicine and especially in practical studies and projects called "social policy" or "population policy".

Anna Titkow's book, too modestly called "a project report", fills much of the gap in this respect. Hers is a notable contribution to the knowledge about the state of awareness of the contemporary Polish society providing substantial information about its basic values and especially this particular value which is /or is believed to be/ one of the most important if not the most important of all. This study finds its way right into the mainstream of research on life styles by showing that "a baby" is a good indicator of various spheres of life of married couples and families as well as bigger groups and communities. I think it is high time that to our traditional categories distinguished in empirical research on life style as work, housing conditions, time budget etc., one more be added: the child. This would prevent this category being sliced and distributed among other

And the child, Anna Titkow tells us, is important enough to become an independent variable in life style studies. Moreover an interesting and most probably quite new way of examining social consciousness could enrich international comparative research in this field. It involves a division of attitudes to the child into two sets called "rational" and "emotional." While giving a vivid picture of these things in Poland Anna Titkow suggests, somewhat provocatively, that the rational component ties up with the petty bourgeois type of affluence where having a baby is seen as one more step up whereas the emotional component, even when it is uncertain, unfirm /wavering reflects transformations in social consciousness/ turns out to be - appearances to the contrary - its quite likeable opposite expressing a generally progressive, open outlook on the world which is far, to be sure, from the light-hearted attitude to life. It would be interesting to see how these questions develop in other countries.

The practical layer of this book seems to offer very topical food for thought for the makers of the so-called population policy. Hardly anything, it is said, can be more viable and useful than a good theory based on firm empirical foundations. Thus it clearly transpires from Anna Titkow's study that the tide of pronatal propaganda that gushed in this country in the seventies failed to have any effect whatsoever on the number of children and that, in addition, it is not gainful employment of women that is to blame as some would have us believe in this context. This conclusion is corroborated by many other research projects in Poland and abroad alike. If this is so it is because the so-called population policy manifests itself at conferences, in organizations, speeches with a definite distribution of emphasis, in the press etc. In other words, it finds outlets or self-realization in the profuse sphere of institutionalized propaganda while its subjects and addressees, i. e., the users of the nuptial bed which means in practice a hard day couch - collapsible in most Polish flats - are absolutely indifferent to it. Of course, it is possible, with enough power over people, to play a trick on them by unexpectedly halting the sales of contraceptives accompanied by a sudden ban on abortion as the case was

in one country not far from Poland. There was much rejoicing when the birth rate was found to be on the rise at first which was triumphantly announced to the world. Unfortunately, it soon appeared - and there were no trumpets this time - that almost concurrently the mortality of young women shot up several dozen times.

This is not to imply that all social projects in this field are doomed to failure. However, for one thing they ought not to be called "policy" because we have enough of this in all other fields, and for another, /though it is a commonplace remark it has not lost its currency/ all projects ought to be rational and comprehensive, facilitate the life of young married couples and families, cover housing, organization of employment and social allowances. Let's do our best to assure that the decisions on having or not having a baby are real options. The situation in contraceptives in Poland is generally known to be a curiosity by European standards. Premarital and marital counselling /the term "sexuological" continues to sound too straightforward to too many/ is in the state of vegetation of not extinction. Though the traditional, and international name: Family Planning Society has been changed into "Family Development Society" this can be hardly said to have helped much in fending off the increasingly aggressive challenge of the movement for the revision of the abortion and contraceptives law.

Anna Titkow tells us that new studies on family policy are soon to be launched. We are looking forward impatiently.

INTRODUCTION

The population trend of our society is well-known: contemporary Poles - similarly to most representatives of other modern societies - are not keen on having too many children. However, one should not lose sight of the specific Polish condition determined by the existence in our social reality of two different factors whose operation is not necessarily complementary or mutually propelling. I have in mind here a high position of the family¹, which has developed historically, the spread of catholicism which weigh down on family planning and the number of children², coinciding with the growth of women careers, growing consumption needs, transformations in the patterns and standards of sexual life.

It is the awareness of this social "disharmony" that provoked the launching of this research³. It is an attempt to define the place of the

¹Przemiany rodziny polskiej [Transformations of the Polish Family], edited by J. Komorowska, Instytut Wydawniczy CRZZ, Warszawa 1975.

²Miłość, małżeństwo, rodzina [Love, Marriage, Family], edited by F. Adamski, Wydawnictwo Apostolstwa Modlitwy, Kraków, 1978.

³This research was carried out in a sample of 1935 adult Poles in 1979 within project III.2.29 coordinated by the Institute of Sociology, Warsaw University.

child against the background of values preferred by our society. Henceforth in this report the term "values" will mean objects which are chosen depending on the degree of desire⁴.

Be it added that the research does not claim to a complete description of the subject in point. This reservation applies in the first place to the "system of values of the Polish society". Nor are its findings in any way a demographic forecast.

The Aims Estimations of the number of children desired and had by contemporary Poles derive from demographical studies⁵. Relatively less is known about social and cultural correlatives /aggregated from data on the individual level/ which accompany these trends. Therefore the aim of the research is twofold. For one thing we want to know the place of the child in the system of values of the Polish society - the society seen first of all in terms of socio-occupational position of its members. For another we want to know the relation between indicators which, in various ways, render the "importance of the child".

Polish birth rate is and will continue to be similar to that of the average developed countries, that is we hope our natural increase will allow for simple reproduction⁶. It was also my intention in this study

⁴In this report the term "value" means objects chosen depending on the degree of desire for them. Port. Melvin L. Kohn, *Class and Conformity. A Study in Values*. Illinois: The Dorsey Press Homewood, 1969.

⁵Z. Smoliński, O antykoncepcji, przerywaniu ciąży i planowaniu rodziny [On contraception, abortion and family planning] in *Problemy Rodziny* No 1, 1973 [Family Problems No 1, 1973], *Perspektywy dzietności rodzin w Polsce* [Number of Children per family: prospects in Poland] in: *Problemy Rodziny* [Family Problems] No 1974.

⁶Cf. eg. article by E. Rosset, *Więcej dziadków niż wnuków* [More grandfathers than grandchildren] "Trybuna Ludu"/daily/ 15.XI.1980. Dane zawarte w *Roczniku Statystycznym z 1977 r.* [Statistical Yearbook 1977] gives the following reproduction coefficients gross:

Year	Total	Town	Countryside
1950	1.79	1.55	1.93
1960	1.43	1.16	1.75
1970	1.06	0.83	1.37
1975	1.09	0.85	1.53
1976	1.11	0.88	1.55

to answer what options, if any, from the sphere of values accompany this phenomenon. It is to be understood that only some of the possible values have been selected. I wish to consider the child as a value in general life models, among values sometimes competitive with having children, the popularity of well-considered, controlled parenthood, the patterns and standards of sexual life, the level of acceptance of careers of women.

I believe the findings of this research will help in formulating hypotheses on the value of the child in the Polish society - a value meant as a sum total of emotional, social and economic costs and profits of parents.⁷ This type of information can be of use in social policy which time and again alarms the Polish public opinion with reports on the ailments of our demographic structure. It would be good to know whether there are any vehicles for correcting it.

The research is an opportunity of registering certain social processes responsible for population trends and the place of parenthood in them. This can be made the most on two conditions. One - that the 1935 - person sample is able to grasp views and behaviours characteristic not only of various social strata but also of different generations; two - that by repeating some of the questions formulated in the Public Opinion Polling Centre several years ago it will succeed in recording the dynamic of certain attitudes and opinions which are expected to be closely linked to procreational attitudes. I have in mind all questions relating to premarital sex, the aims of marriage and female careers.⁸

In preparing the research I took account of the current state of Polish studies on procreational attitudes, the attitude towards contraceptives and parental orientations. Not many studies have been devoted to

⁷ C. Kętcibasi, Value of Children, Women's role and Fertility in Turkey, Solicited paper, Istanbul 1970, J. Berem-Kowalska, Koszt utrzymania dziecka na podstawie budżetów rodzinnych z 1973 r. [The Cost of Maintenance of a Child Based on Family Budgets in 1973]. Key research project K.5/III 28 Warszawa 1978.

⁸ See H. Małewski, Problemy Wychowania seksualnego [The Problems of Sex Education] in Problemy Rodziny, 1968, No 5/43; B. Łobodzińska's questionnaire On Love and Marriage, OBOP 1964, J. Kobel's questionnaire, Is it good to Live in the Family.

this topic⁹. The last national-scale research on adult attitudes to natural increase dates back to the year 1960¹⁰. Its chief finding was that 60 per cent of the population approve of the act which made abortion legal in Poland. Demographic studies are usually carried out on married women samples in the 15-49 age bracket. They are strictly diagnostic and do not go into seeking correlatives of trends detected¹¹.

The existence of variables describing social position hardly needs a justification. It is an aspect of social structure which enters into significant relationships with all the spheres of human life. Values constitute a link between the social position and behaviours.

Though studies on the contemporary Polish family are quite many¹² I have failed to find empirical data on how intensive nor on how conscious and controlled the need to have children may be. In other words relatively little is known on the degree to which contemporary Polish society regards the child as an absolutely obligatory or only desired value.

Other supplementary aims of the research involve the scope of inconsistency in declared attitudes towards procreation and sexual life. This will be examined on the example of coherence between the approval of premarital sex on the one hand and the approval of children reared by single mothers. I was also interested in correspondence between the attitudes towards careers of women and their actual occupational activity. Finally I hope that my findings will serve as a yardstick in determining how far actions known as social policy towards the family can affect social life.

⁹ B. Uramowska-Zyto, *Problemy prokreacji - analiza wtórna materiałów polskich 1945-1978* [Problems of Procreation. Secondary Analysis of Polish Materials 1945-1978], report within key research project, in print.

¹⁰ J. Malanowski, *The Attitude of the Society to Natural Increase*, a research report; OBOP, 1960 r. See footnote 12.

¹¹ See footnote 5.

¹² Cf. A. Dodziuk-Lityńska, D. Markowska, *Współczesna rodzina w Polsce* [Contemporary Polish Family], *Książka i Wiedza*, 1975 and *Rodzina w miastach polskich* [Polish Urban Family], Ossolineum 1971 and *Informator o badaniach nad rodziną prowadzonych w latach 1975-1979* [Research on Family 1975-1979] published by Family Planning Society, 1979.

Chapter I. RESEARCH ASSUMPTIONS

Chief hypotheses. Characterization of the population in question.

Two issues from among the aims and scope of the research are of prime interest: the place of the child in the system of values and relationships between the indicators of this place. The nature of the indicators can be better seen through a division into subjective needs on the one hand and those conceived as dispositions to certain behaviour on the other. The need in subjective terms amounts to an attitude toward the object or a situation,¹³ which, in this particular case, is the "child". The second type - the dispositional quality - comes to play when individuals behave in a definite way under definite circumstances¹⁴.

The notion of the "need" quoted above takes us to the theoretical framework which has functional significance here. One of its elements is structural orientation in defining attitudes which assumes that: The attitude of a certain man to a certain object means the entirety of relatively permanent dispositions to assessing this object and his emotional response to this object as well as relatively permanent convictions - which may or may not accompany these emotional -assessing dispositions - about the natural and properties of the object plus relatively

¹³S. Nowak, Uwagi o pojęciu potrzeby [On the notion of need] in typescript.

¹⁴Cf. footnote 13.

permanent dispositions to behaviour relating to this object¹⁵.

The object of the attitude in this research is the "child". The attitude about the child is the fourth of the types distinguished by Stefan Nowak. It is a complete attitude, that is one in which alongside definite dispositions to affective reactions to the object of the attitude there is in man's psyche a more or less clearly cut image of the object as well as a definite program of behaviour relating to it¹⁶. In other words the attitude of the individual towards the "child" is composed of both the clear-cut image of the child and the definite program of behaviour towards it /to have or not to have, how many children, how to bring them up/. The image and the program bear a considerable emotional load. Within the program of behaviour we are especially interested in behaviours and dispositions to behaviours oriented towards procreation.

In this configuration of components the number of children /the actual number/ will be an external empirical indicator of the attitude towards the child understood structurally.

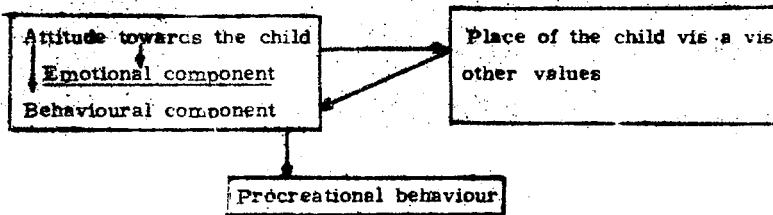
It may be difficult sometimes in this particular kind of attitude to be sure whether we are dealing with expectations relating to the nature of the child or with assessments and emotions triggered off by them. I hope however that with the set of variables and indicators employed in this study I will be able to avoid such a risk of uncertainty.

Types of Variables. Any decision to subordinate particular variables to one set of independent variables or a set of dependent variables is arbitrary also in the sense that in the course of analysis the functions of variables can change. Nevertheless I would like to tell about the general structure of variables used here. The most significant and troublesome procedure is the separation of particular indicators of selected

¹⁵ S. Nowak, Pojęcie postawy w teoriach i stosowanych badaniach społecznych [The notion of attitude in social theories and applied research] in: Teorie postaw [Theories of Attitudes]. Edited by S. Nowak, PWN, 1975, Warszawa.

¹⁶ Cf. Footnote 15.

components of the attitude towards the child: emotional-assessing and behavioural. This is not only a technical problem corollary of the selection of indicators. As will be remembered the aim of the research is to determine the place of the child against the background of other values. Before doing this however the structure of the attitude needs to be specified in the first place. This structure which seems to be one of the main mechanisms determining the place of the child in the configuration of other values will be examined in Part One of this report /Chapter 11/. Part Two /Chapter III and IV/ will answer the crucial question of the study and determine the place of the child in the system of values declared by the respondents. The next stage will be to see whether and in what way the findings of Part Two bear on the earlier defined structure the attitude and in particular on its emotional factor. It can be said therefore that a by-product of the research is the verification of the structure of the attitude towards the child. Thus the aims of the study can be illustrated as follows:



Chief Hypotheses. The chief hypotheses will, according to their function, signpost the directions of the analysis and the principle of presentation of the analysis.

1. In the population sample questioned individual components do not add up to a coherent attitude towards the child; high emotional component scores do not correspond to equally high scores of the behavioural component. In other words, the "child" is an object of various degrees of desire.

2. These discrepancies tend to diminish with the rise of socio-occupational position and are not affected by the intensity of religious beliefs.
3. With the rise of socio-occupational position the tendency to see the "child" in terms of desire increases while the tendency to see it in terms of duty falls.
4. Procreational behaviour dispositions /procreational attitudes/ do not vary with the socio-occupational position, residence or intensity of religious beliefs.
5. The "child" occupies top position in the hierarchy of preferred values, goals of life and marriage.
6. The socio-occupational position differentiates the place of the "child" among general values, goals of life and marriage. Its increase corresponds to the falling place of the "child" in the hierarchy of general values.
7. High emotional component scores of the attitude in point correspond to:
 - a/ low acceptance of womens careers,
 - b/ high level of rigourism of sexual life,
 - c/ low acceptance of family planning.
8. Low behavioural component scores correspond to:
 - a/ high acceptance of women's careers,
 - b/ low level of rigourism of sexual life,
 - c/ high acceptance of family planning.
9. No female sub-culture focussed on the value of the child has been found.
10. Procreation is not affected by social policy toward the family.

The hypotheses listed above do not answer all questions. First of all the major component of the attitude, ie. the emotional component, is likely to reveal some incoherence in its structure. Should this be the case the list of hypotheses to be verified would be broadened and, by the same token, modified.

Characterization of the population in question. This report is based on a poll conducted with the assistance of the Public Opinion Polling Centre at the Polish Radio and Television. The population under study is a representative sample of the adult Polish population at the ages of 16 and over. The respondents were recruited through quota sampling in terms of sex, age and education. The fact of having children, the type and place of residence were also taken into account.

Though the contract provided for probability /random/ sampling it proved impossible due to technical limitations at the Opinion Polling Centre. Thus the statistical values of the sample had to suffer, we are not entitled to claim that the subjects constitute a representative sample of the Polish society.

The sample planned was 2000 persons, the actual number of persons questioned was 1935 which still gives a high percentage /96 per cent/. Detractions from the planned features of the sample regarding sex, age and place of residence, the fact of having children-are minor and statistically insignificant.

A comparative analysis between the proportion of levels of education in the sample in question and in the general population /data from 1977/ showed small but significant differences /0.001/ first of all in the secondary and basic vocational groups. The comparison is presented below.

<u>Standard of education</u>	<u>Sample realized</u>	<u>General population</u>
1. elementary	55%	57%
2. basic vocational	14%	18%
3. secondary /technical and general/	25%	21%
4. higher	6%	4%

Chapter II. THE STRUCTURE OF ATTITUDE TO THE CHILD

Emotional and behavioural components and the way they function. The share of the components to the child in the shaping of procreational behaviour.

Chapter One presented the types of variables and an introductory scheme of their interrelations. It is time now for the first stage of characterizing the contents of the attitude towards the child. The following variables have been adopted as indicating the emotional component:

- a/ connotational meaning of the notion of the child defined by the employed technique of semantic differential¹⁷
- b/ the intensity of declaration: "is it worthwhile to have children?"
- c/ the attitude to single maternity.

In the course of polling the respondents defined the "child" in three dimensions: value, strength, activeness. Factor analysis allowed to distinguish two dimensions: evaluation and strength. The latter has been dropped as non-specific for the subject. The semantic differential method seems accurate for examining the attitude towards the child as an

¹⁷ Cf. J. Czapiński, *Dyferencjał semantyczny [Semantic Differential]* in: *Materiały pomocnicze do ćwiczeń z metod badania osobowości [Ancillary material for classes on personality studies]*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1974 /A pilot study provided a list of adjectives for factor indicators of the notion of the child/.

object which is prone to as many stereotypes as, so it seems, mendacities. Seeing its accuracy I consider this indicator very promising.

In introducing the question "is it worthwhile to have a child" I was aware of the declarative and superficial character of responses obtained. However it seemed necessary to include these in analysing the structure of the attitude towards the child.

To the set of variable illustrating the emotional-assessing component I added responses to the question "How would you advise a young, single woman who became pregnant?" This was our arbitrary decision but as a source of indirect information linking factor indicators /see pt. a/ with opinions /see pt. b/ they are likely to enrich the contents of the emotional component. I hoped to solve two issues in particular: whether the birth of a child is seen in terms of duty or in terms of choice; and whether its value is expressed by the very fact of giving birth.

The indicators of behavioural component seem to be less disputable. The set of variables depicting this dimension tells about the program and disposition to activity in the sphere of procreation. The program embraces acceptance /or lack of acceptance/ of birth control /the use of contraceptives, abortion of unwanted pregnancies/, ideas about the ideal number of children and planned number of children. The latter applies to persons pending the procreational phase of their individual life cycle. Due to the national character of the sample and the type of interviewers I was unable to assemble direct knowledge on the respondents program regarding birth control. Therefore I was confined to gathering answers on how they perceive particular forms of family planning. I think that despite this limitation these answers can be treated as elements of their program.

The empirical indicator of these dispositions is, as I said in the first chapter, the actual number of children.

The emotional-assessing component. It was to be expected that the child would be broadly acknowledged as a value. Out of the 1935 persons 0,6 per cent said having children was definitely not worthwhile.

1.3 per cent - rather not, 31 per cent - rather yes, 61 per cent - definitely yes, 8.7 per cent - hard to decide. These answers were significantly diversified /at least 0.05 pts/ in terms of basis socio-demographic variables: education, age, socio-occupational group, religious beliefs, material standard, sex, residence. The same cannot be said of the variables defining "the roots" of the respondents, their social background and residence till the age of 14 /tables 1 and 2/.

There are however certain peculiarities in this differentiation which deserve a compound analysis with particular attention to those who claim having children to be definitely worth-while. The proportions of this responses are similar in groups with incomplete primary /72.7 per cent/ and complete high education /76.5 per cent/. The same resemblance occurs in the subjective definition of material situation of the respondents. Those who describe it as bad, hard and those who say it is quite good or good declare equally often that having children is worthwhile /71.4 per cent in both groups/. It is to be emphasized that persons in the procreative age /30-34/ and the oldest subjects /50 and over/, that is more prone to the traditional system of values /which will be dwelled on at greater length in the following chapter/ most often declare their full acceptance of parenthood.

These analogies hide, as will soon transpire, various motivations. So far the "child" appears to be a commonly accepted value, the more so as women constituted the weak majority among those who fully accept parenthood - female ascendancy amounts to 10 per cent /71.8 and 61.8 per cent/. There was also a slight ascendancy in this category of response of declared believers and believers who go to church /69.3 per cent/ over non-believers. /56.3 per cent/.

In an open question the respondents justified their declarations. Table 3 illustrates synthetically the contents and functioning of the emotional component measured in this way. Situations where individual independent variables diversify the components of the "declarative" level of this factor, are marked with "X". Let's add that 44.3 per cent of the respondents gave only one reason, 38.4 per cent two and 15.3 per cent three.

Table 1. Declaration about the value of the child and the age of respondents /percentage/.

N = 1739

Age	Declaration			
	definitely not worth-while to have children	rather not worthwhile	rather worthwhile	definitely worthwhile
1. 16-19 N=41	2.4	2.4	58.5	36.6
2. 20-24 N=338	0.3	1.8	39.6	58.3
3. 25-29 N=191	0.5	2.1	31.4	66.0
4. 30-34 N=140	0.	0.	28.6	71.4
5. 35-39 N=147	1.4	1.4	27.2	70.1
6. 40-44 N=152	1.3	0.7	29.6	68.4
7. 45-49 N=204	0.	2.5	34.8	62.7
8. 50-59 N=425	0.9	0.9	24.7	73.9
9. 60 - over N=101	1.0	1.0	22.8	75.2

$$\chi^2 = 55.75 \quad p < 0,001$$

Table 2. Declaration about the value of the child and the education of respondents /percentage/.

N = 1753

Education:	Declaration			
	definitely not worthwhile to have children	rather not worthwhile	rather worthwhile	definitely worthwhile
1. incomplete elementary N=132	0.	0.8	26.5	72.7
2. elementary N=782	0.6	1.5	33.4	64.5
3. basic vocational N=144	1.4	0.	36.1	62.5
4. incomplete secondary N=89	2.2	3.4	36.0	58.4
5. secondary vocational N=282	0.	0.7	31.9	67.4
6. secondary general N=145	1.4	4.1	24.8	69.7
7. post-secondary N=49	0.	0.	14.3	85.7
8. incomplete higher N=49	0.	2.0	26.5	71.4
9. higher N=81	1.2	0.	22.2	76.5

$$\chi^2 = 44,07$$

$$p = 0,007$$

Table 3. Reasons for which having children is worthwhile and socio-demographic variables.

Why it is worthwhile to have children!	Percentage N = 1726	Age	Sex	Education	Socio- occupational group	Present place of living	Material situation	Residence till the age of 14	Respon- dent's father's socio-occu- pational group	Intensity of religious belief
1. they are the sense of life	32.1									
2. source of positive experiences	27.0		+							
3. source of help for parents	24.0	+		+	+	+	.	+	+	
4. facilitate cementation of marriage	20.8	+		+	+	+		+	+	+
5. are the goal of marriage	18.5									
6. allow for continuation of the individual	8.1		+	+	+	+				
7. allow for continuation of the nation	7.3									
8. conducive to the development of parents	6.9	+		+	+	+		+	+	+
9. source of entertainment and relaxation	6.4									
10. value in the own right	3.5	+							+	

The average number of argumentations was 1,7 /Cf. Table 3/.

The most common components of this argumentation are: children give the sense and goal to life; children are a source of positive experiences; they help their parents in the future; they unify husband and wife. The components given in table 3 can be classified in three categories according to differences of stress: stimulating motivation, pragmatic motivation and existential motivation. The first one would cover: the "child as a source of positive experience" and the child as a development factor for parents; the second - "the child as a goal of life", a goal of marriage, a factor cementing the spouses, a source of entertainment and source of help. The third, existential category - the child as continuation of the individual, and as continuation of the nation. The development of this line of inquiry requires further statistical analyses which are beyond the time-schedule of our study.

Thus the list of assumptions which hold having children worthwhile is quite rich. No-one of them predominates over the others. Those which are most common are not diversified in the Polish population base in question. This could mean that this population is not subject to motivations which act as binding cannons. The latter applies just as well to individual factors and to the selected categories. It may also denote a non-reflective character of these experiences, facts and feelings whose nature is universal. The further course of this report will bring more material on this question.

Coming back to the justifications which are differentiated by individual independent variables: 'help to parents' covers all definitions describing asymmetrical relations with parents and includes 'help in the old age', 'help on the farm' etc. Generally speaking the popularity of this rather utilitarian attitude tends to decrease with the rise of socio-occupational position and education from 54,7 per cent in the group with incomplete elementary education to 21,2 per cent among those with higher education. The trend is similar in socio-occupational groups where this view is shared by 36,7 per cent of farmers and 20,8 per cent of white-collar workers with higher education. Consequently, rural background

increases the chance for the utilitarian motivation. 'Help to parents' was named by 32.3 per cent of persons from farming families and 18.7 per cent of those from white-collar families. The influence of the needs of private farmers is clearly at work here.

Directions of the influence of age are less obvious. There is no regular increase with age of the number of respondents for whom the future help from children is an important reason for having them. The popularity of this view in the 50 age group is understandable and self-evident. Much lower percentages are found in the 20-34 and 45-49 age brackets which might indicate that the 45-49 age olds are tired of acting as such helpers¹⁸. This however is an unjustified guess. /Table 4/.

Children are referred to the institution of marriage either as its direct goal or as a factor cementing its unity /'a factor cementing the spouses'/. This view appears most commonly in the 20-49 age bracket /the average: 28 per cent/ and its frequency grows with the rise of education from 16.4 per cent among those with elementary education to 27.5 per cent in the groups with higher education. The top /33.8 per cent/ percentage was achieved in the group with general secondary education where women predominate. It is interesting to see that the intensity of religious beliefs is not an explicit correlative of the way of seeing the child as integrating its parents. This argument was used by 24.7 per cent of non-believers, 21.5 per cent of believers going to church; it was most popular among believers who do not go to church /28.8 per cent/. These results detract as it were from those fragments of the catholic ideology which deal with the life of the family. And, as will be seen in the further pages of this report, they are not exceptional.

The conviction that having children is conducive to the development of the individual, enriching him through an irrepeatable galore of emoti

¹⁸ D. Markowska, Procesy demograficzne a cykl zycia rodziny [Demographic processes and family life cycle], typescript prepared for the Family Council at the Council of Ministers.

Table 4. The argument that having children is worthwhile on account of help they can give their parents and the age of respondents /percentage/.

N = 1685

Age	argument given	argument not given
1. 16-19	28,2	71,8
2. 20-24	20,1	79,9
3. 25-29	20,9	79,1
4. 30-34	23,7	76,3
5. 35-39	27,5	72,5
6. 40-44	28,6	71,4
7. 45-49	23,7	76,3
8. 50-59	35,9	64,1
9. 60 - over	41,8	58,2

$$\chi^2 = 40,10$$

$$p < 0,001$$

and experiences is not popular. Only 7.6 per cent of the population consider this to be true, among them 15.4 per cent at the age of 16-19, 10.8 per cent in the 30-34 and 1 per cent in the 60 and over age bracket. It is much more frequent among non-believers /17.8 non-believers, 9.2 per cent believers who do not go to church, 3.5 per cent believers who go to church/. This seems to be a surprise result since according to the binding catholic ideology the "child" is substantial element on the road towards full humanity. Instead it appears here to be a correlative of the achieved level of individual education¹⁹. /this argument is given by 5.5 per cent of the population with incomplete elementary and 20 per cent with higher education/ as well as of the socio-occupational position of respondents' fathers /proportions between persons with farming background and those with white-collar background with higher education are identical with the correlation in terms of education/.

The existential view on having children expresses hopes for the continuation of the individual. It is also a correlative of a relatively higher standard of education. Persons with higher education use this argument three times more often than those with elementary education. This view is especially popular among males. Women more often tend to stress the value of the child as a source of positive feelings and an autonomous value.

Summing up this part of my findings I would like to point out three issues: lack of dominance of individual motives or entire structures of motives which would encourage the respondents to having children; the direction of interdependence observed between the pragmatic type of justification of the value of the child and social variables which allows to expect a fall in the popularity of these justifications corollary of the intended rise of the standard of education of the society; finally, the thing that also ties up with the planned rise of national education standards, namely a chance of dissemination of the stimulating motivation. Let's add that this chance is increased by the limited influence in this

¹⁹ See appendix, table 4.

sphere of the intensity of religious belief.

This may lead to a hypothesis that the Polish society is now beginning to crystallize new, more modern motivations for having children. By 'contemporary' I mean ones based on individual reflection which evolves from the awareness that procreation and parenthood are two different matters²⁰. Whether this process of crystallization can gain anything from various ideas about life will be shown in Chapter Three.

As for the variable defining how worthwhile it is to have children I suggested that its results indicate chiefly the operation of norms specifying how such a question ought to be answered. This, however, seems not to be the case. It appeared that there are correlatives of responses to this question which provide evidence that they can express emotions and beliefs strong enough for provoking definite behaviour. I tested a group of parents to see whether among the respondents for whom children are to various extents an object of desire children are born in different moments of marriage. I found that it was so in the case of the first and second child. Those who claimed that having children is rather not worthwhile had children later than others.

Table 5. The moment of birth of the child and the declaration about its value

Is it worthwhile to have the child:	%	Average time of marriage	
		First child	Second child
1. definitely not	0,6	4,2	6,2
2. rather not	1,3	4,3	6,4
3. rather yes	28,2	4,1	5,0
4. definitely yes	61,0	3,8	3,7
5. hard to decide	8,8	4,3	5,4
		F=5,07 P < 0,001	F=14,49 P < 0,001

²⁰

D. Markowska, Rodzicielstwo jako wartość [Parenthood as a value] in: Problemy Rodziny [Family Problems] 1976, No 1/87.

Aside from this, the longer the marriage - which increases the opportunity for summings up and assessments - the stronger the conviction that having children is not worthwhile. Though not very popular this phenomenon deserves a note, The average length of marriage of persons who claim having children is definitely not worthwhile is 26 years. It is 18 for those who say it is definitely worthwhile.

I also have evidence that the declaration 'definitely worthwhile' is not a single representation of a definite set of norms. Table 6 shows clearly that it goes with a lower tolerance of premarital sexual life and weak indicators of tolerance of abortion²¹. In other words, for the best part of the sample /61 per cent/ the presented /or, should I say: binding?/ code of norms regulating sexual life and the sphere of procreation is based on the principles close to the catholic religion. In the further course of this report I will try to show how far this code interferes with actual behaviour and to what extent it is actually approved.

Table 6. Norms regulating sexual life and declaration about the value of the child

	N=1673	N=1222
Is having children worthwhile :	Indicator of tolerance of premarital sexual life max = 6	Indicator of tolerance of abortion max = 8
1. definitely not	4, 2	6, 2
2. rather not	4, 3	6, 4
3. rather yes	4, 1	5, 0
4. definitely yes	3, 8	3, 7
5. hard to decide	4, 3	5, 4
	F=5, 07 P < 0, 001	F=14, 49 P < 0, 001

²¹The indicator of sexual tolerance is a sum total of scores on question 24 of the interview. The indicator of abortion tolerance was based on questions 22 and 23 of the interview. A scale was drawn up with bottom level "0" composed of replies "never" and top level "p" composed of replies "always". The middle was filled by fig.1-7 illustrating situations in which abortion was said to be admissible.

In the introduction to this chapter I mentioned the semantic differential technique used in the interview which is the backbone of this report. Here I want to add that I am applying a standardized factor indicator whose mean figure is "0" and standard deviation "1". This indicator shows the degree to which the child is perceived as a value - the source of positive experiences and emotions²². The point of departure for this indicator were responses to question 7 in the appended interview and their factor analysis. To obtain the standardized factor indicator I used the indicator of value whose structure after rotation is as follows /the level of factor load in brackets/:

uninteresting	- interesting:	0,57
warm	- cold:	0,68
pretty	- ugly:	0,63
necessary	- unnecessary:	0,67
clever	- dull:	0,63
bad	- good:	0,57

This indicator being virtually different from the declarations discussed above and at the same time, like these declarations, an element of the emotional component I shall start its presentation from a confrontation: Let's see if different declarations about the value of the child correspond to equally diversified levels of factor indicator of the value attributed to the child.

²²The author of the semantic differential technique and of standardized indicator is Mirosław Czarkowski from the Social Problems of Health Unit at the Polish Academy of Sciences' Institute of Philosophy and Sociology /IFiS, PAN/. Mirosław Czarkowski was the main consultant in the preparation of standardized factor indicators of the notion of the child.

Table 7. Declarations about the value of the child and factor indicator of this value

Is having children worthwhile:	Mean value of standard indicator of the value of the child; mean value = 0	Standard deviation mean value = 1
1. definitely not	- 1,87	1,66
2. rather not	- 1,34	1,57
3. rather yes	- 0,20	0,99
4. definitely yes	0,20	0,83
5. hard to say	- 0,43	1,15
<p>$F = 52,62$ $p < 0,001$</p>		

In table 7 two things deserve special attention. The first - somewhat surprising, the second - confirming my initial supposition. What surprises is the fact that categorization of responses to the question about having children allows to explain part of the differentiation of the indicator in point. At the same time this indicator dwindles in groups declaring that having children is definitely worthwhile. Could it be that these declarations are motivation-less? I have also found evidence for my speculation that the response 'rather worthwhile' is a compromise between the actual conviction /rather not/ and the courage needed to voice this view openly.

Referring to declarations without any motivational background I provide three tables /tab.8,9,10/ contrasting two ways of describing the emotional component of attitude to the child. In table 8 which uses the age variable this confrontation shows clearly that the response 'definitely worthwhile' brings us closer to the plane of obligations whereas indicators based on the semantic differential rather tend to be

associated with information about respondents' desires or actually felt needs. The standard factor indicator is the highest in the 25-29 age bracket /procreational phase of life/ and the lowest in the youngest and the oldest part of the sample. In this light the data on the left become much less convincing /75.2 per cent in the 60-and over age bracket with an indicator of $\hat{\alpha} = 0.18$ /.

Looking at the factor indicator we are struck by lack of the possibility of explaining at least part of its variations with the help of categories of such variables as education, age, or intensity of religious beliefs. A measure of difference can be recorded however. For instance in groups with more than incomplete secondary education the incidence of perceiving the child as a value is above the average. The absence of systematic interdependences with age can be explained on the basis of common knowledge. Even negative values of the indicator in groups of 35-34-year olds can be justified by a certain fatigue felt by this particular age groups with their parental duties.

Table 10 illustrates the most interesting situation. It turns out that categories varying in forms of intensity of religious beliefs and significantly so in terms of popularity of the declaration that having children is definitely worth-while differ only slightly in terms of intensity of perceiving the child as a value. What's more the indicator of this type of perception reaches identical levels in the group of believers who do not go to church as in the group of believers who go to church. In other words non-believers and believers who go to the catholic church do not vary significantly in terms of emotions and assessments associated with the child. Since common and systematic knowledge holds these groups to be different this result should be particularly well noted with a view to further interpretations of the data gathered.

The relative homogeneity of the groups whose religious beliefs differ continues in the three-variables analysis /see table 11/ which also includes education. Education however plays no significant role even in groups representing similar intensity of religious beliefs, since the data from

Table 8. Elements of the emotional component of attitude to the child and respondents' age.

N = 1739

Percentage of respondents who claim having children to be definitely worthwhile :	Age group	Factor indicator of child value	
		mean	standard deviation
36.6	16-19	- 0.22	1.0
58.3	20-24	- 0.04	1.0
66.0	25-29	0.11	0.9
71.4	30-34	0.08	1.0
70.1	35-39	- 0.04	1.0
68.4	40-44	- 0.02	0.9
62.7	45-49	0.06	1.0
73.4	50-59	0.01	0.9
75.2	60 - over	- 0.18	1.0
$\chi^2 = 55.75$		F = 1.53	
p < 0.001		p = 0.14	

Table 9. Elements of the emotional component of attitude to the child and education of respondents.

N = 1753

Percentage of respondents who claim having children is definitely worthwhile	Levels of education	Factor indicator of child value	
		mean	standard deviation
72.7	incomplete elementary	- 0.02	0.8
64.5	elementary	- 0.04	1.0
62.5	basic vocational	- 0.04	0.9
58.4	incomplete secondary	- 0.00	0.9
67.4	secondary vocational	0.15	0.8
69.7	secondary general	0.10	1.1
85.7	post-secondary	0.02	0.9
71.4	incomplete higher	0.05	0.9
76.5	higher	0.10	0.9
$\chi^2 = 44.07$		F = 1.47	
p = 0.007		p = 0.16	

Table 10. Elements of the emotional component of attitude to the child and intensity of religious beliefs.

Percentage of respondents who claim having children is worthwhile	Intensity of religious beliefs N = 767	Factor indicator of child value	
		mean	standard deviation
56.3	non-believer	- 0.07	1.5
61.8	believer who does not go to church	0.02	0.9
69.3	believer who goes to church	0.02	0.9
$\chi^2 = 26.01$ $p < 0.001$		F = 0.40 $p = 0.67$	

Table 11. Education, intensity of religious beliefs and standardized factor indicator of child value

N = 1753

Education :	Intensity of religious beliefs		
	non-believer	believer not going to church	believer going to church
1. incomplete elementary	-	- 0,35	0.03
2. elementary	- 0.06	- 0.09	- 0.02
3. basic vocational		- 0.08	- 0.00
4. incomplete secondary	- 0.56	- 0.06	- 0.07
5. secondary vocational	0.30	0.29	0.06
6. secondary general	0.02	- 0.05	0.19
7. post-secondary	0.40	- 0.02	- 0.06
8. incomplete higher	- 0.11	0.05	0.16
9. higher	- 0.61	0.15	0.26
Mean values of standardized indicator of child value	- 0.07	0.02	0.02

table 12 show only the group of believers going to church.

So far no clear correlatives of the value of the child measured by the test of attitudes semantic differential have been found. The impact was expected to be especially strong in case of religious beliefs and education.

Table 12. Education and emotional components of attitude to the child*
N=1753

Education :	Mean standardized values of factor indicator of child value	Is having children worthwhile			
		definitely not	rather not	rather yes	definitely yes
1. incomplete elementary	-0.02	-	-	-0,38	0,21
2. elementary	-0,04	-1.03	-1.26	-0,33	0,17
3. basic vocational	-0,04	-0,91	-	-0,06	0,15
4. incomplete secondary	-0,00	-1,91	-	-0,32	0,26
5. secondary vocational	0,15	-	-	-0,26	0,25
6. secondary general	0,10	-	-1.91	0,18	0,47
7. post-secondary	-0,02	-	-	-0,59	0,07
8. incomplete higher	0,05	-	-0,77	0,05	0,17
9. higher	0,10	-	-	-0,01	0,31

*Individual categories show mean value of factor indicator of child value.

In this situation the information on interdependence of the indicators of the behavioural component of attitude to the child with the indicator of the emotional component will now be processed.

Table 13. Attitude to contraception and the value of the child.

Is contraception right :	% N = 1787	Standardized factor indicator of the value of the child, mean	Standard deviation
1. wrong	11,2	0,03	1,0
2. right	59,5	0,05	0,9
3. hard to say	29,3	-0,06	1,0
	100	F = 2.6 P = 0,07	

Table 14. Attitude to abortion and the value of the child.

Is abortion admissible:	% N = 1781	Standardized factor indicator of the value of the <u>child</u> mean	Standard deviation
1. definitely not	21,0	-0,02	0,9
2. yes, but only in certain circumstances	44,5	0,16	0,8
3. yes, always when pregnancy is unwanted	23,5	-0,11	1,1
4. hard to say	11,0	-0,19	1,2
	100	F = 11,13 P < 0,001	

According to earlier findings the attitude to prevention against unintended pregnancy /attitude to contraception/ and to abortion are treated as elements of the behavioural component of attitude to the child. Tables 13 and 14 show that the approval of birth control is not accompanied by a fall in positive emotions associated with the child. On the contrary, the respondents approve of contraception and declare stronger positive emotional ties with the "child" than those who claim that contraception is wrong. The disparities, though small and insignificant, allow - juxtaposed with the data from Table 14 showing that the highest "value" of the child is held by the respondents claiming abortion to be admissible in certain circumstances - to draw an optimistic thesis: about 60 per cent of our society perceives the "child" as a value which should be realized in a controlled, considerate way, with an allowance for exceptions, and it is in this group that emotions and assessments associated with the child are higher than in the rest of the population. I think that it is not so much the fact that over one half of the society approves of the family planning that is important as rather the situation where such an attitude is accompanied by positive emotions and convictions associated with the child.

One may wonder why the view that abortion should be always admissible in case of unwanted pregnancy is accompanied by negative factor indicators whereas the view "only in certain circumstances" gives positive indicators. It seems that some explanation may be sought in the distribution of accents in both statements. It may be that the second one seemed to many subjects injudicious or irresponsible because of the word 'always'. As a matter of fact these two statements mean the same in the operational sense.

The individuals who found it difficult to give an explicit answer require a separate analysis, the more so as the material gathered reveals other also very high percentages of evasive answers on matters relating to sexual life.

The attitude to motherhood of single women is the third element of the emotional component of attitude to the child. I have given reasons for the

choice of this indicator in the earlier section of this report. Its presentation can also perform an additional function of bringing closer the contents of relatively low or high results of indicators describing the value of the child. As will be remembered this indicator was obtained on the basis of the intensity of individual definitions connected with the notion of the value. Its level does not say much about how far the child is perceived as an absolute value realized regardless of circumstances and how far this value is only an object of desire which suggests certain relativity of behaviours. This type of argument has already been partly discussed in the course of examining correlations between this indicator and the variables describing the attitude to controlled parenthood.

In the case of the child our culture has a clear-cut indicator of whether it is an absolute or desirable value. This means simply the range of circumstances in which the child can be born or not /Table 15/.

Therefore it can be said drawing on the results of Table 15 that for about 50 per cent of our society the child functions unanimously in terms of obligation /I am not referring here to the advocates of giving birth to children only to pass them on to adoptive parents; they represent radical supporters of the catholic dogmas/. Moreover it is this 50 per cent of the population exactly /ie. those who consider a young single woman obliged to give birth to a child whatever the circumstances and then try to live up to the requirements of motherhood/ who represent the highest coefficients of the indicator of the value of the child. Does this signify that the high value of the child springs from the very fact of its life? Or, in other words, is it the same? Is this value realized by the very fact of giving life to children no matter what they might be like in the future and irrespective of broadly conceived costs that women may have to take?

This interpretation however, confronted with the results shown in Tables 13 and 14 can hardly be left as it is. It needs a word of commentary. At the moment we have three seemingly contradictory kinds of information. The coefficients of child value rise from persons who claim that preventing unwanted pregnancies is right through those to whom it is admissible only in certain circumstances to those who consider a young single

Table 15. Attitudes about motherhood of single women and the value of the child.

How to advise a young, single woman who became pregnant:	Percentage N = 1786	Standardized factor indicator of child value	Standard deviation
1. have the child whatever the circumstances and try to live up to the duties	49,2	0,14	0,90
2. have the child but only in certain circumstances	18,9	0,00	1,02
3. have the child and give away for adoption	2,8	-0,33	1,12
4. abort pregnancy	11,6	-0,25	1,12
5. hard to say	17,5	-0,07	0,99
	100,0	F = 9,39 P < 0,001	

woman ought to have a child irrespective of circumstances and ought to try to live up to her duties of motherhood. Could this be yet one more attitudinal ambivalence, yet another inconsistency in the emotional component? Let's have a closer look at it. Firstly, a positive connection between the approval of planned parenthood and the value of the child proves to be of general character. Secondly, it means that the question about planned parenthood, about dispositions to behaviours trigger off, more than anything else, the mode of thinking in terms of models and patterns whereas questions about motherhood of a single woman provoke thinking in terms of norms of conduct²³. This is due to various 'ideologies' dormant in the subconscious and evoked by the question about single mothers. This may be due to the concept of maternal instincts which makes every woman want a child as well as to medical propaganda with its whip of adverse effects of abortion plus prohibitions imposed by the church which opposes not only birth control but also premarital sexual intercourse and threatens with stories about women who victim to premarital sex. Be it added that much to my satisfaction only 2.6 per cent of the population under study consider that unwanted children should be delivered and turned to adoptive parents.

This streak of ambivalence in emotions associated with the child can be seen optimistically as evidence of attitudinal transformations in the way of life oriented towards planned parenthood. What are these causes for optimism? As usual most hopes can be banked on the planned increase in the level of education of our society /Tables 16, 17, 18/.

No facts inconsistent with common intuition and knowledge about the attitude - forming effects of religious beliefs have been found in Table 17. Table 16 illustrating correlations with education shows no systematic trend either. It evinces however that on the whole relativism in this sphere of life is a correlative of a higher standard of education. This dependence is effected by age: the oldest and the youngest subjects show the smallest degree of relativism, opting rather for radical solutions/ the

²³ Cf. L.Krzemiński, Społeczeństwo norm i społeczeństwo wzorów [A society of norms and a society of models], "Więź"/monthly/ No 5, 1977

older - delivery whatever the circumstances, the young - abortion/. These two independent variables combined tend to push parental orientations either towards rigourism or towards alternative solutions. The role of educational level is much more explicit when responses are classified according to rigourist orientation and /or relativistic orientation. The first is made up by the answers; "have a child irrespective of circumstances and live up to the role of the mother" and "have a child and give it away for adaption". The second include the "have the child but only in certain circumstances" and "hard to say" answers. Since the answer "abortion" may be dictated by a motivation underpinned either by rigourism or relativism I did not take it into consideration in this indicator.

The relativistic attitude is diversified much more than the rigouristic one by responses about whether having children is worthwhile. This proves a certain coherence in the emotional component of attitude to the child, Rigourists have less doubt.

A report like this is not the best place for presenting subjective opinions nevertheless I would like to suggest my way of looking at the above findings. Though we do not dispose of precise criteria of what is good for children and their parents nor the criteria about what proportion of persons with the alternative attitude to procreation is sufficient for a modern society my impression is that we are well on the road towards this dimension of modern society, which is far from negligible in a population 71 per cent of whose members are catholics going to church. The church commandments regarding family planning are well-known and have not changed for centuries.

Another thing worth emphasising is that the reflective attitude about the child and its corollary - planned parenthood which we need most of all do not add up to a causative agent sufficient enough for the irreversibility of the demographic process²⁴. However I would not worry about

²⁴ Cf. data in Chapter IV which show that social policy in 1970-1979 failed to modify demographic trends. I argued with the view that such social policy exists in our country in my article *Polityka społeczna a niektóre elementy modelu rodziny* [Social policy and selected elements of family model.] within project 11.2.2.

Table 16. Attitude to motherhood of single women and respondents' education /percentage/.

Education:	How to advise a single woman who becomes pregnant			
	have the child and live up to duties N=947	have the child only in certain circumstances N=365	have the child and give it to adoptive family N=51	abort N=221
1.incomplete elementary	73.0	18.2	2,7	8.1
2.elementary	62.1	19.5	4.1	14.3
3.basic vocational	59.7	18.0	1.4	20.9
4.incomplete secondary	54.8	20.2	4.8	20.2
5.secondary vocational	59.0	27.0	1.2	12.9
6.secondary general	50.9	33.3	3.7	11.1
7.post-secondary	40.9	38.6	4.5	15.9
8.incomplete higher	59.0	17.9	2.6	20.5
9.higher	51.5	42.6	2.9	2.9
Total	59.8	23.0	3.2	14.0

$$\chi^2 = 67.01$$

$$p < 0.001$$

Table 17. Attitude about motherhood of single women and intensity of religious beliefs /percentage/

How to advise woman who becomes pregnant ;	Nbn-believers	Believers not going to church	Believers going to church	Total
have the child	27.3	42.1	68.3	60.1
have it but...	40.9	34.4	17.8	22.9
have it and give for adoption	3.0	1.3	3.6	3.0
abort	28.8	22.2	10.2	14.0
Total	66	387	1152	1568
	4.2	24.7	71.1	100,0

$$\chi^2 = 134.72 \quad p < 0.001$$

Table 18. Attitude to motherhood of single women and respondent's age /percentage/

Age	How to advise a single woman			
	have the child and live up to duties	have the child in certain circumstances	have the child and give it to adoptive family	abort
1. 16-19	44.2	16.3	9.3	30.2
2. 20-24	55.5	22.6	30.0	18.9
3. 25-29	59.7	23.9	0.6	15.9
4. 30-34	56.7	29.1	2.2	11.9
5. 35-39	55.8	28.3	3.6	12.3
6. 40-44	62.2	20.7	1.5	15.6
7. 45-49	55.5	25.3	4.4	14.8
8. 50-59	66.3	20.9	4.0	8.8
9. 60 over	70.1	18.4	4.6	6.9
total	59.7	23.1	3.2	13.9

$$\chi^2 = 50.9$$

$$p < 0.001$$

Table 19. Rigouristic attitude to motherhood of single women and respondent's education /percentage/

N = 1699

Education:	attitude to motherhood of single women	
	rigouristic	relativistic
1. incomplete elementary	62.7	37.3
2. elementary	61.9	38.1
3. basic vocational	64.4	35.6
4. incomplete secondary	58.8	41.2
5. secondary vocational	56.2	43.8
6. secondary general	52.4	47.6
7. post-secondary	43.5	56.5
8. incomplete higher	53.3	46.7
9. higher	45.1	54.9
Total	58.7	41.3

$$\chi^2 = 19.9$$

$$p = 0.01$$

Table 20. Interdependence of emotional component elements
/percentage/

Attitude to motherhood of single women	Percentage	Is having children worthwhile			
		definitely not rather not	rather yes	definitely yes	hard to say
1. rigorous	N=1699				
	58.8	1.0	21.8	72.5	4.7
2. relativistic	41.2	1.4	34.7	52.1	11.8

$$\chi^2 = 80.89$$

$$p < 0.001$$

the fact that this avant-garde of modern parenthood entails child value indicators lower than those of the rigourists because at any rate they oscillate round the mean value. Let me remind that we are now dealing with the crystallization phase of new motivational structures in the sphere of procreation and parenthood.

Coming back to our data - the respondents who qualified their advice to single pregnant woman by circumstances in an open question named the following situation as conducive to the decision of having the child:

secured livelihood	- 73.0% N = 359
secured assistance of the family	- 16.2 %
the woman's conscious desire	- 15.9 %
health reasons	- 13,6 %
approval by the environment	- 7.0 %

These justifications were not differentiated by socio-occupational position of respondents, their social background or the intensity of religious beliefs. The only exception was 'woman's conscious desire'. Here the correlative was social background - it was given by 7.9 per cent of respondents whose fathers are farmers and 37.5 per cent of those whose parents are white-collar workers with higher education. This proportion continues in the analysis of socio-occupational position of respondents themselves /respectively 9.6 per cent and 34.4 per cent/. This option was also taken by 34.6 per cent of non-believers and 12.9 per cent of believers. It is incomplete secondary education that appeared to act as a threshold after which individuals with different education quote with almost equal frequency /about 24 per cent/ the argument proving that they perceive having children as an effect of a conscious and free choice.

As will be remembered a similar educational threshold comes to play in the analysis of interdependencies between the level of education and incidence of rigourism or relativism in the attitude to single women, prospective mothers.

Before moving to a detailed presentation of the behavioural component of attitude about the child here is a brief summing up what has been found so far.

Thus contrary to one of the hypotheses the values of the emotional component of attitude to the child are not high in our society. The actual case is that where a wide emotional scope is not accompanied by contents capable of filling it up. It is commonly considered that having children is worthwhile /92 per cent of the population say that having children is rather or definitely worthwhile/ - this is the factor that determines the emotional scope. But the responses which justify this belief do not form syndromes and as a result it looks like the society is only at the stage of shaping its views in this sphere or, more precisely, the stage of transition from traditional to modern justifications. The present motivational background lacks any special affecting force. It also transpires that the choice of factors justifying the declaration that having children is worthwhile does not depend on how many children respondents actually have, plan to have and desire. In short people with relatively less children give the same motives as those who have much more.

Nor is the abovementioned emotional scope being filled by high factor indicators of child value. This may be likely to take up with the transition of the emotions of our society from the sphere of duty to the sphere of choice. Moreover, the indicators in point do not produce high correlation coefficients with the indicators of socio-occupational position.

Behavioural component of attitude to the child. This section of the report is intended to probe deeper into the theme of two-fold orientation to the child pointed out earlier: namely that of obligation - where the child by the fact of its physical existence is an absolutely binding value - as well as alternative in which the child may be an object of desire, a desirable object. This will be carried out by means of examining interdependencies between two components of attitude to the child - emotional and behavioural, as well as the desired and planned number of children indicative for them. Perhaps I will be able to answer at least partly whether and to what extent a definite natural increase of Poles is accompanied by a dissonance in convictions and emotions.

My assumption is that the actual number of children can function as an empirical indicator of attitude to the child understood structurally. I wish to keep it this way with allowance for mixed forms of presentation.

Here are the main variables which will be used to describe behavioural dispositions of attitude to the child:

- a/ ideal number of children - illustrated by responses to the question: "how many children do you think should be in a family, what is the best number?"
- b/ planned number of children - illustrated by responses of single persons under 34 years of age to the question: 'would you like to have children in the future?, how many?'
- c/ the attitude to family planning measured by the respondents view on the use of contraceptive devices and abortion.

Unfortunately a bias common in most interviewers prevented me from asking direct questions about the contraceptive techniques they use. Nevertheless I think that programs of behaviour in this sphere can be easily inferred from responses to questions 18, 22, 23 in the appended interview.

The following variables will be used as empirical indicators of attitude to the child:

- a/ number of children
- b/ number of children desired by couples married less than 15 years.

This indicator was obtained from adding the number of children the respondents have so far to the number of children they want. This is a noteworthy factor as it regards the very demographic group which represents procreational attitudes of our society.

On account of their importance two variables which function as empirical indicators will be presented in two variants: in tables and basing on an analysis of variations. The tables are intended to introduce and complement the picture obtained from analyses based on mean results /Tables 21-26/.

Table 21. The number of children and respondent's education /percentage/

Number of children:	Incomplete elementary	Elementary	Basic vocational	Incomplete secondary	Secondary vocational	Secondary general	Post-secondary	Incomplete higher	Higher	Total
no children ever	20.3	24.8	29.2	37.3	31.9	36.1	34.0	30.2	23.8	27.9
one	5.8	14.8	21.7	20.6	20.8	20.9	18.9	20.8	26.2	17.3
two	19.6	26.0	30.4	27.5	32.8	28.6	32.1	36.8	35.7	28.1
three	18.2	19.5	13.7	11.8	11.7	10.1	11.3	7.5	10.7	15.6
four	21.7	6.8	3.1	2.0	1.6	1.8	3.8	1.9	3.8	6.7
five	9.1	3.8	1.2	1.0	1.0	1.3	0.	0.	0.	2.8
six and more	5.6	2.2	0.6	0.	0.	1.3	0.	3.8	0.	1.7
Total	143	882	161	102	307	188	63	63	84	1923
	7.4	44.6	8.4	5.3	16.0	8.2	2.8	2.8	4.4	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 218.91 \quad p < 0.001$$

$$\text{Gamma} = 0.54$$

Table 22. The number of children and the intensity of religious beliefs /percentage/

Number of children:	Non-believer	Believer not going to church	Believer going to church	Total
no children ever	38.4	29.6	26.3	27.7
one	23.3	22.4	15.0	17.2
two	26.7	32.9	26.4	28.2
three	7.0	10.7	17.9	15.7
four	1.2	2.4	8.8	6.9
five	0.	1.1	3.6	2.9
six and more	3.5	0.9	1.9	1.7
Total	86 4.6	459 24.3	1344 71.1	1889 100.0

$$\chi^2 = 77.56$$

$$p = 0.001$$

Table 23. The number of children and respondent's age /percentage/

Number of children:	Age										Total
	16-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-59	60 and more		
no children ever	98,9	52,9	43,6	37,7	9,6	13,2	13,9	12,6	15,3	28,2	
one	1,6	30,1	30,8	26,8	16,9	11,9	6,5	9,6	7,2	17,3	
two	0,	15,4	20,2	28,0	64,8	39,6	37,0	29,1	22,6	28,0	
three	0,	1,0	5,3	14,2	14,6	23,9	28,7	25,4	18,9	16,6	
four	0,	0,5	0,	1,9	3,9	9,4	8,8	13,0	18,0	6,5	
five	0,	0,	0,	0,6	0,6	0,6	3,2	7,2	6,1	2,7	
six and more	0,	0,	0,	0,6	0,6	1,3	1,9	2,6	9,9	1,7	
Total	61	382	208	165	167	189	216	400	111	1909	
	3,2	20,0	10,9	8,1	8,2	8,3	11,3	24,1	5,8	100,0	

 $\chi^2 = 881,21$ $p < 0,001$

Gamme = 0,54

Table 24. Education and the desired number of children in couples married less than 15 years /percentage/

Education:	Desired number of children						Total	
	0	1	2	3	4	5		6
Incomplete elementary	14.3	14.3	14.3	42.9	14.3	0	0	1.2
elementary basic	3.4	7.7	46.8	28.3	9.0	3.0	1.3	40.2
vocational	0.	6.6	52.5	29.5	11.5	0.	0.	10.5
incomplete secondary	3.7	0.	63.0	22.2	7.4	3.7	0.	4.7
secondary vocational	0.	5.3	61.1	24.4	7.6	1.5	0.	22.6
secondary general	2.1	6.4	61.7	29.8	0.	0.	0.	8.1
post-se- condary	0.	22.2	44.4	22.2	5.6	5.6	0.	3.1
incomplete higher	0.	5.9	70.6	17.6	5.9	0.	0.	2.9
higher	0.	7.7	59.0	30.8	0.	2.6	0.	6.7
Total	11	41	311	158	43	12	4	580
	1.9	7.1	53.6	27.2	7.4	2.1	0.6	100.0

 $\chi^2 = 53.94$ insignificant

Table 25. The intensity of religious beliefs and the desired number of children in couples married less than 15 years /percentage/

Intensity of religious beliefs:	Desired number of children							
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	total
non-believer	3.4	10.3	44.8	37.9	3.4	0	0	5,1
believer not going to church	1.2	8.7	60.1	26.0	2.9	0.6	0.6	30.5
believer going to church	2.2	5.7	51.1	27.6	10.1	2.7	0.5	64,4
Total	11	39	304	157	43	11	3	568
	1,9	6,9	53,5	27,6	7,6	1,9	0,5	100,0

$\chi^2 = 18.85$, insignificant

Table 26. Residence and the desired number of children in couples married less than 15 years
/percentage/

Place of residence:	Desired number of children							total
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	
countryside	2,7	4,9	43,6	34,5	10,8	2,7	0,9	38,1
towns:								
up to 10 thousand	0	6,1	51,6	30,3	9,1	0	3,0	5,6
10-20 thous.	0	4,3	61,7	27,7	4,3	2,1	0	8,0
20-50 "	0	2,8	68,1	18,1	11,1	0	0	12,3
50-100 "	0	7,1	50,0	26,2	7,1	9,5	0	7,2
over 100 "	3,0	12,5	60,1	21,4	1,8	0,6	0,6	28,7
Total	11	41	314	160	43	12	3	585
	1,9	7,0	53,7	27,4	7,4	2,1	0,5	100,0

$\chi^2 = 71.72$ $p < 0.001$

I would like to draw special attention to a comparison between tables 24, 25 and tables 21, 22. What strikes is a fall in the influence of the intensity of religious beliefs on the sphere of procreation. The process of unification of procreational behaviour established in this way will find further corroboration.

I consider it necessary for this survey to be focussed on a comparison of persons in childbearing age with the entire population.

Tables 27-33 illustrate how far social variables are capable of explaining differentiations of procreational dispositions and indicators of the number of children in our society.

Mean results for individual indicators of attitude and procreational behaviour are as follows:

mean idealized number of children /for the whole population/	2.6
mean number of children of one respondent and his/her spouse /for the whole population/	1.7
mean number of children desired by single persons under 34 years of age	2.1
mean number of children /the number of children now and how many more are wanted/ in couples married less than 15 years	2.4

It is not surprising in these seven tables that indicators of the idealized number of children and the number of children actually had are significantly differentiated by such variables as place of birth, respondent's father's social background, present residence, his socio-occupational group, age, intensity of religious beliefs and education. Nor should we be astonished by the directions where these differentiations go. Mean results for the number of children which the respondents consider best for the family /i.e. the ideal number of children/ and mean results describing the actual number of children /number of children now tend to fall with the increase in scores headed as present place of living, intensity of religious beliefs, education. They tend to go up with the respondents' age; they are higher for persons born in the countryside in farming families who are occupied with farming themselves and lower

for persons born in towns who, like their parents, are white-collar workers with higher education. Mean results are similar for men and women and for persons who differently estimate their material situation.

The situation changes significantly in the 3rd and 4th columns of all the seven tables. These columns relate to single persons of under 34 years of age /potential parents/ and couples married less than 15 years /generally speaking also in childbearing age/ which will be seen most clearly in the analysis of the possibility of explaining the differentiation of the indicators of the number of children desired in the groups of young couples. Here the number of children means those already born and those planned. There is no certainty as to whether the respondents will be able to realize their needs in full in this respect. But since in this report I am not giving a demographic diagnosis but looking for directions of attitudinal changes and their correlatives the use of a mixed-type attitudinal-behavioural indicator seems justified enough. In the course of work on the material gathered I will try to isolate more precisely from this variable the number of children already had and chances for any further realization of needs in this sphere.

Thus looking at this mixed indicator it is easy to notice a considerable unification of preferences and behaviour. This seems most convincing in the illustration of the influence of education and occupation of the respondents categorised in 22 units²⁵ /the table is not presented as no significant differentiation has been found of the desired number of children by socio-occupational status/. In other words in our society young married couples from different socio-occupational groups have similar procreational plans and similar numbers of children. Their behaviour differs from that of the entire sample. This seems to be an important finding the more so as it is backed by the fact that this group is less significantly differentiated by social background, religious beliefs or place of residence.

²⁵ Cf. K. Słomczyński, C. Kacprowicz, Skala Zawodów [Occupational Scale], IFiS PAN, 1979.

It may be that the countryside no longer can guarantee a high natural increase. Whether this is good or bad is beyond the concern of this report. But that this is a social fact can be seen from the analysis of the indicators of behavioural component of the attitude towards the child in groups varying in terms of intensity of religious beliefs /see column 4 in table 30/. It is known from elsewhere that the intensity of religious beliefs is the highest in the countryside. This element of change in mores can be taken as evidence that nowadays intensive religiousness is not enough to cause high procreation. Unless it goes, hopefully less and less often, with poverty and low level of education.

Can we speak credibly about a process in which procreational dispositions and indicators of the number of children are becoming similar? The following indicators have been examined to check this: among couples married less than 15 years the rate of difference was measured between, on the one side, the number of children already had and still wanted and, on the other, the ideal number of children; among single persons under 34 years of age the difference between desired and ideal numbers of children; and in the entire sample the difference between the number of children now and the ideal number²⁶. Here are the results:

couples - mean difference between desired and ideal	0.1
single - mean difference between desired and ideal	0.3
entire sample - mean difference between the number of children now and the ideal number	0.9

The mean difference for the entire sample between the number of children now and the number of respondents' brothers and/or sisters amounted to 2.4.

The consistency of more intensive behavioural dispositions in single persons /their procreational plans/ with less intensive dispositions/what number of children they consider to be ideal for a family/ similarly as,

²⁶ These indicators have been treated as indicators of consistency of dispositions and behaviour.

Table 27. Residence till the age of 14, procreational dispositions and indicators of the number of children

Place of residence	ideal number of children /mean result for entire sample/		number of children now /mean result for entire sample		mean number of children desired by single persons		mean number of children desired by couples married less than 15 years	
	mean	stand. dev.	mean	stand. dev.	mean	stand. dev.	mean	stand. dev.
	N=1769		N=1892		N=248		N=585	
Countryside	2.8	0.8	1.9	1.6	2.3	0.8	2.5	0.9
town	2.4	0.8	1.3	1.3	2.1	0.7	2.3	0.9
	F = 49.29		F = 86.06		F = 2.4		F = 7.4	
	p 001		p 0.001		p = 0.12		p = 0.006	

Table 28. Social background, procreational dispositions and indicators of the number of children

Respondent's father's socio-occu- pational group:	Ideal number of children /mean result for entire sample/ mean		Number of children now /mean result for entire sample/ mean		Mean number of children desired by single persons mean		Mean number of children de- sired by couples married less than 15 years mean	
	stand. dev.	stand. dev.	stand. dev.	stand. dev.	stand. dev.	stand. dev.	stand. dev.	stand. dev.
1. private farmer	2.9	0.9	2.0	1.6	2.3	0.8	2.5	0.9
2. unskilled worker	2.6	0.8	1.8	1.6	2.5	0.7	2.2	0.8
3. merchant or craftsman	2.6	0.8	1.7	1.3	2.2	0.6	2.2	0.9
4. skilled worker	2.5	0.8	1.3	1.5	2.0	0.7	2.4	0.9
5. white-collar without high- er education	2.4	0.7	1.2	1.1	2.1	0.8	2.3	0.8
6. white-collar with higher education	2.4	0.6	1.0	1.2	2.0	0.6	2.2	0.7
7. other groups	2.0	0.6	0.5	0.7	-	-	-	-
	F = 14.87		F = 19.58		F = 2.15		F = 2.3	
	p < 0.001		p < 0.001		p = 0.05		p = 0.04	

Table 29. Present place of residence, procreational dispositions and indicators of the number of children

Present place of residence :	Ideal number of children /mean result for entire sample/		Number of children now /mean result for entire sample/		Mean number of children desired by single persons		Mean number of children desired by couples married less than 15 years	
	mean	stand. dev.	mean	stand. dev.	mean	stand. dev.	mean	stand. dev.
1. countryside	2.9	0.9	2.0	1.7	2.3	0.7	2.5	1.0
2. up to 10 thousand towns:	2.7	0.8	2.0	1.3	2.4	0.7	2.5	0.9
3. 10-20 thous.	2.6	0.7	1.7	1.4	2.2	0.4	2.4	0.7
4. 20-50 thous.	2.5	0.7	1.5	1.3	2.3	0.7	2.4	0.7
5. 50-100 "	2.5	0.8	1.4	1.6	2.0	0.7	2.6	1.0
6. more than 100 thousand	2.4	0.7	1.3	1.3	2.0	0.8	2.1	0.8
	F = 21.09		F = 15.76		F = 2.35		F = 5.63	
	p < 0,001		p < 0,001		p = 0.04		p < 0001	

Table 30. Intensity of religious beliefs, procreational dispositions and indicators of the number of children.

Intensity of religious beliefs:	Ideal number of children /mean result for entire sample/		Number of children now /mean result for entire sample/		Mean number of children desired by persons		Mean number of children desired by couples married less than 15 years	
	mean	stand. dev.	mean	stand. dev.	mean	stand. dev.	mean	stand. dev.
1. non-believer	2.3	0.6	1.3	1.5	2.0	0.6	2.3	0.8
2. believer not going to church	2.4	0.7	1.4	1.2	2.0	0.5	2.2	0.7
3. believer going to church	2.8	0.9	1.8	1.5	2.3	0.8	2.4	0.9
	F = 44.17 p < 0.001		F = 21.18 p < 0.001		F = 3.25 p = 0.04		F = 4.16 p = 0.01	

Table 31. Respondent's age, procreational disposition and the number of children now

Age	Ideal number of children /mean result for entire sample/		Number of children now /mean result for entire sample/		Difference between ideal and actual number of children	
	mean	stand. dev.	mean	stand. dev.	mean	stand. dev.
1. 16-19	2.3	0.8	0.0	0.1	-2.3	0.9
2. 20-24	2.4	0.7	0.6	0.8	-1.2	1.0
3. 25-29	2.5	0.7	0.8	0.9	-1.6	1.0
4. 30-34	2.6	0.8	1.4	1.1	-1.2	1.2
5. 35-39	2.5	0.9	1.9	1.0	-0.6	1.1
6. 40-44	2.7	0.7	2.1	1.2	-0.6	1.2
7. 45-49	2.7	0.8	2.3	1.4	-0.4	1.4
8. 50-59	2.9	0.9	2.4	1.5	-0.4	1.5
9. 60 over	2.9	0.7	2.8	1.9	-0.4	1.8
	F = 9.83		F = 103.7		F = 7.41	
	p < 0.001		p < 0.001		p < 0.001	

Table 31. Respondent's education, pre-conceptional dispositions and the indicators of the number of children

Level of education:	Ideal number of children /mean result for entire sample/		Number of children now /mean result for entire sample/		Mean number of children desired by single persons		Mean number of children desired by couples married less than 15 years	
	mean	stand. dev.	mean	stand. dev.	mean	stand. dev.	mean	stand. dev.
1. Incomplete elementary	3.0	0.9	2.6	1.8	2.2	0.5	2.3	1.4
2. elementary	2.7	0.8	1.9	1.6	2.2	0.7	2.5	1.0
3. basic vocational	2.6	0.8	1.4	1.2	2.3	0.7	2.4	0.7
4. Incomplete secondary	2.7	0.8	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	2.4	0.9
5. secondary vocational	2.5	0.7	1.3	1.1	2.2	0.7	2.4	0.7
6. secondary general	2.5	0.6	1.3	1.3	2.1	0.6	2.2	0.6
7. post-secondary	2.7	1.0	1.3	1.2	2.2	0.4	2.2	1.0
8. incomplete higher	2.4	0.6	1.4	1.4	1.7	0.7	2.2	0.6
9. higher	2.5	0.7	1.4	1.0	1.6	1.0	2.3	0.7
	F = 9.22 p < 0.001		F = 17.93 p < 0.001		F = 1.27 p = 0.26		F = 0.7 p = 0.68	

Table 33. Respondent's socio-occupational group, proreactional dispositions and indicators of the number of children.

Socio-occupational group	Ideal number of children /mean result for entire sample/		Number of children now /mean result for entire sample/		Mean number of children desired by single persons		Mean number of children desired by couples married less than 15 years	
	mean	stand. dev.	mean.	stand. dev.	mean	stand. dev.	mean	stand. dev.
1. private farmer	3.0	0.9	2.2	1.7	2.3	0.7	2.6	1.0
2. unskilled worker	2.7	0.8	1.8	1.7	2.2	0.7	2.4	1.3
3. skilled worker	2.6	0.8	1.6	1.4	2.1	0.8	2.5	0.9
4. white-collar without higher education	2.5	0.7	1.4	1.2	2.2	0.7	2.3	0.7
5. white-collar with higher education	2.4	0.7	1.2	1.2	2.0	0.8	2.3	0.7
6. other groups	2.7	0.6	2.5	1.6	2.0	1.0	-	-
	F = 20.05		F = 20.53		F = 0.79		F = 3.85	
	p < 0.001		p < 0.001		p = 0.55		p = 0.004	

in couples married less than 15 years, the consistency of procreational dispositions /what number of children is considered as ideal/ with their realization are not differentiated by such variables as: social back-ground, place of birth, present place of living, intensity of religious beliefs, the respondents' subjective assessment of their material standard, the respondents' education and socio-occupational position /also classified by prestige/. In the 20-34 age bracket there was no practical dissonance between the number of children they would like to have and the number they think they ought to have /the ideal number of children/.

Table 34. Consistency of procreational dispositions and indicators of the number of children by age in couples married less than 15 years N = 549

Age	Difference between desired and ideal number of children /mean result/	Standard deviation
16-19	0.0	-
20-24	-0.0	0.8
25-29	-0.1	0.8
30-34	0.0	0.7
35-39	-0.2	0.8
40-44	-0.1	0.8
45-49	-0.7	1.2
50-59	-0.3	1.3
	F = 2.09 p = 0.04	

Comparison of the results demonstrated in this table with column III of Table 31 allows a hypothesis about unifying effects of the situation-cultural factors. One of these could be the fact that the young couples questioned are living in a definite historical period. This factor abates the effects of age as a behaviour-forming variable seeing that

the differences between the desired number of children /partly realized/ and the ideal number of children are small we can assume a considerable consistency of procreational dispositions and behaviour. As will be remembered these indicators do not change with socio-occupational position, social background etc.

Thus there are at least two premises for claiming a universal /ie. not differentiated by social correlatives/ trend to pass from the imperative model of procreational attitudes to the alternative model conceived as the realization of individual's needs in life. In other words dispositions to procreational behaviour find their relatively full reflection in the number of children now.

Does the attitude about birth control, another element of attitude about the child, change procreational dispositions and indicators of the number of children and to what extent. /Tables 35, 36/.

Spontaneous parenthood manifested by lack of approval of birth control /prevention against unwanted pregnancies/ and abortion is conducive to more ambitious procreational plans and their realization. But the most important finding is that such spontaneity comes rarer in the sub-groups of young couples /columns IV in tables 35 and 36/ and unmarried persons /columns III in tables 35 and 36/. It is with these two groups that attitudes about birth control -- that is approval of spontaneous parenthood - or family planning only differentiate to a very small degree procreational attitudes and their realization. The latter seem to be unified and subordinated to a vogue of sorts rather than a deliberate system of convictions. This problem will be discussed at length in chapter III of my report. For the time being Table 37 shows how the emotional component of attitude about the child affects the behavioural component.

Table 33. Attitudes to birth control, procreational dispositions and indicators of the number of children

Attitudes to contraception :	Ideal number of children /mean result for entire sample/			Number of children new /mean result for entire sample/			Mean number of children desired by single persons			Mean number of children desired by couples married less than 15 years		
	%	mean	stand. dev.	%	mean	stand. dev.	%	mean	stand. dev.	%	mean	stand. dev.
1. It is wrong	11.7	3.0	1.0	10.9	2.3	1.7	7.3	2.3	0.8	8.9	2.7	
2. It is right	80.7	2.5	0.7	58.5	1.6	1.4	70.1	2.1	0.6	72.6	2.3	
3. hard to say	26.6	2.8	0.8	30.6	1.6	1.5	22.6	2.1	0.9	18.5	2.5	1.0
	100.0	F = 33.08		100.0	F = 17.34		100.0	F = 0.56		100.0	F = 7.04	
		P<0.001			P<0.001			p = 0.5			p = 0.001	

Table 36. Attitude to abortion, procreational dispositions and indicators of the number of children.

Is abortions admissible :	Ideal number of children/mean result for entire sample/			Number of children now /mean result for entire sample/			Mean number of children desired by single persons			Mean number of children desired by couples married less than 10 years		
	%	mean	stand. dev.	%	mean	stand. dev.	%	mean	stand. dev.	%	mean	stand. dev.
1. absolutely not	34.6	3.0	0.9	23.6	2.0	1.7	30.6	2.4	0.9	12.1	2.6	1.0
2. in certain cir- cumstances only	60.1	2.6	0.7	60.0	1.9	1.4	46.4	2.2	0.7	66.0	2.4	0.9
3. always when pregnancy is unwanted	25.4	2.4	0.7	26.4	1.4	1.3	34.1	1.9	0.9	31.9	2.3	0.9
	100.0	F = 69.72 p < 0.00		100.0	F = 32.12 p < 0.001		100.0	F = 9.60 p < 0.001		100.0	F = 4.66 p = 0.01	

Table 37. Emotional component versus behavioural component of attitude about the child*

Is having children worthwhile:	Ideal number of children /mean result for entire sample/		Number of children now /mean result for entire sample/		Mean number of children desired by unmarried persons		Mean number of children desired by couples married less than 15 years	
	mean	stand. dev.	mean	stand. dev.	mean	stand. dev.	mean	stand. dev.
definitely not	2.0	0.8	1.2	1.8	0	0	1.5	2.1
rather not	2.0	0.9	0.9	1.0	1.5	1.9	1.0	1.1
rather yes	2.5	0.7	1.4	1.4	2.0	0.6	2.1	0.8
definitely yes	2.8	0.8	2.0	1.5	2.4	0.6	2.6	0.9
	F=25.31 p < 0.001		F=31.07 p < 0.001		F=16.87 p < 0.001		F=17.45 p < 0.001	

* Percentage as in table 35.

There are not many persons who think that having children is not worthwhile. Though it does have some effect on the character of variations I will concentrate on two answers: 'rather yes' and 'definitely yes'. Though the range of answers in various categories of the emotional component is rather wide these categories are capable of explaining some part of differentiation in the behavioural component. The analysis of dependencies between the desired /target/ number of children in couples married less than 15 years and their declared emotional attitude about the child according to education of one of the spouses /the respondent questioned/ shows that education operates less systematically

than the intensity of emotions. Similarly, the mean values of the indicator of tolerance of abortion examined through analogous variables show less subordination and are changed less by the answer 'rather yes' and 'definitely yes' than by education.

Table 38. Number of children desired by couples married less than 15 years /mean values/, level of education, emotional attitude to the child

Education	It is worthwhile to have children			
	rather yes		definitely yes	
	mean	stand. dev.	mean	stand. dev.
1. incomplete elementary	2.5	2.1	2.5	0.7
2. elementary	2.2	1.0	2.7	1.0
3. basic vocational	2.0	0.0	2.7	0.8
4. incomplete secondary	2.7	1.5	3.0	0.7
5. secondary vocational	2.1	2.7	2.5	0.7
6. secondary general	2.1	0.6	2.3	0.5
7. post-secondary	2.0	1.0	2.6	0.8
8. incomplete higher	1.0	0.0	2.2	0.6
9. higher	2.0	0.0	2.6	0.9

The table of Person's correlation coefficients /Table 39/ sums up what has been found so far. It also adds new vantage points on procreational dispositions and their realization in our society. While corroborating the fact that compared with the entire sample young couples are less prone to model their procreational behaviours and attitudes according to the elements of their socio-occupational position it also

Table 39. Pearson's correlation coefficients / level of significance

p = < 0.05/

Specification:	Ideal number of children	Number of children now	Number of children desired by single persons	Number of children desired by couples in procreational age
1. duration of marriage	0.24	0.53	-	-
2. place of residence	-0.23	-0.19	-0.10	-0.18
3. time of waiting for a flat	-	-0.17	-	-
4. age	0.20	0.54	-	-0.06
5. residence till the age of 14	-0.20	-0.20	-	-0.11
6. number of brothers or sisters	0.27	0.31	0.26	0.14
7. age of the spouse	0.21	0.45	-	-0.07
8. brothers or sisters of the spouse	0.22	0.25	-	0.17
9. density of occupancy in present residence	0.09	0.16	0.21	0.12
10. average income	-0.13	-0.27	-0.25	-0.17
11. occupation acc. to prestige	-0.07	-0.05	-	-0.08
12. respondent's education ^a	-0.16 /-0.12/	-0.22 /-0.12/	-0.11 /-10/	-0.06 /-0.06/
13. education of the spouse	-0.17	-0.26	-	-
14. satisfaction with life	-	-	-	0.11
15. standardized child indicator of value	-	-	0.21	0.10

^a Given in brackets are partial correlation coefficients at age

points to further consequences implicit in this situation. In this group of our particular interest I am concerned in the first place with the attitudes and behaviour which are hardly ever connected or not connected at all with indicators of living conditions. I have in mind such correlations as the time of waiting for a flat, average income or density of occupancy. This group also shows little dependence on its roots - number of their and their spouses brothers and/or sisters, patterns of behaviours from the place of birth and the place of living till the age of 14.

The situation which I now want to survey is one in which procreational dispositions of one of the spouses married less than 15 years and their mean number of children at the time of enquiry show much interesting interdependence. Young couples are most consistent in terms of the emotional and behavioural component which is evidenced by the level of correlation coefficient of the number of desired children and the standardized indicator of the value of the child. True this coefficient is higher for single persons but it has to be noted that for them on the procreation side it is produced merely by dispositions and hence more important 'futurologically' than diagnostically.

Only in the group of young couples are higher emotions associated with the child accompanied by higher indicators of general satisfaction with life²⁷. This indicator represents a resultant of the estimated satisfaction with various spheres of personal life. It can be assumed that stronger attitudes about the child go with a certain type of mental comfort based on a relative satisfaction with life rather than definite values of individual features describing social status. It has to be emphasized that this offers yet another evidence of the fact that options of reflective parenthood are not specific for definite socio-occupational groups.

To end this chapter I wish to present the results of multiple correlation. The time limit designed for this study made it impossible to

²⁷

The general indicator of satisfaction is a sum total of all categories in question of the interview divided by 9.

carry out an in-depth survey or repeat attempts at selecting such factors which could further elucidate the incidence of the highest percentages of differentiation in the behavioural component. Therefore I picked such variables for multiple correlation which appeared recurrently in the course of presentation and also ones which suggest various explanatory planes for changes on these variables.

The variables were:

1. respondent's age
2. place of residence
3. number of brothers and sisters
4. tolerance of premarital sex²⁸
5. indicator of child value.

The results of this analysis wound up the enquiry of the process of unification of procreational dispositions and various indicators of the number of children among contemporary Poles. The multiple correlation calculated according to these five variables is as follows:

- ideal number of children	0.14
- the number of children now for the entire sample	0.37
- the number of children desired by single unmarried persons under 34	0.14
- the number of children desired by couples married less than 15 years	0.5

By comparing the 37 per cent of the explained differentiation in the number of children now /for the whole sample/ with the 5 per cent of the explained differentiation in the number of children in the young couples group I found not only the continuation of the earlier findings but also came against a question what factors, if anything could explain the diversity of indicators of the number of children.

²⁸See footnote 21.

This question will be answered at least partly by the results discussed in chapter III.

But it being known from elsewhere that this diversity bear only slight significance the theme of the following chapter can be defined as a search in the sphere of values for correlatives of the attitude about the child which have been examined above.

Conclusions. The attitude about the child has been understood here as a composition of two elements: emotional and behavioural. It follows from the assumptions of the research that this attitude can best be characterized by comparing the results obtained with the initial hypotheses.

Hypothesis I: in the population in question the attitude about the child is inconsistent: high covalency of the emotional component is not accompanied by equally high values of the behavioural component.

This hypothesis has not been confirmed on two scores, at least. Firstly, the emotional component is not marked by a high covalency and its contents only allow a speculation that the society now is in the process of re-structuring the sphere of emotions associated with the child /cf. conclusions to the first part of this chapter/. Secondly, in the population under study these yet uncrystallized emotions are parallel to quite express needs for children and their realization. These needs in turn are accompanied by a deliberate program. Thus in the group which I was most interested in young married couples - no inconsistency has been found between the planned and realized number of children, that is between procreational disposition and procreational behaviour. All these facts are affected by a trend in such parenthood is perceived as one of the alternatives offered by life rather than an obligation. Perhaps this exactly is whence the transitional drop in emotions associated with parenthood really comes.

Hypothesis II. The disparities named in hypothesis I tend to decrease with socio-occupational promotion.

No such disparities have been observed. But by comparing a group of persons in the procreative phase of life /that is younger persons/ having

relatively higher education with the entirety of parents in the sample relatively worse educated it can be found that the former show much more consistency of emotional and behavioural components of attitude about the child /cf. table 39/ than the latter.

Hypothesis III: As socio-occupational position rises the child is more and more often perceived in terms of desire rather than obligation.

This hypothesis has been confirmed especially by the example of attitudes about the motherhood of single women.

Hypothesis IV: Procreational attitudes and behaviour of contemporary couples are not differentiated by their socio-occupational position, place of residence and the intensity of religious beliefs.

The confirmation of this hypothesis /perhaps with the exception of the place of living/ is an interesting proof of a tendency for life styles of various social groups to become similar. This however will be seen in full when posed against other values significant for the sample selected for this research.

Chapter III THE PLACE OF THE CHILD IN THE VALUE SYSTEM

General values, life models and goals of marriage. Components of attitude toward the child vs. chosen values.

As I mentioned in the introduction the range of emotions, feelings and attitudes coexisting with attitudes and behaviour related to the child is in the actual fact far wider than what the report was able to cover. This, however far from comforting, had to be put up with in view of what means were available for the realization of this study. I am aware, of course, that the set of feelings and convictions known as the system of values is composed of much more elements. But the knowledge about our society I had at the time of preparing the interview /1978/79/ permitted skipping some of them as being to only a slight degree popular and thus of hardly any significance for the analyses planned. This was true primarily of all the broadly conceived forms of social activity including authority. On the other hand the national character of the sample made it impossible to build an interview extensive enough to cover several variants of measurements of the set of values I decided to take into account.

By defining the place of the child among other values and other spheres of life I hope to answer the question about what is more and what

less important for the population sample interviewed. This can be done in two ways. The present chapter is based on a more direct method. **The next one which will describe the place of the child in the set of other desirable objects or other spheres of reality will draw on a more indirect method.**

The direct method amounts to defining respondents' preferences on the following three planes:

- a/ general values which in this research as well as in the interview will be operationalized as important for a good and successful life;
- b/ various aspects of the institution of marriage;
- c/ alternative models of life to be picked by young couples.

All these planes include 'the child' and whatever may go with it, perceived either as one of the spheres of life to be opted for on account of its importance /a/ or as one of the aspects of the institution of marriage either conducive to marriage or not /b/ and finally as part of the four different programs of life to be subscribed to by young couples /c/. Having defined the place of the child in these three sets I shall try to see if its position there in any way affects or, to be more cautious, coexists with definite varieties of the attitude about the child described earlier. This line of analysis is expected to enrich our knowledge about the structure of attitude about the child and tell more about various shades of the covalency of the attitude.

The child' among general values. The material in this section of the report comes from replies to the following question: 'Every man is anxious to achieve something in his life. What some people are very particular about others do not care. Here is a list of things people can set a high value at. Will you please choose three of them which you consider important for a good, successful life'.

As the tables demonstrate 'a happy, successful marital and personal life' clearly becomes top priority²⁹. This value is not differentiated by

²⁹ S. Nowak, Przekonanie i odczucie współczesnych [Convictions and feelings of our contemporaries] in: Polaków portret własny [Poles' Self-Portrait], Wydawnictwo Literackie, Kraków 1979.

any variable. As many as 65 per cent of the population, irrespective of age, sex, education, background etc. say it is important. What this implies is that it is these objects which make possible the realization of such priorities that stand the best chance for becoming popular. This indeed is the case. The need for a successful personal and family life is accompanied by a somewhat less popular need for affluence and good material standard and - third on the popularity scale - the need for having and rearing children. In addition children and personal life are most commonly regarded as a source of satisfaction - unlike the material standard which was ticked only by 8.8 per cent of the population. These three most popular values bring to mind the notion of 'petty stabilization' and bourgeois ideals. On the opposite pole there are those values which provide no direct sense of security, do not organize life and sometimes require making relationships with people from outside the narrow family circle or even going into too much trouble. This group of values includes: an interesting job which gives satisfaction, independent frame of mind, promotion in life, work for others, education and knowledge. It is interesting to see that enjoyment of life is more popular than for example promotion. It seems that the group of values which give the sense of security can include the need for friends, ie. people well-disposed to the respondent. This need is quite popular - it was declared by almost 40 per cent of the sample - and also universal for it is felt most strongly by devoted catholics /tables 40-43/.

However the picture sketched here is not as monolithic as it seems. A closer look at the tables reveals that the most popular syndrome of the 'petty stabilization' in the family appears most commonly among persons with relatively lower education /the option 'having children' starts to be dropped from the set of three most important values after incomplete primary education/, deep religiousness, more advanced age /or an age of procreation peak/, lower socio-occupational position of the respondent's father. Accordingly, more active

Table 40. The child among general values according to education level /percentage/

Preferred general values:	Level of education										significance test
	Incomp. elem.	elem.	basic voc.	Incomp. second.	second. voc.	second. gen.	post-second.	Incomp. higher	higher	N = 1932	
1. successful private life	67.8	64.4	66.9	66.7	64.1	61.4	77.4	79.6	67.0	Insignificant	
2. affluence	74.1	66.0	60.2	67.6	66.6	61.9	62.6	69.6	46.6	$\chi^2 = 42.36$ p < 0.001	
3. children's upbringing	61.6	46.6	41.0	40.2	44.8	46.8	43.4	46.3	46.4	$\chi^2 = 17.20$ p < 0.002	
4. friends	39.9	37.9	36.0	41.2	40.2	44.9	37.7	26.3	32.1	Insignificant	
5. interesting job which gives satisfaction	17.6	27.6	30.4	36.2	34.0	28.6	34.0	26.3	36.3	$\chi^2 = 22.77$ p = 0.003	
6. enjoyment of life	11.2	17.8	21.7	19.6	14.4	19.0	11.6	17.0	8.3	$\chi^2 = 14.04$ p = 0.06	
7. independent frame of mind	6.3	10.8	11.6	16.7	12.7	17.1	16.9	16.9	21.4	$\chi^2 = 21.69$ p = 0.006	
8. promotion	7.0	11.0	14.3	8.8	6.6	6.2	11.3	9.4	12.3	Insignificant	
9. work for others	8.4	10.7	8.7	6.9	6.2	13.9	3.6	11.3	12.1	Insignificant	
10. education, knowledge	6.6	7.6	6.2	4.9	16.4	7.6	3.4	16.1	17.9	$\chi^2 = 33.26$ p < 0.001	

Table 41. The child among general values according to intensity of religious beliefs
/percentage/²

Preferred general values:	Intensity of religious beliefs				significance test χ^2
	%	non-believer	believer not going to church	believer going to church	
1. successful private life	65.6	60.5	65.5	66.0	insignificant
2. affluence	60.7	53.5	63.3	60.2	"
3. children's up-bringing	46.5	34.9	37.8	50.4	$\chi^2 = 27.05$ p < 0.001
4. friends	38.6	30.2	35.4	40.5	$\chi^2 = 6.62$ p = 0.03
5. interesting job which gives satisfaction	29.5	38.4	32.3	27.3	$\chi^2 = 6.87$ p = 0.03
6. enjoyment of life	16.7	27.9	18.3	15.1	$\chi^2 = 11.31$ p = 0.003
7. independent frame of mind	12.5	17.4	14.4	11.7	insignificant
8. promotion	10.5	10.5	10.7	10.0	insignificant
9. work for others	9.8	12.8	9.4	10.0	insignificant
10. education, knowledge	9.1	14.0	12.7	7.7	$\chi^2 = 12.67$ p < 0.001

² Individual categories differentiated in terms of intensity of religious beliefs include the percentage of respondents who opted for a given value

Table 42. The child among general values according to respondents' age/percentage/^x
N = 1932

Preferred General Values	Age										60 and more	significance test
	16-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-59	60 and more			
1. successful private life	49.2	62.7	67.3	68.	71.3	68.6	69.4	66.0	66.4	insignificant		
2. affluence	60.7	59.8	55.8	61.3	61.8	61.6	63.9	69.3	63.6	insignificant		
3. children's up-bringing	27.9	39.1	39.4	43.9	57.3	52.2	60.0	48.4	61.8	$\chi^2 = 43.04$ $p < 0.001$		
4. friends	24.6	35.2	39.4	39.8	39.7	45.3	43.1	39.2	40.0	insignificant		
5. interesting job which gives satisfaction	45.9	32.3	36.5	34.8	27.4	29.6	22.2	26.8	18.2	$\chi^2 = 30.82$ $p < 0.001$		
6. enjoyment of life	29.5	23.4	17.8	21.3	13.4	16.4	19.0	12.4	8.2	$\chi^2 = 37.10$ $p = 0.001$		
7. independent frame of mind	23.0	12.3	15.8	14.2	9.6	10.1	11.6	12.0	11.8	insignificant		
8. promotion	21.3	13.1	8.7	7.1	8.3	10.1	12.0	9.8	6.2	$\chi^2 = 15.24$ $p = 0.05$		
9. work for others	3.3	6.8	10.6	6.9	10.8	9.4	11.8	12.2	14.5	$\chi^2 = 15.44$ $p = 0.05$		
10. education, knowledge	13.1	14.2	8.7	8.8	4.5	6.9	9.7	8.8	6.4	$\chi^2 = 21.38$ $p = 0.006$		

^x Individual categories differentiated in terms of age include the percentage of respondents who opted for a given value.

Table 43. The child among general values and respondents' fathers' socio-occupational group
/percentage/ %

Preferred general values:	%	Socio-occupational respondents' fathers' group							χ^2
		Individual farmer	unskilled worker	merchant, craftsman	skilled worker	white-collar without higher education	white-collar with higher education		
1. successful private life	65.6	68.1	63.7	67.9	64.3	69.3	70.8	insignificant	
2. affluence	60.7	65.1	59.8	60.0	57.8	57.6	48.1	$\chi^2 = 17.00$ p = 0.04	
3. children's up bringing	46.5	49.2	50.3	48.6	42.9	41.8	37.1	$\chi^2 = 11.33$ p = 0.04	
4. friends	38.6	37.6	39.7	38.6	37.8	36.2	30.3	insignificant	
5. interesting job which gives satisfaction	29.5	29.9	33.0	28.8	32.3	31.6	38.0	insignificant	
6. enjoyment of life	16.7	14.6	15.6	14.3	23.6	16.0	12.4	$\chi^2 = 19.89$ p = 0.001	
7. independent frame of mind	12.6	10.2	8.4	14.3	12.7	16.9	31.5	$\chi^2 = 39.89$ p = 0.001	
8. promotion	10.5	12.3	9.5	6.4	8.4	9.8	5.6	insignificant	
9. work for others	9.8	10.1	11.7	14.3	9.4	6.2	7.9	insignificant	
10. education knowledge	9.1	7.2	7.8	7.1	9.9	12.4	21.3	$\chi^2 = 24.30$ p = 0.002	

* Individual categories differentiated in terms of fathers socio-occupational group include the percentage of respondents who opted a given value

attitudes to life are accompanied by higher education, lower religiosity, younger age, higher socio-occupational position of the father. To put it properly that is according to the direction of causative interdependencies I shall say that the analysed social goals go with a more active attitude to life. In the syndrome of active attitude to life no need for promotion and high rank has been observed. This need is positively correlated with young age. It appeared however that it is also correlated with rural background and subjective assessment of material standard.

The next two tables showing Pearson's correlation coefficients r with significance $p=0.001$ demonstrate that the ties both within the two syndromes distinguished here - 'petty stabilization in the family' and 'active attitude to life' - as well as the values chosen by the respondents with variables defining socio-occupational position are comparatively weak.³⁰

The matrix of correlation coefficients demonstrates that the hypothesis about the tendency of chosen values to arrange themselves in two syndromes was right. The second syndrome shows more consistency. The syndrome which in the first version defined success in life through success in personal life, having children and affluence is based chiefly on interrelated choices of happy personal life and having children. It marks 46.5 per cent of the population questioned.

Can any new light be thrown on these findings by a factor analysis of variables defining what the respondents think about conditions of success in life? The results produced three factors, three programs of life or three orientations: pro-social, orientation to a spectacular success, orientation to self-fulfilment through knowledge and work. Here are the components of each of these factors:³¹

³⁰ Cf. footnote 29

³¹ Factor loads are given in brackets.

Table 44. Person's correlation coefficients r of preferred values
and socio - occupational position / $p = 0.001$ /

Preferred general values :	Factors of socio-occupational position			
	education by number of school years	occupa- tional by prestige	mean income	father's socio-occu- pational group
1. successful personal life				
2. affluence	-0.14	-0.11	-0.07	-0.05
3. children				-0.05
4. friends				
5. interesting job	0.08			
6. enjoyment of life		-0.09		
7. Independent frame of mind	0.09			0.12
8. promotion				
9. work for others				
10. education, knowledge	0.09	0.10	0.07	0.09

Table 45. Pearson's correlation coefficients r of preferred general values
/ $p = 0.001$ /

Preferred general values:	Personal life	Affluence	Children	Friends	Work	Employment of life	Independent mind	Promotion	Work for others	Education and knowledge
1. successful personal life										
2. affluence	-0.11									
3. children	0	-0.14								
4. friends	-0.15	-0.30	-0.12							
5. interesting job	-0.14	-0.14	-0.22	-0.13						
6. enjoyment of life	-0.16	0	-0.25	-0.17	-0.12					
7. independent frame of mind	-0.17	-0.16	-0.15	0	-0.06	-0.06				
8. promotion	-0.18	0	-0.14	-0.18	-0.08	0	-0.05			
9. work for others	-0.13	-0.19	-0.08	-0.12	-0.11	-0.07	0	-0.07		
10. education, knowledge	-0.13	-0.13	-0.15	-0.06	0	0	0	0	0	

<u>pro-social</u> <u>orientation</u>	<u>spectacular</u> <u>success</u>	<u>self-fulfilment</u> <u>orientation</u>
friends /0.62/	promotion and high post /0.55/	knowledge and education /0.32/
work for others /0.42/	enjoyment of life /0.61/	interesting job /0.78/
independent frame of mind /0.49/		
- successful personal life /-0.42/	- successful personal life /-0.56/	-children /-0.66/
- affluence /-0.62/	-children /-0.33/	

It has to be emphasized that the second and third factor are closely and negatively related with the need for having and rearing children. The results of table 45 and the results of factor analysis suggests re-examination of the position of friends on the scale of values important in life. Friends are one of the elements of attitude which I propose to name prosocial. This kind of attitude is not negatively affected by having and rearing children. But there is no room for children in the attitude oriented to a spectacular success and self-fulfilment.

The arrangement of factors is identical for men and women; which is not to say that the sexes do not differ in their choices. Thus women give significant preference to successful personal life or children. Men more often than women strive for promotion, affluence, interesting job which gives satisfaction.

It is time now to see to what extent this system of preferences finds corroboration in further material.

The child as an attribute of the institution of marriage.

The realization of the need for petty stabilization in the family occurs in

our culture within the institution of marriage. The data show that for the majority of Poles marriage is generally subordinated to this end and the fact of having and rearing children plays a substantial role in achieving it. What accompanies this key function of the child is the question I sought to answer by gathering opinions about the most important aspects - or advantages - of marriage. The respondents were asked: What do you think are the advantages of marriage /the respondents had three options to choose from/. Here are the proportions obtained:

	percentage
1. marriage makes having and rearing children possible	58.1
2. makes material success possible	55.9
3. secures assistance in need	48.5
4. gratifies need for love	36.0
5. makes everyday problems easier to solve	34.9
6. secures regular sex	29.2
7. allows for the sharing of interests	28.7

In the group of values which marriage allows to realize the popularity of 'material success' is similar to 'having children'. As will be seen from the correlation analysis these values are mutually exclusive to a very small degree. At any rate the high popularity of the child does not change in groups differentiated by education, age, place of residence and social background. Only deeply religious persons see the crucial advantage of marriage in the opportunity of having children /60 per cent; 45.2 per cent of this group were non-believers/.

The material success option has similar characteristics. It is equally often wanted by persons with different socio-occupational positions, living in towns and villages, young and old. Only staunch believers /57.6 per cent against 32.1 per cent of non believers/ and those with farmer-fathers/60.8 per cent against 46 per cent with white-collar fathers with higher education/show more proneness to material access.

The following aspects of marriage, which can be defined as inter-reactive are much less popular: sharing of interests, sex, gratification

of the need for love. It is hard to judge the significance of lack of affiliation needs or, more broadly speaking, emotional needs. At any rate in this arrangement having children appears to be one of the three elements which give the sense of security in life. Where the affiliative aspects of marriage are chosen they are combined thus gratification of the need for love goes with higher education, younger age, higher socio-occupational position of the respondent's father. Similarly, marriage tends to be seen as an opportunity of sharing interests by younger people. These findings sound optimistic: a certain chance opens up for the child to occupy high position in marriage. A companion phenomenon is a less traditional syndrome of features.

I have also noticed a slight signal of the sphere of sex life breaking away from the institution of marriage. This is how one may view the fact that for persons with relatively highest education and persons from families with high socio-occupational status marriage is rarely seen as first and foremost an opportunity for regular sex life. Another interpretation is suggested by the result in which keeping sex within marital bond is less important for believers who go to church /25.8 per cent/ than for non-believers /47.6 per cent/. It seems therefore that the liberation of the sphere of sex from the confines of marriage is a long way off and it will take time before this aspect of life stops being pushed to the subconscious.

The matrix of correlation coefficients in table 46 indicates that some features of marriage chosen by the respondents are mutually exclusive: 'assistance in need' precludes 'marital success', 'sharing of interests' precludes 'children', 'gratification of need for love' precludes facilitation of getting over everyday problems. The best synchronized pairs are material success and joint solving of problems. These advantages of marriage are named by 35 per cent of the society /in 1979/.

The arrangement presented above has been confirmed by factor analysis which allows to distinguish two views on marriage or two factors: pragmatic and interactive.³²

³² Factor loads are given in brackets.

Table 46. The matrix of Pearson's r correlation coefficients of various aspects of marriage.

Advantages of marriage:	Material success	Assistance in need	Regular sex life	Children	Sharing of interest	Gratification of need for love	Assistance in solving everyday problems
1. material success							
2. assistance in need	-0.31						
3. regular sex life	-0.12	-0.26					
4. children	-0.12	-0.05	-0.16				
5. sharing of interests	-0.13	-0.07	-0.12	-0.32			
6. gratification of need for love	-0.25	-0.08	-0.09	-0.06	-0.12		
7. assistance in solving everyday problems	-0.01	-0.19	-0.09	-0.20	-0.10	-0.32	

<u>Pragmatic factor</u>		<u>Interreactive factor</u>	
marriage makes material success easier	0.65	marriage makes sharing of interests possible	0.79
marriage solves many everyday problems	0.55		

marriage provides assistance in need	- 0.62	marriage makes having children possible	- 0.78
marriage gratifies need for love	- 0.53		

Two matters seem to deserve interest here: one - the fact that in the first factor the child functions as if outside its bounds and is not accompanied by, for instance, gratification of need for love; two - that the perception of the child remains outside the sphere of interreaction. This is how I would understand the opposition between the functions of two components of the second factor.

As can be seen from this paragraph the analysis of the correlates of the choice of the chief advantage of marriage introduces nothing new. Table 47 is intended mainly to indicate that the hierarchy of selected values is identical with the respondents' selection of three more positive aspects of marriage.

Alternative models of life recommended for young couples

The survey of preferences regarding the model of life seems to be a resultant of the view on which values are more and which are less important in life and opinions on which can be satisfied through marriage. It is also a declaration about the best way of realizing these needs and desires.

The respondents were asked to answer the following question: Here are four young couples and their family plans. Their living conditions are poor, they have just started to earn their living and their wages are small. Will you please choose the couple whose priorities you consider to be the best?

1. Maria and Andrzej want first to secure the best material conditions and a flat of their own before deciding to have a child /rational model

Table 47. What is best in marriage according to socio-occupational groups /percentage/

What is best in marriage:	Farmer	Unskilled worker	Skilled worker	White-collar without higher educ.	White-collar with higher educ.	% N=1883
1. having children	27.0	22.3	27.6	33.5	26.2	28.8
2. helping hand in need	18.1	18.7	19.9	19.3	26.2	19.5
3. makes material success come easier	23.3	28.5	20.1	15.8	7.5	19.5
4. gratifies need for love	11.6	10.4	13.4	13.3	23.4	13.2
5. makes for easier solving of problems	11.2	9.8	7.7	8.6	5.6	8.9
6. regular sex life	3.7	4.1	6.5	5.1	5.6	5.1
7. sharing of interests	5.1	6.2	4.7	4.0	5.6	4.8

2. Anka and Roman want to enjoy being together in the first years of marriage, to go to entertainments and indulge in pleasures before deciding to have a child /amusement-oriented model/;
3. Ewa and Zygmunt have interesting jobs which they like and they want to make professional careers before having a child /self-fulfilment model/;
4. Barbara and Michał consider having and rearing children as one of the most important goals of marriage and are determined to have a child right away /traditional model/.

The options given by the respondents and their socio-demographic classification are shown in table 48, 49, 50.

The models include elements conducive to or competitive with having children. The latter are included in the first three models. The rational model which makes the decision to have children contingent on the achievement of a decent material living standard has been most popular, more popular than the traditional model in which the spouses decide to have a child as soon as possible irrespective of their material standard. This seems very symptomatic in a population in which 96 per cent of respondents describe themselves as catholics, that is people obliged to observe prohibitive rules about birth control. In terms of their scope the amusement-oriented and self-fulfilment models do not compete with the traditional and rational ones. It is the former two models which contain elements clearly competitive for children.

The advocates of the amusement -oriented model are mostly the people with the highest education and relatively highest incomes, living in bigger conurbations, with white-collar back-ground, aged 20-30, most often non-believers.

Those who endorse self-fulfilment of young couples through work or professional career have lower education, lower incomes, are white-collar workers born rather in the countryside and still living there or in towns with population over 100,000.

The traditional option is correlated with the lowest level of educa-

Table 48. Preferred models of behaviour and respondent's education

Models of behaviour	% N=1928	Average number of school years	Standard deviation
1. rational	45,9	8,9	2,8
2. amusement- -oriented	16,4	9,3	2,8
3. self-fulfilment oriented	7,5	9,0	3,3
4. traditional	30,2	8,5	2,9

$F = 6,41$

$p < 0,001$

Table 49. Preferred models of behaviour and respondent's family income per capita

Models of behaviour :	Percentage N = 1928	Average income per capita in zł	Standard deviation
1. rational	45.9	2377.5	1163.0
2. amusement- -oriented	16.4	2577.0	1263.4
3. self-fulfilment- -oriented	7.4	2465.0	1416.8
4. traditional	30.2	2265.0	1073.2

F = 3.52

p = 0.01

Table 50. Preferred models of behaviour and respondent's age
/percentage/

Age	Models of behaviour			
	rational	amusement- -oriented	self-ful- -filment- -oriented	traditional
16-19	47.5	31.1	8.2	13.1
20-24	46.9	23.0	7.1	23.0
25-29	53.8	19.7	5.3	21.2
30-34	51.6	13.1	3.3	32.0
35-39	44.6	13.4	6.4	35.7
40-44	45.5	12.2	10.3	32.1
45-49	46.8	12.0	8.3	32.9
50-59	41.0	14.6	9.2	35.2
60 and more	39.6	9.0	7.2	44.1

$\chi^2 = 78.13; p < 0.001$

Table 51. Preferred general values and preferred models of behaviour /percentage/

Preferred general values	Preferred models of behaviour				
	rational	amusement-oriented	self-fulfilment oriented	traditional	significance test
	45.9	16.4	7.5	30.2	
1. successful personal life	68.8	63.3	44.4	67.1	$\chi^2 = 33.84$ $p < 0.001$
2. affluence	64.4	62.3	51.4	56.6	$\chi^2 = 14.00$ $p < 0.001$
3. children's upbringing	43.2	31.0	33.3	63.3	$\chi^2 = 110.54$ $p < 0.001$
4. friends	47.9	36.6	35.4	40.4	insignificant
5. interesting job which gives satisfaction	30.1	30.7	42.4	24.4	$\chi^2 = 18.99$ $p < 0.001$
6. enjoyment of life	15.8	29.7	18.8	10.7	$\chi^2 = 54.53$ $p < 0.001$
7. independent frame of mind	11.9	13.6	15.3	12.6	insignificant
8. promotion	11.2	12.0	20.1	6.0	$\chi^2 = 27.99$ $p < 0.001$
9. work for others	7.7	7.0	19.1	12.4	$\chi^2 = 26.71$ $p < 0.001$
10. education knowledge	9.0	11.1	18.8	5.7	$\chi^2 = 25.94$ $p < 0.001$

tion, lowest income, deep religiousness, lower social status, residence in smaller localities, mostly villages, and aged 35 and more. Best part of respondents who ticked this model are farmers or unskilled workers.

The rational model is correlated with mean values of all the dependent variables applied similarly as in the previous four cases. This fact is unexpectedly corroborated in Pearson's coefficients for the advantages of marriage in each of the four models separately. The matrix for the rational model appeared to be identical with the matrix for the entire sample.

The rational behaviour model recommended for young couples tells how to achieve the most desirable value for all Poles: successful personal life, affluence /relative/ and children. The remaining three are not able to guarantee the fulfilment of those most popular needs /see tab.51/.

How common this recommendation is in groups of persons about to take such substantial life decisions will be illustrated through a comparison of proportions of individual life models in the entire sample with similar proportions in the group of persons married less than 15 years and young unmarried persons.

Table 52. Popularity of models of behaviour by demographic categories /percentage/

Models of behaviour :	Entire sample	Couples married less than 15 years	Single persons under 34
rational	45.9	47.7	51.5
amusement-oriented	16.4	17.1	23.8
self-fulfilment-oriented	7.5	5.6	7.6
traditional	30.2	28.8	15.7

It can be inferred from this that the acceptance and realization of the ideal of petty stabilization through rational conduct is likely to have continuators in the future. And their number is likely to grow, too.

Components of attitude about the child and selected general values

It may be pondered to what extent definite options and decisions about what values are important and which less important coexist or differentiate the attitude about the child understood in terms presented in chapter 1. Connections can refer to both components: emotional and behavioural.

It is hard to determine the direction of causative relationship. It could be equally relevant to say that the differentiation of attitude about the child prompts the choice of the way of life in which the child plays a definite role. Let's see what affiliations there are between values and the behavioural component of this attitude about the child.

Table 53. Chief advantages of marriage, procreational dispositions and the number of children now.

Features of marriage :	Ideal number of children /mean/	Number of children now/mean/
1. material success	2.5	1.6
2. assistance in need	2.6	1.7
3. regular sexulife	2.5	1.3
4. children	2.8	2.0
5. sharing of interests	2.5	1.4
6. gratification of need for love	2.5	1.3
7. keep in solving everyday problems	2.6	1.9

The results shown in Table 54 are even more interesting. They allow to assume that the slogans about different concepts and style of life conceal actual procreational dispositions and indicators of the number

of children. It is this synthetic expression of options within the set of values associated with married life that is accompanied by the widest range of diversity in the behavioural component of attitude about the child. Individual general values /question 6 in the interview/ are not able to differentiate the component spectacularly. On the contrary, the functioning of these values in the population in point marks an advanced process of homogenization of couples at their childbearing phase of life /cf. chapter 1/.

Table 54. Preferred models of behaviour and procreational dispositions and behaviour.

Preferred model of behaviour	Ideal number of children /mean/	Mean number of children now	Mean number of children desired by unmarried persons under 34	Mean number of children desired by couples married less than 15 years
rational	2.6	1.6	2.2	2.3
amusement-oriented	2.4	1.3	2.0	2.2
self-fulfilment oriented	2.6	1.5	1.8	2.1
traditional	2.9	2.1	2.5	2.6
	F=35.14 p<0.002	F=27.73 p<0.001	F=3.65 p<0.01	F=7.98 p<0.001

Certain values neither have any significance for nor coexist with stronger or weaker procreational dispositions. These are: education, affluence, friends, work for others. Other values coexist with the 'number of children now' if the analysis is carried out on the level of the sample in question. In such case the number of children is likely to grow where respondents endorse successful personal life and having and rearing children as elements conditioning a successful life. The number of children is

likely to drop where respondents opt for an interesting job, promotion and independent frame of mind. These last values go with wider gaps between the number of children seen as ideal and the number of children now. There are also values which weaken the indicator of the ideal number of children. These are: interesting job and the need for entertainment and amusements. No values coexist with weaker procreational dispositions of young couples. In addition this characteristics also holds good for unmarried persons under 34.

I shall now consider this articulation of values which stands any chance of giving correlatives of attitude about the child. Before examining the emotional component of the attitude as reflected by factor indicators describing the degree of covalency in which the child can be perceived, it is worthwhile to note that 83 per cent of the advocates of the traditional model of life think having children definitely worthwhile. The same view is taken by 62 per cent of rationalists, 56 per cent of those who are for self-fulfilment through work and 51 per cent of those who put amusement in life first.

Table 55. Preferred models of behaviour and the value of the child

Preferred models of behaviour	Indicator of child value mean	Standard deviation
1. rational	0.04	0.99
2. amusement-oriented	- 0.11	1.0
3. self-fulfilment oriented	- 0.26	1.0
4. traditional	0.10	0.89

F = 7.23
p < 0.001

Table 56, Preferred models of behaviour and emotional components of attitude to the child*

Is having children worthwhile :	Preferred models of behaviour			
	rational	amusement-oriented	self-realization oriented	traditional
1. definitely yes	-2.20	-2.30	-1.96	1.19
2. rather not	-1.60	-1.00	-0.84	-
3. rather yes	-0.15	-0.12	-0.37	-0.34
4. definitely yes	0.31	0.13	-0.06	0.21
Mean results	0.04	-0.11	-0.26	0.10

* Tables 56, 57; 58 give standardized factor indicators of child value.

Table 57. Preferred models of behaviour, respondents' education and the value of the child

Education :	Mean results	Preferred models of behaviours			
		rational	amusement-oriented	self-realization oriented	traditional
1. incomplete elementary	-0.02	0.12	-0.31	-0.18	-0.20
2. elementary	-0.04	0.01	-0.23	-0.34	0.02
3. basic vocational	-0.04	-0.04	-0.14	-0.32	0.04
4. incomplete secondary	-0.00	-0.04	-0.13	-0.10	0.19
5. secondary vocational	0.15	0.11	0.03	0.01	0.36
6. secondary general	0.10	0.12	0.15	-0.61	0.21
7. post-secondary	0.02	-0.06	-0.07	0.28	0.27
8. incomplete higher	0.05	0.19	0.04	-0.27	0.09
9. higher	0.10	0.24	-0.03	-0.36	0.21

Table 58. Models of life, intensity of religious beliefs and the value of the child

Preferred models of behaviour :	Intensity of religious beliefs		
	non-believer	believer not going to church	believer going to church
1. rational	-0.00	0.06	0.05
2. amusement-oriented	-0.12	-0.15	-0.07
3. self-fulfilment-oriented	-1.19	-0.14	-0.26
4. traditional	0.30	0.18	0.07
Mean	-0.07	0.02	0.02

The last three tables show that the so-called general attitudes or views about life, which is how I think options for one of the four models ought to be understood, are capable of correcting the interdependencies presented earlier. Here are the examples. Even in the group of persons who claim that having children is definitely worthwhile the appearance of self-fulfilment needs brings down the value of the child /Table 56/.

The level of education contributes only a little to the shaping of the emotional component of attitude about the child. But the three-variable analysis of the indicator of accepted life style produces - if only in the case of the amusement-oriented model - a relative systematization of interdependencies occurring there according to the principle that any rise in the level of education is accompanied by an increase of the value of the child /Table 57/. The final evidence for the hypothesis about the entire role of life style factors can be found in Table 58 where non-believers opting for the traditional way of life subordinated to the idea

of having children represent the highest factor indicator of the value of the child.

Conclusions. Let's see if the initial hypotheses have been confirmed by the results obtained. The hypotheses were:

Hypothesis V. The child occupies the highest position among preferred general values, life goals and goals of marriage;

Hypothesis VI. Socio-occupational position differentiates the place of the child among general values, life goals and goals of marriage and rise in socio-occupational position is accompanied by a drop in the position of desired general values.

The place of the child among other values was defined by three kinds of indicators /see page 72/. Among the elements named as most important for a successful life 'successful personal life' and 'affluence' are placed before the "child". The most popular model of life for young couples is based on securing a decent material and living standard as a stage preceding having children. It has to be added that the possibility of having and rearing children is most frequently perceived as the most important, positive feature of the institution of marriage.

The data drawn from these indicators arrange themselves into a coherent whole which challenges hypothesis V, even though at times children are perceived as the chief advantage of marriage because the most popular feature is the opportunity offered by marriage for material success. Thus the child appears to be one of the elements of life made secure and organized within the institution of marriage which allows for achieving the desired standard of living. In this model the child should come to life in a definite moment but not before the abovementioned conditions are fulfilled. This thesis is absolutely justified for about 50 per cent of the sample in question. And since this phenomenon is accompanied by a rather weak orientation towards others - for instance small popularity of the values which are realized in interactions with other people or thanks to them - the model of rational behaviour in the emotional sphere of life that starts to evolve is not what I would call laudable. It is too much a go-getter model and too opportunistic. Perhaps this is what

conscious parenthood amounts to at the moment but there are grounds for suspecting that it is underpinned by obligations and norms rather than true emotions which are not always the same as well-considered decisions, for example in the sphere of family planning /see Table 14/.

The tendency acknowledged above adds considerably to the picture of the attitude about the child as outlined in Chapter II. Its striking feature was a low temperature of the emotional component. An interpretation combining these two facts is that a vogue for "petty stabilization" as a life program and a relatively low covalency of attitude about the child operate in a feed-back and this phenomenon is likely to shrink at the moment of top crystallization of the emotional component of the attitude.

The feed-back has a relatively strong causative force: it seems to be one of the factors holding back the natural increase in our country. Contrary to expectations and known stereotypes desirable procreational attitudes are not seriously threatened by the amusement-oriented and self-fulfilment oriented attitudes which are less entangled in consumption needs³³.

Hypothesis VI, which is quite obvious, has been confirmed on the level of evidence. Its interpretation will be dealt with in the final section of this report.

³³In a minimalistic variant of desirable increase the proportion of children aged 0-14 in the entire population does not fall below 20 per cent. In 1980 it amounted to 22.8 per cent and it is expected to drop cf. footnote 6.

Chapter IV. CORRELATIVES OF ATTITUDE ABOUT THE CHILD

Rigourism in sex life. Occupational activation of women. The operation of social policy.

This chapter will consider three phenomena which are in various ways relevant to the subject of our interest: the attitude about the child. They are:

- a/ rigourism in sex life
- b/ occupational activation of woman
- c/ the operation of social policy

These three aspects seemed significant on the basis of common and systematic knowledge for the description of the place of the child in the system of other values. The first two can be treated as extension elements of this system meaning that the set of values analysed in Chapter II is supplemented with the sphere of sex life /including family planning/ and occupational careers of women. As for the operation of social policy it is of course external for the system of values. But by its very definition it ought to act effectively enough to bear on the shape of the family model.

Rigourism in sex life. Family planning. In the light of the results presented so far one could expect a moderate attitude about the child

to be accompanied - given common approval of controlled parenthood - by a common and quite high degree of tolerance /permissiveness/ regarding the sphere of sex life. However no findings have confirmed such an expectation. My personal opinion is that rigourism in sex life is quite popular in our society and appears in various forms which complement one another, for instance only 60 per cent of the population approve of birth control /the use of contraceptive devices/ only 23.5 per cent consider premarital sex absolutely natural for a girl /33,7 per cent so for boys/. Such rigouristic attitude is very common and it is differentiated very clearly by social background, intensity of religious beliefs, preferred models of life. What seems strange is to see that men are more rigouristic in this sphere than women.

Sexual liberty can be described by three indicators: 1. declared tolerance of premarital sexual relationship for both girls and boys; 2. declared approval of birth control, and 3. declared approval of abortion when pregnancy is unwanted. The first and third indicator occur in two forms: either as qualitative or quantitative variable. As will be remembered the second and third indicator have already been dealt with in earlier sections of this report. The empirical material presented below is intended to prove a thesis formulated at the beginning of this chapter or as a basis for readers' individual interpretation.

The respondents were asked what they think about starting a sexual relationship before marriage by girls and boys. Tolerance regarding this sphere of life tends to change with time and Tables 59 and 60 show this interdependence. By comparing the results of these two tables one is rather struck by the width of a gap between what is permissible for girls and what for boys.

Table 59. Tolerance of premarital sex life of girls by respondents' age /percentage/

N = 1752

Age	Premarital sex for a girl is		
	out of the question	admissible in certain circumstances	absolutely natural
16-19	17.0	41.5	41.5
20-24	23.4	43.1	33.4
25-29	22.9	39.4	37.8
30-34	26.8	38.4	34.8
35-39	34.0	46.1	19.9
40-44	46.9	31.3	21.8
45-49	43.9	37.2	18.9
50-59	58.5	21.0	20.5
60 and more	72.8	18.4	8.7
Total	39.8	34.1	26.0

$$\chi^2 = 24,28; p < 0.001$$

Table 60. Tolerance of premarital sex life of boys by respondents' age /percentage/

N = 1752

Age	Premarital sex for a boy is		
	out of the question	admissible in certain circumstances	absolutely natural
16-19	11.3	37.7	50.9
20-24	16.8	38.2	45.0
25-29	15.1	33.5	51.4
30-34	20.6	34.0	45.4
35-39	22.0	40.9	37.1
40-44	35.2	30.3	34.5
45-49	30.3	35.9	33.8
50-59	42.1	28.1	29.8
60 and more	51.0	23.5	25.5
Total	28.4	33.3	38.3

$$\chi^2 = 126,59; p < 0.001$$

This gap also exists in the case of younger people's opinions. Another interesting thing is a rapid drop in tolerance in both cases after the age of 34. In other words the generation born after World War II is clearly much more likely to treat sex autonomously i.e. out of marital bond. Even though within the framework of norms accepted by my respondents there is not much room for the equality of rights between girls and boys I have worked out a quantitative indicator of tolerance of premarital sex.³⁴

Tables 61 and 62 show how far the categories differing in terms of preferred models of behaviour /see Chapter III/ and intensity of religious beliefs are homogeneous in terms of this indicator. Even in the group oriented towards amusement and among nonbelievers the indicator has not reached its maximum value. It is worth noting that in table 61 people advancing the traditional conduct of young couples - where the newly-weds decide to have children as soon after their wedding as possible - clearly stand out from the rest. They add up to 30 per cent of the whole sample.

Table 61. Sexual tolerance by preferred models of behaviour /max. value = 6.0/

Preferred models of behaviour:	Mean value of indicator	Standard deviation
1. rational	4.0	1.5
2. amusement-oriented	4.5	1.3
3. self-fulfilment oriented	4.1	1.6
4. traditional	3.6	1.5
F = 20,62		
p < 0,001		

³⁴ See footnote 21.

Table 62. Sexual tolerance and intensity of religious beliefs /max.
value = 6.0/

Religiousness	Mean value of indicator	Standard deviation
non-believers	5.1	1.2
believers not going to church	4.5	1.3
believers who go to church	3.7	1.5
	F = 71,39 p < 0,001	

The value of the indicator rises - which was to be expected - with the rise in the level of education of the respondents. It cannot be said however that the size of their place of living differentiates tolerance of premarital sex.

Thus I observed no acceptance of sexual liberty sufficient for calling it one of the reasons of a weakening procreational dispositions and positive attitude about the child. The more so that the data in table 63 indicate that this acceptance does not have to be accompanied by any marked drop in emotions addressed to the child. In other words

Table 63. Sexual tolerance and the value of the child* /mean value = 0,0/

Premarital sex :	For girls mean	For boys mean
1. absolutely out of question	0,00	0,04
2. admissible in certain circumstances	0,02	0,04
3. absolutely natural	0,01	- 0,05
4. hard to say	0,03	0,07

Differences are insignificant.

* Individual categories show mean value factor indicator of child value.

transformations in the sphere of sex life follow a separate path of custom change and do not collide with procreational dispositions.

I would like to discuss now this dimension of sex life which is very closely connected with the sphere of procreation. As may be remembered some 70 per cent of the population can be said to feel for various reasons /see question 3 of the appended interview/ a need for the use of contraceptive devices and other methods of preventing unwanted pregnancies. Asked if contraception was right 59.5 per cent of my respondents said ,yes, /thus the difference is 0.20 per cent/, 11.2 per cent said 'wrong' and as many as 29.2 per cent 'hard to say'. Looking closer at this last group I found it was composed largely of deeply religious persons with lower education. Perhaps in the future their attitudes will evolve towards acceptance of birth control.

Table 64. Attitude about contraception by respondents education /percentage/.

N = 1923

Education:	Contraception is:	
	wrong	right
1. incomplete elementary	36.6	63.4
2. elementary	18.5	81.5
3. basic vocational	12.6	87.4
4. incomplete secondary	14.1	85.9
5. secondary vocational	10.5	89.5
6. secondary general	12.4	87.6
7. post-secondary	11.1	88.9
8. incomplete higher	11.9	88.1
9. higher	4.5	95.5

$$\chi^2 = 44,14,$$

$$p < 0.001$$

The attitude about birth control, similarly as tolerance about premarital sex is a correlative of many variables. Acceptance of birth control is accompanied by a higher socio-occupational position, younger age, residence in a bigger town, being born in a city. /tab.65/.

The comparatively high proportion of believers going to church who claim that contraception is wrong is hardly surprising since the Catholic church allows only for the rhythm method. I suspect that many respondents mistake or associate contraception with the use of unnatural ie. murderous devices.

Table 65. Attitude about contraception by the intensity of religious beliefs /percentage/

Religiousness	Contraception is:	
	wrong	right
1. non-believers N = 69	0	100.0
2. believers not going to church N = 357	9.5	90.5
3. believers who go to church N = 916	19.7	80.3

$$\chi^2 = 33,45; \quad p < 0.001$$

Here is how 1111 respondents justified their approval of birth control:

material conditions	25.2 per cent
possibility to plan family life	17.0 per cent
family planning	15.2 per cent
woman's health	7.8 per cent
mental hygiene	5.4 per cent
overpopulation of the world	2.6 per cent

The respondents were also asked which of methods they consider as best. Here are their answers:

rhythm method	49.2 per cent
sheath	20.0 per cent
other natural methods	18.6 per cent
pill	9.0 per cent
chemical devices	8.8 per cent
other devices	2.5 per cent

This brings us closer to reality and also close to the results obtained by Z. Smoliński in his Family Poll dealing directly with the actual behaviour of women³⁵.

These findings show a very strong interference of the Catholic church into the sphere of procreation. Religiousness is the only socio-demographic variable correlative for preferences in contraceptive methods.

Table 66. Religiousness and approval of birth control /percentage/

Contraceptive method:	Religiousness			χ^2
	non-believer	believer not going to church	believer going to church	
1. sheath	20.0	20.0	20.0	inessentry
2. rhythm method	34.5	42.8	53.8	$\chi^2 = 14,55$ p = 0,007
3. pill	19.0	12.5	6.4	$\chi^2 = 16,21$ p = 0,000
4. chemical device	19.0	9.2	7.3	$\chi^2 = 9,55$ p = 0,008

For all the gaps of extrapolation of actual behaviour from indirect information the portion of findings presented above urges a question about how the Poles can maintain their natural increase on the level

³⁵ Cf. footnote 4. The pill is an exception. It is used by 1 per cent of married women /according to Smoliński/ and 9 per cent of my respondents answer it the best contraceptive, which is based on wishful thinking rather than actual experience because the pill is hard to obtain.

touching only slightly that of simple reproduction. The fact that the arsenal of available contraceptive devices is very scarce and that it is further tapped by the pronatalist policy of the Church /affecting 70 per cent of the population in question/ is well known from common everyday observation. Perhaps our society achieves its desirable natural increase by mixing abstinence with abortion. Certain suggestions about the former are contained in the paragraph about sexual tolerance. How about abortion?

The respondents were asked if they consider abortion admissible.

Table 67. Attitude to abortion by intensity of religious beliefs
/percentage/

Abortion is:	N=1723	Religiousness		
		non-believers	believers not going to church	believers going to church
1. absolutely inadmissible	23.9	2.5	7.8	31.0
2. admissible in only certain circumstances	47.5	54.4	54.4	48.7
3. always admissible when pregnancy is unwanted	26.0	50.0	37.7	20.3

$$\chi^2 = 142,16;$$

$$p < 0.001$$

Table 67 presents this problem in relation to religious beliefs, a variable which most strongly affects the attitude to abortion. Table 68 continues the analysis of the group for whom abortion is admissible only in certain circumstances. What circumstances?

Though we expected the statement about abortion being admissible 'only in certain circumstances' to be merely an evasion of the radical

statement 'it is always admissible' it appeared not to be so. Only when it threatens the life or health of the woman or the child do 80 per cent of respondents agree that pregnancy can be aborted. They are also moderately tolerant when the material situation of the family is difficult, and rarely tolerate abortion when it could solve a complicated life situation of the woman.

These results can be viewed from two points. Firstly the verbal rigourism is accompanied by a relative commonness of the abortion for it is known from elsewhere that an average of 300 thousand women undergo abortion in Poland each year. My estimations are that only 44 per cent of the sample can suffer a dissonance between being in need of abortion and having the sense of violating very essential norms when it becomes a fact.

Another viewpoint is connected with the child as a value. The results presented above allow for a thesis that there are biological roots of the value of the child in our society. The covalency of attitude about the child is to a certain degree a consequence of the operation of the catholic ideology. The present enriches it with a new emotional dimension which in turn comes from reflection rather than obligation /Cf. Chapter II/.

It can be added while we are on circumstances allowing for abortion that they are identical in terms of popularity in groups with different education, age, social background, occupation and place of living.

Table 69 shows quantitative indicators of the attitude about abortion for groups which give preference to various life styles. Table 70 does the same for groups with different education. The attitude about abortion, similarly as the attitude about birth control, has a number of correlatives. Stronger acceptance goes with younger age, higher socio-occupational position, being born in a city, being male and more permissiveness for premarital sex. /Tab. 69, 70/.

But the functioning of this indicator has its surprising turns, too.

³⁶ See footnote 21.

Table 68. Circumstances in which abortion can be undertaken and intensity of religious beliefs *

Circumstances :	Religioussness			
	non-believer	believer not going to church	believer going to church	χ^2
1. pregnancy threatens woman's health	100.0	99.1	98.4	insignificant
2. a child may have inborn defects	86.8	89.8	82.6	"
3. poor living conditions of the family	52.6	60.9	40.7	$\chi^2=34.54$ $p<0.001$
4. too many children already	57.9	46.9	33.7	$\chi^2=26.66$ $p<0.001$
5. pregnancy complicates the life of the woman who's working and studying	31.6	30.5	19.9	$\chi^2=16.81$ $p<0.001$
6. the woman is not married	37.8	21.3	18.4	$\chi^2=20.56$ $p=0.004$

* The figures represent the percentage of respondents who consider a given circumstance as sufficient for abortion

Table 69. Tolerance of abortion and preferred models of behaviour
/max.value of indicator = 8.0/

Preferred model of behaviour	Mean value of indicator	Standard deviation
1. rational	4.7	3.3
2. amusement-oriented	5.8	3.0
3. self-fulfilment-oriented	4.6	3.5
4. traditional	2.7	3.2
F = 38.105		
p < 0.001		

Table 70. Tolerance of abortion and education /max. value of indicator = 8.0/

Education	Mean value of indicator	Standard deviation
1. incomplete elementary	2.5	3.2
2. elementary	3.0	3.5
3. basic vocational	4.5	3.4
4. incomplete secondary	4.9	3.4
5. secondary general	5.0	3.2
6. secondary vocational	4.9	3.4
7. post-secondary	5.1	3.1
8. incomplete higher	4.6	3.1
9. higher	4.7	3.4
F = 6.55		
p < 0.001		

Those shown in Table 69 are obvious and need no comments - it is yet another example of the advocates of the traditional way of life being the odd group out. But the fall in tolerance of abortion in the group of persons with the highest education may signify that tolerance is modified by cognitive elements in this particular case it is the knowledge about the harmfulness of this operation. Among the specific features of the indicator of tolerance of abortion one can certainly name the fact that it has low scores. As I have mentioned earlier this feature is likely to produce conflicts.

All the indicators describing the scope of rigourism in the sphere of sex life are rather closely correlated. For instance the value of Pearson's correlation coefficient r between the indicator of sexual tolerance of premarital sex and the indicator of tolerance of abortion amounts to 0.37 at the level of significance $p=0.001$.

To end this sub-chapter I would like to look briefly at relations between rigourism in sexual life and individual components of attitude about the child. It appears that there are no correlations between the factor indicator which illustrates the value of the child, the indicator of sexual tolerance and the indicator of tolerance of abortion. This may be seen as yet another evidence that the value of the child is not endangered by what is commonly known as sexual permissiveness /Table 63/. The system of connections between elements of behavioural component - the number of children now and the desired number is very complex. Pearson's correlation coefficients r between the indicator of sexual tolerance and the indicator of tolerance of abortion on the one side and the number of children now and the number /children already had and those still wanted/ desired by young couples are the following:

	number of children now for entire sample	number of children desired by young couples
sexual tolerance	- 0.26	-
tolerance of abortion	- 0.18	- 9.17

All coefficients are significant on the level $p = 0.001$.

This corroborates the earlier findings about sexual tolerance not posing a threat to the interests of natural increase. This is how I would interpret lack of correlation between the number of children desired by young couples and their sexual tolerance. It is not surprising however that tolerance of abortion is not favourable to the intensification of procreational dispositions.

Occupational activation of women. This phenomenon has to be considered from two view points: the attitude of the whole sample and the attitudes of women alone. By way of introduction here is a list of replies to an open question about the causes of the present fall in natural increase /percentage/:

poor material conditions	48.4
avoidance of inconvenience by couples	39.6
poor housing conditions	35.5
gaps in social care	11.1
overworking	9.4
other models of marriage	9.2
women's career	8.2
problems connected with rearing children	7.7

As can be seen from this comparison women's careers are rarely blamed for the lowering of the natural increase. This is an important fact since female careers are one of the most significant elements of our social life; women add up to 43.2 per cent of the national employment and in the sample in question 75 per cent of all married women with children had jobs outside home. Thus we have the first indicator of the acceptance of women's careers. The situations influencing the approval of this role will be inferred from replies to the question whether a woman should work professionally in situations named in Table 71 if she is not compelled to gainful work by her material situation /tab.71/.

This question was not formulated explicitly, and provoked replies rendering wishful thinking rather than 'postulates or obligations. On this

account I think that the proportions obtained in this table are quite high. I have chosen for the presentation of this problem an independent variable which differentiates attitudes about women's career as widely as possible. Even so the attitudes about occupational activeness of single women and mothers with children under three are identical for various socio-occupational groups. They are also identical for groups differing in terms of education, age, background, religion, and sex. However the variables differentiate attitudes about careers of childless, married women. With the rise of socio-occupational position and fall in age and intensity of religiousness the acceptance of occupational roles of childless married women tends to grow. At any rate the theme of occupational work of this category of women differentiates opinions more than anything else and makes the elements of traditional attitudes most clearly seen. They are differentiated by a greater number of variables than for instance attitudes about careers of married mothers with children aged from 4 to 6. People with higher socio-occupational position display more tolerance about careers of mothers with children aged from 4 to 6.

The quantitative indicator of the attitude about women's careers³⁷ shows that there are a number of variables which do not differentiate the intensity of acceptance of professional careers. Most generally speaking these variables are connected with the sphere of general values, representing positive aspects of marriage, preferred models of behaviour of young couples. Persons who choose different values from the list do not differ much in their acceptance of women's careers.

This may lead to a thesis that the professional career of women may mark - on account of its commonness and ordinariness - a change in the way of life which does not require any deeper changes in the consciousness³⁸.

At any rate these results show that the intensity of acceptance of women's career does not reduce the covalency of attitudes about the

³⁷The indicator of acceptance of women's career is a sum total of scores on question 5 of the interview.

³⁸An analysis of psycho-social correlates of occupation on activation of women is in preparation.

Table 71. Attitude about women's careers by socio-occupational group /percentage/*

Situation of the woman	Socio-occupational group					χ^2
	private farmer	unskilled worker	skilled worker	white-collar without higher educ.	white-collar with higher education	
1. single 96,8%	96.4	96.4	96.0	97.6	98.1	insignificant
2. childless and married 90,4%	87.6	83.6	80.5	94.1	96.3	$\chi^2 = 28.69$ $p < 0.001$
3. mother with child under 3 3,9%	4.8	3.2	4.3	3.2	4.6	insignificant
4. mother with child aged 4-6 15,0%	12.6	14.2	13.5	16.3	25.5	$\chi^2 = 12.38$ $p = 0.01$
5. mother with child over 7 39,2%	36.6	33.9	35.7	43.8	48.0	$\chi^2 = 13.7$ $p < 0.001$

*Percentage of answers: "It's better she work's" for individual categories

child either in its emotional or behavioural dimension. Correlation coefficients are low and insignificant.

What do women themselves think about their professional careers? All women were asked how they viewed themselves upon entering adult life, and more specifically about their attitudes towards two social roles: one connected with the house and family life, the other connected with occupational career /Table 72/.

Table 72 shows that women's attitudes are accompanied by a certain scale of preferences in the sphere of values. Leaving aside 5.4 per cent of the most radical responses - the women who see themselves exclusively as professionally active - other women who opt for reconciling career roles with family roles display more involvement with such values as: independent frame of mind, interesting job and education. It is obvious that women who chose one of the three ways differ in terms of education /the average number of school years in each column of table 72 is respectively: 8.0; 9.7 and 9.3/, background and age /reconciling professional and family roles is most often declared by women aged from 20 to 40/. This however is not the matter of top importance. What is the character of relationship between female attitudes about their major life roles and their attitudes about the child?

Quite astonishing and significant findings have come from table 73. The emotional component of attitude about the child was expected to be more intensive in women who identify themselves fully with the role of mother and wife. If it is not so - because it is among women who see their lives enriched by professional careers that I found a much stronger covalency of attitude about the child - it means that I must have detected a guarantee that the attitude about the child will steer further and further away from its obligatory assumptions and motivations and move towards a richer, more reflective parenthood. This conclusion is all the more important seeing that it goes with the result of analysis of variations indicating that categories of women differentiated by their life orientations are identical in terms of the number of desired children. This result of course applies to women from young couples /Table 7

Table 72. Life roles preferred by women vis a vis
general values /percentage/*

General values:	Life roles preferred by women			
	wife and mother in the first place 53,3%	reconciling career with family life 41,3%	working woman in the first place 5,4%	χ^2
1. promotion	6.1	4.4	24.0	$\chi^2 = 28.58$ $p < 0.001$
2. having friends	38.4	42.8	28.0	insignificant
3. affluence	61.6	54.0	46.0	$\chi^2 = 8.00$ $p < 0.001$
4. independent frame of mind	7.9	14.1	22.0	$\chi^2 = 14.58$ $p < 0.001$
5. work for others	9.7	10.4	12.0	insignificant
6. interesting job	15.4	30.3	38.0	$\chi^2 = 34.41$ $p < 0.001$
7. children's upbringing	67.9	49.9	28.0	$\chi^2 = 48.76$ $p < 0.001$
8. successful personal life	74.3	69.2	52.0	$\chi^2 = 12.06$ $p < 0.001$
9. education	6.7	8.4	14.0	insignificant
10. enjoyment of life	11.5	15.9	39.0	$\chi^2 = 13.98$ $p < 0.001$

* percentage of options for individual values.

It also turns out that all has its price - favourable cultural changes included. In the analysis of the indicator of acceptance of women's careers in the three subgroups discussed here the fact that the mean results are respectively 2.3, 2.7 and 2.8 and that differences are statistically significant is much less important than the fact that with the maximum value of the indicator amounting to 5 even in the group of women absolutely determined for a professional career the indicator reaches 2.8. This may signal a cognitive dissonance between the assumed model and the contents of everyday life experience.

I have not found any evidence that values connected with the sphere of sexual life and values connected with the sphere of professional career could pose in any jeopardy to the position of the child. The following short section will show if programmed actions oriented towards the child and the family fulfil their task.

Social policy. Three groups of respondents have been sorted out for the purpose of this section of inquiry according to a twofold criterion; persons whose all children were born in a definite period spanned by a definite social policy program. Period I covers the years 1947-55 which saw particular intensification of occupational activation of women; Period II covers the years 1956-70 marked by a moderate increase in the female employment; and Period III, the years 1971-1979, where order was the policy oriented towards the family and the woman.

This has partly determined the character of the sub-group to be dealt with. It does not include persons with many children. From estimations of the average time of birth of children in the population under study I know that only Period II embraces persons with five children while in Periods I and III the maximum number of children should not be more than three. Period III has two specific features; a similarity between the average number of children opted for by the respondents accompanied by a fall in the average number of children actually had. I decided to pay particular attention to groups with different religious beliefs. /Tab. 74, 75, 76/.

Table 73. The value of the child measured by factor
indicator vis a vis life roles preferred by women

Life roles preferred :	Mean	St. dev.
1. wife and mother	0.04	0.94
2. reconciling family and professional roles	0.14	0.87
3. exclusively career-oriented	-0.26	0.95

$F = 4.12$

$p = 0.01$

Table 74. Average number of children now and respondent's education
/In definite periods/

Level of education :	Period of birth of children		
	1947-1955	1956-1970	1971-1979
1. Incomplete elementary	2.6	2.2	1.0
2. elementary	2.2	2.4	1.6
3. basic vocational	2.0	2.2	1.4
4. Incomplete secondary	2.1	2.2	1.3
5. secondary vocational	1.9	1.8	1.4
6. secondary general	1.8	2.0	1.3
7. post-secondary	3.0	2.0	1.5
8. Incomplete higher	2.0	1.8	1.3
9. higher	1.5	1.5	1.5

Table 75. Average number of children now and respondent's father's socio-occupational group /in definite periods/

Socio-occupational group of respondent's fathers:	Period of birth of the child		
	1947-1955	1956-1970	1971-1979
1. private farmer	2.4	2.4	1.6
2. unskilled worker	2.3	2.0	1.4
3. merchant, craftsman	2.0	1.8	1.4
4. skilled worker	2.2	1.9	1.4
5. white-collar without higher education	1.6	1.9	1.4
6. white-collar with higher education	2.0	1.6	1.4

Table 76. The mean number of children and the intensity of religious beliefs /in periods/.

Religiousness	Period of birth of children		
	1947-1955	1956-1970	1971-1979
1. non-believer	1.0	1.5	1.4
2. believer not going to church	2.0	1.9	1.4
3. believer going to church	2.3	2.3	1.5

Thus an interesting situation emerges: at the time of the most intensive operation of social policy the number of children actually had is definitely on the decline. Another finding is that there are no differences in the number of children in individual social strata. One could argue these to be the effects of social policy oriented towards women or the effects of employment policy, But it is not so. For it is known that female careers differ in various education categories. A. Kurzynowski found that among married women with primary education 64 per cent took jobs outside home against 72 per cent with basic vocational, 81 per cent with secondary general, 86 per cent with secondary vocational and also 86 per cent with higher education³⁹.

This report is not the right place for considerations about the variations of social policy. A subject like this needs a separate study and it is being prepared. For the time being it will be enough to say that the hitherto operation of social policy has provoked no visible response from the Polish family.

Conclusions . The hypotheses whose verification was the aim of this chapter were:

Hypothesis VII. High values of the emotional component of attitude about the child are accompanied by: a/ low acceptance of women's careers; b/ higher level of rigourism in sexual life; c/ acceptance of family planning.

Hypothesis VIII. Low values of the behavioural component of attitude about the child or, in other words, low procreational needs are accompanied by: a/ high acceptance of women's careers; b/ low level of rigourism in sexual life; c/ high acceptance of family planning.

These two hypotheses signal a speculation of a more general nature, namely, a hypothetical model of attitude about the child in which high results of the emotional component /hyp. VII/ are accompanied by low

³⁹

A. Kurzynowski, *Aktywizacja zawodowa kobiet zamężnych w Polsce Ludowej* [Occupational Activation of Married Women in People's Poland], Książka i Wiedza, Warszawa 1979.

/or not too high/ procreational needs /hypoth. VIII/. This is a key point in the subject area described in this report on which I will now focus.

Both hypotheses speak quite explicitly about connections between variables. This type of assumption makes it necessary to remind certain earlier assertions. As is known on the basis of the hitherto analyses there is no empirical evidence for high results of the emotional component of attitude about the child and low procreational needs /the latter remain on a medium level in all social groups/. In this situation it will be more justified to speak about definite tendencies in coexistence of the variables. But even given such less strict criteria the fact remains that neither of the two hypotheses has been proved true. It turns out that higher results of the emotional component correspond to higher acceptance of women's careers /also among women themselves/, lower rigourism in sexual life and acceptance of family planning.

The rejection of hypothesis VIII is even more obvious since procreational needs of couples married less than 15 years /or, to put it precisely, the needs expressed by one of the spouses/ are very similar irrespective of the differences in many other categories of assessment, for instance the social background. Therefore all that can be said is that higher tolerance of premarital sexual life and higher acceptance of women's careers belittle neither procreational dispositions nor the indicator of the number of children.

Summing up it can be stated that two important spheres of social life while becoming more akin to those which characterize modern societies do not at the same time become correlative with the decrease of any of the two components of attitude about the child.

CONCLUSIONS

At the end of each chapter of this report I summed up the major findings. My final remarks will look at them as a whole.

I shall start from the distribution of accents and proportions of the material which may seem slightly different from what the title of the report suggests. Taking up the description of the place of the child against other values I assumed that I need first of all operationalization of the object whose position is to be determined. 'The child' has been treated as an attitude to or about the child built of two components: emotional and behavioural. In the course of the survey I established that the structure of this attitude is incoherent. I started to wonder if it is not this incoherence rather than the proportions of options for definite values that can contain presumptions explaining the fall of natural increase. A closer scrutiny of the contents of this attitude provided enough evidence for stating that there is in our society /ie. the sample under study/ a very wide emotional space associated with the child but also that there are growing gaps in the emotional contents. Drawing on empirical data I interpret this fact as an indication of a process of transformation of the concept of parenthood from an obligational model to model based on free choice, reflection and actual needs.

The attention I paid to the attitude about the child has proved worth the trouble. The establishment of the high position of the child in the hierarchy of other desirable values confronted with knowledge about the structure of attitudes about the child will save us from an interpretation that Poles have to face a dissonance between what emotions and needs

connected with having children they think they have and a much narrower range of possibilities of meeting these needs. Common beliefs to the contrary there is no such dissonance.

There is no discrepancy on the declarative level: the high place of the child in the hierarchy of values corresponds to the commonness of declaration that having children is definitely worthwhile. Both these indicators are not accompanied by deep and justified emotions associated with the child itself. In this situation if my respondents want to have and actually have relatively less children than the previous generation I can see no circumstances conducive to any dissonance. The more so as at least two factors can prevent this unpleasant state.

The first is the fact that the set of values adding up to what I termed a rational model is clearly ahead of the other three. I am inclined to see this as a go-getter model, one associate with petty stabilization. In it the child functions as yet another step in a successful life where a definite, high living standard has to come first. This model is characteristic of 50 per cent of the sample.

The second factor which much against the expectations seems to function very similarly is a relatively weak share /compared with tradition and commonness/ of religious beliefs in the shaping of covalency of attitude about the child. Religion comes to play where the canon of the catholic doctrine is threatened, that is in attitudes about family planning or abortion. It can be supposed however that it plays a much weaker part in the shaping of real behaviour than in declarations collected in the interview.

The last chapter mentions a hypothetical model of the attitude about the child in which high emotions correspond to moderate procreational needs /of course emotions are not identified with sentimentalism/. This juxtaposition can be of much use in sorting out the empirical material and a simpler term for it is: conscious and emotionally rich parenthood.

And the last issue: the position of the child in the system of objects of reality and spheres of life which the Poles hold as most important can be said to be quite vague since in the point of fact little is known about

why the contemporary Poles want to have less children irrespective of what and who they are. The changes in the way of life which have been tackled in the analysis, that is the phenomenon of occupational activation and increasing sexual permissiveness can hardly be made responsible /far lack of clear empirical evidence/ for reducing the value of the child. The data show that the actual process is opposite⁴⁰.

Where are the mechanisms shaping the attitude about the child and hence also procreational needs? The contents and connotations of the rational model of life of young couples suggest that we are edging on thinking in terms of costs and profits. If it is so it would be worthwhile to learn about how the Poles feel about the sum total of costs and profits connected with the child, emotional, social and economic costs, that is. This is yet another, new research theme and at the same time one of the conclusions of this report.

Due to the short time limit allowed for the implementation and elaboration of this research project not all its threads have been explored and described in full. The research will be continued.

⁴⁰ For ex.: in 1963, girls' sex before marriage seemed out of the question for 8%; in 1979 for 23.5% of our society. Boys' premarital sex seemed out of the question for 19% in 1963 and for 34,5% in 1979.

Appendix I
Tables characterizing the sample

Table 1. Level of education and the age of respondents / percentage/

Age	Incom- plete ele- men- ta- ry	Ele- men- ta- ry	Basic voca- tional	Incom- plete secon- dary	Secon- dary voca- tional	Secon- dary gene- ral	Post secon- dary	Incom- plete higher	Higher	Total
16-19	8,2	52,5	13,1	21,3	0	4,9	0	0	0	6,2 381
20-24	0,3	38,1	13,1	5,2	23,4	11,8	2,1	2,9	3,1	20,0 208
25-29	0	40,4	7,2	7,2	21,6	9,1	6,3	3,4	4,8	10,9 155
30-34	1,3	41,3	9,0	2,6	20,0	9,0	5,2	3,9	7,7	8,1 156
35-39	3,8	40,4	7,7	1,9	21,8	7,7	3,8	3,8	9,0	8,2 159
40-44	3,1	40,9	9,4	7,5	21,4	6,9	4,4	1,9	4,4	8,3 216
45-49	6,5	50,9	6,5	5,1	12,0	8,8	2,8	2,3	5,1	11,3 460
50-59	15,0	53,9	5,2	4,1	9,3	5,9	1,1	2,6	2,8	24,1 111
60 and over	36,0	38,7	5,4	2,7	2,7	7,2	0	2,7	4,5	5,8
Total	142 7,4	854 44,8	158 8,3	100 5,2	305 16,0	158 8,3	53 2,8	53 2,8	84 4,4	1907 100,0

X = 412,77; p < 0,001

Table 2. Residence and level of education /percentage/

Place of residence	Incom- plete elemen- tary	Ele- men- tary	Basic voca- tional	Incom- plete secon- dary	Secon- dary voca- tional	Secon- dary general	Post - secon- dary	Incom- plete higher	Higher	Total
Countryside towns:										
up to 10 thousand	13,9	59,9	10,9	3,7	6,3	1,8	0,5	1,0	2,0	764 39,8
10 - 20 thousand	2,5	44,9	6,8	6,8	15,3	13,8	5,1	1,7	3,4	118 6,1
20 - 50 thousand	6,3	36,4	7,7	3,5	25,9	12,6	4,2	1,4	2,1	143 7,4
50 - 100 thousand	0,9	34,1	7,9	7,0	26,2	10,7	5,1	4,7	3,3	214 11,1
over 100 thousand	2,4	34,4	6,4	7,2	25,6	9,6	6,6	3,2	5,6	125 6,5
	3,6	32,6	6,1	6,6	20,8	13,4	3,4	4,8	8,6	558 29,0
Total	143 7,4	861 44,8	161 8,4	102 5,3	307 16,0	158 8,2	53 2,8	53 2,8	84 4,4	1922 100,0

X² = 393; p < 0,001

Table 3. Level of education and the place of residence /percentage/

Level of education	Countryside	Town	Total
Incomplete elementary	11,1	2,1	140 7,3
Elementary	54,6	31,7	861 45,0
Basic vocational	9,6	6,3	158 8,3
Incomplete secondary	4,3	6,7	102 5,3
Secondary vocational	10,6	23,4	306 16,0
Secondary general	3,3	14,9	157 8,2
Port - secondary	1,1	5,1	53 2,8
Incomplete higher	1,9	4,0	53 2,8
Higher	3,3	5,7	83 4,3
Total	1109 58,0	804 42,0	1913 100,0

$$\chi^2 = 281; \quad p < 0,001$$

Table 4. Level of education and the intensity of religious beliefs
/percentage/

Level of education	Non-believer	Believer	Believer going to church	Total
Incomplete elementary	0	7,1	92,9	141 7,5
Elementary	2,1	19,6	78,3	846 45,0
Basil vocational	1,3	28,5	70,3	158 8,4
Incomplete secondary	5,0	29,0	66,0	100 5,3
Secondary vocational	6,8	32,7	60,5	294 15,7
Secondary general	10,2	29,9	59,9	157 8,4
Post - secondary	9,8	37,3	52,9	51 2,7
Incomplete higher	11,5	30,8	57,8	52 2,8
Higher	16,5	34,2	49,4	79 4,2
Total	85 4,5	455 24,2	1338 71,2	1878 100,0

$$\chi^2 = 140,22; \quad p < 0,001$$

Table 5. Respondent's education and respondent's father's socio-occupational group.

Level of education	Private farmer	Unskilled worker	Merchant or craftsman	Skilled worker	White collar without higher education	White collar with higher education	Other groups	Total
Incomplete elementary	75,2	11,3	2,1	9,2	2,1	0	0	141 7,4
Elementary	55,8	10,6	6,8	21,4	4,7	0,7	0,1	859 44,9
Basic vocational	50,0	8,9	5,1	26,6	8,9	0,6	0	158 8,3
Incomplete secondary	32,7	13,9	9,9	23,8	12,9	6,9	9	101 5,3
Secondary vocational	26,1	10,1	8,8	29,1	19,6	5,9	0,3	306 16,0
Secondary general	15,3	3,8	8,3	31,2	26,1	15,3	0	157 8,2
Post-secondary	15,1	3,8	17,0	20,8	28,3	15,1	0	53 2,8
Incomplete higher	20,8	3,8	1,9	26,4	26,4	20,8	0	53 2,8
Higher	34,5	3,6	11,9	8,3	26,2	15,5	0	84 4,4
Total	849 44,4	179 9,4	139 7,3	433 22,6	222 11,6	88 4,6	2 0,1	1912 100,0

 $\chi^2 = 478; p < 0,001$

Table 6. Place of residence and intensity of religious beliefs
/percentage/

Place of residence	Non-believer	Believer not going to church	Believer going to church	Total
Countryside towns:	1,9	14,2	84,0	755 40,0
up to 10 thousand	2,7	16,8	80,5	113 6,0
10 - 20 "	3,6	34,3	62,1	140 7,4
20 - 50 "	4,3	30,0	65,7	210 11,1
50 - 100 "	12,5	31,7	55,8	120 6,4
over 100 "	7,3	33,3	59,5	550 29,1
Total	86 4,6	458 24,3	1344 71,2	1888 100,0

$$\chi^2 = 138,72; \quad p < 0,001$$

Table 7. Place of residence till age of 14 and place of residence just now

Place of living just now	Countryside	Town	Total
Countryside towns:	95,9	4,1	762 39,6
up to 10 thousand	54,2	45,8	118 6,1
10 - 20 thousand	35,7	64,3	143 7,4
20 - 50 thousand	39,0	61,0	213 11,1
50 - 100 thousand	34,9	65,1	126 6,6
over 100 thousand	25,0	75,0	561 29,2
Total	1113 57,9	810 42,1	1923 100,0

Table 8. Age and intensity of religious beliefs /percentage/

Age	Non-believer	Believer not going to church	Believer going to church	Total
16 - 19	6,7	30,0	63,3	60 3,2
20 - 24	6,0	26,3	67,7	365 19,6
25 - 29	3,4	31,4	65,2	204 10,9
30 - 34	7,4	31,5	61,1	149 8,0
35 - 39	5,2	28,6	66,2	154 8,5
40 - 44	5,7	22,6	71,7	159 8,0
45 - 49	5,6	24,3	70,1	214 11,5
50 - 59	2,2	18,0	79,7	449 24,1
over 60	2,7	10,9	86,4	110 5,9
Total	86 4,6	450 24,1	1328 71,2	1864 100,0

$$\chi^2 = 51,27; \quad p < 0,001$$

Table 9. Place of residence till age of 14 and intensity of religious beliefs /percentage/

Place of residence	Non-believer	Believer not going to church	Believer going to church	Total
Countryside	29,4	41,8	65,5	1096 58,1
Town	70,6	58,2	34,5	789 41,9
Total	85 4,5	459 24,4	1341 71,1	1885 100,0

$$\chi^2 = 109,23; \quad p < 0,001$$

Table 10. Respondent's education and education of spouse

Education	Incomplete elementary	Elementary	Basic vocational	Incomplete secondary	Secondary vocational	General	Post-secondary	Incomplete higher	Higher	Total
Incomplete elementary	45,3	44,3	4,7	2,8	2,8	0	0	0	0	106 7,3
Elementary	5,5	52,4	22,7	5,5	8,4	2,8	0,6	1,0	1,2	678 46,7
Basic vocational	1,7	35,6	33,1	8,5	14,4	3,4	1,7	0	1,7	118 8,1
Incomplete secondary	3,2	20,6	30,2	9,5	17,5	6,3	1,6	3,2	7,9	63 4,3
Secondary vocational	0	5,0	12,0	8,7	39,8	19,9	1,7	5,0	7,9	241 16,6
Secondary general	0	10,8	8,8	2,0	39,2	14,7	1,0	9,8	13,7	102 7,0
Post-secondary	0	5,6	0	0	16,7	25,0	13,9	0	38,9	36 2,5
Incomplete higher	0	8,6	5,7	11,4	20,0	14,3	0	11,4	28,6	35 2,4
Higher	0	0	0	4,1	12,3	15,1	8,2	11,0	49,3	73 5,3
Total	89 6,1	485 33,4	257 17,7	86 5,9	246 16,9	115 7,9	23 1,6	43 3,0	108 7,4	1452 100,0

$\chi^2 = 1247$; $p < 0,001$
 $\text{gamma} = 0,70$

Appendix II
Questionnaire of interview

COMMITTEE ON RADIO AND TELEVISION
 "POLISH RADIO AND TELEVISION" .

Anonymous inquiry

Centre of Public Opinion Poll
 and Programme Studies

LIFE IN THE FAMILY

Question	Answer	Code
<p>1. What do you think are the most important advantages of marriage?</p> <p>Please choose not more than three answers.</p>	<p>1. it is easier for a couple to grow rich, to reach something in life</p> <p>2. marriage gives protection and support in need</p> <p>3. enables regular physical relationships between a man and a woman</p> <p>4. gives children, makes home for them and allows their rearing</p> <p>5. there is someone to share your interests with</p> <p>6. satisfies the need of love and care</p> <p>7. marriage helps to solve many everyday problems /washing, eating, house repairs, etc. /</p> <p>8. any other advantages /specify/</p> <p>9. can't see any advantages of marriage</p>	
<p>1a Which of the advantages you have chosen is definitely the most important?</p>	<p>1. Please select one answer only from those previously chosen</p> <p>/indicate appropriate number/</p>	

Let us consider various more important things in life
and see how they have shaped in your case

2. Are you satisfied, or not?:	/put "x" in appropriate cells/						Code
	defi- nite- ly sa- tisfied	fair- ly sa- tis- fied	rather dissa- tis- fied	defini- tely dis- satis- fied	hard to say don't care	does not con- cern	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	C o d e

1. with your housing
conditions

2. with your children

3. with your private
life /if married:
with your marriage/

4. with your health
and frame of mind

5. with education
attained so far

6. with relation-
ships you have with
people - colleagues,
neighbours, friends

7. with the amount of
leisure you have
and the way you
spend it

8. with your job and
your achievements
there /if not
working: with other
permanent duties -
e. g. school/

9. with your econo-
mic standard of li-
ving, your income

-
3. Below we shall describe four young married couples and their family plans. They all still have inconvenient dwelling conditions: all have undertaken work relatively recently and their earnings are modest. Code
- Will you please choose the couple which you think does the rightest thing:
- 1/ Mary and Andrew first want to gain suitable living and dwelling conditions and only then will decide to have a child.
 - 2/ Ann and Robert in the first years of their marriage want to enjoy each other's company, have some joy and entertainment - and only then will decide to have a child.
 - 3/ Eve and Paul have interesting jobs and like their professional activities, therefore, first of all, they want to have some professional achievements and only then will decide to have a child.
 - 4/ Barbara and Michael regard having and rearing children as one of the most important goals in marriage, so they intend to have a child right away.
-

Which of the couples do you think does the rightest thing?

the couple _____
does the rightest thing
/indicate the number
of the couple chosen/

Question 4 to all women

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>4. Entering your adult life, do/did you see yourself primarily as:

/Please choose one answer only/</p> <p><u>NOTE TO THE INQUIRER:</u></p> <p>- to all unmarried up to 24 inclusive, read "<u>do you</u>"</p> <p>- to all married regardless of the age and all unmarried over 24, read "<u>did you</u>"</p> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. primarily as a wife and mother 2. primarily as a successful working woman 3. as a woman who reconciles housework with occupational activities 4. hard to say |
|--|--|
-

 Questions 5 to 8 to all

5. Do you think a woman should or should not work in the following circumstances: IF SHE IS NOT FORCED TO WORK BY FINANCIAL SITUATION	/Put "x" in appropriate cells/			Code
	better that she works	better that she does not work	hard to say	
	1	2	3	

 1. when she is single

 2. when she is married and has no children

 3. when she is married and has children below the age of 3

 4. when she is married and has children at the kindergarten age

 5. when she is married and has children at the elementary school age

Each person has something else he cares for in life and what some people strive for is not worth the trouble for others.

6. We shall present you now with a list of things people may care for. Will you please choose from the list 3 things you personally would regard as important to have a GOOD, SUCCESSFUL LIFE.

NOTE TO THE INQUIRER:

/hand Informant the enclosed list. Ask to read it carefully and choose not more than 3 things/.

1. rise in the world, attain the highest possible post
2. have friends, really well-wishing people
3. be well-off, prosperous
4. stay independent in one's views and conduct
5. do things that are useful to other people beside own family
6. have an interesting, satisfying job
7. have and rear children
8. have a happy, successful marriage, private life
9. attain the highest possible education, knowledge
10. have possibility to enjoy life, have pleasure, entertainment

Things chosen:

/indicate 3 appropriate numbers from the list/

7. Now we shall present you with a list of various contradicting features arranged in pairs such as, for example: big - small, good - bad, ugly - pretty.

Will you please indicate which of the two features, in each pair, and to what degree makes you think of the child, say small child.

The point is not to describe the child you are familiar with or that of your own, nor to say what a child should be like - but to give the first thought that comes to your mind in relation to the word "CHILD".

		neither this nor that								
		3	2	1	0	1	2	3		
0.	joyful									sad
1.	resourceful									helpless
2.	sickly									healthy
3.	boring									interesting
4.	skinny									fat
5.	smart									clumsy
6.	sincere									jeartless
7.	noisy									quiet
8.	pretty									ugly
9.	needed									useless
10.	weak									strong
11.	bright									dull
12.	bad									good
13.	big									small
14.	quick									slow
15.	stupid									wise
		3	2	1	0	1	2	3		

NOTE TO THE INQUIRER:

Hand Informant the list of features. Read each pair of features: "joyful or sad", "resourcefull or helpless", etc. If Informant says e.g. that rather joyful, find out the intensity of the feature and put "x" appropriately:

- if Informant regards the child as something very joyful - in column 3
- if not so definitely joyful - in column 2
- if "joyful" only a little prevails over "sad" - in column 1

If Informant cannot decide on one of the two features or thinks the child is neither this - nor that, put "x" in column 0 /in the middle/.

Best would be if Informant understands the method well and indicates the chosen feature and appropriate number himself.

Ask Informants to respond as quickly as possible and without much thinking.

-
- | | | |
|---|--|------|
| 8. In general, do you think
it is worth having children? | 1. definitely yes
2. rather yes
3. rather no
4. definitely no
5. hard to say | Code |
|---|--|------|
-

Question 8a to those who answered 1, 2, 3 oraz 4 to Q. 8

- 8a. Why do you think so? Please give the most important reasons.

Questions 9 to 16 to all

- | | |
|--|--|
| 9. Which way of rearing children do you consider better: | 1. primarily in discipline and respect for the elders

2. primarily in freedom and friendly relationships with parents

3. hard to say |
|--|--|
-
- | | |
|---|--|
| 10. And how were/are <u>you</u> brought up? | 1. primarily in discipline and respect for the elders

2. primarily in freedom and friendly relationships with parents

3. hard to say |
|---|--|
-

-
11. All of us have certain ideas on what children should and what they should not be like. We are presenting you with a list of various characteristics. Will you please say which of them are the most important for a teen-age child to have, no matter if you have children and what age they are.

NOTE TO THE INQUIRER:

Hand Informant the enclosed list and ask to read it carefully.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| 1. well-mannered | 9. getting along well with other children |
| 2. trying to reach something in life | 10. acting properly for a boy /a-girl/ |
| 3. neat and clean | 11. self reliance /self control/ |
| 4. honest, | 12. obedient to parents |
| 5. good sense and somol judgment | 13. responsible |
| 6. resoizrceful | 14. considerate |
| 7. independent opinions | 15. interested in how and why |
| 8. doing well at school | |

Will you please say now which of the characteristics listed above are the most important for a child to have?

Please choose 3 such characteristics

/indicate appropriate numbers from the list/

-
- 11a. Which of the characteristics you have chosen is definitely the most important?

Please select one characteristic only from these you have previously chosen and indicate the appropriate number from the list

-
12. What do you think is the average number of children a married couple in their forties has now in Poland?
/please give the number/
1. _____
/ indicate the number/
 2. hard to say
-
13. How many children do you think a family should have - what is the ideal number?
1. write down the number

 2. hard to say
-
14. Is it in the interest of our State, society that more, less or as many children as now are born?
1. less
 2. as many as now
 3. more
 4. hard to say
-
15. Why is it, nowadays, that many married couples do not want to have several children or do not want to have them at all?
-
16. What would you advise a young single woman who has become pregnant?
1. to bear the child regardless of the circumstances and try to cope with maternal obligations
 2. to bear the child but only in certain circumstances
 3. to bear the child and give it away for adoption
 4. to get an abortion
 5. hard to say
-
- Question 16a to those who answered 2 to Q. 16
-
- 16a. If you think that a single woman who has become pregnant should bear the child in certain circumstances only, will you please specify the circumstances?
-

 Questions 17 and 18 to all

17. Would you say please who do you think first of all should take care to protect a woman against unwanted pregnancy - a man or a woman?
1. a man first of all
 2. a woman first of all
 3. both
 4. hard to say
-
18. Some people use various methods to prevent unwanted pregnancy, which allows family planning, limiting the number of children.
On the whole, do you think it:
1. right
 2. wrong
 3. hard to say

 Questions 19 and 20 to those who answered 1 /"right"/ to Q. 18

19. If you consider it right to use methods of preventing unwanted pregnancy, will you please say why?

20. There are various methods of preventing unintentional pregnancies and the births of unwanted children. Which of the methods mentioned here would you regard as the best?
1. safe period method
 2. other natural methods
 3. contraceptive pill
 4. other devices used by women - chemical, mechanical
 5. protective device used by men
 6. other methods /specify/

 7. hard to say

 Question 21 to those who answered 2 /"wrong"/ to Q. 18

21. If you consider it wrong to use any methods of preventing unwanted pregnancy, will you please say why?
-

 Question 22 to all

22. What is your opinion concerning abortion - do you think it should be allowed at all?
1. yes, always whenever pregnancy is unwanted
 2. yes, but in certain circumstances only
 3. no, by no means
 4. hard to say

 Questions 23 and 23a to those who answered 2 to Q, 22

23. In what circumstances do you think pregnancy may be terminated?
- | | /Put "x" in appropriate cells/ | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|--|-------------------|
| | pregnancy
may be
terminated | pregnancy
may not be to
terminated | hard
to
say |
| | 1 | 2 | 3 |

1. when pregnancy causes danger to the woman's life or health
2. when the woman is unmarried
3. when pregnancy interferes with the woman's activities such as school or work
4. when the family has already got several children
5. when the family's situation /financial, dwelling/ is difficult
6. when the child may be born with a physical or mental defect /crippled, mentally retarded/

- 23a. Are there any other circumstances in which you would allow abortion?

 Questions 24 and 25 to all

24. What is your opinion on initiating physical relationships before marriage?
- | | /Put "x" in appropriate cells/ | | | |
|--|--|---|---|-------------------|
| | it defi-
nitely
shouldnt
take place | it may be I think
allowed in certain
circum-
stances | I think
it abso-
lutely
natu-
ral | hard
to
say |
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

1. as far as a girl is concerned
2. as far as a boy is concerned

25. Have/had you any children? 1. no
 2. yes; how many?
 /indicate the total number of children/

Questions 26 and 27 to those who answered 2 to Q. 25

26. If you have/had children, would you mind giving some information on your family situation at the time they were born?	/Put "x" in appropriate cells/					
	the year in which the child was born	dwelling conditions	factory	financial situation	un-satisfactory	which year after the contraction of marriage
	1	2	3	4	5	6
1st child						
2nd child						
3rd child						
4th child						
5th child						
6th child						

27. After the child was born, did the mother work or not?	/Put "x" in appropriate cells/				
	did'nt work at all	had been working and went back to work on own farm	went back to work after a paid maternity leave	took an unpaid child-care leave	gave up working
	1	2	3	4	5
1st child					
2nd child					
3rd child					
4th child					
5th child					
6th child					

 Question 28 to all

28. What is your marital status?
1. unmarried
 2. married
duration of the pre-
sent marriage

/indicate the number of years/
 3. divorced
/also separated or woweded/
-

Question 29 to those married /Q. 28, ans. 2/ for not more than 15 years

29. Would you like to have any
/more/ children in the fu-
ture?
/no matter whether you
have got children so far
or not/
1. yes, I would
/how many? /

/indicate the number/
 2. no /not any more or none
at all/
 3. hard to say
-

Question 30 to all single /Q. 28, ans. 1 or 3/ below the age of 34

30. Would you like to have,
children in the future?
1. yes, I would
/haw many? /

/indicate the number/
 2. no
 3. hard to say
-

INFORMANT' s BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS

Sex:	1. male 2. female	04a /if Q, 4 ans. 2, 3, 4/ Are you expecting a separate flat? 1. yes, in years /indic. the number/ 2. no
Are you living in:	1. village 2. town to 10 thous. inhabitants 3. town 10-20 thous. " 4. town 20-50 " " 5. town 50-100 " " 6. town over 100 thous. "	05 How many rooms /incl. kitchen/ have you and your family /those who share the household with you/ at your disposal? /indic. the number/
How do you judge your /your family/ financial situation?	1. I'm very well off 2. I'm pretty well off 3. passably, average 4. I'm not too well off 5. I'm badly off, in a difficult financial situation	06 How many persons share the household? /incl. Informant and children/
Dwelling conditions:	1/ exclusively at the disposal of L, his closest family: spouse, children /L is the main occupant/ 2/ living in the house /flat of parents, children, other relatives 3/ room/rooms rented from strangers 4/ other /specify/.....	07 Joint monthly income of all household members, incl. Informant's, counting salaries, scholarships, pensions, etc. _____ zl

This time - exceptionally - we would like to ask about some background characteristics of your spouse, too.

INFORMANT

HUSBAND/WIFE

NOTE: if Informant has no spouse at present leave this column unfilled

Age:	1. 16-19 years 2. 20-24 3. 25-29 4. 30-34 5. 35-39 6. 40-44 7. 45-49 8. 50-59 9. 60 and over	8a Age: 1. 16-19 years 2. 20-24 3. 25-29 4. 30-34 5. 35-39 6. 40-44 7. 45-49 8. 50-59 9. 60 and over
------	--	---

9. Education:

1. elementary uncompleted
2. elementary
3. vocational training
4. secondary uncompleted
5. secondary vocational /technical/
6. grammar school
7. university uncompl. /incl. post-secondary vocational/
8. university

10. Are you at present doing any paid work or working on own farm?

1. yes
2. no

11. If you are not working, are you:
/NOTE: to those who answered 2 to Q. 10/

1. on pension
2. a housewife
3. at school, university
4. nor working for other reasons

12. Socio-occupational status
/those not working answers according to the occupation of the head of the family; pensioners acc. to the work they had been doing before retiring, family members not working on the farm are also considered farmers/

1. farmer on own farm
2. unskilled manual worker
3. skilled manual worker
4. non-manual worker with no university education
5. non-manual worker with university education
6. other /specify/:

9a. Education:

1. elementary uncompl.
2. elementary
3. vocational training
4. secondary uncompl.
5. secondary vocational/tech/
6. grammar school
7. university uncompl. /incl. postsec. vocational/
8. university

10a Is your husband/wife at present doing any paid work or working on own farm?

1. yes
2. no

11a If husband/wife is not working, is he/she:
/NOTE: to those who answered 2 to Q. 10a/

1. on pension
2. a housewife
3. at school, university
4. not working for other reasons

12a Socio-occupational status
/those not working answer acc. to the occupation of the head of the family, pensioners acc. to the work they had been doing before retiring, family members not working on the farm are also considered farmers/

1. farmer on own farm
 2. unskilled manual worker
 3. skilled manual worker
 4. non-manual worker with no university education
 5. non-manual worker with university education
 6. other /specify/:
-

-
3. Please name:
/NOTE: to those who answered
1 to Q. 10/
1. your present occupation
.....
2. post held
.....
-

4. Were you living up to the age
of 14 in:
1. village
2. town
-

- 5 Siblings:
1. have/had none
2. have/had
.....
/give the number of
siblings/
-

- 6 As regards religion, are you:
1. believing and practi-
cing
2. believing but rather
not practicing
3. atheist
4. hard to say
-

- 17 Father's occupation /if dead or
not working at present - his
last occupation/:
1. farmer
2. unskilled manual worker
/also farm-hand/
3. craftsman or merchant
/owner of a workshop or firm/
4. skilled manual worker
5. non-manual worker with
no university education
6. non-manual worker with
university education
7. other /specify/
.....
8. hard to say
-

-
- 13a Please name:
/NOTE: to those who ans-
wered 1 to Q. 10/
1. your husband's/wifes
present occupation
.....
2. post held
.....
-

- 14a Was he/she living up to
the age of 14 in:
1. village
2. town
-

- 15a Siblings:
1. has/had none
2. has/had
.....
/give the number of
siblings/
-

- 16a As regards religion, is he/she:
1. believing and practi-
cing
2. believing but rather
not practicing
3. atheist
4. hard to say
-

- 17a Father's occupation /if
dead or not working at pre-
sent - his last occup. /:
1. farmer
2. unskilled manual worker
/also farm-hand/
3. craftsman or merchant
/owner of a workshop or
firm/
4. skilled manual worker
5. non-manual worker with
no university education
6. non-manual worker with
university education
7. other /specify/
.....
8. hard to say
-

THE LIST TO QUESTION 6

We are presenting you with the list of things people may care for. Will you please choose from the list 3 things you personally would regard as important to have a GOOD, SUCCESSFUL LIFE.

1. rise in the world, attain the highest possible post
2. have friends, really well-wishing people
3. be well off, prosperous
4. stay independent in one's views and conduct
5. do things that are useful to other people beside own family
6. have an interesting, satisfying job
7. have and rear children
8. have a happy, successful marriage, private life
9. attain the highest possible education, knowledge
10. have possibility to enjoy life, have pleasure, entertainment.

THE LIST TO QUESTION 7

	neither this nor that						
	3	2	1	0	1	2	3
0. joyful							sad
1. resourceful							helpless
2. sickly							healthy
3. boring							interesting
4. skinny							fat
5. smart							clumsy
6. sincere							heartless
7. noisy							quiet
8. pretty							ugly
9. needed							useless
10. weak							strong
11. bright							dull
12. bad							good
13. big							small
14. quick							slow
15. stupid							wise
	3	2	1	0	1	2	3

THE LIST TO QUESTION 11

We are presenting you with the list of various characteristics. Will you please say which of them are the most important for a teen-age child to have, no matter if you have children and what age they are.

1. well-mannered
2. trying to reach something in life
3. neat and clean
4. honest, truthful
5. reasonable, thoughtful
6. canny, resourceful
7. having own ideas, individual opinions
8. doing well at school
9. getting along well with other children
10. acting properly for a boy/ a girl
11. able to guide himself/herself
12. obedient to parents
13. responsible, reliable
14. sensitive and understanding
15. curious about the world, interested in many things

Połączone Biblioteki WFIS UW, IFIS PAN i PTF

P.54159



1905415900000