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FAMILY AND MARRIAGE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS – THE AREA OF THE INTERESTS OF SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WORK

Abstract

The traditional family model is becoming blurred and for this reason it is no longer valid. Thus, in this changing reality it is worth making an attempt to understand those changes in order to be able to promote appropriately the values which are still most important for the proper functioning of family. The family has always been and will be the central category of social life, around which processes, social phenomena or religious norms are cumulated, but the changing conditions of life of families are generating a necessity to monitor the quality of life of families and look at them as a whole and individually.

Keywords: marriage, family, transformations, processes, social life

Abstrakt

Tradycyjny model rodziny ulega zacieraniu, przez co nie jest już modelem obowiązującym. W tej zmieniającej się rzeczywistości należy podjąć próbę zrozumienia zachodzących zmian, po to aby móc właściwie promować te wartości, które są nadal najważniejsze dla właściwego funkcjonowania rodziny. Rodzina zawsze stanowiła i stanowić będzie centralną kategorię życia społecznego, wokół której skumulowane są procesy, zjawiska społeczne czy normy religijne, ale zmieniające się warunki życia rodzin generują konieczność monitorowania jakości życia rodzin i spojrzenia na nie jako całość i indywidualnie.

Słowa kluczowe: małżeństwo, rodzina, przemiany, procesy, życie społeczne

Introduction

Nowadays, marriage and family are undergoing intense transformations whose sources can be found on various levels of social and economic life. What is regarded particularly important is the way of defining the institution of marriage and family, the age at which decisions about forming a family and its size are made, the division of roles in marriage, the permanence of the marital tie, or the fulfilment of the basic functions of family. The observed directions of the transformations of family are also reflected in a decrease in the number of concluded marriages to the benefit of creating alternative forms of marriage, as well as an increase in the number of divorces.

The aim of this paper is to analyse family, with special consideration given to the directions of its transformations with regard to the value in itself and the values it brings into human life. The contemporary family is also exposed to the economic phenomena which have contributed to the emergence of a category which did not occur before, namely unemployment among families (particularly families with children), families at risk of poverty or families with temporary absence of one or both parents. The analysis presented in this way is a proof that the sociological approach to family, marriage or parenthood is an indispensable knowledge when undertaking specific activities within the area of social work. The consequence is the occurrence of the relationship between the social study which sociology is, and practical social problem solving, which is implemented through social work.

1. Family in a definitional approach

To answer the question how we define family, we will assume that it is a married couple having children. When we talk about family, we usually mean a woman and a man with children, as well as people related to them, namely grandparents and other close and distant relatives [Głaz, Grzeszek, Wiśniewska, 1996: 9]. If we look at family from the perspective of social or economic studies, the definition of family seems to be more complex because of relations among its members. Therefore, we can say that family is a group which has the character of a community, whose aim is to ensure biological and cultural continuity of society, assuming that the group is based on the ties of blood, marriage, or even adoption [Zaborowski, 1980: 14]. Such a definitional approach enables us to analyse family as both the first and the next relationships, relationships with biological, adopted children, or so-called foster families, group families, reconstituted families, etc. [Kawula, Bragiel, Janke, 2009: 11]. In spite of the fact that new institutions supporting human development are established, none of them is able to replace family, which is the most appropriate place of birth and growth of an individual, the emergence of the system of values, norms and patterns of behaviour. Hence, family becomes not only the biological environment of human development, but also the environment of spiritual growth [Dyczewski, 1994: 11–12].

In the literature of the subject there are different definitions of family, considering the complexity of relations occurring among its members, its structure, role and the directions of transformations. In such an approach, we can assume that family is both a micro-structure and a complex social institution based on the structured and interrelated set of individuals, subcultures and social micro-elements. Although in comparison with other social structures family is characterised by a small size, it is an abundance of social and sociological, cultural, psychological, psychosocial, pedagogical, biological and sexual phenomena. This multi sidedness of family is integrated into the social, economic and cultural processes of a given country which can be discussed in time and space [Tyszka, 1998: 77–78].

Family as the basic unit of society has existed for ages, and its foundation is the group of a marital-family character, implementing two basic social relations: a marital relation and a parents-children relation. These two types of relations are based on the established behaviour patterns and the norms of the mutual influence of family members [Adamski, 2002: 27–28]. Therefore, it can be defined as the basic social group consisting of parents and children, joined to each other with the formal tie, as well as shared property and housing. Family members live together, they have the same name, shared property and spiritual culture, as well as biological continuity. In such a definitional approach, additional attention should be paid to the role and social position of family, a small number of members, or informal relations between family members, often becoming personal in character [Adamski, 2002: 29].

In the definitional approach, family will also be treated as a primal group which is characterised by the direct contact of its members, among whom personal ties develop based on close cooperation [Kosiński, 1987: 162]. It is the formation of personal bonds that contributes to the fact that family is this social group which is closest to man and which should enrich his life. It is also important for a man to be able to satisfy all biological, mental, material needs in it, as well as to feel safety, contentment and support [Adamski, 1984: 21]. It should be remembered that family is still a relatively permanent entity, but in consequence of specific social transformations determining the course of life of the individuals constituting it, it will undergo dynamic transformations [Ziemska, 1969: 76].

When defining family, we cannot forget about the question of the family tie which forms in the area of the social tie and, due to its functions, influences the level of integrity of its members and contributes to smaller or greater permanence of family as a group which, as we remember, consists of people bound by marital and parental relationship [Szczepański, 1963: 149]. Every family tie, and marital tie in particular, being the base of the family functioning, is subject to external influences, manifesting themselves in moral, social, economic, legal and religious factors which may affect its strengthening or weakening. Thanks to it, man can satisfy his needs, perform specific social roles and aim at achieving expected values. A properly shaped family tie manifests itself in various attitudes of individual family members, it creates the sense of unity, with the simultaneous ability to decide for oneself. Therefore, family is also a group which, owing to established values, family and social tradition, is prepared to bring help and care to its members [Adamski, 1984: 21]. If the atmosphere of the development of personality will be favourable for an individual, family members will be bound by positive emotional ties, which in effect will translate into the permanence of

family. In the case of unfavourable atmosphere, the processes of proper personality growth will be disturbed, and this will lead to the deepening of the crisis [Ziemska, 1969: 34].

The permanence of family life is also determined by specific social roles learnt by a man throughout all his life in the communication process. The process is a form of long-term interactions during which an individual adapts to new situations and is informed on an ongoing basis whether specific behaviours are accepted or not. In the analysis of family, marital and parental roles are regarded particularly important. Their fulfilment comprises the whole personality in a long term. Learning marital and parental roles consist in the shaping of a mature personality which becomes responsible and capable of love [Przybył, 2001: 107–108]. In addition to love in family and marriage, ties in respect of duties and responsibility for each individual shape, which is of vital importance for the proper development of mutual and friendly family relations [Braun-Gałkowska, 2008: 25].

In consequence, we may assume that the contemporary family is an institutionalised group, but also an informal group in view of the process of formation, continuity, collapse and even disappearance. On the other hand, difficulties in defining it univocally arise from its variety and the complexity of forms, constant changes occurring in the lives of its members, translating into the implementation of specific and mutually complementing functions. The dynamics of the transformations will influence the realisation of the basic family functions, it will also set specific directions of changes and trends.

2. The directions of changes in the contemporary Polish family in the sociological analysis

The contemporary model of family and family life is undergoing deep directions of transformations which we have been experiencing since the second decade of the 20th century. The contemporary family is often contrasted with the traditional family, based on the model of performing marital and parental roles in which the principles of living together arose from the strict division of duties into typically male and typically female. The man was responsible for maintaining the family, he exercised power in the family and represented it outside. The woman, on the other hand, raised children and did housework. In such a traditional family model, the conclusion of marriage and the birth of the offspring strengthened its permanence and stabilisation, and a possibility of divorces was in practice totally rejected in practice. The traditional family was characterised by a high fertility rate, it was a transmitter of culture, material and moral goods, owing to which it was a superior value [Bakiera, 2006: 103].

The traditional family, characteristic for the feudal period and the beginnings of capitalism, started to transform into an industrial family, which took place at the beginning of the 19th century. The development of technology, science and education significantly changed family and the conditions of family life, increasing the scope of internal freedom and extra-family activity [Tyszka, 1999: 195]. Social living conditions changed and the collapse of the patriarchal family took place, because it did not correspond with the social requirements, as this type ceased to be the economic guarantee of living for its members.

Substantial intra-family changes also concern the family structure itself. In the past, multigenerational families prevailed, which lived together and maintain a common household. With the changing social and economic situation, the size of family was decreasing as a result of limiting the number of children in a family, and due to more and more frequent prevalence of an independent and small family in consequence of the increased spatial mobility. It also contributed to the growing distance between family members and weakening ties with a broader circle of relatives. And the natural effect was the disintegration of large families, which experienced cultural and social diversity, and that was characteristic for the period of post-war Poland [Bednarski, 2008: 200].

Hence, the Polish family entered a new stage of its development, and the 20th century was characterised by a further decline in the fertility rate and the strengthening of a small family which constituted a separate housing and economic structure. Yet, the independence of a small family does not exclude the social and emotional tie between relatives in the family. In the discussed period, also childless married couples occurred too (often with planned childlessness), and in addition, as it turned out, it is more and more preferred form of the contemporary family life [Bednarski, 2008: 200].

The picture of the contemporary family has been shaped under the influence of events and processes taking place particularly after 1990, that is during the period of intense political, economic and social changes, known as the systemic transformation [Kluzowa, 1999: 13]. The transformations observed especially

concerned attitudes towards marriage, divorces, cohabitation relationships, fertility and migration processes. There was a radical limitation of the dictate of concluding marriages and staying in them, which to a great extent was connected with the equalisation of the rights and obligations of spouses. In addition, the observed changes have been influenced by the growth of the professional activity of women, accompanied by the curtailment of the power and privileges of men to the benefit of their active participation in housework and in the process of raising children and caring for them. What also seems particularly important is the growth of the independence of partners creating the relationship, as a result of the growth of personal freedom of individuals. Personal growth, self-realisation, the strive to achieve individual satisfaction, happiness and pleasure are the basic assumptions of the developing individualistic concept [Bakiera, 2006: 103].

Another direction of the transformations of the Polish family was the transition from a biologically determined family to a planned family. A significant consequence of the observed changes is also the spread of modern contraceptives, which influenced the reduction of the fertility rate and the separation of the sexual and reproductive functions [Adamski, 1984: 54]. The aspirations of spouses in terms of professional activity and the participation in the labour market have limited the reproductive trends. The reproductive function sustaining the permanence and continuity of society is today distinctly endangered. Married couples more seldom decide to have children, particularly the next one, as a result of which we are observing the prevalence of a nuclear family, with two parents and one child. The progress in hygiene, the development of medicine, the improvement of housing standards and material conditions contributed to the fall of the mortality rate among children and infants, therefore, parents did not have to "secure themselves" with a greater number of children any more [Tyszka, 1982: 105–107].

The low birth rate in Poland, already for more than 20 years has not been guaranteeing the simple replacement of generations. Since the early 1990s, the fertility rate has been below 2, whereas its optimal value and the value which is most beneficial for the proper demographic development should be 2.1. According to the Central Statistical Office statistics, in 2013 the fertility rate was less than 1.3, which means that for 1,000 females at the reproductive age 15–49 there were about 130 children born. According to the assumptions, the birth rate should have been rising by the end of the previous century, as a natural consequence of the growth of the birth rate in the 1970s and the baby boom in the first half of the 1980s. However, the assumptions did not prove right and until 2006 negative rates of natural increase were observed, and they have been accompanying us again since 2012. The effect of the systemic transformation is also conscious postponement of the decision about concluding marriage and giving birth to the first child. In the previous decade, there was an increase in the median of women giving birth to a child, from 26.1 in 2000 to a little more than 29 years old in 2013. The average age for concluding marriages has also changed, for men it is now 28, and for women 26, that is over three years more than in the early 1990s [Central Statistical Office, 2016: 2].

In addition to the trend of postponing the decision about concluding marriage and procreation "put off until later", also the phenomenon of common-law relationships is increasing. It is related to the growth of tolerance for making various personal choices and the blurring border between family and alternative forms of family life [Kwak, 2005: 55]. The female fertility is to a great extent conditioned by the number of concluded marriages, in which almost 80% of children have been born in recent years. For several years, the percentage of births outside marriage has been going up as a consequence of an increase in the number of families formed as informal relationships. At the beginning of the observed changes, 6–7 % of children were born in extramarital relationships, whereas recently it is 20–22% [Central Statistical Office, 2016: 2]. We may even assume that a traditional, marriage-based family is losing its moral power but it is not rejected as the basic form of social relations. Yet, the principles of forming it, its significance and the relations between its members are changing. The weakening of an individual's ties with family is accompanied by socially accepted behaviours which are not always concordant with the classical concept of family, such as extramarital sex, extramarital procreation, the formation of informal relationships [Kwak, 2005: 55].

At the same time, not only relations between spouses but also parent-child relations are changing. They are characterised by more freedom in the behaviour of children and teenagers breaking free from the direct power of parents. Orders, prohibitions and instructions are replaced by agreements, discussion, and even persuasion, owing to which there is a growing number of families in which children are treated more like partners than from the position of autocratic management [Bednarski, 2008: 202]. On the other hand, family life is greatly subordinated to parents' professional work, due to which the custom of sharing experiences in

family is rarer. It is also connected with the growth of anonymity of family which becomes less and less accessible to the immediate environment [Bakiera, 2006: 104].

When observing the changes that family has been recently going through, in addition to the commonlaw relationship model, also a family model in which spouses form a kind of a system has begun to occur. In the partnership-based family model, spouses aim at such relations in which they may support each other, and family is emotionally autonomous and self-sufficient, which creates a possibility of divorces and new relationships, being the expression of the concept of an individual's pursuit of happiness. On the other hand, in the case of a company-like relationship, additionally the integrity and the strive for the realisation of common goals are disappearing to the benefit of the pursuit of personal satisfaction. It is connected with the strengthening of the attitudes of individuals who no longer search for happiness because the sense of pleasure is more important to them. Therefore, it becomes unimportant to an individual whether this pleasure is achieved in a formal or informal family [Bakiera, 2006: 106].

In spite of the transformations which the contemporary Polish family is experiencing, it is still the most common model of coexistence, and the described changes are a manifestation of the process of adaptation to the binding social conditions considering the needs of an individual. Thus, we can assume that the changes are evoking a crisis in family but we should discuss it as the crisis of development, based on which family is shaping new patterns of life, and not only as the disintegration of family [Dyczewski, 1981: 20].

3. Family as a value and values in family

The beginning of the 21st century is connected with significant changes in the contemporary family in terms of the structure and family life. Although alternative forms of family life occurred in the past, they were definitely more marginal than now. The prevalence of cohabitation, lonely life, single parenthood, homosexual relationships is more typical for the representatives of the younger generation who often define their independence and autonomy in this way [Slany, 2002: 135–137].

The contemporary Polish family is additionally exposed to economic phenomena which through the destabilisation of the proper functioning have contributed to the emergence of a new category which did not occur in the previous periods, namely unemployment among families (especially with children), families at risk of poverty or families with temporary absence of one or both parents (more on that in the part of the paper concerning social work). But despite these negative trends, according to the CBOS (the Centre for Public Opinion Research) survey, family is still a very high important value in the hierarchy of the Polish society, and family happiness is still ranked first among the values by which Poles are guided in life [CBOS, 2013].

78% of the society consider family happiness the basic value in everyday life, and this opinion is more often shared by women, 84%, than by men, 71%. The significance of family increases with the education level of respondents, and as for social and professional groups, this value is most frequently emphasised by office administration workers, 87%, then by housewives, 86%, and by senior management and specialists, 83%. Moreover, as many as 85% of respondents are convinced that family is indispensable to achieve full happiness [CBOS, 2013].

In relation to the observed social and cultural changes, especially those concerning marital and family life (an increase in the number of divorces, putting off the decision about concluding marriage and giving birth to the first child, the growth of the percentage of informal relationships and the number of children born in such relationships, single parenting or conscious childlessness), an analysis of the definition of family as understood by Poles seems essential. For 99% of respondents family consists of spouses with children. High percentage of responses, as many as 91% of them, consider single parenting combined with raising at least one child as family, too. For 78% of the respondents family also consists of people in an informal relationship and raising children from such a relationship. Nearly 71% think that family is a childless married couple, and 67% define family as an arrangement in which a mother or a father raises their children with a partner. Defining family depends on the basic sociodemographic features. The traditional understanding of this term is most typical for respondents aged 65 and above, churchgoers, country dwellers, people with a relatively low income per capita (PLN 501–750). A broader and more liberal definition of family is characteristic for younger respondents, aged 25–34, divorced, living in a large agglomeration, senior managers and specialists, not participating or occasionally participating in religious practices [CBOS, 2013].

As for the preferred and implemented models of family life, the most popular is still a small family consisting of parents and children, in which 45% of Poles live (according to their own declarations). 21% of respondents live in multigenerational families which consist of grandparents, parents and children, 12% are childless married couples, and single-person households constitute the same percentage. Moreover, 55% of respondents regard marriage with children the most desired family model for themselves, and 29% would like to live in a multi-generational family. Far more seldom do we prefer single life, marriage without children and permanent common-law relationship with a person of the opposite sex – 4% responses each. We can also consider it significant that people who live alone most often would like to be a family with children (38%), and only 21% accept their loneliness. Among childless married couples 20% are satisfied with their situation, 55% would like to have children and 17% would like a three-generation family. Childlessness is only preferred by 3% of respondents, and 97% of Poles express their wish to have children. The most frequent declarations concern two children, 49%, and 26% would like to have three children. However, the declarative attitudes significantly differ from the number of children actually possessed, because declarations proved that 27% of Poles do not have any children, 20% have one child, 31% have two and 13% have three children. Decisions concerning procreation are more common for women, among whom 24% are mothers at the age of 18-24. Among men of that age only 2% are fathers [CBOS, 2013].

While evaluating family in detail, attention should be also paid to the aspect of parenting and a possibility to define the values which are implemented directly in family. Those issues, among others, were the subject of the research of the Polish Measurement of Attitudes and Values (PPPiW), carried out in 2014 [Kawinska, 2014a: 130], within the framework of which various kinds of duties which should be fulfilled by parents were analysed. A detailed analysis of the responses gives grounds to the claim that the commonly accepted and recognised partnership-based model translates into definitely less traditional parent-child relations. Only 22.2% of respondents considered sacrificing for children proper, practically the same number of respondents negated that statement, and over 50% had no opinion. However, the necessity to pass on the principles of the religion they practise to children was accepted by as many as 88.8% of respondents. On the other hand, respondents could also define their expectations towards children. Then it turned out that a great majority (87.9%) think that parents should be respected and loved, no matter what kind of people they are. At the same time, parents expect that their children will provide them with support and care when they grow old, over 93% of responses [Kawinska, 2014b: 153]. This short analysis of family relationships confirms previous assumptions about the gradual disappearance of traditions in family to the benefit of the realisation of more personal assumptions in which self-realisation will play an important role. One should be aware of the necessity to record and often also create an appropriate culture of family, which should constitute a solid foundation of everyone's growth.

4. The diagnosis of family in social work

Regardless of the directions of social transformations, family was, is and will be one of subjective groups staying in the area of the influence of institutions and organisations supporting and assisting its development. The concern for the weal of the family is the primary of the axiological premises determining the directions of activities undertaken within the functioning of the social welfare system. It arises from the special role the family environment performs in creating the conditions of social work. Multisided work with family is one of more important activities of social life. The picture of the contemporary Polish family is alarming, as more and more threats can be seen in its life. They lead to the dysfunctionality of family, and hence evoke a difficult life situation of a child [Tyszka, 2001].

In the sphere of the interest of social work there is primarily a family which is not able to satisfy its mental, emotional, economy and social needs. To undertake specific activities supporting a family, it is necessary to know the dynamics of family life, the basic mechanisms occurring in a family and the elementary diagnosis schemes. The diagnosis of a family helps to determine the factual state of a family, it can also indicate both strengths and weaknesses of a family, and the spheres which require to be "repaired" [Dybowska, 2014: 4].

The most important aim of the family diagnosis should be to identify the conditionings of the dysfunctionality of an individual by analysing the individual features and conditions of family functioning. One of the most frequently occurring dysfunctions of the contemporary family is its material incapacity being the result

of obtaining a low income by family members, and even the lack of income, as a result of the loss of a job, low economic efficiency of parents, having a lot of children, a disease, etc. Material incapacity results in difficult housing conditions, manifesting themselves in excessive density, the lack of sanitary facilities and the lack of the basic equipment. In the area of social work there are also pathological families, characterised by alcoholism of one or both parents, the occurrence of other forms of addiction (drugs, gambling), mental disorders, delinquency, verbal, physical and mental abuse. Pathological families are also characterised by low social and emotional maturity of parents and their low pedagogical awareness. It has its consequences in improper attitudes towards children and the lack of interest in the child's development and his or her needs [Kantowicz, 2001: 183].

Considering the directions of the transformations of the contemporary family, in addition to the aforementioned dysfunctions, in the area of social work there are also specific forms of current parenting, and particularly their effects for the quality of living of parents and children. While performing a detailed analysis of issues like single parenting, for example, we can discuss them both in terms of their causes (divorce, separation, the loss of one of the spouses, a stay in a correction unit, a long stay away from home), and the consequences for a family as a whole and its individual members. In social work with a family special attention is paid then to the lack of contacts or disturbed contacts with closer or more distant relatives, neighbours, no assistance and support from the family, local environment, social and educational institutions in the situation of the emergence of a crisis [Kantowicz, 2001: 184].

When diagnosing a family, one should remember about the basic principles owing to which the undertaken recognition process will be more effective. Most frequently, the following principles are indicated in social work:

- the principle of the evaluative character of the diagnosis on the basis of which those family assets which can be used in mutual work are primarily assessed;
- the principle of positive diagnosis discovers the power of a family, both as a whole and as its individual members;
- the principle of the relativity of the influence of the family environment conditions draws attention to a necessity to analyse a given family from the angle of the community of families in a given local environment;
- the principle of cognitive holism in which family is a whole and constitutes a system of interrelated individuals;
- the principle of the consideration of family dynamism, owing to which we have a possibility to analyse specific stages of the family life cycle and assess whether the family functioning style is appropriate for a given stage;
- the principle of considering the family social context describes a family against social and cultural features;
- the principle of self-diagnosis enables a family to learn and independently define the possibilities to improve an unfavourable situation [Dybowska, 2010: 268–270].

Therefore, one might venture an opinion that the transformations of the contemporary family force sociology to adopt a scientific role not only in explaining how certain social problems arise but also how they can be solved, mitigated or controlled, and social work may serve this aim [Jamrozik, Nocella: 2000, 39–40]. In the long-standing tradition and history of the analyses of social problems numerous concepts have been created, which include, among others, the theory of social pathology, social disorganisation, value conflict, deviations, social stigma, and even the critical theory and constructionist perspective. Each of these theories proposes a different set of definitions of a "social problem", its causes, consequences, and capabilities of solving social problems [Jamrozik, Nocella: 2000, 39–40].

Conclusion

A social problem is a phenomenon which involves a given community, evokes a social conviction and readiness to undertake collective activities aiming at combating, or at least limiting the range and effects of the social problem. The changes observed in marital and family life are the state which is irreversible and fixed in the awareness of society. The traditional family model is becoming blurred and for this reason it is no longer valid. Thus, in this changing reality it is worth making an attempt to understand those changes in

order to be able to promote appropriately the values which are still most important for the proper functioning of family. It is necessary to set specific directions of supportive activities, especially with regard to families which temporarily or permanently experience difficulties in the fulfilling of their functions. Admittedly, family has always been and will be the central category of social life, around which processes, social phenomena or religious norms are cumulated, but the changing conditions of life of families are generating a necessity to monitor the quality of life of families and look at them as a whole and individually. In the case of a necessity to undertake support activities by people working with a family, in a family and for a family, the main assumption should always be a strive to restore functionality to families. The knowledge of the processes taking place in a family enables to make an efficient diagnosis and define the directions and manners of assistance. Sociology is an important backup of theoretical, methodological and methodical knowledge for social work. However, social work is no longer a passive recipient, as it contributes to increasing knowledge and building the identity of social sciences.

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