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FROM TRADITION TO MODERNITY. CHANGES OF THE VALUE OF FAMILY IN SILESIA

A b s t r a c t. The article addresses the problem of changes in the perception of the value of family in Silesia. Silesia is a region in Poland characterized by its cultural specificity. The analysis will be based on the discussion of Silesian family values in a historical perspective and on current research of the Author. R. Inglehart's concept of materialist and post-materialist values, was adopted as the theoretical context of the research. Completed in 2010, the study concerned the issue of family, among other values, the value of marriage itself and the function of marriage. An important variable to which attention was drawn was the respondents answers on Silesian identification, in particular, whether their views on family exhibited any specificity. The analysis showed that the young generation of the large city (including the young Silesians) declared to have post-materialist values, while residents of smaller towns, had traditional – materialist values. Silesian ethnic identification has positive effects on the declared traditional family values and yields lower modernist currents. This is a result of the impact by the cultural heritage in the region.

Key words: value; family; Silesia; change.

INTRODUCTION

Changes in the modern world did not avoid marriage and family. Family is an important value, but what lies behind this term is not entirely certain. Cultural change we experience, affects the understanding of the concepts of marriage and family. A specific order of proceedings was established in the

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Silesian family.¹ The first stage was engagement, followed by the important event of marriage in the church. Having much influence, the Catholic Church strengthened the value of family and affected the compliance with the standards of marital morality. The period of real socialism favored the orientation towards family as a lasting value, ensuring the need for social affiliation and producing a need for emotional security. Certainly, the Silesian family, as well as other Polish families did not avoid the modernist currents. The same processes occur in the Silesian family as in the rest of Poland, however, in the author's opinion it still shows some degree of specificity.²

The article aims to show:

1. Socio-historical grounds for the shaping of the value of family in Silesia.
2. The evolution of the value of family during the period of systemic transformation.
3. The latest developments, based on empirical research, in the scope of views on family in the Silesian society (family as a value, the value of marriage and the function of marriage). The theoretical basis for this analysis will be Ronald Inglehart's concept of value change (the materialist values and post-materialist values).
4. The impact of the Silesian cultural heritage on the views of marriage and the family.
5. The supplement of R. Inglehart's theory with conclusions derived from the analysis of empirical research.

The above stated objectives will be achieved through the analysis of historical studies, the analysis of sociological research and analysis of research carried out by the author in the community of Upper Silesia. Presenting the specificity of changes in this area in Upper Silesia is of similar importance, as it is an urbanized region, inhabited mainly by an urban population. However, they exhibit a greater attachment to traditional values, including the values of family.

¹ The author using the term "Silesia" is referring to the industrialized area of Upper Silesia, now part of the Silesian Voivodeship in Poland.

² I. BUKOWSKA-FLOREŃSKA, *Rodzina na Górnym Śląsku*, Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego 2007; W. ŚWIĄTKIEWICZ, *Rodzina jako wartość w tradycji kulturowej Górnego Śląska*, In: M. ZIEMSKA (ed.), *Rodzina współczesna*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 2001, p. 71-89; W. ŚWIĄTKIEWICZ, *Rodzina w sercu Europy. Rybnik – Nitra – Hradec Kralove – Szeged*, Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego 2009; U. SWADŹBA, *Wartości – pracy, rodziny, religii – ciągłość i zmiana. Socjologiczne studium społeczności śląskich*, Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego 2012, p. 244-275.

1. FAMILY AS A VALUE – THEORETICAL CONTEXT OF THE ANALYSIS. THE APPLICATION OF INGLEHART'S THEORY

The adopted context of analysis falls within the sociology of values. In sociology and other social sciences, the notion of value has been defined in a variety of ways and this leads to different concepts of values being encountered.³ In Polish sociology, there are many definitions and concepts of values, which were also linked to the value of family.⁴ The author, after a careful analysis of the definitions and concepts of values, believes, on a sociological basis, that J. Mariański's position on the value of family should be considered in any related research.⁵ Therefore, the research approach should include: on one hand, the subject (family) and the object (values), and on the other hand, the existence of values – objective and subjective. This approach takes into account the fact that people are the source of values, and communicate their values through their conduct and declarations. People should not, however, be treated as individuals, but as part of a social group, linked by some form of social tie, but conscious of its distinctiveness. The latter element is very important in the analysis of family as a value in the communities of Silesia. Silesians were, throughout the analyzed period, aware of their distinctiveness and cultural specificities. This was evident in the results of the latest National Censuses.⁶

The analysis of changes in the perception of family as a value will be made based on the concept of value change by Ronald Inglehart.⁷ Inglehart was ins-

³ M. MISZTAŁ, *Problematyka wartości w socjologii*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo PWN 1980.

⁴ S. OSSOWSKI, *Konflikty niewspółmiernych skal wartości*, In: *Dziela*, Vol. III: *Z zagadnień psychologii społecznej*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo PWN 1967, p. 71-72; S. NOWAK, *Pojęcie wartości w empirycznych teoriach działań społecznych*, In: J. WIATR (ed.), *Systemy wartości a wzory konsumpcji społeczeństwa polskiego*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Socjologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 1980, p. 12-60; J. MARIAŃSKI, *Socjologia moralności*, Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2006, p. 171; M. MARODY, *Pojęcie wartości w wyjaśnianiu zachowań społecznych*, In: M. MARODY & E. GUCWA-LEŚNY (ed.), *Podstawy życia społecznego w Polsce*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Studiów Społecznych Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 1996, p. 167; M. ZIÓŁKOWSKI, *Przemiany interesów i wartości społeczeństwa polskiego. Teorie – tendencje – interpretacje*, Poznań: Wydawnictwo Fundacji Humaniora 2000, p. 57.

⁵ J. MARIAŃSKI, *Socjologia moralności*, p. 171.

⁶ In 2002, 173 thousand people declared Silesian nationality, in 2011, 847 thousand declared Silesian identification (including 436 thousand as the only identification). National Census 2002, National Census 2011. www.stat.gov.pl. Downloaded: 08.06.2013.

⁷ R. INGLEHART, *The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Systems among Western Publics*, Princeton: Princeton University Press 1977.

pired by Maslow's theory of needs. According to this theory, human needs are hierarchical. Physiological needs are the most important, especially in the conditions of limited capacity. Next, is the need for safety, which is almost as important as the previous one. After addressing the basic needs, the individual will seek to achieve other intangible needs. According to the thesis developed by Inglehart, the conclusion was as follows: Along with the ongoing economic prosperity there is a shift from materialist values (traditional), ensuring safety and survival, to the post-materialist values (modern), emphasizing the need for self-expression and quality of life. From these two assertions, one can conclude a significant difference between the value systems of young and older generations of Europeans. The concept of Inglehart is a very contemporary theory and explains the current change in the system of values, including the value of family. This concept has been used in a variety of empirical studies. Changes related to the value of the family are associated with the increased need for self-fulfillment, a sense of independence and the search for individual lifestyles. This is accompanied by a weakening of the tendency to create formal relationships and making lasting commitments. Greater sexual freedom is accepted along with the growing acceptance of extramarital relationships and single parenthood. Procreation attitudes are also changing.

The application of Inglehart's theory to the analysis of changes in the value of family, has a legitimate place in the empirical research of the author. Polish society has since the period of systemic transformation, been getting rich quickly. The national growth and wages of inhabitants have systematically increased.⁸ In the social perception, the financial situations of many households have improved.⁹ The inhabitants of the Silesian voivodeship are among the highest paid in the country. Miners, who were part of the research group, have a great impact on the average income.¹⁰ It should be assumed

⁸ Real GDP growth rate (percentage change on previous year) was, for example, in 2003 – 3.9; 2004 – 5.3; 2005 – 3.6; 2006 – 6.2; 2007 – 6.8; 2008 – 5.1; 2009 – 1.6; 2010 – 3.9; 2011 – 4.5. GDP per capita in PPS was in 2000 – 48 and in 2011 – 64 (EU 27 = 100) (www.eurostat.ec.europa.eu). Downloaded: 08.06.2013.

⁹ In 1992, only 8% of respondents identified the conditions of their household as good, while in 2012 – 40%. M. OMYŁA-RUDZKA, *Materialne warunki życia Polaków*. Komunikat z badań CBOS. (BS/54/2012). Downloaded: 23.04.2013, www.cbos.pl

¹⁰ The average monthly salary in the first quarter of 2013 in Silesian voivodeship was 3905, 83 PLN, which puts it in second place after Mazovian voivodeship (4782.83 PLN). (www.stat.gov.pl). Downloaded: 08.06.2013. As of October 2010, the average salary in the industry was 3473, 73 PLN, in mining 6183.29 PLN. Statistical Yearbook of Industry 2011 (selected tables). (www.stat.gov.pl). Downloaded: 08.06.2013.

that there will be changes in the perception of family as a value. On the other hand, the cultural heritage of the region indicate the persistence of traditional family values.

The author conducted her research, using some of the questions by EVS. The research concerned the value of work, family and religion.¹¹ In the empirical part of the article, some of the analyzed material on the value of family will be presented.

2. THE FAMILY AS A VALUE IN SILESIA – HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

The concept of a typical family of Silesia, can be linked with the beginning of the industrial period in the mid-nineteenth century, in Upper Silesia, when it belonged to Germany. Then the growing industry needed a large number of workers, especially miners. In the early twentieth century, more than 70% of the population of Upper Silesia was of the working class.¹² The strengthening of family values was influenced by proximity, resulting in the late nineteenth century working-class estates. By building these workers estates, employers aimed to stabilize the crew and attach them to steel mills and mines. Up to 1914, owners of the factories provided about 50 000 dwellings for their employees. In the vicinity of Wirek and Radzionków, Hugo Henkel von Donnersmark built about 230 homes, the workers' colony of Giszowiec designed by Jerzy and Emil Zillmann was considered a role model, resulting in housing estates in Knurów and Murcki.¹³ This produced the spatial framework for the internal cohesion of the people performing the same or similar type of work, being in the same place in the social structure and religious affiliation. "Familoiki" were often populated by families related to each other, whose members undertook the work at the mill or mine. Common space, which was established around settlements such as workers' halls, bath-

¹¹ The research was carried out within the grant given to the author by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education No. N N116 230036. Integrity of analysis is included in: U. SWADŹBA, *Wartości – pracy, rodziny, religii – ciągłość i zmiana*.

¹² S. MICHALKIEWICZ, *Historia Śląska*, Vol. III, Part. 2, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Ossolineum 1985.

¹³ J. LIGĘZA & M. ŻYWIRSKA, *Zarys kultury górniczej*, Katowice: Wydawnictwo „Śląsk” 1964; K. JONCA, *Polityka socjalna Niemiec w przemyśle ciężkim Górnego Śląska 1871-1914*, Katowice: Wydawnictwo „Śląsk” 1966; www.giszowiec.info.pl

rooms, shops (“konsums”) or laundry rooms, caused the intensification of social contacts among women. Children were at the same school. In addition to the establishment of colonies, the idea of allotments where workers’ families could spend their free time after work, was promoted. The positive effect on family ties had a similarity of social status of Silesians, different to the position of Germans. German migrants in Upper Silesia occupied official positions in the administrative apparatus like management of industrial plants, whereas autochthons held the positions of workers. Performing a similar type of work and occupying lower social positions by the Silesians and the common lot, resulted in the appearance of professional and family solidarity. A common fate and a separate language (dialect) which they used, resulted in the creation of a specific regional identification – Silesian.

A characteristic feature of Silesian families was strict separation of female and male roles. The men were assigned to work outside home in the industry, especially mining and metallurgy.¹⁴ For women, marriage and having children was a great value. The Silesian family man played the important role as a breadwinner, but no less important was the role played by his wife, to whom fell the burden of running the household and raising children. It was required of women to be frugal, to keep order at home, and to promote cleanliness and neatness. In the early days of the formation of industrialism such features were propagated by the German employers.¹⁵ Silesian families were usually large, therefore woman had more duties in care taking and educational fields. An important factor determining the value of family was the teaching and activities of the Catholic Church.

In 1922 much of the industrialized area of Upper Silesia was part of Poland, but not much changed in the social position of Silesians. After Poland regained independence, Upper Silesia had virtually no intellectuals.¹⁶ Poles arriving in Upper Silesia from other partitions (Russian and Austrian) incited the awareness among the local population that they were a distinct group and occupied an inferior social position. The replacement of the German intellectuals with Polish intellectuals, who did not understand and did not want to understand the Silesian plebeian lifestyle, resulted in the strengthening and

¹⁴ I. BUKOWSKA-FLOREŃSKA, *Spoleczno-kulturowe funkcje tradycji w społecznościach industrialnych Górnego Śląska*, Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego 1987, p. 63-74.

¹⁵ F. BIAŁY, *Górnośląski Związek Przemysłowców Górniczo-Hutniczych (1854-1914)*, Katowice: Wydawnictwo „Śląsk” 1963.

¹⁶ M. WANATOWICZ, *Inteligencja na Śląsku w okresie międzywojennym*, Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego 1986.

the integration around the chief Silesian values, which were: work, family and religion. It was a multigenerational family with strong family ties between parents and children, and the extended family. Proximity, living in "familoki" or living in rural working-class neighborhoods, fostered stronger ties.¹⁷ During the interwar period, because of the great economic crisis and unemployment, there was no inflow of migrants into the labor market of Silesia. Dim social mobility led to an overlap and strengthening of family, neighbor and local ties. This situation strengthened the awareness of regional and social distinctiveness of Silesians. The spoken language – Silesian dialect which was in common use also contributed to this. All these factors resulted in consolidation of the Silesian identification.

The Silesian family integrated around religious values. Traditional Silesian family education took place in the spirit of the Catholic Church. Conservatism based on Catholic moral teaching was valuable. They adhered to moral standards, truthfulness and restraint in the display of public affection.¹⁸ The whole process of education aimed to educate the younger generation, that their behavior affected the harmony of family life for which they were responsible.

Since 1945, the entire area of Upper Silesia belongs to Poland. Political realities have changed. The period of real socialism was a time of new experiences for families in Silesia. First of all, the demand for workers was high and it could not be met by the local population. For this reason, migrants arrived in Silesia, usually young men seeking work. Silesians preferred to marry within their own population, which was not always possible. In the late 40th and early 50th in age groups 20-24 and 24-29 there was a surplus of young women due to the loss of young men in the army during the war.¹⁹ Such a situation led to more mixed marriages.²⁰ Through marriage, the male immigrant assimilated to Silesian values (family, work and religion). The family continued the complementary of male and female roles. Often, however, the vision of the traditional role of women was replaced due to existential needs.²¹ The 60s and 70s showed greater professional activation of wo-

¹⁷ I. BUKOWSKA-FLOREŃSKA, *Rodzina na Górnym Śląsku*.

¹⁸ I. GÓRNIKOWSKA-ZWOLAK, *Szkic do portretu Ślązaczki. Refleksja feministyczna*, Katowice: Wydawnictwo „Śląsk” 2000.

¹⁹ R. KACZMAREK, *Ślązacy w Wermachcie*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie 2010.

²⁰ H. DUTKIEWICZ, *Małżeństwa mieszane w czterech miastach GOP jako wskaźnik integracji społecznej*, Katowice: Wydawnictwo Śląski Instytut Naukowy 1968.

²¹ W. MROZEK, *Rodzina górnicza. Przekształcenia społeczne w górnośląskim środowisku górniczym*, Katowice: Wydawnictwo Śląsk 1965.

men. The disappearance of professional tradition in the family, diversity of professional groups, increased social and spatial mobility and many possibilities to choose an occupation, all relaxed the socio-cultural relationships between the family and the profession. Family ties therefore became more personal and emotional.²²

3. THE PERIOD OF SYSTEMIC TRANSFORMATION – CHANGES IN SILESIAN FAMILY

The period of systemic transformation from 1989, was a real trail for the Silesian family. Disturbing phenomena such as job loss, unemployment and depletion, severely affected the Silesian family. The restructuring of heavy industry (especially mining) and the elimination of many industrial plants contributed to the unemployment and difficulties in obtaining a job.²³ Certainty of work was once guaranteed by mining in particular. The certainty of employment and earnings, which was known to families throughout the period of real socialism, was not so obvious anymore. There was an increase of impoverishment in many families, for others there was a rise in the quality of life. Employees with higher education and qualifications began to earn more than blue collar workers in mining. Families living in areas of Silesia were subject to the same socio-economic processes as families in Poland. In Polish society, demographers pointed to changes in the process of marriage. Followed by the weakening tendency to create formal relationships, deferring a decision on marriage and the change in the fertility rate, or lowering the level of fertility and fertility calendar changes.²⁴ Sociologists, in addition to mentioning these processes, also indicate the prevalence of premarital

²² W. MROZEK, *Górnośląska rodzina robotnicza w procesie przeobrażeń*, Katowice: Wydawnictwo Śląski Instytut Naukowy 1987.

²³ A.S. BARCZAK (ed.), *Gospodarka Górnego Śląska na przelomie XX I XXI wieku*, Katowice: Wydawnictwo Akademii Ekonomicznej 2006; A. BARTECZEK, *Sytuacja gospodarcza województwa śląskiego*, In: L. FRĄCKIEWICZ (ed.), *Społeczny obraz Śląska na przelomie wieków*, Katowice: Wydawnictwo Akademii Ekonomicznej 2004, p. 11-26.

²⁴ I.E. KOTOWSKA, A. MATYSIAK, A. DOMARADZKA, *Scenariusze polityki ludnościowej dla Polski. Badanie eksperckie Delhi*, Warszawa: Szkoła Główna Handlowa 2005; I. KOTOWSKA, U. SZTANDERSKA, *Zmiany demograficzne a zmiany na rynku pracy w Polsce*, In: I.E. KOTOWSKA, U. SZTANDERSKA, I. WÓYCICKA (ed.), *Aktywność zawodowa i edukacyjna a obowiązki rodzinne w Polsce w świetle badań empirycznych*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar 2007, p. 13-46.

cohabitation and increased public acceptance in various stages of life as a result of changes in the sphere of axiological-normative society.²⁵

There are similar transformations in the Silesian family, as shown by statistics. There was a decrease in the number of marriages.²⁶ At the end of the 80s and the 90s, those who were from the demographic decline entered the age of marriage. In 2000 and the subsequent years, the average age of people entering into marriage shifted (a median age of newlyweds in 2000 was 25.9 years for men and 24.1 years for women, and in 2006 it was 27.3 years for men and 25.3 years for women).²⁷ A characteristic feature of families in Silesia is also the presence of the increase of marriages dissolved over those conducted, due to both the death of a spouse and divorce. There has been a particularly rapidly increase of the number of divorces in recent years – in comparison with the year 2000 it has doubled [in 2000, 5 020 (1.1 per 1000 people), in 2006, 10 718 (2.3 per 1000)].²⁸ Divorce is less in traditional Silesian communities.²⁹

These processes have affected the number of children in families. In the analyzed period of time, in the Silesian voivodeship, there was a decrease in the total fertility rate of women from 1.22 in 2000 to 1.17 in 2006. There is therefore no simple replacement rate in families.³⁰ Most babies are born in families, although in recent years an increasing number of illegitimate births have taken place (in 2002 – 14% of the total, in 2006 – 16.8% of total).³¹ Important factors influencing this process are the change in mores, the increase in labor force participation of women, obtaining a higher education and changing social roles. These often hinder the fulfillment of the maternal

²⁵ K. SLANY, *Alternatywne formy życia małżeńsko-rodzinnego w ponowoczesnym świecie*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Nomos 2002.

²⁶ B. FILIPCZYK-HALLADIN, *Sytuacja społeczno-demograficzna rodziny. Stan i przeobrażenia, kierunki przemian*, In: W. ŚWIĄTKIEWICZ (ed.), *Rodzina w województwie katowickim. Opracowania i raporty*, Katowice: Wydawnictwo Instytut Górnośląski 1998, p. 27-33; B. FILIPCZYK-HALLADIN, *Procesy demograficzne na Śląsku*, „Górnośląskie Studia Socjologiczne”, Seria Nowa 2010, Vol. 1, p. 70-82; A. ZYGMUNT, *Demograficzny obraz województwa śląskiego na tle przemian ludnościowych w Polsce – szanse, zagrożenia, prognozy*, „Studia Socjologiczne” 2010, N° 4, p. 167-190.

²⁷ B. FILIPCZYK-HALLADIN, *Procesy demograficzne na Śląsku*, p. 75-76.

²⁸ Ibidem, p. 75.

²⁹ W. ŚWIĄTKIEWICZ, *Rodzina jako wartość w tradycji kulturowej Górnego Śląska*, p. 71-89.

³⁰ B. FILIPCZYK-HALLADIN, *Procesy demograficzne na Śląsku*, p. 76.

³¹ Ibidem, p. 79.

function. The most important influences, however, are changes in the economic situation of families and households and the increased uncertainty and instability of employment. This increases the sense of insecurity on the labor market and the importance of work as a factor influencing the activity of the individual.³² The result is a conflict of social roles of a worker and a parent, which affects women more often. This situation also applies to women from Silesian families, in which tradition family, marriage and having children within marriage were great values.

4. METHODOLOGICAL BASIS OF RESEARCH

To provide current axiological changes of Silesians concerning the family, we rely on empirical research carried out in 2010. Three locations were chosen for the study: Bogucice – a district of Katowice, Rydułtowy near Rybnik and suburban municipality of Wry (23 km from Katowice). The selection of these locations were targeted because they illustrate the diversity of the environment of Silesia (a large city, a medium sized town and a suburban village). All have one common trait, they evolved in the vicinity of mines. Bogucice is a district of Katowice, inhabited by a very diverse population. There are autochthons but also immigrants, who settled in the 80s of the last century. Rydułtowy is a mining town, where up until today there is a fully functional mine “Rydułtowy Anna”. It is inhabited largely by autochthons, but also in the newly created blocks in the eighties, there is a population of immigrants. The Municipality of Wry consists of two villages, Wry and Gostyń, mainly inhabited by autochthons. In recent years, due to the convenient location of the villages, many residents of the nearby Katowice and Tychy settled there.

The study included people aged 19 to 75 years of age. A quota selection of inhabitants was used for the research (age, gender, education). A total of 540 categorized interviews and 45 free interviews were conducted (180 categorized interviews as well as 15 free interviews in each location). Only one interview could be conducted in a family with one adult.

The analysis presented below will apply to changes in the consciousness that occurred in the perception of the value of family (the family among

³² I. KOTOWSKA, U. SZTANDERSKA, *Zmiany demograficzne a zmiany na rynku pracy w Polsce*, p. 25-27.

other values, marriage as an essential institution and its functions). In the analysis, attention will be paid mainly to the differences between autochthons (Silesians) and non-Silesians and the differences between the locations inhabited by an ethnically diverse population. Ethnic identification in the study was diagnosed by self-declaration of the respondent in reply to the closed questions.

5. FAMILY IN THE SYSTEM OF VALUES – AN EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS

Sociological research shows that family is one of the most important values. In studies by EVS, family was placed at the top in the rankings in Poland. This also applies to other surveyed countries.³³ Differences in cultural traditions, standards of living and current problems do not change the central position of the family in the system of axiological references. The high value of the family continued to be recorded also in sociological research in the late 90s and in the first decade of this century.³⁴ The study by CBOS (Public Opinion Research Centre) in 2005 proved unbeatably that family happiness was the most important, appreciated by 84% of respondents. The family-oriented dimension of existence was also reflected in the question about the most important qualities in life. Most people considered the most important feature as familial love (39%).³⁵ During the period of systemic transformation the position of family

³³ R. INGLEHART [& others], *Human Beliefs and Values. A Cross-Cultural Sourcebook Based on the 1999-2002 Values Surveys*, Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno XXI 2004, p. 24.

³⁴ R. BOGUSZEWSKI, *Rodzina – jej współczesne znaczenie i rozumienie*. Komunikat z badań CBOS. (BS/33/2013/), www.cbos.pl; R. BOGUSZEWSKI, *Wartości i normy w życiu Polaków*. Komunikat z badań CBOS. (BS/133/2005), www.cbos.pl; U. SWADŹBA, *Śląski etos pracy. Studium socjologiczne*, Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego 2001; W. ŚWIĄTKIEWICZ, *Rodzina jako wartość w tradycji kulturowej Górnego Śląska*, p. 71-89; L. DYCZEWSKI (ed.), *Małżeństwo i rodzina jako wartość*, Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2007; A. ZYGMUNT, *System wartości rybniczian*, In: U. SWADŹBA (ed.), *Śląski świat wartości. Z badań empirycznych w Rybniku*, Katowice: Wydawnictwo Gnome 2008, p. 49-64; J. BANIAK, *Małżeństwo i rodzina w świadomości młodzieży gimnazjalnej na tle kryzysu jej tożsamości osobowej. Studium socjologiczne*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Nomos 2010; M. SIKORSKA, *Coraz mniej rodziny, coraz więcej jednostek, czyli o przemianach sfery życia rodzinnego w Polsce*, In: A. JASIŃSKA-KANIA (ed.), *Wartości i zmiany. Przemiany postaw Polaków w jednoczącej się Europie*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe „Scholar” 2012, p. 15-30.

³⁵ R. BOGUSZEWSKI, *Wartości i normy w życiu Polaków*. Komunikat z badań CBOS. (BS/133/2005), www.cbos.pl

in the system of values did not change. However, the definition of family as a value, in the minds of respondents, has changed.

The first plane of analysis is to answer the question of the place of the family in the system of values. Respondents were asked the question: "To what extent do you see the following issues as important in life?" Respondent had to use a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 being unimportant and 5 very important. Five values were presented: work, family, religion, free time, friends and acquaintances and politics. Then, to learn more about the system of values, respondents were asked to choose three of the most important values and their distribution. The following are the results of the answers to both questions.

Table 1. Issues important in the lives of respondent in the system of values (%) N = 540

	Unimportant	Of little importance	Somewhat important	Important	Very important
Work	2,1	2,8	8,2	31,0	56,0
Family	0,4	0,6	1,5	6,7	90,9
Religion	6,2	9,8	20,2	28,3	35,6
Free time	2,1	7,6	23,7	42,0	24,6
Friends	3,5	7,0	20,7	44,1	24,6
Politics	38,6	28,9	19,8	9,3	3,5

Source: The Author's own research and calculations.

The table does not include data from unanswered or single answer responses.

The results indicate that family is at the top in the system of values. For 90.9% of the respondents, family is a very important value. A small percentage of respondents considered it as important, somewhat important, of little importance and unimportant. Family also stands out among the other choices (almost 76% put it in the first place). Results of comparative studies also do not differ from the above mentioned results, as the family is in Polish society the axis of the system of values.³⁶

³⁶ R. INGLEHART [& others], *Human Beliefs and Values*; R. BOGUSZEWSKI, *Wartości i normy w życiu Polaków*. Komunikat z badań CBOS, (BS/133/2005), www.cbos.pl; R. BOGUSZEWSKI, *Rodzina – jej współczesne znaczenie i rozumienie*. Komunikat z badań CBOS (BS/33-/2013/), www.cbos.pl; U. SWADŹBA, *Śląski etos pracy*; A. ZYGMUNT, *System wartości rybniczian*, p. 49-64.

Certain structural characteristics influence the perception of the value of family. Gender influences the fact that the family is seen as a “very important” value. A higher proportion of women than men choose this option (M – 87.3%, F – 94.7%). It was also shown in the answers of women in the free interviews: “Family is the most important to me. I have a happy family, two successful daughters, a good husband. My parents help me, what more can I ask for?” (Female, 45 years old, higher education, BaP, S)³⁷. Family was not chosen as a main value mainly by young men who did not have their own families. For example, one of the respondents in free interview, said: “Family is important, but the most important is also free time, because I can play sports. I run a lot and meet with friends”. (Male, 28 years old, higher education, BaP, NS). Young age is a factor that modifies the perception of the family as the most important value, mainly due to the fact that young people have not started families of their own yet. All age groups except the youngest exceed 90% of the acceptance of “very important”, people in the age category up to 30 years (81.6%).

Ethnic identification influences the place of the family in the hierarchy of values. The results are presented in the following table:

Table 2. Ethnic identification and the family as a value in value system of the respondents (%) N = 540

	Very Important	Fairly Important	Of average Importance	Of little Importance	Not Important	Total
Silesian	94,5	3,3	1,4	0,5	0,3	100,0
Non-Silesian	85,3	14,3	–	–	–	100,0
Associated with Silesia	78,5	17,2	3,2	1,1	–	100,0
Hard to say	87,1	9,7	–	–	3,2	100,0
Total	90,8	6,7	1,5	0,6	0,4	100,0

Source: Author's own research and calculations.

³⁷ Abbreviations in free interviews: self-declaration of religiousness: DBaP – deeply believing and practicing, BaP – believing and practicing, BaNP – believing and non-practicing, NBaNP – non-believing and non-practicing, ethnic identification: S – Silesian, AS – associated with Silesia, NS – non-Silesian, H – hard to say).

The results of the percentage comparisons indicate, the family is a very important value for the vast majority of respondents, but for autochthons, it is more important. Autochthonous regional origin and ethnic identification affect the perception of the family as the most important value. This value is important for both men and women. This is also confirmed as the choice of family at the first value, declared by 76.6% of autochthons, and 71.0% of foreign origin. Having regard to the ethnic identification, family was chosen by 78.9% of people describing themselves as Silesians, and 70.5% of people who did not define themselves as Silesians. Autochthonic regional origin and Silesian ethnic identification therefore strengthened the perception of family as an important value, which was already demonstrated in other sociological studies.³⁸ Those for whom family is the highest value are Silesian women over 30 years of age who have their own families. It is also suggested in the analysis of qualitative research: "Family is very important to me. I live for it. I have a small child and I cannot imagine that I could go out somewhere for longer without her. I'll work later, but it must be such a job so I can devote my time to my family" (female, 31 years old, higher education, BaP, S).

6. VIEWS ON MARRIAGE AND FAMILY

The family is an important value, but further analysis need to be done on these declarations. Questions will be analyzed to indicate the changes in the views on family. First, the analysis on the views on marriage will be conducted and the answer to the question of whether it is an outdated institution. It aims to answer how modernization current changed the views on the validity of marriage.

6.1. Is marriage an outdated institution?

The most dramatic manifestation of a family crisis is undermining the sense of its existence as the basic cell of social life. There are views about ending marriages and the family as social institutions.³⁹ EVS Studies show, however, that the situation is very diverse in different countries, and also

³⁸ W. ŚWIĄTKIEWICZ, *Rodzina jako wartość w tradycji kulturowej Górnego Śląska*, p. 71-89.

³⁹ A. KWAK, *Rodzina w dobie przemian. Małżeństwo i kohabitacja*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Akademickie „Żak” 2005.

depends on the age of the respondents.⁴⁰ Sociological studies always show that marriage is important for young people in Silesia. Therefore it was important to examine to what extent the inhabitants of Silesia accept marriage, and to what extent they consider it an outdated institution. The question was therefore asked: “Do you agree that marriage is an outdated institution?”

The analysis of the answers show the vast majority believe that marriage is not an outdated institution. The percentage of people agreeing with this statement is only 8.0% and is less than in studies of EVS form 1999 (9.0%).⁴¹ Examples are statements in free interviews, by both men and women: “Marriage is not an obsolete institution. It gives a sense of confidence and security. Well, must be because of the children. I think that marriage will never be something outdated. These innovations, such as free relations, might be good for the young, for a while” (male, 48 years old, vocational education, BaP, S), I am old-fashioned. I believe that marriage, a complete family, is the foundation of society. I do not accept that it will be replaced by De facto unions. There is no stability, too easy to leave (woman, 50 years old, secondary education, BaP, NS). This demonstrates the stability of the institution of marriage in the minds of respondents, and its appreciation as a value. This level of acceptance of marriage as an institution does not cover all categories of respondents. There is considerable variation due to some socio-demographic characteristics. Mostly, women tend to accept marriage more often (F – 80.6%, M – 76.1%). Marriage as a needed institution is accepted more by the married and the widowed (M – 85.3%, W – 91.3%) and bachelors / maidens (58.0%). In turn, divorced, separated and living in a stable cohabiting relationship are more often in opposition to marriage (D-29.4%, S – 12.5%, C – 16.7%). Such an attitude towards marriage as an institution is probably due to their personal experiences, which was indicated in the free interviews. “I do not approve of marriage. In my case it did not work, nor to my children. My daughter has a friend now and they live somehow. Maybe for others it is good, but for me it was not good ...” (woman, 57 years old, higher education, BaP, H).

Acceptance of marriage as a necessary institution depends on other structural factors. Mainly, marriage is definitely seen as an outdated institution by young people who often challenge its existence. But here, 2/3 recognizes its importance as an institution in modern times. Examples of expressions among

⁴⁰ R. INGLEHART [& others], *Human Beliefs and Values*, p. DO22.

⁴¹ Ibidem.

young people are as follows: “Marriage is not obsolete in life I cannot imagine life without marriage. Especially when you want to have children, it must be in marriage”. (Woman, 25 years old, higher education, BaNP, S). Acceptance of marriage as an institution among the Polish young generation is higher, for example, than its neighbors the Czechs, where nearly half of young people contest the institution of marriage.⁴² Research suggests that marriage is an outdated institution primarily for young people living in the big city. In Bogucice in the age category up to 30 years and 31-40 years old about 1/3 of the population recognizes marriage as an outdated institution, in Rydułtowy in the age groups up to 30 years – 22.2%, in the age category 31-40 years old – 8.3 %, and in the municipality Wry only one person in these age categories. Religiousness significantly influences the validity of marriage as an institution. Deeply believing and practicing people agree almost anonymously that marriage is not an outdated institution: “Marriage is not an outdated institution, because it is a divine institution, and without this aid, it is not sustainable” (Male, 62 years old, secondary education, BaP, S). In turn, the non-believers in the great majority, challenge the value of marriage.

Does ethnic identity influence the views on the need for the institution of marriage? As people with Silesian identification are more religious, it is also in this group where less contestation of marriage as an outdated institution occurs (lack of consent: S – 84.6%, NS – 62.9%). This applies particularly to young Silesians in the age category up to 30 years (no consent: S – 78.8% NS – 33.3%). This translates well to the place, as most Silesians live in smaller towns like Wry / Gostyń and Rydułtowy (lack of consent: B – 71.1%, R – 79.2%, W – 91.1%)⁴³. This is indicated by analysis of free interviews, where most of the older and younger respondents expressed a similar opinion: “I am for marriage, and against all of those cohabitations and free relationships. I would not agree for my children to live in something like this. I know that it is now a fashion, but not in my house”. (Male, 56 years old, vocational education, DBaP, S), “Marriage is needed. Shows on television and in the newspapers write about the actors who live without marriage, but it is not good. Especially if you want to have a family, children, it must be somehow permanent, otherwise it is not life ... ” (woman, 29 years old, higher education, BaP, S).

⁴² L. RABUSIC, J. HAMANOVA, *Hodnoty a postoje v CR 1991-2008. Pramenna publikace European Values Study*, Brno: Wydawnictwo Masarykova Univerzita 2009.

⁴³ Abbreviations for location: B – Bogucice, R – Rydułtowy, W – Wry/Gostyn.

Silesian ethnic identification and residence in smaller towns do not favor the acceptance of marriage as an outdated institution. In the suburban Silesian community with strong existing family ties, marriage remains an important value, even among the younger generation. This demonstrates the transmission of traditional cultural values in intergenerational transmission. However, in the community of the city there is an evolution of modern values.

6.2. What is a privilege and function of marriage?

The institution of marriage has always been associated with certain privileges, but also responsibilities. Regulated sex within the marriage, running a household, common residence, shared children from legalized partnerships were the features that constituted marriage. For centuries they were defining and regulating the co-existence and organization of the family. Research analysis suggests that since the end of the twentieth century, we have been dealing with changes in patterns of family life, and the current model family is not so obvious. These changes also affect the Polish society, which is shown by sociological studies.⁴⁴ In studies of CBOS the question of what family is and who created it, apart from traditional family forms, respondents defined people in De facto unions and commonly raising children (71%), married without children (67%). By contrast, most respondents do not regard the family as an informal relationship of two people, and those of the same gender, even if they raise their children together.⁴⁵ Therefore there is a transformation in the understanding of marriage and family. The loosening of moral standards is related to the escalation of individualism in society and the required tolerance for different behaviors. The result is the perception of marriage, sex life and parenting as separate spheres of life. In the words of the researcher of this problem, there are new values as a result of emotional needs and linked with subjectification of the relationship.⁴⁶

The study is also to answer, what the meaning behind the verbal acceptance of the family is? Can such a high acceptance of marriage go hand in

⁴⁴ A. KWAK, *Od i do małżeństwa i rodziny: „czas” rodziny – „czas” jednostki*, In: A. KWAK, M. BIEŃKO (ed.), *Wielość spojrzeń na małżeństwa i rodzinę*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 2012; A. KWAK, *Rodzina w dobie przemian*; D. DUCH-KRZYSZTOSZEK, *Małżeństwo, seks, prokreacja. Analiza socjologiczna*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo IFiS Polskiej Akademii Nauk 1998.

⁴⁵ B. ROGULSKA, *Potrzeby prokreacyjne oraz preferowany i realizowany model rodziny*, Komunikat z badań CBOS. (BS/52/2006), www.cbos.pl

⁴⁶ D. DUCH-KRZYSZTOSZEK, *Małżeństwo, seks, prokreacja*.

hand with traditional features? Are we dealing with acceptance of the fact that the functions of marriage are filled by other compounds? Therefore, respondents were asked the question: "Is marriage a necessary condition: 1 to have sexual intercourse, 2 to live together, 3 to have children".

The results of the first question indicate that the vast majority of respondents accept the situation of having sex outside of marriage (69.9%). The young generation in the overwhelming majority, accepts the function of sexual intercourse outside of marriage (86.4%). Such views also apply to the middle generation, which in a large part also sees nothing wrong with that (51-60 years of age, 70.5%). It should be clarified that, the acceptance of such a situation applies mostly to couples living together before marriage, who intend to get married in the near future, as indicated in free interviews. "If you are to be married then why not, I see nothing wrong with that. In our time it was like that as well, only that we were hiding it more ..." (woman, 55 years old, vocational education, BaP, S). Only the oldest generation is that which combines sexual intercourse only with marriage (64.7%). Acceptance of sexual intercourse outside of marriage is dependent on the declaration of religiousness. Those who declare themselves as believers (and especially the deeply believing) and practitioners accept such a phenomenon to a lesser extent. After all, the scale of acceptance of this situation by those who declare themselves as believing and practicing (65.9%), especially as deeply believing and practicing (44.4%), is surprising. Sexual intercourse outside of marriage is a sin in Catholic doctrine, but more than 40% of people "deeply believing" accept this situation. We are dealing with a clear inconsistency and selective application of Catholic moral standards. The reasons for such thinking are interesting as demonstrated in free interviews: "I am a believer, and very much so. But life has its own laws. Those young people do not have to wait until the wedding. They need to get to know each other so there is no divorce afterwards". (Female, 62 years, vocational education, DBaP, S).

The views on the admission of intercourse outside of marriage is affected by ethnic identification. About 1/3 of Silesians do not accept this, while only 17.1% of the migrants don't. This follows from the fact that the Silesian population is more religious. Such a result is also influenced by the fact that much of the population live in smaller communities. In Bogucice 19.1% of people are opposed to the assertion that marriage is a necessary condition to have sexual intercourse, for people in Rydułtowy 28.8%, and in Wry 36.6%. Residents of small and medium communities have a greater moral rigor. These differences also apply to those living there with Silesian ethnic identification. Acceptance of marriage as a prerequisite to having sexual intercourse

among Silesians in Bogucice is 20.4% and 37.2% in Wiry. Moral rigor is higher among Silesians living in smaller towns than in big cities. It is an effect of greater social control and stronger moral norms previously existing in autochthonic Silesian communities.

Cohabitation before marriage was not a very popular phenomenon in the past. This fact was due to the existence of not only religious norms, but also moral norms. While having sexual intercourse before marriage was accepted, cohabitation was not. This phenomenon has become popular in Poland only in the period of transformation and essentially involved young people and residents of large cities.⁴⁷ This meant that marriage was no longer needed to perform the function of a common household. The next question concerned the acceptance of cohabitation and common running of the household.

Analysis of the responses to this question showed that there is a widening sphere of acceptance to the next function, previously attributed only to marriage, because in the opinion of 37.5% of the respondents marriage is necessary to be able live together. It is, however, a higher proportion than in national surveys.⁴⁸ which indicates a greater restrictiveness in the Silesian environment. The acceptance or denial of this claim is affected by structural factors.

Age is an important variable differentiating acceptance of cohabitation. For almost 80% of people aged up to 30 years, marriage is not a condition of cohabitation. This situation is to a large extent accepted by the middle generation (60.6%). The decrease of acceptance occurs only in the older generation. Over 50% of those over 60 years believe that marriage is necessary to live together. Cohabitation without marriage, previously evaluated very restrictively, has become a widely recognized value for the younger generation, and also, though with difficulty, by the middle generation.

Cohabitation is mostly accepted by unmarried people, bachelors, maidens, and especially the divorced, and those separated and living in De facto unions. Free interviews show the motives for such acceptance: "I have lived with my partner for a few years. One day we will get married, but only when we plan to have a child. For now, we are fine like this". (female, 30 years

⁴⁷ R. BOGUSZEWSKI, *Co jest ważne, co można, a czego nie wolno – normy i wartości w życiu Polaków*, Komunikat z badań CBOS. (BS/99/2010), www.cbos.pl; M. KAWIŃSKA, *Małżeństwo czy związek nieformalny? Kryzys czy przemiany?*, In: H. ZARĘBA (ed.), *Rodzina, religia, społeczeństwo*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego 2010.

⁴⁸ R. BOGUSZEWSKI, *Co jest ważne, co można, a czego nie wolno – normy i wartości w życiu Polaków*. Komunikat z badań CBOS (BS/99/2010), www.cbos.pl

old, higher education, BaNP, AS). The views on the situation of cohabitation without marriage, are influenced by the declarations of religiousness. Respondents strongly believing and practicing do in the great part not allow such possibilities, although as many as 1/3 do. Those who declare themselves as believing and practicing are more tolerant. For more than half (56.0%), marriage is not necessary in order to live together. It is interesting, therefore, that faith and even deep faith, does not protect against the processes of secularization, as the acceptance of cohabitation without marriage can be seen as one of these. However, such processes require deeper analysis. During the free interviews the respondents declaring acceptance of cohabitation without marriage justified such a declaration very often by explaining that they do it because of the acceptance of their children's choices: "I do not support free relationships, but I am willing to accept them in exceptional circumstances, with my children well unfortunately. This is not good, as the lifestyle changes". (Woman, 59 years old, secondary education, BaP, S).

Does Silesian ethnic identification affect the acceptance of the fact that marriage is a prerequisite to live together? A higher percentage of Silesians than non-Silesians take this point of view (S – 43.1%, NS – 17.1%). It also affects the diverse acceptance in surveyed locations (Answer: Yes : B – 29.9%, R – 34.4%, W – 49.6%). Greater religiousness among people in small communities, increased social control and family ties make the acceptance of cohabitation without marriage much smaller. Free interviews show one of the motives for the lack of such acceptance: "Free relationships, living together without marriage, which is what is in marriage? This could end badly. What then of the achievements of life, what about children? But these days children decide for themselves, what can you do about it?" (Male, 60 years old, vocational education, BaP, S). Silesians living in a big city, to a lesser extent, recognize marriage as a prerequisite to living together (B – 35.9%, R – 37.3%, W – 51.9%). It is, however, a higher acceptance than among non-Silesians (B – 17.6%, R – 6.7%). Silesian ethnic identification has therefore a positive impact on the traditional way of thinking, Silesians are to a lesser extent subject to modernizing.

One of the most important functions that marriage had to fulfill was to extend the population. This involved the provision of the replacement rate. Increasingly, this feature has been filled by unmarried couples.⁴⁹ In Poland, there is a growing acceptance of single parenthood. The majority of respon-

⁴⁹ K. SLANY, *Alternatywne formy życia małżeńsko-rodzinnego*.

dents considered individuals in De facto unions and having children as a family.⁵⁰ Therefore the last of the questions was: "Is marriage necessary to have children?"

The results show that respondents are divided in their opinions. A higher percentage accept the position that marriage is necessary to have children (Yes: 59.6%, No: 39.1%). People believe that it is better for children to be born in marriage, but allow the situation of single parenthood. This is consistent with results obtained in studies by CBOS.⁵¹ Of course, the acceptance of this claim or its negation depends on the structural characteristics of the respondents.

The older generation is definitely of the opinion that marriage is a prerequisite for having children (over 70 years of age 86.3%). The middle generation also greatly favors such a model (41-50 years 59.5%). What is the opinion of the young generation? It is divided in its views. A significant part does not reject this function of marriage (Yes: 43.7 %). It is the highest percentage of accepting answers for the statements presented above. For this part of young people, having children is the barrier, where marriage is necessary. An example is one from a young inhabitant of Bogucice: "I think if you want to have children, then a wedding is needed, at least a civil one. Because later, how will people look at the child in nursery school / school. It hurts the child. Without children you can live like that, but a child is a serious matter ..." (woman, 32 years old, secondary education, BaP, S). Acceptance of marriage as a necessary condition for having children is associated with marital status and education. Married people more often answer "Yes" than bachelors and maidens, and especially divorced, separated and living in free unions. Such as in the case of previous answers, the declaration of religiousness had a particular impact. Deeply believing and practicing in the vast majority believe that marriage is essential for having children (81.5%). 1 of respondents believing and practicing have the same point of view.

Are the answers affected by ethnic identification? Silesians more often than non-Silesians appreciate the institution of marriage as a prerequisite to having children. These differences reflect in the results obtained in different

⁵⁰ R. BOGUSZEWSKI, *Rodzina – jej współczesne znaczenie i rozumienie*. Komunikat z badań CBOS. (BS/33/2013/), www.cbos.pl; R. BOGUSZEWSKI, *Co jest ważne, co można, a czego nie wolno – normy i wartości w życiu Polaków*. Komunikat z badań CBOS. (BS/99/2010), www.cbos.pl

⁵¹ B. ROGULSKA, *Potrzeby prokreacyjne oraz preferowany i realizowany model rodziny*. Komunikat z badań CBOS (BS/52/2006), www.cbos.pl

areas (answer "Yes" B – 46.1%, R – 62.2%, W – 70.6%). Silesians are varied in responses. Residents of Bogucice (Silesian autochthons) rarely give an affirmative answer compared to Silesians living in Rydułtowy or Wry (B – 56.3%, R – 67.3%, W – 71.8%). Even greater differences in the acceptance of marriage as a precondition for having children, are marked in the responses of the young generation of Silesians up to 30 years of age (B – 25.8%, W – 70.6%). Examples are of two statements of young Silesian women, one of Rydułtowy, the second of Bogucice: "Children are the most important treasures, the greatest value. I think that people should have children before they turn 30. Marriage is essential. I do not understand women who have children alone". (Woman, 29 years old, higher education, BaP, S), I do not think it was necessary to have children only within marriage. My sister had a child alone. Her Fiancé went abroad. Her parents are helping out. So, you can therefore do it without a husband. (Woman, 25 years of age, higher education, BaNP, S). Silesian ethnic identification is therefore important in the acceptance of preservation of this function of marriage, however it is less and less so in large cities. It means that modernization currents and the acceptance of post-materialistic values influence the inhabitants of large cities, including the young Silesian generation.

In summary, reflections on the constitutive characteristics of marriage, it can be concluded that we are dealing with a split system of values. On one hand, according to the traditional system of values, marriage is a highly accepted value, and the vast majority of people do not consider it as an outdated institution, on the other hand they are contesting its constitutive features. It should be added that the contestation concerns the admission of premarital intercourse and cohabitation in the situation where marriage is a near future perspective. Single parenthood is accepted when it stems from a pre-existing marriage. This non-coherence of value patterns cause respondents to rationalize the release of certain behavior in a given situation. This is particularly true for the middle generation, which accepts the behavior of their children, with a view to maintaining ties with them.

CONCLUSION

Family is a very important value in Poland. This also applies to residents of Silesia. The area of Upper Silesia has from the mid-nineteenth century been one of the most industrialized and urbanized areas in Poland. Communities in these areas are subject to a process of *ladcité* and moral norms and

familial bonds are relaxed. In Silesia, due to the high authority of the Catholic Church, family has not undergone the process of atomization. It was a traditional working family, which was subject to strict moral standards, which were respected even in urban communities. This familial bond was strengthened by the strong local and neighborhood ties. Family had a number of discrete functions and roles in society. This heritage of family as a value was carefully nurtured in autochthonous Silesian communities. Despite the large number of migration into Silesia during the period of real socialism, the traditional value of family and the strong familial bond were preserved in autochthonous communities. This continued throughout the period of real socialism, and empirical studies have shown that it is still continuing.

The period of systemic transformation brought economic change, restructuring of the industry and the opening of modernization currents flowing from west. These factors contributed to the changes in the system of values, including the value of family. As demonstrated in R. Inglehart's theory, enrichment of society leads to changes in value systems and there is a shift from materialist to post-materialist values. This is the situation which occurred in Poland during the period of systemic transformation. Liberal ideological currents favored the formation of post-materialist values, especially the values of family and religion.⁵² Residents of the Silesian Voivodeship are among the highest paid in the country (after residents of the Mazovian Voivodeship), especially in the mining industry. Thus, these are relatively rich communities in comparison to other communities in Poland. According to Inglehart's theory, post-materialist values (liberal) should therefore be more dominant in Silesia than in other communities in Poland. Inglehart's theory explains the occurring changes only partially. Silesian communities are subject to liberal influence in terms of family as a values, but the historical heritage of the region has a strong impact on the modernizing changes.

The results of the research show the extent to which communities submitted to modernization currents, and also whether post-materialist values (modern) are adopted in favor of materialist values (traditional). The existence of post-materialist values may be indicated by the fact that certain marital functions (sexual intercourse, sharing a home, having children) are no longer exclusive to marriage. These functions can now also occur in single parent- and alternative forms of family. The family is still an important value, however, it has a very wide sense of meaning. Inhabitants of Silesia consider

⁵² M. ZIÓLKOWSKI, *Przemiany interesów i wartości społeczeństwa polskiego*.

marriage an intricate value and not an outdated institution. This also applies to young people. This suggests the existence of traditional values (materialist) in their consciences. Such incoherent views and ruptures in consciousness, is due to the selectivity of the functioning of religious norms. This in turn influences the views on marriage and the family.⁵³ Some people declaring themselves as believers and practitioners, believe that the Catholic Church can only speak on moral issues and marriage, but it should not hamper the autonomous decisions and choices in life.⁵⁴

Silesian cultural heritage, including their greater religiousness has a positive impact on the persistence of traditional (materialist) family values (not the recognition of marriage as an outdated institution, acceptance of marriage as a prerequisite – to have intercourse, live together and have children). This heritage does have an impact in big cities, but to a lesser extent. It is stronger in small communities where stronger family, neighborhood and local bonds exist along with social control. This is a result of the existence of the traditional family and the inter-generational transfer of values.

According to R. Inglehart's theory, post-materialist values should be increasingly dominant in Silesia. The analysis showed that Silesian communities still have a great attachment to traditional values (R. Inglehart defined it as materialist values). The author therefore believes that this theory should be supplemented by another link. Factors which influence the transition from materialist to post-materialist values are historical events and the cultural code which is transmitted to the young generation. Despite the growth in prosperity, the availability of goods and services, and the upbringing in the community with relatively abundant wealth, the traditional values transmitted in the process of socialization still hinder the transition to post-materialist values.

The author, as a result of her research, believes this field of research to still be in its infancy. The results of the research on the young generation of Silesia is of real interest. The young generation of the big city is clearly different from the older generation. Modernization currents are abundantly indicated among the young generation and they have clearly conformed to the post-materialist values of Western societies. It cannot be said of the young generation in the small Silesian communities, where cultural continuity and

⁵³ J. MARIANŃSKI, *Kryzys moralny czy transformacja wartości? Studium socjologiczne*, Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego 2001.

⁵⁴ Ibidem.

the impact of socialization processes are strongly visible. Therefore, it will be interesting to examine in what direction and at what pace, the values of marriage and the family will change among the young generation of Silesians. In addition, the extent to which cultural heritage will be maintained, and the future influence of modernization currents, will prove to be of value.

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OD TRADYCJI DO NOWOCZESNOŚCI
ZMIANY WARTOŚCI RODZINY NA ŚLĄSKU

S t r e s z c z e n i e

Artykuł odnosi się do problemu zmian w postrzeganiu wartości rodziny na Śląsku, regionie o wyjątkowej specyfice kulturowej. Autorka artykułu omawia wartości rodzinne na Śląsku w perspektywie historycznej i zestawia z aktualnymi badaniami własnymi. Za perspektywę teoretyczną przyjęta została koncepcja wartości materialistycznych i post-materialistycznych R. Ingleharta. Badanie zakończone w 2010 roku dotyczyło problematyki rodzinnej, wartości samego małżeństwa i funkcji małżeństwa. Ważną zmienną, na którą zwrócono uwagę były odpowiedzi respondentów dotyczące identyfikacji ze Śląskiem, sprawdzając, czy ich poglądy na rodzinę wykazują się dodatkową specyfiką. Analiza wykazała, że młode pokolenie z dużych miast (w tym młodych Ślązaków) w zdecydowanej większości zadeklarowało wartości post-materialistyczne, a mieszkańcy mniejszych miast, bardziej tradycyjne - wartości materialistyczne. Identyfikacja etniczna ze Śląskiem ma pozytywny wpływ na deklarowanie tradycyjnych wartości rodzinnych i daje większy odpór wpływom modernistycznym. Jest to wynikiem obecności i znaczenia dziedzictwa kulturowego w regionie.

Słowa kluczowe: wartość; rodzina; Śląsk; zmiana.