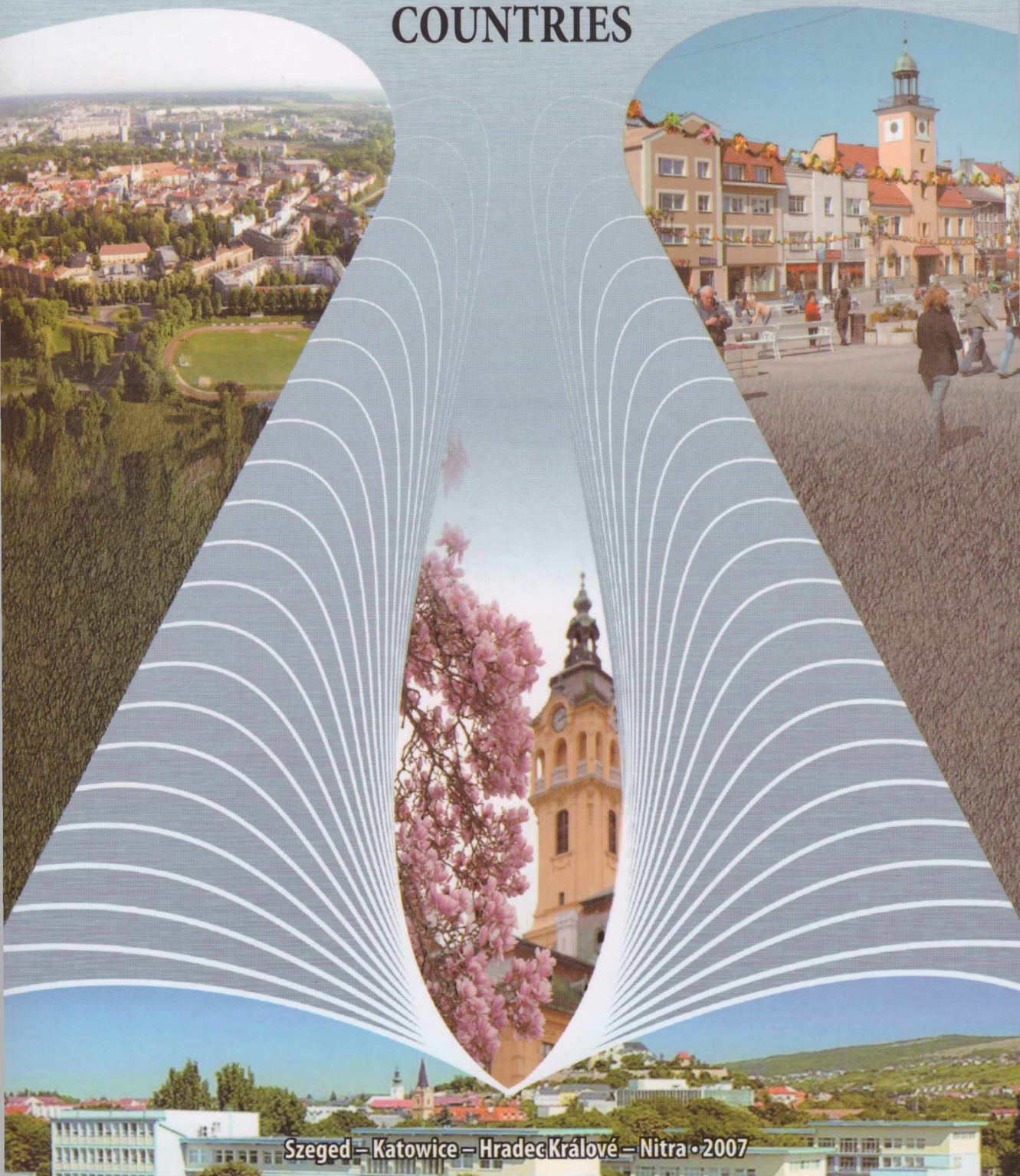


Zsuzsanna Benkő (Editor)

TRADITION AND MODERNITY IN THE LIFE- STYLE OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VISEGRAD COUNTRIES



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Preface

Dear Reader,

I have the pleasure to strongly recommend you the report of the team of experts in Visegrad countries „Tradition and modernity in the lifestyles of families in the Visegrad countries” coordinated by the Department of Applied Health Sciences at the Faculty of Juhász Gyula Teacher's Training College, University of Szeged.

Lifestyle is a concept representing an approach which is intended to contain both individual and community-oriented elements. Lifestyles cover occurrences which are intervening variables between individual behaviour and the social political and cultural condition. As a mediating sociological concept lifestyles fill the gap between the individual and general social institutions and system of values. In this sense, lifestyles are to be determined both in relation to the individual and their collective manifestations.

A lifestyle of a social group characterises the totality of patterns of meaning and forms of expressions which are produced by a group in the course of collective efforts to cope with the demands and contradictions of the social structures and situations, common to all members of that group. Lifestyle brings together efforts related to the demands, i.e. the external (social, political, economic and cultural) conditions and efforts related to the subjective situations and conditions. These tendencies, in forms of common social values, norms, language forms, interactions, rituals provide a reservoir for the individuals or subgroups, like families, which they can draw on for their personal and social identity. It makes it possible for them to give sense and meaning to their specific situations.

The concept of lifestyles creates a close link between the living conditions of an individual and a family including activities and socially format strategies for coping in life. Characteristic for this is the linking of individual and collective lifestyles in relation to the particular socio-structural conditions in which the individual and families are living.

The report gives a broad overview and strong evidence why comparative lifestyle research is so important in Central European dimensions. While reading the report we got a better understanding, which are the common roots and denominators of lifestyle in the Visegrad countries and which are the specific features. This study report contributes as a frame of reference to a better understanding about ourselves and at the same time the results of research offer new prospective for social and health policy planning in Central and Eastern Europe.

The report includes a number of new pieces of information and innovative ideas. The multidisciplinary approach of the authors and the multicultural aspects give a special flavour for the report. So, I hope while reading this book, you will spend your time with pleasure.

Peter Makara, PhD

Deputy Director

National Institute for Health Development

Conceptual umbrella

Dear Reader!

You are holding a comprehensive scientific work that is based on the cooperation of multidisciplinary research teams of four countries. Let us briefly introduce you to the precedents of how this book was born.

On the basis of several years of theoretical preparations, empirical research and workshops, the Department of Applied Health Sciences at the Faculty of Juhász Gyula Teachers' Training College (present name: Juhász Gyula Faculty of Education), University of Szeged has worked out the concept of a research studying the life-style of Hungarian families. From among the areas of life-style our research wished to focus on nutrition, freetime habits, family customs, cultural habits and the value system of families. The novelty in our concept lies in studying the tradition- and modernity based elements of the above domains, so we have placed our research sample of 500-500 families from each country on the tradition and modernity axis. To apply the terminology of Karl Rahner, through categorial and non-categorial variables we have compared the subjective and objective judgements of the families in question on this bipolarity. Karl Rahner (1991) distinguishes between categorial and non-categorial concepts. Categorial concepts are measurable, definable and objective, the non-categorial concepts can not be measured on an objective scale. Concepts of the non-categorial world are assumed rather as aims and may determine the direction of changes. Their prospective nature always remains as it is, even if their elements can be fulfilled step by step. According to Heidegger (2000), existence is in front of itself, the essence of existence is the aim to be fulfilled in the future. In the non-categorial world the person is an active acting being. The world is pervaded by the person, overcomes the barriers of the objective world. This world is surrounded by a horizon containing the possible futures and pervades the evaluation of the present situation as well. In former researches lifestyle was studied by the professionals in its categorial terms mainly. In our present work we have extended research into the analysis of the non-categorial elements of life-style as well. In our empirical research it's an important approach how the individual lives his or her own life-style, how he or she understands tradition and modernity for him- or herself. The main means of categorial approach is reductionism. The non-categorial approach starts from subjective judgement; its possible elements are responsibility, moral, hope and satisfaction.

We have considered our research important also because according to one of our research hypothesis, socialism has strived at transforming the traditional value system – that in the Visegrad countries, though to a different extent, has contained feudal and civil values as well – but had not really offered alternative values, this way also placing very heavy burdens on the family as an institute. The value crisis is still on since the change of the regime, that is why it is really important to name values and help them stabilize, strengthening families also this way. We suppose that the value-related viewpoints will remain, if not explicitly then implicitly. Families play an important role in preserving and transmitting formerly shaped value systems to an era when they could not manifest on a social level. These historically developed value systems are different in the different family types, their role in shaping life-style is different.

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Our concept has captured the attention of the partner institutes of our university, and the Research group of Szeged has developed into an international research group containing professionals from the Univerzita Konštantina Filozofa v Nitre, Slovakia; Univerzita Hradec Králové, Czech Republic; and the Uniwersytet Śląski from Poland, and the focus of our research became the life-style of families in the Visegrad countries. In April, 2004. our institutes have signed a consortium contract to ensure the official course of the research cooperation.

In the four – working with approaches that are from many aspects similar, but in several expect different – workshops, once the consortium containing sociologists, psychologists and economists was formed, there were still many harmonizing procedures ahead of us. After the research tool worked out by the Hungarian research team was completed by international suggestions, the process of piloting came and after finalizing our questionnaire, the large-sample research could start in Spring, 2005. The result of the publication phase that followed data processing is the present book, the publication of which was made possible by the grant of the International Visegrad Fund, for which we would like to say a special thank you here.

We hope that the novel approach of our volume will arouse interest not only from life-style researchers but will also find its way to the leading political levels destined for shaping the family-, and life-style- / health politics of our countries. On behalf of the international research team I wish that this volume would assist orientation in the society, prosperity and successful work!

Zsuzsanna Benkő

Head of the International Research Consortium

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I. a. An overview of international theories

Zsuzsanna Benkő

Introduction

The issue of tradition and modernity, be it from the macro-social aspect, the family, or the social character, has been a subject of study for almost every social scientist. Regardless of the level we look at, whether it is continents, countries, regions, or cities, we cannot ignore socio-historical processes, different emphases, similarities and differences. Whether we base our study on socio-historical embeddedness (Somlai, 1997), the lifeworld (Habermas, 1981), the social character (Riesman, 1982), or the subsystems of society (Luhmann, 1979), the dynamics of different categories created are very much interrelated. Although the researchers mentioned above represent different schools of thought (sociological, psychological, social, or socio-historical), we view their approaches as complementary and mutually reinforcing.

1) Theoretical approaches to tradition and modernity

Somlai's (1997) socio-economic analysis guides us through the historical evolution of families. The family is society's social institution. It is a primary group, a community in which the individual encounters community existence for the first time. It is a community which accompanies the individual for a lifetime through values, customs, and traditions shaped during family socialisation. The family has undergone many changes over time. Families can be grouped into 3 categories: traditional family, civil family, and modern family.

The *traditional family* is also known as large family. In the feudal society, the concept of family was narrowly interpreted, especially in the lower classes. The word family referred to children. Therefore we normally speak of households, rather than families, although we are using the term family in this theoretical review. The traditional family was in essence arranged around the house and extended to a wider circle of people. E.g. a landlord could have in his family children, parents, servants, farm hands, tillers directly belonging to the household, cousins, siblings and even a single aunt. Peasant families had a similar makeup except that they had no servants. Traditional families were productive units with an economic function and with structured and organised division of labour. It was not until the 17th and 18th centuries that the range of relatives living together narrowed down, although still remained wider than a nuclear family. Having a large number of children was typical. The family was under social control, with the community overseeing the observance of norms and values. Private and public life was not separable. Every event took place in front of the community (e.g. at birth the child was presented to the community, or when someone died, professional mourners appeared at the bereaved family). Spouses were chosen by parents for their children, and the community's consent was also required for the marriage. Marriage was concluded for a lifetime. Home and work were not separated. People spent their full waking life around work. The family's reproductive function was of fundamental and primary importance, as in all types of family in all historical ages. The high number of children was explained by children's

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indispensable role in the family's division of labour; the more children there were, the more people could engage in work. The birth of every conceived child was also influenced by the strict rules of the Church. Children were thought of as miniature adults and were not excluded from any family events. An age and gender-specific differentiation of roles did not exist. Adults – in the middle generation they were the man and wife – made decisions affecting the family collectively. Work was also done collectively. The role of the breadwinner cannot be interpreted in a rigid way here. It can only be understood if the only one to work was the person who was considered the breadwinner (e.g. in the civil society the man worked, and the wife stayed at home with the children). In the feudal society the Church conveyed those values which provided orientation in society. The socialisation function of traditional families lied in transferring the knowledge needed for family reproduction. Children learned parenting on their siblings. They first practiced farm work on poultry. The role of formal education was limited. Care for the elderly and the sick took place within the family. Children were the pension for the elderly. There was no alternative to keeping the family together. The choice of a spouse by parents for their child was made with a view to selecting someone who would support them later.

The transformation of feudal societies, the proliferation of trade and market conditions, the great geographical discoveries, as well as industrialisation, brought along the impersonalisation of earlier relationships. The former craft guilds were replaced by a capitalist and bureaucratic social order, which affected families. In the case of the *civil family*, home and work were separated. Production took place away from home. The earnings from work were used up collectively. What mattered was how money was spent. Leisure appeared as time which did not have to be spent at work. Within society, the family embodied an intimate private sphere. The closed unit provided protection for this small community against a complicated society. It remained a unit integrated into society which, however, tried to protect its members from society, i.e. it was characterised by a dichotomy. Its basis was the apartment (flat), where members lived, the shared assets, and money income, which determined consumption and spending. Their income was greatly influenced by the status they occupied in society. The number of children was low, and children's role underwent transformation. There were now things which were not children's business, in order to protect children. The family was the institution of private life, which was also reflected in the apartment (e.g. the bedroom, which was parents' intimate sphere). The centre of the apartment was the living room, which served parents' comfort. Links with relatives became considerably limited: relatives became less numerous and lived separately. The reproductive function of the family became a constant element; after all it was the family which reproduced current society. For both the husband and wife to have to work was typical only of the lowest classes in civil society. There was a marked presence and separation of the breadwinner and dependants. As a result, relationships within the family changed significantly. The husband was the head of the family, working away from home and conveying society to the family. The wife was responsible for household chores and raising children. There was a strong separation of gender roles. The head of the family as earner was a product of civil society. Free choice of spouse also appeared. Whoever was able to establish a family relying on their own income was allowed to make a choice. That did not mean that wealth did not have a role to play. Children's role changed. A complicated bureaucratic institutional system had

been created and the family was no longer able to convey the knowledge necessary for orientation in it, therefore educational institutions took over that role. The parenting function typically remained with the family. Norms and values were shaped according to the particular family's social status.

There was another stage in the evolution of the civil family, which is usually called the *modern family* or nuclear family, triggered by the large-scale employment of women (after World War II). That brought about a fundamental change in the dichotomy of breadwinner and dependant. In the modern family both the husband and the wife have their own income, which has a profound impact on relationships within the family. The number of divorces increases. The three large transfer systems – education, health care, and the pension system – have an impact on the modern family, and they employ primarily women. The tasks that used to belong to the family are now performed mainly in institutional conditions.

In the course of progress from the traditional to the modern family one can observe changes in roles within the family. In the traditional family the mother-child relationship was characterised by a sense of service and social obligation. In the father-mother relationship the primary emphasis was on fulfilling social functions such as biological reproduction, production, and economic activities. The relationship between father and child was based on division of labour and respect. Sibling relationships were task-oriented. In the modern family the mother-child relationship is a way of life and self-actualisation. The father-mother relationship is emotional; they are partners in mind and understanding friends. The father-child relationship is dominated by love, care, and playing. Sibling relationships are characterised by love, empathy, and emotional bonds.

In our socio-historical analysis of the family, apart from Péter Somlai's theoretical approach and analysis laid out in his book "Conflict and Understanding" (1986), we were oriented by his other works, as well as by studies by László Cseh-Szombathy (Cseh-Szombathy, 1985; Somlai, 1982; Somlai, 1997). Whether we adopt a socio-historical or a model-centred (Somlai, 1982) approach to families, the making and breaking of relationships, and their preservation and transformation take place in the context of human communication. This aspect is addressed by Somlai by using Jürgen Habermas' (1981) communication theory. We can differentiate 4 systems of activities and collaborations. The family can be analysed as:

- a) an organisation of individuals seeking to achieve personal goals;
 - b) a normative system responsible for the behaviour and socialisation of its members;
 - c) a grouping presenting itself in a particular way to the outside world, and
 - d) a group of personalities engaged in constant communication with one another
- (Cited by Somlai, 1986).

Through his conceptualisation explained in his book "The Lonely Crowd", Riesman (1982) takes an even more subtle socio-historical approach to the family in terms of tradition and modernity. Character in the sense in which we use it denotes the individual's more or less enduring and socio-historically conditioned set of instincts and need gratifications, which link the individual to the world and to other people. Social character is that part of character which is common to members of major social groups. In his book, Riesman (1982) distinguishes 3 types of social character. These are:

- a) tradition-directed;
- b) inner-directed and
- c) other-directed.

Naturally, these categories are not rigid classification principles. Rather, they are designed to help understand the succession and coexistence of social processes.

Definition of *tradition-directedness*. The perpetuation of the social order prevails; therefore the individual's conformity reflects their belonging to an age group, tribe, caste, or community. Throughout successive generations over centuries the individual learns to understand and respect only non-changing or slightly changing relations. Important relationships are governed by strict and rigid behavioural patterns. Attention is primarily focussed on external behavioural conformity. This presupposes a social character which is capable of this kind of discipline and obedience. A tradition-driven person hardly sees themselves as an individual. In Western history, we consider the age of feudal societies as a period in which the majority was directed by traditions. The concept of tradition-directedness suggests an element which is to be found not only in European people prior to capitalism but also in quite distinct people such as Hindus, Hopis, Zulus, the Chinese, or North-African Arabs.

Definition of *inner-directedness*. In Western history, it is the society which emerged with the Renaissance and Reformation and ceased to exist with the emergence of post-modern society that represents the type of social formation where inner-directedness is the primary way of ensuring conformity. This society is characterised by increased personal mobility, rapid capital accumulation, and almost incessant expansion. The source of directedness for the individual is internal in the sense that they receive directions from their parents at the beginning of life by parents' setting goals which are generalised but are to be followed strictly. It would be misleading to conclude that traditions play no role whatsoever for the inner-directed character. Quite the reverse, this type of character is also closely attached to traditions but those are conveyed through parental patterns, as well as intensifying social stratification and division of labour. The inner-directed individual becomes capable of creating a delicate balance between their own personal goals in life and the impacts of the outer world; this is also referred to a psychological compass. The inner-directed character develops a sense of control over his or her own life.

Definition of *other-directedness*. What all other-directed types have in common is that the sources of direction for the individual are peers, whether they know them personally or whether they are indirectly connected to them through friends or the mass media. These sources are naturally internalised in the personality in the sense that reliance on their guidance is formed very early in life. In this system of direction, the goals of the other-directed individual therefore keep changing, while their basic attitude and drive to closely follow signals from others remains unchanged throughout life.

Comparing the 3 types, Riesman (1982) draws attention to the following. The *tradition-directed* person senses the impact of culture as a whole. However, that impact reaches them through a few specific individuals whom they contact on a daily basis. These people do not expect the person to belong to any particular type but to behave in a way that is deemed correct. Sanctions for the wrong behaviour appear for the individual as fear of humiliation. The *inner-directed* person follows their inner psychic compass, which they were equipped with as a child by their parents, and which will later be suitable to receive signals from authority figures other than the parents. In the course of their lives

they are actually less independent than they appear to be, as they obey this inner guidance. If the individual departs from the inner guidance they will feel guilty. The *inner-directed* person is capable of a high degree of stability. They can remain stable even if there is no approval from society, as is evidenced by Englishmen's lifestyle in the tropics. The *other-directed* person learns how to respond to different signals from a much wider circle of people than their parents. The family is merely that part of the broader social environment to which they first paid attention. In this respect, the other-directed person is similar to the tradition-directed one in that they also live in a group milieu and lack the inner-directed person's ability to act on their own. However, the two milieus are radically different; the other-directed person is a cosmopolitan, for whom the difference between the known and the alien is blurred, as opposed to tradition-directed societies, where it was so clear-cut.

It seems almost obvious to us how Luhmann's (1979) force-based, self-evident, and trust-based categories can be matched with Somlai's socio-historical categories (traditional, civil, and modern family) and Riesman's social character typology (tradition-directed, inner-directed, and other-directed character types).

In the light of socio-historical processes we can see that families in Central and Eastern European countries were for a long time characterised by tradition-directedness, or using Somlai's (1997) terminology, they were traditional families. The feudal social structure persisted in this part of Europe up until World War II and left its mark on the functioning of families. The model of the civil family was typical of a narrow segment of families, providing a social background for the character of the inner-directed individual. However, even that background was not separable from traditional values preferred by the Establishment. The dominance of the Church as a medium of traditional values remained unlimited until World War II. As a result of the social structure of socialism a dual socialisation process took place in Central and Eastern Europe. In the closed micro-communities of many families the effects of the pre-war duality of (traditional and civil) values survived, although dictatorships through their political power tried to impose the character of the other-directed individual. That created a match with Riesman's categories only in form, and was different in substance from the other-directed character describing the American middle class. However, among intellectuals in the 1970s and 1980s a match in substance was already appropriate. As a result of the regime change in Central and Eastern Europe, majority-based capitalist democracies were created, which provided an opportunity to revitalise, and adapt to the social conditions of the late 20th and early 21st centuries, traditional, traditional-civil, and civil family values, which had been dormant or ceased to exist. Following the regime change, families based on the other-directed character began to spread from the upper middle-class to other segments of the middle class, in particular in Central and Eastern Europe's large urban areas.

2) Lifestyle and life-conduct

Sociology increasingly focuses attention on life-conduct and lifestyle. Lifestyle offers a helpful way to typify social practice and provides a basis for understanding the individual's identity. Its elements include housing conditions, nutrition, work and free time, forms of behaviour and clothing, which are the most open to change and in which people adjust to new conditions, especially in Western countries. Amidst sweeping social, economic, technological and political changes at the end of the 20th century, lifestyle

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expresses in a fundamental way individual and social similarities and dissimilarities between social behaviours. In addition, some sociologists hold that the influence of lifestyle and the environment on behaviour is stronger than one's status occupied in social stratification. The extent to which it is true is subject to debate but there is no doubt that lifestyle becomes an increasingly decisive part of behaviour.

Most lifestyle studies refer back to Max Weber's (1992) *Economy and Society*. The study of lifestyle is mainly focussed on what behavioural strategies people apply to overcome the discrepancy between their needs and capabilities on the one hand, and what forms of behaviour society and the environment make possible on the other. Weber's seminal work at the beginning of the 20th century was a bridge to the present by postulating the different forms of industrial society in diverse areas, such as the rule of bureaucracy and formal rationality.

In Weber's time, industrial society was emerging while traditional society, which was based on the remnants of feudalism, was declining. Just as modernisation dissolved feudal society and created industrial society, so it broke up the latter and replaced it with new modernity, also known as post-modernity. In order to understand today's lifestyle we turn to the works of two contemporary sociologists, Pierre Bourdieu (1978) and Anthony Giddens (1991). Whereas Weber provides an early 20th century perspective and lays an emphasis on choice, Bourdieu explores the 1950s and focuses on structures, habits, and opportunities. Giddens takes us to the next century with the help of his views on new modernity, in which there can be an absence of clear structure and people are left on their own in their effort to make sense of an increasingly complex world.

Let us now turn our attention to the classical theories of lifestyle, with a focus on Weber. After Veblen and Simmel, Weber was the first to explore life-conduct (*Lebensführung*) and lifestyle (for a detailed analysis see Cockarham, 1995). Weber integrated the concept of lifestyle into his analysis of status. A distinctive feature of status is prestige, which is manifested as a set of lifestyle characteristics one would expect from people who want to belong to a particular group. Another observation made by Weber is that lifestyle and life-conduct are not so much a function of what one produces as of how and what one consumes. Therefore differences between status groups lie in their relation not to the means of production but to the means of consumption. The acquisition and use of goods and services in different lifestyles are what distinguish one socio-economic group from another. Lifestyle has two components: life-conduct and choice. They can create an opportunity for one to choose one's way of life. And life chance is an opportunity to put those values into reality. For that to happen will also require structural conditions, which are ensured by the social environment.

While Weber considered choice as the most important factor in operationalising lifestyle, he stressed that a specific choice is also strongly influenced by life chances. Life chance is a set of probabilities for the individual to meet their needs and wants, assert their interests, and thus create the likelihood of events that will provide them satisfaction. In interpreting Weber's lifestyle, it is important to emphasise the dichotomy of choice and structure. In Weberian thinking the stress on the importance of the dichotomy of the dialectic process is manifested most markedly in his well-known theory of "Western rationality".

Weber recognised the constant and implacable antagonism between formal rational behaviour (logically appropriate, efficient, and objective) and individual behaviour (which

is based on the individual self-sacrifice, habits, commitment, and traditions). The chances and choices in everyday life mean that one chooses freely to the degree one is allowed to within the limits of the social environment and pressure. Whoever has the will and means can choose, while whoever is in need in certain ways cannot choose so easily and therefore can feel their way of life is influenced by circumstances.

Weber's contribution to the understanding of today's way-of-life phenomena can therefore be summarised in these 3 points: 1. The way of life is connected to status groups, therefore it can be interpreted as a phenomenon, more so than performance. 2. It is consumption rather than production that plays a decisive role. 3. The way of life is a product of dialectical interplay between life choices and life chances, and in this dichotomy choice is more important.

The most elementary motive of action as part of the way of life is the drive to survive, whereby one instinctively – individually and through conscious effort – has to reproduce one's own life including all its material, physical, and social conditions.

Since it is *society* that creates needs, it also regulates the possibility of how they can be met, dissolved, and fulfilled. Shortages want fulfilling, needs want dissolving, and opportunities stimulate action.

According to Max Weber (1967) "Thinking is possible from 2 different aspects:

1. It is about fulfilling a need (nutrition, religious edification, etc.)
2. It is about an economic activity as soon as, compared to demands, there is a need for scarce goods, or for action for which there is a limited scope." (p. 126.).

Even all the "hard social indicators" taken together are *not* sufficient to form a judgement about the way of life. For, although the way of life is a function of all of them, it cannot be explained *only* by them... But the values defining life can "rearrange" conditions based on their new or old scope of action, and the external or internal influence of cultural patterns.

In identical life communities and social conditions (economic and class structure) different ways of life can be formed. An interpretation of Max Weber's (1967, p. 242) thought will help to understand this. He differentiates between class position and "*status*" ... "hence to have and to have not is a core category of all class positions". At the same time he introduces the concept of "estate": "... classes were segmented according to relations to the production and acquisition of goods, while "estates" according to the principles of the consumption of goods in special forms of "life-conduct". The "professional estate" is also an "estate", i. e. it can have a claim to social recognition by way of special "life-conduct", which is determined by a profession."

He distinguishes status groups by the typical mode of using goods possessed. Status groups – the "bearers of all conventions" – establish their own systems of symbols, which differentiate them from all other groups. According to Weber (1967) "it is about communities of people who are distinguished from other groups by way of qualities, i.e. special "life-conduct", which can be acquired through identical education, learning, and practice."

"Estates" are those social groups that are characterised by specific behaviours, habits, conduct, and cultural features, which are determined by their position in the social superstructure. His view is that classes are at home in the "economic order", while estates are at home in the "social order", i.e. the realm of the allocation of honour. The "estate" therefore sets the rules of the game.

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“Being within the pale”... denotes the detachment of the ruling status group and as such is a tool of power, which strengthens power through group culture. In respect of other status groups in society, he mentions group norms, conventions, and traditionalism. He does not extend to them the concept of “honour of the estate” but regards them as “estates”.

While these criteria are no doubt important they fail to provide a sufficient explanation of the development of different ways of life in post-modern society. In his theory of life-conduct and lifestyle, Max Weber does not cover socio-demographic variables such as gender, age, or race, which play an important role from the perspective of life-conduct and lifestyle.

French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1978) used his empirical research to build a way-of-life model based on social stratification and taste linked to individual cultures. Bourdieu defines taste as a potential for determining what is right symbolically or actually, i.e. what are those material or practical qualities which constitute different preferences. E.g. Bourdieu holds that in nutrition taste is a function of what people think of the body, the figure, and the effects of food on the body. While manual workers stress male stamina and usually consume cheap, nourishing, and wholesome meals, people working in other areas care more about their figure and prefer light and low-calorie foods. Bourdieu primarily focuses on how society's structure influences people's everyday activities, which in turn reacts back on the existing social structure. While e.g. the class structure can influence eating habits, those habits collectively impact on the reconstruction of the class structure. This is the interpretation which is at the core of Bourdieu's concept of habits and essentially points out how the knowledge of the social structure and circumstances provides a lasting orientation towards action. These orientations are more or less of a routine nature and when in operation they tend to re-create that structure from which they have emerged.

As Bourdieu (1978) explains human thinking is determined by experience, education, and training together. People have the ability to calculate circumstances, but their perceptions are primarily shaped by social and economic conditions. As he points out habit is a socially determined sense of judgement, behaviour, and method for building up social activities. This is how the process works: the objective conditions of existence are interconnected with the position occupied in the social structure to form a habit which provides a pattern for a classifiable activity, work, perception, and taste, which in turn will result in different types of lifestyle.

Whereas Weber's concept of lifestyle is characterised by the interplay between life chances and life choices, Bourdieu's concept of habit tries to close the circle between chance and choice by condensing them into one concept; existential conditions and the class position (life chances), together with patterns of activities and perception (life choices) are arranged into a unity in the concept of habit. Thus the way of life and lifestyle function as social activities which maintain and re-generate differences between social strata. That can be manifested in differing ways of clothing, eating habits, as well as in musical, artistic, and free time activities.

Anthony Giddens (1991) introduces how the contemporary way of life is influenced by modernity, a form of social life which was created as a result of the industrial revolution. Modernity is different from all other social orders in its dynamics and global effect, as well as in the degree to which it undermines traditional habits.

Giddens' observation is that as traditions lose their influence people are increasingly forced to choose their lifestyles according to local and global opportunities. He does not ignore external factors that influence the individual's and the family's choice of way of life either; these factors include peer pressure, roles models, and socio-economic conditions. In the case of post-modernity "the only choice we have is to choose" says Giddens. That means that we have to accept a way of life typical of a particular social group if we want to belong there. There is more to the way of life and lifestyle than fulfilling needs; they are also manifestations of the individual's identity.

Social life becomes increasingly open, the connections of activities are more and more complex, and power appears in increasingly varied forms. Based on all that, Giddens concludes that choices play a role of growing importance in organising self-identity and everyday activities. Following from that, special significance is attached to the way of life and lifestyle in understanding today's social life.

Weber, Bourdieu and Giddens meet and diverge in many points. Any theory on lifestyle is a function of social stratification. For instance, Weber's focus was on status, Bourdieu's on taste, while Giddens' concentrates on self-identity. So all three experts agree, as one can conclude from their theories, that lifestyles differ in important ways according to social classes. The basis of these differences, as we have seen, is the interaction between choices and chances.

It is not only life chances that set limits to choices. The individual as they form in post-modern society also makes the situation more complicated. Individuals are faced by a multitude of choices while our industrialised era is fraught with uncertainties. Many believe that since modernity itself is in perpetual motion, post-modernity is focussed on social, cultural, economical, technological, communication, and political transformations. The increasing uncertainty of norms and values in the industrialised age gives rise to uncertain ways of life. Many have observed that those features of the way of life that are based on consumption (namely changes affecting clothing, leisure activities, consumer goods, or one's body) are not linked to particular lifestyle groups. However, it is questionable whether these way-of-life features by themselves evidence drastic changes in the class structure. Instead, they agree with Bourdieu that development is a new form of dynamics within the existing class hierarchy, which includes the extension and legitimacy of the lifestyle of the upper middle class.

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I. b. Central Europe: A Comparative socio-historical overview (Czech, Slovakian, Polish and Hungarian society in the 20th Century)

Lajos Olasz

The turn of the century

Belated embourgeoisement was typical of every society of the region. Several elements of the traditional economic and social structures were preserved and made it to the 20th century. The progress of embourgeoisement did not lead to full-scale restructuring in the Central European societies: the new bourgeois strata could not take over all economic, political and cultural positions of the traditional feudal powers. In the emerging dual societies, the old and the new structures co-existed: the feudal aristocracy with the modern grand bourgeoisie; the “noble” and the bourgeois middle classes; the urban industrial workers and the rural artisans living and working amidst pre-industrial circumstances; the peasant farmers ascending to middle-class status and the vulnerable rural poor, unable to break out from their traditional productive and community relationships. These strata sometimes co-existed and sometimes interacted more closely, to form a special symbiosis.

Economic, social and cultural development in the last decades of the 19th century triggered a quantum leap in population counts. People started to migrate in large numbers from the over-populated, under-industrialised areas. Some 250.000 people emigrated from *Bohemia*, mostly to America. As for *Slovakia*, large-scale internal migration started partly towards Lower Austria and partly towards the Southern Great Plain in Hungary. In the one-and-a-half decade following the turn of the century, almost 500.000 persons left for the United States, mainly from Eastern Slovakia. A significant part of them, however, returned after having accumulated a certain amount of entrepreneurial capital. Around 1 million people emigrated from the *Polish* areas between 1870 and 1914. Most of them originated from Eastern Galicia, but the rate of those returning as entrepreneurs was also the highest there. Between the turn of the century and World War I, 1.4 million emigrants left *Hungary*, but one third among them returned soon. Migration was most marked in the peripheries inhabited with the national minorities. The number of emigrants per 1.000 inhabitants was around 42 in the ethnic group of *Hungarians*, 113 for the Germans, 122 for the Rusyns, and 151 for the *Slovaks* (Jiříčka, 1989. 64.; Szarka, n.d., 134.; Brodowska, 1989. 93.; Böhlm, 2003. 114.).

Modernisation was most far-reaching in *Bohemia*. Gradually, the typical industrial society environment has been created, including a populous bourgeois middle class characterised by significant capital strength. By 1910, a minor part, 39% only, of the population had earned their living directly from agriculture. The corresponding rate was 44% within the Czech population, and 30% for ethnic Germans living there. The rate of employment in the industrial, commercial and transport branches exceeded 52% at national level. In *Slovakia*, the agrarian population represented 62%, and a significant part of the small industry in the countryside was also of a rural nature. In the *Polish* areas, the share of the agricultural population was around 65% on average, with a rate of less than 50% in the western, more industrialised, districts, and more than 73% in Eastern Galicia.

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The rate of those living from industry and transport/trade was 23% to the total population. The rate of the agrarian population was around 56% in *Hungary*, and the share of industry and transport/trade approximated 30% (Wandycz, 2004. 158–162.; Berend T. 2003. 178–184.; Halecki, 1995. 258.).

In the Central European societies, the leading stratum, having the biggest prestige, in possession of economic and political power, was the feudal landowning aristocracy everywhere, although to different extents. The total area of estates of more than 285 hectares made up 33% of the total arable land area in *Bohemia*, 41% in *Slovakia*, 34% in *Poland* and 38% in *Hungary*. The *Czech* large estates were modernised gradually, and they contributed to a significant extent to the development of agricultural processing. At the turn of the century, 60% of the latter branch was owned by the grand landowners themselves, who employed 400.000 workers. The majority of the *Polish* aristocracy, some 2.000 families considering the wealthiest among them, integrated into the Prussian, Russian and Austrian leading strata. The aristocracy showed a propensity for modernisation and embourgeoisement mainly in the Prussian areas. Elsewhere, in addition to filling their traditional economic positions, a relatively large proportion held state offices. In *Hungary*, beside approximately 500 aristocratic families, a significant part of the big estates was owned by members of the lower nobility and people of middle class origin. The aristocracy of birth held significant political and public office positions, they provided 80% of the membership of the Upper House of Parliament and 63% of the prime ministers in the dualist era (Berend T. 2003. 161–162.; Jiříčka, 1989. 67–68.; Romsics, 2002. 54–56.; Palotás, 2003. 19.).

By the turn of the century, the economic positions of the middle-class nobility had been shaken everywhere in the region. There was a considerable influx from the declassed aristocrats to careers in civil/public service, political life and the army. The middle-class nobility rejected the bourgeois world view and mentality. Their traditional value system and customs often represented a retrograde force, acting against social modernisation. In *Bohemia*, the lower nobility were by and large liquidated in the 17th century, in the independence struggles. Part of them emigrated, while others got integrated into the other social strata. By the 20th century, the middle-class nobility no longer represented a substantial force; the gentry lifestyle model, which would have hindered the unfolding of the bourgeois context, had no longer been decisive. In *Slovakia*, since the war against the Turks, the concentration of the lesser nobility and the landed gentry was much higher than the average. Many among them came from the ethnic Hungarian and German populations but a significant part of those of Slovakian origin have also assimilated, or at least developed a special “Hungarus” consciousness, considering themselves as part of the Hungarian nobility. A relatively large part of the Slovakian nobility lived in towns. Many among them pursued artisan activities or had an intellectual profession. As for their mentality, however, the majority were attached to the traditional feudal society (Niederhauser, 2001. 119–121., 271.).

In Europe, the share of the nobility to the total population was highest in *Poland* (10%). However, the declassing process of the strata of the middle-class nobility was also fastest there. After the fiascos of the independence attempts, they were deprived of their estates en masse, and the privileges of 40% of them in the Prussian territories, and of 80% in the Russian regions were suspended. 25% of the lesser nobility struggled with fundamental existential problems, living on the same level as did the poor peasants. Part

among them moved to the towns to earn a living as entrepreneurs or professionals. A major part tilled small plots of land as “peasant-noblemen”. The boys in their families took a job with the local grand landowners as they grew up, and the girls and women often worked as housekeepers. Nevertheless, they kept consistently to their old customs and ways of living. Consequently, although relegated to the background in an economic sense, the middle-class nobility remained a model stratum of society. The gentry were considered the representatives of national continuity; their customs were identified with the national traditions, and subsequently part of the new bourgeois official and intellectual elite also did their best to adopt them. The stock of estates as well as the economic power of the lesser nobility in *Hungary*, representing 5% of society, also started to decline at a fast pace. After the turn of the century, more than half of the middle-class nobility no longer lived primarily on income generated by their agricultural estates, but rather on what they earned as officials, professionals, employees, or from different positions held in organisations. They played a decisive role in public life: 48% of MPs, 57% of ministry officials, and 77% of the staff of officers in the counties came from their ranks (Berend T., 2003. 165–166.; Romsics, 2002. 58–59.).

The big bourgeoisie was of mixed ethnic origin in the countries of the regions, with relatively close ties everywhere to the economic elites of the centres of the empire. No national bourgeoisie of a larger size possessing sufficient capital and carrying an independent social weight evolved, except for *Bohemia*. In the Uplands area, inhabited by *Slovaks*, the big bourgeoisie was represented by a few hundred rich families of entrepreneurs, mostly of German or Hungarian origin. The *Polish* grand bourgeoisie made up 1% of the population; they played no autonomous social/political leading role, and often established economic or family connections with the aristocracy. In *Hungary*, a total of 800-1000 grand bourgeois families were recorded. By the turn of the century, beside those of German origin, who were present traditionally, the number of Jews increased significantly. The economic strength of the grand bourgeoisie rivalled that of the aristocracy, but their political role and social prestige was inferior to that of the latter. There was a certain movement between the two strata. Certain representatives of the grand bourgeoisie followed the social patterns of the aristocracy, through family relationships, the purchase of landed estates, or the acquisition of titles of nobility.

In *Bohemia*, the bourgeois middle strata played a decisive role in economic as well as social life. In *Slovakia* and *Poland*, their influence was of a much more relative nature. The strata of intellectuals and officials carried a much bigger weight relative to the groups of entrepreneurs. Most intellectuals had a degree in arts or in law, as was traditional, and they worked in official and public employee status. The share of the economic and technical intelligentsia was relatively small. Within the entrepreneurial strata, in *Poland*, the share of the petit bourgeoisie was especially marked. Their number exceeded even that of big industrial workers. The consolidation of the economic and social positions of the bourgeois middle classes was slowed down, among other things, by the survival until the 20th century of certain elements of feudal society (town privileges, guilds, trading companies), and hence the modern bourgeoisie emerged from the traditional city-dweller strata after a longer period of transition only. In *Hungary*, in 1910, some 15% of the population belonged to the bourgeois middle strata. The relatively open middle class included ethnically highly mixed but generally fast-assimilating groups. In some occupations and in the intellectual professions, the share of the Jewry reached 40–50%.

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The mentality and way of life of the bourgeois middle class, modelled after the Western European value system, exerted a substantial influence on the social environment, but it could not take over the place of the middle-class nobility and become the generally accepted model (Davies, 2006. 569., 577–578.; Romsics, 2002. 60–61.).

The modern industrial proletariat represented the most significant social stratum in *Bohemia*. The rate of skilled workers was the highest there, and after the turn of the century, more than two thirds of the proletariat consisted of people with several generations of workers in their families. Significant numbers of Czech skilled workers migrated to the Slovakian and Hungarian industrial areas, which began to develop at that time. At the turn of the century, in *Slovakia* and *Poland* more than half of the industrial proletariat consisted of first-generation semi-skilled workers, a significant part among them being illiterate. In *Hungary*, within the strata of the urban proletariat (corresponding to 18% of the total population), some 10% worked in industry in the strict sense, half being qualified skilled workers, a significant part of whom, however, originated from immigrants (German, Czech, Jewish people). The share of women within the proletariat in 1910 was 31% in *Bohemia*, 24% in *Poland*, 26% in *Hungary*. The overwhelming majority was employed in the services sector and, within industry, mainly in the textile and food industries. In the second half of the 19th century, in the *Slovakian* and *Polish* areas and in certain parts of *Hungary* the traditional village handicraft industry expanded to a considerable extent. Some members of the overpopulating agrarian families changed over in part or fully to industrial activities. Urban guilds and industrial entrepreneurs set up village branches to provide for the growing agrarian population. However, this form of activity has often got stuck at the post-industrial level, failing to integrate into modern manufacturing industrial development, which had gathered speed at the end of the century (Berend T. 2003. 183–184., 192.; Gyáni – Kövér, 1998. 74–75.).

In *Bohemia*, at the time of the turn of the century, 45% of arable land consisted of small and well-to-do peasant farms of 2.85 to 5.70 hectares. 65% of all agricultural operations consisted of poor peasants' estates of less than 2.85 hectares, covering 11% of the total land area. 36% of the agrarian population belonged to the category of agricultural labourers. The distribution of the estates was different in general in the three *Polish* regions. The Prussian areas were predominated by well-to-do commodity-producing peasant farms. In the Russian territories, almost half of the arable land area was owned by small family farms. The distribution was the most extreme in Galicia, where, beside a large number of latifundia of hundreds of hectares, 46% of the estates were less than 2.85 hectares. The degree of mechanisation of the farms reached 25% in the Prussian areas, while elsewhere it was only around 5%. The distribution of the Hungarian estates was also highly uneven. The share of medium-size and large estates of more than 57 hectares was only 1%, but these controlled 48% of the total arable land area. The share of small estates of less than 2.85 hectares was 54%, and their share of arable land a mere 6%. Agricultural labourers represented 30% of the agrarian population (Jiříčka, 1989. 67–68.; Brodowska, 1989. 75–80., 85.; Berend T., 2003. 182.).

At the end of the 19th century, *Bohemia* underwent a process of intensive urbanisation. The share of the urban population rose by 1910, in over 30 years, from 29% to 42% (in Germany, it was 49%, in 1910). The population of Greater Prague was close to 680.000. In the *Slovakian* Uplands area, a dense urban network evolved in the course of history. 45% of free royal towns and 50% of market towns in Hungary were located in

this area. In Eastern Slovakia, on the other hand, major townless areas evolved. At the end of the 19th century, Slovakian urbanisation was slower than the corresponding Bohemian developments. The situation was even more unfortunate in the *Polish* areas, where in 1900 town-dwellers only made up 18% of the total population. Within that, urbanisation was faster, thanks to the more significant industrial development in the western and eastern parts of the country, and was definitely slow in Galicia. The population of Warsaw grew to 860.000 by 1910. In *Hungary*, the share of the urban population rose from 15% to 21% from 1870 to 1910. The population of Budapest grew to 880.000, and with suburbs exceeded 1.1 million. However, a significant part of the urban population (30% in the big towns of the Great Plain region) lived in the outer areas, in small farms (Wandycz, 2004. 157–159.; Davies, 2006. 165.; Bóhm, 2003. 35.; Gergely, 1998. 414.).

In the wake of industrialisation and urbanisation, the two-generation nuclear family model had spread in the more developed districts of *Bohemia* by around the turn of the century. It was typical in the bourgeois circles of large towns and of the residential colonies of workers, as well as of the societies of small towns and large villages undergoing modernisation and embourgeoisement. In the under-developed agrarian regions, on the other hand, the so-called extended family prevailed: the parents, one married son and his unmarried siblings shared a common farm and household. In *Slovakia*, the big family was the rule: the parents and their married children lived on the same farm and ran it together. This model occurred in the more developed western regions in some 50% of the cases, and in Eastern Slovakia, undergoing slower development, in 75% of the cases. In *Poland*, in the major towns and in the Prussian territories, the share of small families was significant, while in the Russian and Austrian areas the big family predominated, at a rate exceeding 65% considering the country as a whole. In the western and central regions of *Hungary*, the nuclear family was predominant, while in the eastern districts, the various big family arrangements were the decisive form. In Hungary, first marriages took place at a relatively early age, under the age of 19 for the majority of women. In *Bohemia*, similarly to the Western European trends, the corresponding age was higher, under 24–25. Accordingly, in 1910, the share of unmarried males and females was around 36% in *Bohemia*, and 24% in *Hungary* (Illés, 2002. 43.; Berend T., 2003. 191–192.; Gyáni – Kövér, 1998. 45–46.).

As for the indicators of general education, *Bohemia* showed the most favourable development: in 1910, 97% of the population was literate (Austria: 83%). In *Slovakia*, the corresponding rate was around 70% (76% for men and 64% for women). There was a serious shortage of people with higher education, and there was hardly any supply of people to fill positions in official and civil servant strata. Only 0.6% of the population had a Matura (i.e. final examination in secondary education). In *Poland*, the share of the literate population was around 63%, with great differences by region. In the Prussian areas, the share of persons with basic education was 98%, while in Galicia it was around 45% only, and in the Russian regions only 35% of the Polish population could read and write. The high rate of illiteracy was typical not only among the peasantry, but also in the urban population. In *Hungary*, the share of the literate was around 67%, with major differences by region and ethnic group. Within the Hungarian-speaking population, the share of the literate population reached 80%; among the Romanians, it was 33%. The disadvantage of women relative to men in terms of general education was only 7% within the Hungarian population (83% of men and 76% of women could read and write), and as

high as 16% in the Romanian population (41 vs. 25%). 3.6% of Hungarians and 0.9% of Romanians had higher qualifications, i.e. Matura (Palotás, 2003. 82., 229.; Wandycz, 2004. 163., 179.; Romsics, 2002. 64–65.).

Czech national progress was of a bourgeois/plebeian nature from the very start, due to the absence, for the most part, of the lesser nobility, and the mostly German-speaking aristocracy being characterised by a “Hapsburg” consciousness and loyalty to Vienna. Having no sovereign state status, they regarded economic and cultural development as the potential terrains of national progress. Czech nationalism was marked, in general, by liberal principles, a pragmatic approach, and efforts to reach a consensus, and this fostered the emergence of patriotism modelled after that in the western civilisations. In Bohemia, the Czechs and the Moravians made up 63% of the population, and 34% was German. In the framework of *Slovakian* national development, the lack of adequate legal and territorial competences create a situation where subjective elements and traditions going back to the historical past, or preserved in popular culture, appreciated in value. The Messianistic pan-Slav ideology had a significant impact, too. National identity was characterised by strong conservatism, a patriarchal attitude and a collective approach, and the relegation of the individual into the background. As the nobility, having a “Hungarus” consciousness, could not be the basis of the national movement, the lead role was played by the intellectuals. The bourgeois middle class, although relatively small in number, contributed to the strengthening of national consciousness, too, especially the group of entrepreneurs having returned from America. As for *Poland*, lack of independence has given emphasis there, too, to the traditional aspects, and the linguistic and cultural elements of national identity. The gentry, the vanguard of radical independence strivings, became the representatives of national continuity, the symbol of what once was their statehood. The *Hungarian* national strivings were characterised by a special dichotomy – by the wish to increase the degree of state sovereignty against Vienna, as well as to secure Hungarian supremacy over ethnic minorities. Accordingly, in the area of politics, they set themselves the objective to establish an integrated Hungarian nation, while in terms of language and culture they honoured to some extent the autonomy of the national minorities. In 1890, the Hungarian component of the population represented only 48%, and this rate rose to 55% by 1910 (Hamberger, 1997. 147–148.; Škvarna, 1994. 31., 37.; Szarka, é. n., 136.; Gyáni – Kövér, 1998. 134.).

Between the two World Wars

Between the two world wars, the population of *Bohemia* increased by 14%, and within it the natural demographic increase was especially marked in Eastern Slovakia. Large-scale international migration unfolded in the new common state, with groups of public employees (officials, teachers, railway employees etc.) and economic professionals in the first place moving from *Bohemia* to *Slovakia*, and mainly unskilled labour moving from the latter to the fast-industrialising regions of the former. Population growth was most marked within the region in *Poland*, at 30%, well in excess of the European average of 16%. The population of *Hungary* increased over the period under review by 14%. In addition to a natural increase, this was attributable to a significant extent to large-scale immigration from the territories detached after World War I, involving some 400.000-500.000 people. Population density was around 139 persons/km² in *Bohemia*, 70

persons/km² in *Slovakia*, 90 persons/km² in *Poland*, and 98 persons/km² in *Hungary* (Palotás, 2003. 242., 261.; Wandycz, 2004. 191–193.).

In terms of social structure in general, no major restructurings occurred in the nation states created after World War I. The role of the traditional social strata prevailed to a significant extent. Within the region, *Czechoslovakia*, and *Bohemia* within it, was considered an industrial state, while the *Slovakian* and *Polish* societies remained decisively rural. *Hungary* represented a special interim arrangement, but there, too, the agrarian population was predominant up until World War II. In 1935, in *Bohemia* 26% of the population lived on agriculture, while in *Slovakia*, *Poland* and *Hungary* the corresponding rates were 59%, 61%, and 52%, respectively. The share of industrial employees approximated 45% in *Bohemia*, and it was around 20%, 19% and 23% in *Slovakia*, *Poland* and *Hungary*, respectively (in *Austria*, it was 37%). The share of people earning a living in agriculture dropped in *Hungary* to 49% in 1941, and that of the industrial population rose to 26%, or 36% including those employed in transport and trade (Wandycz, 2004. 191–193., 196.; Palotás, 2003. 232., 262–263.; Gyáni – Kövér, 1998. 188., 352.).

In *Bohemia*, the role of the traditional large estates decreased significantly. A stratum of bourgeois grand landowners and a group of “green noblemen”, i.e. grand landowners modernising their estates, appeared beside the aristocracy. In *Slovakia*, in the wake of the land reform, the traditional predominance of large estates decreased significantly. However, this form of landed property has not disappeared completely: in most cases it preserved its traditional production structure, while its owners also retained their social influence. The position of large estates weakened in *Poland*, too: by the end of the 1920s, it fell from 48% of the total arable land area to 25%. Although the nobility as an order or estate was officially abolished, grand landowners still had considerable social prestige and political influence. The economic weight of aristocratic large estates dropped in *Hungary*, too: the number of estates fell by 45% and their area by 29% as compared to the turn of the century. Following World War I, large numbers of aristocrats, who had lost their estates, immigrated from the detached areas, to turn partly towards careers in civil service, and partly to industrial and commercial undertakings.

In *Bohemia*, the leading social positions were occupied by the grand bourgeoisie, representing almost 5% of the population. In *Poland*, despite its economic influence, the grand bourgeoisie, representing 1–1.5% of the population, of mixed (partly German and Jewish) ethnic origin, was not able to take over the political positions or assume the social role model function of the traditional noble strata. In *Hungary*, relatively close links were forged between the grand landowners’ and the large entrepreneurs’ strata. The grand bourgeoisie, having a share of around 1%, owned significant landed property, too. Within the economic elite, the owners of large estates represented 60%, but the majority of the wealthiest among them filled economic or office positions, too, providing them a high income in addition to their landed and urban real estates and entrepreneurial property (Palotás, 2003. 234., 262.; Szarka, n.d., 165.; Gyáni – Kövér, 194., 215.).

In the *Czech* society, the bourgeois middle strata (industrial/commercial entrepreneurs, officials, intellectuals), playing a decisive role there, represented 22% of the total population in 1938. In *Slovakia*, the development of the social influence of the same stratum took a more unfavourable turn. Most members of the intelligentsia were first-generation intellectuals. Slow economic development did not provide sufficient

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stimulus for the fast expansion of this stratum. The positions of leading officials and white-collar workers were filled to a large extent by Czechs, and the rate of Slovaks was only 2% in the ministries, 4% among the staff of army officials and 14% among the professors of Bratislava University. Within Slovakian society, the rate of professionals was hardly more than 1%. A decisive proportion of the intelligentsia consisted of members of its traditional groups, i.e. ministers, elementary and secondary school teachers, and lawyers; there were few experts of economics, technical sciences, or public administration. The Slovakian entrepreneurs, employees, and intellectuals filled decisively lower-middle-class positions in society.

In *Poland*, the members of the middle-class nobility having lost their estates and/or privileges tried to earn a living typically as army officers or officials, but they entered other social strata as well. In the circles of intellectuals, employees, and entrepreneurs, they were linked to some extent to the bourgeois middle classes, and in politics to the grand landowner and grand bourgeois elite. The members of the middle-class nobility active as intellectuals, officials, and army officers offered a social model of decisive influence, considered in some respect as the historical vehicle of typical national characteristics. The share of the bourgeois middle strata within the population was around 14%. In *Hungary*, the corresponding rate was 23%. Within that, intellectuals and officials represented 5%, medium-size entrepreneurs 3%, small entrepreneurs and employees 12%. The proportion of the stratum of intellectuals and officials expanded significantly with the influx of immigrants from the territories detached after World War I. The self-reproduction rate of this stratum was relatively high at 48%, and another 28% came from the petty bourgeoisie (Janos, 2003. 124–126.; Szarka, n.d., 164.; Palotás, 2003. 234–236.; Romsics, 2002. 203.).

In *Bohemia*, at the end of the 1930s, the rate of the industrial proletariat grew to 35%, including many unskilled persons. Half of the workers concerned were employed by medium-sized and large plants. Two thirds came from worker families going back to several generations. In *Slovakia*, the rate of industrial workers was 14%. The bulk of them worked at small plants with few employees, and a mere one-tenth was employed in the modern large industrial sector. In *Poland*, the rate of the urban proletariat was around 17%. The majority had no vocational qualification, and only one sixth worked in larger plants. In *Hungary*, the urban proletariat represented 24% of the population. The rate of industrial workers to all the employed was around 17%. Between the two world wars, the number of industrial employees increased at a relatively fast pace – it grew twice. The expansion of the manufacturing industry became especially dynamic between 1938 and 1943, due to the economic trends triggered by the war, and the number of workers increased at that time by 35%.

Following World War I, *Czechoslovakia* implemented a land reform affecting 16% of the arable land area. After the reform, peasant farms owned by people who had risen to middle class status consolidated in *Bohemia*. The settlement of land ownership gave an impetus to the expansion of the peasant middle class in *Slovakia*, too, which acquired a strong national character through colonisation by the Czech and the Slovakian farmers against German and Hungarian farmers. In *Poland*, land allocation affected 20% of the population, but 60% of farms kept operating on plots of less than 2.85 hectares, covering altogether a mere 12% of the total area. The village areas showed signs of marked overpopulation, and the shortage of land, low-quality agricultural production, as well as

slow industrialisation led to major unemployment and serious problems of livelihood for the agrarian population. In *Hungary*, 18% of the agrarian population had estates of more than 5.70 hectares, and 40% cultivated plots of 0.57 to 5.70 hectares. Others had no plots of their own, or only fragments of less than 0.57 hectares. The latter lived on wage labour. Part of the owners of estates of less than 2.85 hectares (some 14%) were also forced to undertake wage labour more or less regularly, expanding, in some sense, the stratum of agricultural workers (Palotás, 2003. 262–263., 297–298.; Szarka, n.d., 165.; Davies, 2006. 744–745.; Bóhm, 2003. 55.).

Urbanisation showed no fundamental changes. In *Bohemia*, the share of the urban population was around 48% in the middle of the period under review, in *Poland*, it was 27% and in *Hungary* 35% or so. These rates increased by 4% in all three countries by the end of the 1930s.

In *Bohemia*, illiteracy dropped to less than 2% by the end of the period. In *Slovakia*, convergence was helped by the establishment of the modern national school system and the fast development of public and adult education, but given their enormous backlog, the rate of the illiterate was nevertheless around 14%. In terms of general education (basic skills), the greatest deficiencies occurred in *Poland*, especially in the eastern areas. Despite the substantial achievements, in the middle of the 1930s, 23% of the population could still not read or write. By 1939 the rate of the illiterate fell to 18%, and in the western areas it was only 3%. In *Hungary*, the rate of the illiterate was around 8%. The number of participants of higher education rose most dynamically in *Poland*, and this has promoted the establishment of a uniform Polish educated class. Their share was nevertheless lower than the corresponding *Czech* and *Hungarian* indicators (Janos, 2003. 124., 178–180.; Palotás, 2003. 229., 296.; Wandycz, 2004. 198.).

In terms of religion, *Bohemia* (both the Czech and the German population) was mostly Roman Catholic. The Czech territories, however, were among the most secularised areas in Europe, and religion and the churches did not have a decisive social influence there. In *Slovakia*, the distribution by religion coincided to a certain extent with the political and cultural fault lines. The Catholics, having a share of 69%, were characterised mainly by conservative views, respect for authority, and strivings to have an independent nation state. Among the Protestants, representing 19% approximately, the liberal approach, adherence to the Western system of values, and the propensity for co-operation with the Czechs and the minorities was more general. In *Poland*, 63% of the population was Roman Catholic, 11% Greek Catholic, and 12% Orthodox. The churches, and especially the Roman Catholic Church, had a prominent social influence. Although not institutionally linked to the state, it represented an integral part of Polish culture, and in the period of the partitioning of the country, it was regarded as one of the decisive instruments of national survival. In *Hungary*, the proportion of Roman Catholics was around 65%, and that of Calvinists and the Lutherans around 27%. Hungarian society was secularised in part only, and the churches had substantial social, public life, and cultural positions. The relationship of believers and the churches, however, was much looser, and the rate of regular church-goers was much lower than in Poland. The distribution by religion had its regional aspects as well: in the Transdanubian region Catholics were in majority, while in the Trans-Tisza region Protestants (Davies, 2006. 748.; Wandycz, 2004. 197–198.; Romsics, 2002. 189.).

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From among the countries of the region, the bourgeois mentality characterised by adherence to the democratic freedom rights, emphasis on economic and social pragmatism, and a sense of Western-oriented socio-cultural and geographic identity, the universal system of values pointing beyond the cultural nation were asserted most forcefully in *Bohemia*. This, however, did not stop them from rejecting very definitely the autonomy efforts of the Slovaks and the national minorities. In *Slovakia*, the organic concept of society was more prominent. The nation was defined, in the absence of independent statehood, by the traditional values, the linguistic, cultural and historical tradition, and Catholicism to some extent. As opposed to the gentry, becoming *Magyarised*, and the bourgeois entrepreneurial stratum, of mixed origin, the national character was represented and conveyed to the peasant masses primarily by the growing stratum of intellectuals. Often, a very intolerant attitude was adopted to minorities. From among the countries of the region, the proportion of national minorities was the highest, 35%, in Czechoslovakia. The population consisted of 49% Czech, 17% Slovakian, 23% German, 6% Hungarian and 4% Ukrainian inhabitants. In *Poland*, the period between the two world wars was the time of the re-organisation of the Polish nation, the emergence of a uniform national culture. 69% of the population belonged to the majority, and 14% to the Ukrainian, 9% to the Jewish, 5% to the Belarus, and 3% to the German minority. In *Hungary*, following the detachment of the peripheries inhabited by ethnic minorities and the major immigration of Hungarians, the share of minorities dropped to 10% (Germans 6%, Slovaks 2%, Southern Slavs 1%) (Wandycz, 2004. 195–197.; Szarka, n.d., 165–166.; Davies, 2006. 739., 748.).

In *Bohemia*, the Jewry, although present in every social stratum, represented only 1% of the population, and they have assimilated into the wider society to a significant extent. In *Slovakia*, they appeared primarily in the ranks of the petty and middle bourgeoisie. Their share was around 5% in the Slovakian territory, and 12% in the Trans-Carpathian region. In the eastern part of the country, the Jewry was more like a national minority, the rate of assimilation being lower. In *Poland*, too, the Jewry remained less assimilated: they appeared as an independent nationality in terms of language, culture, social relationships. The Jewish minority, of almost 9%, comprised members of the petty bourgeoisie constituting 65% and intellectuals 15%. Their share among the small artisans was 40%, and in some freelancing intellectual and private official careers, it was 50%. Almost 30% of the population of Warsaw belonged to the Jewish community. In *Hungary*, the Jewry made up 6% of the population, and until 1939 they were registered on the basis of religion, rather than ethnic origin. Within the grand bourgeoisie in the financial and commercial occupations, their rate exceeded 50%, and in many intellectual and freelance occupations their rate was 40 to 50%. The degree of assimilation was quite marked among the Hungarian Jewry. During the reference period, as a result of the deepening social and political problems, anti-Semitism spread in various forms in certain strata of *Slovakian*, *Polish* and *Hungarian* societies, respectively. In *Hungary*, it was typical mainly among the Christian middle-class and the petty bourgeoisie, and it was motivated primarily by existential considerations. In *Slovakia* and *Poland*, it had a mixture of political, ideological, and social/social-welfare-related features, its religious and national aspects were more marked, and it was more favourably received by the peasants and the workers (Palotás, 2003. 236.; Wandycz, 2004. 195.).

The decades following World War II

The countries of Central Europe assigned to the Soviet sphere of influence after World War II were subject to a rather ambiguous modernisation process. After a short period of democratic transition, the process of embourgeoisement came to a halt. Some modernisation indicators improved. Employment was restructured, and the number of industrial workers increased. Urbanisation accelerated, and the socio-cultural, civilisational, and infrastructural circumstances improved. The standards of living rose, and the level of schooling showed an upward tendency, too. However, production grew and the standards of living improved thanks to a disproportionately high input of labour and working time. The number of people with independent livelihood decreased significantly. The regulating function of the market was taken over almost completely by the system of state redistribution. The societies concerned were atomised, and community relationships were pushed into the background. The partial elimination of the civil sector weakened social integration and solidarity. People tended to become alienated from previously accepted European values. From the end of the 1960s, certain embourgeoisement tendencies re-emerged, but these could not mature in the context of the prevailing political structure. The exclusiveness of political capital decreased. Cultural capital appreciated gradually, and then, starting from the deployment of the secondary economy, economic capital followed suit (Valuch, 2001. 26–28.).

The population increased significantly in every country of the region between 1945–1985 – by some 25% in *Czechoslovakia*, mainly due to the high Slovakian natural increase (from 12 to 15 million); by almost 58% (from 24 to 38 million) in *Poland*, as a result of the still positive balance on natural increase and net migration; while in *Hungary* at the more modest rate of only 10% (from 9 to 10 million). Natural demographic increase (i.e. the number of births less deaths) was typical in the less developed agrarian areas of the region, in *South-Eastern Poland* and *Eastern Slovakia*, and it triggered a major internal migration towards the more industrialised districts. Despite fast industrialisation, no full-scale social restructuring took place: certain traditional strata, forms of farming, and patterns of living were preserved quite extensively, especially in the agrarian regions. The share of industrial employees already exceeded 50% in *Bohemia* before World War II and in *Slovakia* at the end of the 1960s only. It rose relative to the previous rates in *Poland* as well, but it was only 41% even in 1971. In *Hungary*, the rate of industrial employees rose from 1949 to 1970 from 37% to 51%, while the proportion of agricultural workers dropped from 54% to 24% (Szarka, n.d., 199–200.; Davies, 2006. 881–884.; Valuch, 2001. 104.; Bóhm, 2003. 68.).

Despite political discrimination, the bourgeois middle strata survived in relatively large numbers up to the 1950s, and later on a significant proportion among them returned to the leading intellectual and employee positions. After 1968, in *Czechoslovakia* a certain shift occurred among the political elite and the leading intellectuals in terms of nationality, the *Czech* element being forced to the background to some extent and the elite of *Slovakian* origin coming forward. In the case of *Poland*, in the early 1970s, 38% of the leading intelligentsia came from the same stratum, 29% from that of simple white collar occupations, while industrial workers provided 24% of fresh supply. Gradually, a new elite (“red bourgeoisie”) has evolved, which was recruited from the representatives of the bureaucracy of the party state, the leaders of the large enterprises, and the leading

intellectuals and certain representatives of the entrepreneurs of the secondary economy. In *Hungary*, the self-reproduction rate of the intelligentsia was 41%, while 30% of them came from simple white collar occupations, and the share of workers was around 20% (Andorka, 1983. 186–187.; Niederhauser, 2001. 312.; Berend T., 1999. 251–252.).

After forced collectivisation, the activity of private farmers fell to a minimum, or ceased completely in most countries of the region. In *Bohemia*, the state and co-operative farms possessed 80% of the arable land area, in *Slovakia* 97%, and in *Hungary* 94%. In *Poland*, however, after the termination of co-operatives, 89% of land was returned to the peasants. In the wake of the changes, some 50% of the children of peasant families in the *Czech Republic*, *Slovakia*, and *Hungary*, and 35% in *Poland* became industrial workers. In *Slovakia* and *Poland*, the stratum of workers with two sources of income (from industry and agriculture) was relatively large. There was substantial mobility among physical workers towards the middle strata of intellectuals and employees. This was most significant (29%) in *Czechoslovakia* (especially in the *Czech* areas), and around 17% in *Poland* and in *Hungary*. The relatively strong upward mobility to the medium strata slowed down gradually in the course of the 1960s, and it remained typical only among the members of the party bureaucracy (Illés, 2002. 159.; Janos, 2003. 368.).

Significant industrialisation was not necessarily concurrent with fast and comprehensive urbanisation. The majority of the villages and small towns got stuck in their previous state. The urbanisation of the settlements, often an artificial process in the absence of an adequate economic context and the traditional town-building factors, based exclusively on big industrial developments, was an ambiguous process, with many deficiencies. In *Bohemia*, where the rate of the urban population was substantially higher than the average of the region, growth seemed insignificant. In *Slovakia*, especially after 1968, urbanisation accelerated and that was the time when large industrial centres were created. In 1970, the share of the urban population was 66% in *Czechoslovakia*, and around 53% in *Poland* and in *Hungary*. The share of those working in towns was raised by another 15-20% by large-scale commuting. In *Hungary*, the rate of commuters was 13% in 1960, and 24% in 1980 (Hamberger, 1997. 142.; Davies, 2006. 567., 881.; Valuch, 2001. 66.; Böhlm, 2003. 47.).

Industrialisation, collectivisation and urbanisation have led to the general spread of the nuclear family model in *Czechoslovakia* and in *Hungary*. The small family gradually spread in *Poland*, too, as a result of the processes of economic and social modernisation. In *Slovakia*, on the other hand, parallel with the spread of the small family, in the countryside the traditional big family community survived to a considerable extent. As for the financial and income situation of the population, in 1980, in *Hungary* 6% was well-to-do, and 46% was in a mediocre situation financially, 39% had financial difficulties, and 9% lived on the periphery of society. Nevertheless, the difference between the average income of those in the uppermost and the lowermost deciles, respectively, was relatively moderate (fivefold) (Hamberger, 1997. 142.; Romsics, 2002. 491.; Böhlm, 2003. 28.).

From the 1960s, the absence of social integration, the relativisation of the value systems, economic vulnerability, and political frustration intensified many unfavourable social phenomena. Alcohol consumption rose steeply, to 3.5-times the previous level in *Czechoslovakia* and *Hungary*, and twice that in *Poland*. In 1985, the number of suicides per 100.000 inhabitants was 19 in *Czechoslovakia* (and 21 in the *Czech* part within it), 13 in *Poland*, due, among other things, to the weight of the Catholic Church there, and

around 45 in *Hungary*, i.e. well in excess of 28 for Austria representing the regional average. In *Hungary*, the number of suicides was rising continuously; it was between 20 and 30 until 1965, then higher than 30 until 1976, and higher than 40 from 1977 to 1990 (Berend T., 1999. 245–246.; Bóhm, 2003. 157–158.).

In the early 1980s, within the school-age population, 76% in *Czechoslovakia*, and 93% in *Poland* and in *Hungary*, took part in primary and secondary education (Austria: 81%). The share of participants of higher education in the relevant age group was 15% in *Czechoslovakia*, 22% in *Poland*, 15% in *Hungary* (Austria: 24%) (Romsics, 2002. 465.).

After World War II, the societies under review were homogenised ethnically to a large extent due to the territorial changes, population movements (resettlements, population exchange), and internationalism forcing the national characteristics into the background. According to the relevant official statistics, by 1980, the rate of the majority dropped to 5% in *Czechoslovakia*, and to 1% in *Poland* and in *Hungary*. As a matter of fact, however, the share of the ethnic and national minorities was estimated in *Hungary* at around 8% (Davies, 2006. 568.; Romsics, 2002. 469–470.).

After the regime change

Since the change of the economic and political regime in 1990, the population of every country concerned has been declining continuously. Natural demographic increase dropped after 1994 even in the *Czech Republic*, which used to be characterised by relatively favourable indicators previously. According to demographic forecasts until 2025, the population of the *Czech Republic* is expected to stagnate, that of *Slovakia* may increase somewhat, that of *Poland* will increase at a significant and steady pace, whereas that of *Hungary* will decline substantially and permanently.

The areas boasting a well-integrated economic environment, an advanced infrastructure, and adequately trained labour were able to adjust best to the new situation, which emerged after the regime change. In 1997, in agriculture the rate of modern large-scale production was 77% in the *Czech Republic*, 95% in *Slovakia*, 14% in *Poland*, and 46% in *Hungary*. The number of agricultural employees declined significantly in the countries of the region from 1989 to 1995, from 10 to 5% in the *Czech Republic*, 12 to 9% in *Slovakia*, 26 to 25% in *Poland*, and 18 to 8% in *Hungary*. After the regime change, the elites of every country were replaced in part. In *Hungary*, in 1993, 37% of the new economic elite and 25% of the political and cultural elite was recruited from the previous upper management. Another major group of the economic elite, with a share of 36%, was that of the members of the former middle-level management. Almost 50% of the political and the cultural elite came from the ranks of intellectuals (Bóhm, 2003. 88., 135.; Illés, 2002. 33., 158., 163.; Wandycz, 2004. 254–255.).

Parallel with the restructuring of employment, the rate of the urban population generally increased in the countries of Central Europe, to 71% by 2000 in the *Czech Republic*, 57% in *Slovakia*, 68% in *Poland* and 65% in *Hungary*. Growth was biggest in the region in *Poland*. In *Slovakia*, from the mid-1990s on, the growth of the urban population tended to stagnate, rather, while in the *Czech Republic*, with the development of non-urban-type residential and resort zones, the rate of the urban population actually decreased by a few percents. In terms of age, schooling, convertible skills and innovation capacity, the indicators of the village population are regularly lower than those of the

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urban strata. The urban hierarchy has also transformed to some extent. Part of the industrial centres created as a result of extensive economic development sank back to a stagnant provincial state due to economic problems and outward migration (Illés, 2002. 73., 163.; Janos, 2003. 387.).

The groups of workers employed in heavy industry, who had enjoyed preferential treatment previously, ended up in a hopeless situation. The social problems became the gravest in the degenerating large industrial centres located near the agrarian regions. The growth of the number of suicides and of the extent of alcoholism came to a halt in general, but both areas remained most problematic indeed. In addition, the use of drugs was expanding at a fast pace, especially among the youth. The crime statistics of every country deteriorated, especially in the area of crimes against property. The marked decline in real incomes and the substantial growth of unemployment generated acute social problems. From 1989 to 1994, the amount of wages and pensions dropped to 85% of their previous level in the *Czech Republic*, 77% in *Slovakia*, 72% in *Poland*, and 93% in *Hungary*. Unemployment usually peaked in 1993–1994, only to decline steadily afterwards until 1999 (in *Slovakia*, from 15% to 13%, in *Poland* from 16% to 9%, in *Hungary* from 11% to 9%). In the *Czech Republic*, on the other hand, it went up over the same period from 4% to 7%, which, however, was still the best rate in the region (Janos, 2003. 388.; Tóth – Trócsányi, 2000. 215–218.).

The role of the churches and religion transformed to some extent everywhere. Religion was legalised as opposed to the previous era, but it did not even come close to its previous weight and influence anywhere. In the *Czech Republic*, the rate of regular church-goers was 11% in 1992, in *Slovakia* 36%, in *Poland* 47%, and in *Hungary* around 13%. After the regime change, a strong re-nationalisation process began, and national and minority identity appreciated. Acts guaranteeing relatively extensive minority rights appeared in the countries concerned; measures were taken to establish a system of political representation of the minorities, self-governance, and to provide compensation for those who had been put at a serious disadvantage previously. However, many unresolved and untalked-about problems have surfaced in connection with the majority/minority relationship (Hamberger, 1997. 146–147.; Szokolay, 2006. 256.; Romsics, 2002. 470.).

The countries concerned designed different social strategies to cope with the changes triggered by transition. The most prominent socio-cultural differences manifested themselves in the *Czech Republic* and in *Slovakia*, which used to form a single state previously. In the middle of the 1990s, some 40% of Czech society declared themselves to be liberal and 25% conservative. In *Slovakia*, the distribution was the opposite (18% liberal, 31% conservative). In the *Czech Republic*, the typical attitude was to urge fast transformation to make the economy euro-compatible, whatever the difficulties implied, with learning, performance, and competence being considered the key values. In *Slovakia*, mistrust regarding the transformation of the economy and social nostalgia manifested on a much broader scale. Defensive life strategies, withdrawal, stock-piling, and risk avoidance spread more extensively. The *Czech Republic* was characterised more by a modern and open nation concept, emphasising the common European values, while in *Slovakia* a sense of identity built on traditions and the value of the popular/rural culture prevailed, with many elements of traditional ethnocentrism (Hamberger, 1997. 144–147.).

In *Poland*, the traditional independence-oriented attitude was given considerable emphasis during the regime change, too, and it exerted a somewhat ambiguous effect. In some groups, it intensified orientation towards the European community (EU, NATO), whereas in others, it gave rise to reservations regarding any new bonds. The majority of society responded with positive expectations to fast-changing circumstances, despite the occasional fervent public debates, thanks mainly to economic achievements. In *Hungary*, extensive social support for creating a state governed by the rule of law as well as parliamentary democracy gave way to deep social scepticism, as a result of the deterioration of the conditions of living, the erosion of existential security, and the emergence of spectacular differences in prosperity. In 1991, the rate of those pronouncing a positive judgement on the previous system was around 40%; by 1995, it increased to 54%. Trust in the institutional system of democracy kept strengthening during the years – in 1995 and 2001, 57% and 69% of respondents, respectively, declared themselves to be in favour of the new political structure. Disappointment triggered by worsening conditions of living, growing uncertainty, and pessimism regarding the prospects for individual prosperity were, however, much more significant in Hungary than in the other countries of the region (Szokolay, 2006. 258.; Davies, 2006. 931., 937.; Romsics, 2002. 570–571.).

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II. 1. International research concept*

Zsuzsanna Benkő – Klára Tarkó

In the conceptual umbrella of this book we described the history of how our research was built up and expanded to involve a growing number of participants. In this chapter we introduce the consortium members participating in the international lifestyle study, the research objective, the questions used in the research, our hypotheses, the applied measurement methodologies, as well as standard research arrangements, which were compulsory for each consortium member to enable international comparability. The implementation of research at the national level will be presented by country in the sub-chapters of Chapter II. 2.

1. Research participants

1. Department of Applied Health Sciences, Faculty of Juhász Gyula Teachers' Training College (present name: Juhász Gyula Faculty of Education), University of Szeged – Szeged, Hungary. Head of international research consortium, research coordinator, and theme leader: Dr. habil Zsuzsanna Benkő, sociologist, Head of Department.
2. Univerzita Konštantina Filozofa v Nitre, Faculta Sociálnych Vied – Nitra, Slovakia; Theme leader: Prof. Dr. Peter Ondrejko, PhD., dekan fakulty
3. Univerzita Hradec Králové, Ústav Sociálních Studií – Hradec Králové, Czech Republic, Theme leader: Prof. PhDr. Blahoslav Kraus, CSc.
4. Uniwersytet Śląski, Instytut Socjologii – Katowice, Poland, Theme leader: Prof. Dr. hab. Wojciech Świątkiewicz, protector Uniwersitetu Śląskiego.

2. Research objective

Assess the impact of social changes over the past decade in

- the lifestyle of families
- health behaviour
- the functions, models and structure of the family along the tradition – modernity dimension
- the formation of prejudices.

3. Research questions

- What economic, community, psychological, and individual factors influence lifestyle?
- Are there any traits specific to particular family types that determine how lifestyle and social environmental factors shape families' values?

* Working out of the International Research Concept was promoted by ideas by Rastislav Bednárík, Katalin Erdei, Andrzej Górny, Iva Jedličková, Blahoslav Kraus, László Lippai, Darina Marcinková, Maria Świątkiewicz–Mośny, Peter Ondrejko, and Wojciech Świątkiewicz.

- How did socio-economic changes in recent years modify the components of families' lifestyles and adaptability? An international comparison.

4. Hypothesis

Our central hypothesis is that in the Visegrad countries, and in “the city and its surrounding areas”, the role of traditional values and behaviours in people's actions is high on the tradition-modernity axis, as opposed to mainstream sociological theories (Giddens). We look at how the degree of tradition and modernity is influenced by social factors (education, type of settlement, occupation etc.), and also at how opinions presented against categorial parameters and non-categorial parameters (their own subjective judgement of bipolarity) are connected.

5. Sample design and sampling

The location of the research is – to use Hungarian writer Ferenc Erdei's terminology – the “city and its surroundings”, which allows us to include in the sample respondents living in both “urban” and “rural” types of neighbourhood. The sample was selected by multi-stage random sampling. In each country the aim was to include in the sample 500 families/households. Single-member and childless households were also regarded as families, in accordance with the definition used by the consortium and international practice. As a guiding principle, in each case we sought to interview one adult (possibly “the housewife”) and, if possible, one child member of the family.

In selecting the sample, we aimed to achieve representativity at the area/neighbourhood level. For how that was achieved in each country see the respective country reports in Chapter II.2. In order to ensure area representativity, we defined neighbourhoods as follows: city centre, inner residential area, housing estate, cottage and garden district, rural neighbourhood. Based on official statistical data, each country defined the proportion of families/households to be selected, and then interviewers, who had received briefings, used the “random walk method” to select for the actual interviews the necessary number of families/households in a particular residential area. (For selecting and briefing interviewers see Chapter II.2.)

6. Research methodology and measurement tool

Our research methodology comprises two parts: the first is theoretical and provides a process analysis of the family as a sociological and psychological category. The analysis and interpretation of the terminology used in the research is based on different schools of thought in sociology and psychology (Max Weber, Pierre Bourdieu, Anthony Giddens, Jürgen Habermas, Theodor Adorno etc.). The international-level theoretical analysis is supplemented by national-level analyses added by each country, which give a comprehensive description of key lifestyle research projects in the respective countries.

The other measurement method uses a structured questionnaire-based interview. The questionnaire includes open-ended and closed (forced choice) questions, 114 of them in total. A total of 691 variables are derived from the 114 questions. Questions centre around 5 key themes:

1. nutrition
2. free time
3. family customs
4. cultural habits
5. family values.

In more details, we have put forward the following questions in case of the proposed themes:

– *Nutrition (12 questions)* – Components: way of cooking; eating habits – hunger; consumption of vegetables; consumption of fruits; consumption of bread; intake of liquids; use of salt; spices; meat; shopping habits.

– *Free time (9 questions)* – Components: type and frequency of physical exercise; typical free time activities; weekend programmes; holidays spent inland and abroad, and in what company; amount of free time.

– *Family customs (27 questions)* – Components: family members; marital status; current and past marriages; children living separately, contacts, help; parents living and their place of residence; contacts with parents; helping parents; help from parents; siblings and contacts with them; savings and debts; habits in presenting gifts; hospitality; children – private lessons; sleeping in the afternoon; household chores; place, time, and determinants of family shopping.

– *Cultural habits (17 questions)* – Components: number of books; number of CDs; going to theatres, movies, concerts, and museums; family programmes outside home; watching TV (adults and children); reading books and newspapers; using the Internet.

– *Family values (9 questions)* – Components: marital cohesion; factors absent from human relationships; important values; religiosity; going to church; practicing faith; comfort in faith; prejudices.

In line with Rahner's terminology, we posed questions in the above themes to achieve two goals. Using the above-specified components, we aimed to put families objectively in different categories of tradition and modernity. In addition, at the end of each chapter we gave respondents an opportunity for self-categorisation, i.e. they were allowed to place themselves on the tradition-modernity axis.

Besides lifestyle factors examined in the questionnaire, we also added different (sociological, demographic and economic) background variables, which allowed us to perform a refined analysis of data. These additional variables are: age; gender; nationality; place of birth; education; place of work; occupation; position; education of parents; regular income; financial position of family; assets; dwelling; size of apartment; number of rooms; premises in apartment; type of heating; water supply; sewerage; components of property; type of ownership; plans regarding apartment; move; person(s) in need of care.

7. Coding

The questionnaires were marked with 6-character codes for identification. The first two characters indicate the category, the next three characters extend from 001-500, and the final character shows whether the respondent is a parent (Sz) or a child (Gy).

E.g.: BV001Sz – BV055Sz
 BL056Sz – BL120Sz; etc.

A guide and a coding sheet are attached to the coding of the questions. Data coding took place in writing, and for the data recording we used the SPSS statistical programme. The task was completed by qualified experts.

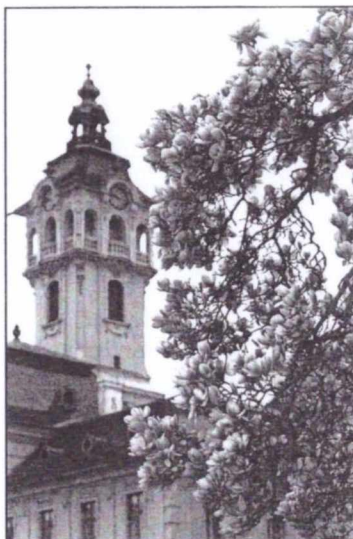
8. Data processing

Data obtained from the research are processed electronically with the use of the SPSS programme. Statistical procedures used in data processing include frequency and cross-table analysis; factor and cluster analysis; and correlation analyses. The findings are presented in both narrative and spreadsheet format, as well as in figures (charts).

9. Expected research outcomes

- The research gives an opportunity to track how socio-economic changes *in recent years* have modified the components of families' lifestyles and the social adaptability of families. We also expect to identify whether different traits specific to each family type play a role in how lifestyle and social environmental factors shape families' values. It also allows international comparison.
- Publication of domestic and international research results based on a multi-disciplinary approach – joint publications of the research team members.
- Publication of a detailed professional and methodological plan.
- Publications by the representatives of different disciplines related to individual research categories (family – socialisation – prejudice; lifestyle – life world).

NATIONAL REPORTS



Szeged

II. 2.1. National research report from Hungary, University of Szeged, Juhász Gyula Faculty of Education, Department of Applied Health Sciences, Szeged

II. 2.1. National research report form Hungary, University of Szeged, Juhász Gyula Faculty of Education, Department of Applied Health Sciences, Szeged

II.2.1.1. An overview of Hungarian national theories

Klára Tarkó

1. Zsuzsanna Ferge's social stratification model

The starting point of Zsuzsanna Ferge's (1967) survey of social stratification is rooted in Marxist foundations. Productive work forms society's economic basis, upon which division of labour is built. Division of labour enables the satisfaction of specific needs through specialised activities. The current level of development of division of labour determines relations between individuals. Division of labour creates objective conditions which form the basis of social segmentation.

Another starting point of Ferge's study was the formation of statistically describable groups. She sought to create groups that would meet the following criteria: average and typical differences should be identified; similarities within the same group should be greater than relationships and systems of similarities outside the group; groups should have sufficient explanatory power and explain social differences well; and groups should clearly reveal social conflicts.

Ferge attempted to interpret and measure division of labour using what she called "work-type groups". To this end, she examined and made measurable, or operationalised, the theoretical dimensions of division of labour, created work-type groups within society, and looked at how belonging to any of those groups influenced factors which were important from the aspect of income, culture, lifestyle etc. The theoretical dimensions she studied and operationalised are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. – Theoretical dimensions as basis of creating work-type groups and their operationalisation in Ferge's (1967) social structure model

Theoretical dimensions	Metrics
1. Ownership relation capitalism vs. socialism	1. state 2. cooperative 3. private
2. Leadership and power – leader/subordinate – competence – national/local – position/person	those leading/those led
3. Vocational skills/knowledge/schooling system – education level – quantity of knowledge – quality of knowledge	Levels of knowledge: 1. university/college 2. secondary/post-secondary 3. completed elementary school 4. lower

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4. Regularity Engagement in social division of labour	1. regular and full employment 2. regular, not full 3. not regular, non-institutionalised
5. agricultural/non-agricultural	1. agricultural 2. non-agricultural
6. type of abilities	1. white-collar occupation 2. blue-collar occupation
7. creative/routine work	1. creative work 2. routine work
8. object of work	1. productive work 2. non-productive work

After those 8 dimensions were operationalised, appropriate combinations resulted in 1,152 different “work-type groups”, which had to be consolidated into fewer groups. Ferge consolidated them along typical linkages between smaller categories, and then using the employment statistics of the Central Statistical Office (CSO) she classified all the occupations into these work-type groups. Based on the occupations, 14 work-type groups were made, which were subsequently reduced to 10. These are:

1. managerial and white-collar
2. middle-level white-collar
3. administrative
4. skilled worker
5. semi-skilled worker
6. unskilled worker
7. agricultural worker
8. office assistant
9. casual farm hands
10. retired

Ferge left out certain dimensions from her study since she considered them of secondary importance compared to the individual’s status in society’s division of labour. Those dimensions were as follows:

1. Historical (or causal) dimensions such as social origin and residence, which influence to a great extent an individual’s initial conditions.
2. Consequential dimensions such as earnings and prestige, which add to society’s stratum-forming and ranking effect.
3. Dimensions independent of social division of labour including the demographic dimension (age, gender, family size), religion, and ethnicity. Ferge considers the latter two negligible in the context of socialism in Hungarian society.

In interpreting results, Ferge focused on how being part of a particular work-type group influenced lifestyle and living conditions. She found that economic and material conditions created great (roughly eightfold) earnings disparities between individuals, while the same ratio was only twofold between the groups she had created. Also, she concluded that the earnings position was a function of the size of the family and the number of breadwinners. She also discovered major differences in cultural indicators.

There were striking behavioural differences related to school between white-collar and blue-collar workers, as were in consuming cultural goods. There were no differences in reading newspapers, but there existed major discrepancies in using means of mass communication between agricultural and non-agricultural workers. White-collar workers went out and read more than blue-collar workers, who did not usually go out or read. She also detected increased disparities in lifestyle. There were broad differences in the housing conditions of white-collar workers and blue-collar workers. The consumption structure did not show major inequalities in nutrition, unlike in the case of consumer durables, where especially unskilled workers and agricultural manual workers were at a disadvantage. In a time-balance study she demonstrated that agricultural workers did not have free time, white-collar workers spent a lot of time engaging in cultural and recreational activities, while leisure time for blue-collar workers equalled passive rest and sleep.

In summary, work-type groups provided a strong explanatory power, except for the areas of earnings and financial conditions. Her study concluded that socialism was fraught with profound inequities and that the working class was not in a leading position and was not the class that enjoyed the highest living standards.

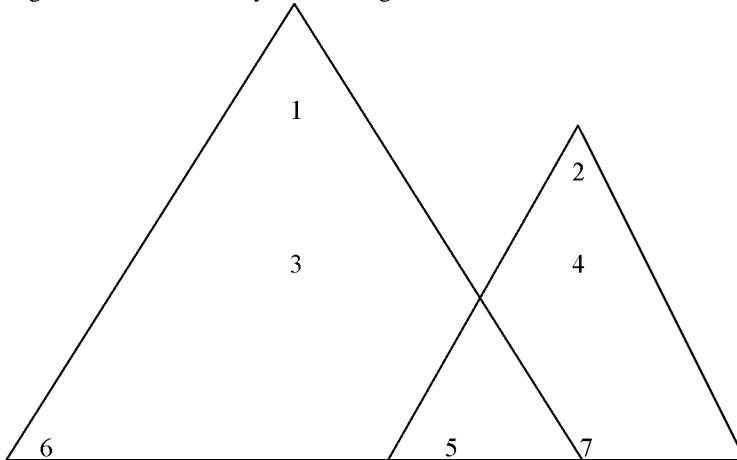
The advantage of Ferge's model was in its simplicity and reliance on a limited number of variables, which could be easily reproduced. It was an easy-to-use stratification model, which remained in use in Hungary until 1987. It provided solid explanations for the period under review, pointing out facts and triggering an important theoretical debate. However, it also had a few shortcomings. The groups it created were not homogeneous enough, with individual work-type groups containing major discrepancies. In certain areas, such as earnings, work-type groups had a limited explanatory power. In explaining earnings, factors like age, gender, and family size have a much greater role to play. Within the work-type groups certain categories were uncalled for. E.g. Ferge merged leading cadres and intellectual managers, and the working class was in reality much more segmented than in the model. Work-type groups were in many cases formed arbitrarily.

The late 1980s saw the creation of 2 new theoretical models (Szelényi, 1990; Kolosi, 1987. Cited in Andorka, 2002) addressing the structure of Hungarian society, each of which started from the assumption that the secondary economy and the growing role of the market had brought about changes in Hungary's social structure.

2. Ivan Szelényi's stratification model

Iván Szelényi depicts the class structure of Hungarian society using 2 overlapping triangles, the larger of which represents a social structure created on the basis of participation in the public sector, where feudal traits prevail and inequities are determined by a system of prestige relations. The smaller triangle illustrates a social structure resulting from participation in the secondary economy, which primarily carries traits of a class system and is predominated by participants' relation to division of labour (Figure 1).

Figure 1. – Ivan Szelényi's '2 triangles' model



Szelényi differentiates 7 groups:

1. cadre elite
2. new entrepreneurs
3. bureaucratic middle class
4. self-employed
5. public sector employees engaging in secondary economy
6. redistributive workers
7. private sector employees

Szelényi regards the secondary economy as an economic miracle, which has resulted in substantial (30-40%) over-production. One's main occupation is not one's main source of income but is an important structure-forming element. There exists a particular social structure side by side with another social structure.

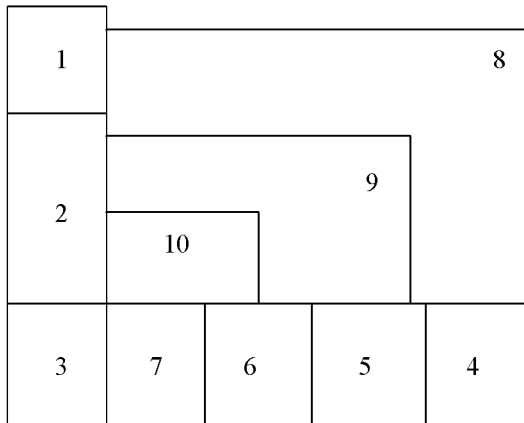
3. Tamás Kolosi's L-model

Kolosi's basic approach was to look at what groups are formed on the basis of participation in the secondary economy. He called the categories he used in his model "structural groups" in order to distinguish them from status groups, strata, and classes. On the vertical axis he measured the position of social categories along the state redistribution dimension, and on the horizontal axis he placed them according to market relations (Figure 2.).

Figure 2. – Tamás Kolosi’s L-model

Redistributive

Both



Market

1. political and public administration leaders
2. redistributive middle-level leaders and employees
3. unskilled workers in redistributive sector
4. private entrepreneurs
5. “latent” private entrepreneurs
6. small-scale producers
7. unskilled workers in secondary economy
8. managers and economic leaders
9. intellectuals and skilled workers
10. people with middle-level earnings; employees participating in both

In the 1970s, Kolosi thought that the secondary economy was a structure-forming element. Then in the 1980s, his idea was that the secondary economy only had a compensating role whereby it could mitigate certain inequities of the public system. He describes it in his writing entitled “Segmented Society”.

In 1982, Kolosi carried out a survey on a large sample. He theorised that there existed several dimensions in the system of inequities, and that the work-type group was not the only determinant. In his study he used advanced statistical mathematics, which was an innovation. Another novelty was the analysis of the effects of assertiveness and the secondary economy.

The survey covered 8.695 families in a multi-layered random sample. Kolosi placed an emphasis on special samples, such as the elite, small-scale producers, residents of Roma shanty towns, craftsmen, dwellers of workers’ hostels, as well as homeless people. His central concept is status, which is the place one occupies along the dimensions

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of social stratification. Kolosi differentiated 8 dimensions, or typical inequity factors, which he tried to capture by using a variety of variables. Along the dimensions he created a 7-degree scale. The dimensions he used in the study were as follows:

1. assertiveness
2. status index in division of labour (occupation, work conditions)
3. dimension occupied in secondary economy (intensity – earnings)
4. territorial inequities (settlement typology, categorisation by residential area)
5. housing conditions (comfort level, spaciousness, use of apartment)
6. financial position (assets, earnings)
7. consumption status (nutrition, hygiene products, services, habits of presenting gifts and entertaining)
8. cultural lifestyle dimension (person's education, participation in mass culture, cultural institutions, frequency of reading, cultural background parameter, holidays, free time habits).

Sampling referred to families, where earners were interviewed. Status indices were calculated for persons and families/households.

He analysed the distribution of status indices, i.e. what percentage of respondents belonged to each category along the 8 dimensions and how the population was situated along a particular dimension. He looked into the correlation between status along a particular dimension and status along another. He concluded that there was great status inconsistency in Hungarian society. Status inconsistency can, on the one hand, have a compensating effect, i.e. the low status of one dimension can be offset by the high status of another. On the other hand, lack of harmony can cause tension. He created his status groups to describe social stratification by means of a cluster analysis. He created a hierarchical system of inequities as follows:

1. elite
2. higher urban
3. higher rural
4. affluent rural worker
5. affluent urban worker
6. urban middle segment
7. assertive middle
8. assertive lower
9. financially comfortable lower rural (successful smallholders)
10. lower urban
11. moderately deprived
12. deprived groups

Based on his research findings Kolosi has come to the following conclusions: status hierarchy is a dominant ordering principle in society and there exists a great degree of status inconsistency. Social stratification can be illustrated on a 5-degree scale with a small elite group at the top, followed below by a larger wealthier-than-average group, then by a small group constituting the average, then comes a larger group in a worse-than-average position, and finally at the bottom is a smaller deprived group. The secondary economy has a compensating role and serves the improvement of bad positions occupied in society. One fifth of society is unable to assert their interests.

4. Lifestyle groups

Ágnes Utasi's (1984) empirical lifestyle study, which plays a decisive role in our thinking, is linked to social stratification research and thus has a similar focus on education, settlement type of residence, traits of residential neighbourhood, the cultural and civilizational environment in childhood, the earnings status, the degree of occupational prestige, consumption, culture, human relationships, holidays etc. As a result of her study, which was methodologically as complicated as the stratification study, Ágnes Utasi (1984) identified the following lifestyle groups:

1. The elite

Based on their social opportunities they have a wide range of choices. They are mostly urban dwellers, most often with higher education, although some have only secondary education. In general they are middle-aged or older. Differences in education between spouses are frequent (man – higher education, woman – secondary education). Their housing conditions are of the highest standard: they have their own house, or live in a terraced house, or in an apartment in a high-prestige neighbourhood. The furnishings of their apartments are of high quality. This is the segment in which the percentage of those having their own holiday cottages at places within reach of 1–1.5 hours is the highest. They typically travel a lot within Hungary and abroad. Some of them also speak foreign languages. They prefer private journeys as opposed to pre-organised package tours. Their nutrition is not the most modern and tends to include traditional elements. They like typical Hungarian dishes such as chicken stew with sour cream and gnocchi. Their cultural activities involving much going-out (to theatres, cinemas, concerts etc.) are high. They wear high-prestige clothes. They tend to buy their garments abroad or at upmarket shops in Hungary. The children of many of them attend private extracurricular classes.

2. Intellectually driven consumers

Almost exclusively have higher education degrees. They are mostly young or middle-aged. They are not education leavers before first employment. Many of them have a good chance of joining the elite. Their financial position is worse than that of the elite. They consume intellectual goods, their slogan is life-long learning. Investing in training and culture pays off in their case. Their nutrition is healthier than that of the elite, although their financial status is more modest. In their case choice has a clear role. They also have the highest percentage in terms of engagement in active recreation. The members of this group are characterised by a high degree of status inconsistency.

3. Higher-pattern followers

Also known as the newly rich, they typically have secondary or higher education, and few of them have low education. Their model is the elite, which they seek to imitate. They can imitate what is visible to them (housing, interior design, clothing, etc.). Their children have considerable chances. Their housing conditions are identical with, or even better than, those of the elite. Entertaining is a typical feature of theirs. Their holiday index is high but they mostly join package tours since they do not normally speak foreign languages. Their nutrition is absolutely traditional and unhealthy. The number of

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overweight people is high among them. They eat lots of fast food. This group's consumption of hygiene products is the highest. Their children stand a high chance for entering the elite.

4. The family-oriented

This group focuses on the family. All consumption is subordinated to children's needs. Their housing conditions, nutrition, and clothing are more modest, and they cannot afford holidays every year. At the same time, the percentage of children going to private extracurricular classes is higher here than in the elite segment. Most of them have secondary education but there also higher education graduates among them. Many are first-generation urban dwellers, especially from lower classes. They are mostly older by age.

5. The object-oriented

Most of them are skilled and, to a lesser extent, semi-skilled workers. This segment also includes some people with secondary degrees. Their choices are more limited, they have fewer opportunities. The focus of their life is their apartments. They mostly live in prefabricated concrete apartment blocks or small flats but the comfort level of these is very high. They work from dawn to dusk but live in better conditions. Their nutrition is of low standards. They cannot really afford to go on holidays and they spend less on their children. Their slogan is: my house is my castle.

6. The relationship-rich

Most of them live in a rural setting. Their most preferred value is a wide network of relationships. That affects their work and how they spend their free time. Their living conditions (housing, clothing, nutrition) are more modest in every respect than those of the preceding groups. They rarely go on vacation. We can only partially talk about healthy nutrition in their case. They do not typically go out as a cultural activity.

7. The relationship-poor

Most of them are city dwellers. They typically have low education, have no vocational qualifications, and work as unskilled or semi-skilled workers. They are first-generation urban dwellers, belong to the older age brackets, and many of them live alone. The gap in life expectancy at birth between men and women is the widest in this group. This is a highly isolated group with low consumption. Their pension is just enough to cover the rent and the costs of minimum nutrition.

8. Toilers

Mostly rural residents with poor schooling and a general low status. They work from dawn to dusk, and their assertiveness is weak. All their consumption is low and of poor quality. They live in low-quality houses, often with grandparents who belong to the deprived lifestyle group. They engage in agricultural production in poor infrastructural conditions, and selling their produce or buying high-quality seeds is a difficulty for them. Their nutrition is poor. They do not starve or suffer from cold, and do not display traits of

absolute poverty yet. When they become old they will be part of *Lifestyle Group 9 – The Deprived*.

5. The uneven modernisation of the value system of Hungarian society

Western-European, or Weberian, modernisation is based on the rationality of the market, the entrepreneur, the individual, while Eastern-European modernisation is built on the rationality of central planning as dictated by the State. Both can be considered as modernisation but while the former produces a civil-capitalist economy and society, the latter will not start or will halt the development of civil society. These two different modernisation strategies require different types of human attitude and behaviour. In 1979 and 1980, Hankiss et al. carried out a national sociological survey of values, which they then compared with the findings of similar American studies. In American society the dominant values of the modernisation process include pragmatic and purpose-oriented action, an autonomous and self-managing personality, and values linked to the individual (efficiency, ambition, self-management, responsibility, self-discipline, self-consciousness, freedom, inner harmony, wisdom). The values of efficient action are predominant. By contrast, the dominant values in Hungarian society are sociality, attachment to society, the need to be accepted by society, and values generally linked to society (a sense of being recognised by society, a sense of usefulness, discipline, the security of the country, equality, peace, social responsibility, obedience). Intellectual values (intelligence, logic, creative mind) prevail (Hankiss, 1986).

When we compare the value axes of Hungary and America, the values of the young Hungarian generation point much further in the direction of modernisation. The value system of Hungarian society is more modern and democratised. Interpreted in Weber's terms, it reflects the secularisation, rationalisation and individualisation of the value system. Hungarian society is more secularised than American society. From the perspective of economic rationality American society is better, and from the aspect of intellectual thinking Hungarian society is better. Values linked to the individual and personality play a more important role in American society. Hungarian society is primarily driven by two sets of values: the values of people trying to move ahead in society, and the group of intellectual values (Hankiss, 1986).

Traditional community values are very weak in Hungarian society, therefore the value axes are biased towards modernisation, while community values are stronger in American society. The Hungarian value system is in fact not more modern than the American.

Between 1977 and 1981 there was a shift in values: two explicitly modern values became more important (ambition and efficiency), while two social-type values (equality and discipline) decreased in importance. That points to a shift from the society-centred rationality of central planning towards a more pragmatic and individualised Weberian rationality (Hankiss, 1986).

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II. 2.1.2. Hungarian sample, sampling, and research procedure

Klára Tarkó – Zsuzsanna Benkő – László Lippai – Katalin Erdei

1. Sample design

Based on the data of the Csongrád County Directorate of the Hungarian Central Statistical Office (CSO, 2003) as of 1 February 2001, the city of Szeged and its catchment area has a population of 168,273, including 77,496 (46%) men and 90,777 (54%) women. By age, 15% of the population (25,017 people) are between 0-14 years, 40% (66,833 people) are between 15-39 years, 31% (53,017 people) fall into the 40-64-year bracket, and 14% (23,406) are aged 65 years or over.

The population is distributed among the functional districts (10 categories) of Szeged and its catchment area as follows: Central Szeged (12,2%); inner residential area (16,5%); housing estates (38,9%); cottage district (3,2%); garden district (11,5%); rural residential area (15,6%); urban resort district (0,2%); industrial zone (0,6%); private weekend houses (0,7%); other non-urban areas (0,7%). For the purposes of our research, we reduced the 10 categories to 5. These 5 categories include the following:

- Central Szeged: left bank of the River *Tisza* comprising the city centre bordered by *Tisza Lajos (kis) körút* (Tisza Lajos Boulevard, popularly called Small Boulevard) and the inner part of the city bordered by the Small and the Grand Boulevards (11% of population).
- Inner residential area: residential area stretching from the Grand Boulevard to the housing estates and the industrial zone, and including the following quarters: *Felsőváros*, *Rókus*, *Rókus-Móraváros*, *Móraváros* and *Alsóváros* (these are separated by avenues) (15% of population).
- Housing estates: starting from the *Tisza* and including first the *Tarján* and *Felsőváros* estates, then *Északi város*, *Makkosháza*, and finally *Újrókus* bordered by Kossuth Lajos Avenue (42% of population).
- Suburban garden district: inner part of *Újszeged* (New Szeged) stretching as far as the *Töltés* and *Maros* Streets (not including the *Odessa* quarter). It includes parts of *Újszeged* not mentioned before, such as *Marostő*, *Füvészkert* area, plus *Béke*, *Kecskés*, *Klebersberg Towns*, *Új-Petőfi Town*, *Baktó* and *Újszőreg* (15% of population).
- Rural residential area: *Petőfi Town*, *Szentmihály*, *Tápé*, *Kiskundorozsma*, *Gyálarét*, *Szőreg* (17% of population).

The distribution of families/households in the representative sample was determined by dividing up the 500 families/households to be interviewed in proportion to the distribution of the population among the residential areas in and around Szeged. As a result, we decided to interview 55, 75, 210, 75, and 85 families/households in Central Szeged, the inner residential area, the housing estates, the garden district, and the rural

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residential area, respectively. After determining the precise numbers in each area, our interviewers used the “random walk method” to select the actual persons as respondents. Having thus selected the respondents, we were not able to contact 42 people subsequently, which reduced the sample size to 458, leaving, however, the representativity of residential areas intact (Table 1.).

Table 1. – Distribution of sample by type of residence (%)

Category	Distribution (%)	Sample (persons)
Central Szeged – BV	11.1	51
Inner residential area – BL	14.4	66
Housing estate – LT	44.6	204
Cottage and garden district – KV	12.7	58
Rural residential area – FA	17.2	79
Total	100.0	458

For the purposes of our research, we interviewed one adult and one child (if there was any) in each family/household. In the case of adult respondents, we interviewed the female member of the family, so the sample is not representative by gender.

2. Conducting the survey

We selected our interviewers, 37 persons in all, from our students at our *Master’s course for health sciences teachers* at the Department of Applied Health Sciences of the Juhász Gyula Teacher Training College (present name: Juhász Gyula Faculty of Education), University of Szeged. The selected students have high competence in research methodology and have acquired skills and knowledge in interviewing techniques, biographical analysis, research methodology, and statistics during their studies.

The interviewers were briefed by our psychologists in the research team, with a focus on preparations for a piloting interview. The briefing included the following elements:

- Making contact and discussion of interview techniques;
- How to ask questions in the questionnaire and record answers;
- 15 of the selected interviewers and the Hungarian research team carried out pilot interviews with 50 families. Based on the experience from our and the international partners’ pilot interviews, the questionnaire was modified.
- After revising the questionnaire, we continued the briefing of interviewers focussing on the sampling procedure and the use of the “random walk method”, by which interviewers would randomly select the required number sample items in a particular area.

The identification codes of questionnaires to be administered by each interviewer were registered, then students began the survey in spring 2005. Each interviewer took with them the following package:

- official name badge;
- commissioning letter;
- map of Szeged;
- registration form containing questionnaire ID code, address of interviewed family, and name of respondent. The research team is bound by confidentiality, i.e. the researchers have the names and addresses of respondents for identification of the codes but are not allowed to use those data in publishing their findings. We obtained those data only for checking the work of our interviewers.
- questionnaires;
- envelope with slips of paper containing questions that were handed over to the respondents.

We checked the work of our interviewers. We took a random sample of the completed questionnaires, and based on the personal data our colleagues contacted the selected families/households in person or by telephone to inquire about whether the interviewers had visited them and how they had behaved. That allowed eliminating problems such as the arbitrary completion of questionnaires with fictitious data. The process of coding the questionnaire's contents gave a further opportunity to verify the accuracy of the interviewers' work. This thorough verification procedure did not reveal any significant problems that might have jeopardised the success of the research.

Coding and recording the data took place in spring 2006. We analysed them during the summer and autumn the same year, and their publication is expected in early 2007.

3. Variables

Our research methods and key variables are described in Chapter II.1. In this section we explain the general procedure we applied in processing Hungarian data in order to arrive at the tradition and modernity parameters, which are so critical to our analysis. A detailed description of the contents of objective parameters is presented in the sub-chapters of Chapter II.2.1.

Our research team relied on its professional experience and theoretical analyses in distilling from the 5 themes (nutrition, free time, family habits, cultural factors, values) studied for describing lifestyles those variables which reveal the traditional or modern nature of habits related to a particular theme. In the case of nutrition, free time, and family habits, we selected 5 indicators for each theme, and with cultural factors and values we identified 4 for each. Thus we were able to describe our sample according to how many were selected from the indicators which the research team had identified. By doing so we arrived at two new variables in each theme, one to indicate tradition and one to describe modernity, each of which could assume a value between 0-5 and between 0-4, respectively. We consolidated these values to form categories. Whenever between 3-5 and between 3-4, respectively, were chosen from the indicators linked to traditional nutrition/free time/family habits/cultural habits/values, we used the *explicitly traditional* category. Whenever 1-2 indicators and 0 indicators were chosen, the *moderately traditional* and the *non-traditional* categories were used, respectively. We followed a similar procedure with the objective variable indicating modernity. Whenever between 3-5 and between 3-4, respectively, were chosen from the indicators linked to modern

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nutrition/free time/family habits/cultural habits/values, we used the *explicitly modern* category. Whenever 1-2 indicators and 0 indicators were chosen, the *moderately modern* and the *non-modern* categories were used, respectively.

In the case of each theme, we combined the values of the 2 three-category variables, which characterise traditional and modern habits, and named the new combinations. The 9 new categories were then used to objectively analyse our sample (Table 2.).

Table 2. – Values obtained from combinations

Degree of tradition	Degree of modernity	<i>Name of combination</i>
Non-traditional	Non-modern	<i>Neither traditional, nor modern</i>
Non-traditional	Moderately modern	<i>Moderately modern</i>
Non-traditional	Explicitly modern	<i>Explicitly modern</i>
Moderately traditional	Non-modern	<i>Moderately traditional</i>
Moderately traditional	Moderately modern	<i>Non-typical</i>
Moderately traditional	Explicitly modern	<i>Typically modern</i>
Explicitly traditional	Non-modern	<i>Explicitly traditional</i>
Explicitly traditional	Moderately modern	<i>Typically traditional</i>
Explicitly traditional	Explicitly modern	<i>Bipolar</i>

II. 2.1.3. Demographic and social characteristics

Klára Tarkó

In this chapter we describe the distribution of the entire Hungarian sample along the variables which act as relation-designating categories in sociological thinking. These relation-designating categories are as follows:

1. Demographic variables: age, marital status, family type, family composition, number of family members;
2. Social variables: education, occupation/type of work, income. The type of residential area is also included among social variables. For their analysis from this aspect see Chapter II. 2.1.2.

1. Demographic variables

Breakdown of our sample by age of respondents (Table 1.):

Table 1. – Breakdown of sample by age of respondents (CSO)

Age groups	Frequency (%)	Data of Szeged (%)
0–14 yrs	0	25 017 (15%)
15–39 yrs	231 (50.4%)	66 833 (40%)
40–64 yrs	202 (44.1%)	53 017 (31%)
65 yrs and over	21 (4.6%)	23 406 (14%)
Data not available	4 (0.9%)	–
Total	458 (100%)	168 273 (100%)

The table suggests that our sample does not reflect exactly the age distribution of the population of Szeged and its catchment area (see also II. 2.1.2.). The 15–39-year and 40–64-year age groups are over-represented whereas the 65-and-over bracket is under-represented. We note here that in selecting our sample we did not strive for representativity by age.

For our study by age we formed our groups along psychological categories (Table 2.):

Table 2. – Age distribution of sample by psychological category as % of residential area – persons (%) (Data not available: 4 cases)

	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=202	Garden district (%) n=57	Rural residential area (%) n=78	Total N=454
0–25 yrs (youth)	4 (7.8)	7 (10.6)	25 (12.4)	2 (3.5)	2 (2.6)	40 (8.8)
26–40 yrs (young adult)	22 (43.1)	34 (51.5)	92 (45.5)	19 (33.3)	36 (46.2)	203 (44.7)
41–65 yrs (sustainment)	19 (37.3)	24 (36.4)	79 (39.1)	34 (59.6)	36 (46.2)	192 (42.3)

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66 yrs and over (decline)	6 (11.8)	1 (1.5)	6 (3.0)	2 (3.5)	4 (5.1)	19 (4.2)
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

In our sample, 8.8%, 44.7%, and 4.2% of respondents fall into the 0–25-year, 26–64-year and 65–year-and-over brackets, respectively.

Table 3. – Distribution of sample by respondents' marital status as % of residential area – persons (%) (Data not available: 7 cases)

	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=200	Garden district (%) n=57	Rural residential area (%) n=77	Total N=451
Single and living alone	15.7	16.7	18.5	3.5	5.2	13.7
Single and living with partner	3.9	9.1	13.5	3.5	5.2	9.1
Married but living alone	2.0	1.5	2.0	1.8	1.3	1.8
Married	54.9	56.1	42.5	73.7	70.1	54.5
Married but living with partner other than spouse	0.0	0.0	0.5	1.8	0.0	0.4
Divorced and living alone	13.7	10.6	14.5	8.8	7.8	12.0
Divorced and living with partner	2.0	3.0	2.5	3.5	2.6	2.7
Widowed and living alone	7.8	3.0	6.0	3.5	7.8	5.8
Widowed and living with partner	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Of the total sample, 54.5% are married with a spouse, 13.7% are single and live alone, 12.0% are divorced and live alone, 9.1% are single and live with a spouse, 5.8% are widowed and live alone, 2.7% are divorced and live with a partner, 1.8% are married but live alone, and 0.4% are married but live with a partner other than a spouse.

Since our purpose was to study families/households living in and around Szeged, we created a variable, which describes the type of family, to characterise our sample. Its values are:

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- Single-person household: single adult man or woman,
- Lone-parent family: 1 adult family member with 1 or more children (we put here respondent + 1 parent cases as well).
- Complete family: father/male partner and mother/female partner with or without children. This type of family sometimes also comprises grandparents.
- Multi-generation family: cases not fitting under any of the above categories, e.g. those where respondent/respondent's mother/respondent's sibling/grandchildren live together.

By this division, our sample includes the following family types (Table 4.):

Table 4. – Composition of sample by family type as % of residential area type (Data not available: 1 case)

	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=204	Garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=78	Total N=457
Single-person household	23.5	19.7	21.6	1.7	5.1	16.2 (74 cases)
Lone-parent family	15.7	13.6	18.1	13.8	7.7	14.9 (68 cases)
Complete family	60.8	63.6	58.8	84.5	84.6	67.4 (308 cases)
Multi-generation family	0.0	3.0	1.5	0.0	2.6	1.5 (7 cases)
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

In our sample, 16.2%, 14.9%, 67.4%, and 1.5% are single-person households, lone-parent families, complete families, and multi-generation families, respectively. Because of their low number, distribution data related to multi-generation families cannot be interpreted in further analyses.

Table 5. shows the distribution of family members living in the same household in our sample.

Table 5. – Distribution of family members living in the same household as % of residential area

Number (persons)	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=204	Garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=78	Total N=457
1	23.5	19.7	21.6	1.7	5.1	16.2
2	25.5	19.7	29.9	24.1	10.3	23.9
3	21.6	22.7	26.5	20.7	30.8	25.4
4	15.7	27.3	17.2	39.7	34.6	24.3

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5	11.8	7.6	4.9	12.1	15.4	8.8
6	2.0	3.0	0.0	1.7	3.8	1.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Of the full sample, 25.4%, 24.3%, 23.9%, 16.2%, 8.8%, and 1.5% have 3, 4, 2, 1, 5, and 6 members, respectively. It is informative to look at the number of people living in the same household by how they are distributed by family type. In 55.9%, 35.3%, and 8.8% of lone-parent families, there are 2, 3, and 4 people living, respectively. In the case of complete families, this distribution is as follows: there are 2 persons in 23.1%, 3 persons in 28.2%, 4 persons in 33.8%, 5 persons in 12.7%, and 6 persons in 2.3% of such families. A further picture is shown about family composition in Table 6.

Table 6. – Distribution of sample under review by number of persons in family

Family members	Persons (%)
Woman	427 (93.2)
Man	329 (71.8)
Child 1	294 (64.2)
Child 2	170 (37.1)
Child 3	42 (9.2)
Child 4	5 (1.1)
Grandparent 1	32 (7.0)
Grandparent 2	5 (1.1)
Sibling 1	9 (2.0)
Sibling 2	3 (0.7)
Other (e.g., son-in-law, fiancée, grandchild etc.)	4 (0.8)

64.2% of the families under review have at least 1 child, 37.2% have at least 2 children, 9.2% have at least 3 children, and 1.1% have 4 children (the above numbers of children represent a cumulative frequency distribution). At least in 7% of families there is 1 grandparent, and in 1.1% there are 2 grandparents in the family. For more detailed data on the number of children see Tables 7. and 8.

Table 7. – Number of children living in the family as % of residential area

	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=204	Garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential district (%) n=79	Total N=458
0	43.1	37.9	43.6	20.7	21.5	36.0
1	31.4	21.2	29.9	22.4	24.1	26.9
2	11.8	28.8	22.1	44.8	41.8	28.2
3	13.7	12.1	4.4	12.1	11.4	8.7
4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.3	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

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36% of households under review are childless, in 28.2% there are 2 children, in 26.9% there is 1 child, 8.7% have 3 children, and 2% have 4 children. We also looked at the number of children by family type (see Table 8.).

Table 8. – Number of children in the family as % family type

	Single-person household (%) n=74	Lone-parent family (%) n=68	Complete family (%) n=308	Multi- generation family (%) n=7	Total N=457
0	97.3	14.7	24.7	85.7	35.9
1	2.7	47.1	28.6	14.3	26.9
2	0.0	33.8	34.4	0.0	28.2
3	0.0	4.4	12.0	0.0	8.8
4	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

In 2.7% of single-person households there is 1 child. In the case of lone-parent families, the spectrum ranges from childlessness (the respondent and 1 parent live together) to 3-child families, and in the case of complete families, it extends from childlessness to families with 4 children. With complete families, the 2-child model is the most frequent (34.4%). Table 9. shows a distribution of children in families by age. We regarded as children every child living in the respondent's household and not having their own households, regardless of age.

Table 9. – Distribution of children living in families by average age as % of residential area

	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=203	Garden district (%) n=57	Rural residential area (%) n=79	Total N=456
No children	43.1	39.4	44.3	21.1	21.5	36.6
0.1–3 yrs	3.9	4.5	4.9	3.5	5.1	4.6
3.1–6 yrs	5.9	6.1	2.5	5.3	7.6	4.6
6.1–9 yrs	9.8	9.1	9.4	15.8	10.1	10.3
9.1–12 yrs	9.8	12.1	6.4	10.5	10.1	8.8
12.1–15 yrs	5.9	3.0	9.9	8.8	8.9	8.1
15.1–18 yrs	5.9	9.1	6.9	15.8	12.7	9.2
18.1–21 yrs	3.9	6.1	4.4	5.3	10.1	5.7
21.1–24 yrs	3.9	3.0	3.9	10.5	3.8	4.6
24.1–27 yrs	5.9	3.0	3.9	0.0	1.3	3.1
27.1–30 yrs	0.0	3.0	3.0	3.5	3.8	2.9
30.1–33 yrs	0.0	1.5	0.5	0.0	2.5	0.9
33.1–36 yrs	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.3	0.2
42.1–45 yrs	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2
45.1–48 yrs	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.3	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

2. Social variables

In order to characterise our sample, we present the distribution of families by education. In accordance with the practice used in the study of social stratification, we took into account the education level of the adult male family member in the case of complete families in making a variable. In the remaining three cases, we considered the education level of the interviewed adult family member, regardless of gender. According to this categorisation, our sample composition is as follows (Table 10.):

Table 10. – Composition of sample by education of family as % of residential area type
Data not available: 8 cases)

	Central Szeged (%) n=50	Inner residential area (%) n=64	Housing estate (%) n=203	Garden district (%) n=55	Rural residential area (%) n=78	Total (cases) N=450
Primary school	2.0	1.6	3.4	1.8	3.8	2.9 (13)
Trade school	14.0	23.4	17.7	20.0	32.1	20.9 (94)
Secondary school	10.0	6.3	7.9	1.8	11.5	7.8 (35)
Matura	16.0	20.3	21.2	9.1	20.5	18.9 (85)
Vocational qualification	12.0	17.2	9.4	14.5	10.3	11.6 (52)
College degree	20.0	15.6	23.6	29.1	16.7	21.6 (97)
University degree	26.0	15.6	16.7	23.6	5.1	16,4 (74)
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Broken down by the education level of the family, our sample includes 2.9% with primary education, 20.9% with trade school, 7.8% with secondary education, 18.9% with a Matura, 11.6% with advanced vocational qualifications, 21.6% with college and 16.4% with university degrees.

Following the above sociological principle, we also categorised families by occupation. The basis of the categories is the work type groups used in Zsuzsanna Ferge's (1969) stratification study (see Table 11.).

Table 11. – Characterisation of sample by occupation as % of residential area (Data not available: 77 cases)

Work type groups	Central Szeged (%) n=46	Inner residential area (%) n=49	Housing estate (%) n=173	Garden district (%) n=43	Rural residential area (%) n=70	Total (cases) N=381
Managerial and white-collar	37.0	22.4	34.1	37.2	24.3	31.5
Middle-level white-collar	2.2	12.2	17.3	11.6	15.7	13.9
Administrative	6.5	0.0	6.4	0.0	2.9	4.2
Skilled worker	15.2	30.6	27.2	27.9	32.9	27.3
Semi-skilled worker	2.2	16.3	3.5	0.0	10.0	5.8
Unskilled worker	6.5	0.0	4.0	2.3	0.0	2.9
Agricultural worker	0.0	2.0	0.0	9.3	4.3	2.1
Office assistant	13.0	2.0	1.7	4.7	2.9	3.7
Casual farm hand	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Retired	17.4	14.3	5.8	7.0	7.1	8.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Of the sample studied, 31.5% have managerial and white-collar jobs, 27.3% are skilled workers, 13.9% are in middle-level white-collar jobs, 8.7% are retired, 5.8% are semi-skilled workers, 4.2% do administrative office work, 3.7% are office assistants, 2.9% do unskilled work, and 2.1% are agricultural workers.

For the assessment of the income position of families in the sample we selected an ordinal-level variable. Respondents had to select the monthly earnings of income-earning family members from a list of income-categories. The categories were as follows: minimum pension (HUF 23,500); minimum wage (HUF 53,000); between minimum wage and 1.5 times minimum wage (HUF 79,500); twice minimum wage (HUF 106,000); multiple of minimum wage (HUF 159,000); twice minimum pension (HUF 47,000); child care allowance (HUF 25,800); and unemployment benefit (HUF 47,000). The HUF amounts refer to the first half of the year 2006. With the use of these amounts we converted the ordinal-level variable to a percentage variable, treating, of course, the amounts as estimates from then on. For estimating families' per capita monthly incomes, we added up the estimated earnings of income-earning family members and divided them by the number of persons living in the same household. For the results see Table 12.

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Table 12. – Per capita average earnings in full sample and their breakdown by number of persons living in same household (%) (Data not available: 17 cases)

Estimated average monthly income per capita (HUF)	Number of persons living in same household (%)						Total N=441
	1 (n=65)	2 (n=108)	3 (n=114)	4 (n=109)	5 (n=38)	6 (n=7)	
0–14999	0.0	1.9	0.0	0.9	2.6	14.3	1.1
15000–29999	6.2	1.9	14.9	11.0	18.4	57.1	10.4
30000–44999	0.0	13.9	20.2	31.2	36.8	28.6	20.0
45000–59999	29.2	22.2	14.9	34.9	15.8	0.0	23.6
60000–74999	0.0	11.1	21.9	4.6	15.8	0.0	10.9
75000–89999	35.4	15.7	20.2	14.7	7.9	0.0	18.6
90000–104999	0.0	10.2	3.5	2.8	2.6	0.0	4.3
105000–119999	12.3	12.0	2.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.4
120000–134999	1.5	4.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4
135000–149999	0.0	0.0	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5
150000–164999	15.4	6.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100

Of the sample under review, on an estimated-per-capita-average-monthly-earnings basis, 23.6%, 20.0%, 18.6%, 10.4%, and 10.9% make between HUF 45,000–59,999, HUF 30,000–44,999, HUF 75,000–89,999, HUF 15,000–29,999, and HUF 60,000–74,999, respectively.

References

Ferge Zsuzsanna (1969): *Társadalmunk rétegződése*. KJK. 77–158. (*The stratification of our society*)

II. 2.1.4. Nutrition

Zsuzsanna Benkő

A key component of lifestyle is nutrition. Just as all other lifestyle components, it is highly complex. It is a subject of study in many disciplines such as medicine, psychology, sociology, aesthetics, cultural anthropology, etc. Our research relies on the methods of sociology, using several of its approaches.

Our first question related to nutrition was *What do you cook/bake with at home?* (see Table 1.)

Table 1. – Question 1: *What do you cook/bake with at home?* – Distribution of “Yes” answers within residential area (%)

	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=204	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=79	Total N=458
grease	29,4	27,3	19,6	13,8	29,1	22,7
oil	90,2	93,9	94,6	96,6	96,2	94,5
margarine	15,7	18,2	17,2	31,0	32,9	21,6

Question 1 addresses families’ cooking habits. Of the possible answers, there was an opportunity to make multiple choices, therefore the results in the table do not add up to 100%. 94,5% of respondents use oil, 22,7% use grease, and 21,6% use margarine for cooking. Breaking down the findings by residential area, the use of grease is the lowest in the cottage district and highest in Central Szeged. Similarly, it is high in the rural residential area. It reflects a preference for grease in making traditional dishes. Since the question refers to baking as well, in the case of the cottage district and the rural residential area we believe the high use of margarine (31,0% and 32,9%, respectively) is attributed to baking.

Table 2. – Question 2: *Does it happen to you that you eat even if you are not hungry?* (as % of residential area) – Distribution of “Yes” answers within residential area

	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=204	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=79	Total N=458
No	64,5	60,7	43,6	57,4	51,9	51,5
Social eating	10,4	4,5	7,2	6,4	11,7	7,9
Eating while watching TV	6,3	9,1	12,8	6,4	10,4	10,4
Noshing	16,7	22,7	27,7	25,5	23,4	24,7
Eating depending on health status	2,1	3,0	8,7	4,3	2,6	5,5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

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With Question 2 we sought an answer to whether it ever happens in the families studied that the respondents eat even when they are not hungry, and if it happens, what the circumstances are (Table 2.). The situation is not typical of 51.5% of the respondents. 24.7% of the remaining 48.5% mentioned noshing, 10.7% eat while watching TV, 7.9% are social eaters, and finally 5.5% have health problems that force them to eat more. There are significant differences by residential area: those living in Central Szeged are the least likely to eat when they are not hungry, while residents of housing estates are the most likely to eat even if they do not feel hungry. While in the case of the residents of Central Szeged and the rural residential area social eating is more frequent than in the full sample, eating while watching TV is more frequent in housing estates (twice as frequent as in Central Szeged).

Table 3. – Question 3: *Do you eat vegetables?* (as % of residential area) – Distribution of “Yes” answers within residential area

	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=204	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=79	Total N=458
Yes, daily	33,3	43,9	36,5	42,1	41,8	38,8
Yes, 3-4 times a week	37,3	33,3	34,0	36,8	30,4	34,0
Yes, 1-2 times a week	19,6	21,2	26,1	21,1	25,3	23,9
Yes, not typical	9,8	1,5	3,4	0,0	2,5	3,3
No	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Question 3 was about whether the respondent consumed vegetables, and if so, how often (Table 3.). 38.8%, 34.0%, and 23.9% eat vegetables daily, 3 or 4 times a week, and once or twice a week, respectively. No respondent said that they never consumed vegetables. A breakdown by residential area shows that daily consumption of vegetables in the inner residential area, the cottage district, and the rural residential area is higher, while in the housing estates is lower, than in the full sample. In the case of vegetable consumption 3-4 times a week, Central Szeged (and the cottage district) exceeds the value measured in the full sample. Thus it can be concluded that nearly 80% of the residents of the cottage district eat vegetables daily or 3-4 times a week, while 10% of those living in Central Szeged do not typically consume vegetables. This figure is 3 times the value measured in the full sample. The number of the types of vegetables selected in more than 60% of the cases is 9, 7, 6, 5, and 4 in the cottage district, Central Szeged, the housing estate, the rural residential area, and in the inner residential area, respectively.

Question 4 requested respondents to mark their favourite vegetables on a list. The number of choices was not limited. The order of preference of the 5 most frequently selected vegetables in the sample was as follows: tomato (78,8%), potato (69,2%), green

pepper (65,5%), green peas (64,6%) and cucumber (64,2%). By residential area, the order of preference was: Central Szeged – tomato (84,3%), mushrooms (70,6%), green pepper, cauliflower, green peas (68,6%); inner residential area – tomato (75,8%), potato (71,2%), cucumber (65,2%), green pepper (62,1%) green peas (59,1%); housing estate – tomato (76,0%), potato (71,6%), green peas (65,7%), cucumber (63,7%), carrot (61,8%); cottage and garden district – tomato (84,5%), green pepper (77,6%), cucumber (75,9%), potato (69,0%), green peas (63,8%); rural residential area – tomato (81,0%), green pepper (70,9%), potato (65,8%), green peas (64,6%) carrot (63,3%).

Table 4. – Question 4: *What is/are your favourite vegetable(s)?* (as % of residential area) – Distribution of “Yes” answers within residential area

	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=204	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=79	Total N=458
1–3	3,9	0,0	6,4	1,7	5,1	4,4
4–6	27,5	37,9	16,7	20,7	17,7	21,6
7–9	11,8	16,7	27,5	19,0	19,0	21,6
10–12	15,7	24,2	18,1	13,8	25,3	19,4
13–15	17,6	7,6	11,3	10,3	10,1	11,1
16–18	9,8	6,1	10,8	8,6	10,1	9,6
19–21	9,8	4,5	5,4	5,2	8,9	6,3
22–24	3,9	3,0	3,4	12,1	2,5	4,4
25–27	0,0	0,0	0,5	8,6	1,3	1,5
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Adding up the selected favourite vegetables for the full sample, 21.6%, 21.6%, 19.4%, 11.1%, 9.6%, 6.3%, 4.4%, and 1.5% marked 4-6, 7-9, 10-12, 13-15, 16-18, 19-21, 22-24, and 25-27 different kinds of vegetables, respectively (Table 4.). By residential area, what we see is that over 19 favourite vegetables were chosen by one quarter of cottage district residents, while only by 10% of residents of other areas. Choices between 3-6 vegetables also show greater area differences: in the inner residential area this proportion is high (37,9%), in the other district it remains below 30%.

We assumed and therefore looked at a relationship between the number of favourite vegetables and the location of shopping (Table 5.).

Table 5. – Number of favourite vegetables as function of location of shopping

Number of favourite vegetables	Large shopping centre	Market
1-3	3,8	1,8
4-6	19,9	17,3
7-9	23,0	19,0
10-12	21,0	17,9
13-15	11,9	13,1
16-18	8,6	13,7
19-21	6,6	8,9
22-24	4,0	6,0

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25-27	1,3	2,4
Total	100	100

86.5% of the full sample do their shopping at large shopping centres, and 36.7% go to the market. Table 5. shows a greater proportion (44,1%) of market shopping in the case of choosing over 13 favourite vegetables, while the same pattern is followed by 34.2% of those making purchases at shopping centres. (Note: Respondents were allowed to mark several locations of shopping at the same time.)

Table 6. – Question 5: *How many times do you eat fruits?* (as % of residential area) – Distribution of “Yes” answers within residential area

	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=204	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=79	Total N=458
Yes, daily	45,1	56,1	47,5	44,8	51,9	48,9
Yes, 3-4 times a week	23,5	21,2	29,7	39,7	26,6	28,5
Yes, 1-2 times a week	31,4	18,2	18,8	15,5	21,5	20,2
Yes, not typical	0,0	4,5	4,0	0,0	0,0	2,4
No	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

We also looked at fruit consumption habits (Table 6.). Question 5 is aimed to find out how often respondents eat fruits. 48.9% of the sample eat fruit daily, 28.5% 3-4 times a week, and 20.2% 1-2 times a week. Each of the respondents consumes fruits. By residential area, there are no differences similar to vegetable consumption. Only Central Szeged stands out with fewer people (23.5%) eating fruits 3-4 times weekly than those (31.49) eating fruits 1-2 times a week.

Concerning favourites, apart from seasonal fruits there is one tropical fruit (banana) which is included in the top five, and this happens only in two areas: Central Szeged and the housing estates. Regarding the five most frequently chosen fruits for the full sample, the order of preference is as follows: peach (75,8%), apple (71,8%), strawberries (69,9%), melon (65,9%), cherries (62,7%). By residential area, the order of preference is this: Central Szeged – apple (76,5%), peach (70,6%), melon (68,6%), strawberries (66,7%), banana and cherries (64,7%); inner residential area – peach (75,8%), apple (71,2%), melon (66,7%), strawberries (63,6%), grapes (59,1%); housing estate – peach (77,5%), apple (70,1%), strawberries (69,6%), banana and melon (63,7%); cottage and garden district – apple (79,3%), peach (70,7%), pear (67,2%), strawberries, apricot and melon (65,5%); rural residential area – strawberries (81,0%), peach (78,5%), grapes (72,2%), melon (69,6%), apple (68,4%).

Table 7. – Question 6: *What is/are your favourite fruit(s)?* (as % of residential area) – Distribution of “Yes” answers within residential area

	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=204	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=79	Total N=458
0	0,0	0,0	0,5	0,0	0,0	0,2
1–3	3,9	1,5	4,4	5,2	3,8	3,9
4–6	25,5	39,4	22,1	22,4	20,3	24,7
7–9	29,4	22,7	26,0	13,8	26,6	24,5
10–12	9,8	16,7	19,6	15,5	16,5	17,0
13–15	23,5	4,5	10,8	20,7	11,4	12,7
16–18	3,9	13,6	10,3	10,3	12,7	10,5
19–21	3,9	1,5	5,4	8,6	8,9	5,7
22–24	0,0	0,0	1,0	3,4	0,0	0,9
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

24.7%, 24.5%, 17.0%, 12.7%, 10.5%, 5.7%, 3.9%, and 0.9% of the full sample consume 4-6, 7-9, 10-12, 13-15, 16-18, 19-21, 1-3, and 22-24 different kinds of fruits (Table 7.). 0.2% of the sample eat no fruits at all. By residential area, the most favourite fruits (16-24) were chosen by residents of the cottage district (22,3%), and the lowest (7,8%) proportion of those who chose the highest number of favourite fruits was in Central Szeged.

Similarly to vegetable consumption, we assumed and therefore looked at a relationship between the number of favourite fruits and the location of shopping (Table 8.).

Table 8. – Number of favourite fruits as function of location of shopping

Number of favourite fruits	Large shopping centre	Market
0	0,3	0,0
1–3	3,3	1,8
4–6	24,2	19,6
7–9	24,0	22,6
10–12	17,9	18,5
13–15	13,1	16,1
16–18	10,9	13,7
19–21	5,6	7,7
22–24	0,8	0,0
Total	100	100

In the case of selecting over 10 different kinds of fruits, 56% of respondents make purchases at the market, while 48.3% do their shopping in large shopping centres (or/and). So in this case, too, market shopping prevails.

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Table 9. – Question 7: *What kind of bread do you eat the most often?* (as % of residential area) – Distribution of “Yes” answers within residential area

	Central Szege (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=204	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=79	Total N=458
white	58,8	68,2	60,8	53,4	67,1	61,8
brown	23,5	30,3	34,8	27,6	31,6	31,4
rye	33,3	25,8	27,5	36,2	26,6	28,8
does not eat	2,0	7,6	3,9	0,0	2,5	3,5

Question 7 looked at bread-eating habits of respondents (Table 9.). 61.8%, 31.4%, and 28.8% prefer white bread, brown bread, and rye bread, respectively. The number of choices was not limited, so the frequency of responses does not add up to 100%. 3.5% of respondents do not eat bread at all. By residential area, the order of frequency for the full sample is reversed in Central Szege (33,3%) and the cottage and garden district (36,2%) in favour of rye bread, which ranks second here. Looking at brown bread and rye bread together what we can see is that in the cottage district their consumption considerably exceeds that of white bread (10,6%).

In Question 8 (*What do you drink the most often?*) respondents chose the kinds of beverages they most frequently consumed. The number of choices was not limited, so the frequency of responses does not add up to 100%. Most respondents (69.2%) marked mineral water, followed by coffee (33.2%), and fruit juice and tap water (30.3%). The consumption of green/herbal tea (25.5%) and black tea (18.2%) is also significant. Beer drinking (8.3%), the consumption of coke and other sparkling drinks (8.7%), as well as wine (6.8%), fruit tea (4.6%) and milk/milky beverages (2.6%) are below 10%. Fruit tea and milk were indicated in the “Other” category (they were not included in the list), hence their low values of choice. By residential area, Central Szege and the cottage district stand out with high (17,6%) coke consumption in the former and low (1.7%) coke consumption in the latter. Also, in the rural residential area the intake of green/herbal tea is high (32.9%), while the cottage district significantly exceeds the full sample in coffee and wine consumption.

Table 10. – Question 9: *Do you salt your meals after you have prepared them?* – as % of residential area

	Central Szege (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=204	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=79	Total N=458
Yes	47,1	30,3	45,6	60,3	31,6	43,0
No	52,9	69,7	54,4	39,7	68,4	57,0
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

In answering Question 9, 57% of respondents reported not adding extra salt to dishes once they were ready and placed on the table (Table 10.). This ratio is reversed in

the cottage and garden district, where 60.3% of respondents add salt to their dishes after they are on the table.

Table 11. – Question 10: *What spices do you use for cooking?* Re-coded as *How many different spices do you use for cooking?* – as % of residence

	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=204	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=79	Total N=458
0	0,0	0,0	0,5	0,0	0,0	0,2
1-2	7,8	13,6	6,9	6,9	11,4	8,7
3-4	41,2	53,0	44,6	32,8	34,2	42,1
5-9	47,1	31,8	45,6	51,7	46,8	44,8
10 and over	3,9	1,5	2,5	8,6	7,6	4,1
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

The respondents have an intimate knowledge of, and use a wide range of, spices (Table 11.). 91.0% of the full sample regularly use 3 or more different spices for cooking, and the same proportion is true for individual areas. Among spices, paprika (91,9%) features the most highly, followed by pepper (90%), caraway seed (71,2%), marjoram (51,5%), basil (39,5%), tarragon (39,1%), nutmeg (31,4%), curry (22,7%) and spice blends (19,2%).

Table 12. – Question 11: *What kind of meat do you eat the most often?* – as % of residential area

	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=204	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=79	Total N=458
chicken	90,2	89,4	93,6	94,8	94,9	93,0
beef	33,3	22,7	19,1	22,4	27,8	23,1
pork	52,9	60,6	49,0	55,2	57,0	53,3
fish	43,1	48,5	32,4	37,9	30,4	36,2
turkey	60,8	51,5	56,4	75,9	51,9	57,9
veal	3,9	0,0	2,5	5,2	2,5	2,6
duck	5,9	4,5	5,4	3,4	7,6	5,5

Question 11 focusses on what kind of meat respondents most often eat (Table 12.). The number of choices was not limited, so the frequency of responses does not add up to 100%. Of the full sample, most eat chicken (93.0%), followed by turkey (57.9%), and pork (53.3%). Fish is eaten by 36.2%, beef by 23.1%, and duck by 5.5%, while veal only by 2.6%. By residential area and compared to the full sample, turkey consumption is the highest in the cottage district, beef in Central Szeged, pork and fish in the inner residential area, while at the housing estates the consumption of almost all kinds of meat is slightly lower.

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Table 13. – Question 12: *On what basis do you decide when buying food?* – as % of residential area

	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=204	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=79	Total N=458
Price	70,6	43,9	62,7	75,9	67,1	63,3
Calories	13,7	4,5	15,2	10,3	2,6	10,7
Advertisement	7,8	1,5	5,4	12,1	9,0	6,6
Fat content	19,6	12,1	18,1	15,5	12,8	16,2
Sugar content	15,7	7,6	11,8	13,8	17,9	12,9
Healthy	56,9	56,1	52,9	65,5	63,3	57,2
Tradition, family custom	37,3	36,4	24,0	37,9	39,2	31,7
Tasty	56,9	66,7	66,7	62,1	45,6	61,4
Brandname	9,8	7,6	12,3	17,2	15,2	12,4
Other	3,9	1,5	5,9	3,4	2,5	4,1

In Question 12 we enquired about what factors determined the respondents' choice of products when doing shopping (Table 13.). The number of choices was not limited, so the frequency of responses does not add up to 100%. In the full sample, the highest percentage was attached to the price (63.3%), followed by tastiness (61.4%). The healthiness of food also ranks high (57.2%), and then come tradition and family customs (31.7%). All those factors precede the product's fat content (12.9%), sugar content (12.9%), brand name (12.4%), calorie content (10.7%), and advertisement (6.6%). By residential area, the inner residential area and the housing estates lead in terms of tastiness (66.7%), while in the cottage district and Central Szeged price is the dominant consideration (65.5%). Food healthiness is considered the most important criterion in the cottage and garden district (65.5%), as well as the rural residential area (63.3%). Concerning choice by brandname, the cottage district leads again. The influence of tradition and family customs on shopping is the greatest in the rural residential area, and is the lowest in the housing estates.

1. An objective and subjective analysis of nutrition on the tradition – modernity axis

We have selected 5 indicators to symbolise each of the two aspects of nutrition – tradition versus modernity. Among traditional nutrition habits we include the following: using grease for cooking; eating white bread; using 0-2 spices; choosing food products based on tradition and family customs; drinking tap water. Modern nutrition habits are as follows: using oil for cooking; eating rye bread; using 5 or more spices; choosing food products based on advertisements; drinking mineral water.

Depending on how many of the above variables respondents chose we created a variable with a value ranging from 0 to 5 in order to objectively describe the traditional versus modern nature of nutrition habits. Table 14. shows our results thus obtained broken down by residential area.

Table 14. – Objective positioning of family nutrition habits on the tradition – modernity axis as % of residential area

Degree of tradition	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=204	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=78	Total N=458
0	11,8	12,1	20,6	17,2	13,9	16,8
1	35,3	39,4	37,7	44,8	24,1	36,2
2	29,4	22,7	23,5	24,1	34,2	26,0
3	15,7	21,2	15,2	12,1	21,5	16,8
4	7,8	4,5	2,5	1,7	6,3	3,9
5	0,0	0,0	0,5	0,0	0,0	0,2
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Degree of modernity	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=204	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=78	Total N=458
0	0,0	1,5	1,5	0,0	3,8	1,5
1	15,7	24,2	13,7	13,8	12,7	15,3
2	31,4	39,4	36,8	19,0	32,9	33,6
3	37,3	22,7	32,8	44,8	31,6	33,2
4	13,7	12,1	14,7	22,4	19,0	15,9
5	2,0	0,0	0,5	0,0	0,0	0,4
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Analysing the distribution of traditional versus modern nutritional characteristics among residential areas we can see that extreme values can be found only with respondents not selecting traditional features at all (16,8%). The degree of high traditionality (0.2%) and the degree of high and low modernity (1.5%, 0.4%) show low values. Further extreme values are to be found in Central Szeged, the housing estate, and the cottage district. Central Szeged has the most respondents who chose 4 of the objective traditional nutrition characteristics (7.8%), which is twice the value of the entire sample, while the cottage district has the fewest respondents who chose the same number of traditional nutrition traits (1.7%), which is less than half the value for the full sample. Respondents not selecting traditional traits at all are the most numerous in the housing estates, and number the fewest in Central Szeged.

Broken down by family type, family nutrition habits reflect a major discrepancy only in terms of the degree of modernity, as compared to the value of the entire sample. Single-person households, complete families, and lone-parent families are the most likely to choose 2, 3, and 4 modern nutritional traits, respectively.

From the aspect of education, we do not detect significant differences in the objective nutrition values on the tradition – modernity axis compared to the entire sample. People with primary education are more likely to choose traditional than modern nutrition traits, and it is among skilled workers where most respondents chose the highest number

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(4) of traditional values. At the same time, selection of the highest number (4) of modern values is typical of respondents with secondary general and vocational education.

By age, the distribution of choices has more or less confirmed our expectations. In the case of older respondents, more chose traditional values (31.6% selected 4-5 traditional values) than in the case of the entire sample (20.4%). In the youngest age group this ratio is 12.5%. When it comes to modernity values, most respondents who chose 3 or 4 values are in the 41-65-year bracket.

We took the above 2 indicator-variables and combined them to form a tradition-modernity indicator comprising 9 categories, as described in Chapter II. 2.1.2. If the respondent chose 3-5 of the indicators of traditional nutrition habits, we put them in the *explicitly traditional* category, if they selected 1-2, they were categorised as *moderately traditional*, and if they chose 0, they were placed in the *non-traditional* category. Table 15. shows the distribution of values.

Table 15. – Grouping objective (traditional) indicator of nutrition habits in 3 categories

	Frequency (Persons)	Frequency as %
Non-traditional	77	16,8
Moderately traditional	285	62,2
Explicitly traditional	96	21,0
Total	458	100,0

Similarly to the above, whoever selected 3-5, 1-2, and 0 modern nutritional indicators was categorised as *explicitly modern*, *moderately modern*, and *non-modern*, respectively. Table 16. shows the distribution of values.

Table 16. – Grouping objective (modern) indicator of nutrition habits in 3 categories

	Frequency (Persons)	Frequency as %
Non-modern	7	1,5
Moderately modern	224	48,9
Explicitly modern	227	49,6
Total	458	100,0

By combining the values of the 2 variables above we arrived at a new variable enabling an objective description of families' nutrition habits (Table 17.).

Table 17. – Values obtained from combining objective tradition and modernity indicators of nutrition habits

Categories	Persons (%)
Neither traditional, nor modern	0 (0)
Moderately modern	29 (6,3)
Explicitly modern	48 (10,5)
Moderately traditional	6 (1,3)
Non-typical	130 (28,4)
Typically modern	149 (32,6)
Explicitly traditional	1 (0,2)

Typically traditional	65 (14,2)
Bipolar	30 (6,5)
Total	458 (100)

As referred to in the theoretical overview, we relied on Rahner's categories in asking respondents about how they saw their own families' nutritional habits. They had four answers to select from: completely traditional; rather traditional; rather modern; completely modern. In our analysis what we found was that the number of cases falling into the completely traditional and completely modern categories was very low, so we thought it would make sense to reduce the 4 variables to 2: traditional and modern (Table 18.).

Table 18. – *What do you think about family's nutrition?* – as % of residential area (Question 13)

	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner Residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=203	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=79	Total N=457
Traditional	66,7	62,1	61,6	62,1	62,0	62,4
Modern	33,3	37,9	38,4	37,9	38,0	37,6
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

In the case of families' nutrition the role of tradition is clearly higher (62.4%), and this result will not change even if we break down our findings by residential area. If only by a small degree, Central Szeged shows the highest value for tradition, while the housing estate shows the highest value for modernity.

Table 19. – Question 13: *What do you think about your family's nutrition?*

	Single-person households (%) n=74	Lone-parent families (%) n=67	Complete families (%) n=308	Multi-generation families (%) n=7	Total N=456
Traditional	66,2%	65,7	61,4	28,6	62,3
Modern	33,8	34,3	38,6	71,4	37,7
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

We also looked at responses to Question 13 in the light of the types of interviewed families (Table 19.). A single-person household denotes a single adult person. A lone-parent family is one with one adult person and one or more children. A complete family is where two adults (married or unmarried) live without children, or with one or more children, or perhaps with grandparents. A multi-generation family means the co-habitation of at least three generations in all combinations that cannot fit under any of the preceding categories (e.g. respondent, respondent's sibling, respondent's parent etc.). The breakdown by family type produced a different result, which was the dominance of

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modernity, only in the case of multi-generation families, which, however, is not to be considered a significant result because of the very low number of sample items.

Table 20. – Question 13: *What do you think about your family's nutrition?* – as % of families' education

	1 n=13	2 n=94	3 n=35	4 n=84	5 n=52	6 n=97	7 n=74	Total N=449
Traditional	76,9	67,0	57,1	71,4	59,6	49,5	64,9	62,4
Modern	23,1	33,0	42,9	28,6	40,4	50,5	35,1	37,6
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

(1=Primary school, 2= Trade school, 3= Vocational secondary school, 4=Comprehensive secondary school, 5=Advanced vocational training, 6=College, 7=University)

In addition, we broke down our data also by families' education (Table 20.). We determined families' education in the following way: in the case of single-person households, lone-parent families, complete families, and multi-generation families we took into account the education of the respondent, the adult family member, the father/man, and the respondent, respectively. This breakdown did not really make a difference in the position of our data along the tradition-modernity axis. The dominance of tradition is the highest in the case of people with primary education (76.9%), but again the item number is low (13 persons). The second highest tradition figure can be observed among those with a Matura (secondary school leaving certificates) (71.4%), followed by responses from people with trade school qualifications (67.0%), and then by university graduates (64.9%).

Table 21. – Question 13: *What do you think about your family's nutrition?* – as % of respondents' age

	0-25 yrs youth (%) n=39	26-40 yrs young adulthood (%) n=203	41-65 yrs sustainment (%) n=192	66 yrs and over decline (%) n=19	Total N=453
Traditional	59,0	57,1	66,7	84,2	62,5
Modern	41,0	42,9	33,3	15,8	37,5
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Finally, we examined the position of family nutrition on the tradition-modernity axis as a function of the respondents' age. Here again tradition prevailed in every case. It is predominant in the 66-years-and-over bracket (84.2%), followed by the 41-65-year group (66,7%).

Comparison with the subjective judgement of nutrition on the tradition-modernity axis with the help of a 9-degree distribution scale using objective indicators gives a highly subtle picture. The ratio of values for the entire sample based on subjective judgement is 62.4% – 37.6% in favour of traditionality. At the same time, attributes formed from objective nutrition indicators show that the proportion of those choosing the moderately modern, typically modern, and explicitly modern values is 49.4%, as opposed to a total of a mere 15.7% constituting those who choose the moderately traditional, typically

traditional, and explicitly traditional values. The percentage of don't-knows (neither traditional, nor modern) is high (28.4%), while those choosing both traditional and modern traits to a high degree (both traditional and modern) along with those combining both cultural values constitute 6.5%. Using this method, a significant difference can be found between the objective and subjective judgement of nutrition. The fact is that many more respondents choose modern nutrition characteristics than they are aware of it. However, the confirmation or disproof of this finding will require further research.

II. 2.1.5. Free time

László Lippai

Free time activities – as it was seen as we introduced the work of Pierre Bourdieu and Anthony Giddens – are an important part of lifestyle. In our analysis of the use of free time we found it necessary to focus on those indicator-variables which can be adequate to explore the “tradition-modernity axis” for the purposes of our research. In other words, we needed to identify variables against which it is possible to characterise and differentiate the choice of traditional and modern values. Therefore, we examined the use of free time with a focus on physical exercise and doing sports; typical free activities; human relationships in free time; along with customary ways of spending one’s holidays at home and abroad.

The population of Szeged we selected for our study can be described as having the following habits with regard to physical exercise and doing sports (Table 1.). 53% of the entire sample engage in some form of physical exercise or sport. Broken down by residential area, lack of physical exercise is prevalent in Central Szeged (no physical exercise=51%) and in the inner residential area (no physical exercise=57.6%), while engagement in physical exercise is the highest in the housing estate (57.4%).

Table 1. – Question 14: *Do you do some sports or physical exercises?* – as % of residential area

	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=204	Cottage and garden district (%) n=57	Rural residential area (%) n=77	Total N=455
No	49,0	42,4	57,4	50,9	54,5	53,0
Yes	51,0	57,6	42,6	49,1	45,5	47,0
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Respondents also had to answer an open-ended question about what form of physical activity they preferred if they were engaged in any. Depending on their frequency, responses were categorised as follows. For the full sample, the most popular forms of exercise were fitness, aerobic, and dance (18,5%), riding a bike (17,2%), and gymnastics (15,0%). Further categories included running or jogging (9,9%), ball games (8,6%), swimming (7,3%), miscellaneous intense forms of exercise (7,3%) (those respondents were grouped here who named several high-intensity types of exercise), walking (5,2%), weight-lifting and going to a gym (3,9%), yoga (2,1%), combat sports and martial arts (2,1%), physiotherapy (1,3%), and other forms of exercise (1,7%).

A residential-area-based analysis of the sample reveals that fitness, aerobic, and dance are the most typical in the housing estate (25,7%) and Central Szeged (20,8%), whereas they are not a popular form of exercise in the inner residential area (7,1%) and the cottage and garden district (6,9%). The same tendency is observed with regard to gymnastics (housing estate – 18,6%, Central Szeged – 16,7%, inner residential area – 10,7%, cottage and garden district – 6,9%).

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Riding a bike shows a different picture. Here residents of the cottage and garden district stand out with a high preference for this form of exercise (37,9%), while in Central Szeged a mere 4,2%, but also in the housing estate and in the rural residential area no more than 14,2% and 15,4%, respectively, engage in this type of activity.

For those doing sports the following data were obtained (Table 2.).

Table 2. – Question 15: *If you do sports, what are these and how often do you do sports?*
– as % of residential area

	Central Szeged (%) n=24	Inner residential area (%) n=28	Housing estate (%) n=113	Cottage and garden district (%) n=29	Rural residential area (%) n=39	Total N=233
Daily	12,5	14,3	15,9	34,5	7,7	16,3
3-4 times a week	20,8	25,0	25,7	27,6	17,9	24,0
1-2 times a week	62,5	50,0	40,7	31,0	61,5	46,4
Rarely	4,2	10,7	17,7	6,9	12,8	13,3
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Nearly half of those doing sports (46,4%) do so once or twice a week, and this level of intensity is primarily typical of Central Szeged (62,5%) and the rural residential area (61,5%). Daily vigorous exercise is the most prevalent in the cottage and garden district, where the percentage of residents engaging in sports (34,5%) is over twice that of the entire sample in Szeged.

Age can also have a significant influence on the intensity of exercise, so the data were analysed from that aspect as well (Table 3.).

Table 3. – Question 15: *If you do sports, what are these and how often do you do sports?*
– as % of respondents' age

	0-25 yrs youth (%) n=28	26-40 yrs young adulthood (%) n=116	41-65 yrs sustainment (%) n=81	66 yrs and over decline (%) n=5	Total N=230
Daily	10,7	12,9	19,8	60,0	16,1
3-4 times a week	28,6	27,6	19,8	0,0	24,3
1-2 times a week	32,1	44,8	53,1	40,0	46,1
Rarely	28,6	14,7	7,4	0,0	13,5
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

We can conclude that most of those doing sports do so once or twice a week. (Due to the low item number, figures referring to over-66s are for information only.)

The results can be biased by the fact that the majority of respondents were women. From the perspective of the tradition-modernity axis it can be concluded that exercise and sports as stand-alone free time activities tend to be a characteristic of modernity. The

housing estate is considered to be the most modern in this respect. Residents of the rural residential area and the cottage and garden district are less likely to do exercise as a free time activity by its own right. Rather, they tend to meet their need for exercise as part of their daily routine and work.

In exploring free time activities respondents had to identify their typical engagements using a predefined set of categories. They were allowed to select a maximum of 5 options. Therefore the percentage figures of the columns cannot add up to 100%. For the entire sample, the largest percentage is attached to watching TV (65,1%), followed closely by reading (64,3%). The third place is occupied by conversation, visiting friends, entertaining, dating (42, 2%), and then by walking (36,2%), listening to music at home (34,4%), going on outings (31,9%), gardening (30,2%), and going to the cinema (23%). Going/eating out (13,3%), doing needlework and playing chess, cards (bridge) and board games (14,9%), theatre and concert-going (14,2%) and doing sports (17,8%) are also activities in which engagement is above 10%. Below than 10% are activities like going to hobby clubs (3,5%), fitness programmes (8,5%), playing billiards and bowling (5,7%), playing music (4,4%), playing other games (3,7%), and doing DIY (9,8%). Only 0,4% of the sample reported not having any typical free time activities.

Breaking down the data by residential area, we can see a highly similar picture in Central Szeged and the inner residential area with respect to the 3 most typical free time activities. These are: reading (66,0%), watching TV (61,2%), and conversation, visiting friends, entertaining, and dating (44,9%) in Central Szeged, and similarly: reading (59,1%), watching TV (51,5%), and conversation, visiting friends, entertaining, and dating (47,0%) in the inner residential area.

The housing estate displays a different picture with the preponderance of watching TV (72,1%), while reading (63,2%) and listening to music (45,1%) also feature significantly. In the cottage and garden district, apart from reading (77,2%) and watching TV (64,9%) gardening (57,9%) stands out in frequency. The rural residential area shows a similar range of activities, in slightly different proportions, though: reading (60,8%), watching TV (60,8%), and gardening (55,7%).

The data may be biased by whether respondents perform certain forms of activities (e.g. gardening, or riding a bike), which they describe as free time activities, as actual free time activities, rather than work activities. This might bias findings in the cottage and garden district and the rural residential area.

In analysing the tradition – modernity axis there is a need to present some additional data as well. The relative frequency of free time activities considered modern was the highest in the housing estate: visiting venues of entertainment (6,0), going to the cinema (6,9), and fitness programmes (4,2) exceeded the values of the total sample by the percentage points in the brackets. The same activities were the least typical of those living in the rural residential area: visiting venues of entertainment (-4,2), going to the cinema (-11,6), and fitness programmes (6,0) were below the values found in the total Szeged sample by the indicated percentage points, although in the cottage and garden district the rate of visiting venues of entertainment took an even more extreme value (-6,8).

When it comes to free time activities regarded as traditional the results are not so unambiguous. The reason for this might be that many forms of free time activity (gardening, DIY, hobby clubs, etc.) are linked to conditions, whose absence may limit free choice between the values of tradition and modernity. It is also informative that those

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activities (needlework, playing music, theatre-going, and hobby clubs) which could have clearly differentiated people choosing values of tradition from those choosing values of modernity occurred with relatively low frequency, and therefore were not able to fulfil their function as indicators.

We tried to offset the distorting effects of objective obstacles to free choice by offering respondents hypothetical free time activities. What we wanted to find out was the percentage of respondents selecting these offered activities, which were clearly categorisable in terms tradition and modernity. We allowed 2 choices (Table 4.). (Because of multiple choices, the total percentages cannot be interpreted.)

Table 4. – Question 17: *Which of the following invitations would you accept the most gladly for the weekend?* – as % of residential area

	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=204	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=79	Total N=458
pig-killing and dinner on pig-killing day at the relatives	14,3	9,1	11,8	7,3	7,7	10,4
invitation by good friends to an elegant restaurant, with dinner and music	18,4	22,7	22,5	32,7	21,8	23,2
invitation by village relatives to the village fair, evening feast with the relatives	16,3	16,7	9,8	9,1	11,5	11,7
the 50 th marriage anniversary of grandparents, with the extended family, relatives	22,4	27,3	27,9	21,8	29,5	26,8
garden party of good friends, listening to music, barbecue outside	83,7	84,8	77,9	81,8	80,8	80,5

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invitation by the neighbours for dinner, listening to music and a peaceful chat	16,3	28,8	22,5	29,1	32,1	25,2
wedding feast under a tent, with Gypsy music and mutton-stew	22,4	4,5	14,2	9,3	3,8	11,3

The majority of the total sample voted for *friends' garden party* (80,5%). This was followed, far behind, by *grandparents' 50th marriage anniversary* (26,8%), then by *neighbours' invitation to dinner, listening to music and a chat* (25,2%). After all those came the *invitation by good friends to an elegant restaurant* (23,2%), *invitation by village relatives to the village fair* (11,7%), *wedding feast under a tent with Gypsy music and mutton-stew* (11,3%), and *pig-killing and dinner on pig-killing day at the relatives* (10,4%). By residential area, a conspicuous difference showed in the case of *wedding feast under a tent with* Central Szeged (22,4%). *Pig-killing* was also chosen by most residents (14,3%) in Central Szeged of all residential areas. In the cottage and garden district most of the residents would accept an *invitation by good friends to an elegant restaurant* (32,7%), while in the inner residential area the choice of an *invitation by village relatives to the village fair* was the highest (16,7%). In the rural residential area, in the inner residential area, and again in the rural residential area, it was the *grandparents' 50th marriage anniversary*, the *garden party of good friends*, and the *neighbours' invitation*, respectively, that was chosen by the highest percentage of people (29,5%, 84,8%, and 32,1%, respectively).

From the aspect of the values of tradition and modernity, the above findings are surprising. It is conspicuous that traditional activities like *pig-killing and dinner with relatives on pig-killing day* or a *wedding feast under a tent with Gypsy music and mutton stew* were chosen by far fewer people in the rural residential area than in any other residential areas, while it is strikingly often selected as a preferred free time activity in Central Szeged. It is probable that apart from values of tradition and modernity there were also other factors that influenced the choices which respondents made, such as the degree of exclusivity of a particular activity relative to the respondent's lifestyle (e.g. it is possible that Central Szeged residents looked upon these activities as a form of rural tourism).

Friends' garden party with barbecue as the most frequently chosen modern free time activity is conspicuous by the consistency of its being the first preference in each residential district. It is therefore likely that the differentiating power of the questionnaire would have manifested in the explanations of choices, but we did not measure that in the current survey.

Holidays as a free time activity are also an indicator of modernity. We considered as holidays at least 5 successive days spent resting. We wanted to find out how many time the respondent went on holiday *over the past 3 years*. We did not link inland holidays to

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travel in order to reduce the effect of financial inequities between families. (Table 5.).

Table 5. – Question 18: *How many times did you go on an inland holiday during the past three years?* – as % of residential area

	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=204	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=78	Total N=457
not any	33,3	36,4	35,8	34,5	37,2	35,7
1 time	17,6	24,2	21,6	24,1	20,5	21,7
2 times	17,6	12,1	22,1	15,5	20,5	19,0
3 or 4 more times	31,4	27,3	20,6	25,9	21,8	23,6
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

35,7% of the total sample did not go on a holiday any time over the past 3 years. 23,6% were on holiday inland 3 or more times, 21,7% once, and 19% twice. By type of residence, the number of respondents, who have been on holiday 3 times or more, is the highest in Central Szeged (31,4%), which can probably be explained by the high number of retired residents in this area.

However, it is striking that in the rural residential area the rate of those who were not on holiday any time is relatively the highest. It does not necessarily have to do with a worse financial situation. An explanation can also be the dominance of a traditional value linked to the way of living (summer agricultural work and looking after animals around the house etc.), whereby respondents do not seek to have a rest for at least 5 consecutive days.

The values of tradition and modernity were best captured by the question of *with whom* the respondent was on holiday. We considered it traditional if the respondent was on holiday with their family or a partner. Following from this, if they were on holiday alone, or with friends, or with family and friends together, we considered it modern. (Table 6.).

Table 6. – Question 19: *If you had been on an inland holiday, who did you spend it with?* – as % of residential area

	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=204	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=78	Total N=457
alone	2,0	3,1	4,4	1,7	0,0	2,9
a family member	40,0	33,8	33,0	46,6	39,7	36,8
a partner	6,0	9,2	12,8	3,4	7,7	9,5
friends	16,0	10,8	16,7	8,6	11,5	13,9
family and friends	16,0	15,4	13,3	13,8	16,7	14,5

The cells show the percentage of “yes” answers in the case of each partner relative to the total sample and the residential area. Apart from the choice of “yes”, a “no” is also relevant (since the respondent did not go on holiday) and a “no” answer could also be given. Most respondents went on holidays with members of their family (36,8%), followed by family and friends together (14,5%), friends (13,9%), a partner (9,5%), and finally spending holidays alone (2,9%). By residential area, the rate of those spending holidays alone was the highest in the housing estate (4,4%). The highest percentage of people going on holidays with family members was in the cottage and garden district (46,6%). Most respondents living in the housing estate went with a partner (12,8%), and also with friends (16,7%), while we find most residents who spent holidays together with their families and friends in the rural residential area.

The responses show that the housing estate stands out with high rates in the case of 2 typically modern choices: spending holidays alone, and with friends. The traditional way of spending holidays with family members is typical mostly of the cottage and garden district, Central Szeged, and the rural residential area. Interestingly, however, holidays with “family and friends” considered as modern, primarily characterises the rural residential area and Central Szeged.

In the case of holidays abroad, we used the same methods as with inland holidays. First we wanted to see how many times respondents went on *holiday* abroad *over the past 3 years*. We expected a more marked manifestation of differences in financial position between families in this case (Table 7.).

Table 7. – Question 20: *How many times did you go on a holiday abroad during the past three years?* – as % of residential area

	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=204	Cottage and garden district (%) n=57	Rural residential area (%) n=79	Total N=457
not any	56,9	45,5	52,0	40,4	62,0	51,9
1 time	17,6	21,2	17,2	31,6	13,9	19,0
2 times	7,8	18,2	17,6	7,0	10,1	14,0
3 or 4 more times	17,6	15,2	13,2	21,1	13,9	15,1
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

51,9% of the total sample did not spent holidays abroad over the past 3 years. 19,0% was on holiday abroad once, 15,1% 3 or more times, and 14,0% twice. By type of residence, the percentage of those not going on holiday abroad any time is the highest in the rural residential area (62,0%). Those on holiday once are the most numerous in the cottage and garden district (31,6%), those who travelled abroad on holiday twice dominate in the inner residential area (18,2%), while respondents who spent their holidays abroad 3 or more times also have the highest share in the cottage and garden district (21,1%).

These figures are also suitable to characterise the financial situation of families living in individual residential districts. Probably families with the worst financial status are to be found in the rural residential area, and those in the best position live in the cottage and garden district.

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In the case of holidays abroad, we also asked the question of with whom the respondent spends time abroad when on holiday. Similarly to inland holidays, we considered traditional spending holidays abroad with family members or a partner, and the other options were regarded as modern. (Table 8.).

Table 8. – Question 21: *If you had been on a holiday abroad, who did you spend it with? – as % of residential area*

	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=204	Cottage and garden district (%) n=57	Rural residential area (%) n=79	Total N=457
alone	2,0	0,0	3,4	0,0	0,0	1,8
a family member	19,6	33,3	22,1	40,4	26,6	26,5
a partner	3,9	6,1	6,9	3,5	1,3	5,0
friends	9,8	10,6	13,7	3,5	1,3	9,4
family and friends	11,8	10,6	8,8	12,3	10,1	10,1

Most respondents (26,5%) spend their holidays with family members in this case too. This was followed by family and friends (10,1%), friends (9,4%), and a partner (5,0%). Only 1,8% of respondents spent their foreign holidays alone. By residential area, holidays abroad spent alone are most typical of housing estate residents (3,4%). Spending holidays abroad with family members is at the highest rate in the cottage and garden district (40,4%), while holidays with a partner and with friends are again a primary trait of housing estate residents (6,9 and 13,7%, respectively). Going with the family and friends together is most favoured by those living in the cottage and garden district (12,3%).

Table 9. – Question 22: *Define the amount of your daily free time in hours. – as % of residential area*

	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=204	Cottage and garden district (%) n=57	Rural residential area (%) n=79	Total N=457
has no free time, never	2,0	3,0	4,4	3,4	0,0	3,1
has free time only during public holidays	0,0	7,6	3,9	1,7	8,9	4,6
less than one hour a day	9,8	4,5	4,4	3,4	1,3	4,4
one hour a day	5,9	13,6	8,4	24,1	25,3	13,8
two hours per day	35,3	21,2	22,7	27,6	24,1	24,7

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three hours per day	11,8	24,2	18,2	13,8	15,2	17,3
four hours per day	3,9	10,6	15,8	5,2	13,9	12,0
five hours per day	9,8	3,0	6,4	10,3	2,5	6,1
six or more hours per day	13,7	9,1	10,3	6,9	1,3	8,5
different by seasons	7,8	3,0	5,4	3,4	7,6	5,5
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Of the total Szeged sample, 24,7% have 2 hours of free time a day. 17,3% have 3 hours, while 12,0% have 4 hours of free time a day (Table 9.). Less than 10% values were given to the following options: only during public holidays (4,6%), less than 1 hour a day (4,4%), 5 hours per day (6,1%), 6 or more hours per day (8,5%), and different by seasons (5,5%). 3,3% of respondents reported having no free time at all. By type of residence, most of those living in the housing estate do not have free time (4,4%), while the most free time was reported in Central Szeged (13,7%). On average, in each type of residential area the amount of free time is between 1-3 hours.

1. The objective and subjective evaluation of spending free time on the tradition – modernity axis

We also performed an objective analysis of how families spent their free time along the tradition – modernity axis. The background variable of “traditional free time habits” was formed using the following indicator-variables: needlework as typical free time activity; going to the theatre and concerts as typical free time activity; pig-killing and dinner on pig-killing day at the relatives as chosen free time activity; going on inland holiday with family members; and going on holiday abroad with family members.

The background variable of “modern free time habits” was created from the following indicator-variables: fitness programmes as typical free time activity; watching TV as typical free time activity; garden party of good friends with barbecue outside as chosen free time activity; going on inland holiday with friends; and going on holiday abroad with friends (Table 10.).

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Table 10. – *Family free time habits on the tradition – modernity axis, as % of residential area*

Degree of tradition	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=204	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=78	Total N=458
0	35,3	37,9	35,3	27,6	35,4	34,7
1	35,3	36,4	39,2	34,5	35,4	37,1
2	21,6	19,7	19,1	31,0	22,8	21,6
3	7,8	6,1	5,9	3,4	6,3	5,9
4	0,0	0,0	0,5	3,4	0,0	0,7
5	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
Degree of modernity	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=204	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=78	Total N=458
0	7,8	1,5	5,9	8,6	7,6	6,1
1	31,4	40,9	23,0	29,3	39,2	30,1
2	47,1	50,0	51,0	56,9	43,0	49,8
3	11,8	6,1	13,2	3,4	10,1	10,3
4	2,0	1,5	5,9	1,7	0,0	3,3
5	0,0	0,0	1,0	0,0	0,0	0,4
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Using the groupings and combinations as explained in Chapter II. 2.1.2., we arrived at an objective tradition and modernity indicator comprising 9 categories. Respondents choosing 3-5 of the tradition indicators of free time habits were grouped in the *explicitly traditional* category; those choosing 1-2 statements were categorised as *moderately traditional*; while those selecting 0 options went into the *non-traditional* category. The distribution of values is shown in Table 11.

Table 11. – Objective 3-category tradition indicator of free time habits

	Frequency (persons)	Frequency (%)
Non-traditional	159	34,7
Moderately traditional	269	58,7
Explicitly traditional	30	6,6
Total	458	100,0

Similarly, respondents selecting 3-5 of the modernity indicators of free time habits were placed under the *explicitly modern* category; those marking 1-2 of the options were labelled *moderately modern*; and those with 0 options were considered *non-modern*. The distribution of values relative to the entire sample is shown in Table 12.

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Table 12. – Objective 3-category modernity indicator of free time habits

	Frequency (persons)	Frequency (%)
Non-modern	28	6,1
Moderately modern	366	79,9
Explicitly modern	64	14,0
Total	458	100,0

Combining the above 2 variables we arrived at the grouping below (Table 13.).

Table 13. – Values obtained from a combination of objective tradition and modernity indicators of free time habits

Categories	Persons (%)
Neither traditional, nor modern	5 (1,1)
Moderately modern	128 (27,9)
Explicitly modern	26 (5,7)
Moderately traditional	18 (3,9)
Non-typical	215 (47,0)
Typically modern	36 (7,9)
Explicitly traditional	5 (1,1)
Typically traditional	23 (5,0)
Bipolar	2 (0,4)
Total	458 (100)

Based on objective indicators, the way families in the sample spend their free time can be described rather as moderately modern (moderately modern – 27,9%, explicitly modern – 5,7%, typically modern – 7,9%, total: 41,5%).

We also asked respondents to judge whether the way their families spend their free time could be considered traditional or modern. Here again, in their own categorisation traditions tends to dominate (73,4%), which remains the same in a breakdown by residence as well. We looked at the same question as a function of family type. In this case, too, the dominance of tradition is typical in all groups, except for the multi-generation family (42,9%), where, however, the item number (7 person) was too low for us to draw statistical conclusions.

A breakdown of data by age does not bring major differences either. Choosing the category of tradition is high in all cohorts, with a striking 89,5% in the group of over-66s. The obtained results are presented by independent variable in Tables 14. – 17.

Table 14. – Question 23: *What do you think about the way your family spends free-time?* – as % of residential area

	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=204	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=78	Total N=457
Traditional	76,5	75,8	68,6	75,9	79,7	73,4
Modern	23,5	24,2	31,4	24,1	20,3	26,6
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

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Table 15. – Question 23: *What do you think about the way your family spends free-time?* – as % of family type

	Single-person household (%) n=74	Lone-parent family (%) n=68	Complete family (%) n=308	Multi- generation family (%) n=7	Total N=457
Traditional	68,9	75,0	74,7	42,9	73,3
Modern	31,1	25,0	25,3	57,1	26,7
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table 16. – Question 23: *What do you think about the way your family spends free-time?* – as % of families' education level

	1 n=13	2 n=94	3 n=35	4 n=85	5 n=52	6 n=97	7 n=74	Total N=450
Traditional	69,2	79,8	74,3	74,1	73,1	67,0	74,3	73,6
Modern	30,8	20,2	25,7	25,9	26,9	33,0	25,7	26,4
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

(1=Primary school, 2= Trade school, 3= Vocational secondary school, 4=Comprehensive secondary school, 5=Advanced vocational training, 6=College, 7=University)

Table 17. – Question 23: *What do you think about the way your family spends free-time?* – as % of respondents' age

	0-25 yrs youth (%) n=40	26-40 yrs (%) adulthood n=203	41-65 yrs maintenance (%) n=192	66 yrs and over decline (%) n=19	Total N=454
Traditional	62,5	69,5	78,1	89,5	73,3
Modern	37,5	30,5	21,9	10,5	26,7
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

The results clearly indicate that close to three quarters of respondents evaluated their families' free time habits as traditional, and nearly one quarter said they were modern. By type of residence, families in the rural residential area found their ways to spend free time traditional the most often (79,7%), while housing estate residents most frequently thought their ways to spend free time were modern (31,4%).

From the aspect of family type, lone-parent families predominantly held their ways to spend free time traditional (75,0%), while single-person households most often described themselves as modern (31,1%).

By education, most respondents with trade school qualifications categorised themselves as traditional in their use of free time (79,8%), while 33,0% of college graduates labelled themselves as modern in this respect.

By age, 89,5% of respondents thought their families spent their free time in a traditional way, which was typical of over-66s, while 37,5% of those aged under 25 placed their families' free time habits in the modern category.

II. 2.1.6. Family habits

László Lippai

Values along the tradition-modernity axis largely influence also the quality of intra-family relationships. The strength of ties keeping families and relatives together is reflected in the forms and intensity of relationship maintenance between generations. We have attempted to investigate this key area by exploring the interaction of three generations.

Monthly savings do not merely depend on the financial situation of the family. In our modern consumer society, due to the spreading of personal loans, credit cards and other credits, balance is shifted towards indebtedness rather than saving. Therefore, it is only sensible to explore the tendencies of family habits in financial management as a function of tradition vs. modernity.

In mapping out family habits we placed an emphasis also on the investigation of those forms of behaviour that strengthen intra-family cohesion. As the indicator of this phenomenon, we chose to study family values in relation to giving presents. Through the habits of giving presents, we can also clearly trace changes along the tradition-modernity axis.

The structure of family relationships, the openness or closeness of a family, and the fostering of extra-family relationships are largely influenced by the tradition-modernity dimension. The reception of guests for lunch or dinner is an important indicator of this area. The analysis of the composition of the circle of guests and of the frequency of receiving them gives an insight into the set of values influencing the system of relationships of the family.

Division of labour between genders within the family is an important area of the investigation of family habits. It is important to explore whether modernity or tradition prevails these days, and to what extent impacts coming from society influence the division of labour based on the role of genders.

And finally, we explored some elements of family shopping habits that show signs of the influences of the modern consumer society.

From the perspective of the family life-cycle theory, an important period is when a young person leaves the family, and starts living in a separate single-person or multiple-person household. We explored the specifics of this special form of relationship as the first step of mapping out family habits. In view of the total Szeged sample it could be concluded that in 23.7% of the interviewed families there were children living in separate households (Table 1.).

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Table 1. – Question 28: *Have you (and your spouse) got a child (children) who is (are) living in a separate household?* – as % of residential area

	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=204	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=79	Total N=458
Not applicable	2.2	1.6	1.6	1.8	1.3	1.6
Yes	32.6	23.8	22.6	22.8	21.3	23.7
No	65.2	74.6	75.8	75.4	77.3	74.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

There is a higher proportion of elderly people in Central Szeged, which is also demonstrated by the fact that the proportion of families with children living separately is higher by 8.9 percentage points here, compared to the similar values of the total Szeged sample.

First, we looked at the forms of relationship maintenance with children living separately. As a first step, we examined support given to children living in separate households. Answers given to open-ended questions were put into different categories on the basis of content analysis. We received the following categories in the case of the total Szeged sample (Table 2.).

Table 2. – Question 30: *Do you help your child (children) living in a separate household?* – as % of residential area

	Central Szeged (%) n=47	Inner residential area (%) n=65	Housing estate (%) n=199	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=75	Total N=444
Flat	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Taking care of the grandchild/ grandchildren	4.3	3.1	3.5	0.0	4.0	3.2
Housework, household work	2.1	1.5	1.0	6.9	4.0	2.5
Money	14.9	9.2	7.5	19.0	16.0	11.5
In-kind support	10.6	10.8	5.5	12.1	9.3	8.3
Emotional support	0.0	3.1	3.0	0.0	1.3	2.0
Other	0.0	1.5	2.5	1.7	0.0	1.6
No support	6.4	7.7	3.0	6.9	6.7	5.2

The most typical form of parental help is money (11.5%), followed by in-kind support – food, clothes, fruits, etc. – (8.3%). There is less help in the forms of looking

after grandchildren (3.2%), housework and household work (2.5%), emotional support (2.0%) and other help (1.6%). 5.2% of the respondents do not help at all.

There were two significant differences in two forms of help broken down by residential area. Parents living on the housing estate had the least opportunity (7.5%) to give financial help, and parents living in the centre are in a similar situation (9.2%). Parents living in the cottage and garden district supported financially their children living separately to the largest extent (19.0%). A similar tendency can be noted in housework and household work. A young person living separately can least rely on parents living on the housing estate (1.0%) or in the inner residential area (1.5%), and most rely on parents living in the cottage and garden district (6.9%) for help.

A breakdown by family type refines the picture received by showing that lone-parent families have much fewer opportunities (6.0%) to give financial help to their children living separately than do single-person households (e.g. elderly parents) (11.3%) or complete families (12.8%). Lone-parent families also lag behind in all the other forms of help, but in these the difference is not so significant. At the same time, the phenomenon that the family does not help their children living separately shows almost an identical degree in the case of single-person households or lone-parent families (7.0 and 7.5%, respectively), while this is a much rarer phenomenon in the case of complete families (4.0%).

A breakdown by the education level of the family shows a more subtle picture. In-kind support dominates the group of those, who have finished only the primary school (16.7%), while the proportion of giving financial help (-2.9%) is below the proportion seen in the whole pattern. This is the group with the highest proportion of parents not giving help to their children living separately (25.0%) (the number of items in the partial sample is relatively low!). In the group of those with trade school qualifications financial help is dominant (17.0%), but in-kind support is also above the proportion in the total Szeged sample by 3.4 percentage points. Those with Matura give help to their children living separately both financially (20.0%) and in kind (9.0%). Financial help dominates also in the group of college or university graduates (9.6% - 8.1%), although they are below the average of the sample in both areas.

From the perspective of the tradition-modernity axis, financial help is rather a modern, and in-kind support is rather a traditional form of helping. The role of the financial situation of the participating families may distort the value selection noted in the sample.

At least as important a variable is whether children living in a separate household help their parents (Table 3.).

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Table 3. – Question 31: *Does the child (do the children) living in a separate household help you? – as % of residential area*

	Central Szeged (%) n=48	Inner residential area (%) n=64	Housing estate (%) n=198	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=75	Total N=443
Paying a helper	0.0	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2
Money	2.1	1.6	2.0	0.0	1.3	1.6
Housework, household work	4.2	7.8	3.0	5.2	2.7	4.1
Nursing, care	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.7	0.5
Visits, emotional support	6.3	3.1	3.5	0.0	8.0	4.1
Other	2.1	1.6	4.5	8.6	5.3	4.5
No support	16.7	9.4	5.6	19.0	12.0	10.2

We also wanted to find out whether children living in separate households help their parents, and if so, in what form. In this case the answer of no support dominates (10.2%). 4.1% was given to housework and household work, 4.1% to visits and emotional support, 1.6% to financial help, 4.5% to other help, 0.5% to nursing and care, and 0.2% to paying a helper. The lack of help is rather high in the cases of the cottage and garden district (19.0%), and Central Szeged (16.7%). The explanation of this phenomenon may be partly that parents do not yet require help from their children.

A breakdown by family type makes the picture clearer by showing that in the case of complete families 11.7% of those leaving the family nest do not help their parents. In the case of lone-parent families, financial help dominates (6.0%). In a breakdown by qualification extreme values can only be found in the case of those with primary education, which group contains a very low number of items (Table 4.).

Table 4. – Question 32: *Do your parents live? – as % of residential area*

	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=203	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=79	Total N=457
Respondent's mother is alive	64.7	69.7	69.5	69.0	77.2	70.2
Respondent's father is alive	49.0	57.6	53.5	41.4	48.1	51.1

In the total sample, 70.2% have their mothers alive, and 51.1% have their fathers alive. This data also shows the demographic trend that women's life expectancy at birth is

higher than that of men. The proportion of fathers alive is the lowest in the cottage and garden district (41.4%), and the highest in the inner residential area (57.6%). 64.7% of the respondents had their mothers alive in Central Szeged, and 77.2% of them had their mothers alive in a rural residential area.

In 88.2% of the families the respondent's mother still lives in her own original home, and in only 5.8% of the cases lives with the respondent, while the rate of living in old people's homes is also very low, a mere 0.3%. It can be concluded in the case of fathers that 81.8% of them live in their own original homes, 4% with the respondents, while 0.36% live in old people's homes. In the remaining cases, respondents gave the names of other relatives, or did not know where their parents live.

Table 5. – Question 35: *How do you/did you support your parents?* – as % of residential area

	Central Szeged (%) n=50	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=194	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=77	Total N=445
Paying a helper	2.0	0.0	0.5	3.4	0.0	0.9
Money	14.0	21.2	17.5	31.0	13.0	18.7
Housework, household work	30.0	45.5	41.8	46.6	51.9	43.4
Nursing, care	34.0	22.7	19.6	27.6	24.7	23.6
Visits, emotional support	68.0	78.8	73.7	75.9	74.0	74.2
Other	2.0	7.6	6.2	10.3	2.6	5.8
No support	6.0	6.1	11.3	1.7	0.0	6.7

Further, we tried to find an answer to the question of what help the respondents gave to their parents (Table 5.). 74.2% of the total sample indicated visits and emotional support. This is followed by housework and household work (43.4%), nursing and care (23.6%), and financial help (18.7%). In a breakdown by residential area, financial help dominates in the cottage and garden district (31%), housework and household work in the rural residential area (51.9%), nursing and care in Central Szeged (34%), visits and emotional support in the inner residential area (78.8%), and the lack of support on the housing estate (11.3%).

From the perspective of the tradition-modernity axis, it can be stated that in helping parents it is help in accordance with traditional values that is dominant, i.e. housework and household work (43.4%) and emotional support (74.2%), but the proportion of nursing and care is also rather high (23.6%). Financial help, as a modern form of support is rather low (18.7%). An exception from this are families living in the cottage and garden district, where in addition to modern financial support (31.0%), the proportion of in-kind support (46.6%) is also rather high.

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In a breakdown by family type emotional support dominates as well. Financial support, excluding multi-generation families, where the number of items were low, is important in the case of lone-parent families (22.2%). Housework and household work prevail in single-person households (53.4%), while nursing and care are dominant in lone-parent families (30.2%).

In a breakdown by school type, financial support dominates in families with a primary education (30.8%), and in families with a secondary education (27.3%). Visits and emotional support predominate in the case of those with college degrees (84.2%).

Table 6. – Question 36: *What help do you (the middle generation) get from your parents?*
– as % of residential area

	Central Szeged (%) n=46	Inner residential area (%) n=65	Housing estate (%) n=195	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=78	Total N=442
Flat	39.1	29.2	22.1	32.8	12.8	24.7
Taking care of the child/children	52.2	47.7	43.6	70.7	69.2	53.2
Housework, household work	23.9	18.5	9.2	29.3	25.6	17.6
Money	47.8	46.2	48.7	53.4	41.0	47.5
In-kind support	63.0	64.6	63.6	63.8	60.3	63.1
Renovation	13.0	12.3	5.6	13.8	9.0	9.0
Emotional support	3.9	3.0	4.4	1.7	1.3	3.3
Other	10.9	6.2	8.7	5.2	7.7	7.9
No support	4.3	6.2	13.3	3.4	2.6	8.1

We also wanted to know whether the parents help the respondents (Table 6.). In 63.1% of the total sample in-kind support (e.g. food) was disclosed in the highest proportion (63.1%). This is followed by taking care of the child/children (53.2%), then by money (47.5%), by help in obtaining housing (24.7%), and housework and household work (17.6%). 8.1% of the respondents do not get any help from their parents. In a breakdown by residential area, we can see an extreme difference in the cottage and garden district, where taking care of the child/children is represented in 70.7%, and this value is also high in the case of the rural residential area (69.2%).

Quite understandably, in the breakdown by family type, taking care of the child/children has the highest proportion in the case of complete families (59.5%) and lone-parent families (60.7%), i.e. households with children. In the case of the other forms of help, proportions are similar.

In a breakdown by school type, taking care of the child/children (61.5%), and housework and household work (28.8%) are dominant in the case of families with post-secondary vocational qualification. In our current analysis, we consider data relating to

those with primary education negligible due to the low number of items. The proportion of help in the form of money is the highest in the case of those with college degrees (57.0%), and the same is true of in-kind support (69.9%).

In summary, on the one hand we looked at the interaction of the families (where parents were considered as the middle generation) in the sample with the preceding generation. Analysing the interaction between the generations along the tradition-modernity axis it can be concluded that the significance of the traditional ways of helping used to be higher in the past. The generation of grandparents used to get primarily spiritual help and emotional support from the middle generation. The role of money as a modern form of support used to be less dominant. The phenomenon of no support is not too frequent (6.7%).

Today's middle generation also received more in-kind support from their parents. Additionally, a modern (money) and a traditional (taking care of the child/children) form of support dominated. The phenomenon of no support is not too frequent (8.1%).

We had an opportunity to investigate the interaction between the middle generation and the children living separately in 23.7% of the sample, as about one quarter of the respondent families had children living in a separate household. Help given by parents is primarily dominated by modern support forms, where the role of financial assistance is prevalent with traditional forms of help retreating. The rate of no help is the lowest here (5.2%).

Children living separately, however, still support the middle generation mostly in a traditional way (housework – household work, visits – emotional support, and other help), money as a modern support form is less typical. Of the four interaction alternatives, the proportion of no support is the highest here (10.2%). In summary, it can be concluded that help between generations is the most intensive and diverse in the cottage and garden district, and is the least intensive in families living on a housing estate.

51.2% of the respondents have a brother/brothers, and 52.1% have a sister/sisters. The partners of the respondents have a brother/brothers in 35.7%, and a sister/sisters in 39.5% of the cases. We disclosed the percentage value of yes answers given to the above question about the existence of brothers/sisters. Naturally, in answers given to partner-related questions it also plays a role if the respondent does not have a partner, i.e. the question is not applicable for him/her, or if he/she could not answer the question.

83.4% of the respondents and/or their partners keep in touch with their brother/brothers, and 84.1% with their sister/sisters. This is a rather high proportion.

Further, we investigated monthly savings, which is an important indicator of the family's consumption habits. The financial management habits of families may be changing with the new consumption and payment opportunities appearing in modern consumer societies. Therefore, it is worth studying how financial-management-related family habits develop in the function of tradition and modernity.

The bigger part of the sample (51.6%) do not have monthly savings. This proportion is reversed in the case of Central Szeged ("have savings" – 52.9%) and the cottage and garden district ("have savings" – 56.9%). The lowest proportion of savings is to be found with those living on housing estates (44.3%).

Looking at monthly savings by family type shows that complete families can save in a higher proportion (52.6%), while savings represent the lowest proportion in single-person households (38.4%).

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According to the education level of the family, those with primary education report the least savings (23.1%), while savings represent the highest proportion in the case of those with university degrees (66.2%). Another tendency to be observed is that the higher the qualification level, the more savings are reported: there is a significant gap between primary and secondary education, as well as between college and university degrees.

55.7% of the sample have some sort of a loan or debt. This phenomenon can be mostly observed in the inner residential area (65.2%), and can be least observed in Central Szeged (33.3%).

Loans studied in a breakdown by family type are represented at the highest level in the case of complete families (58.4%), probably because these families are rated as most creditworthy by financial institutions. The proportion of loans is high also in the case of lone-parent families (55.9%), and is relatively lower in the case of single-person households (45.9%).

In the light of the education level of families, most debts were reported by families with trade school qualification (66.0%), probably because skilled workers are creditworthy, and because most often they are also small entrepreneurs and have both the need and opportunities to take out business loans. In the case of families with primary education it can be seen that they do not only have no savings but that they only have limited opportunities for loans, and they are 25.2 percentage points below the values of the total Szeged sample.

The proportion of loans is also relatively low in families with university degrees (lower by 7.4%), but in the case of this education level the proportion of savings was also higher.

With analysis along the tradition-modernity axis it can be concluded that savings as part of the traditional set of values and loans representing the modern set of values are present in a balanced way in families in Szeged. It would be possible to describe a more accurate picture only after a more detailed analysis of the structure of the loan portfolio (e.g. by mapping out the proportion of personal loans), but this would have required a focused investigation far more detailed than the scope of this current research.

In mapping out family habits we also put a stress on the examination of feast days, or special events interrupting the normal flow of everyday family life. Behavioural forms and activities typical of these occasions play an important role in strengthening intra-family cohesion. We selected the family values related to giving presents as the indicator of this phenomenon. The change in present-giving, traditions, and fads to be observed here can sensitively indicate the changes along the tradition – modernity axis (Table 7.).

Table 7. – Question 41: *When do you give presents to each other or congratulate in the family (grandparents, parents, children)? Please list the occasions! – as % of residential area*

	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=204	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=79	Total N=458
Christmas	98.0	100.0	99.5	100.0	97.5	99.1
Easter	43.1	51.5	45.1	51.7	48.1	47.2
Santa Clause	51.0	72.7	65.2	69.0	64.6	65.1

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Birthday	96.1	98.5	95.6	100.0	94.9	96.5
Name day	92.2	86.4	89.2	91.4	92.4	90.0
Marriage anniversary	39.2	45.5	43.1	53.4	54.4	46.3
Valentine day	15.7	22.7	23.5	17.2	35.4	23.8
Depending on the occasion	68.6	65.2	67.2	74.1	63.3	67.2
Women's day	45.1	57.6	57.4	63.8	68.4	58.7
Children's day	29.4	48.5	46.6	63.8	53.2	48.3
Mothers' day	70.0	63.6	58.9	67.2	62.0	62.4

In Question 41 we examined the occasions on which family members give presents to each other (Table 7.). Respondents could choose more than one of the given options. The occasions disclosed most often were the following: Christmas (99.1%), birthday (96.5%), name day (90.0%). A high score was also given to giving presents depending on the occasion (67.2%), mothers' day (62.4%), Santa Clause (65.1%), women's day (58.7%), children's day (48.3%), Easter (47.2%), and marriage anniversary (46.3%). The lowest value was given to Valentine day (23.8%), which is relatively new in our country.

Thus, the importance of Christmas, birthdays, and name days is outstanding among the traditional occasions when presents are given. The proportion of families with young children is also clearly shown by the values given to Easter and Children's day. The higher proportion of Santa Clause shows that Santa Clause is not only a holiday with present giving for families with young children. Valentine day as the most recent occasion can be considered to be a present-giving occasion for young people, and is in the last place with 23.8%.

In a breakdown by *residential area type* we can find an outstanding difference in the case of giving presents on the occasion of Santa Clause compared to the percentage found in the total sample. The Central Szeged area is 14.1% behind the value in the Szeged sample. The explanation of this may be that Santa Clause for the elderly generation is an occasion of present-giving traditionally linked to young children and grandchildren, whereas this is not necessarily true along more modern values. This same occasion of giving presents in the case of the inner residential area, however, is 7.6% higher than the proportion of the Szeged sample, and Santa Clause is a holiday also at a high proportion in the cottage and garden district.

A similar explanation can be offered for the difference found in the case of Children's day. The Central Szeged area remains about 18.9% below the value in the Szeged sample. At the same time, the cottage and garden district stands out here with 15.5%. On the other hand, the 0.2% value of the inner residential area is surprising. More similarity would be expected between the two areas based on the number of children.

It is also interesting that Valentine day, which is a relatively new holiday – therefore, to be considered modern – was chosen to a larger extent in the rural area.

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Table 8. – Question 42: *Usually how do you present each other with presents among your family members?* – as % of residential area

	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=202	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=79	Total N=456
We buy cheap presents	70.0	63.6	58.9	67.2	62.0	62.4
We buy expensive presents	21.6	15.2	14.9	24.1	10.1	16.0
Home-made presents	23.5	33.3	19.8	24.1	22.8	23.2
We go to a restaurant together	23.5	25.8	28.7	32.8	13.9	25.7
Theatre/cinema/ concert ticket, or season ticket	9.8	7.6	11.4	6.9	5.1	9.0
Flowers	82.4	75.8	77.2	82.8	82.3	79.2
Gift vouchers	7.8	4.5	5.0	1.7	5.1	4.8
Buying a journey	7.8	4.5	5.0	12.1	2.5	5.7
Fitness season ticket	2.0	0.0	1.5	0.0	1.3	1.1
Paying for a sauna, massage	3.9	1.5	2.0	0.0	1.3	1.8
Alcohol	47.1	28.8	36.1	56.9	35.4	38.8
Sweets	66.7	65.2	59.4	74.1	68.4	64.5
Other kinds of food	15.7	22.7	15.8	34.5	19.0	19.7
Cosmetics	43.1	54.5	53.0	60.3	50.6	52.6
Book	62.7	59.1	59.9	75.9	62.0	62.5
Clothes	47.1	48.5	53.0	63.8	53.2	53.1

In question 42. we asked about the way of giving presents. The respondents marked more than one options. According to the answers flowers dominate (79.2%), followed by sweets (64.5%), books (62.5%), and cheap presents (62.4%). Among higher-value presents, there are also clothes (53.1%), cosmetics (52.6%), and alcohol (38.8%). These are followed by going to a restaurant together (25.7%), home-made presents (23.2%), other kinds of food (19.7%), and expensive presents (16.0%). The remaining choices are as follows: theatre/cinema/concert tickets, or season tickets (9.0%), gift vouchers (4.8%), buying a journey (5.7%), fitness season tickets (1.1%), and paying for a sauna, massage (1.8%). In a breakdown by residential area type, the proportions are

similar. Outstanding proportions are indicated in the case of home-made presents (33.3%) for the inner residential area, and going to a restaurant together (32.8%), alcohol (56.9%), sweets (74.1%), books (75.9%), and clothes (63.8%) for the cottage and garden district.

Types of giving presents that can be considered traditional: flowers, sweets, books, clothes, and cosmetics have a rather high representation. However, even traditional ways of giving presents are not all equally popular: home-made presents (23.2%) and going to the restaurant together (25.7%) both represent relatively low proportions.

Forms of giving presents that can be considered more modern: gift vouchers, sauna and massage season tickets can be seen only in a relatively low proportion. Buying a journey and expensive presents are rather difficult to interpret along the tradition-modernity axis as whether somebody can afford giving such presents to their beloved ones also largely depends on the financial situation.

On the basis of distribution by residential area it can be said that due to the fact that the population of the cottage and garden district are in a better financial situation, the proportions in the Szeged sample were exceeded in almost all the types of giving presents. Better financial situation is also shown by the outstandingly high (6.4%) difference of buying a journey from the value measured in the total Szeged sample. There are some exceptions, with only slight differences, in the forms of modern present-giving, for instance in the case of gift vouchers (-3.1), fitness season tickets (-1.1), paying for a sauna, massage (-1.8), or theatre/cinema/concert tickets (-2.1).

Buying cheap presents is mostly typical of the persons involved in the study from Central Szeged (70.0%). We wanted to know what a cheap present or a cheap purchase meant for the respondents. 55.3% of the total sample indicated an amount between HUF 1000-5000. Higher amounts are scarcely mentioned by them. The “not applicable” option indicates those who did not choose the option of buying cheap presents. Proportions do not change by the type of residential area.

Receiving guests for lunch and dinner is important to reveal the family’s external network of relationships. The quality of the relationship with the guests and the frequency of receiving guests are different in the traditional or modern set of values.

Question 43 wanted to find an answer to the question whether the respondents received any guests for lunch or dinner over the past half year. 71.7% of the total sample answered positively. The highest proportion of entertaining guests was reported from the rural residential area (78.2%), and the lowest proportion was typical of respondents from Central Szeged (58.8%). The lowest proportion of receiving guests for lunch or dinner in Central Szeged is in line with the trends experienced in questions related to free time activities, where the elderly living in Central Szeged were happier to go for a meal to somebody else’s place (relatives, family members), and were less willing to entertain others.

In a breakdown by family type entertaining guests has the highest proportion for complete families (77.7%), and the lowest proportion for single-person households (52.7%).

In the breakdown by families’ education, only those with primary education show significant deviation from the proportion seen in the whole sample. Families with primary education remain 18.4% below the proportion of 72.2% measured in the entire sample. (A low number of items!)

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Table 9. – Question 43: *Did you have any lunch or dinner guests in the past period – who? – as % of residential area*

	Central Szege (%) n=49	Inner residential area (%) n=64	Housing estate (%) n=195	Cottage and garden district (%) n=53	Rural residential area (%) n=77	Total N=438
Not applicable	40.8	26.6	35.4	26.4	22.1	31.3
Family, relatives	18.4	21.9	20.5	22.6	33.8	23.1
Friends	16.3	23.4	20.5	22.6	16.9	20.1
Family and friends	22.4	26.6	23.6	26.4	27.3	24.9
Friends and colleagues	2.0	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5
Family and colleagues	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.9	0.0	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

In addition to having guests we also wanted to know who the respondents entertained. The highest proportion was allocated to having family and friends (24.9%), followed closely by having family and relatives (23.1%), and by having friends separately (20.1%). Entertaining the family and relatives is the highest in the rural residential area (33.8%). Entertaining friends is dominant in the inner residential area (23.4%), similarly to having family and friends (26.6%).

The invitation of family and relatives shows a rather significant deviation of +10.7% from the proportion in the entire sample only in the rural residential area, which may indicate that as compared to the other residential areas this is where the selection of dinner guests along traditional values is strongest. This is also shown by the fact that the invitation of friends as dinner guests, mostly typical of a choice driven by modern values, is least typical in the rural residential area (without consideration to Central Szege, which is low in all the alternatives). Invitation of friends, however is dominant in the case of the inner residential area (23.4%), and in the case of the cottage and garden district (22.6%). The invitation of colleagues, as an indicator of modernity hardly figured in the sample.

In the breakdown by family type, having family, relatives or friends is highest with lone-parent families (25.4% – 25.4%). Family and friends together represent the highest proportion in complete families (31.3%).

According to the qualification of the families, having family and relatives in the highest proportion is shown in the case of families with secondary education (36.4%), and trade school qualifications (32.6%). Receiving friends is dominant in the case of families with university (32.4%) and college (27.2%) degrees. Receiving family and friends is most dominant in the case of families with post-secondary vocational qualifications (36.0%).

Table 10. – Question 43: *Did you have any lunch or dinner guests in the past period – how often? – as % of residential area*

	Central Szeged (%) n=46	Inner residential area (%) n=58	Housing estate (%) n=175	Cottage and garden district (%) n=53	Rural residential area (%) n=67	Total N=399
Not applicable	43.5	29.3	43.4	26.4	25.4	36.1
Weekly	10.9	15.5	12.6	15.1	6.0	12.0
Monthly	32.6	31.0	17.7	24.5	25.4	23.6
Less frequently than monthly	13.0	24.1	26.3	34.0	43.3	28.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

We get a more complete picture about the habits of having guests if we also reveal its frequency (Table 10.). 28.3% of the respondents receive guests less frequently than monthly, 23.6% of them have guests monthly, and 12.0% weekly. Investigating the issue by type of residential area, weekly frequency is dominant in the inner residential area (15.5%), monthly frequency is dominant in Central Szeged (32.6%), and lower than monthly frequency has a higher proportion in the rural residential area (43.3%).

If we break down our results by family type, weekly frequency is marked in single-person households (15.2%), monthly frequency in complete families (25.2%), and lower than monthly frequency in complete families (33.3%).

In the light of the family's education level weekly frequency is the highest in families with university degrees (16.7%), monthly frequency in families college degrees (26.5%), and lower than monthly frequency in families with trade school qualifications (32.1%).

When investigating the gender distribution of activities in the family, first we analyse questions in which more than 97% of the households are affected. In Table 11. the values of "one of the genders/the woman %" show that if a given activity is done by one of the genders in the family, then in what percentage it is the woman. The other "Together" line shows the percentage in which the respondent families do the given activities together or in turns between the man and the woman.

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Table 11. – Question 47: *Please tell who is/are generally doing the following activities in your family? – as % of residential area*

		Central Szeged (%)	Inner residential area (%)	Housing estate (%)	Cottage and garden district (%)	Rural residential area (%)	Total
		n=51	n=66	n=204	n=58	n=78	N=457
Shopping	One of the genders/ woman%	65.71	75.58	81.26	83.90	77.39	78.43
	Together	37.3	43.9	39.7	46.6	48.7	42.5
Cleaning	One of the genders/ woman%	76.38	95.79	87.79	100.00	96.39	90.33
	Together	25.5	28.8	23	39.7	30.8	27.6
Cooking	One of the genders/ woman%	81.81	98.23	89.19	100.00	95.16	91.93
	Together	13.7	15.2	17.7	25.9	19.5	18.2
Washing	One of the genders/ woman%	85.03	96.75	90.27	100.00	97.06	93.03
	Together	13.7	15.2	17.7	25.9	19.5	18.2
Ironing	One of the genders/ woman%	82.98	85.04	88.64	98.14	91.88	89.27
	Together	6	9.1	4.9	8.6	3.9	5.9
Paying bills	One of the genders/ woman%	53.98	66.62	58.18	48.84	65.02	58.72
	Together	2	22.7	18.7	22.4	23.1	18.6
Doing official business	One of the genders/ woman%	56.09	62.59	66.05	44.73	69.33	62.33
	Together	19.6	27.3	24.6	34.5	32.5	27
Doing the washing up	One of the genders / woman %	72.24	94.50	81.58	92.75	89.99	85.31
	Together	29.4	18.2	30,5	51.7	22.1	29.9
Taking out the garbage	One of the genders/ woman%	42.42	67.33	54.91	59.10	56.75	55.90
	Together	34	34.8	34.8	62.1	60	42.4

Division of labour between the genders has a tendency along the tradition – modernity axis that on the basis of traditional values women have a competence in all activities within the house, and men have a competence in all activities outside the house.

The enforcement of this set of values is shown by the fact that, as compared to activities within the house such as doing the washing up, ironing, washing, cooking and cleaning, men play a stronger role in activities outside the house such as taking out the garbage, doing official business, paying the bills, and even doing the shopping.

This can be manifested in two ways. If it is always one of the genders typically doing a given activity in the family, then the proportion of women is lower than in other more traditional activities. The other option is that there is a higher proportion of families where a given activity is done together or in turns.

On the basis of residential areas there are no major differences in the tendencies. It has to be highlighted that in the case of Central Szeged the division of labour between women and men is relatively more balanced than in the other residential areas. In the case of the cottage and garden district, however, it is striking that in cases where a given activity is not done together or in turns by a family living here, the person responsible for the activities under review is predominantly the woman.

In Table 12. the line "Chosen by" means the degree to which the interviewed families chose the given activity as appropriate. The "One of the genders/woman%" line shows that in the case of families where one of the genders was typically associated with the given activity, in what percentage the woman was indicated. Category "Together" means the percentage of the affected families doing a given activity together or in turns between the man and the woman.

Table 12. – Question 47: *Please tell who is/are generally doing the following special activities in your family? – as % of residential area*

		Central Szeged (%)	Inner residential area (%)	Housing estate (%)	Cottage and garden district (%)	Rural residential area (%)	Total
		n=51	n=66	n=204	n=58	n=78	N=457
Gardening	Chosen by	35,3	45,5	18,6	75,9	89,5	43,5
	One of the genders/woman%	83,4	43,8	47,3	61,9	55,5	56,9
	Together	27,8	46,6	50,0	52,3	58,8	51,0
Lawn-mowing	Chosen by	27,5	39,4	16,2	64,9	87,2	39
	One of the genders/woman%	41,7	26,4	17,5	12,1	22,3	21,6
	Together	14,2	26,9	12,3	32,5	20,5	22,1
Taking care of domestic animals	Chosen by	25,5	43,9	24,1	63,8	64,1	39
	One of the genders/woman%	75,2	72,2	63,2	81,8	57,7	68,3
	Together	38,4	38,0	42,7	40,6	48,0	42,8

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Doing small household repairs	Chosen by	68,6	66,2	76	93,1	84,8	77,5
	One of the genders/ woman%	14,2	23,0	21,9	10,0	6,7	16,6
	<i>Together</i>	<i>14,3</i>	<i>6,9</i>	<i>2,0</i>	<i>3,7</i>	<i>7,4</i>	<i>5,0</i>
Taking the child to the kindergarten/ school	Chosen by	29,4	27,3	25,5	46,6	44,3	32,1
	One of the genders/ woman%	60,2	90,1	77,2	79,0	65,0	74,6
	<i>Together</i>	<i>33,3</i>	<i>44,3</i>	<i>32,5</i>	<i>29,6</i>	<i>42,9</i>	<i>36,1</i>
Helping children with their home-work	Chosen by	37,3	43,9	34,7	48,3	51,9	41
	One of the genders/ woman%	100,0	100,0	85,3	94,2	90,5	91,3
	<i>Together</i>	<i>47,2</i>	<i>34,6</i>	<i>30,0</i>	<i>35,6</i>	<i>47,6</i>	<i>37,1</i>
Playing with children, walking with them	Chosen by	40	40,9	40,1	53,4	55,1	44,5
	One of the genders/ woman%	100,0	100,0	97,0	91,0	83,1	94,9
	<i>Together</i>	<i>80,0</i>	<i>74,1</i>	<i>58,1</i>	<i>64,6</i>	<i>86,0</i>	<i>69,2</i>

It is also worth analysing special family activities separately. We find a balanced division of labour between the genders in gardening. This can be explained partly by the high proportion of gardening done together or in turns, and partly by the proportionate distribution of families with one of the genders.

In the case of lawn-mowing it is a tendency that while in the case of Central Szeged the proportion is almost properly balanced, lawn-mowing (of a probably bigger area) in the cottage and garden district, as well as in the rural residential district is mostly done by men.

In the case of domestic animals it can be concluded that there is an outstandingly high number of those living in the inner residential area who keep domestic animals compared to the other urban-type residential areas. At the same time, there is a surprisingly high proportion of households both in the cottage and garden district, and in the rural residential area where no domestic animals are kept. Interestingly, the role played in taking care of domestic animals is the most balanced between men and women on the housing estate and the rural residential area, while elsewhere women play a stronger role.

In the case of smaller household repairs and activities division of labour between the genders has a tendency to shift towards men, which is in line with the finding that activities outside the house belong to the competence of men according to the traditional values.

It can be unanimously concluded about activities with children that the two genders do these activities together or in turns in an outstandingly high proportion. This is by all means a trend typical of modernity. In cases, however, when only one of the genders takes care of the child, then this is still dominantly the woman.

The division of labour related to children between the two genders is more balanced in the inner and rural residential areas, while women play the biggest role on the housing estate and in the cottage and garden district. It is possible that due to the bigger workload on men they have fewer opportunities to get involved with this activity than men living in the rural residential area.

Based on the analysis of the data in the breakdown by family type, it can be stated that in the case of complete families the role taken by the two genders is relatively more balanced in carrying out the individual activities. At the same time, it can be noted that the distribution of activities within and outside the house alongside traditional values is fully upset in single-person and lone-parent families. The role played by women is more emphasized in both activities in these types of families.

In the case of gardening, men still play a stronger role in this activity outside the house with the exception of single-person households.

Interestingly, keeping domestic animals is non-typical of single-person households. If it is, then it is mostly the women who take care of the animals. In the case of lone-parent families the role played by women is more explicit, which, in addition to keeping domestic animals, can also be explained by the probably fewer men living in lone-parent families.

In the case of complete families, this is mostly a role played by men, and in the case of single-person and lone-parent families the role played by women is also typical of this area (probably due to the lack of men).

Both lone-parent families and complete families are equally affected in the area of giving help to the child, but the role distribution between the two genders is more balanced in this activity. Playing or walking with the child is hardly typical of single-person households. Lone-parent and complete families are affected in this question almost equally, however significant differences can be experienced between the role-taking tendencies of men and women. The role played by women in lone-parent families is more emphasized, while in complete families the role played by men and women can be considered to be much more balanced. This same tendency can be experienced in the organisation of tasks related to taking the child to kindergarten or school.

In view of the family's education level, the division of labour between men and women is least balanced in the case of those with trade school qualifications. In the case of this qualification women play the most expressed role. We can find the least unbalanced division of labour in the case of families with university degrees. However, the general tendency does not change, which means that activities are still organised along the traditional values seen earlier. Thus, the role of women is dominant in the case of activities within the house, while the division of labour outside the house is relatively more balanced between the two genders.

In the case of "Small household repairs" and "Lawn-mowing" the role played by men in families with trade school qualifications or secondary school education is outstanding. Women play a stronger role in the case of families with post-secondary vocational qualification. In the case of gardening, the roles played by the two genders are

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mostly balanced with the exception of families with post-secondary vocational qualification, where men dominate, and those with university degrees, where women play a more pronounced role.

Table 13. – Question 48: *When do you usually do a bigger shopping for the family?* – as of residential area.

	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=204	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=79	Total N=458
Daily	2.0	4.5	2.5	3.4	5.1	3.3
Weekly	17.6	21.2	17.2	29.3	13.9	18.8
At weekends	25.5	24.2	26.5	25.9	24.1	25.5
Not linked to time, whenever we have time	47.1	40.9	47.5	31.0	43.0	43.7
Monthly	17.6	22.7	15.2	24.1	25.3	19.4

Question 48 asked about shopping habits (Table 13.). 43.7% of the respondents do not link shopping to time, they do shopping whenever they have time. In the case of 25.5% the weekend is the most appropriate time for this, 19.4% do large shopping monthly, 18.8% once a week, and 3.3 daily. Daily shopping has the highest proportion in the rural residential area (5.1%), weekly shopping is more pronounced in the cottage and garden district (29.3%), weekend shopping is typical of the respondents living on the housing estate (26.5%), while monthly shopping plays a bigger role in the rural residential area (25.3%). It is the respondents living on the housing estate who say in the highest proportion that they do not link shopping to a specific time (47.5%).

The proportion of the “Not linked to time, whenever we have the time” alternative is surprisingly high. We considered it a modern choice if there is no habit or general principle behind the way one does shopping. In this case shopping is done impulsively rather than habitually. The occurrence of some sort of daily, weekly, or monthly frequency presumes the bigger role of habits or other underlying principles.

As per the type of family, the proportion of daily shopping is higher with lone-parent families (7.4%), while one occasion per week in complete families (21.1%), weekend shopping (29.4%), and monthly shopping (22.1%) also in lone-parent families, and the role of time is most negligible for single-person households (55.4%).

It is single-person households that are not forced to build the shopping activity into a tight daily schedule. From the perspective of shopping, therefore, single-person households can be considered to be most modern. However, it also belongs to the full picture that in the case of all family types the choice of the modern alternative was of the highest proportion.

According to the education level of families, daily shopping plays a role mainly in those with college degrees (6.2%), weekly shopping in those with secondary education (28.6%), weekend shopping in those with university degrees (33.8%), and monthly

shopping in those with post-secondary vocational qualifications (30.8%). Families with a Matura attach the least role to time (52.9%).

Table 14. – Question 49: *Where do you usually do your shopping?* – as % of residential area.

	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=204	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=79	Total N=458
In a supermarket close to our home	39.2	31.8	34.3	31.0	46.8	36.2
In big supermarkets	78.4	90.9	89.7	86.2	79.7	86.5
In a small shop near my house	3.9	13.6	16.2	20.7	15.2	14.8
In the market	51.0	45.5	31.4	43.1	29.1	36.7

In addition to frequency, we were also interested in the place where the shopping is done (Table 14.). We did not limit the number of possible answers. 86.5% of the respondents prefer bigger supermarkets. 36.7% do their shopping in the market, 36.2% in a supermarket close to their home, and 14.8% in a small shop nearby their home. The choice of a small shop near the home was prevalent in the rural residential area (46.8%), the choice of a big supermarket was most typical of the inner residential district (90.9%), the small shop near the house was more pronounced in the cottage and garden district (20.7%), and going to the market was most favoured in the case of Central Szeged respondents (51.0%).

The spreading of larger supermarkets after the regime change is apparent among residential areas. However, the role of shops near the home is still dominant in the rural residential area. Physical closeness may also play a role in this. The diminishing role of small shops is spectacular. Markets still have a dominant role. The market is the place where the produce of the country is exchanged. Therefore, the role of the market is the least in the rural residential area (for these people most of the goods on the market can be produced around the house).

Central Szeged represents the most traditional combination in choosing the place of shopping. The choice of supermarkets is the lowest here, however the use of the market and the nearby shop is the highest. However, small shops are most unpopular in this residential area (due to the proximity of larger shops offering better shopping alternatives are close).

In the breakdown by family type we cannot find significant differences in the choice of the place of shopping.

In the breakdown by the family's education, the choice of the supermarket near the home is more typical of those with university degrees (41.9%), and larger supermarkets are mostly frequented by families with post-secondary vocational qualification (90.4%),

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the small shop near the home is most important for families with a Matura (20.0%), and market comes up most frequently for those with a secondary school qualification (45.7%).

Table 15. – *Question 50: On what basis do you decide on where you are doing your shopping? – as % of residential area.*

	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=204	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=79	Total N=458
Prices	62.7	60.6	65.7	70.7	64.6	65.1
Range of goods	58.8	70.8	64.7	70.7	70.9	66.7
Distance of the supermarket	27.5	25.8	35.8	27.6	38.0	32.8
Customs, got used to it	37.3	16.7	20.1	27.6	21.5	22.7

The choice of the place of the shopping can be influenced by several factors, and the respondents marked several of the given answers (Table 15.). The range of products is dominant in 66.7%, this is followed by the prices in 65.1%, the distance of the supermarket (32.8%), and customs (22.7%). Proportions do not change significantly even in the breakdown by the type of residential area, and price and the range of goods play an important role everywhere.

Consideration of price and the range of products may be viewed as modern from the perspective of the motivation of shopping. This may carry the option of changing a different product, the reason for which may be either the change of the price or the change in the range of goods. The closeness of the shop and customs facilitate the establishment and preservation of traditions.

From this perspective we may say that the choice of products is rather influenced by modern values, and traditional criteria play a less important role.

Prices count mostly in lone-parent families (72.1%), while the range of products dominates in complete families (68.4%). The closeness of the shop is important for lone-parent families (38.2%), and customs are important for complete families (24.0%).

In the function of the family's qualification, prices are more important for those with secondary education (80.0%), the range of products for those with post-secondary vocational qualifications (76.9%), the closeness of the shop for those with university degrees (39.2%), and customs are more important for those with a Matura (30.6%).

1. Objective and subjective analysis of family habits on the tradition – modernity axis

We evaluated family habits along objective criteria on the tradition – modernity axis. We formed the background variable of “Traditional family habits” from the indicator-variables below: helping parents: housework and household work in own home;

giving presents for birthdays; giving flowers as presents; usually doing shopping in supermarket near home; and place of shopping determined by habits.

We formed the background variable of “modern family habits” from the indicator-variables below: helping parents: financial help; giving presents for Valentine day; giving gift vouchers; usually doing shopping in larger supermarkets; place of shopping determined by the range of goods. Table 16. shows the distribution of respondents by residential area based on the number of their choices from the objective indicators of tradition and modernity.

Table 16. – *Question 51: What do you think about the habits of your family? – as % of residential area.*

Degree of tradition	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=204	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=78	Total N=458
0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
1	7.8	12.1	11.8	3.4	5.1	9.2
2	29.4	36.4	31.9	32.8	24.1	31.0
3	37.3	27.3	37.3	41.4	46.8	38.0
4	21.6	19.7	16.7	17.2	17.7	17.9
5	3.9	4.5	2.5	5.2	6.3	3.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Degree of modernity	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=204	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=78	Total N=458
0	7.8	4.5	5.4	5.2	10.1	6.3
1	31.4	19.7	18.6	19.0	17.7	20.1
2	45.1	45.5	51.0	41.4	36.7	45.9
3	11.8	22.7	21.6	32.8	31.6	23.8
4	2.0	7.6	2.9	1.7	1.3	3.1
5	2.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	2.5	0.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

We made an objective tradition and modernity indicator with nine categories from the above two indicator-variables with the help of the classification and combinations as described in Chapter II. 2.1.2. From the indicators of traditional family habits we applied the class of explicitly traditional if 3-5 of them were chosen, moderately traditional if 1-2 were chosen, and non-traditional if 0 were chosen. The distribution of our answers is demonstrated by Table 17.

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Table 17. – The three-category classification of the objective (traditional) indicators of family habits

	Frequency (persons)	Frequency (%)
non-traditional	0	0.0
moderately traditional	184	40.2
explicitly traditional	274	59.8
Total	458	100.0

Similarly, those selecting 3-5 of the indicators of modern family habits were put into the category of explicitly modern, those selecting 1-2 were put into the category of moderately modern, and those selecting 0 were put into the category of non-modern. The distribution of the answers is shown in Table 18.

Table 18. – The three-category classification of the objective (modern) indicators of family habits

	Frequency (persons)	Frequency (%)
non-modern	29	6.3
moderately modern	302	65.9
explicitly modern	127	27.7
Total	458	100.0

With the help of combining the above two tables we arrived at our new nine-category variable shown in Table 19.

Table 19. – Values obtained from the combination of objective tradition and modernity indicators in the case of family habits.

Categories	Persons (%)
Neither traditional, nor modern	0 (0.0)
Moderately modern	0 (0.0)
Explicitly modern	0 (0.0)
Moderately traditional	8 (1.7)
Non-typical	118 (25.8)
Typically modern	58 (12.7)
Explicitly traditional	21 (4.6)
Typically traditional	184 (40.1)
Bipolar	69 (15.1)
Total	458 (100)

Most of the families in the sample along the tradition – modernity axis created on the basis of objective criteria can be rather considered traditional (moderately traditional – 1.7%, explicitly traditional – 4.6%, typically traditional – 40.1%, in total 46.4%).

At the end of the thematic group of questions we asked each respondent to evaluate whether in their view the habits of their family could be considered traditional or modern. The answers received were as follows (Tables 20 – 23.).

LÁSZLÓ LIPPAI:
Family habits

Table 20. – Question 51: *What do you think about the habits of your family?* – as % of residential area.

	Central Szeged (%) n=50	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=204	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=78	Total N=457
Traditional	76.5	66.7	64.7	70.7	70.5	68.1
Modern	23.5	33.3	35.3	29.3	29.5	31.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 21. – Question 51: *What do you think about the habits of your family?* – as % of type of family.

	Single-person household (%) n=73	Lone-parent household (%) n=68	Complete family (%) n=308	Multi-generation family (%) n=7	Total N=456
Traditional	67.1	67.6	69.2	42.9	68.2
Modern	32.9	32.4	30.8	57.1	31.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 22. – Question 51: *What do you think about the habits of your family?* – as % of the family's education level.

	1 n=13	2 n=94	3 n=35	4 n=85	5 n=52	6 n=96	7 n=74	Total N=449
Traditional	69.2	72.3	65.7	68.2	71.2	57.3	75.7	68.2
Modern	30.8	27.7	34.3	31.8	28.8	42.7	24.3	31.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

(1=Primary school, 2= Trade school, 3= Vocational secondary school, 4=Comprehensive secondary school, 5=Advanced vocational training, 6=College, 7=University)

Table 23. – Question 51: *What do you think about the habits of your family?* – as % of the age of respondents.

	0-25 years young age (%) n=40	26-40 years young adulthood (%) n=202	41-65 years maintenance (%) n=192	66 years and above decline (%) n=19	Total N=453
Traditional	45.0	62.4	77.1	89.5	68.2
Modern	55.0	37.6	22.9	10.5	31.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

It can be seen clearly from the results of the table that 68.2% of the respondents considered their family's habits as traditional, and 31.8% as modern. By residential area, families living in Central Szeged considered their habits as traditional most frequently

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(76.5%), and those living on the housing estate considered them as modern most often (35.3%).

From the perspective of family type, those living in a complete family considered most often the habits of their families as traditional (69.2%), while those living in single-person households mostly considered them as modern (32.9%).

From the perspective of qualification, the highest proportion of those regarding their family habits as traditional are among those with university degrees (75.7%), while 42.7% of those with college qualification viewed the habits of their families as modern.

89.5% of the respondents, if older than 66, considered the habits of their families traditional, while 55% of those younger than 25 said that the habits of their families were modern.

II. 2.1.7. Cultural factors

Klára Tarkó

1. Consumption of cultural goods

Question 52 queries the number of books in the respondent's household. According to the three-dimensional social structure theory of Bourdieu (Cited in: Angelusz, 1997), the amount of books and phonograms indicated under Question 53 belongs to the category of materialised cultural capital indicating the level of supply of cultural goods in the household.

Most respondents (19.9% of 458 household) had 101–200 books in the household. This was followed by a rate of 16,6% for 601 or more books, then 14,4% for 51–100 books. The rates of those having 201–300, 401–500 and 301–400 books, respectively were very similar (12,4%, 11,8% and 10,3%). On the other hand, relatively few households had less than 20 books or 501-600 books (5,7%). In a breakdown by residential area, the highest number of books was found in Central Szeged (25,5% – 601+). 501-600 books was most typical in the cottage and garden district (13,8%). The level of supply of materialised cultural capital in the households under study qualifies as “good”.

In a breakdown by education of the family, respondents with a university degree have the highest number of books (32,4% – 601 or more), and families with trade-school qualification the lowest number (4,3% – 1–10 books). Respondents having Matura, secondary or post-secondary education make up the middle brackets, with 100-500 books. Consequently, the number of books in the household rises in direct proportion to education.

As for the number of phonograms in the household (Question 52), 43,7% of respondents had 71 or more CDs and/or records, and tapes. 17,5% possessed 31–50 phonograms, 13,5% 51–70, 12,4% 11–30, and 9,8% 1–10. 3,1% of the sample had no phonograms at all. No significant differences were indicated in a breakdown by residential area.

The breakdown by education shows that families with college and university education have the highest number of phonograms (50,5% and 48,5%, respectively). The category of 71 or more phonograms is predominant for every level of education.

2. Cultural activity

Researchers usually study two components of cultural activity: outdoor and home-based cultural activities. Outdoor cultural activity and going out, being a factor characterising one's way of living, the research team studied the theatre, concert, cinema and museum-going habits and other outdoor activities of the respondents (Questions 54 – 62). Table 1. shows the frequency of going to the theatre, by type of residential area. Although the questionnaire included separate options for pursuing a given activity “with monthly regularity” and “several times a year”, the aggregates of the two will be referred to below, in accordance with the criteria of our analysis (aggregates are used for Questions 56, 58, and 60 also).

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Table 1. – Question 54: *How often do you go to the theatre?* – as % of residential area

	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=203	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=79	Total N=457
With monthly regularity/ Several times a year	43,2	21,2	25,1	37,9	16,5	26,7
Rarely	41,2	56,1	47,3	48,3	60,8	50,3
Never	15,7	22,7	27,6	13,8	22,8	23,0
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

50,3% in the total sample rarely goes to the theatre, 23,0% never does, and 26,7% goes several times a year or with monthly regularity. “Rarely” predominates in every category, with the exception of the “Central Szeged” in the breakdown by residential area, where “several times a year/with monthly regularity” is the most frequent (43,2%). Residents of rural areas go to the theatre the least often (60,8%). The share of persons with university/college education is highest in the Central Szeged sub-sample (46%), and it is lowest in the rural residential area (21,8%). The relationship between education and the frequency of going to the theatre was demonstrated by the present study, too. In a breakdown by family education, families with university (40,5%), college (40,2%), and post-secondary vocational qualification (30,7%) go to the theatre most often (several times a year / with monthly regularity). Families with lower education go to the theatre the least often (trade-school, “never”=41,9%).

Beside the frequency of going to the theatre, the questions queried also whom the respondents invited to go with them. Table 2. shows the distribution of partners invited to the theatre by respondents having indicated in their answer to Question 54 that they went there with a certain regularity, broken down by family type.

Table 2. – Question 55: *If you go to the theatre, who do you usually go with?* – as % of family type

	Single-person household(%) n=44	Lone-parent family (%) n=47	Complete family (%) n=247	Multi- generation family (%) n=5	Total N=343
Alone	2,3	0,0	0,8	0,0	0,9
With family	15,9	31,9	68,0	40,0	56,0
With friends	65,9	55,3	21,1	40,0	31,8
With family and friends	13,6	12,8	9,7	20,0	10,8
Other	2,3	0,0	0,4	0,0	0,6
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Most members of complete families go to the theatre with family members (68,0%), whereas those living in single-person households (65,9%) and lone-parent

families (55,3%) tend to go with friends. Within the total sample, family members were indicated as partners the most often (56,0%). The research team considers this circumstance a “tradition” indicator. The breakdown of the data by type of residential area showed no significant differences.

It was considered important to survey the concert-going habits, too, of the respondents, in addition to their theatre-going habits. Table 3. shows the concert-going activity of the sample under study by residential area.

Table 3. – Question 56: *How often do you go to a concert (any kind)?* – as % of residential area

	Central Szeged (%) n=50	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=203	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=79	Total N=456
With monthly regularity/ Several times a year	16,0	12,1	15,8	20,7	7,6	14,5
Rarely	42,0	39,4	48,3	31,0	48,1	44,1
Never	42,0	48,5	36,0	48,3	44,3	41,4
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

44,1% of respondents rarely go to concerts, and 41,4% never does. 14,5% goes several times a year or with monthly regularity. The question did not specify the type of the concerts concerned (classical music, popular music etc.). According to the breakdown of our data by type of residential area, residents of inner residential areas included the highest rate of people who never went to a concert (48,5%). Cottage and garden district residents went to a concert several times a year or with monthly regularity the most often (20,7%). Broken down by family education, the rate of “several times a year / with monthly regularity” was highest among respondents with college education (21,7%), university degree (20,3%), and with post-secondary vocational qualification (19,2%). As in the case of theatre-going, the results show that the higher the education level of the respondent, the more often they will go to concerts.

Table 4. shows the distribution of partners invited to concerts, broken down by family type, among those indicating under Question 56 that they went to concerts with a certain regularity.

Table 4. – Question 57: *If you go to a concert, who do you usually go with?* – as % of family type

	Single-person household(%) n=41	Lone-parent family (%) n=39	Complete family (%) n=180	Multi-generation family (%) n=4	Total N=264
Alone	0,0	5,1	1,1	0,0	1,5
With family	7,3	33,3	48,3	25,0	39,4
With friends	82,9	53,8	36,7	50,0	46,6

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With family and friends	7,3	7,7	12,8	25,0	11,4
Other	2,4	0,0	1,1	0,0	1,1
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

In complete families, the selection of family member partners predominates again (48,3%), whereas those living in single-person households and lone-parent families tend to invite friends (82,9% and 53,8%, respectively). In the total sub-sample subjected to the analysis, on the other hand, the choice of friends prevailed (46,6%). Our research team considered outdoor activities shared with friends a “modernity” indicator.

The next outdoor activity figuring in the survey was going to the movies (Table 5.).

Table 5. – Question 58: *How often do you go to the cinema?* – as % of residential area

	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=203	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=79	Total N=457
With monthly regularity/ Several times a year	37,2	34,9	45,3	43,1	38,0	41,3
Rarely	37,3	47,0	36,0	39,7	45,6	39,8
Never	25,5	18,2	18,7	17,2	16,5	18,8
total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

39,8% of respondents rarely goes to the cinema, 41,3% goes several times a year or with monthly regularity. 18,8% never goes to the cinema. “Several times a year / with monthly regularity” occurs most often for the dwellers of housing estates (45,3%), and those living in the cottage and garden district (43,1%). Most residents of the inner residential area rarely go (47,0%), and those in the Central Szeged (25,5%) never go to the movies. Question 62 queried participation in other activities involving going out, indicating the plaza as one of the options. The highest rate of plaza-goers was found among residents of housing estates (34,0%), where the multiplex cinemas are located, and hence the outstanding rate of movie-goers among the residents of housing estates comes as no surprise. Within the total sample, the rate of those going to the movies with some regularity was 81,1%, a relatively high rate in comparison with the corresponding rates for going to the theatre (77,0%) or to a concert (58,6%) studied above.

In a breakdown by family education, those with college degree go to the movies “several times a year and with monthly regularity” the most often (55,6%), followed by those with university degree (55,4%), whereas those with trade-school qualification (45,2%), as well as those with Matura (42,4%) and with post-secondary vocational qualification (44,2%) rarely go to the cinema. The propensity to go to the movies increases in direct proportion with the level of educational qualification.

The choice of partners was investigated also for those who went to the movies with a certain regularity (Table 6.).

Table 6. – Question 59: *If you go to the cinema, who do you usually go with?* – as % of family type

	Single-person household (%) n=56	Lone-parent family (%) n=52	Complete family (%) n=253	Multi-generation family (%) n=6	Total N=367
Alone	1,8	1,9	1,2	0,0	1,4
With family	12,5	38,5	65,6	16,7	52,9
With friends	71,4	42,3	17,4	66,7	30,0
With family and friends	12,5	17,3	14,6	16,7	14,7
Other	1,8	0,0	1,2	0,0	1,1
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

The distribution of the data by family type shows the same pattern as in the previous two cases: in complete families, members of the family predominate (65,6%), in single-person households and lone-parent families, friends are invited the most often (71,4% and 42,3%, respectively). In the total sub-sample subjected to analysis, the results are similar to those found for the theatre-going habits, that is, the respondents typically named family members as their partners (52,9%).

Question 60 queried the frequency of going to a museum/to exhibitions (Table 7.).

Table 7. – Question 60: *How often do you go to a museum, exhibition?* – as % of residential area

	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=203	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=79	Total N=457
With monthly regularity/ Several times a year	19,6	19,7	19,2	31,0	16,5	20,4
Rarely	62,7	62,1	57,6	55,2	64,6	59,7
Never	17,6	18,2	23,2	13,8	19,0	19,9
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

59,7% of the total sample goes to museums rarely, 20,4% several times a year or with monthly regularity, 19,9% never. The rate of those who go several times a year or with monthly regularity is highest among the residents of the cottage and garden district (31,0%), “rarely” predominates among the residents of rural areas (64,6%), and “never” among the residents of housing estates (23,2%).

It was assumed that going to a museum correlates with going on holidays. Therefore, the relationship between the frequency of inland holidays and holidays abroad and going to the museum was investigated (Tables 8. and 9.).

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Table 8. – Cross-table analysis between the frequency of going to a museum (Question 60) and going on an inland holiday (Question 18)

How many times did you go on an inland holiday during the past 3 years?	How often do you go to a museum/exhibition? (%)				
	With monthly regularity	Several times a year	Rarely	Never	Total (person)
Not any	40,0	18,2	34,8	54,4	35,5 (162)
One time	20,0	19,3	21,2	25,6	21,7 (99)
Two times	20,0	25,0	19,8	11,1	19,1 (87)
Three or more times	20,0	37,5	24,2	8,9	23,7 (108)
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0 (456)

Significance level: 0,000; Cramer V: 0,166

Focusing on the category of those who go to a museum several times a year, the more often the interviewed family goes on an inland holiday, the higher is the percentage of cases assigned there. That is, our hypothesis proved true for inland holidays.

Table 9. – Cross-table analysis between the frequency of going to a museum (Question 60) and going on a holiday abroad (Question 20)

How many times did you go on a holiday abroad during the past 3 years?	How often do you go to a museum/exhibition? (%)				
	With monthly regularity	Several times a year	Rarely	Never	Total (person)
Not any	20,0	40,2	49,5	71,4	51,8 (236)
One time	40,0	17,2	20,5	15,4	19,1 (87)
Two times	0,0	23,0	13,6	7,7	14,0 (64)
Three or more times	40,0	19,5	16,5	5,5	15,1 (69)
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0 (456)

Significance level: 0,000; Cramer V: 0,148

The relationship between the variables concerned is significant but weak. The rates of those who were on a holiday abroad once, or on three or more occasions, respectively, among those who go to a museum with monthly regularity were identical. In the other frequency categories, inverse proportionality was more frequent. That is, the investigation of the relationship with holidays spent abroad supports our hypothesis to a small extent only.

Broken down by family education, our data show that families with a higher educational qualification typically go to a museum more often. “Several times a year and/or with monthly regularity” occurs most often among respondents with college education (31,9%), followed by university-degree-holders (31,1%), “rarely” for those with secondary education (62,9%), and “never” among those with trade-school qualification (33,3%). That is to say, there is a clear relationship in this case, too, with the level of education.

Table 10. shows the distribution of partners invited to a museum, by family type.

Table 10. – Question 61: *If you go to a museum, exhibition, who do you usually go with?* – as % of family type

	Single-person household(%) n=52	Lone-parent family (%) n=57	Complete family (%) n=239	Multi-generation family (%) n=6	Total N=354
Alone	5,8	7,0	2,5	0,0	3,7
With family	23,1	45,6	66,9	33,3	56,5
With friends	57,7	29,8	15,1	50,0	24,3
With family and friends	9,6	14,0	13,4	0,0	12,7
Other	3,8	3,5	2,1	16,7	2,8
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

As in the cases discussed above, the role of family members was predominant in the complete families (66,9%), and that of friends in single-person households (57,7%). The pattern changed for the lone-parent families, however, where the role of family members increased (45,6%). Museum-going habits (their frequency) were investigated in terms of family type, too, our hypothesis being that when families with children tended to indicate that they went to a museum, they meant organised visits arranged by the schools (Table 11.).

Table 11. – Question 60: *How often do you go to a museum, exhibition?* – as % of family type

	Single-person household (%) n=74	Lone-parent family (%) n=68	Complete family (%) n=307	Multi-generation family (%) n=7	Total N=456
With monthly regularity/ Several times a year	13,5	20,6	22,1	14,3	20,4
Rarely	59,5	66,2	58,0	71,4	59,6
Never	27,0	13,2	19,9	14,3	20,0
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

According to our data, “several times a year / with monthly regularity” occurs most frequently in the case of members of complete families (22,1%) and of lone-parent families (20,6%). The rate of “never” answers was highest in the single-person households (27,0%). Hence it is quite likely that the presence of children does influence the frequency of museum visits.

Outdoor activities were investigated in more detail through a list of various family programmes, such as going to the amusement park, the zoo, the plaza, the playground, a botanical garden, to the beach or to a swimming pool. The respondents could choose

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several among these. Data processing focussed on the number of different kinds of programmes in which the families took part (Table 12.).

Table 12. – Question 62: *What other outdoor family activities do you take part in?* – as % of residential area

	Central Szeged (%) n=50	Inner residential area (%) n=63	Housing estate (%) n=196	Cottage and garden district (%) n=56	Rural residential area (%) n=72	Total N=437
1-2 kinds	70,0	55,6	59,7	58,9	52,8	59,0
3-4 kinds	24,0	38,1	33,7	30,4	36,1	33,2
More than 5 kinds	6,0	6,3	6,6	10,7	11,1	7,8
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

59,0% of the total sample takes part in 1-2 kinds of programmes, 33,2% in 3-4 kinds, 7,8% chose more than 5 kinds of programmes. The choice of 1-2 kinds of programmes was most typical of residents of Central Szeged (70,0%). The rate of 3-4 kinds of programmes was highest for residents of the inner residential areas (38,1%), and more than 5 kinds of programmes were indicated in the highest proportion by residents of rural areas (11,1%). The survey did not query how often they participated in the above programmes. In a breakdown by family education, more than 5 kinds of programmes were indicated by persons with university degree (9,9%) and with Matura (9,8%).

Table 13. shows the number of “other outdoor activities” chosen by the respondents, in a breakdown by family type.

Table 13. – Question 62: *What other outdoor family activities do you take part in?* – as % of family type

	Single-person household (%) n=70	Lone-parent family (%) n=66	Complete family (%) n=294	Multi-generation family (%) n=7	Total N=437
1-2 kinds	87,1	66,7	50,7	57,1	59,0
3-4 kinds	12,9	28,8	38,8	42,9	33,2
More than 5 kinds	0,0	4,5	10,5	0,0	7,8
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

The breakdown of family programmes by family type shows that complete families choose the highest number of different programme (3-4 kinds of programmes: 38,8%; more than 5 kinds: 10,5%). In the case of lone-parent families, 1-2 kinds of programmes is the most frequent (66,7%), and the same is true for single-person households (87,1%). According to our hypothesis, in complete families, the child and adult programmes add up, whereas in lone-parent families, the same programmes for children are concurrent with fewer opportunities for adult programmes due to the absence of one parent which implies that family work tasks cannot be shared.

In what follows, we shall move on to the discussion of home-based cultural activities, which we intended to map by surveying the habits of watching TV, reading and using the Internet. Table 14. queries the frequency of watching TV.

Table 14. – Question 63: *Do you and/or your child/ren watch TV?* – as % of residential area

	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=204	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=79	Total N=458
Every day	80,4	90,9	78,4	82,8	77,2	80,8
Several times a week	9,8	4,5	14,7	3,4	12,7	10,9
Once or twice a week	7,8	3,0	4,4	8,6	6,3	5,5
Less than that	2,0	1,5	1,0	0,0	1,3	1,1
Do not watch TV	0,0	0,0	1,5	5,2	2,5	1,7
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Question 63 queried the TV-watching habits of the adult members of the respondent families. 80,8% of the total sample watched TV every day, 10,9% several times a week and 5,5% once or twice a week. The rate of watching TV daily was highest in the inner residential area (90,9%). “Several times a week” was indicated the most often by residents of housing estates (14,7%). 5.2% of cottage and garden district dwellers did not watch TV at all.

In a breakdown by family education, the data indicate that those with trade-school qualification watch TV every day the most often (91,5%). “Do not watch TV” was indicated most often by those with secondary school qualification (5,7%).

We were also curious to know how long the respondents watched TV on one occasion (Table 15.).

Table 15. – Question 64: *How long do you and/or your child/ren usually watch TV on one occasion?* – as % of residential area

	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=202	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=79	Total N=456
Not applicable	0,0	0,0	0,5	5,2	1,3	1,1
1 hour or less	23,5	25,8	15,8	20,7	12,7	18,2
1-2 hours	39,2	37,9	41,1	41,4	63,3	44,3
2-3 hours	33,3	24,2	28,7	19,0	12,7	24,6
More than 3 hours	3,9	12,1	13,9	13,8	10,1	11,8
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

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44,3% watched TV for 1-2 hours per occasion, 24,6% for 2-3 hours per occasion, 18,2% for 1 hour or less per occasion 11,8% for more than 3 hours per occasion. Watching TV for more than 3 hours per occasion was indicated most frequently by the residents of housing estates (13,9%). In the rural residential areas, 1-2 hours per occasion was the predominant choice (63,3%), and 2-3 hours was most frequent for the residents of the Central Szeged (33,3%). The survey did not query the nature of the programmes being watched or whether the respondents interpreted their TV-watching time as time spent with background TV-watching or with active, attentive, TV-watching. In a breakdown by family education, families with secondary education spent the least time watching TV (1 hour or less: 25,7%). The longest time spent watching TV (more than 3 hours) was indicated the most frequently by respondents with trade-school qualification (18,1%).

As for the correlation between the frequency of outdoor activities and the period spent watching TV, it was found that 46.3% of those watching TV for more than 3 hours per occasion never went to the theatre, 61,1% never went to a concert, 37% never went to the movies and 35,2% never to a museum.

One question of the survey referred to the reading of books and one to that of newspapers. A high proportion of the respondents read books (89,7%), and a similarly high one read newspapers (93,7%). No significant difference was found in terms of residential area. In the inner residential areas and the rural residential areas, the preference for newspaper-reading exceeded that of book-reading (at 96,6% and 95,5%, respectively). In a breakdown by family education, the balance was tipped in favour of book-reading among those with university education (95,9%) and college education (94,8%). The survey did not cover the genre of the books in question, or the types/most preferred columns in the newspapers.

The use of the Internet may serve several purposes, including work, access to information, shopping, orientation etc. The survey covered exclusively the fact of using it, without analysing the underlying reasons (Table 16.). As for the development stages of communication, currently, we are approximating the Cyber-media era, in which the Internet, as a means of network-based communication allowing interactivity, too, qualifies as a most modern instrument, and hence its use is an indicator of a certain degree of modernity.

Table 16. – Question 67: *Do you use the Internet?* – as % of residential area

	Central Szeged (%) n=50	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=191	Cottage and garden district (%) n=57	Rural residential area (%) n=77	Total N=441
Yes, but only at home	12,0	15,2	17,8	12,3	22,1	16,8
Yes, but only at my workplace	26,0	10,6	22,0	26,3	11,7	19,5
Yes, at home and in my workplace also	16,0	16,7	14,7	10,5	13,0	14,3
Yes, in an Internet café	4,0	3,0	4,7	0,0	2,6	3,4

KLÁRA TARKÓ:
Cultural factors

Yes, at a friend	6,0	3,0	1,6	0,0	3,9	2,5
No	36,0	51,5	39,3	50,9	46,8	43,5
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

The answers to Question 67 show that the use of the internet is not sufficiently widespread among the respondents: 43,5% does not use it at all. 19,5% uses the Internet at the workplace only, 16,8% at home only, 14,3% both at home and at the workplace, 3,4% in Internet cafés and 2,5% at friends. Using the Internet at home was indicated most frequently by the residents of rural residential areas (22,1%) and of housing estates (17,8%). The use of the Internet at the workplace was most frequent among residents of the cottage and garden district (26,3%), and Central Szeged (26,0%). As for using the Internet at home and at the workplace, this was indicated by 16.7% of the residents of the inner residential area, 16.0% of those in Central Szeged. Internet cafés were used by 4.7% of dwellers of housing estates. The rate of no Internet use at all was highest in the inner residential area (51,5%), closely followed by the cottage and garden district (50,9%).

The survey investigated the correlation between the availability of the necessary technical infrastructure and the use of the Internet (Table 17. – see on next page).

95,9% of those using the Internet at home have a PC and 22,5% a laptop (too), and 93,2% have Internet access. It is a question how the remaining 6,8% connect to the Internet without access. Maybe they use the dial-up method. 69,9% of those using the Internet at home have a cord telephone. A cord telephone subscription is necessary for both the dial-up (modem-based) and the ADSL-type Internet connections. 3.6% of those using the Internet at the workplace have Internet access at home, but 74,4% have a PC, and 4,8% a laptop. In their case, the rate of cord telephone lines is lower (48,2%). Those using the Internet both at home and at the workplace are the best equipped: 95,2% among them have a PC and 15,5% a laptop (as well), 98,5% have Internet access at home, and 63,5% have a cord telephone line. In their case, the availability of the conditions of using the Internet is related not only to free time activities, but quite closely to work, too, as it functions as a work tool. Those using the Internet at cafés or at friends' places have no Internet access at home at all. Interestingly, 16.9% of those who do not use the Internet nevertheless have access to it at home. This seemingly contradictory result is probably attributable to the fact that the answers referred to the respondents themselves, whereas the Internet was probably used by another family member.

In terms of family education, the higher the level of education, the more frequent is the use of the Internet in the family (e.g., trade-school qualification and no use of the Internet: 77,8%; university degree and no use of the Internet: 12,3%). The rate of using the Internet at home is highest for those with Matura (23,5%), workplace-based use is high for those with post-secondary vocational qualification (30,6%), and the combination of using the Internet at home and at the workplace appears most frequently in the category of those with university qualification (28,8%).

Table 17. – fekvő táblázat

3. The cultural habits of the family: An analysis of tradition and modernity based on objective and subjective criteria

The research team investigated, on the basis of the categorisation designed by Rahner, the indicators of tradition and modernity, representing the guidelines of the study, in terms of two types of variables. The objective categories based on the researchers' experience and theoretical knowledge were generated in the following manner: the cultural habits of the family was considered "explicitly traditional" according to the objective indicator, if they went to theatre/the movies with family members, did not use the Internet, and preferred to go to the beach/swimming pool instead of choosing the other outdoor activities in the list. The cultural habits of the family qualified as "explicitly modern" according to the objective indicator if they went to the theatre/movies with friends, used the Internet, and preferred going to the plaza to other types of going-out. 4 indicator-variables were used in each case to express tradition and modernity, respectively, according to the objective criteria, which meant that the objective traditional and modernity indicators generated this way could be assigned values between 0-4 each, depending on how many elements the respondents chose from among the indicator variables. Table 18. shows the distribution of the sample under study according to the possible values of the objective tradition and modernity indicators referring to the cultural habits, broken down by residential area.

Table 18. – Position of cultural habits of the family along the tradition/modernity axis, by objective criteria, as % of residential area

Degree of tradition	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=204	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=78	Total N=458
0	2,0	4,5	9,3	1,7	3,8	5,9
1	27,5	24,2	34,8	20,7	26,6	29,3
2	45,1	31,8	31,9	39,7	25,3	33,2
3	23,5	24,2	19,6	27,6	31,6	23,8
4	2,0	15,2	4,4	10,3	12,7	7,9
total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Degree of modernity	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=204	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=78	Total N=458
0	19,6	30,3	18,6	20,7	29,1	22,5
1	41,2	43,9	40,7	48,3	39,2	41,9
2	31,4	7,6	25,0	20,7	20,3	21,8
3	7,8	13,6	11,3	6,9	10,1	10,5
4	0,0	4,5	4,4	3,4	1,3	3,3
total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

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Choosing 3-4 of the indicators of traditional cultural habits meant that the respondent was assigned to the “explicitly traditional” category, choosing 1-2 implied a “moderately traditional” rating and choosing none a “non-traditional” rating.

Table 19. – Objective 3-category tradition indicator of cultural habits

	Frequency (persons)	Frequency (%)
Non-traditional	27	5,9
Moderately traditional	286	62,4
Explicitly traditional	145	31,7
Total	458	100,0

The same procedure was followed for the objective indicator of modern cultural habits: choosing 3-4 of the indicators of modern cultural habits meant that the questioned was assigned to the category of “explicitly modern”; choosing 1-2 implied a “moderately modern” rating, and choosing 0 a “non-modern” rating. The resulting distribution of the choices is shown in Table 20.

Table 20. – Objective 3-category modernity indicator of cultural habits

	Frequency (persons)	Frequency (%)
Non-modern	103	22,5
Moderately modern	292	63,8
Explicitly modern	63	13,8
Total	458	100,0

The combination of the values in the above two tables produced the following grouping (Table 21.).

Table 21. Cultural habits: values produced by the combination of the relevant objective tradition and modernity indicators

Categories	Person (%)
Neither traditional, nor modern	2 (0,4)
Moderately modern	17 (3,7)
Explicitly modern	8 (1,7)
Moderately traditional	56 (12,2)
Non-typical	175 (38,4)
Typically modern	55 (12,0)
Explicitly traditional	45 (9,8)
Typically traditional	100 (21,8)
Extreme	0 (0,0)
Total	458 (100)

Considering the total sample, the majority of respondents was assigned to one of the traditional categories (explicitly traditional – 9,8%; typically traditional – 21,8%, moderately traditional – 12,2%; total: 43,8%). Only 17,4% was assigned to the categories of modernity. Quite often, the answers belonged to the “non-typical” category (38,4%),

which indicated that the choice of neither the tradition, nor the modernity indicators was really typical of the respondent.

As a subjective indicator of the traditional or modern nature of cultural habits, we asked respondents to give their opinion on the cultural habits of their family, i.e. on where they would place them along the tradition – modernity axis (Table 22.).

Table 22. – Question 69: *What do you think about the cultural habits of your family?* – as % of residential area

	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=204	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=79	Total N=458
Traditional	64,7	63,6	63,7	65,5	74,7	65,9
Modern	35,3	36,4	36,3	34,5	25,3	34,1
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

According to the answers, 65,9% of respondents considered the cultural habits of their family traditional. Their rate was highest among those living in rural residential areas (74,7%).

That is, the subjective indicator, too, shows the predominance of tradition, which seems even stronger than in the case of the objective indicator. The difference (22.1%) may be attributable to those respondents who misplaced themselves on the tradition – modernity scale. The rate of those who qualified themselves as “modern” and who were described as such by the research team was nearly identical.

Table 23. shows the distribution of the subjective ratings of the cultural habits by family type.

Table 23. – Question 69: *What do you think about the cultural habits of your family?* – as % of family type

	Single-person household(%) n=74	Lone-parent family (%) n=68	Complete family (%) n=308	Multi-generation family (%) n=7	Total N=457
Traditional	62,2	58,8	69,2	28,6	65,9
Modern	37,8	41,2	30,8	71,4	34,1
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

In a breakdown by family type, the choice of “traditional” is highest in the category of complete families (69,2%) but, typically, the choice of tradition predominates in every family type category having a sufficient number of items for evaluation. A breakdown of our data by family education offered the following results (Table 24.):

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Table 24. – Question 69: *What do you think about the cultural habits of your family?* – as % of family education

	1 n=13	2 n=94	3 n=35	4 n=85	5 n=52	6 n=97	7 n=74	Total N=450
Traditional	92,3	79,8	68,6	67,1	63,5	47,4	68,9	66,2
Modern	7,7	20,2	31,4	32,9	36,5	52,6	31,1	33,8
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

(1=Primary school, 2=Trade school, 3=Vocational secondary school, 4=Comprehensive secondary school, 5=Advanced vocational training, 6=College, 7=University)

In a breakdown by family education, families with trade-school qualification regard their cultural habits as traditional the most often (79,8%). Except for families with college education, the balance is tipped in favour of the choice of tradition in every group based on education. The preponderance of the choice of “modern” in families with college education (47,4% traditional) is the result of the fact that the rate of first-generation degree-holders is higher among them, and they often live at another settlement than their parents. Finally, in a breakdown by age, the data project the following image (Table 25.):

Table 25. – Question 69: *What do you think about the cultural habits of your family?* – as % of age

	0-25 yrs Youth (%) n=40	26-40 yrs Young adulthood (%) n=203	41-65 yrs Maintenance (%) n=192	66 yrs and over Decline (%) n=19	Total N=454
Traditional	47,5	61,1	71,9	89,5	65,6
Modern	52,5	38,9	28,1	10,5	34,4
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

In terms of age, the higher the age of the respondent, the more often they deem the cultural habits of their family traditional (youth: 47,5%; young adulthood: 61,6%; maintenance: 71,9%; decline: 89,5%).

In summary of the results of the subjective classification, respondents will be more likely to qualify the cultural habits of the family as “traditional” if they are residents of rural residential areas, members of a complete family, with a low level of education, and of a relatively older age (66 years and over). On the other hand, residents of inner residential areas, members of lone-parent families, with college education, and of a young age (0-25 yrs) are more likely to call the cultural habits of their families “modern”.

Reference

Bourdieu, P (1997): Gazdasági tőke, kulturális tőke, társadalmi tőke. In: Angelusz Róbert (1997, ed.): A társadalmi rétegződés komponensei (Components of social stratification). Új Mandátum Kiadó, Budapest, 302–340. (*Financial Capital, Cultural Capital, Social Capital*)

II. 2.1.8. Values

Katalin Erdei

1. Family values

The key categories of personality are the components of one's personal value system. One lives by and for values. One rarely does so consciously or deliberately. Rather, one tends to feel, strengthen, and preserve these values. Value categories are so significant and stable that rationality and certainty are often irrelevant in their case. Our views of values are characterised by partiality, a fully justifiable position, as our task in this world is to live as seekers for values, which is made possible by value-driven emotions, motives, and attitudes.

Norms shape the behaviour in relation to shared values. They are functionally interlinked with values. Groups (families) socialise their members through norms, which ensure group values, and become internalised as strong sanctions. For, these sanctions enable those norms to solidify in order to protect values (e.g. health is a value, and the rules of hygiene are norms).

Society protects the family with laws and open rules, while culture supports it by customs, ethical norms, values, along with attitudes and behavioural patterns internalised by the personality. People have certain ideals about the family, which incorporate behaviours and concepts of values. Society's development in the modern era accelerates the transformation of the lives and traditional forms of families. What changes is not only the emotional structure and hierarchical order of the family, but also the way family members interact and resolve conflicts with one another. The transformation of the form of family life is bound to bring about changes in substance as well, especially the reshaping of the family's inner value system. The family's value system, in turn, determines children's value system in the process of socialisation.

The family is the scene of socialisation, in which it is engaged in a very complex and multi-faceted manner. Apart from providing opportunities for biological and social maturing, its role is also to convey models of behaviours, roles, values, and norms. The family will fulfil its functions if it is able to meet the basic needs of its members, e.g. the need for a secure base. That is what shared values and norms ensure.

The restoration of disrupted marital balance requires an increasing amount of resources, such as shared experiences, free time activities, and social life.

In our analysis of values we were collecting information in 4 different areas. We looked at traditional values, specifically those influencing life-conduct (Question 73), those determining family ties (Question 70), those having an impact on interpersonal relationships (Question 71), and those determining the respondent's own life and life-conduct (Question 72).

In the case of each question, these values were rated according to their importance to the members of a particular group. By ranking values we arrived at a value-hierarchy by residence, family type, education, and age group. The ratings did not reflect a major variation in all cases.

Let us now have a look at the value system of the areas covered by the study.

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1. Values determining family cohesion (Question 70)

In Question 70 we asked respondents about criteria that might act as a cohesive force in a marriage (Table 1.).

Table 1. – Question 70: *Important forces that can keep a marriage together – as % of residential area*

		Central Szeged (%) n=45	Inner residential area (%) n=65	Housing estate (%) n=190	Cottage and garden district (%) n=50	Rural residential area (%) n=70	Total N=420
To have someone to rely on when there are problems in the outside world	Most important	44,4	52,3	67,9	62,0	62,9	61,4
	Least important	35,6	27,7	22,1	30,0	27,1	26,2
	Not chosen	20,0	20,0	10,0	8,0	10,0	12,4
	Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
		Central Szeged (%) n=46	Inner residential area (%) n=61	Housing estate (%) n=186	Cottage and garden district (%) n=51	Rural residential area (%) n=69	Total N=413
To have someone providing a secure livelihood	Most important	10,9	19,7	22,0	31,4	14,5	20,3
	Least important	58,7	52,5	57,0	51,0	65,2	57,1
	Not chosen	30,4	27,9	21,0	17,6	20,3	22,5
	Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
		Central Szeged (%) n=47	Inner residential area (%) n=61	Housing estate (%) n=186	Cottage and garden district (%) n=52	Rural residential area (%) n=70	Total N=416
To have someone providing for the family	Most important	25,5	24,6	17,2	26,9	18,6	20,7
	Least important	44,7	50,8	59,7	61,5	64,3	57,7
	Not chosen	29,8	24,6	23,1	11,5	17,1	21,6
	Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

KATALIN ERDEI:
Values

		Central Szeged (%) n=48	Inner residential area (%) n=64	Housing estate (%) n=183	Cottage and garden district (%) n=54	Rural residential area (%) n=75	Total N=424
To have someone with whom to obtain what is needed for life	Most important	52,1	62,5	50,3	57,4	73,3	57,3
	Least important	27,1	23,4	35,0	35,2	16,0	29,0
	Not chosen	20,8	14,1	14,8	7,4	10,7	13,7
	Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
		Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=65	Housing estate (%) n=192	Cottage and garden district (%) n=50	Rural residential area (%) n=73	Total N=431
To have a loving companion	Most important	84,3	73,8	82,3	68,0	78,1	78,9
	Least important	13,7	18,5	15,1	26,0	12,3	16,2
	Not chosen	2,0	7,7	2,6	6,0	9,6	4,9
	Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
		Central Szeged (%) n=47	Inner residential area (%) n=65	Housing estate (%) n=188	Cottage and garden district (%) n=53	Rural residential area (%) n=68	Total N=421
To have a spiritual partner	Most important	55,3	29,2	54,3	26,4	36,8	44,2
	Least important	31,9	43,1	30,3	58,5	41,2	37,8
	Not chosen	12,8	27,7	15,4	15,1	22,1	18,1
	Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
		Central Szeged (%) n=44	Inner residential area (%) n=62	Housing estate (%) n=177	Cottage and garden district (%) n=49	Rural residential area (%) n=71	Total N=403
To have a good father/ mother to the child	Most important	63,6	51,6	50,3	46,9	50,7	51,6
	Least important	22,7	21,0	22,0	28,6	19,7	22,3
	Not chosen	13,6	27,4	27,7	24,5	29,6	26,1
	Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Our respondents had to select the 3 most important and the 3 least important values. For the entire sample, the order of values chosen as most important is as follows: *loving companion (78,9%), someone to rely on when there are problems in the outside*

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world (61,4%), *someone with whom to obtain what is needed for life* (57,3%), *good father/mother to the child* (51,6%), *spiritual partner* (44,2%), *someone providing for the family* (20,7%), and *someone securing livelihood* (20,3%). By type of residence, most housing estate residents (67,9%) chose *someone to rely on*; in the cottage and garden district most respondents attached the highest importance to *someone securing livelihood* (31,4%) and to *providing for the family* (26,9%); in the rural residential area most respondents selected *someone with whom to obtain what is needed for life* (73,3%); while the percentage of those preferring primarily the remaining three options was the highest in Central Szeged, where 84,3%, 55,3%, and 63,6% chose *loving companion*, *spiritual partner*, and *good parent*, respectively.

Looking at the ranking order of emotions, we can see a more homogenous picture. In all types of residence *emotional bonding* is a core value (Central Szeged – 84,3%, inner residential area – 73,8%, housing estate – 82,3%, cottage and garden district – 68,0%, rural residential area – 78,1%).

The second most important values are: *creating a secure base together* (inner residential area – 62,5%, rural residential area 73,3%), *providing support* (housing estate – 67,9%, cottage and garden district 62,0%), and *parental role* (Central Szeged – 63,6%). What was most often rejected or held least important was the value of *securing livelihood* (Central Szeged – 58,7%, inner residential area 52,5%, housing estate – 57%, rural residential area – 65,2%).

Providing for family (Central Szeged – 44,7%, inner residential area – 50,8%, housing estate – 59,7%, cottage and garden district – 61,5%, rural residential area – 64,3%). The second most frequently rejected value in the cottage and garden district was *spiritual partner* (58,5%).

The figures reflect that in families with two earners a secure livelihood is not the most important value. Rather, it is emotional bonding, support, and shared responsibility in living together.

Broken down by family type, *emotional bonding* also ranks first (single-person households – 81,2%, lone-parent families – 83,1%, complete families – 77,0%), while *providing support* (single-person households – 78,1%, lone-parent families – 65,6%), along with *cooperation* and *creating a secure base together* come second (complete families – 62,3%). Spiritual bonding, or *having a spiritual partner* as a value stands out in the case of single-person households (62,7%).

In all three types of family, the values of *securing livelihood* (single-person households – 47,6%, lone-parent families – 59,6%, complete families – 59,0%) and *providing for the family* (single-person households – 46,0%, lone-parent families – 62,3%, complete families – 59,6%) were rejected.

When data are broken down by education, a similar rejection of values is observed. These values include: *providing for the family* (primary school – 44,4%, trade school – 56,5%, secondary school – 46,9%, Matura – 54,3%, post-secondary vocational qualification – 60,4%, college degree – 62,1%, university degree – 67,2%), *securing livelihood* (primary education – 40,0%, secondary education – 42,4%, Matura – 60,0%, post-secondary vocational qualification – 62,2%, college degree – 64,3%, university degree – 60,3%). Having someone as a *spiritual partner* is rejected by a high percentage (66,7%) of those with trade school qualifications, while it features as a leading value with university graduates (70,4%). *Emotional bonding* is a highly-thought-of value (primary

education – 81,8%, trade school qualifications – 71,9%, secondary education – 76,5%, Matura – 72,8%, post-secondary vocational qualifications – 3,0%, college degree – 84,3%, university degree – 86,1%), and so are *having someone to rely on* and *providing security* (primary education – 66,7%, secondary education – 73,5%, Matura – 60,3%, college degree – 65,2%). The group of those with trade school and post-secondary vocational qualifications selected *cooperation* and *shared responsibility* (63,7% and 66,0%, respectively).

Similarly, the set of values is more homogeneous when analysed by age. The most prominent value is *emotional bonding* (0–25 yrs – 76,7%, 26–40 yrs – 83,2%, 41–65 yrs – 75,0%, 66 yrs and over – 78,9%), followed closely by *having someone to rely on* (0–25 yrs – 73,7%, 26–40 yrs – 57,8%, 41–65 yrs – 62,2%, 66 yrs and over – 63,2%).

The need for emotional bonding is the strongest between 26–40 years, while finding someone to rely on prevails in childhood and youth, as well as in old age.

Rejected values are the same in all 4 cohorts: *providing secure livelihood* (0–25 yrs – 47,2%, 26–40 yrs – 65,1%, 41–65 yrs – 56,3%, 66 yrs and over – 44,4%). The older age group rejects *spiritual bonding* in a high percentage of cases.

In the groups formed on the basis of 4 criteria, the hierarchy of values reflects a high degree of homogeneity. At the top of the value-pyramid are emotional values (emotional bonding, need for security), regardless of whether we ask respondents from the aspect of residence, education, age, or family type. Therefore the cohesive force of marriage lies not in economic foundations or the expectation of financial security.

It is to be noted that positive parenting as part of the value-hierarchy almost disappears among average values. Only those living in Central Szeged (among the 20 groups we have formed) rated it as second most important.

2. Values in interpersonal relationships (Question 71)

39,7% of the entire sample do not actually miss any of the values we have listed from their relationships. 17,5% miss *care and attention*, 11,4% would like to have more *appreciation and recognition*, 9,6% need *respect and acknowledgment*, while 7,4% do not receive enough *love* (Table 2.). 7,2% of respondents marked 3 or even 4 values in various combinations. Broken down by type of residence, most values are absent from the lives of housing estate residents (10,3%), while 40,7% of them do not really miss any of those values. Those longing for *appreciation* reach the highest percentage in Central Szeged (15,7%), together with those in need of *love* (11,8%), while *care and attention*, *respect and appreciation*, and *peace* (to be left alone) are the most desired values the cottage and garden district (21,5%), in inner residential area (15,2%), and the rural residential area, respectively.

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Table 2. – Question 71: *What do you miss the most from your human relationships?* – as % of residential area

	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=204	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=79	Total N=458
Appreciation	15,7	12,1	10,3	10,3	11,4	11,4
Love	11,8	4,5	5,4	8,6	11,4	7,4
Care and attention	17,6	10,6	16,7	22,4	21,5	17,5
Respect and recognition	5,9	15,2	8,8	13,8	6,3	9,6
To be left alone	3,9	6,1	4,4	3,4	7,6	5,0
Other	0,0	1,5	3,4	1,7	1,3	2,2
None really	43,1	40,9	40,7	34,5	38,0	39,7
3 or 4 different responses	2,0	9,1	10,3	5,2	2,5	7,2
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

In the groups broken down by residence, *care and attention* is the leading value (Central Szeged – 17,6%, housing estate – 16,7%, cottage and garden district – 22,4%, rural residential area – 21,5%), along with *appreciation* (Central Szeged – 15,7%, inner residential area – 12,1%, housing estate – 10,3%). Those living in the inner residential area prefer *respect and recognition* as the key values in interpersonal relationships (15,2%).

Remarkably, the question was rejected by a high percentage of respondents (Central Szeged – 43,1%, inner residential area – 40,9%, housing estate – 40,7%, cottage and garden district – 34,5%, rural residential area – 38,0%). The distribution of answers made the researchers revise the question. The original question was ‘*What do you miss the most from your human relationships?*’ It is always easier to choose from values and from things we have, rather than admitting needs and failures in front of an interviewer. (“If I miss appreciation then they might think I am someone who does not deserve it anyway.”) The personality gets involved, and the choice of the answers and the introduction become too “personal”. Hence the question we put might be “dangerous” and reveal something about the respondent’s interpersonal position. It is less threatening to answer by saying “I normally get everything in my personal relationships” than to say “I am not loved and do not receive attention” etc. Worded this way, the original question made many respondents hide away.

In the case of groups created by family type, we encountered a similar phenomenon. The most sincere responses were given by members of lone-parent families. 76,5% of them admitted that they missed several values from their relationships and that their needs were not met by their interpersonal relationships in many ways. Prominent values: *care and attention* (single-person households – 13,5%, lone-parent family – 26,5%, complete families – 16,6%), and *appreciation* (single-person households – 12,2%,

lone-parent families – 11,8%, complete families – 11,4%). Selection of values was rejected by 41,9% of single-person households, 23,5% of lone-parent families, and 43,2% complete families.

When examined by education, the groups of respondents have the same values as most important (care and attention, appreciation) as the previous groups. Respondents with college degrees mostly miss *respect and recognition*. Of those selecting 3 or 4 answers, people with primary education and trade school qualifications represent the highest percentages (30,8% and 12,8%, respectively).

One can only guess what lies behind this phenomenon: Is it propensity to complain, laxer control, difficulties in interpersonal relationships, or a better rapport? We also find a high value among university graduates (6,8%). (Does this suggest respondents' strong needs, or a more differentiated knowledge of self and others?)

Table 3. – Question 71: *What do you miss the most from your human relationships?* – as % age of respondents

	0–25 yrs youth (%) n=40	26–40 yrs young adulthood (%) n=203	41–65 yrs maintenance (%) n=192	66 yrs and over decline (%) n=19	Total N=454
Appreciation	15,0	9,9	12,5	10,5	11,5
Love	10,0	6,9	6,3	15,8	7,3
Care and attention	15,0	18,2	17,7	5,3	17,2
Respect and recognition	5,0	8,9	12,0	5,3	9,7
To be left alone	0,0	4,9	6,8	0,0	5,1
Other	2,5	2,5	1,6	5,3	2,2
None really	45,0	42,9	35,9	36,8	39,9
3 or 4 different responses	7,5	5,9	7,3	21,1	7,3
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Broken down by age, the groups' choices agree with those of the previous groups (attention and care, appreciation). A willingness to revise their own interpersonal relationships is most marked with the 41–65-year age bracket (64,1%), while it is the lowest in the case of the group of 0–25-year-olds (55%). The percentage of respondents selecting 3 or 4 answers is conspicuously high in the group aged 66 or older (21,1%), i.e. one fifth of this cohort experiences serious and multiple disadvantages in their interpersonal relationships. Their responses probably reflect their isolation and need for relationships.

3. *Values determining respondents' own life and life-conduct (Question 72)*

Question 72 sought answers from respondents on a scale of 7 (1=least important, 7=most important) as to the importance of the values presented.

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The respondents attach the greatest importance to the *family* (6,71), then to *peace* (6,21) and *appreciation* (6,21). High scores were also given to *freedom* (5,80), *work* (5,56), and *sensual pleasures* (5,30). The remaining values were as follows: *success* (4,83), *ideals and faith* (4,58), *accumulating wealth* (4,35), *providence (God)* (4,30).

By type of residence, each group places primary importance on the *family*, followed by *peace* (inner residential area - 6,17%, cottage and garden district - 6,22%, rural residential area - 6,22%) and *appreciation* (Central Szeged - 6,49%, housing estate - 6,25%).

Work is the most important value for housing estate residents (5,62%). Residents of the cottage and garden district value the *accumulation of wealth* most (4,71%), while those living in Central Szeged emphasise *success* (4,8%). *Ideals and faith* matter most among cottage and garden district residents (5,19%), whereas housing estate residents find *freedom* of the highest importance (5,99%). *Recognition* ranks highest in the eyes of those in Central Szeged (6, 49%).

In groups made on the basis of education, the *family* features as highest in each case, preceding *peace* selected as second by the groups with primary education, trade school qualifications, secondary education, and Matura, and *appreciation* as the second choice of the groups with post-secondary vocational qualifications, college, and university degrees. *Accumulating wealth* is the key consideration for respondents with trade school qualifications; *success* occupies the same rank in the eyes of university graduates; *ideals and faith* are prominent values for college graduates; *appreciation* is valued highly by people with primary education; while *sensual pleasures* is a predominant value in the case of respondents with trade school qualifications. Table 4. shows the average scores and the standard deviation (sd) of values by the age of respondents.

Table 4. – Question 72: *We would like to know your opinion about the following values.* – average scores (sd) as % of respondents' age

	0–25 yrs youth (%) n=40	26–40 yrs young adulthood (%) n=202	41–65 yrs maintenance (%) n=190	66 yrs and over decline (%) n=19	Total N=451
Work	5,17 (1,74)	5,44 (1,32)	5,75 (1,43)	5,58 (2,29)	5,55 (1,47)
Family	6,28 (1,43)	6,82 (0,57)	6,66 (1,11)	6,89 (0,32)	6,71 (0,93)
Accumulating wealth	4,60 (1,60)	4,49 (1,47)	4,25 (2,15)	3,32 (1,45)	4,35 (1,81)
Success	4,80 (1,67)	4,92 (1,45)	4,85 (1,44)	3,84 (1,64)	4,83 (1,48)
Ideals and faith	4,70 (1,92)	4,61 (1,70)	4,51 (1,99)	4,63 (1,64)	4,58 (1,84)
Peace	5,90 (1,65)	6,18 (1,09)	6,28 (1,10)	6,53 (0,77)	6,21 (1,14)
Freedom	5,73 (1,41)	5,67 (1,29)	5,88 (1,38)	6,47 (1,02)	5,80 (1,34)
Appreciation	6,20 (1,45)	6,17 (1,00)	6,19 (1,15)	6,84 (0,37)	6,21 (1,10)

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Values

Sensual pleasures	5,26 (1,63)	5,55 (1,34)	5,16 (1,56)	4,11 (2,00)	5,30 (1,52)
Providence (God)	4,33 (2,04)	4,04 (2,02)	4,51 (2,16)	4,79 (2,49)	4,29 (2,11)

By age, respondents in each cohort rate the *family* first (Table 4.). The second most important value in youth is *appreciation* (6,20), in young adulthood *peace* (6,18), in the period of maintenance *peace* again (6,28), and in the age of decline *appreciation* (6,84).

Work as a key value features high in the 41–65-year cohort, while *family* increases in value only over 66 years of age. *Accumulating wealth* matters most for those between 0–25 years; *success* predominates among 26–40-year-olds; *ideals and faith* are the most important to those between 0–25 years; *peace, freedom, and appreciation* become leading values at the age of 66 years and over.

In examining values determining respondents' lives, what we experienced was that regardless of the criteria of grouping (by residence, education, and age), each group placed the *family* first, followed by *peace*, and *appreciation*.

Apart from the need for appreciation and recognition as the basis of forming values, society's problems and areas which need to be addressed were revealed. These include issues of the groups of housing estate residents, people with higher qualifications (post secondary, college, and university education), young people (0-25), and old people (66 and over).

4. General values (Question 73)

Question 73 listed some values that might dominate in life (Table 5.).

Table 5. – Question 73: *Life values. Choose those ones that you consider to be the most important in your life – as % of residential area.*

	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=204	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=79	Total N=458
Freedom and independence	21,6	16,7	18,6	10,3	6,3	15,5
Patriotism	3,9	7,6	3,9	5,2	6,3	5,0
Fostering relationships with friends	31,4	33,3	29,4	17,2	19,0	26,9
High quality of life	7,8	7,6	4,9	5,2	1,3	5,0
Tolerance	17,6	15,2	18,1	13,8	21,5	17,7
Career-building	5,9	6,1	2,5	3,4	2,5	3,5
Marriage and loving relationship	49,0	56,1	57,8	63,8	73,4	60,0

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Enjoyable and fulfilling work	41,2	43,9	54,4	34,5	44,3	47,2
Health and mental fitness	80,4	68,2	74,5	69,0	81,0	74,7
Honesty and decency	51,0	47,0	43,1	44,8	48,1	45,6
Wealth and money	3,9	7,6	1,5	5,2	5,1	3,7
Leading a religious life	3,9	6,1	5,9	5,2	3,8	5,2
Opportunity to travel widely	11,8	18,2	18,6	13,8	5,1	14,8
Life-long learning	7,8	6,1	7,4	1,7	5,1	6,1
Children	72,5	68,2	68,1	86,2	82,3	73,4
Well-paid job	13,7	30,3	31,9	25,9	29,1	28,4
Ample free time	7,8	6,1	7,4	5,2	5,1	6,6
Fostering ties with relatives	13,7	10,6	18,6	19,0	11,4	15,7
Leading a life of virtue	13,7	3,0	6,9	1,7	7,6	6,6
Inner harmony	43,1	40,9	44,6	65,5	49,4	47,4

Respondents had to choose 5 values which they found most important. The highest values were attached to the following options: *health and mental fitness* – 74,7%, *children* – 73,4%, *marriage and loving relationship* – 60,0%, *inner harmony* – 47,4%, *fulfilling work* – 47,2%, *honesty and decency* – 45,6%.

By type of residence, the groups of respondents marked *health and mental fitness* as the leading value (Central Szeged – 80,4%, inner residential area – 68,2%, housing estate – 74,5%, cottage and garden district – 69,0%, rural residential area – 81,0%), which was followed by *children* (Central Szeged – 72,5%, inner residential area – 68,2%, housing estate – 68,1%, cottage and garden district – 86,2%, rural residential area – 82,3%). Dominant values also included *marriage and loving relationship* (rural residential area – 73,4%, cottage and garden district – 63,8%, housing estate – 57,8%, inner residential area – 56,1%), *enjoyable and fulfilling work* (housing estate – 54,4%), *honesty and decency* (Central Szeged – 51,0%), and *inner harmony* (cottage and garden district: 65,5%, rural residential area – 49,4%). The least important were *high quality of life* (rural residential area: 1,3%), *career-building* (housing estate: 2,5%, rural residential area: 2,5%), *wealth and money* (housing estate: 1,5%), *lifelong learning* (cottage and garden district: 1,7%), and *leading a life of virtue* (cottage and garden district: 1,7%).

In groups formed by family type, the highest importance was also attached to *health and mental fitness* (single-person households – 74,3%, lone-parent families – 79,4%, complete families – 74,7%), followed by *children* in lone-parent families and complete families (77,9% and 80,5%, respectively), and *inner harmony* in single-person households (50,0%). *Relationships with friends, honesty and decency*, along with *children* also carry significant value in single-person households. To lone-parent families it is *work, honesty*, and *inner harmony* that primarily count, while complete families hold *marriage, work*, and *inner harmony* the most valuable.

In all family types, values are determined by the respondents' own personalities and preferred interpersonal relationships (with children, spouse, and friends).

Groups formed by education again highlighted *health and mental fitness*, together with *children* as key values (among respondents with secondary education *marriage* is included as well). *Work* appreciates as the education level increases (23,1%, 39,4%, 45,7%, 42,4%, 42,3%, 55,7%, 59,5%), while *honesty and decency* depreciate with increasing education (61,5%, 53,2%, 48,6%, 51,8%, 38,5%, 43,3%, 33,8%). *Inner harmony* features as a preferred value in these groups as well.

Let us now have a look at the chosen values of age groups. All 4 groups are characterised by these values: *health and mental fitness* and *children* are rated first and second, respectively (in the 0–25-year group, *marriage and loving relationship* feature high, at 57,5%). *Relationships with friends* are key values in youth and old age, *honesty and decency* grow in importance as age increases (30,0%, 36,0%, 56,3%, 68,4%), whereas the importance of *inner harmony* shows a declining tendency (52,5%, 48,8%, 45,3%, 36,8%).

Based on the figures it can be concluded that the choice of key values is independent of the criteria of grouping respondents. Values at the top of the hierarchy are not affected by residence, education, family type, or age.

Differences arising from various family types and education are explained by differences in lifestyle and life-conduct. When it comes to a breakdown by age, the choice of values is influenced by age-specific traits and psychic tasks.

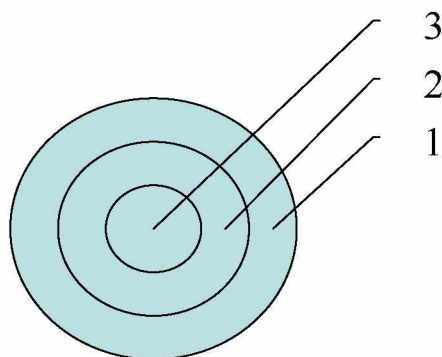
2. Religion

Our research team examined the practice of religion as one of the dimensions of Glock and Stark (1965) in the light of the frequency of going to church, as well as looking at the consequential dimension in the light of comfort in faith.

In our interpretation, the relationship between faith and religion can be described as follows: Faith is a comprehensive category, within which different forms of religiosity can be identified (Figure 1.).

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Figure 1. – Faith and religiosity



1. A believer is a person who has faith in God (any God) but finds it difficult to describe what faith means to them. They are placed in the outer circle.
2. The middle circle represents those believers/religious people who do not practice their religion in institutional forms, i.e. do not go to church but often pray to their God (e.g. saying “Oh, Lord, please help!”)
3. The inner circle includes those religious people who adhere to denominational expectations, go to church, read the Bible, etc.

To measure the religiosity of the sample in our survey, we asked the following question: *What is your religion?* The options were as follows: non-religious, Catholic, Reformat, Evangelist, Israelite, other. From the answers to this question we formed a consolidated variable in order to establish whether or not the respondent was religious (regardless of the type of religion). Then we examined the distribution of the variable thus created in the light of respondents’ residence (Table 6.), age (Table 7.), family education level (8.), and family type (Table 9.).

Table 6. – *Are respondents religious?* – as % of residential area

	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=204	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=79	Total N=458
Religious	70,6	83,3	76,0	82,8	68,4	76,0
Non-religious	29,4	16,7	24,0	17,2	31,6	24,0
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Three quarters (76%) of the interviewed families claimed to be religious. According to Tomka’s (1999) representative national survey, 95-96% of people claim to be Catholics, Reformats, Evangelicals, or to belong to other denominations. Therefore, in

this respect those referring to themselves as religious in our sample are under-represented. It is probable that the high rate at the national level indicates the number of believers, rather than those practising their religion institutionally. In our sample, the percentage of religious respondents is the highest in the inner residential area (83,3%), followed closely by the cottage and garden district (82,8%). The lowest rate was measured in the rural residential area (68,4%).

Table 7. – *Are respondents religious?* – as % of respondents' age

	0–25 yrs youth (%) n=40	26–40 yrs young adulthood (%) n=203	41–65 yrs maintenance (%) n=192	66 yrs and over decline (%) n=19	Total N=454
Religious	72,5	72,9	79,2	78,9	75,8
Non-religious	27,5	27,1	20,8	21,1	24,2
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

We have formed age groups from our sample according to psychological categories. Breaking down the answers around these groups as to religiosity, we found that religiosity was most prevalent among 41–65-year-olds (79,2%), which was followed by the cohort of those aged 66 years and over (78,9%).

Table 8. – *Are respondents religious?* – as % of families' education level

	1 n=13	2 n=94	3 n=35	4 n=85	5 n=52	6 n=97	7 n=74	Total N=450
Religious	84,6	79,8	77,1	80,0	67,3	75,3	71,6	76,0
Non religious	15,4	20,2	22,9	20,0	32,7	24,7	28,4	24,0
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

(1=Primary school, 2=Trade school, 3=Vocational secondary school, 4=Comprehensive secondary school, 5=Advanced vocational training, 6=College, 7=University)

Broken down by families' education, responses suggest that the rate of religiosity is the highest among those with Matura (80,0%), preceding only by little people with trade school qualifications (79,8%). The percentage is also very high in the case of respondents with primary education (84,6%), but here the number of items in the sample is very low, only 13 persons.

Table 9. – *Are respondents religious?* – as % of family type

	Single-person household (%) n=74	Lone-parent family (%) n=68	Complete family (%) n=308	Multi- generation family (%) n=7	Total N=457
Religious	77,0	77,9	75,3	71,4	75,9
Non-religious	23,0	22,1	24,7	28,6	24,1
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

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By family type, the highest rate of religiosity is in lone-parent families (77,9%), then in single-person households (77,0%).

We have analysed our further questions in detail in respect of those who referred to themselves as religious. The age breakdown of respondents produced the most exciting results.

Table 10. – Question 75: *Do you go to church?* – as % of age of respondents claiming to be religious

	0–25 yrs youth (%) n=29	26–40 yrs young adulthood (%) n=147	41–65 yrs maintenance (%) n=151	66 yrs and over decline (%) n=15	Total N=342
Regularly	20,7	7,5	11,9	20,0	11,1
Occasionally	44,8	53,1	46,4	46,7	49,1
No	34,5	39,5	41,7	33,3	39,8
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

According to representative national data, about one seventh of Hungary's population go to church (Tomka, 1999). In our sample (Table 10.), this rate is 11,1% of those claiming to be religious, and is 8,5% of the total sample, i.e. it is below the national average. Nationally, those going to church occasionally account for two sevenths of the population (Tomka, 1999), while this rate among those referring to themselves as religious is 49.1%, and 38,7% within the total sample, which slightly over-represents national figures.

Table 11. shows that religious life (called ideological dimension by Glock and Stark, 1962) and religious practice (called ritual dimension by Glock and Stark, 1962) are part of a phenomenon linked to the lifecycle. Regular church-goers are the most numerous in the case of the *youngest* and the *oldest* cohorts (20,7% and 20,0%, respectively). In *young adulthood*, the choice of the “occasionally” option increases (53,1%), while most “no” answers are given in the stage of *maintenance* (41,7%).

Church-going varies in frequency by the degree of comfort in faith similarly to the age-group related findings (called consequential dimension by Glock and Stark, 1962) (Table 11.).

Table 11. – Question 77: *Have you found comfort in religion during your life?* – as % of respondents' age

	0–25 yrs youth (%) n=28	26–40 yrs young adulthood (%) n=145	41–65 yrs maintenance (%) n=149	66 yrs and over decline (%) n=14	Total N=336
Yes	67,9	53,8	53,7	78,6	56,0
No	32,1	46,2	46,3	21,4	44,0
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Those 66 or over are most likely to find comfort in faith (78,6%), followed by the youngest cohort (67,9%). Our team ascribes the above rates to the fact that the youngest

age group is *not yet* prepared for performing their psychic tasks, while the oldest group are *no longer* prepared for it, and that is why they return to their faith for comfort in greater numbers.

Table 12. – Question 77: *Have you found comfort in religion during your life?* – broken down by family type

	Single-person household (%) n=55	Lone-parent family (%) n=52	Complete family (%) n=228	Total N=339
Yes	70,9	59,6	51,8	56,3
No	29,1	40,4	48,2	43,7
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

The breakdown of our data by family type confirms the results in Table 12. Comfort in faith is found most often by single-person households, where the youngest age group is over-represented.

In summary, it can be concluded that the spiritual nature of faith, its emotional and mental experience, as well as its practice (i.e. church-going) are linked to the lifecycle, and are most intense in youth and in the age of decline.

3. Prejudice

Question 78 lists 15 cases where we ask respondents about how they would relate to their children's marriage to any of the types of persons on the list. In terms of the *intensity of tolerance*, the following order was created: an intellectual (93,2%), a physical worker (83,1%), a person having lower qualifications than respondent's child (82,5%), a rightist person (61,3%), a leftist person (59,5%), a Jewish person (50,8%), a person much younger than respondent's child (49,2%), a person much older than respondent's child (47,7%), a Russian (44,4%), a Serb (43,2%), a Chinese person (31,6%), a Roma person (30,8%), an Arab (28,2%), a partner of the same sex (17,4%), a prostitute (9,8%). Broken down by type of residence, tolerance towards someone with lower qualifications than those of the respondent's child is the highest in the rural residential area (89,6). The highest rates of tolerance in the other cases are as follows: physical worker – Central Szeged (86%); intellectual – Central Szeged (95,9%); leftist person – cottage and garden district (62,1%); rightist person – Central Szeged (66%); much older person – Central Szeged (60%); much younger person – Central Szeged (62,0%); Roma person – Central Szeged (40,0%); Serb – rural residential area (53,8%); Arab – rural residential area (35,1%); Chinese person – rural residential area (37,7%); Russian – rural residential area (51,9%); Jewish person – housing estate (56,8%); partner of same sex – housing estate (20,6%); prostitute – cottage and garden district (15,5%). In other words, respondents living in Central Szeged, the inner residential area, the housing estate, the cottage and garden district, and the rural residential area were tolerant in 7, 0, 2, 2, and 4 cases, respectively.

Having looked at the direction and degree of tolerance, let us now examine how prejudice characterises the groups created against sociological criteria. Against whom is each group prejudiced, and to what extent?

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The greatest degree of *prejudice* was manifested against *prostitutes* (Central Szeged 89,8%, housing estate 84,7, inner residential area 80%), *partners of the same sex* (Central Szeged 78%, inner residential area 73,4%), *Arabs* (inner residential area 60%), *Roma* (inner residential area 60,0%), *persons representing a wide age gap* (much older – inner residential area 50,8%, much younger – inner residential area 47,7%), and the *Chinese* (cottage and garden district 51,7%).

Hardly any prejudice is expressed against *persons with low qualifications* (rural residential area: 1,3%), *physical workers* (rural residential area: 1,3, cottage and garden district: 10,3%), and *leftists and rightist persons* (rural residential area: 7,7 and 6,4, cottage and garden district: 7,7%). The rejection of intellectuals is 0,0 across the entire sample. Prejudice against most groups (prostitutes, partners of same sex, Arabs, Serbs, Roma, persons much younger or older) is typical of residents of the inner residential area, where the degree of rejection is the highest compared to other neighbourhoods. Prejudice against the fewest groups (leftist and rightist persons) characterises people living in the rural residential area, and in the housing estate (prostitutes).

Broken down by family type, rates in the first 4 cases agree with those for the entire sample. Among lone-parent families tolerance towards rightist persons is the highest (64,2%), while 40,3% of them reject much older persons. Of all the categories, complete families are the most tolerant of much younger persons (51,6%), Roma spouses (32,3%), Serbs (45,2%), Arabs (30,8%), Russians (47,5%), Jews (51,8%), persons of the same sex (18,9%), and prostitutes (10,6%), while a Chinese partner is most tolerated by lone-parent families (34,8%). The above figures show that single-person households, lone-parent families, and complete families were the most tolerant in 0, 3, and 8 cases, respectively.

The order of groups exposed to prejudice remained unchanged (prostitutes, persons of same sex, Arabs, Roma, Chinese persons). Prejudice directed at most of the groups is typical of lone-parent families, while those living in complete families tend to be more tolerant (in the latter tolerance was highest of physical workers and leftist persons).

The degree of tolerance of others varies by families' education level. It was the highest in families with trade school qualifications, in particular towards persons with low qualifications (91,2%), physical workers (91,2%), intellectuals (97,1%), Roma (35,3%), Serbs (58,8%), Chinese people (38,2%), Jews (73,5%). Families with Matura were most tolerant of leftist persons (70,9%) and rightist persons (69,6%). Much older and much younger persons were most tolerated by people with post-secondary vocational qualifications (52,0% and 62,0%, respectively). Tolerance of Russians (53,2%), persons of the same sex (22,6%), and prostitutes as partners (14,0%) prevails in families with college degrees. Finally, the degree of tolerance of Arabs is the highest (35,2%) in families with university education.

The direction and order of prejudice also remained unchanged in groups having different levels of education. The highest degree of prejudice against others characterises those with trade school qualifications (Roma: 62,4%, Russians: 39,8%, Serbs: 39,8%, Jews: 29,0%, rightist persons: 7,4%), and people with university degrees (much younger persons: 39,4%, leftist persons: 9,9%, physical workers: 7,0%, persons with lower qualifications: 7,0%).

Least prejudiced are those with Matura (much older persons: 44,3%), those with post-secondary vocational qualifications (Roma: 62%), and those with college degrees (physical workers: 7,4%).

Our findings were also interesting from the aspect of the respondents' age. In the stage of maintenance, tolerance is at its highest towards people with lower qualifications (85,5%), physical workers (84%), leftist persons (60,1%), Roma (33,5%), Serbs (48,6%), Jews (52,4%), and prostitutes (11,9%) as possible spouses. In young adulthood, tolerance is the highest of intellectuals (93,8%), rightist persons (62,9%), much older persons (52,1%), much younger persons (51,8%), Arabs (30,1%), Chinese people (36,8%), and persons of the same sex (18,8%) as partners. A highly interesting phenomenon is the dismissive attitude in youth and in the age of decline. Young respondents display the lowest degree of tolerance of others in 5 cases. These are: much older persons (35,0%), much younger persons (35,0%), Roma (17,5%), Serbs (22,5%), Chinese people (15,0%). Respondents in the age of decline turn out to be highly dismissive of others in 4 cases: Arabs (21,1%), Russians (21,1%), partners of the same sex (0,0%), and prostitutes (0,0%).

Prejudiced thinking and verbal dismissiveness is strikingly prevalent in youth. Respondents in this cohort were dismissive of 11 groups, while respondents in the oldest bracket displayed intolerance of 3 groups of people (partners of same sex, rightists, and physical workers). Middle-aged respondents were intolerant of two groups (Jews and leftists), while young adults dismissed none of the groups to a marked degree compared to the other cohorts.

The ranking order of youth prejudice against others is as follows: (prostitutes: 97,4%, Roma: 75,0%, Arabs: 65,0%, Chinese people: 62,5%, much younger persons: 55, %, Serbs: 52,5%, much older persons: 47,5%, Russians: 37,5%, Jews: 22,45%, people with low qualifications: 10,0%, physical workers: 5,0%).

4. Subjective analysis of values along the tradition – modernity axis

In the subject of values we have created our objective categories describing tradition and modernity in the following way: By objective standards, a family's values can be regarded as *explicitly traditional* if in marriage they attach primary importance to *having someone providing for the family* as a cohesive factor; the *family* is a leading value in their estimation; they stress the importance *fostering ties with relatives*; and they are *religious*. By objective standards, a family's values are considered *explicitly modern* if the primary cohesive factor in their estimation is *having a spiritual partner*; they value *highly success*; *freedom and independence* play a key role in their lives; and they are *non-religious*. Thus, in each of the 2 cases we used 4 indicator-variables, which means that our tradition and modernity indicators can assume any value between 0-4, depending on how many elements respondents chose from the indicator-variables (Table 13.).

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Table 13. – Families' values on the tradition – modernity axis by objective standards, as % of type of residence

Degree of tradition	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=204	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=78	Total N=458
0	0,0	0,0	2,0	1,7	1,3	1,3
1	21,6	15,2	16,7	8,6	22,8	17,0
2	51,0	57,6	59,3	55,2	55,7	57,0
3	25,5	25,8	19,1	32,8	20,3	22,7
4	2,0	1,5	2,9	1,7	0,0	2,0
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
Degree of modernity	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=204	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=78	Total N=458
0	13,7	21,2	9,8	25,9	17,7	15,3
1	27,5	45,5	40,7	46,6	48,1	41,9
2	39,2	27,3	32,8	20,7	26,6	30,1
3	17,6	6,1	14,7	6,9	7,6	11,6
4	2,0	0,0	2,0	0,0	0,0	1,1
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Respondents choosing 3-4 of the tradition indicators of family values were grouped in the *explicitly traditional* category; those choosing 1-2 statements were categorised as *moderately traditional*; while those selecting 0 options went into the *non-traditional* category (Table 14.).

Table 14. – The 3-category objective tradition indicator of families' values

	Frequency (Persons)	Frequency (%)
Non-traditional	6	1,3
Moderately traditional	339	74,0
Explicitly traditional	113	24,7
Total	458	100,0

We followed a procedure similar to the one described above in the case of families' objective modernity indicator: respondents selecting 3-4 of the modernity indicators of family values were placed under the *explicitly modern* category; those marking 1-2 of the options were labelled *moderately modern*; and those with 0 options were considered *non-modern*.

Table 15. – The 3-category objective modernity indicator of families' values

	Frequency (Persons)	Frequency (%)
Non-modern	70	15,3
Moderately modern	330	72,1
Explicitly modern	58	12,7
Total	458	100,0

Combining the above 2 variables we arrived at the grouping below (Table 16.).

Table 16. – Values obtained from a combination of objective tradition and modernity indicators of families' value systems

Categories	Persons (%)
Neither traditional, neither modern	0 (0,0)
Moderately modern	5 (1,1)
Explicitly modern	1 (0,2)
Moderately traditional	47 (10,3)
Non-typical	239 (52,1)
Typically modern	53 (11,6)
Explicitly traditional	23 (5,0)
Typically traditional	86 (18,8)
Bipolar	4 (0,9)
Total	458 (100)

There was no-one among the respondents who did not mark at least one modern or traditional value.

Over half of the population studied (54% - 239 persons) could not be described along the objective tradition – modernity scale. 30% of those who could be categorised chose modern values, and 70% selected traditional values. The difference is even sharper when we look at the rates of explicitly typical values. *Explicitly modern* is the respondent where they make 0 traditional, and 3-4 modern choices. Only 1 person falls into this category. *Explicitly traditional* is a case where there are 0 modern, and 3-4 traditional values named. 23 people go into this group. If we take into account the number of those making extreme choices, those selecting explicitly modern values constitute one sixth of those who can safely be categorised, while the proportion of explicitly traditional respondents will be five sixths. Even more significant than the above ratio are the differences between norms regulating behaviour and life-conduct, and sanctions used in relation to those norms.

The larger part of the population under review is not characterised by modern or traditional values as we define them. This can be taken as a temporary state, which can be shaped and influenced in either direction. Their norms and behavioural patterns are malleable and therefore more exposed to external influences, both positive and negative. If we wanted to make any change in the population in question, we should target this particular group within it.

Data collection also extended to respondents' self-evaluation as to whether they considered themselves modern or traditional in selecting their values (Table 17.).

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Table 17. – Question 79: *What do you think about the value system of your family?* – as % of residential area

	Central Szeged (%) n=50	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=203	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=79	Total N=456
Traditional	68,0	68,2	70,0	70,7	81,0	71,5
Modern	32,0	31,8	30,0	29,3	19,0	28,5
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

28.5% of respondents categorise themselves as modern, and 71.5% as traditional. This ratio is comparable with the results of categorisation based on objective findings (30-70%).

Examining the results of both objective and subjective categorisation, we can conclude that among the studied areas (nutrition, free time, family habits, cultural habits, and values) it is nutrition that is the most dynamic or can be modified and influenced the most easily. How people spend their free time changes slowly and with difficulty, as do values. Spending free time raises the problem of life-conduct and lifestyle (time management!), while values are pivotal in our social integration. Particularly rigid values are displayed by those living in the rural residential area, lone-parent families and single-person households, people with trade school qualifications, and those aged over 66. The same is true of university graduates, in whose case this phenomenon is explained by their efforts to preserve values and create traditions.

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II. 2.1.9. Tradition and Modernity: Summary description of relevant indicators in the Hungarian sample

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1. Nutrition

Table 1. – Distribution of the Hungarian sample along the tradition-modernity axis, on the basis of objective indicators, by type of residential area

Nutrition	Central Szeged (%)	Inner residential area (%)	Housing estate (%)	Cottage and garden district (%)	Rural residential area (%)	Total
	n=51	n=66	n=204	n=58	n=79	N=458
Explicitly modern	9.8	3	12.7	10.3	11.4	10.5
Typically modern	33.3	28.8	29.9	50	29.1	32.5
Moderately modern	2	9.1	7.8	6.9	25	6.3
Non-typical	31.4	33.3	29.9	1.9	25.3	28.4
Moderately traditional	0	0	1.5	0	38	1.3
Typically traditional	13.7	21.2	12.7	6.9	17.7	14.2
Explicitly traditional	0	1.5	0	0	0	0.2
Bipolar	9.8	3	5.4	6.9	10.1	6.6
Neither traditional, nor modern	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>“traditional”</i>	<i>13.7</i>	<i>22.7</i>	<i>14.2</i>	<i>6.9</i>	<i>21.5</i>	<i>15.7</i>
<i>“modern”</i>	<i>45.1</i>	<i>40.9</i>	<i>50.4</i>	<i>67.2</i>	<i>43</i>	<i>49.3</i>

It can be stated on the basis of the objective indicators used in the survey that the nutritional habits of 49.3% of interviewed families were more typically modern than anything else. The breakdown of the data by residential area shows that, in terms of objective nutrition indicators, the cottage and garden district is characterised by an exceptionally high rate (67.2%) of “modern” habits, and the same is very typical of housing estates (50.4%). Modern nutrition was least typical in the inner residential area (40.9%), but it was relatively rare (43%) in the rural residential area, too.

The nutritional habits of 28.4% of interviewed families could not be described along the tradition-modernity axis on the basis of our survey indicators. This was most frequent in the inner residential area (33.3%), and least frequent in the cottage and garden district (19%).

According to the survey indicators, the nutritional habits of 15.7% of the families concerned was more or less traditional. This was most typical in the inner residential area

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(22.7%) and the rural residential area, and least typical in the cottage and garden district (6.9%).

It was relatively rare to have high “traditional” and “modern” indicator values simultaneously (66%), and this occurred most often in the category of the rural residential area (10.1%), and Central Szeged (98%), and least so in the inner residential area (3%).

Table 2. – Distribution of the Hungarian sample along the tradition-modernity axis, on the basis of the subjective judgement of respondents, by residential area

SUBJECTIVE		Settlement type
Nutrition	<i>Traditional</i>	1. Central Szeged (66.7%) 2. Inner residential area (62.1%) 3. Cottage and garden district (62.1%) 4. Rural residential area (62.0%) 5. Housing estate (61.6%) Total sample: 62.4%
	<i>Modern</i>	1. Housing estate (38.4%) 2. Rural residential area (38.0%) 3. Cottage and garden district (37.9%) 4. Inner residential area (37.9%) 5. Central Szeged (33.3%) Total sample: 37.6%

The analysis of subjective judgements on nutrition shows that the majority of respondents (62.4%) deemed their own nutrition traditional. The breakdown of subjective judgements by residential area reveals that, among the respondents, the residents of Central Szeged considered their nutritional habits traditional most often (66.7%), and those living in housing estates least often (61.6%). Subjective judgements on modernity, on the other hand, project an inverse image: the residents of housing estates deemed the nutritional habits of their family modern most frequently (38.4%), and the same subjective judgement was least frequent in Central Szeged (33.3%).

Interestingly, whereas the objective indicator variables suggest the predominance of modern values, in their subjective judgements the respondents deemed their nutritional habits traditional. The gap between the objective and the subjective assessment is the widest in the cottage and garden district (objective, traditional/modern: 6.9% – 67.2%; subjective, traditional/modern: 62.1% – 37.9%!).

Table 3. – Distribution of the Hungarian sample along the tradition-modernity axis, on the basis of the objective indicators, by family type

Nutrition	Single-person household (%)	Lone-parent family (%)	Complete family (%)	Multi-generation family (%)	Total
	n=74	n=68	n=308	n=7	N=457
Explicitly modern	13.5	8.8	10.4	0	10.5
Typically modern	16.2	35.3	36.4	14.3	32.6
Moderately modern	8.1	5.9	5.5	28.6	6.3
Non-typical	41.9	23.5	25.6	42.9	28.2
Moderately traditional	1.4	1.5	1.3	0	13
Typically traditional	13.5	16.2	14	14.3	14.2
Explicitly traditional	1.4	0	0	0	0.2
Bipolar	4.1	8.8	6.8	0	6.6
Neither traditional, nor modern	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100
“modern”	37.8	50	52.3	42.9	49.4
“traditional”	16.3	17.7	15.3	14.3	15.7

Note that, according to the breakdown by family type, from the point of view of nutrition, complete families qualified as modern the most frequently (52.3%), with the nutrition patterns of single-person households occupying the other extreme (37.8%). On the other hand, in the category of single-person households, the rate of households which could not be classified along the tradition-modernity axis was exceptionally high (41.9%). As for lone-parent families, the rate of households qualifying as “traditional” in terms of nutrition is relatively high (17.7%), but the rate of households assignable to both the traditional and the modern value systems is also highest there (88%).

Table 4. Distribution of the Hungarian sample along the tradition-modernity axis, on the basis of the subjective judgement of respondents, by family type

SUBJECTIVE		Family type
Nutrition	<i>Traditional</i>	1. Single-person household (66.2%) 2. Lone-parent family (65.7%) 3. Complete family (61.4%) Complete family: 62.3%
	<i>Modern</i>	1. Complete family (38.6%) 2. Lone-parent family (34.3%) 3. Single-person household (33.8%) Total sample: 37.7%

On the basis of the subjective judgement of respondents, the nutrition of single-person households was considered traditional the most often (66.2%), and the corresponding rate was relatively lower for complete families (61.4%). Subjective

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judgements on modernity, on the other hand, project an inverse image (complete family – 38.6%; single-person household – 33.8%).

The gap between the subjective and objective assessments of the traditional/modern nature of nutrition prevailed in the breakdown by family types, too, although it seems narrower for complete families.

Table 5. – Distribution of the Hungarian sample along the tradition-modernity axis, on the basis of the objective indicators, by age of respondents

Nutrition	0–25 yrs	26–40 yrs	41–65 yrs	66 yrs and over	Total
	Youth (%)	Young adulthood (%)	Maintenance (%)	Decline (%)	
	n=40	n=203	n=192	n=19	N=454
Explicitly modern	22.5	8.9	8.9	21.1	10.6
Typically modern	15	33.5	38.5	5.3	32.8
Moderately modern	12.5	59	4.7	10.5	6.2
Non-typical	37.5	29.6	25	31.6	28.4
Moderately traditional	0	2	1	0	1.3
Typically traditional	5	15.8	13.5	21.1	14.1
Explicitly traditional	0	0	0.5	0	0.2
Bipolar	7.5	4.4	7.8	10.5	6.4
Neither traditional, nor modern	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100
<i>“modern”</i>	<i>50</i>	<i>48.3</i>	<i>52.1</i>	<i>36.9</i>	<i>49.6</i>
<i>“traditional”</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>17.8</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>21.1</i>	<i>15.6</i>

According to the respondents’ distribution by age, in terms of the objective indicators, the nutrition of the families of those aged 41–65 was the most modern (52.1%), but modernity was typical among the youth, too (50.0%). However, in the latter group, it was most typical that the nutrition pattern of the family could not be positioned according to the objective indicators (37.5%). Families characterised by traditional nutritional habits were relatively the most frequent for respondents over the age of 66 (21.1%).

Table 6. – Distribution of the Hungarian sample along the tradition-modernity axis, on the basis of the subjective judgement of the respondents, by age

SUBJECTIVE		Age
Nutrition	Traditional	1. 66 yrs and over (84.2%) 2. 41–65 yrs (66.7%) 3. 0–25 yrs (59.0%) 4. 26–40 yrs (57.1%) Total sample: 62.5%
	Modern	1. 26–40 yrs (42.9%) 2. 0–25 yrs (41.0%) 3. 41–65 yrs (33.3%) 4. 66 yrs and over (15.8%) Total sample: 37.5%

84.2% of respondents over 66 deemed the nutrition of their families traditional, whereas among those aged 26–40, the corresponding rate was relatively lower (57.1%). The subjective assessment of modernity projected an inverse image (26–40 yrs – 42.9% is modern; 66 yrs and over – 15.8%).

Table 7. – Distribution of the Hungarian sample along the tradition-modernity axis, on the basis of the objective indicators, by education level in the family (%)

Nutrition	1 n=13	2 n=94	3 n=35	4 n=85	5 n=52	6 n=97	7 n=74	Total N=450
Explicitly modern	7.7	85	14.3	9.4	11.5	13.4	8.1	10.4
Typically modern	7.7	29.8	31.4	32.9	40.4	37.1	28.4	32.4
Moderately modern	23.1	53	0	5.9	7.7	5.2	9.5	6.4
Non-typical	38.5	27.7	37.1	29.4	15.4	27.8	29.7	28
Moderately traditional	0	1.1	0	0	1.9	21	2.7	1.3
Typically traditional	7.7	20.2	11.4	18.8	19.2	6.2	12.2	14.4
Explicitly traditional	7.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.2
Bipolar	7.7	74	5.7	3.5	3.8	8.2	9.5	6.7
Neither traditional, nor modern	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
“modern”	38.4	43.6	45.8	48.3	59.7	55.7	45.9	49.4
“traditional”	15.4	21.3	11.4	18.8	21.1	8.3	14.9	15.9

(1=Primary school, 2=Trade school, 3=Vocational secondary school, 4=Comprehensive secondary school, 5=Advanced vocational training, 6=College, 7=University)

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A breakdown of the available data by education level in the family shows that “modern” nutrition is most frequent among those with “post-secondary vocational qualification” (59.7%), and least frequent in families with primary education (38.4%). Interestingly, in the former category, the relative proportion of families characterised by traditional nutrition is also quite high (21.1%), with a rate exceeding that occurring exclusively for those with trade school qualification (21.3%). Consequently, in the category of “post-secondary vocational qualification”, the prevalence of the categories of “non-typical” (15.4%) and “bipolar” (3.8%) is also very low. “Non-typical” is most frequent for families with maximum primary school qualification (38.5%), and “bipolar” for those with university education (95%).

Table 8. – Distribution of the Hungarian sample along the tradition-modernity axis, on the basis of the subjective judgement of respondents, by Education level

SUBJECTIVE		Education level
Nutrition	<i>Traditional</i>	1. Primary school (76.9%) 2. Matura (71.4%) 3. Trade school (67.0%) 4. University (64.9%) 5. Post-secondary vocational qualification (59.6%) 6. Secondary vocational school (57.1%) 7. College (49.5%) Total sample: 62.4%
	<i>Modern</i>	1. College (50.5%) 2. Secondary vocational school (42.9%) 3. Post-secondary vocational qualification (40.4%) 4. University (35.1%) 5. Trade school (33.0%) 6. Matura (28.6%) 7. Primary school (23.1%) Total sample: 37.6%

The analysis of the subjective answers broken down by education level shows that families with primary education (76.9%) and with Matura (71.4%) deemed their nutrition traditional the most frequently, and those with secondary vocational qualification (57.1%) or a college degree (49.5%) the least frequently.

A comparison of the subjective and objective classifications of family nutritional habits yields the following results.

Table 9. – Distribution of the possible combinations of objective and subjective judgements along the tradition-modernity axis in the total sample – for nutrition

Objective indicators	Subjective judgement		Total
	Traditional	Modern	
Explicitly modern	3.1%	7.4%	10.5%
Typically modern	16.4%	16.2%	32.6%
Moderately modern	2.6%	3.7%	6.3%

Non-typical	21.0%	7.4%	28.4%
Moderately traditional	0.9%	0.4%	13%
Typically traditional	12.9%	1.3%	14.2%
Explicitly traditional	0.3%	–	0.3%
Bipolar	5.3%	1.1%	6.4%
Neither traditional, nor modern	–	–	–
Total	62.5%	37.5%	100.0%

Table 9. shows the possible combinations of categorisation based on the objective indicators designed by us, on the one hand, and the subjective classification of the respondents, on the other, expressed in percentage terms relative to the total sample.

As for modernity, it can be stated that the perception of the modernity of nutrition is much more uncertain than that of its traditional nature. Even in the families qualifying as following a “typically modern” nutrition pattern according to the objective indicators, only half judged the nutrition of their family “modern” (16.2% of 32.6%), and even among those in the “explicitly modern” category, almost one third still considered their own nutrition “traditional” (3.1% of 10.5%).

Almost three quarters of families not assignable to any category on the basis of the objective indicators deemed their own nutrition “traditional” (21.0% of 28.4%).

In the group of families assigned to the category of “traditional”, a much higher rate of matching is found with the subjective categories. Almost two thirds of families were characterised by “moderately traditional” nutrition (0.9% of 1.3%), while the decisive majority of families in the “typically traditional” group (12.9% of 14.2%), along with all the families in the group of “explicitly traditional” nutrition characterised the nutritional habits of their families as “traditional”.

Table 10. – Percentage distribution of respondents in the two subjective judgement categories of nutrition, according to the objective categories

Objective indicators	Subjective judgement	
	Traditional	Modern
Explicitly modern	4.9%	19.8%
Typically modern	26.3%	43.0%
Moderately modern	4.2%	9.9%
Non-typical	33.7%	19.8%
Moderately traditional	1.4%	1.2%
Typically traditional	20.7%	35%
Explicitly traditional	0.4%	–
Bipolar	8.4%	2.8%
Neither traditional, nor modern	–	–
Total	100.0%	100.0%

The nutritional habits of 4.9% of families deeming themselves “traditional” in terms of nutrition (62.5% of the total sample) qualify as “explicitly modern” according to the objective indicators. Together with the other objective categories – “typically modern”

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(26.3%) and “moderately modern” (4.2%) –, almost 35.4% among them can be characterised as following a more or less modern nutrition pattern.

In the group of families qualifying themselves as “modern” in terms of nutrition (37.5% of the total sample), it was typical only of 3.5% that, according to the objective criteria, their nutrition would qualify as “typically traditional”.

35.4% of families deemed “traditional” in the subjective judgement were assigned to the “modern” category in the objective evaluation, and only 22.5% ended up in the “traditional” categories.

72.7% of families considered “modern” subjectively, proved to be “modern” in the objective evaluation as well, and only 4.7% among them was assigned to the “traditional” categories.

2. Free time

Table 11. – Distribution of the Hungarian sample along the tradition-modernity axis, on the basis of the objective indicators of free time, by residential area

Free time	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=204	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=79	Total N=458
Explicitly modern	5.9	4.5	8.8	1.7	1.3	5.7
Typically modern	7.8	3	10.3	3.4	8.9	7.9
Moderately modern	25.5	31.8	26	25.9	32.9	27.9
Non-typical	45.1	53	44.6	53.4	44.3	46.9
Moderately traditional	3.9	0	3.4	8.6	5.1	3.9
Typically traditional	7.8	6.1	3.4	6.9	5.1	5
Explicitly traditional	0	0	2	0	1.3	11
Bipolar	0	0	1	0	0	0.4
Neither traditional, nor modern	3.9	1.5	0.5	0	1.3	1.1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
“traditional”	11.7	6.1	8.8	15.5	11.5	10
“modern”	39.2	39.3	45.1	31	43.1	41.5

In terms of the objective indicators of free time habits, 10% of the population under study can be assigned to those categories which show a certain degree of predominance of habits conforming to the traditional value system (“moderately traditional”: 3.9%; “typically traditional”: 5.0%; “explicitly traditional”: 1.1%).

41.5% of interviewed families could be assigned to categories characterised by more or less modern free time habits (“moderately modern”: 27.9%; “typically modern”: 7.9%; “explicitly modern”: 5.7%).

It is a striking result, furthermore, that in 46.9% of interviewed families, neither value system could be established as being decisive.

On the basis of distribution by residential area, those living in housing estates (45.1%) and in the rural residential area (43.1%) could be assigned most frequently to one or another objective category of modernity, although modern free time habits were more clearly discernible for those in the first group. The same is corroborated by the fact that the families living in the rural residential area most often belonged to the category of “moderately modern” (32.9%), and the category of “explicitly modern” was applicable only to very few of them (13%). At the same time, the corresponding rates for families living in housing estates were the following: “explicitly modern”: 8.8%; “typically modern”: 10.3%; and “moderately modern”: 26%.

“Traditional” free time activities were most typical in the cottage and garden district, but the aggregate rate of 15.5% was provided by a combination of the “moderately traditional” (8.6%) and “typically traditional” (6.9%) categories.

Table 12. – Distribution of the Hungarian sample along the tradition-modernity axis, on the basis of the subjective classification of free time habits, by residential area

SUBJECTIVE		Settlement type
Free time	<i>Traditional</i>	1. Rural residential area (79.7%) 2. Central Szeged (76.6%) 3. Cottage and garden district (75.9%) 4. Inner residential area (75.8%) 5. Housing estate (68.6%) Total sample: 73.4%
	<i>Modern</i>	1. Housing estate (31.4%) 2. Inner residential area (24.2%) 3. Cottage and garden district (24.1%) 4. Central Szeged (23.5%) 5. Rural residential area (20.3%) Total sample: 26.6%

Subjective judgements on free time habits project a different image. In contrast with the preponderance of the “modern” category encountered in the case of the objective indicators, here the “traditional” one prevails with a rate of 73.4%, as opposed to 26.6% for “modernity”.

Whereas, according to the objective indicators, 43.1% of families living in the rural residential area qualified as “modern”, only 20.3% of the same families qualified their own free time activities the same way.

On the other hand, for the residents of housing estates, similarly to the results obtained for the objective indicators, the rate of “modernity” indicated in the subjective judgements was outstandingly high (31.4%) relative to the other residential areas, although the free time activities classified as “traditional” prevailed in this category, too (68.6%).

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Table 13. – Distribution of the Hungarian sample along the tradition-modernity axis, on the basis of the objective indicators of free time habits, by family type

Free time	Single-person household (%) n=74	Lone-parent family (%) n=68	Complete family (%) n=308	Multi-generation family (%) n=7	Total N=457
Explicitly modern	14.9	8.8	26	14.3	5.7
Typically modern	9.5	8.8	7.1	14.3	7.9
Moderately modern	37.8	22.1	26.9	28.6	28
Non-typical	33.8	48.5	50.3	28.6	47
Moderately traditional	0	5.9	4.2	14.3	3.9
Typically traditional	2.7	2.9	6.2	0	5
Explicitly traditional	0	1.5	1.3	0	1.1
Bipolar	0	0	0.6	0	0.4
Neither traditional, nor modern	1.4	1.5	0.6	0	0.9
Total	100	100	100	100	100
“traditional”	2.7	10.3	11.7	14.3	10
“modern”	62.2	39.7	36.6	57.2	41.6

A breakdown by family types shows that 62.2% of single-person households typically had “modern” free time habits, this rate being 1.5 times higher than the values encountered for lone-parent families (39.7%) and complete families (36.6%).

The prevalence of the “traditional” categories, on the other hand, was rarest in the first category (2.7%), and much higher for lone-parent families (10.3%) and complete families (11.7%).

Table 14. – Distribution of the Hungarian sample along the tradition-modernity axis, on the basis of the subjective classification of free time habits, by family type

SUBJECTIVE		Family type
Free time	<i>Traditional</i>	1. Lone-parent family (75.0%) 2. Complete family (74.7%) 3. Single-person household (68.9%) Total sample: 73.3%
	<i>Modern</i>	1. Single-person household (31.1%) 2. Complete family (25.3%) 3. Lone-parent family (25.0%) Total sample: 26.7%

The modernity of single-person households in terms of free time habits was reflected in the subjective judgement, too: 31.1% of the single-person households deemed their free time habits modern, which is an exceptionally high rate as compared to the corresponding rates of the other family types (lone-parent family: 25.0%; complete family: 25.3%).

Table 15. – Distribution of the Hungarian sample along the tradition-modernity axis, on the basis of the objective indicators, by age of respondents

Free time	0–25 yrs	26–40 yrs	41–65 yrs	66 yrs and over	Total
	Youth (%)	Young adulthood (%)	Maintenance (%)	Decline (%)	N=454
	n=40	n=203	n=192	n=19	
Explicitly modern	15	4.9	4.7	5.3	5.7
Typically modern	5	7.4	9.9	0	7.9
Moderately modern	35	34	20.8	26.3	28.2
Non-typical	40	44.8	51	36.8	46.7
Moderately traditional	2.5	3.9	4.2	5.3	4
Typically traditional	0	3.4	6.3	21.1	5.1
Explicitly traditional	0	0.5	2.1	0	1.1
Bipolar	0	0.5	0.5	0	0.4
Neither traditional, nor modern	2.5	0.5	0.5	5.3	0.9
Total	100	100	100	100	100
“traditional”	2.5	7.8	12.6	26.4	10.2
“modern”	55	46.3	35.4	31.6	41.8

In terms of free time habits, the families of respondents in the age group of 0-25 qualified as modern the most often (55%), while traditional free time habits hardly appeared at all (moderately traditional: 2.5%). The rate of families characterised as “modern” is relatively high even for respondents past 66 (31.6%), most of them being assigned to the category of “moderately modern” (26.3%). The rate of families assigned to one of the “traditional” categories was highest for respondents of this age (26.4%), representing the highest value as compared to the distribution rates of the families of respondents in the other age groups included in the sample.

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Table 16. – Distribution of the Hungarian sample along the tradition-modernity axis, based on the subjective classification of free time habits by age of the respondents

SUBJECTIVE		Age
Free time habits	<i>Traditional</i>	1. 66 yrs and over (89.5%)
		2. 41–65 yrs (78.1%)
		3. 26–40 yrs (69.5%)
		4. 0–25 yrs (62.5%)
		Total sample: 73.3%
	<i>Modern</i>	1. 0–25 yrs (37.5%)
		2. 26–40 yrs (30.5%)
		3. 41–65 yrs (21.9%)
		4. 66 yrs and over (10.5%)
		Total sample: 26.7%

The breakdown of subjective judgements on free time habits by the age of the respondents shows that the ranking order in terms of tradition/modernity corresponds to that obtained for the objective indicators. Young respondents deem their free time habits relatively frequently modern (37.5%), and relatively seldom traditional (62.5%), as compared to the other age groups. The tendency is the inverse for those past 66: (traditional: 89.5%; modern: 10.5%). This ranking order corresponds to the one for the objective indicators, with significant differences, however, in proportions.

In the youth age group, the rate of modernity according to the objective and subjective indicators is 55% and 37.5%, respectively; the corresponding rates of traditional free time habits in the same age group is 2.5% and 62.5%, respectively.

In the category of respondents past 66, the rate of modern free time habits is 31.6% according to the objective indicators, and 10.5% according to the subjective ones. Traditional free time habits were typical in the same age group of 26.4% according to the objective indicators, and of 89.5% according to the subjective judgement.

Table 17. – Distribution of the Hungarian sample along the tradition-modernity axis, based on the objective indicators, by Education level of the family (%)

Free time	1 n=13	2 n=94	3 n=35	4 n=85	5 n=52	6 n=97	7 n=74	Total N=450
Explicitly modern	7.7	5.3	8.6	7.1	5.8	4.1	5.4	5.8
Typically modern	0	5.3	5.7	11.8	3.8	7.2	13.5	8
Moderately modern	30.8	38.3	37.1	22.4	28.8	21.6	24.3	28
Non-typical	38.5	42.6	28.6	45.9	51.9	55.7	47.3	46.7
Moderately traditional	7.7	3.2	8.6	2.4	3.8	5.2	2.7	4
Typically traditional	0	2.1	11.4	7.1	5.8	5.2	4.1	5.1

Explicitly traditional	7.7	1.1	0	2.4	0	0	1.4	1.1
Bipolar	0	1.1	0	0	0	1	0	0.4
Neither traditional, nor modern	7.7	1.1	0	1.2	0	0	1.4	0.9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
“traditional”	15.4	6.4	20	11.9	9.6	10.4	8.2	10.2
“modern”	38.5	48.9	51.4	41.3	38.4	32.9	43.2	41.8

(1=Primary school, 2=Trade school, 3=Vocational secondary school, 4=Comprehensive secondary school, 5=Advanced vocational training, 6=College, 7=University)

In comparison with the other groups composed on the basis of education level, those with secondary vocational school qualification are in a special position. On the basis of the objective indicators, in comparison with the other school-qualification-based groups of the sample, this is where the frequency of both the “modern” and the “traditional” categories (51.4% and 20.0%, respectively) is the highest.

The occurrence of the “traditional” categories is least frequent for those with trade school qualification (6.4%), but the rate of “modern” free time habits is still very high here, too (48.9%).

Free time habits assignable to the “modern” categories were least typical for those with college education (32.9%), which is explained among other things, by the relatively low share of the “moderately modern” category (21.6%).

Table 18. – Distribution of the Hungarian sample along the tradition-modernity axis, on the basis of the subjective classification of free time habits, broken down by the education level of the family

SUBJECTIVE		Education level
Free time	<i>Traditional</i>	1. Trade school (79.8%) 2. Secondary vocational school (74.3%) 3. University (74.3%) 4. Matura (74.1%) 5. Post-secondary vocational qualification (73.1%) 6. Primary school (69.2%) 7. College (67.0%) Total sample: 73.6%
	<i>Modern</i>	1. College (33.0%) 2. Primary school (30.8%) 3. Post-secondary vocational qualification (26.9%) 4. Matura (25.9%) 5. University (25.7%) 6. Secondary vocational school (25.7%) 7. Trade school (20.2%) Total sample: 26.4%

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The grouping of the subjective classification by schooling corresponds neither in ranking order, nor in its proportions to the one based on the objective indicators.

Table 19. – Distribution of the possible combinations of objective and subjective classifications along the tradition-modernity axis in the total sample – for free time habits

Objective indicators	Subjective judgement		Total
	Traditional	Modern	
Explicitly modern	2.6%	3.1%	5.7%
Typically modern	6.1%	1.7%	7.8%
Moderately modern	21.4%	6.6%	28.0%
Non-typical	36.2%	10.7%	46.9%
Moderately traditional	2.0%	2.0%	4.0%
Typically traditional	3.5%	1.5%	5.0%
Explicitly traditional	0.7%	0.4%	1.1%
Bipolar	–	0.4%	0.4%
Neither traditional, nor modern	0.9%	0.2%	1.1%
Total	73.4%	26.6%	100.0%

Table 19. shows the possible combinations of categorisation based on the objective indicators designed by us and on the subjective classification of the respondents, expressed in percentage terms relative to the entire sample.

In terms of modernity, only in the category of “explicitly modern” did the majority of respondents, consider the free time habits of their families modern (3.1% of 5.7%). As for the other objective modernity categories, the respondents rather tended to describe their free time habits as traditional. Three-quarter of families assignable to the objective categories of “typically modern” and “moderately modern” qualified the free time habits of their families as “traditional” (“typically modern”: 6.1% of the total sample, of 7.8%; “moderately modern”: 21.4% of 28.0%).

According to the subjective classification of their habits, the families assignable to the objective category of “moderately traditional” from the point of view of being traditional were divided: 50–50% deemed their free time habits traditional and modern, respectively. In the other two categories, the bulk of respondents also qualified their attitude to free time traditional: in the category of “typically traditional” 3.5% of 5%, and in that of “explicitly traditional” 0.7% of 1.1%.

Table 20. – Percentage distribution of the respondents in the two subjective judgement categories of free time habits, on the basis of the objective categories

Objective indicators	Subjective judgement	
	Traditional	Modern
Explicitly modern	3.6%	11.5%
Typically modern	8.3%	6.6%
Moderately modern	29.3%	24.6%
Non-typical	49.4%	40.2%
Moderately traditional	2.7%	7.4%

Typically traditional	4.8%	5.7%
Explicitly traditional	0.8%	1.6%
Bipolar	-	1.6%
Neither traditional, nor modern	1.2%	0.8%
Total	100.0%	100.0%

Almost half (49.4%) of those qualifying the free time habits of their family as traditional (i.e. 73.4% of the total sample) cannot be classified unambiguously by the objective categories of the tradition-modernity axis.

Only 8.3% of those qualifying the free time habits of their family as traditional can also be assigned to one of the objective categories among those following traditional values, while for 41.2% of respondents modernity predominates in the habits of the family (“moderately modern”: 29.3%; “typically modern”: 8.3%; “explicitly modern”: 3.6%).

Less than half (40.2%) of those qualifying the free time habits of their family as modern (i.e. 26.6% of the total sample) showed no marked extreme distribution along the tradition-modernity axis. 42.7% of those using the attribute “modern” (26.6% of the total sample) showed free time habits assignable to one or another degree of modernity along the objective indicators, too (“moderately modern”: 24.6%; “typically modern”: 6.6%; “explicitly modern”: 11.5%).

3. Family habits

Table 21. – Distribution of the Hungarian sample along the tradition-modernity axis, based on the objective indicators, by residential area

Family habits	Central Szeged (%)	Inner residential area (%)	Housing estate (%)	Cottage and garden district (%)	Rural residential area (%)	Total
	n=51	n=66	n=204	n=58	n=79	N=458
Explicitly modern	0	0	0	0	0	0
Typically modern	3.9	15.2	13.2	13.8	13.9	12.7
Moderately modern	0	0	0	0	0	0
Non-typical	31.4	31.8	28.4	22.4	12.7	25.8
Moderately traditional	2	1.5	2	0	2.5	1.7
Typically traditional	45.1	33.3	41.2	37.9	41.8	40.2
Explicitly traditional	5.9	3	34	5.2	7.6	4.6
Bipolar	11.8	15.2	11.8	20.7	21.5	15.1
Neither traditional, nor modern	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
“traditional”	53	37.8	46.6	43.1	51.9	46.5
“modern”	3.9	15.2	13.2	13.8	13.9	12.7

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The analysis of the objective indicators of family habits shows that, for the total sample, the “traditional” categories predominate (46.5%), and the “modern” ones occur in a relatively small proportion of the cases (12.7%), while the frequency of the “bipolar” category is rather high (15.1%).

Broken down by residential area, the “traditional” categories occur most frequently in the “Central Szeged” category (53%), and the prevalence of the “modern” categories is also lowest there (3.9%). The dominant category is “typically traditional” (45.1%).

It is the inner residential area which qualifies as the most modern, with a high prevalence of the “modern” categories (15.2%) being concurrent with the fact that 37.8% of families could not be assigned to any of the “traditional” categories. Interestingly, for the residents of housing estates, the rate of families assignable to the “traditional” categories is quite high (46.6%).

Table 22. – Distribution of the Hungarian sample along the tradition-modernity axis, based on the subjective judgement of family habits, by residential area

Residential area		SUBJECTIVE
Family habits	<i>Traditional</i>	1. Central Szeged (76.5%) 2. Cottage and garden district (70.7%) 3. Rural residential area (70.5%) 4. Inner residential area (66.7%) 5. Housing estate (64.7%) Total sample: 68.1%
	<i>Modern</i>	1. Housing estate (35.3%) 2. Inner residential area (33.3%) 3. Rural residential area (29.5%) 4. Cottage and garden district (29.3%) 5. Central Szeged (23.5%) Total sample: 31.9%

The comparison of the objective and subjective judgement of family habits by residential areas reveals major differences. For the residents of housing estates, the rate of those qualifying their habits as modern was very high (35.3%) as compared to the other areas, whereas on the basis of the objective indicators of these phenomena, this was not so obvious (13.2%). The subjective and objective evaluations were the closest in the case Central Szeged residents, 76.5% among whom qualified their family habits as traditional according to the subjective criteria, and mainly as traditional (53%) according to the objective ones, too.

Table 23. – Distribution of the Hungarian sample along the tradition-modernity axis, based on the objective indicators, by family type

Family habits	Single-person household (%) n=74	Lone-parent family (%) n=68	Complete family (%) n=308	Multi-generation family (%) n=7	Total N=457
Explicitly modern	0	0	0	0	0
Typically modern	4.1	13.2	14.6	14.3	12.7
Moderately modern	0	0	0	0	0
Non-typical	35.1	27.9	22.7	42.9	25.8
Moderately traditional	4.1	4.4	0.6	0	1.8
Typically traditional	43.2	41.2	39.6	14.3	40
Explicitly traditional	5.4	44	4.5	0	4.6
Bipolar	8.1	8.8	17.9	28.6	15.1
Neither traditional, nor modern	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100
<i>“traditional”</i>	52.7	50	44.7	14.3	46.5
<i>“modern”</i>	4.1	13.2	14.6	14.3	12.7

According to the breakdown by family type, 52.7% of single-person households could be assigned to one of the “traditional” categories, and households classified in one of the “modern” categories occurred in 4.1% of the cases.

Families to be assigned to the “modern” categories were most frequent among the complete families (14.6%), but 44.7% of interviewed families in this category nevertheless belonged to one of the “traditional” categories. The rate of family habits labelled “bipolar” was also highest for the complete families (17.9%).

Table 24. – Distribution of the Hungarian sample along the tradition-modernity axis, on the basis of the subjective classification of family habits, by family type

Family type		SUBJECTIVE
Family habits	<i>Traditional</i>	1. Complete family (69.2%) 2. Lone-parent family (67.6%) 3. Single-person household (67.1%) Total sample: 68.2%
	<i>Modern</i>	1. Lone-parent family (42.4%) 2. Single-person household (32.9%) 3. Complete family (30.8) Total sample: 31.8%

According to the subjective judgement, 69.2% of respondents living in a complete family qualified the habits of their family as traditional, and the corresponding rate for single-person households was 67.1%.

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From the point of view of family habits, lone-parent families deemed themselves modern the most often (42.4%), whereas the same happened relatively less frequently for complete families (30.8%).

Table 25. – Distribution of the Hungarian sample along the tradition-modernity axis, based on the objective indicators, by age of respondents

Family habits	0–25 yrs	26–40 yrs	41–65 yrs	66 yrs and over	Total
	Youth (%)	Young adulthood (%)	Maintenance (%)	Decline (%)	N=454
	n=40	n=203	n=192	n=19	
Explicitly modern	0	0	0	0	0
Typically modern	7.5	14.3	12.5	10.5	12.8
Moderately modern	0	0	0	0	0
Non-typical	47.5	25.1	22.9	21.1	26
Moderately traditional	2.5	1	1.6	5.3	15
Typically traditional	32.5	35.5	46.9	31.6	39.9
Explicitly traditional	0	4.4	4.7	15.8	4.6
Bipolar	10	19.7	11.5	15.8	15.2
Neither traditional, nor modern	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100
“traditional”	35	40.9	53.2	52.7	46
“modern”	7.5	14.3	12.5	10.5	12.8

In the group of respondents aged 66 or above, 52.7% assigned their families to one of the “traditional” categories, and most frequently to the category of “typically traditional” (31.6%).

In the group of respondents aged 26–40, most of the families concerned were assigned to one of the “modern” categories (14.3%), although “bipolar” family habits were also the most frequent in this age group (19.7%).

Table 25. – Distribution of the Hungarian sample along the tradition-modernity axis, on the basis of the subjective classification of family habits, by age the respondent

SUBJECTIVE		Age
Family habits	<i>Traditional</i>	1. 66 yrs and over (89.5%)
		2. 41–65 yrs (77.1%)
		3. 26–40 yrs (62.4%)
		4. 0–25 yrs (45.0%)
		Total sample: 68.2%

	<i>Modern</i>	1. 0–25 yrs (55.0%) 2. 26–40 yrs (37.6%) 3. 41–65 yrs (22.9%) 4. 66 yrs and over (10.5%) Total sample: 31.8%
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The subjective classification shows that 89.5% of respondents qualified the habits of their family as “traditional”, whereas among respondents of 0-25, the same was typical for 45% of the cases.

From the point of view of modernity, the situation is the inverse: 55% of respondents aged 0-25 and 10.5% of those aged 66 or above deemed the habits of their family “modern”.

Table 26. – Distribution of the Hungarian sample along the tradition-modernity axis, on the basis of the objective indicators, by education level of the family (%)

Family habits	1 n=13	2 n=94	3 n=35	4 n=85	5 n=52	6 n=97	7 n=74	Total N=450
Explicitly modern	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Typically modern	0	9.6	22.9	11.8	15.4	10.3	16.2	12.7
Moderately modern	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Non-typical	23.1	26.6	22.9	22.4	26.9	25.8	28.4	25.6
Moderately traditional	0	3.2	0	0	0	2.1	2.7	1.6
Typically traditional	53.8	39.4	25.7	45.9	34.6	45.4	37.8	40.4
Explicitly traditional	0	4.3	5.7	5.9	3.8	2.1	8.1	4.7
Bipolar	23.1	17	22.9	14.1	19.2	14.4	6.8	15.1
Neither traditional, nor modern	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
“traditional”	53.8	46.9	31.4	51.8	38.4	49.6	48.6	46.7
“modern”	0	9.6	22.9	11.8	15.4	10.3	16.2	12.7

(1=Primary school, 2=Trade school, 3=Vocational secondary school, 4=Comprehensive secondary school, 5=Advanced vocational training, 6=College, 7=University)

In 51.8% of families with Matura, the family habits were assigned to one of the “traditional” categories (“typically traditional”: 45.9%). The frequency of the “traditional” categories was lower for those with secondary vocational schooling (31.4%), whereas the “bipolar” family habits occurred most frequently for this type of schooling (22.9%).

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Family habits to be assigned to one of the “modern” categories also occurred most frequently among those with secondary vocational qualification (22.9%).

Table 27. – Distribution of the Hungarian sample along the tradition-modernity axis, on the basis of the subjective classification of family habits, by education level of the family

SUBJECTIVE		Education level
Family habits	<i>Traditional</i>	1. University (75.7%) 2. Trade school (72.3%) 3. Post-secondary vocational qualification (71.2%) 4. Primary school (69.2%) 5. Matura (68.2%) 6. Secondary vocational school (65.7%) 7. College (57.3%) Total sample: 68.2%
	<i>Modern</i>	1. College (42.7%) 2. Secondary vocational school (34.3%) 3. Matura (31.8%) 4. Primary school (30.8%) 5. Post-secondary vocational qualification (28.8%) 6. Trade school (27.7%) 7. University (24.3%) Total sample: 31.8%

75.7% of respondents from families with university education qualified their family habits as traditional, while the corresponding rate for those with college education was 57.3%.

The situation is the inverse from the point of view of modernity: 42.7% of respondents from families with college education qualified the habits of their families as modern, and the corresponding rate for respondents with university education was only 24.3%.

Table 28. – Distribution of the possible combinations of objective and subjective judgements along the tradition-modernity axis in the total sample – for family habits

Objective indicators	Subjective judgement		Total
	Traditional	Modern	
Explicitly modern	–	–	–
Typically modern	8.1%	4.6%	12.7%
Moderately modern	–	–	–
Non-typical	17.5%	83%	25.8%
Moderately traditional	1.5%	0.2%	1.8%
Typically traditional	27.4%	12.7%	40.0%
Explicitly traditional	4.2%	0.4%	4.6%
Bipolar	9.4%	5.7%	15.1%
Neither traditional, nor modern	–	–	–
Total	68.1%	31.9%	100.0%

Table 28. shows the possible combination of classifications based on the objective indicators designed by us, on the one hand, and the subjective classifications of the respondents, on the other, expressed in percentage terms relative to the total sample.

As for family habits, the predominance of traditional values is indicated, among other things, by the fact that there is no objective category where the “traditional” self-classification would be dominant. Even in families assigned to the “typically modern” objective category, two thirds of respondents (8.1% of 12.7%) qualified their family habits as traditional. As for the bipolar family habits, the subjective rating of “traditional” occurred in almost two thirds of the cases (9.4% of 15.1%). Subjectively, “traditional” prevails even in the families assigned to the category of “non-typical” (17.5% of 25.8%).

Table 29. – Percentage distribution of respondents in the two subjective judgement categories of family habits by the objective categories

Objective indicators	Subjective judgement	
	Traditional	Modern
Explicitly modern	–	–
Typically modern	11.9%	14.4%
Moderately modern	–	–
Non-typical	25.7%	26.0%
Moderately traditional	2.3%	07%
Typically traditional	40.2%	39.7%
Explicitly traditional	6.1%	1.4%
Bipolar	13.8%	17.8%
Neither traditional, nor modern	–	–
Total	100.0%	100.0%

11.9% of families deemed “traditional” by the respondents (68.1% of the total sample) proved to be families showing “typically modern” habits according to the objective indicators. Similarly, it was interesting that 39.7% of families deemed “modern” in the subjective classification (31.9% of the total sample) showed family habits describable as “typically traditional” in terms of the objective criteria.

48.6% of families qualified subjectively as “traditional”, proved to be “traditional” according to the objective analysis as well. 14.4% of families deemed “modern” subjectively, on the other hand, proved to be “modern”, and 41.8% “traditional” in the context of the objective evaluation.

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4. Cultural habits

Table 30. – Distribution of the Hungarian sample along the tradition-modernity axis, based on the objective indicators, by residential area

Cultural habits	Central Szeged (%) n=51	Inner residential area (%) n=66	Housing estate (%) n=204	Cottage and garden district (%) n=58	Rural residential area (%) n=79	Total N=458
Explicitly modern	0	3	2	0	2.5	1.7
Typically modern	7.8	15.2	13.7	10.3	8.9	12
Moderately modern	2	1.5	6.9	0	1.3	3.7
Non-typical	51	30.3	40.2	43.1	27.8	38.2
Moderately traditional	13.7	10.6	12.7	6.9	15.2	12.2
Typically traditional	19.6	19.7	18.6	25.9	30.4	21.8
Explicitly traditional	5.9	19.7	54	12.1	13.9	9.8
Bipolar	0	0	0	0	0	0
Neither traditional, nor modern	0	0	0.5	1.7	0	0.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>“traditional”</i>	<i>39.2</i>	<i>50</i>	<i>36.7</i>	<i>44.9</i>	<i>59.5</i>	<i>43.8</i>
<i>“modern”</i>	<i>9.8</i>	<i>19.7</i>	<i>22.6</i>	<i>10.3</i>	<i>12.7</i>	<i>17.4</i>

43.8% of the total sample could be assigned to one of the “traditional”, and 17.4% to one of the “modern” categories in terms of cultural habits.

In a breakdown by residential area, the cultural habits of families living in the rural residential area were classified as “traditional” the most frequently (59.5%), with “typically traditional” being the most decisive sub-category (30.4%).

As for cultural habits, the most populous group in the “modern” categories (22.6%) was that of residents of housing estates. Within the broad category of “modern”, “typically modern” was the most decisive category (13.7%). The rate of families which could not be rated along the tradition-modernity axis was also high among the residents of housing estates, (40.2%), but this rate was highest for Central Szeged households (51.0%).

Table 31. – Distribution of the Hungarian sample along the tradition-modernity axis, on the basis of the subjective classification of cultural habits, by residential area

SUBJECTIVE		Settlement type
Cultural habits	<i>Traditional</i>	1. Rural residential area (74.7%) 2. Cottage and garden district (65.5%) 3. Central Szeged (64.7%) 4. Housing estate (63.7%) 5. Inner residential area (63.6%) Total sample: 65.9%
	<i>Modern</i>	1. Inner residential area (36.4%) 2. Housing estate (36.3%) 3. Central Szeged (35.3%) 4. Cottage and garden district (34.5%) 5. Rural residential area (25.3%) Total sample: 34.1%

Respondents coming from families living in Rural residential area areas characterised the cultural habits of their families as “traditional” most frequently (74.7%), and the same ranking was least frequent for residents of the inner residential area (63.6%). In the subjective classifications, too, the rate of “modern” families was quite high (36.3%) among the residents of housing estates, whose cultural habits were qualified as “modern” relatively frequently along the objective indicators, too.

Table 32. – Distribution of the Hungarian sample along the tradition-modernity axis, on the basis of the objective indicators, by family type

Cultural habits	Single-person household (%) n=74	Lone-parent family (%) n=68	Complete family (%) n=308	Multi-generation family (%) n=7	Total N=457
Explicitly modern	5.4	5.9	0	0	1.8
Typically modern	21.6	22.1	6.8	42.9	12
Moderately modern	10.8	1.5	2.6	0	3.7
Non-typical	39.2	39.7	37.7	28.6	38.1
Moderately traditional	17.6	14.7	10.4	14.3	12.3
Typically traditional	4.1	14.7	28.2	0	21.9
Explicitly traditional	1.4	1.5	13.6	14.3	9.8
Bipolar	0	0	0	0	0
Neither traditional, nor modern	0	0	0.6	0	0.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100
“traditional”	23.1	30.9	52.2	28.6	44
“modern”	37.8	29.5	9.4	42.9	17.5

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According to the breakdown by family type of the results obtained for cultural habits, complete families were the ones which could be assigned most often to one of the “traditional” categories on the basis of the objective indicators (52.2%). For complete families, the rates of “typically traditional” (28.2%) and “explicitly traditional” (13.6%) stood out, but the occurrence rate of the category of “moderately traditional” (10.4%) was also relatively significant. On the other hand, 9.4% of families could be assigned to the “modern” categories.

The situation is the inverse for single-person households, where the rate of the “modern” categories was high (37.8%), especially that of the category of “typically modern” (21.6%). The frequency of the “traditional” category, on the other hand, was the lowest here (23.1%).

Table 33. – Distribution of the Hungarian sample along the tradition-modernity axis, on the basis of the subjective classification of the cultural habits, by family type

SUBJECTIVE		Family type
Cultural habits	Traditional	1. Complete family (69.2%) 2. Single-person household (62.2%) 3. Lone-parent family (58.8%) Total sample: 65.9%
	Modern	1. Lone-parent family (41.2%) 2. Single-person household (37.8%) 3. Complete family (30.8%) Total sample: 34.1%

The subjective classification projects a somewhat different image. As in the case of the objective classification, respondents living in complete families tended to qualify their cultural habits as rather traditional (69.2%). However, for lone-parent families, modernity proved to be decisive in the subjective classification (41.2%).

Table 34. – Distribution of the Hungarian sample along the tradition-modernity axis, on the basis of the objective indicators, by age of respondents

Cultural habits	0–25 yrs	26–40 yrs	41–65 yrs	66 yrs and over	Total
	Youth (%)	Young adulthood (%)	Maintenance (%)	Decline (%)	
	n=40	n=203	n=192	n=19	N=454
Explicitly modern	7.5	2	0.5	0	1.8
Typically modern	32.5	13.3	7.8	0	12.1
Moderately modern	7.5	3.4	3.1	5.3	3.7
Non-typical	37.5	40.4	37.5	15.8	37.9
Moderately traditional	2.5	7.9	14.6	57.9	12.3
Typically traditional	12.5	23.2	23.4	15.8	22

Explicitly traditional	0	9.9	12.5	0	9.7
Bipolar	0	0	0	0	0
Neither traditional, nor modern	0	0	0.5	5.3	0.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100
<i>“traditional”</i>	15	41	50.5	73.7	44
<i>“modern”</i>	47.5	18.7	11.4	5.3	17.6

The cultural habits of the families of respondents past the age of 66 were assigned in 73.7% of the cases to the “traditional” brackets. The corresponding rate for respondents below the age of 25 was 15%. As for “modernity”, the situation is similar: 5.3% of the families of respondents over 66 could be assigned to the “modern” categories on the basis of the objective indicators, whereas for respondents under 25, the corresponding rate was 47.5%.

Table 35. – Distribution of the Hungarian sample along the tradition-modernity axis, on the basis of the subjective classification of cultural habits, by age of the respondents

SUBJECTIVE		Age
Cultural habits	<i>Traditional</i>	1. 66 yrs and over (89.5%) 2. 41–65 yrs (71.9%) 3. 26–40 yrs (61.1%) 4. 0–25 yrs (47.5%) Total sample: 65.6%
	<i>Modern</i>	1. 0–25 yrs (52.5%) 2. 26–40 yrs (38.9%) 3. 41–65 yrs (28.1%) 4. 66 yrs and over (10.5%) Total sample: 34.4%

The tendency observed for the objective criteria was discernible in the case of the subjective classification, too. Among respondents over 66, 89.5% qualified the cultural habits of their families as “traditional”, whereas for respondents younger than 25, the rate of “modern” families was higher (52.5%) than for any other age group.

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Table 36. – Distribution of the Hungarian sample along the tradition-modernity axis, on the basis of the objective indicators, by the education level in the family (%)

Cultural habits	1 n=13	2 n=94	3 n=35	4 n=85	5 n=52	6 n=97	7 n=74	Total N=450
Explicitly modern	0	0	2.9	3.5	1.9	2.1	1.4	1.8
Typically modern	0	3.2	5.7	12.9	19.2	20.6	10.8	12
Moderately modern	15.4	1.1	5.7	3.5	1.9	4.1	5.4	3.8
Non-typical	38.5	30.9	31.4	37.6	44.2	32	50	37.3
Moderately traditional	38.5	22.3	20	15.3	5.8	4.1	4.1	12.4
Typically traditional	0	24.5	14.3	20	17.3	27.8	25.7	22.2
Explicitly traditional	7.7	17	20	7.1	9.6	8.2	2.7	10
Bipolar	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Neither traditional, nor modern	0	1.1	0	0	0	1	0	0.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>“traditional”</i>	46.2	63.8	54.3	42.4	32.7	40.1	32.5	44.6
<i>“modern”</i>	15.4	4.3	14.3	19.9	23	26.8	17.6	17.6

(1=Primary school, 2=Trade school, 3=Vocational secondary school, 4=Comprehensive secondary school, 5=Advanced vocational training, 6=College, 7=University)

From the point of view of cultural habits, the prevalence of the “traditional” categories was highest for families with trade school qualification (63.8%). Within that, all three “traditional” categories, i.e., “moderately traditional” (22.3%); “typically traditional” (24.5%) and “explicitly traditional” (17%), featured with high rates. The rate of cultural habits assignable to the “modern” categories (4.3%) was also lowest here.

The predominance of the “traditional” categories was smallest for those with university degree (32.5%) or post-secondary vocational qualification (32.7%).

The “modern” categories, however, do not follow the same distribution pattern exactly. The relevant rate is highest for families with college education (26.8%), but it is also quite high for families with post-secondary vocational qualification (23%), and less explicitly so for those with a university degree (17.6%).

The occurrence rate of the category of “non-typical” was highest (50%) in the whole sample for families with university education.

Table 37. – Distribution of the Hungarian sample along the tradition-modernity axis, on the basis of the subjective classification of cultural habits, by the level of Education in the family

SUBJECTIVE		Education level
Cultural habits	<i>Traditional</i>	1. Primary school (92.3%) 2. Trade school (79.8%) 3. University (68.9%) 4. Secondary vocational school (68.6%) 5. Matura (67.1%) 6. Post-secondary vocational qualification (63.5%) 7. College (47.4%) Total sample: 66.2%
	<i>Modern</i>	1. College (52.6%) 2. Post-secondary vocational qualification (36.5%) 3. Matura (32.9%) 4. Secondary vocational school (31.4%) 5. University (31.1%) 6. Trade school (20.2%) 7. Primary school (7.7%) Total sample: 33.8%

Similarly to the objective classification, in the subjective classification of cultural habits by education level, “traditional” was indicated most frequently for families with trade school qualification (79.8%). Its rate was similarly high for families with university and secondary vocational school qualifications (68.9% and 68.6%, respectively).

Families with a college degree qualified the cultural habits of their families as “modern” the most frequently (52.6%), followed, with much lower rates, by those with post-secondary vocational qualification (36.5%).

Table 38. – Distribution of the possible combinations of objective and subjective judgements along the tradition-modernity axis, in the total sample – for cultural habits

Objective indicators	Subjective judgement		Total
	Traditional	Modern	
Explicitly modern	0.4%	1.3%	1.7%
Typically modern	4.8%	7.2%	12.0%
Moderately modern	2.3%	1.5%	3.8%
Non-typical	25.3%	12.9%	38.2%
Moderately traditional	10.7%	1.5%	12.2%
Typically traditional	14.8%	7.0%	21.8%
Explicitly traditional	7.4%	2.5%	9.9%
Bipolar	–	–	–
Neither traditional, nor modern	0.2%	0.2%	0.4%
Total	65.9%	34.1%	100.0%

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Table 38. shows the possible combinations of categorisation based on the objective indicators designed by us, on the one hand, and the subjective classification of the respondents, on the other, in percentage terms relative to the total sample.

From the point of view of modernity, the subjective classification of families characterised by “explicitly modern” cultural habits was similar in almost three quarters of the cases (1.3% of 1.7%). In the “typically modern” category, the corresponding rate was almost two thirds (7.2% of 12.0%). In the “moderately modern” category, “traditional” judgements predominate: in more than half of the cases, families deemed “moderately modern” according to the objective indicators were deemed “traditional” (2.3% of 3.8%) in the subjective classification.

With the exception of the category of “typically traditional” (where the rate is relatively low: 14.8% of 21.8%), there was a high degree of matching between the objective and subjective classification for the other “traditional” categories (“moderately traditional”: 10.7% of 12.2%; “explicitly traditional”: 7.4% of 9.9%).

Table 39. – Percentage distribution of respondents in the two subjective judgement categories of cultural habits, based on the objective categories

Objective indicators	Subjective judgement	
	Traditional	Modern
Explicitly modern	0.7%	3.8%
Typically modern	7.3%	21.2%
Moderately modern	3.3%	4.5%
Non-typical	38.4%	37.8%
Moderately traditional	16.2%	4.5%
Typically traditional	22.5%	20.5%
Explicitly traditional	11.3%	7.1%
Bipolar	-	-
Neither traditional, nor modern	0.3%	0.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%

7.3% of families deemed “traditional” by the respondents (65.9% of the total sample) proved to be “typically modern” according to the objective categories. At the same time, 50% of families classified as “traditional” in the subjective judgement was assigned to one of the “traditional” categories in the objective evaluation, too (“moderately traditional”: 16.2%; “typically traditional”: 22.5%; “explicitly traditional”: 11.3%).

Families regarded as having “modern” cultural habits in the subjective judgement, however, were given the same attribute in the objective analysis, too, in only 11.3% of the cases. On the other hand, 32.1% of families deemed “modern” in the subjective classification were assigned to the “traditional” categories on the basis of the objective indicators.

5. Values

Table 40. – Distribution of the Hungarian sample along the tradition-modernity axis, on the basis of the objective indicators, by residential area

Scale of values	Central Szeged (%)	Inner residential area (%) n	Housing estate (%)	Cottage and garden district(%)	Rural residential area (%)	Total
	n=51	n=66	n=204	n=58	n=79	N=458
Explicitly modern	0	0	0.5	0	0	0.2
Typically modern	17.6	6.1	14.7	6.9	7.6	11.6
Moderately modern	0	0	1.5	1.7	1.3	1.1
Non-typical	47.1	51.5	54.4	41.4	58.2	52.2
Moderately traditional	7.8	15.2	6.9	15.5	12.7	10.3
Typically traditional	19.6	21.2	17.6	24.1	15.2	18.8
Explicitly traditional	5.9	6.1	2.9	10.3	5.1	5
Bipolar	2	0	1.5	0	0	0.9
Neither traditional, nor modern	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>“traditional”</i>	<i>33.3</i>	<i>42.5</i>	<i>27.4</i>	<i>49.9</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>34.1</i>
<i>“modern”</i>	<i>17.6</i>	<i>6.1</i>	<i>16.7</i>	<i>8.6</i>	<i>8.9</i>	<i>12.9</i>

On the basis of the objective indicator variables designed by us, the distribution of the system of values of the families under study along the tradition-modernity axis was the following: “traditional”: 34.1%; “modern”: in 12.9%.

The “traditional” values were most clearly discernible in the cottage and garden district (49.9%), where each of the “traditional” categories scored very high indeed (“moderately traditional”: 15.5%; “typically traditional”: 24.1%; “explicitly traditional”: 10.3%). The “traditional” category was least frequent in the families living in housing estates, where it was 27.4%.

The system of values assignable to the “modern” categories was the most frequent (17.6%) in our sample in Central Szeged, which came entirely from the “typically traditional” category. Families with a modern set of values were rarest in the “inner residential area”; the relevant rate of 6.1% originated entirely from the “typically modern” category.

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Table 41. – Distribution of the Hungarian sample along the tradition-modernity axis, on the basis of the subjective classification of the family value system, by residential area

SUBJECTIVE		Settlement type
Scale of values	<i>Traditional</i>	1. Rural residential area (81.0%) 2. Cottage and garden district (70.7%) 3. Housing estate (70.0%) 4. Inner residential area (68.2%) 5. Central Szeged (68.0%) Total sample: 71.5%
	<i>Modern</i>	1. Central Szeged (32.0%) 2. Inner residential area (31.8%) 3. Housing estate (30.0%) 4. Cottage and garden district (29.3%) 5. Rural residential area (19.0%) Total sample: 28.5%

On the basis of the subjective classification, it was most frequent for the families living in the rural residential area to qualify the value system of their families as “traditional” (81.0%). Interestingly, the other extreme was represented by Central Szeged, where the corresponding rate was 68%.

In line with the classification based on the objective categories, Central Szeged respondents deemed their family values modern the most frequently (32.0%) on the basis of the subjective categories, too. This subjective rating occurred least frequently (19.0%) in the rural residential area.

Table 42. – Distribution of the Hungarian sample along the tradition-modernity axis, on the basis of the objective indicators, by family type

Scale of values	Single-person household (%)	Lone-parent family (%)	Complete family (%)	Multi-generation family (%)	Total
	n=74	n=68	n=308	n=7	N=457
Explicitly modern	0	1.5	0	0	0.2
Typically modern	17.6	7.4	11	14.3	11.6
Moderately modern	1.4	4.4	0.3	0	1.1
Non-typical	47.3	51.5	53.6	42.9	52.1
Moderately traditional	6.8	13.2	10.1	28.6	10.3
Typically traditional	18.9	13.2	20.5	0	18.8
Explicitly traditional	6.8	4.4	4.5	14.3	5
Bipolar	1.4	4.4	0	0	0.9
Neither traditional, nor modern	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100
“traditional”	32.5	30.8	35.1	42.9	34.1
“modern”	19	13.3	11.3	14.3	12.9

In a breakdown by family type, family values assigned to the “traditional” categories were most frequent in complete families (35.1%), and least typical in lone-parent families (30.8%). As for the “modern” categories, the differences are more significant: “modern” values were indicated least frequently by complete families (11.3%) and most frequently by single-person households (19%).

Table 43. – Distribution of the Hungarian sample along the tradition-modernity axis, on the basis of the subjective classification of the value system of the family, by family type

SUBJECTIVE		family type
Scale of values	<i>Traditional</i>	1. Single-person household (74.3%) 2. Lone-parent family (72.1%) 3. Complete family (70.9%) Total sample: 71.4%
	<i>Modern</i>	1. Complete family (29.1%) 2. Lone-parent family (27.9%) 3. Single-person household (25.7%) Total sample: 28.6%

The subjective classification of the family value systems is at variance with the image projected by the objective evaluation. “Traditional” ratings occurred most frequently with respect to single-person households (74.3%), and they were relatively less frequent for complete families (70.9%).

“Modern” ratings, on the other hand, were frequent for complete families (29.1%) and relatively rare for single-person households (25.7%).

Table 44. – Distribution of the Hungarian sample along the tradition-modernity axis, on the basis of the objective indicators, by age of respondents

Scale of values	0–25 yrs	26–40 yrs	41–65 yrs	66 yrs and over	Total
	Youth (%) n=40	Young adulthood (%) n=203	Maintenance (%) n=192	Decline (%) n=19	N=454
Explicitly modern	0	0	0.5	0	0.2
Typically modern	20	12.3	9.4	10.5	11.7
Moderately modern	5	0	1.6	0	1.1
Non-typical	35	60.1	47.9	47.4	52.2
Moderately traditional	5	9.9	10.9	10.5	9.9
Typically traditional	25	11.8	25	21.1	18.9
Explicitly traditional	5	5.4	4.2	10.5	5.1
Bipolar	5	0.5	0.5	0	0.9
Neither traditional, nor modern	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100
“traditional”	35	27.1	40.1	42.1	33.9
“modern”	25	12.3	11.5	10.5	13

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Data yielded by the objective classification of the value systems were analysed in a breakdown by the age of the respondents, too. It was found that respondents over 66 assigned the value system of their family to the “traditional” categories in 42.1% of the cases. The “traditional” categories were least typical in the families of respondents aged 26 to 40 (the rate of classification as “non-typical” was the highest there at 60.1%).

Families assigned to the “modern” categories were encountered most frequently in the case of respondents under the age of 25 (25%). The other extreme was represented by respondents past 66 (10.5%).

Table 45. – Distribution of the Hungarian sample along the tradition-modernity axis, on the basis of the subjective classification of the system of values of the family, by age of respondents

SUBJECTIVE		Age
Scale of values	<i>Traditional</i>	1. 66 yrs and over (89.5%) 2. 41-65 yrs (74.5%) 3. 26-40 yrs (67.3%) 4. 0-25 yrs (66.7%) Total sample: 71.2%
	<i>Modern</i>	1. 0-25 yrs (33.3%) 2. 26-40 yrs (32.7%) 3. 41-65 yrs (25.5%) 66 yrs and over (10.5%) Total sample: 28.8%

In line with the objective results, respondents past the age of 66 qualified the value system of their families most frequently as “traditional” in the subjective judgement (89.5%), whereas those under 25 did so least frequently (66.7%).

As for modernity, the picture is the inverse: 33.3% of those under 25 years of age qualified the value system of their families as “modern”, whereas for those past 66, the corresponding rate was 10.5% only.

Table 46. – Distribution of the Hungarian sample along the tradition-modernity axis, on the basis of the objective indicators, by the level of education in the family (%)

Scale of values	1 n=13	2 n=94	3 n=35	4 n=85	5 n=52	6 n=97	7 n=74	Total N=450
Explicitly modern	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0.2
Typically modern	0	4.3	5.7	10.6	11.5	14.4	24.3	11.8
Moderately modern	0	0	0	0	1.9	1	4.1	1.1
Non-typical	84.6	50	54.3	51.8	55.8	51.5	44.6	51.8
Moderately traditional	7.7	19.1	8.6	11.8	5.8	8.2	5.4	10.4

Typically traditional	7.7	18.1	22.9	21.2	13.5	20.6	18.9	18.9
Explicitly traditional	0	8.5	2.9	4.7	9.6	3.1	1.4	4.9
Bipolar	0	0	5.7	0	1.9	0	1.4	0.9
Neither traditional, nor modern	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
“traditional”	15.4	45.7	34.4	37.7	28.9	31.9	25.7	34.2
“modern”	0	4.3	5.7	10.6	13.4	16.4	28.4	13.1

(1=Primary school, 2=Trade school, 3=Vocational secondary school, 4=Comprehensive secondary school, 5=Advanced vocational training, 6=College, 7=University)

Value systems assigned to the “traditional” categories were most frequent (45.7%) for families with trade school qualification, and least frequent (25.7%) for families with a university degree.

The situation is the inverse regarding value systems assigned to one of the “modern” categories, which are least typical of families with trade school qualification (4.3%) and most typical of those with a university degree (28.4%).

Table 47. – Distribution of the Hungarian sample along the tradition-modernity axis, on the basis of the subjective classification of the value system of the family, by level of education in the family

SUBJECTIVE		Education level
Scale of values	<i>Traditional</i>	1. University (78.1%) 2. Primary school (76.9%) 3. Trade school (76.6%) 4. Secondary vocational school (74.3%) 5. (College (67.7%) 6. Matura (67.1%) 7. Post-secondary vocational qualification (65.4%) Total sample: 71.7%
	<i>Modern</i>	1. Post-secondary vocational qualification (34.6%) 2. Matura (32.9%) 3. College (32.3%) 4. (Secondary vocational school (25.7%) 5. (Trade school (23.4%) 6. Primary school (23.1%) 7. University (21.9%) Total sample: 28.3%

The subjective ratings of the family value systems were analysed in a breakdown by the education level of the family, too. In families with trade school qualification, the respondents often qualified their families as having a “traditional” set of values (76.6%).

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At the same time – quite surprisingly, considering the objective categorisation –, the rate of value systems characterised as “traditional” was highest in families with a university degree (78.1%). The corresponding rate was lowest in the category of families with post-secondary vocational qualification (65.4%).

The subjective classification of “modernity” projects the inverse image: “modern” ratings occurred in 34.6% of the cases in the category of families with post-secondary vocational qualifications, and in 21.9% in those with a university degree.

Table 48. – Distribution of the possible combinations of objective and subjective judgements along the tradition-modernity axis – for family value systems

Objective indicators	Subjective judgement		Total
	Traditional	Modern	
Explicitly modern	0.2%	–	0.2%
Typically modern	8.6%	3.1%	11.6%
Moderately modern	0.9%	0.2%	1.1%
Non-typical	36.6%	15.4%	52.0%
Moderately traditional	7.0%	3.3%	10.3%
Typically traditional	13.5%	5.3%	18.9%
Explicitly traditional	3.9%	1.1%	5.0%
Bipolar	0.7%	0.2%	0.9%
Neither traditional, nor modern	–	–	–
Total	71.4%	28.6%	100.0%

Table 48. shows the possible combinations of categorisation based on the objective indicators designed by us, on the one hand, and the subjective classification of the respondents, on the other, in percentage terms relative to the total sample.

As for “modernity”, in the two most markedly “modern” categories, the respondents tended to vote for the “traditional” category in their subjective classification. Even for the “typically modern” objective category, almost three quarters of respondents qualified the value system of their family as “traditional” (8.6% of 11.6%). This tendency was even more obvious in the category of “moderately modern” (0.9% of 1.1%).

As for the “traditional” ratings, a very large proportion of families considered as having “traditional” values in the objective classification received the same rating in the subjective classification: “moderately traditional”: 7.0% of 10.3%; “typically traditional”: 13.5% of 18.9% and “explicitly traditional”: 3.9% of 5.0%.

Table 49. – Percentage distribution of respondents in two Subjective judgement categories of the family value systems, based on the objective categories

Objective indicators	Subjective judgement	
	Traditional	Modern
Explicitly modern	0.3%	–
Typically modern	12.0%	10.8%
Moderately modern	1.3%	0.8%
Non-typical	51.2%	53.8%
Moderately traditional	9.8%	11.5%

Typically traditional	19.0%	18.5%
Explicitly traditional	5.5%	3.8%
Bipolar	0.9%	0.8%
Neither traditional, nor modern	–	–
Total	100.0%	100.0%

In 13.6% of the cases assigned to the “traditional” category in the subjective classification (which represented 71.4% of the total sample), the family concerned was allocated to one of the “modern” categories by the objective categorisation, whereas in 34.3% of the cases, the subjective and objective “traditional” categories coincided. The “non-typical” objective category was typical of 51.2% of the “traditional” subjective ratings.

The subjective “modern” rating of the value systems of the families coincided with the objective “modern” rating in 11.6% of the cases. 33.8% of families considered “modern” in the subjective classification was assigned to one of the “traditional” categories on the basis of the objective categorisation. The “non-typical” objective category applied to 53.8% of families allocated subjectively to the “modern” category.

6. Summary

Subjective judgements on the traditional/modern nature of families in terms of the nutrition, free time habits, family habits, cultural habits, and value systems project a most exciting image.

In a breakdown by settlement and family type, respectively, there is no significant deviation (i.e., deviation in excess of 10%) from the values applicable to the total sample. As for the cultural habits, among the residents of the rural residential area, the rate of those considering their cultural habits “traditional” is almost 10% higher, and the “modernity” value is 10% lower, than the corresponding values for the total sample. Deviations on a similar scale occur in the classifications of the value systems of residents of the rural residential area: the rate of those considering themselves “traditional” is 9.5% higher than the corresponding total sample value, and the rate of “modern” ratings is 9.5% lower than that. The education level influences the ratings in almost every area. In the area of nutrition, the rate of those qualifying themselves as “traditional” is high among those with primary education/Matura. The rate of those deeming themselves “modern”, on the other hand, is high among those with college education. Among those with a university degree, the rate of those qualifying their nutritional habits as traditional and modern, respectively, corresponded to the respective averages. Education level exerts no significant influence on the results regarding free time habits or values. As for the system of values, the rate of “traditional” ratings was highest among respondents with a university degree. The classifications of family habits are also quite interesting: “traditional” occurs most frequently among those with a university degree, and “modern” among university students. The values for all other educational groups converges on the relevant average.



Rybnik

**II. 2.2. National research report from Poland, University of
Silesia, Institute of Sociology, Faculty of Social Sciences,
Katowice**

II. 2.2. National research report from Poland, University of Silesia, Institute of Sociology, Faculty of Social Sciences, Katowice

I. Structure

Andrzej Górny – Katarzyna Węgrzyn

1.1. What kind of family? Characteristics of family structures

1.1.1. Composition of households

One of the main directions of changes which can be observed in relation to a family is a gradual transfer of its structure from the multi-generational model (large, extended family) to the basic model (small, nuclear family). This aspect seems to be of particular importance in determining the character of a family.¹

Nowadays, we are also beginning to observe childless marriages (called also small incomplete families) and various alternative forms of family life, such as living together illegalized relationships, cohabitation or aware single maternity of women. It turns out that most of investigated families are basic, nuclear families – families, where within one household apart from parents and children there are some other family members constitute less than 2% of all surveyed families, and in such cases those other occupants are members of the oldest generation – parents of the respondent or her partner. It has also turned out that the character of the place of living (in the division into country and cities) which could influence the family's specificity has practically no importance when it comes to its size. Both in civic and in rural areas the absolute dominant are nuclear families.

1.1.2. A family or an alternative form of family life?

The next question which appears is whether we can at all speak about a family based on legalized marriage. In recent times, namely, researchers have signaled a continuous rise of the number of family life forms which are not based on traditionally perceived marriage. This tendency is caused in great extent by changes taking place in social structure brought about by advanced industrial and urbanization processes as well as progress in science and changes in value systems.² Hence, this is the next indicator of a traditional or modern family life. Among the respondents the dominant group is formed by married women living together with their husbands (86.6%), which means in

¹ comp: Z. Tyszka, *Rodzina we współczesnym świecie*, Poznań 2003, s. 25 i A. Kwak, *Uniwersalność instytucji rodziny i kierunki jej przemian*, in: *Życie rodzinne – uwarunkowania mikro i makrostrukturalne*, red. Z. Tyszka, Poznań 2003, s. 21.

² comp. J. Żebrowski, *Współczesne przeobrażenia w funkcjonowaniu rodziny polskiej*, in: *Rodzina polska na przełomie wieków*, red. J. Żebrowski, Gdańsk 2001, s. 18.

traditionally legalized marriages. The majority of unmarried women, divorcees and widows live alone (respectively 1.6%, 4% and 4.6%). Alternative forms of family life based on cohabitation and illegalized relationships are met only marginally and constitute 1.8% of the whole (0.6% of single women living with a partner, 0.8% of divorced women living with a partner and 0.4% of widows living with a partner). Cases of single mothers are also in small minority.

So, when it comes to the base of a family – relationship between partners – we deal with a typically traditional model of family functioning, whose core is formed by legally accepted marriage. Phenomena of changes taking place in this field suggested by researchers were not visible on a larger scale in the realized investigation.

However, it is worth mentioning that 10.2% of the respondents are women, who had been in a marriage before. For 5.4% of them it ended with a divorce, and 4.8% of the respondents experienced the death of their husband. We have to be aware that the group of respondents with previous marriage experience may be bigger when we take into consideration those women, who did not answer this question (6.8%). Because of the fact that this issue is quite delicate, we can assume that they could be married before but do not want to talk about this matter. We can, namely, notice a growing tolerance towards divorces, with still present cases of stigmatization of divorced people – they are still perceived as 'less wanted' in society and less valuable. Despite changes, marriage is still perceived as a norm and divorcees are often pushed on the margin of community life.³

1.1.3. Work

The structure of families is considerably influenced by the social position of their members. Social position, in turn, is nowadays determined first of all by education, professional competence and job's character. Situation of individuals on the job market directly affects the welfare level of family life. Nowadays, this welfare is difficult to reach as almost everybody is threatened by such situations like: rising risk of losing job, reduction of employment or growing payment inequalities. They cause the feeling of insecurity and threat and strongly influence life of a family as a whole.⁴

Among the respondents the most numerous group are people, whose competence may be described as average. It means that both low qualified staff and highly qualified specialists constitute relatively small categories. A similar situation may be observed in relation to currently performed work. Here also people having the simplest jobs requiring low qualifications are met seldom. On the other hand, however, few respondents have the most prestigious, the best paid and appreciated jobs, which situate them high in the social structure.

On the basis of the learnt profession, we can divide the surveyed women into three dominant groups: middle staff (technicians, qualified workers etc. 22.6%), service

³ comp. P. Kryczka, *Rozwód w opinii społecznej – kierunki zmian*, in: *Rodzina współczesna*, red. M. Ziemska, Warszawa 2005, s. 170.

⁴ comp. J. Rutkowski, *Rynek pracy w Polsce: percepcja i rzeczywistość*, in: *Wymiary życia społecznego, Polska na przełomie XX i XXI wieku*, red. M. Marody, Warszawa 2002, s. 196.

workers and sales assistants (21%) and specialists (19.2%). Slightly fewer women declare that their profession is related to office work (7.8%) and that they work in industry or crafts (8.4%). The remaining groups of professions (like high officials, directors, farmers, operators and installers) are incidental among women – their number does not exceed overall 6% of the whole.

The questioned women work more often as personal service staff and sales assistants (17.8%), a bit more seldom as office workers (11.8%) and specialists (10%). We can notice here a quite large group of unemployed women – 9.4%. It has been observed that women seldom perform jobs of the simplest character and jobs connected with industry (a group of industrial workers, workers with simple activities and machine operators among women did not exceed 7%). A small percentage of women work also in the most prestigious and very well paid professions – the group of the highest officials, directors and managers among women amounted to less than 4%. The largest number of the surveyed women works in local administration (25.8%); many are also employed in middle-sized enterprises (from 5 to 50 workers – 22.6%). The next group is formed by women employed in large companies (more than 50 workers – 9.4%). Few respondents work in the smallest firms, education sector and healthcare (respectively 0.4%, 1.4% and 1.6%).

Among men the most popular learnt professions include industry workers and craftsmen (42.8%). A large number of men can also be included in the group of highly qualified middle staff on the basis of their competence (25.1%), within which 4.7% of men are operators and installers of machines. A relatively numerous group among men are specialists – that is workers with very high qualifications (13.4%). The remaining categories of professions are considerably less numerous – the number of men with agricultural, office or managerial qualifications does not exceed 5%. When it comes to professions performed by men, industry workers and craftsmen dominate here as well (30.9%), but it is the only visibly distinguished category. Other groups are represented on a similar level – members of parliament and higher officials, directors and managerial staff – 4.3%; highly qualified specialists – 7.7%; technicians and semi skilled staff – 6.4%; personal service workers and sale assistants – 6.8%; operators and installers of machines – 4.7%. The groups including the smallest number of members are categories of office workers (3.2%), simple activities workers (1.7%), workers of the army (1.1%) and farmers (0.4%). It has to be underlined that group of retired men and pensioners is quite large – 18.3% of all men. It results from the specificity of the region, where the dominant places of work were coalmines, and a considerable group of men were employed on positions related to mining, which allowed for relatively fast retirement. We can observe that the unemployment rate among men is very low – only 1.7% of questioned men were jobless, whereas this problem relates to 9.4% of women.

The dominant group among men are employees of the biggest companies (with more than 50 workers) – above 30%. A large group finds employment in middle-sized firms (from 5 to 50 workers) – more than 25% and considerably fewer men work in local administration (above 17%). Cases of men working in the smallest companies (up to 5 employees), in educational sector and in healthcare are seldom met and amount to about 2% overall.

A conclusion that we draw is that despite some changes visible in recent years, professional qualifications which dominate among the respondents are specific for modern

industrial society – those related to large-scale production and bureaucratic apparatus. Only few respondents possess qualifications which would allow for including them to the modern elite, to the highly qualified specialists, managerial staff or widely understood knowledge bearers. The performed work lets us draw similar conclusions. The respondents and their partners are in most cases employed in sectors which are specific for modern industrial society, not for contemporary late-modern world entering the information era.

Trying to generalize, we could say that among the respondents' families some distinctive changes are taking place in relation to the traditional model, which assumes a dominant position of the man when it comes to the level of education and the range of professional activity. Today, marriages or partnerships are principally homogeneous in respect to social position of both partners indicated by the level of education, possessed qualifications and current job. A very significant symptom of changes is also professional activation of women. Only a small group of respondents are unemployed. It is worth mentioning that certain part of the respondents occupied positions requiring high qualifications, enjoying appreciation and bringing considerable earnings. This group is slowly reaching the number of men on similar positions, and in some categories it even exceeds this number – for example in already discussed research 10% of women work as specialists, while similar jobs are in possession of only 7.2% of men. The most important symptom of changes, however, is perhaps a relatively big number of women undertaking economic activity. This number is comparable with men who are self-employed. In this way, a distinctive equaling of professional positions of men and women is visible in contemporary Poland. A transfer of women from the role of mother-wife into women working professional outside of home is taking place. This causes a change in family and marital relations – a kind of 'jump' from dependence and subordination to full equality. Power in families is divided between the mother and the father, the wife and the husband. All the same, the division of roles of spouses in a family is also changed. This phenomenon, as it is signaled by researchers, should be treated as fixed and irreversible.⁵

Despite these changes, families are in the transition stage between the traditional model and the modern one, or rather late-modern when it comes to professional roles. Very little groups of both men and women work in the service sector. Employment in industry (among men) and budget area (among women) are dominating. However, this situation is rather a reflection of the shape of generally perceived social structure and it probably does not result from the specificity of family functioning. Still, we have to remember that a family is a kind of lens which focuses processes taking place in the whole society. Phenomena visible in the social macrostructure directly influence the specificity of family functioning, and that is how the signalled phenomenon should be interpreted.

1.1.4. Incomplete families

Exactly one tenth of the questioned families are incomplete families. Only one respondent, who declared not to be married and to live alone, admitted that she had a daughter. Women who had been married before and this marriage ended with a divorce and who live without a partner constitute 4%, and widows who live alone constitute 4.6%.

⁵ comp. F. Adamski, *Rodzina. Wymiar społeczno-kulturowy*, Kraków 2002, s. 202.

The percentage of incomplete families is thus relatively low. Hence, we can confirm conclusions formulated by some researchers that family life is still very valuable for the Poles. In the situation of crisis, even a very deep one, action which is taken aims at maintaining a family rather than at withdrawing from it.⁶ A small number of divorces does not cover the number of marriages which ended with death of a partner. A minimal group of respondents decides to enter next relationships with other partners – 0.8% of divorced women and 0.4% of widows. A fact of lack of cases of single mothers is also puzzling. Perhaps because of still present stereotypes and prejudices respondents do not admit to their real life situation.

A probable explanation of such situation may be also a reference to a traditional perception of a marriage as an inviolable institution. This situation is characteristic for societies which are closer to a model of community than association, based on a strong axionormative system, guarded by a social control apparatus based mainly on informal sanctions. In such communities social mobility is little, and a particularly appreciated value is stability and inviolability of the basic institutions of social life, which guarantee the maintenance of order.

1.1.5. Family members requiring help

In 9.4% of the surveyed families there are members, whose condition does not let them function normally in the society. Among them 6.8% are members of families with the most serious problems – described as requiring constant care. Those with slightly lighter forms of disability constitute a small group in the households in question – totally 2.6%, within which 1.4% corresponds to percentage of families with the physically disabled, 0.4% with the mentally disabled and 0.8% with the deaf and the blind.

Many of the disabled people live in families who own a house, and these are houses with higher standard (villas or houses with gardens) – it corresponds to 41.5% of all the disabled. The situation is similar with the number of disabled members of families living in blocks of flats and in rural areas – respectively 22% and 19.5%. Such people are, however, more seldom met in flats in the suburbs (12.2%) and in city centres (4.9%). It seems that the reason for this is the specificity of architectural space of a city – city centres with tenant buildings and suburbs with multi-family buildings are not particularly friendly areas for the disabled. Flats in these areas are often without basic conveniences (lifts, railings, special signs) which make life easier for such people. In a detached house it is surely easier to create conditions, which allow for more or less normal existence, and blocks of flats have at least communicational conveniences in form of lifts or drives.

It is also worth noticing that families with a detached house are characterized by the best financial situation, which allows for supporting a member of the family, who requires constant care. In other cases such people are put to hospitals or hospices. It happens due to the fact that chronic illness or disability lead first of all to excess of family functions, and further in relatively short time to distraction of most of them. Families,

⁶ comp. np. A. Kwak, *Rozwód a separacja w opinii kobiet i mężczyzn*, in: *Rodzina współczesna*, red. M. Ziemska, Warszawa 2005, s. 191.

where there are chronically ill or disabled members undergo pauperization quite fast, sometimes so significant one that they are not able to take care of the ones in need.⁷

1.2. Mutual contacts

Traditional families, whose models were formed in Poland first of all in the 19th century, were multi-generation and numerous families, with strong and long-lasting bonds between members. Political and economic, as well as cultural changes which took place in the 20th century and individualization processes observed today are favourable rather for nuclear families, which often do not have connections with wider social structures.⁸ We can assume, however, that contemporary families with a more traditional character despite the domination of small, nuclear families, still maintain frequent and direct contact also with more distant family, whose members have their own independent households.

This mutual contact is necessary, so that family members, also those living separately and having separate households, can support each other and provide help in different life situations. Communication between independent but related families or individuals, its style and character is usually a continuation of ways of communication worked out when living together under one roof. The quality of communication within a family is one of the most important processes influencing the way the whole family system operates.⁹

Maintaining mutual contact constitutes a basis of bonds between people and the other way round- frequency and quality of contacts reflect the strength of emotional ties between the contacting people. When a subjective aspect of a bond is visibly developed in a family, its members try to keep a large frequency of mutual contact, are interested in many issues related to close people and they want to share their everyday experience and thoughts with them.

Nowadays, thanks to well developed information technologies it is real to communicate even when the interested people are hundreds or thousands kilometres away from each other. Such technologies allow for contacting in different situations, practically in any place and anytime.

In the families which could be described as modern, contact between independent members of a wider family is not as frequent as in case of families which are closer to the traditional model. If the contact occurs, they use the newest communication means more often, which is especially useful as family members seldom live close to each other.

Access to the newest forms of communication promotes mutual exchange of information within a family. Its members may contact anytime, they can get information about the place of stay or time of return, state of health, successes and failures, etc. this has a positive influence on taking care of family ties.

⁷ comp. Z. Woźniak, *Globalizacja problemów zdrowotnych i starzenia się a rodzina*, in: *Współczesne rodziny polskie – ich stan i kierunek przemian*, red. Z. Tyszka, Poznań 2001, s. 400.

⁸ Tyszka Z.: *Rodzina we współczesnym świecie*. Edit. Naukowe UAM. Poznań 2002, s. 28–32.

⁹ Harwas – Napierała B.: *Komunikacja interpersonalna w rodzinie*. Edit. Naukowe UAM. Poznań 2006, s. 35.

However, when using this type of communication, short text messages seem to be especially tempting, also due to financial reasons. Using this means of communication, similarly to e-mail correspondence or online communicators, imply a certain kind of transferred information – very concise, often reduced to short messages containing just facts. In this case, the form unavoidably affects the content. The way of contacting becomes abbreviated and shallow, and mutual relations may take this form as well.

It seems, however, that it is real only to keep the already existing ties, as considering the specificity of this type of communication (laconic style of transfer, shortenings), it is hard to establish or build emotional bonds.

Among 500 surveyed families from Rybnik and its surroundings, 117 have children living in independent households. The majority of these parents keep regular contact with their grown-up children personally or by means of different means of communication. 13.7% of the respondents see their independent children every day and 17.9% speak to them every day on the phone (table 1.1). Personal contacts several times a week are mentioned by 34.2%, of the respondents and such contact on the phone was chosen by almost a half – 47%.

Table 1.1. – *Respondents' contact with independent children (%)*

	Every day		Several times a week		Several times a month		More seldom	
	With children	With parents	With children	With parents	With children	With parents	With children	With parents
telephone	17.9	8.8	47.0	27.0	24.8	19.6	2.6	7.2
letters	–	–	–	0.4	1.7	0.8	6.8	11.6
e-mail	–	0.4	6.0	1.6	6.0	1.2	4.2	6.4
Personal contact	13.7	5.0	34.2	19.6	32.5	21.2	14.5	20.0
Others (communicators)	0.9	1.2	1.7	0.2	0.9	–	–	–
Total	N=117	N=500	N=117	N=500	N=117	N=500	N=117	N=500

Source: Own studies

In other words: more than half of the families see their children who live separately at least several times a week. Contact with children by means of traditional letters or the Internet is much more seldom, we can even say occasional. Prevalence of personal contact and telephone conversations over e.g. writing e-mails or using communicators seems to promote keeping deeper ties between the generations.

Contact with the living members of generation families are much rarer, but still relatively systematically kept. Among 500 surveyed women, only 5% sees their parents every day, which is much less than in case of children. 8.8% have telephone conversation with parents living separately every day. We can still notice a relatively large frequency of contact considering that respectively 19.6% and 27.0% of the respondents contact their parents several times a week personally or on the phone. 21.2% and 19.6% of the respondents do so several times a month (table 3.1). These results are slightly lower than very high number of choices related to contact with the oldest generation, which were

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obtained in numerous studies carried out on the area of Poland in the last several dozens of years.¹⁰ This could result from a larger load of professional careers of family members or a growing autonomization of nuclear families.

In spite of this fact, we have to state that contact with older generations is quite frequent and surely relatively regular. It is worth stressing here that the grandparents (both respondents' parents in law) and parents usually live close to each other. This tendency is characteristic for Polish families. We can even say that the majority of families in our country are the so called modified just widened families.¹¹ Usually the grandparents, parents and children do not belong to the same household, but they try to live near each other, help each other, keep close contact and meet almost every day.

What is very interesting, however, is that correspondence (traditional letters and e-mails) between these generations are rare, but occur more frequently than in case of parents-children relation.

A similar aversion to the newest technologies related to communication, or lack of need to use them is visible in respondents' families in case of contact with their siblings. (Table 1.2.).

Table 1.2. – *Respondents' and their partners' contact with relatives of side line (in %)*

	With brothers		With sisters		With aunts/uncles		With cousins	
	Respon- dent	Husband/ partner	Respon- dent	Husband/ partner	Respon- dent	Husband/ partner	Respon- dent	Husband/ partner
Lack	27.7	29.2	27.7	24.3	6.7	8.5	4.4	5.7
Person- al	54.8	51.2	53.3	50.9	40.8	36.0	40.2	32.8
Tel.	10.6	12.5	12.7	14.5	26.6	26.6	27.8	28.3
SMS	1.1	1.2	0.9	3.0	6.3	10.6	6.8	12.7
Internet	0.2	–	–	–	0.4	–	0.2	–
Other form	2.7	2.8	3.7	3.7	11.7	10.8	12.0	12.4
I do not keep contact	1.1	1.6	0.4	1.9	5.4	5.7	6.4	6.3
Mistake	1.9	1.6	1.3	1.6	2.1	1.8	2.1	1.8
Total	N=473	N=432	N=465	N=428	N=478	N=436	N=482	N=442

Source: Own studies

The respondents usually talk to their brothers and sisters personally (54.8% and 53.3%) and sometimes per telephone, although much more seldom (10.6% and 12.7%). Their husbands and partners do so analogically: they contact brothers and sisters personally (51.2% and 50.9%) and phone them (12.5% and 14.5%). In case of contact with other more distant relatives like aunts, uncles and cousins the same type of

¹⁰ comp. Dyczewski L.: *Więź między pokoleniami w rodzinie*. Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL. Lublin 2002, s. 75–80.

¹¹ Adamski F.: *Rodzina. Wymiar społeczno-kulturowy*. Edit. Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Kraków 2002, s.35; Komunikat CBOS, *Co zawdzięczamy swoim babciom i dziadkom*, <http://www.cbos.pl>

communication dominates both among the respondents and their partners (the percentage reaches 40%). However, the percentage of telephone conversations is higher than in the case of siblings (about 26–28%). Other forms of communication, like the Internet, sms are used occasionally (several percent).

On the basis of the obtained results, families' attachment to more traditional forms of communication with children, separately living parents, siblings and other relatives of side line is visible. This possibly results from small distance between places of living but also, which should be borne in mind, from strong family ties observed in Polish families for many generations. In order to keep these ties, it is not enough to send concise messages implied by new communication technologies. On the other hand, commonly possessed computers and Internet access as well as popular mobile phones undoubtedly indicate that new communication methods are known and present in this environment. They are probably used for maintaining weaker and less durable relations with friends, acquaintances or relations not based on family ties, which, as we assume on the basis of the results, demand personal and direct contact.

Sharing everyday problems and joys has a positive influence on maintaining ties between more distant relatives. Frequent contact with relatives reflects, and at the same time strengthens subjective aspects of bonds. Nevertheless, objective aspect of family ties may also intensify the need or even oblige the members to keep contact with each other.

Contact with children or parents who live separately and relatives in side line are characterized by high frequency in most families, they are usually direct, personal, sometimes by means of telephones. To a large extent it is conditioned by spatial closeness between the members. These features indicate a traditional character of mutual contacts in a dominating part of the surveyed families, both city and rural ones. Thanks to these features family ties are kept and constitute a basis of mutual support and help within wider family, which seem indispensable in the time of uncertainty, external threats or social and political changes that Polish families last had to face at the turn of the centuries.

II. Function

Katarzyna Węgrzyn

Families living in the area of Poland where our research was carried out, which is Rybnik and its close region, are mostly related with this area for a long time, even for a few generations. It is for example visible in the little distance between the homes of close relatives. These families were usually connected with mining through coalmines conducting a very intensive work in this region some time ago. Supposedly, the culture of a typical Silesian worker's family, which was common in areas around coalmines, is still considerably influencing the lifestyle, the mutual relations, following traditions and the value system of people living there. Such families were characterized by a stiff structure of roles based on traditional models, a true transfer of customs as well as by closeness of mutual relations and strong emotional bonds among the members, which resulted in frequent contact and mutual support.

Maybe today, in a more stable situation in Poland, care and support of family is not so indispensable any more and keeping tight contact between relatives which strengthens emotional bonds but at the same time also social control is an unnecessary element, in contrast with individualistic tendencies and striving for autonomy. Faithfulness towards cultural models adopted without reflection, as it happened in families in the past, seems to be dysfunctional in the fast changing reality. On the other hand, a family automatically rejecting tradition and a lifestyle transferred from generation to generation becomes a creature which is out of its roots, superficial and in the long run also unable to fulfil its basic functions. Hence, maybe a family, which consciously makes reasonable decisions, related to its customs, social roles, the character of mutual relations or possible forms of support is the one which answers today's challenges in the best way?

2.1. Custom in Families

One of the most important features of a traditional family often mentioned by sociologists is a still division of duties within a household. In this type of family the majority of duties including everyday housework (shopping, washing, ironing, cooking and cleaning) and taking care of children belong to women and first of all to the wife-mother. The duty of the father-husband is work which brings income big enough to support the whole family. In the household only the hardest 'male' tasks belong to men, because a woman is not able to deal with them alone (e.g. carrying heating material like coal, fixing household equipment or chopping wood). Children in such families are taught and involved to chores appropriate for their sex from a very early age, as the tasks will belong to them in their own families.

In families which characterized themselves as modern we do not observe so rigid division of home duties. These changes were very often forced by taking up professional work by women. Activities related with the household and taking care of children are performed by both parents in turns depending on the situation, free time and willingness without bitterness of any of the partners.

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A stiff division of duties was obligatory in traditional worker's families which were dominant in the Silesian area – the region where the city of Rybnik is located and where research within the realized project was carried out.¹² The obtained results allowed for answering the question on how far the traditional division of work between spouses is still kept and how far the surveyed families rejected it at the same time changing their structure and the way of functioning which made them closer to the model of a 'modern' family.

The obtained results let us draw a conclusion that everyday housework still belongs usually to women (graph 2.1). Almost in all households women deal with washing (as much as 83.4%); men deal mainly with this activity only in 2.8% of the families. Women still keep their dominance also in the kitchen. In the majority of households they cook meals for the family members (76.4%), and men do it only in 5.4%. Mothers-wives do the shopping the most often (65.2%), although husbands get involved in this activity more and more often in (15%). This duty is shared between two partners in 11.2% of the families. The percentage of respondents who do the washing up is smaller – 57.2%. Other members of families are quite often also engaged in this activity. Usually this is the husband (9%), daughter (9.6%) and two members or even everyone (16%). We can observe here, however, a certain specificity – after the mother it is usually the daughter who does this activity and the son deal with it only in 1.8% of the households. This shows a rather typical character of this activity.

A similar phenomenon can be noticed when it comes to ironing and cleaning. Ironing is usually women's duty. Mothers-wives do it in 70.4% of the households, but daughters take it over in 11% of them. It is a significant percentage if we take into consideration that husbands iron in 5% of the families and sons iron only occasionally in 1%. Cleaning is also dominated by women. This activity is done by mother-wife (62.8%) or daughter (9.8%). Similarly to the above mentioned activities, also in this case we observe a certain 'inheriting' connected with the way of socialization and a learned way of taking over social roles within a family 'after the female line'. This would indicate a traditional character of duties division in a large part of the surveyed families.

Taking care of children and the issues related to their education are also mostly up to mothers. They usually go with children to the kindergarten or school if there is such a need (12.4%, and fathers – 4.4%), go for walks with children (17.2%, fathers – 6.2%, duty shared between both partners – 10.6%) and help children in homework and studying (21.8%, fathers – 6.2%). With such a large contribution of women into home life and at the same time with the responsibility which they bear in relation to the performed activities, we may suppose that women have a dominant position in a household.¹³

There are, however, some activities which belong mostly to men. These are for instance taking out rubbish, mowing the lawn or fixing things. Taking out rubbish is a men's work in 35.8% of the families and sons' work in 22.4% of them, with considerably lower percentage of women doing this activity (mothers-wives – 17.2%, daughters – 6.4%). The grass is cut by husbands in 31.2% of the households, by sons in 12.4% of

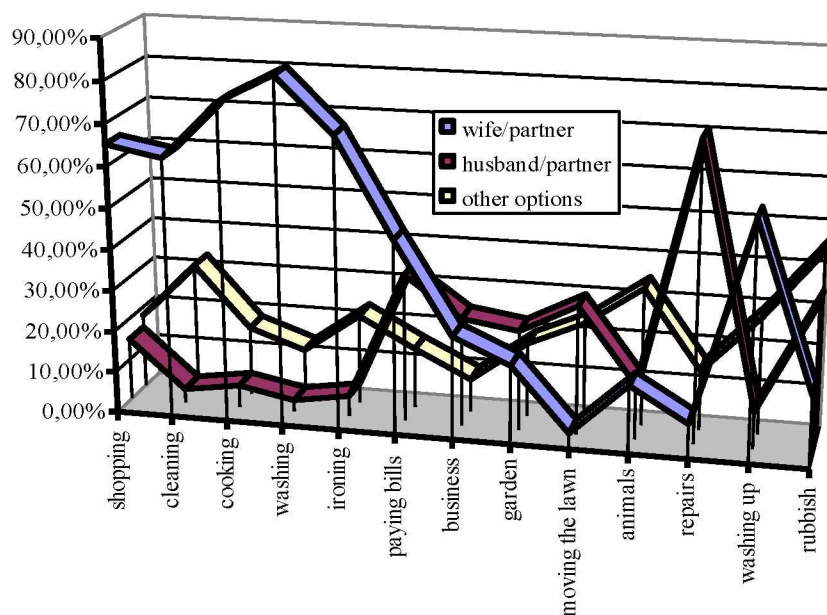
¹² comp. Górnikowska – Zwolak E.: *Szkic do portretu Ślązaczki*. Śląsk. Katowice 2000, s. 91–98.

¹³ Mrozek W.: *Górnośląska rodzina robotnicza w procesie przemian*. Górnośląski Instytut Naukowy. Katowice 1997, s. 170–171.

them, with very little participation of women in this activity (wives – 3.8%, daughters – 2.2%). The mentioned activities seem to be typically male and boys are taught to get used to them from the early age. We can also find activities which are fully monopolized by husbands-fathers. These are different types of repairs done in a household. They are done above all by husbands – in 72% of the houses (wives-mothers – 8.4%, sons – 5.8%, daughters – 2%).

Apart from activities which are typical for a specific member of a family or members of the same sex, we can also find tasks which in some families belong to the wife and some others ones are typical for husbands. These types of duties are for example payments. In 46.8% of the families payments are done by wives (a slight prevalence), and in 35.8% they are fixed by husbands. A similar situation is with ‘businesses’, although here the proportions are opposite. In 24% of houses they are wife’s domain and in 26.2% of families they belong to the husband. The activities which in most families are not culturally ascribed to the given sex include gardening or taking care of animals. The latter belongs in the majority of families also to children.

Graph 2.1. – *Dominant share of one of the spouses (partners) in housework activities (in %).*



Source: Own studies

It seems that, irrespective of other variables, in the majority of the surveyed families a traditional model is dominating with its strict division between typically female and male tasks and with concrete role fulfilled within a family (husband-father, wife-

mother, son or daughter).¹⁴ We can notice that the socialization process taking place in those families will probably consolidate this model. However, there exist some fields where we cannot see so distinct regularities and which are regulated individually in each of the families. Generally speaking, most of women's duties, which relates also to women active professionally, are everyday, fixed activities which take much more time than duties performed mostly by men. A tendency of a very insignificant contribution of children into housework is also quite visible. This could on the one hand show a growing importance of children's education and their time devoted rather to study than to help at home, or from the other hand this could be a sign of striving for the modern model of a family where a child is not of instrumental value and becomes an autotelic value.¹⁵ Such a division of home duties may result in worse preparation of children for living in their own families and lack of life resourcefulness.

Life of a family as a whole and also lives of its particular members proceed in great extent according to culturally determined models included in customs and habits. Characteristic customs which could be ascribed to the traditional family model, and also to a typical Silesian family, include having meals together, which is especially popular on Sundays and celebrations when special dishes are served. Among the surveyed families living in Rybnik and its surroundings, 40.8% of the families meet by the table on the occasion of a Sunday dinner, 22.4% - by special occasions. A much smaller percentage, about one quarter of respondents' families (25.8%) eat dinner together every day and 21.4% of them eat supper together. Considering often very different hours of leaving home and coming back home from work or school by particular family members, the percentage of families that manage to consume a meal together seems quite large. This proves a strongly rooted tradition which surely facilitates keeping close family bonds.

Some family members have a habit of a nap after dinner, although in 52.2% of the families this custom is not present at all. 48.1% of house masters take time for a nap every day and only 16.3% of their wives (partners) do the same as they are much more loaded with housework according to the above discussed results. Their duties include preparing meals and also cleaning up after them. In 35.3% of the families father-husband practices a nap after dinner only on Sundays and wives-mothers do it more often on this day too - 29.3%. These results confirm a traditional division of everyday duties in most houses, where the women are the most loaded.

In the majority of families parties are organized from time to time and then guests are invited outside of the closest nuclear family. 40.6% of respondents organize them once or twice a year, 18.8% of them do it three or four times a year and 6.4% throw such parties five or six times yearly. About one third (30.6%) of the respondents do not organize such parties at all.

Celebrating importantly contributes to transferring and consolidating cultural identity and strengthening social bonds.¹⁶ The importance of celebrating particular

¹⁴ comp. Titkow A., Duch – Krzysztozek D., Budzowska B.: *Nieodpłatna praca kobiet. Mity, realia, perspektywy*. IFiS PAN. Warszawa 2004, s.159–205.

¹⁵ comp. Giza-Poleszczuk A.: *Rodzina i system społeczny*. „Studia Socjologiczne” nr 2 (129), 1993, s. 52.

¹⁶ Zapotoczky K.: *Znaczenie świąt dla życia rodzinnego*, [in:] *Kultura dnia codziennego i świątecznego w rodzinie*. KUL. Lublin 1998, s.71–72.

occasions in many houses is reflected in sharing joy with the closest people, so giving them pleasure in form of gifts. In the majority of the surveyed families the members give each other presents on the occasion of Christmas – which is strongly rooted in our culture as a celebration joining religious and family traditions. Christmas presents are present in 77.6% of the families. In more than half of the families presents are given on the occasion of wedding anniversaries (55%) and birthdays (51.2%), and the youngest members are given presents on Child's Day on 1st June (50.2%). In less than half of the families members are given presents on St Nicolas Day celebrated in Poland 6th December (41.8%), on Easter (33.6%), on the occasion of Mother's Day (33.6%), ST Valentine's Day (33.4%), or typically Polish names day (30.8%). The last tradition has never been common here due to long-lasting German influences in this region. Giving presents on the occasion of Women's Day, which was persistently promoted in the past by communistic authorities, does not enjoy great popularity among the asked families. The possible cause may be strong aversion towards the previous political system.

Generally, presents are a fixed element of celebrating in 80.6% of the families. They are usually worth about 41-50 PLN (32%). We can say that presents with the price of about 50 PLN are dominating. Such presents are given in 39.7% of the households. Hardly any of the respondents admitted that in their family 'cheap' presents prevailed.

The members of families in Rybnik often give flowers to each other (33.8% of primary choices, totally – 38.4%). Presumably in many situations this is a traditional and commonly accepted in our culture addition to some other presents. This other present often takes a form of sweets (20.4% of primary choices, totally – 43.8%), cosmetics (15.2% of primary choices, totally 56%) or clothes (only 0.6% of primary choices, but totally 53.2%). 14.2% of choices relate to alcohol as a popular form of a present. 10.4% of the respondents say that a form of a gift present in the families is invitation to a restaurant. Children are first of all given toys (23.8% of all choices). Other presents like e.g. books, money, vouchers, tickets to the cinema, theatre or fitness club are not very popular among the asked families. Hardly anyone give hand-made presents; maybe it does not suit the standards of modern consumption culture.

Summing up, we have to underline that despite many changes taking place in contemporary families (education and professional activity of women, changes in the number of members, etc.), the majority of families maintain the traditional division of duties which shows a strong influence of tradition ascribing given tasks to the members of a given sex and to those with the given social roles. Duties taken by women are mostly more time consuming and harder, which may result in overwork and anomalies in family functioning if we take into consideration that most women work professionally and have no time to rest. On the other hand, we can notice certain fields of activities where such strict division of work in connection with sex cannot be observed, which indicate a certain individualization of families. This especially relates to dealing with economic resources.

Family customs are also maintained in a considerable part of the surveyed families. Aspects of 'everyday culture' and 'celebration culture' considered in this research show a well visible connection with tradition, particularly this related to keeping and cherishing family bonds. Signals of Western culture's influence (like celebrating Valentine's Day or going to restaurants) are more and more visible, which shows possible directions of changes. For the time being, however, the majority of families from Rybnik may be

described as 'traditional' when it comes to everyday activities and maintaining family customs and traditions, what is noticed by respondents themselves.

Accepting new cultural elements by families, at the same time keeping many traditional behaviours indicates that taking aware decisions rather than passive takeover of old legacy is taking place.

2.2. Mutual help

Intensive and frequent help and support shown to separately living parents or children who left home seems to become a thing of the past, traditional life. This lifestyle is not promoted by growing vertical and horizontal mobility within widely understood families, interferences of social and national organizations which largely replacing or supporting families in fulfilling its protective, social or economic functions and also cultural changes directed at individualization and autonomization of nuclear families and particular individuals.¹⁷ Polish family seems to be on the verge between a family with typically traditional features and, let us call it a modern family. On the one hand, we have observed a decline of numerous and multi-generation families since the end of the Second World War with the growing number of small one-generation nuclear families and visible signs of mobility, on the other hand, however, Polish families still maintain strong bonds and mutual help between relatives and related families.

About 64% of respondents' families, who were asked within the project „Family in Tradition and Modernity”, provide different forms of help to their children, who left homes and live separately. Support shown by parents towards independent children is the most often in the financial form. Such help is given by almost half of the families (46.2%). It appears that this type of activities helps young people 'settle down' in their adult lives. As it emerges from different studies, care of children, including those who already started their independent life, are one of the most important places among the family values of the Poles.¹⁸ We can assume that the surveyed families invest in their children, not even considering their own needs. In contemporary society, first of all financial resources decide about success. Success of independent children is much more probable when parents provide an adequate economic level. Parents help their children on the start which is not always easy in contemporary Poland. Financial help of parents seems indispensable, particularly in the moment of searching for job by young people, among whom unemployment has been on a high level for a long time.

We can, however, ask a question: don't we teach young people passivity in this way and make them become helpless in this system? Doesn't it take the joy of gaining, working for material goods for oneself and the family, whose future young people should take in their own hands?

Taking care of grandchildren, which is a very popular kind of help for young marriages, is done by 19.7%, which is about one fifth of the respondents. As for Polish conditions, the percentage of women who declare this kind of help is relatively low. This

¹⁷ Tyszką Z.: *Rodzina we współczesnym ...* s. 28.

¹⁸ Wojciechowska – Mieszalska A.: *Młode pokolenie a świat wartości życia codziennego*. [in:] Warzywoda-Kruszyńska W.: *Młodzi Łódzianie w latach osiemdziesiątych*. Łódź 1992, s. 62.

probably results from the fact that the majority of the surveyed women are between 40 and 50 years old and are professionally active. It is possible that a part of independent children do not have their own children yet, which should not be surprising if we consider the fact that the age of bringing the first child to the world by Polish women is growing steadily.

Help rendered to grown-up children by performing household activities was declared by 4.2% of the respondents and emotional support was declared by only 2.6% of them. Maybe frequent mutual contact declared in the results mentioned above is not interpreted by respondent as help, although in this situation we cannot ignore its existence.

More than one third does not engage into helping their adult offspring (35.9%). It is possible that those children do not need any help; young people are healthy, professionally active and earn enough to support themselves and their families. The other possibility is that parents are not able to or do not want to render such support which the children would need. It is often shown by the result of different studies that in case of prolonged problems, e.g. long lasting unemployment, members of families may expect the attitude 'you must deal with it yourself' rather than support from relatives and friends.¹⁹

According to the respondents, help give to their independent children is in big extent returned. More than half of children living separately help somehow their parents (about 58%). This help relates, however, other domains of life. In comparison to help given to the young generation from the side of their families, adult children help parents financially almost twice more seldom; it is practiced by about one quartet of young people (21.4%). Supposedly, the reason for this situation are large needs of young people at the start into adult life, their problems related to finding a job or low earnings in the initial period of employment. That is why parents do not expect or even do not want such help from their children, recognizing the prevalence of the needs of the young generation and their new families. The younger generation, however, helps their parents when it comes to housework (22.2%). Adult children also help by solving different problems (12.0%) and support them emotionally.

Among children who are already independent, 41.9% do not help their parent in any way. If we compare the percentages of answers related to lack of any help both from the side of parents and children, we can see that they are very similar – they differ only by 5.1%.

The surveyed families keep quite regular contact with their parents (generational families), which is also connected with help and mutual support. Almost 90% of the respondents mention helping their parents. In case of mutual help relations between the families and the generation of grandparents, it is interesting to observe that the prevailing type of help declared by the respondents is emotional support (44.5%), which was so little in case of children-parents relations. Maybe such answers are caused by a deeper emotional and mental understanding between older generations, with growing differences younger generations resulting from e.g. totally different social and economic conditions of growing-up or changes in the character of family relations towards independence of nuclear families.

¹⁹ Graniewska D., Balcerzak – Paradowska B., Głogosz D.: *Współczesne zagrożenia realizacji podstawowych funkcji rodziny*. [in:] „Studia i Materiały”. IPiSS. Warszawa 1994.

A slightly lower percentage (32.2%) of the respondents helps their probably elderly parents in household activities, 15.2% of them take of their parents and 6% help in different type of formal issues. Only 8.0% of the respondents help their parents financially. Among the asked families only 10.6% do not help their parents at all. Analogical results related to non-financial forms of help given to seniors by their children were obtained in several other studies conducted in Poland on the verge of the centuries.²⁰

Getting support from parents (the generation of grandparents) was declared by almost 90% of the respondents, similarly as in case of the reverse direction. Among the forms of help received from parents, the respondents mention emotional support the most often (26.6%), considering their possibilities, the generation of grandparents generously help their families financially, as 23.6% of the respondents mention getting it. 11.0% admit receiving presents and material help and 7.4% got a flat. Such scale of different kinds of financial help provided by the oldest generation in most cases is connected with considerable sacrifice on their side. Although they often have financial problems, they frequently and very willingly support their adult children and do so in many forms.

As it appears from research conducted on Rybnik area, a significant part of grandmothers and grandfathers is engaged in taking care of little children (15.0%). Some members of the older generation also help their families with household activities– 12.0%. Lack of help from parents is declared only by 11.6% of the respondents and this percentage is similar to the one obtained in reverse relations.

Although it often deserves much effort and sacrifice especially from elderly members, this mutual exchange of benefits between the generations gives the feeling of participation, usefulness and importance, protecting from loneliness and the feeling of redundancy.

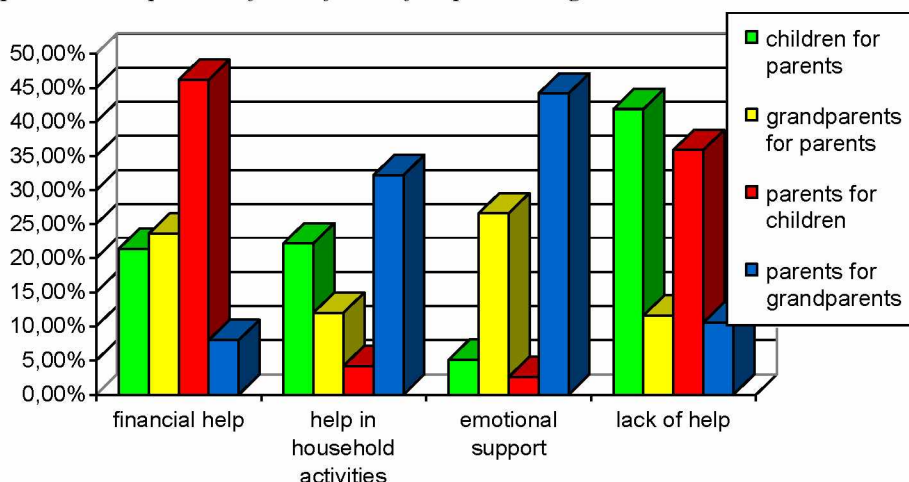
If we get together different types of help rendered to each other by members of subsequent generations living separately, we can clearly see certain tendencies. Financial help is an important element of supporting older generations by the younger ones and it is dominating in the relations between parents and their young, but independent offspring (graph 2.2). Similar results were obtained in a series of studies in the area of Poland. A significant part of the respondents (percentages similar to the present research) underlines financial support from older generations: parents, grand parents and patent sin law. However, help show in the opposite direction took a quite different, usually immaterial character, just like on our study.²¹ Financial help doming from parents towards adult children is in Poland a permanent phenomenon, which has been confirmed by research and social surveys for many years.²²

²⁰ comp. Czekanowski P.: *Rodzina w życiu osób starszych i osoby starsze w rodzinie*. [in:] Synak B. (red): *Polska starość*. Edit. Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego. Gdańsk 2002, s. 163–171.

²¹ Giza-Poleszczuk A., i In.: *Strategie i system. Polacy w obliczu zmiany społecznej*. IFiS PAN. Warszawa 2000, s. 27–30.

²² Dyczewski L.: *Więź między pokoleniami w rodzinie ...*, s. 82–85.

Graph 2.2. – Comparison of some forms of help between generations.



Source: Own studies

On the other hand, mutual emotional support constitutes the dominating form of help in relation between the middle and the oldest generations, which is almost unnoticeable in case of relation between the two younger generations. The actual needs of member son different age and in various life situations are also visible here – young people need financial help in today's reality on the beginning of their adult life and older people pay bigger attention to emotional stability and physical balance. The obtained proportions may also reflect a lower subjective tie between the middle and younger generations, the differences in the values of these generations which consist in e.g. consumption-related attitude to life notices among younger people who expect their parents only to provide financial support. Larger percentages of families who do not render any kind of help in relations between the middle and younger generations seems to show a emerging dissonance between the generations of different 'social and economic worlds', which threatens with shrinking of social capital resources of Polish families.

To sum up, we have to conclude that the research conducted on families form the Rybnik area within the project: „Family in Tradition and Modernity” confirmed the tendencies of giving mutual help which are present in the majority of Polish families.

This could result in closing into the family group, not noticing the needs of other people outsider the family and limiting the activity only to supporting relatives. In an extreme form, the main way to creating structures are family ties, which, consequently, leads to going in the direction of familiaristic type of society.²³

On the other hand, it seems that this 'traditional' potential of mutual help within widely understood family could constitute a starting point for 'modern' family who build ties also in wider social structures without rejecting or neglecting the already existing

²³ Fukujama F.: *Zaufanie. Kapitał społeczny a droga do dobrobytu*. PWN. Warszawa 1997, s. 41.

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strong inter-family relations. This direction of development is promoted by present in many families phenomenon of taking by individuals during the socialization process the abilities of accepting and providing support and building relations based on mutual trust.

II. Consumption

Andrzej Górny

3.1. Healthy nutrition?

When considering the situation of a family in social environment, it seems important to look at consumption, that is using certain parts of income for expenses satisfying different types of needs. Many studies suggest that in each social environment certain models of consumption are created and consolidated, which means that repeated levels and structure of consumption with internal system of relations and dependences exist in determined social and economic conditions of households.²⁴

The way of nutrition may be treated as an important element of consumption. In model development and today's world in general, nutrition is becoming something else than only satisfaction of hunger. In choosing the composition of meals importance is being gained by factors, which were either totally insignificant in traditional societies or they played a secondary role. One of such factors is the influence of a given ingredient on health. Also the way of nutrition itself, as well as frequency of meals and used spices are important. A general conclusion which could be drawn is that a healthy style of nutrition is close to a modern model, although those two notions cannot be equalled.

The fact that eating is not merely satisfaction of hunger is proved by eating when we are not actually hungry. The majority of the respondents claim, however, that they do not behave in this way. They constitute 61% of the whole. The rest of the respondents claim that they sometimes eat even if they are not hungry. The most common reason for such behaviour is stress (22%). Other circumstances appear in answers much more seldom – boredom (4.6%); while watching television (3.4%), craving for something tasty (2.6%), social parties and receptions (1.8%); other reasons (without mentioning) 4.4%. The group who eats when they are not hungry the most often are women living in villas (47%). Women living in other areas, who present this style of consumption constitute respectively: 38.9% among those living in blocks of flats, 31.6% among those living in the city centre, 39.1% among those living in the suburbs, and 31.2% among those living in rural areas. It seems, therefore, that so far eating is still mainly satisfying the most basic human need. However, we can notice other functions of consuming meals, including social ones. This situation may be a sign of a gradual increase of financial condition of the society, where surpluses allow for a consumption exceeding only satisfaction of basic needs. On the other hand, however, it has been noticed that education relating to models of healthy nutrition surely limits in some degree the phenomenon of eating in situations when there is no hunger.

A good completion of this analysis is the characteristics of products consumed in respondents' families the most often. Valuable factors of the nutrition model may be the frequency of eating vegetables and fruit, choice, and the use of salt and other types of foodstuffs.

²⁴ comp. W. Mrozek, *Górniośląska rodzina robotnicza w procesie przeobrażeń*, Katowice 1987, s. 29.

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Among the respondents the majority are women, who declare often eating vegetables and fruit. More than 80% of them eat both vegetables and fruit at least several times per week, and only one respondent said that she never eats fruit. Such division of answers may show a rising awareness of a healthy style of nutrition among the respondents.

Table 3.1. – *Frequency of eating vegetables and fruit (data in %)*

FREQUENCY	VEGETABLES	FRUIT
Every day	56.4	45.4
3-4 times per week	31.4	30.2
1-2 times per week	9.2	14.0
From time to time	2.4	9.6
I do not eat fruit at all	0.0	0.2
System lack of data	0.6	0.6
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Own studies

The tendency becomes visible among the respondents' families, for example in respect of preparation of fried meals. From the whole range of ingredients for frying the most commonly used alternative is relatively the healthiest – olive oil (63%). Less often is chosen less healthy margarine (30%), and the most seldom is chosen the most harmful fat (lard) (20.8%). Apart from these basic products the respondents choose also oil (8.9%). The percentages presented above do not sum up to 100%, because it happens that several products are chosen simultaneously – for example both olive oil and fat were chosen by 4%, margarine and fat by 3.8%, and all products by 2.8%.

The conclusions, however, are not so explicit in view of the analysis of answers for further questions related to other products. For instance, almost all respondents (96%) add salt to meals. Only 2.8% declare that they do not use salt because of its harmful influence on health. What is characteristic is that among them the most numerous group (50%) constitute women living in villas, that is potentially with the highest material status and having a specific (more modern) lifestyle.

Also when it comes to the kind of eaten bread, the most common is white bread, which is potentially the least healthy. Relatively often also dark bread and rye bread were chosen. Other types of bread are consumed only marginally. Detailed data is presented in table 3.2.

Table 3.2. – *Most commonly consumed kind of bread (data in %)*

White bread	59.0
Dark bread	19.2
rye bread	15.0
other – sunflower seed bread	1.6
other – toast bread	0.2
other – mixed	1.0
other – crispy	0.2

Lack of data	3.8
Total	100.0

Source: Own studies

It turns out that adding salt to meals and the choice of bread are not dependent on the character of the place of living. Women living in villas, in the city centre, in blocks of flats, in the suburbs, as well as in rural areas all declared similar frequency of eating fruit and vegetables.

Trying to summarize this part of the analysis it is hard to draw an explicit conclusion. It seems that consumption models which can be noticed in the surveyed families cannot be explicitly called 'healthy'. Nevertheless, we can notice a number of factors (e.g. high frequency of eating fruit and vegetables) which indicate that influence of the style of nutrition of health is for the respondents of even greater importance. If we assume that the healthy style of nutrition is the modern model, we can see a gradual transfer from the traditional model, where satisfaction of hunger at a possibly low cost was the most important, to a new model, where appear other factors and economical considerations are less important than e.g. health ones.

3.2. Dietary preferences

The analysis of the preferred nutritive products may allow for more exact determination of the consumption model on the axle between tradition and modernity. We should remember here that quality and quantity of consumed food reflect the social structure, stratification and particularly material situation of Polish families. Also, in all periods of Polish history, eating was not only satisfying hunger, but also a social activity.²⁵

We have to assume that products appropriate for the traditional model are products that have been present in the menus of families for a long time, those having a firm position among a very rich range of today's various consumption goods and mostly of domestic production. The indicators of a modern model are products with relatively short presence on our market, which constitute a kind of novelty in a menu characteristic for the conditions of our country and are mostly imported.

3.2.1. Fruit and vegetables

The first analyzed category is fruit. Among them the respondents very often mention fruit which could be said to be characteristic for the traditional model – apples (67.6%), strawberries (64.2%), pears (42.6%), plums (36.2%), cherries (34%), raspberries (35%), blackberries (30.4%), sour cherries (25%). What is interesting, also very often among favourite fruit appear those which are not grown in our climate (or their plantations are small), but they have been present on our market for quite a long time – grapes 58.8%, bananas 51.6%, peaches 51.2%, oranges 48.4%, watermelons 36% kiwi 26.2%, apricots 20% and raisins 21.4%. Among fruit mentioned the most seldom we can find

²⁵ comp. M. Żyromski, *Nawyki żywieniowe w dziejach rodziny polskiej*, in: *Blaski i cienie życia rodzinnego*, red. Z. Tyszką, Poznań 2004, s. 111.

those which still function as 'exotic' – pineapples 22.6%, dates 6.6%, figs 9%, melons 10.8%, papayas 6.8%, pomegranates 1%.

A similar tendency may be observed in respect to vegetables. The most commonly chosen are vegetables which have been known on the Polish market for a very long time – tomato 76%, cauliflower 62%, cucumber 61.2%, carrot 57.5%, potato 46.2%, lettuce 49.8%, mushrooms 44.8% cabbage 43.3%, sauerkraut 43%, radish 37.4%, beans 30%. Next group is formed by vegetables which are quite well known, but are not so commonly grown in our country or are imported – corn 25.2%, Brussels sprouts 15.4%, courgette 13.2%, asparagus 15.2%. Less often as favourite vegetables the respondents mentioned the ones that have been commonly available on the Polish market for the shortest period of time – green peppers 20.2%, marrow 8.2%, aubergine 3.8%, broccoli 3%, and red peppers 3.4%. The analysis of choices of favourite vegetables leads us to a significant conclusion – as favourite vegetables seldom are chosen those vegetables, which have been present in the traditional Polish menu for a very long time – green peas 21.2%, turnip cabbage 18%, spinach 16%, yellow peas 9.2%, turnip 7.6%, beetroots 6.4%, celery 12.8%, pumpkin 3.4%, lentils 2.6% and onion 2.2%.

At this point there comes a conclusion about a gradually changing model of nutrition and transformation from a typically traditional model, basing on vegetables and fruit well known for years and used in the preparation of many dishes, which are characteristic for the so called traditional Polish cuisine, to the modern model, within which the preparation of meals include the use of many products, also fruit and vegetables, which until recently were actually unavailable on our market. Vegetables with the strongest position, constituting a basis of meals as early as ages ago are being slowly eliminated from the menu.

It is also worth mentioning that the most progressive group in this respect is represented by occupants of villas, so a group with potentially best material status and a specific lifestyle, which assumes following modern trends and openness for novelties. (Above all when it comes to fruit – e.g. they constitute 48.9% among people choosing figs, 45.5% among respondents choosing dates and 32.4% among people choosing papayas. In the remaining categories of respondents, differentiated on the basis of the living area, no major differences were noticed in choices of preferred fruit and vegetables.

3.2.2. Meat

The analysis of the preferred kinds of meat seems to confirm the previous conclusions. Traditional Polish cuisine is based, above all, on pork. In fact, pork is relatively often chosen by the respondents (47%), but much more often they point on chicken meat (77.6%). Other kinds of meat are chosen definitely less often – fish 26.2%, turkey 15.4%, and beef 14.8%. The least often as favourite were chosen duck meat (1%), rabbit meat (0.8%) and veal (0.6%). In this case we can thus speak about certain symptoms of changes, which take place in the range of foods used in the preparation of meals, and what follows, in the whole model of nutrition. These are not, however, significant changes.

In case of the preferred meat dependence between the choices and the living area is not visible. Respondents from all mentioned categories similarly characterized their preferences in this range.

3.2.3. Drinks

Looking at the division of answers related to the preferred drinks we can state once more that former conclusions were correct. The respondents mostly chose drinks with strong position in Polish reality – coffee 54.6% and black tea 40.8%. Many of them chose also drinks commonly available on the Polish market, such as green tea 23.2%, fruit juice 22.8% and mineral water 41.4%. Alcoholic drinks (beer 6.8% and wine 4.8%) and drinks with gas like cola (5%) were, however, chosen quite seldom. The smallest number of respondents chose drinks which can be treated like the most traditional – water from tap 2.6%, kefir 1.6% and milk 0.8%.

In this case we can see not a transfer to a modern model, within which some new and strange for our culture drinks could be noticed, but rather a move away from traditional drinks like milk, water from tap or kefir.

In a trial to link the preferences relating to drinks with places of living, actually only one important conclusion appears – occupant of villas more often than other respondents chose alcoholic drinks (41.7% among all respondents choosing wine and 22.7% among those choosing beer are living in villas). This phenomenon can be perhaps explained by economical reasons – alcohols are the most expensive drinks, and occupant of villas are potentially the wealthiest group.

3.3. Motivation for purchasing foodstuffs

An important indicator of consumption models which are possible to notice in the surveyed families is surely the analysis of factors which influence a decision to buy particular products in the first place. In this case two factors are of greatest importance – loyalty to the brand (80%) together with taste (79.8%) and price (79.6%). It seems that these factors are closer to the traditional model than to the modern one. Domination of this model is also visible in a relatively large group of respondents (28%) choosing family tradition as one of the main factors responsible for their choice of foodstuffs. Although the respondents quite often admitted that their decisions related to buying foodstuffs depend much on health considerations (44.4%), in fact particular factors related to healthy nutrition are chosen quite seldom – fat content 14%, calories content 11.2%, composition 3% and sugar content 1.6%. Also advertisements are not, according to the respondents, responsible for their choices while shopping for food – only 2.6% of the respondents chose this type of motivation. The character of the place of living does not differentiate the choices in a large extent. Women living in all the described areas make similar choices when it comes to factors determining their shopping decisions.

It appears thus that in relation to motivation influencing shopping decisions we can speak more about the traditional model, where practical and taste reasons count the most, rather than about the modern model, which assumes, above all, care about health. It is worth mentioning that research related to the structure of family expenses in Poland indicates that the share of expenses for food, which in 1990 on average exceeded 50% of family budget, started to fall. This decrease results not from improvement of wealth, but rather from the increase of fixed payments – rent, electricity bills, heating etc. Energetic and nutritional value of meals decreased, too. The biggest fall was noted in case of butter,

milk, potatoes, meat and sugar consumption. In comparison to physiological norms, the consumption of vegetables, fish, milk, cheese and flour is still too low.²⁶

3.4. A subjective assessment of a nutrition model of a family

Conclusions about domination of the traditional model of family nutrition are confirmed by the analysis of answers for the question about a subjective assessment of such model given by the respondents. An absolute majority of them call the nutrition model of their families 'traditional' (74%). Only 25% call it 'modern' and 1% did not answer this question. The analysis of the relation between the answers and the character of the living area show that respondents living the city centre slightly more often call consumption of their families modern – 35.1%, whereas the percentages of respondents living in the remaining areas and determining the nutrition model of their families in this way are close to 25%.

Changing eating habits may be surely perceived as a resultant of cultural influences, especially those from Western Europe.²⁷ Although relatively little number of respondents are aware of those changes, in the light of objective indicators they seem quite well visible. However, we cannot notice diametrical changes in several last decades. The distance between Poland and the other members of the European Union is still significant, and some research indicates that it seems to be even growing.²⁸

3.5. Shopping – where and how often?

The respondents declared mostly, that family shopping is done at least once a week (61.8%). A significantly smaller group of respondents claim that they do such shopping at least once a month (24%). The remaining groups are much less numerous – 4.6% of respondents do family shopping only at weekends; those who do shopping every day constitute 5.2%, and those who claim that shopping is done when there is enough time, irregularly, constitute 3.3% of the whole of the respondents.

The most often shopping is done in the shops in the direct neighbourhood of home or workplace, with 30.2% of the respondents pointing at a supermarket located close to home or workplace, and 37.6% at a smaller shop in direct neighbourhood. Less often the respondents do shopping in hypermarkets – 19.8%, and the least often they go shopping on a market – 12.2%.

Such choice of places where shopping is done is dictated above all, by practical reasons – distance from the shop or market place (39.2%), and prices (28%). A less

²⁶ comp. E. Gucwa-Leśny, *Zmiany poziomu życia i ich społeczne uwarunkowania*, in: *Wymiary życia społecznego, Polska na przełomie XX i XXI wieku*, red. M. Marody, Warszawa 2002, s. 195.

²⁷ comp. M. Żyromski, *Nawyki żywieniowe w dziejach rodziny polskiej*, in: *Blaski i cienie życia rodzinnego*, red. Z. Tyszka, Poznań 2004, s. 111.

²⁸ comp. E. Gucwa-Leśny, *Zmiany poziomu życia i ich społeczne uwarunkowania*, in: *Wymiary życia społecznego, Polska na przełomie XX i XXI wieku*, red. M. Marody, Warszawa 2002, s. 195.

significant role is played by in this case by respondents' habits (13.7%), the assortment of the offered goods (13.5%), and of completely marginal importance are such factors as, for example, quality of the offered products (2.8%), or accessibility of goods (1.8%).

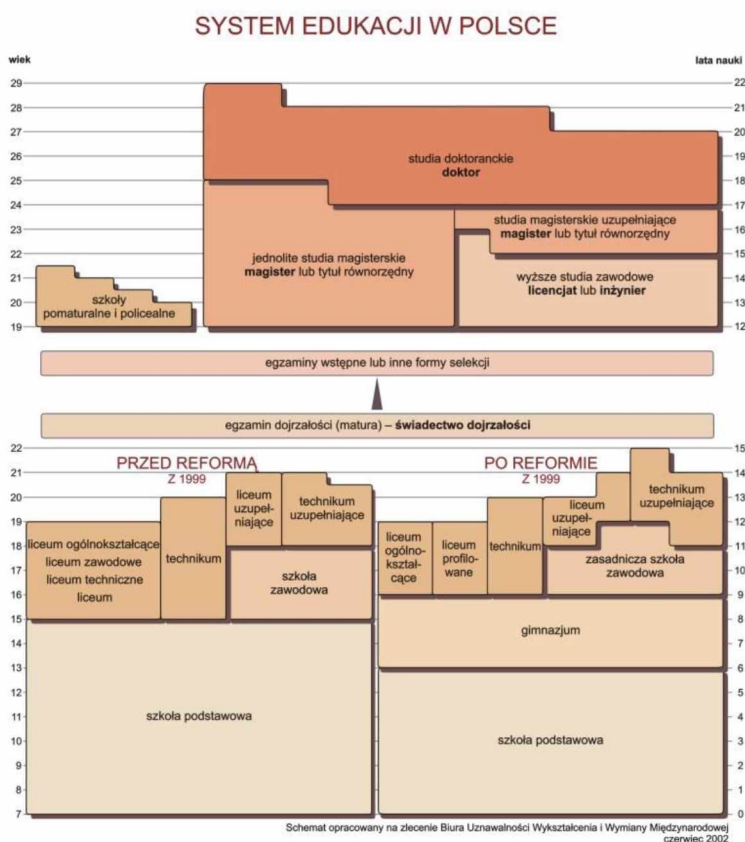
The division of answers presented above lets us draw a conclusion about rather traditional attitude of the respondents towards shopping. Their preferences arise out of practical considerations and habits. Hypermarkets do not enjoy common appreciation yet and are slightly behind in comparison to smaller shops, to which the respondents are more bound. On the other hand, however, the meaning of a market place, the most traditional place for doing shopping, is diminishing. Its role is being taken over by hypermarkets. It appears that in the nearest future their position will become stronger and stronger and we will observe a new specificity of shopping, consisting mainly in lower frequency of shopping done mostly in hypermarkets. The place of living does not differentiate the choices of places for doing shopping – women living in particular areas choose similar places, where they typically buy things.

IV. Education

Maria Świątkiewicz–Mośny

The education system in Poland contains 3 levels. Primary school which is obligatory for all children lasts 6 years. A child begins education at the age of 7 and the obligation to learn finishes in the 18th year of age. After graduating from primary school a child begins a 3 year junior high school and then, after taking a high school examination the education is continued in secondary school, profiled secondary school, technical secondary school or vocational school. Positive results of final secondary school examination (Matura) open the way on universities. The scheme below presents the Polish educational system in detail:

Graph 4.1. – *System of Education in Poland*



Source: www.bwuim.edu.pl

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Differences in access to education of children and young people aged 7 to 19 between cities and villages are not large according to Social Diagnosis 2005: 93% of village dwellers aged 15 to 19 and 90 – 94% of city dwellers continue education. The higher level of education, however, sees more significant differences: 51% of villagers and 54%-70% of city dwellers aged 20 – 24 use educational services.

The education of the surveyed women and their life partners is presented on the table below:

Table 4.1. – *Education of the respondents and their life partners*

Education	Women (%)	Men (%)
Elementary	5.0%	3.8%
Vocational	26.2%	41.6%
Secondary	41.1%	33.6%
Post-secondary	9.3%	4.4%
Higher	18.3%	16.7%

Source: Own studies

The majority of women (almost 70%) have at least secondary education (41% – secondary, 9.3% – post-secondary, 18.5% – higher). Comparing this to the structure of education of their partners, we have to conclude that men are less educated. Only half of them (54.7%) have at least secondary education whereas more than 68.7% of their wives graduated at least from secondary school. Although the educational structure in the presented results shows the prevalence of women, we can say that the surveyed families are relatively homogenous in this respect. In case of women with elementary education, 27% of their partners have elementary education too and 50% – vocational one. Partners of women with vocational education the most often also have the same type of education (63.4%), and the rest of them have at least secondary education. In case of respondents with secondary and post-secondary education the proportions are divided in a different way, however. More than 40% of their partners have secondary education as well (43.5%) and a similar number have vocational education (41.2%).

The surveyed women reached a higher level of education than their parents. The relation between the respondents and their fathers in this respect can be described like this: daughters reach at least the same level as their fathers or go one level higher. All daughters of fathers who did not graduate from primary school graduated at least from primary school. More than 90% of daughters of fathers with elementary education have at least vocational education (30.4% – vocational, 43.2% – secondary). Almost a half of women whose fathers reached vocational education have secondary education.

Increased educational aspirations are typical for contemporary times. High education, however, is not always reflected in well-paid jobs. It is worth stressing here that education and especially educational aspirations can be treated as an indicator of family's modernity.

The respondents were in great majority mothers of children who have not finished their education yet, so talking about their level of education is not validated. We only expect that children's education will be the same or higher than parents' education. We also try to determine the value of education on the basis of children's participation in

after-school activities. The system of education includes not only obligatory classes at school, but also all other forms of knowledge improvement organized by the school or other institutions.

The most popular among additional activities are sports activities. 12.8% of sons of the respondents attend such classes organized by school and the same number takes part in activities outside of school. Also girls are willing to join sports activities – 8% of respondents' daughters attend sports activities organized by school. The popularity of sports activities may result from the way of they are financed (sports and recreation are financed from different sources than additional music or language lessons), which is connected with possibilities of wider offer of sports activities. It is also worth mentioning that 12.2% of respondents' daughters attend additional foreign language classes organized outside of school, whereas 8% their sons are educated in this field. Schools' offer does not seem interesting in this matter as only 4% of daughters and 3% of sons use this kind of additional language classes at school. Music activities are not very popular. About 4% of sons and 6% of daughters of respondents take part in this kind of classes organized by school or outside of it. Participation in additional activities is mostly influenced by parents' education level, the place of living as well as financial situation of a family.

The type of additional activities in which children take part is affected by parents' education. For example, sports activities organized both by school and other institutions are the most popular among sons of mothers with secondary education. On the other hand, music and language classes (organized by school) are attended mostly by sons of mothers with higher education. The situation is similar in case of girls. Summarizing, we can say that mothers, whose children participate in additional activities have at least secondary education. Among children who take part in such activities, the majority live in blocks of flats or villas. Among boys who take part in music classes organized by school as much as a half lives in villas, similarly to participants of other activities organized by school and music classes outside of school. 1/3 of male participants in foreign language classes and 37.7% of boys taking part in sports activities at school participants live in blocks of flats. Also girls living in blocks of flats are more active than those living in other city areas. Block of flats dwellers constitute about 1/3 of girls taking part in sports activities (33%), 28.6% of foreign language classes' goers and 35.7% of participants in other activities organized at school. In activities organized outside of school girls from blocks of flats are also prevalent.

Among the reasons of educational selections structural and economic factors are mentioned. A division into the country and city is visible: the city, where the access to rich educational and cultural offer is easier and the country where there are no good schools, cultural centers and language schools. Economic factors are also important. The majority of additional activities are not free and the cost is heightened by expenses for child's transportation. The richness of additional activities' offer and their localization in relation to the place of living constitute a very important variable influencing the participation of pupils in this type of activities.

4.1. Profession

Typical professions in the Silesian area are miners and steelworkers. Richness of resources underground caused a fast development of industry, especially this connected

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with coal output and processing. In a traditional model of a Silesian family a woman took care of the household, children and husband and the man worked in a mine or steelworks.

The results of our research show a considerable change in the professional situation of women: over 70% of them work. Almost ¼ of the respondents is related with personal services and sale – they are shop assistants, hairdressers, cosmeticians. More than 15% are office workers, 13.5% are specialists and 12% of the surveyed women are unemployed, which means they want to find a job but they are not able to do so. The unemployment rate in Rybnik amounts to 13.7%, and in the Rybnik's administrative area – 20.7%.

Table 4.2. – *Profession performed by the respondents*

	Percent
Personal service workers and salespeople	24.1
Office workers	15.9
Specialists	13.5
Unemployed	12.7
Technicians and semi-skilled personnel	10.5
Pensioners	9.2
Simple activities workers	5.9
Members of parliament, high officials and directors	4.9
Industrial workers and craftsmen	1.4
Operator and assemblers of machines and devices	1.4
Armed forces	0.5

Source: Own studies

More than 1/3 of respondents' partners are industrial workers or craftsmen – who work in mining in big part. The second most numerous group are pensioners (20%) – which is also connected with working in coalmines. Miners' pensions are paid after working for 25 years and 50th birthday (or after 20 years of work and 55 years of age)²⁹. It is worth stressing that among the respondents there are not as many pensioners (9.2%). Only 2.6% of respondents' partners are unemployed. This result is much lower than the average for our country or region. We can say about lack of unemployment in this group. It is a certain paradox that although women are better educated, they have more problems with finding a job. This could result from the profile of education which does not fit the job market: half of women who are agricultural profession and over 1/3 (37.5%) of those who are industrial workers do not jobs. On the other hand, only 1.1% among specialists is unemployed.

²⁹ comp. Ustawa z dnia 27 lipca 2005 o zmianie emerytur i rent z Funduszu Ubezpieczeń Społecznych oraz ustawy – Karta Nauczyciela, Dz.U. z 2005 r. Nr 167, poz. 1397, http://ks.sejm.gov.pl/proc4/ustawy/3719_u.htm

Table 4.3. – *Profession of respondents' partners*

	Percent
Industrial workers and craftsmen	35.1
Pensioners	21.0
Specialists	9.1
Personal service workers and salespeople	7.6
Technicians and semi-skilled personnel	7.2
Operator and assemblers of machines and devices	5.5
Members of parliament, high officials and directors	4.1
Office workers	3.8
Unemployed	2.6
Simple activities workers	2.1
Armed forces	1.4
Farmers, gardeners, foresters and fishermen	0.5

Source: Own studies

In the generation of respondents' fathers and fathers in law the dominant professions are connected with industry and crafts. Half of them worked or are still working in these sectors (53.1% of fathers and 49.9% of fathers in law). Working on farm and in orchards was also quite popular– 11.7% of fathers and 13.9% of fathers in law perform or performed this profession.

Table 4.4. – *Profession of respondent's father and father in law*

	Father (%)	Father in law (%)
Industrial workers and craftsmen	53.1	49.9
Farmers, gardeners, foresters and fishermen	11.7	13.9
Office workers	5.3	1.7
Specialists	4.7	6.4
Personal service workers and salespeople	4.7	5.7
Technicians and semi-skilled personnel	4.5	5.4
Simple activities workers	3.6	3.5
Operator and assemblers of machines and devices	3.4	3.8
Members of parliament, high officials and directors	2.6	1.2
Armed forces	0.9	0.5

Source: Own studies

21.7% of respondents' mothers work or worked as personal service workers or saleswomen. 12.4% of them worked as office workers and almost the same number (12.2%) worked in agriculture or in orchards. A detailed division is presented in table 7. Similarly to mothers, respondents' mothers in law worked often in personal service and

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sales sector and 14% worked as farmers or gardeners. A detailed division is presented in table 8.

Simplifying, we may state that in grandparents' generation women in Rybnik dealt in big part with personal services or sale. These forms of professional activity in the generation of our respondents ceased to play so much important role.

Table 4.5. – *Profession of respondents' mothers and mothers in law*

	Mother (%)	Mother in law (%)
Members of parliament, high officials and directors	3	0.2
Specialists	16	5.6
Technicians and semi-skilled personnel	21	4.1
Office workers	32	12.4
Personal service workers and salespeople	81	21.7
Farmers, gardeners, foresters and fishermen	52	12.2
Industrial workers and craftsmen	30	6.8
Simple activities workers	2	5.6

Source: Own studies

Rybnik and its region are located in the middle of the world of heavy industry. Miners, founders and workers have a far better situation with finding a job than even specialists with big experience. The conditions of job market have always influenced personal biographies of the citizens to a high degree, including a choice of profession.

If we take increased educational aspirations, specialization and work in services and new technologies as indicators of modernity, we can notice that the changes taking place in the surveyed families in the space of generations indicate heading for modernity. The generation of children is better educated than the generation of their parents and this one is in turn better educated than the generation of grandparents. The research shows that education of children is important. The phenomenon of „working kids” is not popular in this area, whereas higher education and taking up studies is more and more common. A quite considerable influence is here exerted by a System of Universities in Rybnik – a possibility of studying on place, in a small distance from the place of living significantly lowers the cost of education and makes it more accessible.

When it comes to employment, changes are visible first of all in case of women who took up jobs whereas their mothers did not work professionally. Partners of the respondents inherit the professional situation from their fathers in great deal. Mining is still an important part of economy. The so called ‘intelligent workplaces’, which are those connected with new technologies do not occur on this area in large quantity yet. Modernity in workplaces is still fighting with tradition and nothing shows so far that Rybnik and its surrounding could change into ‘silicon valley’.

V. Free time and participation in culture

Maria Świątkiewicz–Mośny

Free time is understood differently, not only in informal discourse, but also in sociology. It is defined either as cultural institution or as a kind of activity dependent on motivation and will. The main task of free time that is time which is free of obligatory activities (work, school, and everyday duties like cleaning, cooking, sleeping, cosmetic routine) is providing rest, entertainment, and also mental development. It is also more and more often stressed that active rest plays a very important role in preventing civilization diseases like cardiac problems or obesity. Free time plays a significant role in building strong emotional bonds, integrating and creating good communication within a family and may also play educational and cognitive roles.

For the sake of research, free time was defined by means of three ways of spending spare time: doing sports, cultural activity (visits to theatres, cinemas, museums, etc.) and tourism (going away on holidays).

The key issue in considering free time is not only its value (way of its organization), but also its quantity – perceived subjectively. Table 5.1 presents how the respondents evaluate the amount of their free time.

Table 5.1. – *The amount of free time during the day*

The amount of free time during the day	Per cent
I have no time	4.0
I have free time only during days off work	14.4
I have less than one hour of free time daily	8.2
I have 2 hours a day	21.6
3 hours a day	17.0
4 hours a day	8.2
5 hours a day	5.0
6 and more hours a day	9.4
Total	100.0

Source: Own studies

Most of the respondents declare that they have at least 2 hours of free time daily. Only 4% of them admit that they do not have any free time at all, and 14.4% say that they have it only during days off work. Almost one quarter of the asked women declare that they have more than 4 hours free every day. The workers of the budgetary sector admit having the least free time: 5.5% of them declare that they have no free time and 22.7% say that they have free time only on days off work. On the other hand, 25.6% of industry workers say that they have more than 4 hours of free time daily. Inhabitants of blocks of flats have the biggest amount of free time: one third of them admit to having at least 3

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hours free every day. However, half of village inhabitants have less than 3 hours of free time a day.

The most common entertainment of the respondents is reading. As many as 53% declare that they read in their free time and 19% watch television. The least popular free time activity is going on concerts, sleeping and machine sewing – only 0.6% chose this type of rest. Passive forms of rest are visibly dominant over active ones: walks were chosen by 14.5% of the respondents, sport only by 2.6% and going on trips by 1.2%.

Table 5.2. – *Free time*

What do you do in your free time?	Percent
Reading	53.8
Watching TV	19.5
Visiting friends, talking	18.3
Listening to the music	17.4
Household works, do-it-yourself	16.9
Crocheting, embroidery	14.5
Walks	14.5
Playing games	14.0
Doing nothing	12.8
Gardening	11.6
Going to discos, pubs and restaurants	3.5
Chess, billiard	2.6
Sports	2.6
Crosswords	2.6
Playing instruments, singing	1.7
Trips	1.2
Going to the theatre	0.9
Internet	0.9
Going to concerts	0.6
Sleeping	0.6
Machine sewing	0.6

Source: Own studies

Activities which do not deserve physical effort enjoy more popularity – doing nothing 12.8%, reading (53.8%), watching TV (19.5%), embroidery (14.5%) or listening to the music (17.4%). Active rest which could balance office passivity is not associated with free time. Although only 2.6% of the asked women chose sport as a way of spending free time, 22.4% of the respondents say that they do sports. Such activity is the most often declared by respondents with secondary education (8.6% of the surveyed population) and higher education (6.3%). Women who are specialists or industrial workers and craftswomen appear to be the fittest – over 1/3 of them declare sport activity.

The most popular sport is riding a bicycle and the least popular one is fitness. If we, however, sum up the number of respondents who practice gymnastics, aerobic and fitness as very similar forms of sports activities, it becomes relatively popular – 22.7% of the asked women exercise this type of sport. Swimming is on the third place – 17% of the

respondents declare visiting swimming pools. The study shows that 12.3% of them jog and more than 1/3 of all women declaring sports activity ride a bicycle. This result should not be surprising to anyone who is interested in sport infrastructure – Rybnik's region is impressive when it comes to the number of bike routes.

Almost half of the women declaring practicing sports do it once or twice a week. Women with secondary education seem to be the most active – 42.2% of them say that they practice sports every day or 3-4 times a week.

One of the first associations with free time is holidays. 1/3 (33.2%) of the respondents have not been on domestic vacations for the last 3 years, and almost 2/3 (59.8%) have not been abroad in this time. Almost all the respondents claim that they spend vacations with someone from their family (92.8% for domestic holidays, 89% for holidays abroad). Women with elementary and vocational education do on holidays the least often. Almost half of the women with elementary education and more than 40% with vocational education have not been on domestic holidays for the last 3 years even once and almost all of them (95.7%) have not been abroad on vacation. Respondents with higher education go away on both domestic and foreign holidays relatively the most often: 37.4% of the respondents with higher education have been on domestic holidays and 20% on vacations abroad 3 or more times in the last 3 years. A model of spending free time with the whole family is met more and more often. Holidays alone or with friends, without family, occur exceptionally seldom. Spending free time together and especially spending vacation with the family plays an important role in building and supporting emotional bonds within the family.

Apart from sports activity which significantly influences health improvement and rest understood as at least 3 days spent away from home, free time is also time for consumption of cultural goods and cultural activities.

78% of the respondents declare that they do not go to theatres at all, and 20% say that they visit them several times a year. Theatres are hardly ever visited by respondents with elementary and vocational education. 20% of respondents with secondary education and 15% with college education go to the theatre several times per year. On the other hand, 5% of respondents with higher education admit to visiting the theatre at least once a month and 47.3% declare visiting this place at least a few times a year. A similar number in this group say that they do not go to theatres at all. Industrial workers and craftsmen as well as simple activity workers and armed workers are hardly ever met in the theatre. Specialists appear to go to theatres the most often – 60% of them say that it is at least once a month.

Respondents usually go to the theatre with their families (67%). 1/3 of them go with friends and only 5% go there alone.

67.8% of the respondents declare going to concert and 1/3 go even several times a year. The most common concert goers are respondents with higher education and those with elementary or vocational education do not mention this type of cultural activity.

Similarly to theatre performances, concerts are watched usually with the family (70%), more seldom with friends (20%). Only 4% attend concerts alone.

The most popular type of cultural activities among the respondents is the cinema. Half of the respondents say that they do not visit cinemas at all, but 43.3% visit them several times a year. 6.5% of the surveyed women go to the cinema at least once a month. If we take into account education, higher education positively correlates with more

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frequent visits to the cinema and elementary and vocational education positively correlates with less frequent visits or resignation from this type of activity. Just like theatre, cinema is also a family activity. The respondents visit cinemas with whole families.

The respondents are quite rare visitors of museums. 83% say that they do not go there at all. 16% of the respondents visit a museum once a year, but none of them admits visiting museums several times a month.

It is worth stressing here that Rybník is not a cultural 'desert'. There are seven cultural 'houses' here and a cultural centre, by which exists Rybník's regional theatre and a small music theatre.

Other ways of spending free time we asked about included: visits in botanical gardens, amusement parks, ZOO, entertainment centres and playgrounds. 11% of the respondents were in a botanical garden in a year's time, 17.8% of them visited a ZOO, 18.2% – an entertainment centre and 25.4% - a playground.

All of the respondents declare watching television. Only less than 4% say that they do not watch at all or watch less frequently than once a week. On the other hand, as much as 81% admit to watching TV every day. Half of them claim that they do not devote more than 2 hours daily for this purpose. 71.6% of the asked women say that children watch television every day, but 41.4% of them say that it is not longer than for 2 hours a day. Watching television is one of the most popular ways for entertainment. Children of the TV age learn the world from a TV screen. The media create a reality which often seems more real and trustworthy than the one you can touch.

Almost 1/5 of the respondents mentioned reading as the most common way of spending free time. They possess small book collections at homes – 62.4% of them have more than 100 books at home. The biggest number of books is found in homes of people with higher education. More than a half of those who admit to more than 600 books have higher education. More than a half of higher educated people declare that they have over 200 books at home, whereas almost 50% of respondents with elementary education say that they have fewer than 50 books. However, possessing books does not mean reading them. Almost all (93.6%) respondents said that they read newspapers and 78.4% of them declare reading books.

Among the descriptions of contemporary reality two models appear to be dominating. One of them assumes the acceleration of life, the second one – passivity and apathy. In the former model even primary school pupils complain about having no time because apart from school classes they attend additional courses. Young people start preparing to the rat race which they will join when they take their first job. The latter model stresses huge unemployment, lack of perspectives, break of the employment and education. More and more popular are phenomena like 'blockers' (young people who spend most of their time in front of their blocks of flats), unemployment, and migration of the young. These are ways of escaping from reality without any attempts to adapt and change the situation. It is hard to judge which of the two models is more trustworthy. The way of spending free time is a part of lifestyle. The surveyed women claimed that their families spend free time in a traditional way (72.9%). We can thus assume that a traditional way of spending free time means passivity and lack of activities: not taking part in culture, not practicing sports and limiting holiday trips.

The research show an important role played by television in taking free time. Although watching television is not mentioned as an activity done in free time, we can suppose that it is a dominating activity as almost everyone watch TV every day and a lot of them spend in front of a TV set over 2 hours. Watching television often takes a form of watching a TV screen, which means looking passively into the screen and not selecting channels. Particularly children are threatened with negative influence of “civilization of violence and pornography of death” (Sułkowski, 2006), which is not indifferent to their psyche.

VI. Values and religion

Wojciech Świątkiewicz

Polish society is strong and traditional in their declarations relating to the family. All conducted research underlines a high axiological importance of family. Family, children, then friends and in the background nation and religion are the most important values declared by the Poles. We can even speak of pro-family mentality of Polish society.³⁰ When everybody talks about family it does not mean that everyone says the same thing about it and perceives it in the same way. It does not have to mean that they perceive it only as a listing relationship of a man and a woman, a community of people widened by parental relationships and fulfilling some significant functions in both personal and social development of family members. „Family happiness” and „family love” are often divided in practice into subsequent marriages and also such families experience them, where nobody is related with each other and the main problem of the present wife or husband is self-evaluation of the status taken among previous wives, husbands or partners and even parent in law who stay in fixed social relations. Strong position of a family in the value hierarchy is also a consequence of historical experiences of the nation (deprived of autonomic political institutions in 19th century on the beginning of 20th century) and its traditions, as well as living conditions in the totalitarian communistic system aiming at full subordination of an individual to national interests. The family was a kind of ‘oasis’, ‘cultural niche’, a ‘fortress’ (such descriptions were often used) which, against political aims, guaranteed keeping privacy of life, intimacy and freedom of thought. It constitutes a certain alternative for ‘imprisoned’ world of institutions and seeming action taking place of the stage of public life. a notion of family as a fortress’ which was born in the times of conquest, came back to public discourse after the second world war, creating the spaces of freedom and consolidating its role in the life of individuals and the society.

³⁰ From the research conducted in 2006 among the citizens of Warsaw’s archdiocese emerges, for example that the most important declared values in all social categories are family, children and friends, and further nation and religion. Family, nation and religion are *signposts* on the ways of social life. This function is deeply rooted in Polish history and culture. Culture is compared sometimes to a mirror, where we can recognize ourselves in our creations: literature, music, singing and dance, by work and rest, in forms of community life and models of religious life. Family, nation and religion are cultural symbols, rule of axiological order, *signposts* shining in the national mirror of culture. In the sociological interpretation of the sense of axionormative systems which characterize societies we cannot fully omit this metaphor of a *signpost* which stresses an obvious fact: a *signpost* show way, and it does not follow the way itself. W. Świątkiewicz: Rodzina, naród i religia, czyli aksjologiczne orientacje warszawskich katolików, in: Postawy społeczno-religijne mieszkańców archidiecezji warszawskiej. Red. W. Zdaniewicz. Warszawa 2006.

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Contemporary sociological research indicates various transformations of a family both in the role of the basic group of reference and in its functions. In its social, cultural and moral condition, a family reflects the instability of the society in general. Much demographic data as well as results of sociological studies show the large scope of family crisis. It does not mean, however, that a family definitively lost its favored place in the community and that it is unable to prevent the destruction of social and cultural system and take active part in shaping public life. Marriage and family are still strong institutions, although they experience different crises. Family and marriage happiness is chosen as the most important aim of life and the good of the family is recognized by the respondents as permanent good which should be protected and consolidated. Such bases relate to not only small families, but also the widened ones. Family is treated as the system of reference in difficult situations. Everything what is important is located in the closest surrounding, especially in this area which is satiated with the feeling of connection and emotional closeness of subjective character. This creates potential conditions for improvement of interpersonal communication and emotional ties within a family.³¹

6.1. Interpersonal relation

6.1.1. The husband should take care of the family

Three quarters of the respondents describe their families as traditional because traditional cultural customs are maintained there. The remaining ones say their families are modern. We should not, however, link this attitude directly with the distance or radical rejection of historically shaped cultural models of family traditions. Modernity is also perceived as a change in family roles structure, which was speeded in Upper Silesia by industry restructurization processes, especially when it comes to mining and steelworks. As a consequence, more and more women, who concentrated on household activities, take up professional activity. Similarly, there were changes concerning educational aspirations and attitudes towards higher education. Modernity does not have to mean rejection of tradition, it may be also its more aware choice.

Ideas of keeping family tradition very well reflect respondents' attitudes towards values recognized as most important for the model of a happy marriage.

Table 6.1. – *The most important expectations of a happy marriage*

	The most important features of a happy marriage	No. of resp.	%
1.	Partner should take care of the family	460	92.0
2.	Partner should take care of family's existence and conditions	448	89.6
3.	Partner should support me emotionally	395	79.0
4.	Partner should support me when there are problems in the external world	383	76.6
5.	Partner should be a biological father of my children	357	71.4
6.	Partner should improve the level of life together with me	264	52.8
7.	Partner should stimulate me intellectually	175	35.0

Source: Own studies

³¹ W. Świątkiewicz: Rodzina jako wartość w tradycji kulturowej Górnego Śląska. in: M. Ziemska red. Rodzina współczesna. Warszawa 2005.

The dominating conviction is that the partner, so traditionally speaking the husband 'should take care of the family'. The husband/partner is first of all expected to look after his family. Almost 92% of women, who represent the surveyed families, expect such behavior of their partners.

In the context of the remaining segments of the question we can state that 'taking care' is a widely perceived notion and something natural and obvious relating to the traditional family model and the recognized, accepted role of a father-husband who is responsible for his family. 'Taking care of the family' understood like cannot be limited only to matters related to securing material conditions of existence or to emotional support coming from deep feelings of love and respect for the partner, or participation in bringing up children. 'Taking care of the family' means all those things and surely also something more. It is a *sine qua non* condition of stability of family life, its cohesion and lasting despite and against different circumstances and situations destructively influencing family life. The husband-father is the one who the family can find support in, who provides defense and protection of material bases of family existence (79.0%) as well as emotional support (76.6%). An equally important value of the accepted family model is the conviction that family is based on kinship relations and the father should be the 'biological father' of children in the family.

So clearly exposed character of relations between the spouses is undoubtedly a sign of strong bonds with the traditional model of family which visibly divided functions in family and according to which man's role is family protection.

The role of man-husband-father, a guardian of the family is deeply rooted in the traditional family model functioning in the everyday life awareness in Upper Silesia. It stems from peasants' and workers' tradition which play an important role in the studied environment (cultural subregion of Upper Silesia) also today, particularly when it comes to family life models. Intern-generation family socialization promotes strengthening such models of family life, although it has to be underlined that in this range traditional models of family life undergo changes. Which are, however, much slower than in large and culturally pluralistic city environments.

Much less attention is paid to the role of husband-father, together with whom a woman undertakes action in order to improve life standard and conditions. In the context of suggestions in the questionnaire the smallest acceptance is given to the role of husband as a partner of intellectual adventures. Marginalization of this role is very well visible in the data division presented in table 3 which show the answers related to the least important factors for a nappy marriage.

Table 6.2. – *What is the least important in happy marriage?*

	The least important features of a happy marriage	No. of resp.	%
1.	Partner should stimulate me intellectually	80	16.0
2.	Partner should be the biological father of my children	50	10.0
3.	Partner should support me when there are problems In the external world	25	5.0
4.	Partner should improve standard of life together with me	24	4.8
5.	Partner should support me emotionally	17	3.4
6.	Partner should take care of family's existence and conditions	5	1.0
7.	Partner should take care of the family	5	1.0

Source: Own studies

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Intellectual partnership in marriage is chosen as the least important factor influencing happy family life. The structure of answers for the analyzed question lets us draw the conclusion that the women mainly concentrated on giving the factors which influence happy family life with the greatest force. Hence, the greater relative importance may be ascribed to exposing by 16% of the respondents intellectual partnership as a factor which is unimportant when it comes to happiness in marriage. Intellectual partnership is not perceived as a significant factor for integration in marriage. Detailed analyses let us indicate some insignificant diversification of such attitude which depends on the level of education of the respondents. Together with the improvement of education, the role of intellectual partnership in building happy marriage is slightly more often underlined. Less attention paid by women to the importance of intellectual partnership as a factor of happiness in marriage and family may be a consequence of certain adaptation to real conditions of this partnership, caused also by cultural specificity of Polish families visible e.g. in the fact that men often have lower education than their wives. The phenomenon of relatively better education of women is not Silesian cultural specificity, and it occurs in many other countries according to research in OECD countries. Answering the question why intellectual partnership in marriage is given such low importance in case of respondents' families would require special treatment and additional research. We can only express surprise and perform much speculation and interpretation, but it will have no basis in research results.

About one tenth of the women taking part in this research do not think that biological fatherhood of common children is very significant for a happy marriage. For this group of women it is not important if their husband/partner is a biological father of children brought up in their families. Declaring such attitude is surely a consequence of a visible direction of transformations of contemporary families and perhaps personal life experience which caused that in case of remarrying, having children before or outside the marriage real biological kinship between parents and children is not vital. In extreme cases it does not occur and hybrid families are formed. Depreciation of biological fatherhood in contemporary family may be treated as a symptom of considerable mental transformations in the attitudes towards marriage and family.

In the context of family matters which are placed on the top of the list of the appreciated values, we can also put here the answers on the question about interpersonal relations' assessment. Half of the respondents exclude themselves from the areas of experiencing emotional deficits. Such interpretation was inspired by 42.2% of respondents who chose the possibility: 'I don't lack anything'. This group may be linked with over 10% of those respondents who did not give any answer for the question, so the same they did not express themselves in the matter of emotional deficits. In the remaining group of the respondents the most popular answers included lack of 'care, protection' (chosen by over 14%) of the respondents. In the expected model of 'husband-partner', care and protection about the family are recognized as the most important factors in a happy marriage and family. That is why lack of such 'care and protection' may be treated as an important negative indicator of emotional condition of a family. Almost 13% of the respondents admit to having a lack of recognition and over one tenth underlines lack of love in interpersonal relations. Almost 9% of the respondents mention lack of respect from their closest relatives. Even if we recognize that the percentage values identifying subjective areas of emotional deficits in interpersonal relations are not too high, the

presented scale of this phenomenon may be seen as an indicator of threat of emotional coherence of a family. On the other hand, the portrait of 'family in the inside' rich in attachment to regional culture is free of phenomena of destruction and pathology of family life which seem to dominate in the contemporary picture show in mass culture. In the awareness of the respondents a family is conceived through its adequacy towards traditional structure and functions and social roles which maintain its interior integration and coherence. It is treated as a niche of emotional security which guarantees stability of social life rules and their subjective references.

6.2. Values

6.2.1. Family as the most important value

Reconstruction of the system of the appreciated values is one of the most difficult research tasks. The role of values on life of individuals and the whole society is fundamental. A human is a value himself and at the same time he or she is a subject of value. The postulate of existence and multiplying values in the world is also a postulate of 'being a human'. Human creates values giving sense to their lives and vesting things with meaning. There is no society without celebration of values which gather people around their realization. Society is established when people proceed together towards the values which they recognize and feel in the deepest layers of their personality. In concrete situations, values are active elements of human reality, engaging people into given activities. They determine human activities as the motivation, but they also constitute aims to which actions undertaken by people are directed. Recognition of values imposes certain duties, the need of taking certain action. All decisions, strivings, arguments and conflicts between people assume supporting certain values. Indifference towards values means resignation from all strivings and agreement for auto-destruction. That is why values are so important in the life of individuals and whole societies. We can repeat after Roman Ingarden³² that if our work is highly valuable, noble, wise, good and beautiful we become better, wiser and more beautiful as well. And when they have signs of evil, ugliness, illness or insanity, we also become poorer, worse, weak and ill. Hence, the world of values created by humans may serve the integral development, but it can also facilitate the processes of destruction and disintegration of personality and social life, promoting deviations and social pathology.

In the awareness of the respondents not only customs held in a family let it be described as a traditional family, but also the value system accepted by the family is identified first of all through its reference to cultural traditions.

Table 6.3. – *Family in tradition and modernity*

	What is the value system of your family?	No. of resp.	%
1.	Traditional	383	76.6
2.	Modern	90	18.0
3.	No answer	27	5.4

Source: Own studies

³² R. Ingarden: Człowiek i jego rzeczywistość. in: Książeczka o człowieku. Kraków 1987.

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More than three quarter of the respondents declare that the value system which is accepted and realized in their families may be described as a traditional one. Referring to the previous interpretations we may assume that the surveyed families perceive their life in the perspective of continuing the experience of previous generations when it comes to the structure of social roles and the ways of fulfilling family roles. This declaratively unquestionable aspect of recognized values surely has many individual, differentiated and also controversial interpretations of what tradition and modernity are in relation to family life. An analysis of behaviors models in the field of family life would show us additional possibilities of understanding and experiencing tradition and modernity. These categories are not 'sharp', logically separate or clearly legible. What is more, they at the same time constitute a significant and often used signature of social autoidentification in everyday awareness.

Stigmatization through categories of tradition and modernity is an instrument of social divisions connected with promoted by mass media culture evaluations which seem to favor 'modernity' rather than 'tradition'. In reconstructing the characteristics of social mentality it is especially worth noticing that people in the surveyed environment much stronger identify themselves through affiliation to tradition than to modernity. They perceived themselves as traditional much more often than as modern. Tradition is understood as a kind of conservatism or inclination to repeat the past. These are subjective measures and in confrontation with the real everyday models they may even lose. If we include R.K. Merton's category of '*open and hidden models*', we can Draw a conclusion that on the level of '*open models*' families perceive themselves first of all as environments of keeping family traditions. An important indicator of social attitudes which confirms the accuracy of the proposed interpretations is dynamics of birth rate. As we know, a contemporary family in Poland and in the majority of European countries shows a clear deficit of procreative functions. A similar situation can be observed in the Silesian region, excluding the Rybnik subregion, where the birth rate is positive.³³ Obviously a positive birth rate in a social and cultural environment is not a sufficient convincing indicator of pro-family social attitudes oriented on keeping cultural tradition. However, in a situation where 'modern' models of life popularized in mass culture and strongly influenced by them models of everyday life clearly reduce the meaning of family in society and depreciate its functions, a fact of appearance of processes 'against dominating tendencies' deserves attention and allows for treating them as indicator of staying with tradition.

One of the questions aiming at reconstructing the recognized value system was formulated in the following way: „We would like to know your opinion related to the following values. Please evaluate their importance for you from 1 (the least important) to 7 (the most important)”. The values mentioned in table 6 were given the biggest importance by the respondents.

³³ Rocznik statystyczny województwa śląskiego z lat 2000-2004. Urząd Statystyczny w Katowicach. Bank Danych Regionalnych GUS, www.stat.gov.pl. Strategia polityki społecznej województwa śląskiego na lata 2006–2020. Katowice 2006, s.25.

Table 6.4. – *Which of the values are the most important?*

	Kinds of mentioned values	No. of resp.	%
1.	Family	461	92.2
2.	Happiness	333	66.6
3.	Peace	240	48.0
4.	Freedom	236	47.2
5.	Work	220	44.0
6.	Ideas, religion	162	32.4
7.	Recognition	128	25.6
8.	Pleasure	99	19.8
9.	Destiny	34	6.8
10.	Making money	14	2.8

Source: Own studies

Family as value takes the unchallenged first place in the hierarchy of the recognized values. It is not only on the top, but also the frequency of choices of family as the primary value shows a significant distance towards other declared choices. We can repeat the thesis articulated in the introduction to this charter that family is not only the most important recognized value, but also all other values are perceived through family and in its perspective. Hence, family is a center of focus and integration of values, a place of creating and transmitting culture. It is family perceived in a traditional way, keeping traditional values and preserving them from the future generations.

The second position in the hierarchy of recognized values is taken by happiness, whose importance in life is underlined by more than two thirds of the respondents (66.6%). The next choices belong to peace (48%) and freedom (47.2%). *Happiness, peace and freedom* can be include to existential values with autotellic meaning, needed for reaching life satisfaction both in individual and family perspectives. *Happiness* is the most stressed among the three mentioned values, which can be interpreted as the effect of the fact that this value is strongly rooted as a category of everyday thinking.

It is, for example, expressed by very popular wishes of *happiness* used on each possible occasion. People want to be happy and with it to others. They perceive their life like this: in *family*, in *happiness* and also in *peace* and *freedom*.

There is one more possibility of interpretation of the obtained results, which does not oppose the above but rather constitutes its complement. This interpretation goes in the direction of reconstruction of value deficits in everyday life. Such meaning may be ascribed to the value of *work*. For 44% of the respondents' families it is the most important value. In the situation of real threat of unemployment or real experience of lack of professional activity, underlining work as a value may be regarded as a sign of fear connected with losing a job or hope of getting it.

In almost one third of respondents' families the highest importance is given also to religion and values of ideas. The construction of the question in our survey refers to the English version common for the whole international team of this research project. In case of cultural reality of Polish society taking part in the study, we can state with quite high probability that this question relates, above all, to the meaning which is ascribed to religion as a value in private and family life. in the context of high indicators of

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autodeclaration of faith and religious practice, which is described in the next chapter, the percentage of these declarations is not impressively high. The obtained results of research do not indicate any specificity of environment where the research was conducted. In different sociological studies related to the issue of presence of religious values in everyday life, the commonly declared religious and confession affiliations are usually not accompanied by accenting religion as the most important value in the hierarchy of values recognized by people. These issues will be further considered in the subsequent chapter.

Among the values which are important in private life, the respondents quite often mention also *recognition* (25.6%) and experiencing *pleasure* (19.8%). On the other hand, the smallest importance belongs to gathering material values, which in our question took the following stylistic form: *making money* (2.8%) and *trusting destiny*". Not '*blind fate*', '*doom*' or '*trusting destiny*' but intentional axiological choices are declared as the most important life preferences of families in upper Silesian cultural environment.

To conclude we can pose a conclusion that the surveyed families are oriented in the declared values on protection of family tradition and taking care of spiritual values. This direction of interpretation is also confirmed by data presented in table 6.5, where the importance of material values occurs only in marginal form.

6.2.2. Preferred values

The question included in the questionnaire allowed for ranking the mentioned values on subsequent places. The content range of the include values is common for the research project in all versions for participating countries. The data in the table 7.6 relate to the most important choices, so the ones which were on the 'first place'.

Table 6.5. – *Values and their preference (choices on the first place)*

	Kinds of mentioned values	No. of resp.	%
1.	To have good health and peace of mind	107	21.4
2.	To be free and independent	77	15.4
3.	To have a husband/partner	73	14.6
4.	To have real friends	53	10.6
5.	To have a job that brings joy	36	7.2
6.	To have a job that ensure material stability	30	6.0
7.	To have children	27	5.4
8.	To live according to religious values	21	4.2
9.	To be tolerant	16	3.2
10.	To keep contact with family	13	2.6
11.	To be true and honest	10	2.0
12.	To love one's country	9	1.8
13.	To reach internal harmony	7	1.4
14.	To live on a high level	5	1.0
15.	To lead a noble and moral life	5	1.0
16.	To have possibilities of constant education and development	2	0.4
17.	To make career	1	0.2
18.	To have wealth and money	1	0.2

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19.	To have possibilities of traveling all over the world	1	0.2
20.	No answer	5	1.0

Source: Own studies

A high position of values characterizing the mental and physical condition of a human is interesting. Over one fifth if the respondents decided that 'good health and peace of mind' are the most important for them (21.4%). On the subsequent places in the hierarchy of the declared values is the attitude of *freedom* and *independence* (15.4%), and just after this 'having a husband/partner' (14.6%) and *true friends* (10.6%). The value of good health and peace of mind does not deserve comments. Their realization is an elementary part of the accepted model of happy life. we may pay attention to the declared *striving for living in freedom and independence*. Taking into consideration the fact that the research was conducted among women living in families, the commented values cannot be linked with popular in contemporary culture life strategy described as '*staying single*'. The attitudes declared here probably constitute expectations towards family and home situation, they underline individual needs realized in family life communities perhaps perceived through experienced deficit in this respect.

More than ten per cent of the respondents think that the most important value in their lives is the having a group of 'true friends'. Family and friends are traditional values in Polish culture which gather huge numbers of supporters. String orientation on family and friend groups is sometimes interpreted as one of important factors which negatively influence social engagement of people in wider structures of social life. Referring to 'the period of socialism', this was explained by distance towards national ideology of Marks or Lenin going deep into the structures of public life. Nowadays, it is sometimes explained by the role of bad practices from the past still present in social mentality, as well as a fast rhythm of everyday life, being absorbed by professional matters, developing individualization and egocentrism of social attitudes.

For about 7% of the women taking part on the study the role and meaning of professional activity took the first place among most important things in life. More than 7% chose the prevalence of a job which 'brings joy' and 6% underlines the role of a job which secures financial stability'. The next places in the hierarchy of values treated as the most important belong to 'having children' (5.4%), living according to religious values (4.2%), support for tolerance (3.2%), maintaining good family relations (2.6%), truth and honesty as realized life rules, patriotism expressed in love to one's country (1.8%) and reaching 'internal harmony'. It is interesting to notice the marginalization of material values, which is illustrated in this case by the percentages related to 'having wealth and money' (0.2%) or 'making career' (0.2%).

Trying to sum up the presented results we can say that the answers for the question about giving priority to the given values locates the analyzed families in the area of preference for mental values and simultaneous marginalization of material values. The possessed empirical materials do not let us state how far the declared axiological attitudes reflect the strivings and wanted states of family situation or condition of one's social personality and how far they are content of everyday life models. We can only hypothetically assume that the preferred hierarchies of values are a kind of signposts of

behavior, determining the approved directions of individual life and family life and in some degree constituting also the rules of everyday life.

The transformations of contemporary culture are fast and they touch upon different domains of life. They can be clearly seen in relation to family life projects. A family as a social group and as an institution undergoes different kinds of more or less serious transformations. A contemporary family is now experiencing a stage of changes, which surely relates also to Polish families. Our research seems to indicate that the pace of these changes is not the same in all social and cultural environments. Some of them are more traditional in the organization of social and family life and oriented on continuing cultural experience, and others follow the pressure of fashion and modern cultural models of life very fast. It is not my aim to formulate the evaluation of these processes, which does not mean resigning from personal opinions. *If we wanted to refer to the stylistics of the title of this chapter, we could surely show determined axiological choices oriented on family as a value and being close to family as a style of life. A family built on a legalized relationship of a man and a woman and children who are linked with them by kinship is treated as a cultural niche which gives a feeling of emotional security, personal relations based on care and responsibility and a certain durability if rules in the fast changing world.*

All mentioned and analyzed categories have to be understood in the perspective of their integral mutual influence on one another. In human's life all these values are to some extent important, needed, or even indispensable. It is not about rejecting values, but about choosing them. *Video meliora proboque deteriora sequor*. Family a value is a *signpost* on the roads of social life. Such a function of family's value is deeply rooted in Polish and Silesian history and culture. In the sociological way of interpreting the sense of axionormative systems characteristic for human societies it is not possible to omit the metaphor of a *signpost* which stresses an obvious fact that *it shows the way and does not follow it itself*.

6.3. Confession membership and religious practices

Polish people are religious and commonly declare that they belong to the Roman Catholic Church. This thesis is confirmed in numerous sociological studies, church statistics or public opinion. However, we should not obviously draw conclusions related to the character or quality of Polish religiousness. Irrespective of how Polish religiousness is evaluated and what criteria of evaluation are taken into consideration, a sociological fact cannot be omitted that the Poles in a dominating part (about 95%) consider themselves religious people who belong to the church (religious group).

It appears from the data presented in table 6.6 that over 96% of the respondents declare their membership in Roman Catholic Church. The remaining respondents declare membership to other confessions or define themselves as atheist.

Table 6.6. – *Confession membership (question 73)*

	Confession membership	No. of resp.	%
1.	Roman Catholic	481	96.2
2.	Lutheran	2	0.4
3.	Orthodox	1	0.2
4.	Moses's	1	0.2
5.	Jehova's Witness	1	0.2
6.	Other Christian confessions	5	1.0
7.	Atheist	6	1.2
8.	No answer	3	0.6

Source: Own study

The Confession structure of the families underlines cultural specificity of Polish society which is very homogenous in its declarations of confession membership. Roman Catholic Church is very decisively and with specific consistence promoting a model of family as a natural social group established by a man and a woman tied with the Sacrament of Matrimony who are open for bringing children to the world and keeping the norms of catholic morality in the sphere of marital and parental relation. Common membership in Roman Catholic Church means simultaneously *ipso facto*, an influence of catholic religious doctrine on life attitudes of Polish Catholics through religious socialization in families, church and school institutions which is visible in the declared and realized models of family life. This thesis does not suggest that Polish families in their cultural features approach church's expectations in full range. It is possible to prove in a very well documented way that there exist areas of significant divergences between family practices and Church's instructions, which is particularly visible in the field of 'marital and parental morality', whose statistical indicators are, among others, divorces, acceptance for contraceptives or the scale of abortion practice. Polish sociological literature even formulates thesis that the Polish Catholics live in double religious and moral identity, in some cases totally different from and sometimes even opposite to one another.³⁴ However, Catholics are not fully disoriented, although they live in an instable and insecure world when it comes to values. Their axiological awareness is not a nihilistic desert, which is expressed by the scale of approval for the Decalogue and pro-social values, but it is not a secure fortress either, because its weaknesses are visible in practice of marital and parental morality.³⁵

In the model of religiousness typical for Roman Catholic Church it is important to follow systematic religious practices realized in church. Sociological research usually decisively underlines that more intensive participation in religious practices is

³⁴ J. Mariański: Moralność katolików w procesie przemian. in: Religia. Kościół. Społeczeństwo. Red. W. Zdaniewicz SAC, S.H. Zaręba SAC. ISKK. Warszawa 2006, s.74.

³⁵ J. Mariański: Moralność katolików w procesie przemian. in: Religia. Kościół. Społeczeństwo. Red. W. Zdaniewicz SAC, S.H. Zaręba SAC. ISKK. Warszawa 2006, s.75.

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consequently also visible in many other signs of social life, also in the rules of family life and followed principles of cultural traditions and marital-parental morality.³⁶

Table 6.7. presents the results of answers for the question about participation in religious practices, taking into account also the aspect of their regularity - which, as mentioned above, is an important duty included in the church model of religiousness.

Table 6.7. – *Participation in religious practices (question 74)*

	Frequency of religious practice	No. of resp.	%
1.	I go to church regularly	349	69.8
2.	I go to church from time to time	120	24.0
3.	I do not practice	28	5.6
4.	No answer	3	0.6

Source: Own studies

Over two thirds of the respondents (69.8%) decisively declare that they regularly participate in religious practices, which *de facto* means fulfilling the duty of participation in the Sunday holy mess. Almost a quarter of the respondents describe their participation as irregular, which is 'from time to time'. Not going deeper into the difference between regular and the level of irregular participation in Sunday religious practices, we can, with some reservations, draw a conclusion that in the surveyed community the custom of following the Church Commandment of Sunday mess participation is commonly accepted. Almost 94% of the respondents go to church on Sundays 'regularly' or 'from time to time'. On the other hand, 'only' less than 6% of respondents declare abstaining from religious practices. The obtained indices of basic religious practices are very high even as for Polish conditions and they may be interpreted as a sign of a deeply rooted church formula of religiousness in the culture of the surveyed regional community of Upper Silesia.³⁷

From the point of view of theoretical assumptions of the conducted research, whose aim is to show transformations of a contemporary family, not only declarations of participation are important, but also the presence of religiousness in family life models. The meaning of religion in the live of contemporary families arises from cultural and structural conditionings and from the fact that a family, when shaping the picture of social reality, includes religious elements in it giving them the role in family life. Family is just the first place of shaping religious attitudes. Many studies seem to indicate that individual, personal religiousness is shaped in a very early stage of life.³⁸ The influence of family is then the most significant one and often the only one. Hence, it is important how religious values are included in this 'basic reality': do they have ornamentive function in everyday life, creating defence and escaping mechanisms, or do they serve deep religious experience underlying social activities in everyday life, giving sense and axiological

³⁶ See np. Kondycja religijno-moralna młodzieży i rodzin. in: E. Budzyńska, J. Burzyński, A. Niesporek, W. Świątkiewicz. Rodzina wobec wartości. Katowice 1999.

³⁷ W. Zdaniewicz, T. Zembruski (red.): Postawy społeczno-religijne mieszkańców archidiecezji katowickiej. Katowice. 1999.

³⁸ Z. Chlewiński: Psychologia religii. Lublin 1982.

meaning to them. In the awareness of adults, religiousness and its transformations often relate to childhood memories. Almost 30% of people in nationwide representative research in Poland admitted to having greater religious engagement before graduating from primary school than in their adult life, and only 4% of them though the opposite.³⁹ In Polish sociological literature there is also a known thesis that ‘the average Polish family does not strive for consolidation of greater religiousness than it is in their environment.’⁴⁰ The Catholics describing themselves as deeply religious often think about traditional and emotional bond with the religion of their fathers.

The data presented in table 6.8 show the structure of participation in religious practices in connection with family roles in the environment of Rybnik’s families.

Table 6.8. – *Family versus participation in religious practices (question 75)*

	Family versus participation in religious practices	No. of resp.	%
1.	I practise regularly with my husband/partner	253	50.6
2.	I practise with my husband/partner, but not regularly	76	15.2
3.	I regularly practise with children	214	42.8
4.	I practise with my children, but not regularly	100	20.0
5.	I practise alone	88	17.6
6.	Other forms of participation	23	4.6

Source: Own studies

Similarly to other studies, more than half of the families maintain the custom of common and regular participation in religious practices of marriages (50.6%), and in a slightly lower degree – of regular participation in religious practices together with children (42.8%). If we omit the issues of regularity of religious practices and concentrate on analyzing them from the point of view of individual or common participation in those practices, it appears that for almost two thirds of respondents’ families the participation in religious practices is of community character, which means family character. Almost 18% of the respondents (17.6%) declare individual participation in religious practices and 4.6% of them mention others forms of realization of their needs related to practicing religiousness. A family character of religious practices in Upper Silesia has very strong bases in cultural tradition and is connected with its rich rites which accompany the whole life: from the birth, through the celebration of the first birthday in church, the first communion or confirmation in protestant churches, marriage to the funeral.

6.4. The declared religion as a source of consolation

In the discussed project of international research a question was put about functions fulfilled by religion in personal life. Previous sociological research lets us draw a conclusion that in the field of religiousness a slower pace of transformations is observed

³⁹ K. Darczewska: Rodzina i postawy religijne. in: Rodzina polska lat osiemdziesiątych. Red. M. Jarosz. Warszawa 1982

⁴⁰ K. Darczewska: Katolicyzm we współczesnym społeczeństwie polskim. Warszawa 1989, s. 111

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than in the sphere of moral mentality. Religion is still perceived as a value that a man needs and which either directly shapes our lives or influences it in many different ways. It is exemplified in the best way in situations of threat and the feeling of lack of sense. Even a religiously indifferent person or the one who declares lack of faith often undergoes its influence and submits to its rules. Religion in its emotional and cognitive functions is an important and for people the most important source of answers about the sense of life when they face illnesses, death and traumatic situations in their personal life. We want such explanations of events which give sense to experiencing evil and suffering by people. Religion gives us such 'theodycea'. In different ways it gave sense even to the most painful experiences of human condition, which were the result of nature of manhood. Modern society makes this theodycea less easy acceptable, and different laic ideologies do not replace theodycea and do not remove the suffering either.⁴¹ For many people, however, „belief makes miracles, it allows for bringing back and rebuilding the sense of life and the value of health, diminish the load and nuisance of illness”⁴², the stigma of life loser or the trauma of lost job, breakdown of a family or problems with bringing up children.

Information included in table 8.5 concentrate on such therapeutic functions of religion which perceive the role of religion as a factor which helps people solve personal problems in difficult life situations.

Table 6.9. – *Religion as life consolation (question 76)*

	Have you ever found consolation in your religion?	No. of resp.	%
1.	Yes, this related to health and illness	89	17.8
2.	Yes, this related to other life situations	76	15.2
3.	Yes, this related to the death of a close person	74	14.8
4.	Yes, this related to difficult moments in life	65	13.0
5.	Yes, this related to a family tragedy	8	1.6
6.	Yes, this related to personal tragedy	8	1.6
7.	No	158	31.6
8.	No answer	22	4.4

Source: Own studies

It is interesting to notice that almost one third of the respondents answered negatively on the question: *Have you ever found consolation in your religion?*

Religion does not have here therapeutic functions; it is not treated as a source of consolation, rebuilding and legitimization of the sense of life. Perhaps it is first of all a cultural custom, ornamenting of common or individual celebrations, ritual behaviour concentrated on celebrating traditional rules, which lost the religious sense of their purpose and became an abandoned symbol, unable to transfer those who use and experience it.

⁴¹ P. L. Berger, B. Berger, H. Kellner: *Bezdomny umysł*. in: *Zjawisko wspólnoty* (Wybór tekstów). Red. B. Mikołajewska. Warszawa 1989, s. 518.

⁴² W. Świątkiewicz, M. Świątkiewicz-Mośny: *Piętno choroby*. „Zeszyty Karmelitańskie” 2006, 4(37), s. 40.

For almost 18% of the respondents the declared religion constituted a source of consolation in the situation of illness and threat for personal health. Over 15% of them admit searching for help in religion in difficult life situations, and for about 15% of the respondents religion provided consolation in the event of death of a close person. Also other 'difficult moments in life' are occasion for turning to religious values in search of comfort. *Health, illness, death and difficult life situations* are the most important moments in personal life when people look for the sense of their existence in religion and their find consolation and treatment in it. Sociological research confirms the existence in everyday life mentality of a principle known in the form of a folk proverb: „jak trwoga to do Boga” (when there is fear, go to God). Religious faith is a sacred area, where we can find existential order destroyed by unexpected, incomprehensible and difficult to accept events form personal life or even life of a community. Religiousness, especially the catholic one, creates many possibilities of searching support in religion in hopeless situations. The church institutionally initiates and supports religious and social activities directed on helping people in need in case of illness, facing death, in threats of stability of life conditions. Particularly rich are the rites of folk religiousness offering the richness of instruments and means of support for people in difficult situations. Searching for the sense of life in religion is a phenomenon noted in contemporary culture not only in social environments customarily connected with religion, but also among the people of success of late-modern culture. The media inform about a kind of besiege of catholic contemplative orders, whose internal life structures, concentration on contemplation, voluntary subordination to the supers, poverty, cleanness and isolation from the world are radical contra points of lifestyles and values around which 'the life of the world' is concentrated. „Monasteries are besieged”, „in France there are more and more seminarians”, „in the USA women of success enter convents” are sample headlines of international information agencies. “A man may a lot, but without the feeling of sense he can't do anything.”

There is a „fashion for religion” and its deprivatization. A modern sociologist of religion Jose Casanova formulates deprivatization of religion as a common phenomenon and simultaneously notices in great religious traditions, to which the Author includes Judaism, Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, Hinduism and Buddhism. These religions again put the question about the relations between private and public morality „questioning the demands /.../ particularly of countries and markets, to free them of external normative obligations”.⁴³ This is accompanied by the creation of social movements which „are either of religious character themselves or they in the name of religion question the bases of functioning and autonomy of fields which are basically laic: the nation and market economy”. Deprivatization of religion is a „mutually conditioning process of repolitization of a primate of religious and moral sphere and a next normatization of public economic and political domains.”⁴⁴

Europe shows a trend not towards lack of religiousness, but rather towards a differentiated, pluralistic and colourful religiousness. Some sociologists put forward the theses, that catholic countries where social modernization is more advanced are more „secularized”. Slovenia and Hungary are put as examples: they are better economically

⁴³ J. Casanova. *Religie publiczne w nowoczesnym świecie*. NOMOS. Kraków 2005, s. 25.

⁴⁴ J. Casanova. *Religie publiczne w nowoczesnym świecie*. NOMOS. Kraków 2005, s. 25.

developed than Poland, where the bond with the church is stronger.⁴⁵ Others underline the meaning of confession structure in the countries on the so called. „eastern block”. In Poland, Croatia and Lithuania, where the majority of inhabitants belonged to the Catholic Church, the people acted more effectively against the repression of the country towards the Church than in the countries dominated by Protestantism (like former Eastern Germany or in Estonia). According to a German sociologist Detlef Pollack „closeness (ties) with the country delegitimizes church activities⁴⁶”, which relates also to mutual relations between the Church and country, religion and society after the collapse of communism. Eastern European folk piety constitutes a balance for Western European secularity in the uniting Europe.⁴⁷ However, forced and steered secularization in the time of communism in some countries like The Czech Republic or Eastern Germany caused so deep transformations in the attitudes and behaviour that the collapse of communism did not bring about a spontaneous return to faith or to the church. Lack of confessional membership is here a normal phenomenon, a cultural obviousness.⁴⁸

The crisis of traditional religiousness does not mean that contemporary societies are deprived of religious values.⁴⁹ According to contemporary sociological theories and the results of empirical research we cannot defend the thesis that secularization is an indicator of modernity, and staying by religious values constitutes an indicator of cultural conservatism and, all the same, including sociological reflection into a delicate context of a-priori evaluation of directions of social development. J. Casanova underlines that the versions of secularization in the modern world which dominated sociological literature until recently „re-create in fact a myth which leads us into perceiving history as a gradual evolution of humanity from the power of superstitions to the rules of reason, from faith to lack of faith, from religion to science. This mystical approach to the process of secularization deserves desacralization indeed. /.../ sociology of religion has to replace this mythical expression of a common process of secularization with comparative sociological analyses of historical processes of secularization related to the cases of their occurrence”⁵⁰ the situation is similar with research related to directions of transformations of contemporary families in the context of religious references. Sociology has to be freed

⁴⁵ Ciekawe studia religijności współczesnej w kontekście uwarunkowań okresu komunizmu i roli kościoła podziemnego na Węgrzech w Słowenii a także na Słowacji i w Czechach przedstawia P. Boryszewski: *Katolicyzm, jego instytucjonalizacja i sekularyzacja w Europie Środkowej*. Wydawnictwo Akademii Pedagogiki Specjalnej. Warszawa 2006.

⁴⁶ D. Pollack: *Religion und Politik in den postkommunistischen Staaten Ostmittel-und Osteuropas*. „Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte“ 2002 B. 42–43, s. 18–22.

⁴⁷ M. Tomka: *Das postkommunistische Europa und das Fortbestehen des Atheismus*. „Concilium. Internationale Zeitschrift für Theologie“ 40, 2004 nr 2, s. 212–218.

⁴⁸ M. Wohlrab-Sahr: *Konfessionslos gleich religionslos? – Überlegungen zur Lage in Ostdeutschland*, in: *Konfessionslos und religios. Gemeindepädagogische Perspektiven*. Eckart Schwerin zum 65. Geburtstag. Hrsg von G.Doye, H Kessler. Leipzig 2002, s. 11–27.

⁴⁹ J. Mariański: *Sekularyzacja i desekularyzacja w nowoczesnym świecie*. KUL. Lublin 2006. s. 76.

⁵⁰ J. Casanova: *Religie publiczne w nowoczesnym świecie*. Nomos. Kraków 2005, 42–43.

from creating and legitimizing artefacts, but it cannot be engaged in maintaining ideologically programmed illusions either. Social reality has many signifying layers. Discovering any new layer changes the way we perceive the whole. As Peter Berger thinks: „the first wisdom of sociology is the following: things are not as they seem to be”.⁵¹

6.5. Prejudices

Society is a whole in many ways diversified. The criteria of social diversification may be analyzed according to objective indicators, like participation of certain social groups in national income, and on the basis of indices related to subjective criteria of social divisions. One of the most often criteria of social division which are significant in their social consequences are prejudices. „To have prejudices is to have ready made opinions, fixed even in case of new information on the subject of a given individual or social group. Prejudices may be negative or positive.”⁵² The meaning and function of social prejudices as criteria of social diversification are the consequence of processes of primary socialization which takes place in primary groups, usually in family environment. The content of these prejudices are, among others, conditioned by the situation of socialization environments, particularly families in the segments of social structure and cultural areas which are reproduced and consolidated by intern-generation transfer of prejudices. Evaluations related to social groups and even individuals as their representatives are based on real or imagined prerequisites referring to thinking with the categories of stereotypes. Stereotypes are strongly emotionally coloured judgments about social reality. They fulfil ideology-creating, integrative and defensive functions. They are mostly generalizations (and as such are often wrong because of simplifications) based not on social factors, but on assumptions a-priori, lack of information and belittling empirical experiments. Stereotypes do not take into consideration the great variety of people belonging to the given group. As a result of primary socialization they so deeply rooted that people start perceiving them as obvious, natural and doubtless judgments about facts. Stereotypes make people blind for the differences between particular individuals and social groups, which lead to ignoring the uniqueness and individuality of particular persons and groups. They often lead to discrimination that is treating certain people or social groups in a different, usually less fair and marginal way, to excluding them and sometimes even striving for their extermination. Stereotypes are an important instrument of typization of social order and facilitate the division of the social worlds on ‘us’ and ‘them’ and ‘ours’ and ‘theirs’.

Prejudices, stereotypes and forms of discrimination have a clear cultural context and are relativized with regard to axiological systems typical of cultural environments. Some of them are specific only for narrow cultural circles, e.g. group prejudices within regional culture⁵³, and others have much wider cultural range and occur in the same or

⁵¹ P. Berger: *Zaproszenie do socjologii*. PWN. Warszawa 1988, s. 30.

⁵² A. Giddens: *Socjologia*, PWN. Warszawa 2004, s. 737.

⁵³ In the social-cultural environment, in which the presented sociological research was conducted such example of local stereotypes and prejudices, and even conviction of discrimination is a division for original citizens (called ‘hanysy’) and people who came

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similar form in culturally much differentiated environments. An example here may be the attitude towards Jews as a social, religious and national group and particular representatives which in different environments is expressed by similar anti-Semitic attitudes.

Prejudices express memory of imagined harm, inequalities, bad deeds experienced in relations with the given group. They last in the heritage of generations consolidated in families, neighbourhood, school, the media, etc.

In sociological research conducted in four countries of Central Europe the problem of prejudice was considered, which can be discussed in four categories: lack of equality, political acceptance, ethnical and generation attitudes and ethnical-religious attitudes. The suggested list of illustrations of prejudices which function in our society includes 16 examples. We assumed that the area where prejudices towards strangers play the most vital role is a family. In a family, like in society, great problems of macro-society are focused and reflected. The criteria of division for us and strangers, the close and the distant, the good and the bad are especially visible in the normative field which regulates the most intimate and at the same time basic interpersonal relations underlying family life, and further life of a macro-society. They express a normative acceptance or exclusion of marital relationships of children with persons representing social groups, which are hypothetically marked with a stigma of marginalization and exclusion.

Table 6.10. includes the division of answers for the question about normative acceptance or exclusion of the possibility of marriages of respondents' children with the representatives of social groups, towards which in everyday life awareness exist prejudices of ethnical, religious, class and ethical character.

Table 6.10. – *Social sectors of prejudice*

	Would you accept it if your child wanted to marry ...?	Yes	%	No	%	No answer
1.	Serb	270	54.0	218	43.6	2.4
2.	Romanian	240	48.0	209	41.8	10.2
3.	Citizen of the former USSR (Russian, Byelorussian, Ukrainian...)	317	63.4	174	34.8	1.8
4.	Arab	179	35.8	309	61.8	2.4
5.	Chinese	238	47.6	251	50.2	2.2
6.	Jew	250	50.0	242	48.4	1.6
7.	Partner of the same sex	81	16.2	405	81.0	2.8
8.	Somebody with lower qualifications than your child	457	91.4	35	7.0	1.6
9.	Physical worker	464	92.8	30	6.0	1.2
10.	Mental worker	483	96.6	12	2.4	1.0
11.	Left-wing supporter	397	79.4	93	18.6	2.0
12.	Right-wing supporter	439	87.8	53	10.6	1.6

from different regions (called 'gorole'). This division functions in social awareness and is maintained by social transfer in families.

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13.	Somebody much older	283	56.6	205	41.0	2.4
14.	Somebody much younger	293	58.6	198	39.6	1.8
15.	Black person	273	54.6	218	43.6	1.8
16.	Prostitute/pimp	33	6.6	450	90.0	3.4

Source: Own studies

As it emerges from the data in table 8.6, the highest scale of acceptance belongs to people perceived through the possessed qualifications and the job status connected with it (mental worker, physical worker, with specific qualifications), and the highest rate of rejection related to people of doubtful moral reputation (prostitute, pimp).

We can put a thesis that the factors which cause the strongest negative prejudices are different moral and religious beliefs, and further ethnical ones. We can also assume with high probability that the highlighted factors which inspire prejudices may be treated separately only for analytical purposes. In practice of social life, they are mutually interconnected and constitute a strong source of stereotypes. The results of our research confirm the conflicts between national and religious groups which occur in Europe sometimes even in extreme cases.

The bases of the strongest negative prejudice are directed towards prostitutes and pimps. These are social categories which are commonly rejected and not accepted in the perspective of family life (90.0%), as they constitute its opposition. And although they belong to 'the oldest professions' in the world, they always arouse emotions and normative rejection. The aggressive expansion of prostitution and the activity of pimps in our societies is an interesting and also alarming social phenomenon. A dramatic rise in the number of the so called 'company agencies', appearance of unrestricted street prostitution in cities and along the routes of road communication are an unexpected signature of cultural transformations taking place in societies which free themselves from the influence of communist system. When we enter the Czech Republic from the Southern border with Austria through Znojmo border crossing point, we have to go through a "district" of company agencies with vivid advertisements taken from fruit or meat markets, directed to potential clients using the German language: „Taglich neue madchen" ('every day new, fresh girls') similarly to „fresh vegetables fruit and eggs". The drastic character of those offers and advertisements is not specific only for particular place or country. It is rather a cultural specificity of Central European societies, which do not have analogical examples in the countries of Western Europe.

Also homosexuals are stigmatized with strong prejudices. That is why more than 80% of the respondents (81%) think that they would not accept a homosexual as a life partner of their child. Indirectly this is also an indicator of attitudes towards legalizing partnerships based on homosexual relationships. Prejudices towards homosexual relationships have their sources in moral attitudes which find legitimization in the religious doctrine, the most visible and unequivocal in European cultural space in Catholic and Orthodox traditions.

A slightly lower level of prejudices links religious aspects with ethnical membership. Almost 62% of the respondents (61.8%) would not accept an Arab as a partner for their child. In Poland, and especially in Upper Silesian cultural environment, where the research was conducted, the possibility of real contact with representatives of

this category is very little. Hence, opinions about them come mainly from participation in mass culture, which very often operates with stereotypical matrixes in presenting personalities of particular nationalities. Similar remarks can be presented in relation to the remaining representatives of different nationalities mentioned in the question. The lowest level of negative prejudices relates to Romanians – 41.8%, then to Serbs and Black people – 43.6%, to Jews – 48.4% and the Chinese – 50.2%.

Practically, 'mental worker' is almost fully deprived of prejudices, as only 2.4% of the respondents expressed lack of acceptance when considering its application for their child's life partner. In the remaining cases, the percentages of respondents who declare disapproval rise up to one third in relation to 'somebody much older', and they do not exceed 7% in case of 'somebody with lower qualifications'. Over one tenth of the respondents would have difficulties accepting a person with right-wing views and almost one fifth of them would have similar fear towards supporters of the left wing. In Polish social and political reality it is hard to settle which beliefs are left-wing and which are right-wing. Hence, we surely deal with the reminiscence of the imagined of real liking towards particular political parties. On this basis we could draw a conclusion that the analyzed family environment is more rightist than leftist when it comes to politics, which could in other words be described as more conservative and more oriented on continuing tradition. This hypothesis is confirmed by conclusion formulated above related to attitudes towards family and religiousness.

The described attitudes characterizing prejudices do not go further beyond declaration. Models of everyday life do not have to fully follow declarations expressed verbally. In the normative sphere of Silesian regional culture there exists a conviction that the best partner for marriage is an original citizen of Silesia. Strangers are represented by people who came from different regions. Common knowledge is full of illustrations showing troubles, difficulties and failures accompanying marriages with representatives of 'newcomers', who informally are stigmatized with the epithet „gorol”. The practice of social life shows clearly that the declared norms are distant from their application in the models of marital and family life.

The declared values, although they are not always included in the models and behaviours that are social cultural regularities of life practices, they have big importance showing axiological orientations of given society. Values constitute the centre of group life focus, they allow for legible allocation of self society in a differentiated cultural space. They are an inexhaustible source of legitimization of social order, which give sense to the undertaken activities and allowing for experiencing identity in a plan of community and individual life. Prejudices are a commonly accessible instrument of ordering social experience; they provide seemingly justified, and surely easy criteria of social division on 'us' and 'them', 'good' and 'evil', 'the friendly' and 'the hostile'. Prejudices, similarly to stereotypes, are lasting and inalienable segment of everyday life and constitute fundamentals of common knowledge allowing for efficient and effective functioning in society. They cannot be eliminated. We can, however, show the areas of simplicity, hypocrisy, unreliability, freedom from personal reflection and responsibility which find justification, sense and axiological meaning in prejudices.

Referring to the provocative aspect of the title of this charter, we could admit in the summary that in orientations on values declared in the analyzed environment the presence of religious elements is deeply rooted both in the surface of confession declarations and

religious practices which show their family character. Religion is also show as a source of searching for the sense of life in difficult situations. The dominating membership in Roman Catholic Church, which in case of the analyzed environment is a cultural obviousness, suggests that different domains of family life remain in references more or less binding towards the Catholic model of marriage and family. This axiological rule surely relates also to normative legitimization of the declared prejudices, particularly in such form which can stay in a confrontation with religious and moral bases of social life. Hence, the choice is decisively “catholic husband” than „exotic partner”.

Contemporary society is often described as the society of choice, as opposed to its traditional and conservative forms known from the past. “Choice” does not mean simply rejecting „tradition”, but it is a contemporary attempt of its interpretation. In relation to Polish reality we cannot speak about rejection of family and religiousness, but of changing range of affection of these values. For a significant part of society, religious traditions transferred in family upbringing are just ‘tradition itself’, uncovered on the occasion of Christmas and other celebrations and are treated as festive deposit.

VII. Social and demographic situation

Andrzej Górny

7.1. Financial situation of families

7.1.1. Income of household members

Financial support in the surveyed families is mainly parents' responsibility. However, slightly higher number of men in comparison to women may declare steady income (77.6% compared with 68.2%). It happens very rarely that children admitted to having steady income, but in the youngest generation this situation occurs more in relation to males than females (respectively 15.4% and 9.4%). Mentioning grandparents as household members with steady income happens incidentally. It is explained by the fact that very few families include members of the eldest generation. In such cases, however, due to higher mortality of men, women are mentioned more often as family members with regular income (7.2% compared with 4.6%)

Most of the respondents admit that both they and the rest of household members achieve income on the level between the minimal pay and its double amount. We have to notice though, that the incomes of respondents' male partners are significantly higher – most of them achieve an income between double and triple minimal pay. An analysis of answers given for the question about incomes in a family has also shown that earnings of men are visibly higher than women's income. It should be underlined that it is evident in all generations. This tendency is not specific for the surveyed region, but becomes nowadays a subject of a vivid social discussion in whole Poland, inspired in a large extent by organizations fighting for women's rights. Detailed data is presented in the table below.

Table 7.1. – *Household members having stable income (the data presents the percentage of the whole of the surveyed families)*

	respondent	partner	daughter	son	grand-mother	grand-father
Below the minimal pay	12.0	5.2	3.0	3.4	2.6	0.8
Minimal pay – double minimal pay	34.6	21.2	4.2	8.0	3.2	2.4
Double minimal pay – triple minimal pay	13.4	30.0	1.2	2.8	1.2	0.8
Multiplication of minimal pay	8.2	21.2	1.0	1.2	0.2	0.6
Percentage of members having regular income	68.2	77.6	9.4	15.4	7.2	4.6

Source: Own studies

Analyzing the numbers in each category we can draw a conclusion about a relatively good financial condition in the surveyed families. Relatively few family

members achieve the lowest income, and the number of these, who reach the highest earnings, is quite significant. We can, however, see a rather traditional model of family functioning, where the person who is responsible for financial support of a family is mostly a man, because his earnings exceed the income of women. Symptoms of changes are also visible, though – in a traditional family women did not achieve any regular income, as their work consisted in taking care of the household. The analyses conducted temporarily indicate that women's share in professional work will still grow. The process of women's activation is accompanied by gradually falling engagement in household activities. Thus, it seems necessary to remodel family structure in the direction of equal division of duties between husbands and wives, mothers and fathers so that a family can still fulfill its basic functions.⁵⁴

It is worth mentioning that the number of children, who have some regular income, is little. It is a meaningful sign of difficulties connected with finding a steady job, met by young people entering the job market.

7.2. Subjective evaluation of changes.

Also the subjective perception of the financial situation of a family is worth considering, especially in the context of several recent years. It seems namely that the subjective perception of one's situation influences the feeling of social security and satisfaction more than an objective financial position.

The analysis of answers for the question about the changes taking place in a family within last three years shows that the respondents are largely convinced of the stagnation of their financial situation – 45.8% of them admit that the financial situation of their families did not change considerably. A worrying sign is the fact that the second largest group is formed by respondents who think that their situation got worse (33.6%). The reason for such results is mainly the increase in prices and higher cost of living (51.3% of choices). Other factors indicated by the respondents occurred occasionally – lower remuneration 2.4%, loss of job 4.4%, going on retirement 1.4%. The least numerous group of respondents admitted that the situation of their families improved – 19.6%. It happened mostly due to finding a job – 7.0%. Reasons mentioned more seldom included increasing regular income (4.2%) and professional promotion (1.2%).

A subjective evaluation of changes which took place recently in the surveyed families is far from optimistic – we can see stagnation, and often even decreasing standard of living. Only a small percentage of the respondents mention some development leading to improvement in the situation of their families.

A series of analyses related to family budgets which were carried out in Poland indicate that usually about one quarter of analyzed families expresses strong dissatisfaction of their material situation and only one tenth of them are satisfied from their material situation. In some extent this results from that fact that family subventions, due their little level, for a long time now have not been able to compensate for or even significantly support the expenses really borne by families.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ comp. F. Adamski, *Rodzina. Wymiar społeczno-kulturowy*, Kraków 2002, s. 208.

⁵⁵ comp. F. Adamski, *Rodzina. Wymiar społeczno-kulturowy*, Kraków 2002, s. 210–211.

We can suppose that in case of considerable improvement of material situation, this will be visible first of all in a higher quality level of consumed food.⁵⁶

7.3. Household

7.3.1. Standard equipment

Households which were subject to this research are relatively well equipped with different kinds of appliances facilitating everyday life. Nevertheless, advanced and modern kind of household equipment is still not commonly met. Only in 10.8% of all households there is an air conditioning device; a similar part of surveyed families (10.5%) use an electrical clothes' dryer and a bit larger group owns a dishwasher (15.5%).

Standard equipment includes, however, a refrigerator (99.2%), a vacuum cleaner (98.2%) and automatic washing machine (95.4%). It seems that a tub washing machine is slowly going out of use and its functions are being completely taken over by an automatic one (61.8% of the respondents have the former). Using a microwave oven is also becoming more and more popular – this appliance is present in almost a half of investigated households (45.5%). Nevertheless, it is interesting that in 75% of the households there is still freezer, which was characteristic for the former epoch, when food shortages in the shops, which made people store everything, were common.

The next group of household equipment is formed by appliances connected with the media and serving entertainment. These are becoming extremely popular and are present in almost each household. In this group still the basic thing is a television set – it is met in 83.8% of the households. It enables for watching many different programs – 70.9% of the families possess also a possibility of cable or satellite TV reception. Many respondents own a video set (69.2%), which even greater expands possibilities of reception of cultural contents presented visually. Similarly, the equipment of many households includes a CD player (81.4%), or a complete Hi-Fi stereo (67.2%). It seems also that the most advanced kind of equipment, which allows for using multimedia, is becoming more and more common – the investigated families are more and more often using DVD players (58.8%), video cameras (33.8%) and home cinema sets (28%).

A symptom of changes and an indicator of entering a new era is the fact that a big number of household is equipped with computers (82%), whereas in some part (9.6%) they are portable computers (notebooks), which are an icon of modernity. Computers are in a great deal connected to the Internet – in 65.5% of the questioned households the family members have access to this worldwide network by means of different internet links.

The majority of flats and houses are equipped with stationary telephones (86.6%), but especially symptomatic becomes the mass popularity of mobile phones – in as much as 93.4% of the households there is at least one such phone.

Most of the families have a car at their disposal (80.4%). Considering still considerable cost of its purchase and, above all, its maintenance, we can draw a conclusion that the financial situation of families is improving. Even more popular than a

⁵⁶ comp. E. Gucwa-Leśny, *Zmiany poziomu życia i ich społeczne uwarunkowania*, in: *Wymiary życia społecznego, Polska na przełomie XX i XXI wieku*, red. M. Marody, Warszawa 2002, s. 196.

car is a bicycle, owned by 90.8%. It should be underlined that on the investigated area a bicycle is very often a means of transport rather than a piece of sport equipment. However, it is hard to achieve an explicit interpretation (means of transport or sport equipment) for such a large number of bicycles in the questioned families. The least often met means of transport among the respondents is a motorcycle or a small motorbike (8.4%). However, the number of scooters in the streets is systematically growing, which lets us think that they will take over the bikes as means of transport, which, in turn, is a sign of a step in the direction of a modern lifestyle.

On the other hand, there are only few households which could be described as really modern basing on the technically advanced equipment. Cases of households where all mentioned devices, which constitute indicators of their modern character, are present simultaneously are completely incidental. Nevertheless, in many of the investigated households there are numerous electronic devices, which is a visible symptom of a transfer into a modern lifestyle. A series of studies indicate that in recent years in Poland the level and quality of possessed equipment in houses and flats has significantly improved. This situation results from richer and richer offer and still expanding offer of crediting larger purchases. However, still relatively a small number of households is equipped with luxury goods, like dishwashers or video cameras.⁵⁷

7.3.2. Additional property/ land

Among the questioned families, many possess additional property or land. The most common case is just a garden around the house (50.4%), but also many respondents admit to having a field (20.4%) and an orchard (18%). What is interesting, fields are usually in possession of families living in rural areas, and orchards are mentioned mostly by occupants of villas and they probably mean fruit trees growing around the house, not necessarily in large number. The least often mentioned properties are weekend garden plots (15.6%) and summer cottages (8.4%). The possession of such property is mentioned mostly by occupants of blocks of flats.

7.4. Living conditions

7.4.1. Types of buildings

The basis of functioning for each family is possessing a house or a flat, and if not possessing such, then at least renting or leasing a house or a flat. Thus, it is important to include the specificity of the places of living in the social and economic analysis of the families, as it affects the whole of family functioning.⁵⁸

The questioned families the most often live blocks of flats (36%). Many of them also live in houses and flats with high standard – villas and apartments (27.2%). About

⁵⁷ comp. E. Gucwa-Leśny, *Zmiany poziomu życia i ich społeczne uwarunkowania*, in: *Wymiary życia społecznego, Polska na przełomie XX i XXI wieku*, red. M. Marody, Warszawa 2002, s. 196.

⁵⁸ comp. M. Żyromski, *Polski dom a rodzina polska. Analiza siedlisk rodzinnych w układzie historycznym*, in: *Życie rodzinne – uwarunkowania mikro i makrostrukturalne*, red. Z. Tysza, Poznań 2003, s. 39.

one third of all families live in detached houses (25.2%), and multi-family houses are occupied by slightly more than one tenth of the whole of respondents (11.6%).

Among the owners of flats, more than a half of the respondents occupy the space between 51 and 70 m² (54%); a less numerous group are families living in flats from 31–50 m² (31.2%). The remaining categories – of families occupying the largest (more than 71 m²) and the smallest (less than 31 m²) flats - include significantly fewer members (respectively 12.3% and 2.5%). Among the respondents living in houses, the largest group lives on 70–100 m² (33.9%); a little smaller group admits to having a house with space between 101–130 m² (23.2%); respondents whose house amounts to from 130 to 160 m² constitute one sixth of the whole, and the group living in the largest houses, with the space more than 160 m², amounts to one fifth of the whole (22.1%). The least numerous group lives in the smallest houses with the space of up to 70 m² (5.5%). The majority of flats occupied by the respondents consist of three rooms (29.8%). Many flats have also more than five rooms (22.3%). Smaller percentages of families occupy, however, flats consisting of five, four, two or only one room (percentages respectively 12.2%, 15.7%, 19.3% and 0.6%). Most families use all rooms, but we can notice a tendency of excluding some of them, especially in flats with a big number of rooms – the more rooms in a flat, the more probable it is that some of them will not be used.

7.4.2. Infrastructure /media

Almost all living premises include a traditional kitchen (98.4%), (but summer kitchen exists only in 3.8% of the surveyed households). Similarly, almost in all flats and houses there is a bathroom (99.6%, including 14.2% with two bathrooms) and a toilet (98.4%, including 17.4% with two toilets). A big percentage of buildings occupied by questioned families are equipped with basements (92.2%), allowing for an extension of usage space. Other types of additional space are met more seldom – a separate dining room exists in case of about a half of the respondents (42.4%), and even more seldom the respondents mentioned a separate store-room (33.7%) or a porch (26.3%).

We can thus see a relatively high standard of occupied premises, which is additionally proved by the analysis of basic issues connected with functioning of flats and houses. Almost all flats are provided with water by means of water supply system (97.4%), only 2.6% use other systems (within which 1% owns a well with a motor pump). Great majority admits that waste water is collected from their houses by means of a sewage system (70.2%). A quite large group of households, however, has a septic tank (26.8%). The remaining forms of dealing with waste water are of marginal importance – 1% admits to collecting sewage in a drain, and only 0.8% of households use a home sewage treatment plant.

The majority of flats are heated by means of a heating system (58.6%), but heating in case of many households is also based on coal or timber stoves (27%). Other forms of heating occur very seldom and include oil heating 0.8%, gas heating 3.8% and electric heating 1%.

Hence, we have to notice that the living situation of the questioned families is relatively good and if we consider the fact that these are mostly families consisting of parents and two children, the size of flats and the number of rooms seems in most cases

completely sufficient. The standard of flats is also quite high. Few of them do not have conveniences which are considered common.

7.4.3. Surrounding of the premises

The character of the closest surrounding of the place of living is significant for the generally understood quality of life. Places and objects which are typical for rural areas exist in the neighbourhood of few households - vegetable garden is the surrounding of 44.4% of them, and domestic animals can be met in the neighbourhood of 26.4%, although typical farms are placed in the surrounding of only 8.8%. A shed or a barn exists in the neighbourhood of 25.6% of the investigated households, and other farm buildings are located close to 39.8% of them.

Sport- and recreational facilities have an important influence on the proper development of children, as well as on the health and good physical condition of the adults. While playgrounds are quite common on the researched area (they exist in the closest surrounding of 68.3% of households), other facilities are much less often met in the local environment – 48.4% of the surveyed families have a gym close to their houses, and a swimming pool or a sauna are met even more seldom (respectively in the neighbourhood of 26.4% and 20.2% of the households).

7.4.4. Forms of ownership of flats and houses

Most of the surveyed families possess ownership rights to the occupied premises (74%). Usually members of the respondent's family are owners of a house or a flat (72.4%). A small number of respondents live in community flats (12.4%). Other forms of property are very rare and include flats of a housing cooperative (8%), private flats, which do not belong to respondents' family (2.2%) and company flats (3.6%).

The occupied house or flat was in most cases inherited or given by some family member (23.6%). Also, a quite large group of respondents built or bought their home, without taking a credit (respectively 13.8% and 16.4%). A similar percentage of the respondents declare that their flat is leased or rented (14.2%). Considerably fewer respondents mention a credit, which allowed to build (8.6%) or buy a house (8.8%), and majority of them still have credit commitments connected with the occupied premises (10.6%). The least common situations include ownership by means of an exchange (5.2%), or getting a company flat from the factory (6.4%).

7.4.5. Plans connected with the place of living

Most respondents have no plans in relation to the occupied house or flat (41.8%), or they simply want to redecorate it (41.6%). More serious plans are mentioned a lot less often – similarly few respondents have an intention to change their place of living, build or buy a new one (3.6% each). An intention of selling a flat is declared by even fewer respondents – only 2.6% and cases of respondents who want to enlarge their house are met the most seldom – such idea is considered by only by 1.8% of the respondents.

The majority of respondents claim also that they have no intention to move to a different place (64.2%). A considerable number, however, express willingness to move from the city to the country (22.8%) – it proves a current migration tendency, which

makes many Poles move outside the centres of big cities. Other intended changes of the place of living are mentioned much more seldom – 3% would like to move from the country to the city, 3.8% would like to move to another city, and a 5% plan to move to another place within the same city.

VIII. SUMMARY – Conclusions

Andrzej Górny – Wojciech Świątkiewicz – Maria Świątkiewicz–Mośny and Katarzyna Węgrzyn

1. When it comes to the base of a family – relationship between partners – we deal with a typically traditional model of family functioning, whose core is formed by legally accepted marriage. Phenomena of changes taking place in this field suggested by researchers were not visible on a larger scale in the realized investigation.
2. Among the respondents the most numerous group are people, whose competence may be described as average. It means that both low qualified staff and highly qualified specialists constitute relatively small categories. A similar situation may be observed in relation to currently performed work. Here also people having the simplest jobs requiring low qualifications are met seldom. On the other hand, however, few respondents have the most prestigious, the best paid and appreciated jobs, which situate them high in the social structure.
3. Despite some changes visible in recent years, professional qualifications which dominate among the respondents are specific for modern industrial society – those related to large-scale production and bureaucratic apparatus.
4. Today, marriages or partnerships are principally homogeneous in respect to social position of both partners indicated by the level of education, possessed qualifications and current job. A very significant symptom of changes is also professional activation of women.
5. Certain part of the respondents occupied positions requiring high qualifications, enjoying appreciation and bringing considerable earnings. Despite these changes, families are in the transition stage between the traditional model and the modern one, or rather late-modern when it comes to professional roles. Very little groups of both men and women work in the service sector.
6. The division of work related to household operation and taking care of children is traditional in the surveyed families, so these duties are mainly women's responsibility, although they are often professionally active as well.
7. Traditions and celebrative customs are held in the majority of houses, which probably helps maintain family ties. Contact between members of families living separately is mainly personal or by means of telephones, first of all due to closeness of places of living. Families render mutual help and the exchange of favours between parents and the generation of grandparents is especially underlined. From the side of older generations towards the younger ones material help dominates and young people pay it back mostly by providing emotional support and helping in various formal matters.
8. Families describe themselves as traditional when it comes to keeping customs. This could not be, however, their aware choice, but passive acceptance of models, and in such a case we may speak of elements indicating their modern character.
9. Consumption models which can be noticed in the surveyed families cannot be explicitly called 'healthy'. Nevertheless, we can notice a number of factors (e.g.

- high frequency of eating fruit and vegetables) which indicate that influence of the style of nutrition of health is for the respondents of even greater importance.
10. We have to assume that products appropriate for the traditional model are products that have been present in the menus of families for a long time, those having a firm position among a very rich range of today's various consumption goods and mostly of domestic production. The indicators of a modern model are products with relatively short presence on our market, which constitute a kind of novelty in a menu characteristic for the conditions of our country and are mostly imported
 11. In relation to motivation influencing shopping decisions we can speak more about the traditional model, where practical and taste reasons count the most, rather than about the modern model, which assumes, above all, care about health.
 12. We can notice that the changes taking place in the surveyed families in the space of generations indicate heading for modernity. The generation of children is better educated than the generation of their parents and this one is in turn better educated than the generation of grandparents.
 13. The research shows that education of children is important. The phenomenon of „working kids” is not popular in this area, whereas higher education and taking up studies is more and more common. A quite considerable influence is here exerted by a System of Universities in Rybnik – a possibility of studying on place, in a small distance from the place of living significantly lowers the cost of education and makes it more accessible.
 14. When it comes to employment, changes are visible first of all in case of women who took up jobs whereas their mothers did not work professionally. Partners of the respondents inherit the professional situation from their fathers in great deal. Mining is still an important part of economy. The so called ‘intelligent workplaces’, which are those connected with new technologies do not occur on this area in large quantity yet.
 15. Among the descriptions of contemporary reality two models appear to be dominating. One of them assumes the acceleration of life, the second one – passivity and apathy. In the former model even primary school pupils complain about having no time because apart from school classes they attend additional courses. Young people start preparing to the rat race which they will join when they take their first job. The latter model stresses huge unemployment, lack of perspectives, break of the employment and education.
 16. We can thus assume that a traditional way of spending free time means passivity and lack of activities: not taking part in culture, not practicing sports and limiting holiday trips.
 17. The research shows an important role played by television in taking free time. Although watching television is not mentioned as an activity done in free time, we can suppose that it is a dominating activity as almost everyone watch TV every day and a lot of them spend in front of a TV set over 2 hours.
 18. A family built on a legalized relationship of a man and a woman and children who are linked with them by kinship is treated as a cultural niche which gives a feeling of emotional security, personal relations based on care and responsibility and a certain durability if rules in the fast changing world.

19. Family and marriage happiness is chosen as the most important aim of life, which should be protected and consolidated. Such bases relate not only to small families, but also to widened ones. Family is treated as a reference system in difficult situations. All that is important is located in closest environment, especially in this area which is saturated with the feeling of bonds and close emotional relation of subjective character. This creates potential advantageous conditions for improving interpersonal communication and emotional ties in a family.
20. Three quarters of the respondents describe their families as traditional because the cultural customs practiced in them are traditional. The rest think that their families are modern. We should not, however, link this attitude directly with distance or more radical rejection of historically shaped cultural models of family traditions. Modernity is also perceived as a change of family roles structure, which in Upper Silesia was accelerated above all by industry restructurization processes especially those related with mining and steelworks. As their consequence, more and more women who concentrated mostly on household duties had to take up professional activity. A similar situation is visible in changing attitudes towards educational aspirations and higher education. Modernity does not have to mean rejection of tradition; it may be its more aware choice.
21. In the view of sociological theories and the results of empirical research, we cannot defend the thesis that secularization is an indicator of modernity and staying by religious values constitutes an indicator of cultural conservatism. Sociology must replace this mythical expression of the common secularization process with comparative sociological analysis of historical processes of secularization relating to cases of their occurrence.
22. In orientations on values declared in the analyzed environment of families the presence of religious elements is deeply rooted both in the surface of confession declarations and religious practices which show their family character. Religion is also shown as a source of searching for the sense of life in difficult situations. The dominating membership in Roman Catholic Church, which in case of the analyzed environment is a cultural obviousness, suggests that different domains of family life remain in references more or less binding towards the Catholic model of marriage and family.
23. The highest level of acceptance is given to those features of a partner which are connected with the level of professional qualifications. High acceptance is also enjoyed by specific features connected with political beliefs. A cultural model of getting married includes certain tips related to the age of partners who set up a family. In Poland marriages are contracted by people of similar age. A situation which is also according to accepted customs is when a man is older than a woman in a marriage.
24. Factors which arouse the strongest negative prejudices are different moral and religious beliefs, and further ethnical ones. Subjects of very determined prejudices are prostitutes and homosexuals. We can also assume with high probability that the highlighted factors which inspire prejudices may be treated separately only for analytical purposes. In practice of social life, they are mutually interconnected and constitute a strong source of stereotypes. The results of our research confirm the

- conflicts between national and religious groups which occur in Europe sometimes even in extreme cases.
25. Most of the respondents admit that both they and the rest of household members achieve income on the level between the minimal pay and its double amount. We have to notice though, that the incomes of respondents' male partners are significantly higher – most of them achieve an income between double and triple minimal pay. An analysis of answers given for the question about incomes in a family has also shown that earnings of men are visibly higher than women's income.
 26. The number of children, who have some regular income, is little. It is a meaningful sign of difficulties connected with finding a steady job, met by young people entering the job market.
 27. A subjective evaluation of changes which took place recently in the surveyed families is far from optimistic – we can see stagnation, and often even decreasing standard of living. Only a small percentage of the respondents mention some development leading to improvement in the situation of their families.
 28. Households which were subject to this research are relatively well equipped with different kinds of appliances facilitating everyday life. Nevertheless, advanced and modern kind of household equipment is still not commonly met.
 29. There are only few households which could be described as really modern basing on the technically advanced equipment. Cases of households where all mentioned devices, which constitute indicators of their modern character, are present simultaneously are completely incidental. Nevertheless, in many of the investigated households there are numerous electronic devices, which is a visible symptom of a transfer into a modern lifestyle.

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Hradec Králové

**II. 2.3. National research report from the Czech Republic,
University of Hradec králové**

II. 2. 3. National research report from the Czech Republic, University of Hradec Králové

Blahoslav Kraus – Iva Jedličková

Introduction

The Czech family has gone through an interesting development and important changes in several last ten-years periods. The period after World War II can be characterized through an extensive population regime with such features, as high matrimony rate, high fertility and high mortality, too. These features of demographic development put the Czech Republic in the line with East-European countries, although till that time it belonged with its demographic characteristics to the countries of West Europe.

Liberal divorce legislation, insufficient sexual education, developing process of emancipation, matrimones joined in the low age – these were the reasons of increasing divorce rate. Relating to political and economical situation of that time family was felt as the main field of self-realization.

In the framework of the complex social transformation after 1990 next important changes came into being. Natural reduction of the number of inhabitants and accelerating process of ageing of population belong to the new features of demographic development. A considerable decrease of the birth rate has started. Even at the beginning of the 90s the coefficient was about 1,9, but in the last years it is about 1,2. The next considerable development we can note in the age of joining matrimones. In the case of men the age has increased from the age of 24 to 29 and in the case of women from 21 to nearly 27. As a quite new fact the increasing number of children born out of matrimones is important to mention: actually it is more than 30% of all new born children.

The family of today is in a new and a more complicated situation. The model of a current family can be more and more characterized as a two-career-model. Demands and pressures acting on the family are so strong, that the family gives up to realize its functions. The family becomes smaller, it comes into a certain isolation. The family lives „closed inside“. Such a family is more unstable and vulnerable to any conflicts and problems inside the family. The process of desintegration can be noted. This process can be seen in the fact, that there are less and less moments, when the family is coming together to join their joys and pleasures, problems and troubles and to search and find the ways of mutual help and co-operation.

On the other hand the family can be understood, especially in the socially weak background, as the only supporting point, where the family members, first of all children, can retire. In our current time the importance of a family as a refuge from the public complicated world is increasing.

It can be noted, that in spite of all problems and complications, which the family had to go through and, of course, has to go through at the beginning of a new century, too, it stays as an indispensable and hardly replaceable institution for adults and even more for the children.

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What is the life of the current family, how do the relations inside look like, what is families' value orientation, their social-economic situation (first of all from the point of view of development from the traditional conception of family life to its modern style) – that was the topic of our research realized on the sample of 500 respondents (representing 500 families) at the territory of Hradec Králové. This exploration was realized as a part of an international research „Tradition and Modernity in the Lifestyle of Families“ in 2005.

Our research was realized in the second quarter 2005 in 500 families. Respondent families were chosen through random sampling in proportional representation of five areas of the town of Hradec Králové: historical town centre, block build-up area, block of flats – housing estates, family houses and villas area, former village – now part of town agglomeration, based on the town map.

The households were visited by an interviewer who realized an interview based on the questionnaire. As the rule the woman-mother was the respondent. The answers were noted by the interviewer. The questionnaires were processed in the SPSS programme. In the following text the results of the research are presented.

I. Structure

1. Family's structure

When we want to describe the family's structure, the number of family members belongs to the first searched features.

In our sample there were 3,9% one-member households, 25,2% two-member households, 46,9% three-member households, 18,2% four-member households and 5,8% five-member households.

These numbers can be characterized as typical facts for households in bigger seats in the Czech Republic at the beginning of 21st century. In the last decades the family has changed in the number of its members: former typical Czech family with two children is not typical more, that is why the number of four-member households is rather low and the number of even greater households and families is very low.

According to these facts about the number of persons living in searched households it is important to find the internal structure of households-families, that is why *the part of households with or without individual member* was taken.

Table 1. – *Members of the household*

Households with a woman	93%	without a woman	7%
Households with a man	84%	without a man	16%
Households with children	71%	without children	29%

These facts are not surprising in the current Czech social situation. There are several reasons for these results, as for example the reasons for higher part of households with a woman: longer life duration in the case of women in the Czech Republic in comparison with the life duration of men, higher part of non-complete families where mother and child or children live than non-complete families where father with child or children live etc.

Table 2. – *Child (children) in families*

Family	
With one child	67,0%
With two children	25,9%
With three or more children	7,1%

In this table data about the number of children in those families are represented, in which children live, i. e. in 71% of families in our sample. From those families the majority is the family with one child (67% of families with children). The average number of children in such family is (only) 1,4.

On the one hand a high number of families with child or children is a remarkable fact, on the other hand an even low average number of children in these families must be accented. This fact confirms the development of the Czech family in the last decades. The number of born children was decreasing in the Czech Republic since the end of 70th

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markedly and the last change in this development in the year 2006 is quite new and very short for being reflected in this research realized in 2005.

Table 3. – *In this situation living together of generations in families was searched*

One and two-generations-families	85,7%
Three-generations-families	9,4%
Four-generations-families	1,0%
Others (one-member-families)	3,9%

According to above mentioned facts a very high part of two-generations-families must be stated: it is corresponding with the generation characteristics of the Czech family not only in the last decade, but it marks its development from beginning of the second part of 20th century.

As untypical for the Czech family the *living together with siblings* can be stated: In the same low amount as for example four-generations-families, e.g. in only 1% of families, brothers and sisters of respondents live together with them.

As important personal and family characteristics the *family status of respondents* was taken:

Table 4. – *Characteristics of partnership of adults*

Single living alone	2,1 %
Single living with a partner	7,3 %
Married living alone	2,7 %
Married living with a husband/wife	59,6 %
Married living with a partner	10,4 %
Divorced living alone	8,7 %
Divorced living with a partner	6,5 %
Widow living alone	2,5 %
Widow living with a partner	0,2 %

Despite of family development in the last time in the Czech Republic, which was described in the introduction, the high part of traditional model of partnership common life must be mentioned as a result of our research. The number of respondents living in the marriage with a husband or wife is significantly higher than the number of respondents divorced and the number of respondents living alone or with a partner.

Table 5. – *Duration of matrimonies*

Not yet married	26,2 %
Married from 1 to 4 years	8,6 %
Married from 5 to 9 years	10,0 %
Married from 10 to 14 years	13,5 %

Married from 15 to 19 years	11,5 %
Married from 20 to 29 years	17,9 %
Married 30 years and more	12,3 %

Besides the fact of the part of not yet married respondents the other categories of duration of matrimonies are nearly equally extended and do not represent any surprising or unexpected facts. Relatively high part of matrimonies with duration over 20 and over 30 years is clear because of greater interval in these categories.

The average duration of marriage in the explored sample was 13,2 years, the most long duration of the marriage was 51 years.

In the comment to the table “Characteristics of the partnership of adults” the high number of married respondents was explained. But this number of married respondents does not say, if it is the first marriage or not. That is why the question about the previous marriage was given to the respondents.

Previous marriage: 27, 3 % respondents lived in a previous marriage. When we compare this fact with the number of divorced and those left a widow or widower (together over 17% of respondents), it is clear, that 10% currently married respondents live in the second or further marriage.

From the above mentioned amount of respondents who declared a previous marriage, 84 % respondents presented, their previous marriage was divorced and 16% previous marriages of respondents ended by the death of the partner.

Demographic structure of families:

Table 6. – *Structure of the families from the point of view: age of family members*

Less than 10 years	12,4%
Age from 11 to 15	16,2%
Age from 16 to 20	6,8%
Age from 21 to 30	15,8%
Age from 31 to 40	19,3%
Age from 41 to 50	13,3%
Age from 51 to 60	11,4%
Age from 61 to 70	2,7%
Age from 70 more	2,1%

The age structure of researched families shows relatively equal distribution of members in concrete age categories. High part of families with children (71%) has been already mentioned, this is the connection with relatively high part of family members in low age categories. On the other hand the low numbers of family members at the age from 61 and from 70, of course, too, does not correspond to the part of inhabitants of this age in the whole population. The average age of the family members in the researched families was 41,4 years.

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Table 7. – *Structure of the families from the point of view: sex*

Men in the researched families	47,9%
Women in the researched families	52,1%

Sexual structure of family members corresponds to the sexual structure of the whole Czech population with its greater part of women in the population.

Table 8. – *Structure of the families from the point of view: nationality of family members*

Nationality	
Czech	97,9%
Slovak	1,2%
German	0,2%
Polish	0,5%
Hungarian	0,1%

The nationality structure of families in our sample corresponds to the nationality structure of the whole Czech population, which is characterized by a very high part of Czechs and very low parts of inhabitants of other nationalities.

Table 9. – *Structure of the family members from the point of view: place of birth*

Born in a dwelling house	0,3%
Born in a village	5,6%
Born in a town	30,4%
Born in a big city	63,7%

Facts given in answers to this question confirm the supposition, that the majority of inhabitants of a big city was born either in this big city or any other big city or a town. The internal migration of population in the Czech Republic is not very strong and it concerns this region, too.

2. Patterns of communication

For more detailed characteristics of current Czech family there are many aspects of great importance, for example the patterns of communication within the family and interpersonal relations. In this context the relations of respondents to adult children and to parents were searched.

Families with adult children: Adult children living in own household were mentioned by 30,7% respondents.

Table 10. – *The way of keeping contacts to adult children living in own household*

Contact per	Every day	Several times a week	Several times a month	Less
telephone	4,5%	26,8%	10,6%	1,3%
letters	–	–	0,7%	2,6%
e-mail	–	2,6%	1,6%	2,8%
visits	1,6%	8,1%	23,5%	10,8%
other	1,6%	0,3%	0,3%	0,3%

In the table 10 data concerning the quantity and the way of contacts kept with adults children, who live in their own household, are given. The results show, that the majority of contacts is realized per telephone calls followed by visits, which are realized in longer time intervals in comparison with the phone calls, of course. The results show also the low quantity of letter contacts.

Note: The base is formed by all mentioned contacts.

Table 11. – *Living parents of respondents and their partners*

mother	78,3 %
father	61,2 %
mother in law	60,0%
father in law	46,0%

A high majority of respondents has at least one living parent. Higher parts of living mothers and mothers in law is explained by higher age of survival in the case of women in the Czech Republic. One remarkable fact was found: 11% respondents mentioned, that they do not know anything about their mother in law and/or their father in law.

Table 12. – *Place of living of parents*

	Own	Common household	Rest home	With relatives	Do not know
mother	85,3%	9,3%	1,5%	2,9%	–
father	88,4%	6,6%	0,3%	1,9%	3,0%
mother in law	85,0%	5,9%	1,3%	4,1%	2,5%
father in law	87,2%	5,2%	0,4%	2,8%	4,1%

The results show the substantial majority of parents living in their own household and very low data concerning parents living in common households with their children and their families or living together with other relatives. It is really not very often in town households in the Czech Republic. The number of older people living in rest homes is very low, too.

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Table 13. – *The way of keeping contacts with parents*

<i>Contact per</i>	<i>Every day</i>	<i>Several times a week</i>	<i>Several times a month</i>	<i>Even less</i>
telephone	6,2 %	21,6%	11,5%	2,3%
letters	–	–	0,6%	4,8%
e-mail	–	0,7%	1,8%	3,5%
visits	1,2%	9,4%	23,4%	9,3%
other	0,4%	0,3%	0,3%	0,4%
no contacts at all				0,7%

Data written in table 13 give the information about the quantity or frequency and the way of keeping contacts of respondents (and their families) with parents. The results show no special or unexpected facts, the structure of answers is similar with above mentioned answers concerning the way and frequency of contacts of respondents with their adult children. It is clear that the main way of keeping contacts today is the telephone calling. Visiting stays also in contacts with parents the second realized way of contacts. Even in this case of contacts with parents writing of letters is used rather rarely.

Note: The base is formed by all mentioned contacts.

Table 14. – *Living brothers and sisters of the respondent and of the partner*

	<i>One</i>	<i>Two</i>	<i>Three and more</i>
Brother(s) of the respondent	40,0%	6,7%	1,7%
Brother(s) of the partner	36,2%	8,1%	1,4%
Sister(s) of the respondent	38,7%	9,6%	1,7%
Sister(s) of the partner	36,7%	8,8%	0,8%

Contacts with siblings belong to family contacts, too. Table 14 shows, that a high part of respondents has at least one living sibling, or the partner of the respondent has at least one living sibling. (These facts say among other, that a typical Czech family of recent decades was a family with two children.)

Table 15. – *Keeping of contacts with siblings*

	<i>yes</i>	<i>partially</i>	<i>no keeping contacts</i>
With brother(s)	67,8%	26,9%	5,8%
With sister(s)	71,8%	23,6%	4,7%

Facts given as answers to the question concerning keeping of contacts with brother(s) and/or sister(s) show relatively close relation of Czech population to siblings. The number of cases of no contacts to siblings is very low.

II. Function

1. Helping each other

For description and characterization of the life within the family such features as mutual help and support are of great importance.

Table 16. – *Help to children (living in own household) and its forms*

No help	47,8 %
Yes (without concrete form)	11,0 %
Taking care of the child/children	9,9 %
Financial support	15,5 %
Housework, household work	5,7 %
Various (according to situation)	8,8 %
In kind (e.g. food)	1,8 %
Other	–

Answers to the help to children living in their own household show at least partial change in the attitude of Czech population toward this phenomenon. Earlier, in the second part of 20th century, help given from parents to their adult children living in their own household was relatively often. According to our research nearly 48% respondents do not help to their adult children, however this answer was followed by the help in the form of financial support, which is not quite a positive feature.

Table 17. – *Help from children to the parents*

No help	67,5 %
Yes (without concrete form)	4,4 %
Taking care of the child/children	–
Financial support	3,1 %
Housework, household work	3,2 %
Various (according to situation)	10,0 %
In kind (e.g. food)	1,9 %
Other	11,3 %

Data in this item are felt as a starting point for a discussion, first of all the fact of the high part of children who do not help to the parents (67,5%). Does it mean, that respondents – parents of adult children are self-supporting enough in the current time? Will in the case of changing (= worsening) situation the children be able and disposed to help?

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Table 18. – *Support of own parents and its forms*

Paying for a helping employee (nurse)	0,4 %
Financial support	4,3 %
Housekeeping and household work in their own home	27,5 %
Nursing and care	11,2 %
Regular visits, mental care, emotional support	46,5 %
Other forms	0,9 %
No support for parents	9,1 %

As really positive results the answers given to the question concerning of the support given from respondents to their parents are felt, although the presented possibilities of answers were wide enough for various cases. Nearly 90% of respondents support their own parents or parents of their partners, the majority of them through regular visits, mental care and emotional support.

Table 19. – *Help from own parents and its forms*

No help	7,6 %
Living in their flat	14,3 %
Taking care of the child/children	25,3 %
Financial support	16,6 %
Housework, household work	2,5 %
Help in constructing house	7,5 %
In kind (e.g. food)	24,9 %
Other	1,1 %

These are the data concerning not only the current reality, but also the situation in the past of our respondents. They show the relatively high number of help received from own parents (more than in 92% answers) and various kinds of this help, first of all taking care of child or children.

To the topic Helping each other the information about members of families needing special help and care belongs.

Table 20. – *Families with persons needing a special care*

<i>Families with</i>	
persons physically disabled	2,8 %
persons mentally disabled	1,1 %
persons with sense handicap	1,5 %
persons who need constant care	7,8 %

In the explored families there were persons with physical, mental or sensual disablement in a low number. Families with persons who need constant care are represented in a higher rate.

2. Habits in families

Table 21. – *Opportunities for giving presents*

<i>Occasion</i>	<i>Giving presents</i>
Christmas	99,4 %
Easter	32,3 %
Santa Claus	39,8 %
Birthday	98,8 %
Name-day	87,1 %
Marriage anniversary	42,1 %
St. Valentine Day	22,9 %
Women's day	13,5 %
Children's day	23,1 %
Mothers' day	39,6 %
Other	34,7 %

The high numbers given in the item „opportunities for giving presents“ describe the traditional positive attitude of Czech population toward giving presents. Many opportunities are used for giving presents, according to the tradition first of all Christmas, birthday and name-day. The answers confirm new trends in opportunities for giving presents, too. These trends are seen for example in rather lower number of cases of giving presents at the occasion of Women's Day and in comparison with it the more higher number in the case of Mothers's Day, or also in giving presents at a rather new occasion of St. Valentine Day.

Table 22. – *Price of presents*

<i>Price category</i>	<i>Bought in</i>
Presents up to 200 Kč	17,1% families
Presents from 200 to 500 Kč	21,5% families,
Presents from 500 to 1000 Kč	10,2% families,
Presents from 1000 to 1500 Kč	2,6% families,
Presents from 1000 to 2000 Kč	1,6% families,
Presents for more than 2000 Kč	1,5% families.

According to answers to the question about price of bought and given presents, the majority of them lies in the lower categories, although even these categories can be felt by some respondents as not quite low.

The answers on the following question about buying and giving cheap or expensive presents showed, that the perception of these words is very subjective. After the classification of amounts of presents it was clear, that the average value of presents is between 200 and 250 Kč (crowns). Note: In the time of realizing the research 30 Kč (Czech crowns) = 1 Euro.

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Table 23. – *Kind of presents*

<i>Forms of providing gifts</i>	
Own-made presents	7,3 %
Going to a restaurant together	25,4 %
Going to theatre/cinema/concert	4,6 %
Flowers	58,7 %
Gift token	2,3 %
Buying a journey	4,0 %
Fitness season ticket	0,8 %
Paying for a sauna, massage	0,2 %
Alcohol	34,8 %
Sweets and other kinds of food	13,1 %
Cosmetics	36,5 %
Books	32,1 %

In this case the respondents could also give more answers, and that is why the answers can show the variability of present kinds. Some traditional attitudes are clear, such as giving flowers, cosmetics, alcohol and books as presents, new possibilities are not so strong yet (buying a journey, gift token, fitness ticket etc.). In comparison with the tradition in the past a low number of own-made presents was mentioned (only over 7%).

Visits of guests in the period of last half-year

62,9% families had visits of guests in this period. 19% respondents did not concretized the visiting persons. In the case of concretization the parents were the most often guests (35,5%), followed by the friends (26,6%) and children or grandchildren (13,5%) and brother(s) and sister(s) (5,4%).

As to the frequency of visits (it must be noted, that 48,8% respondents did not formulate it), visits once during the month were mentioned in 27% families, visits four- or five times in a half-year were given in 11,5%, three times in a half-year in 8,5%, twice in a half-year in 20% and once in the last half-year in 7,2% families. Occasional visits (as celebrations) were mentioned in 6,2% and often visits in 19,6%.

Table 24. – *The frequency of common sitting at the table of the family*

<i>Occasion</i>	<i>Every day</i>	<i>Saturday</i>	<i>Sunday</i>
Breakfast	25,2%	13,7%	18,1%
Lunch	5,0%	41,8%	48,5%
Dinner	43,8%	16,5%	14,2%

This item shows that the role of common meeting of family members to meals is important for a great part of families, but not for all of them. According to the current everyday life the low number of common lunch is evident. As an interesting fact the

relatively high number of common dinners on the working days ought to be mentioned. This number is even comparable with the number of common lunch on week-end days and much more higher than common dinners on Saturday or Sunday.

Common sitting at the table in various occasions was mentioned by 25,6 % of respondents and 3,8 % of respondents mentioned, they do not meet at all at the table.

Sleeping after lunch: Sleeping after lunch as usual every day was mentioned by 9,6% respondents, regularly on the week-ends was mentioned by 10,4% respondents, „sometimes“ was mentioned by 19,6% respondents. The rest, e.g. 69,4% respondents, does not sleep after lunch. Sleeping after lunch is the case more often by men.

Table 25. – *Taking part in household activities by members of the household (in %)*

<i>Activity</i>	<i>father</i>	<i>mother</i>	<i>child</i>	<i>grand- parents</i>	<i>all</i>
1. Shopping	16,7	64,5	1,7	8,8	7,8
2. Cleaning	6,9	81,3	4,0	4,2	9,0
3. Cooking	6,2	82,7	0,4	4,6	2,9
4. Washing	3,8	86,7	1,3	4,2	1,0
5. Ironing	3,3	85,4	3,1	3,5	1,0
6. Taking to/from nursery, school	6,7	23,3	1,2	4,2	2,1
7. Paying the bills	45,9	41,5	0,3	6,3	3,7
8. Doing official business	43,9	40,8	0,6	8,5	4,8
9. Gardening	18,6	29,8	0,6	5,4	1,3
10. Mowing the lawn	41,2	9,2	3,1	3,5	1,8
11. Taking care of domestic animals	10,6	16,8	7,9	2,9	6,8
12. Doing smaller household mending	71,8	13,1	2,7	3,3	1,9
13. Doing the washing up	11,7	61,8	6,0	6,3	7,5
14. Helping children with their homework	8,8	30,6	0,2	3,7	1,9
15. Playing with children, walking with them	8,7	32,9	0,6	7,9	3,1
16. Taking out the garbage	25,6	31,0	24,8	6,9	9,6

Results of answers concerning the distribution of tasks in household activities brought interesting facts, which partially confirm the well-known reality that the quantity of household activities of men and women is very different. There are some household activities, which are realized equally by both partners, such as paying the bills, doing official business, or even realized equally by both partners and child or children, as taking out the garbage, but there are much more other household activities, which are realized unequally, that means mainly by women. The part of activities, which are done by child or children, is very low.

III. Consumption

1. Nutrition

In characterization of present family's life style the nutrition belongs to its important features. That is why several aspects of nutrition style and nutrition habits of present families were searched. In following parts these features are presented.

Table 26. – *Used fat when cooking*

<i>Kind of fat</i>	
grease	13,8%
oil	73,5%
margarine	7,7%
other	5,0%

Using of fat in the process of cooking belongs to important features of nutrition style in the family. Facts given in this question confirmed the expected predominance of cooking with oil, while traditional Middle-European cooking with grease is decreasing and stands on the second position with a big interval behind cooking with oil of nearly 60%.

Table 27. – *Eating without being hungry*

<i>Reason</i>	
without reason	13,8%
celebration	18,6%
watching TV	13,8%
gourmetting	4,5%
visits	7,9%
boring	7,9%
stress	5,8%
such eating does not happen	39,8%

Facts given in the item „occasions of eating without being hungry“ show, that for a relevant part of respondents (nearly 40%) this situation does not happen at all. From the other part of respondents, that means respondents who declared eating without being hungry, occasions of celebrations are the most given reason (nearly 19%). Together with visits (further nearly 8%) both these reasons show that eating belongs to keeping social contacts in the families.

Table 28. – *Consumption of vegetables*

<i>Frequency</i>	<i>% respondents</i>
every day	30,6 %
3-4x in a week	43,3%
1-2x in a week	24,2%
less often	1,7%
not at all	0,2%

Consumption of vegetables belongs to important features of the nutrition style of the family. That is why question to the frequency of eating vegetables was formulated. The answers given by the respondents show a positive trend in nutrition style in the Czech families, because the frequency of consumption of vegetables is very high: three- and more-times in a week vegetable is eaten in 74% families, in further 24% families once or twice in a week. Only 2% respondents declared they eat vegetables rarely or not at all.

Table 29. – *Favourite vegetable (in %)*

1. carrot	57,5	2. potato	66,5	3. pumpkin	3,7
4. paprika	67,9	5.cabbage	47,9	6. cauliflower	56,5
7. lettuce	53,7	8.spinach	43,3	9. tomato	83,1
10. turnip	22,3	11. radish	18,8	12. turnip cabbage	39,6
13. mushroom	37,3	14. eggplant	6,5	15. marrow	5,4
16. corn	36,5	17. green peas	39,8	18. yellow peas	16,2
19. lentil	28,7	20. bean	19,2	21. savoy cabbage	17,7
22. Brussels sprouts	13,1	23. zucchini	18,7	24. celery	20,8
25. asparagus	6,9	26. cucumber	70,6	27. other	12,3

The item concerning favourite vegetable of respondents belongs to those items which were formulated with the possibility of more answers, that is why the sum total of % respondents, who declared concrete vegetable as their favourite one, is much more than 100%. According to these answers, the most favourite kinds of vegetable nowadays are first of all tomatoes (in the case of 83% respondents), followed by cucumbers (70,6%), paprikas (67,9%) and potatoes (66,5%). Further favourite kinds of vegetable are also carrot, cauliflower and lettuce (all over 50% respondents). All these kinds of vegetable are felt as „home vegetable“.

Table 30. – *Consumption of fruit*

<i>Frequency</i>	<i>% respondents</i>
every day	37,3 %
3-4x in a week	42,9%
1-2x in a week	17,7%
less often	2,1%
not at all	0%

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The comment to the results of this item („consumption of fruit“) can be similar to that one concerning frequency of consumption of vegetables, even with higher data. Fruit is consumed in more than 80% families more than three times a week and in only 2% cases is eaten less than once in a week. Nobody from respondents declared that he or she does not eat fruit at all.

Table 31. – *Favourite fruit (in %)*

1. apple	77,3	2. pear	37,1	3. orange	57,9
4. banana	70,8	5. strawberry	71,5	6. apricot	50,8
7. peach	60,4	8. grapes	66,2	9. pineapple	39,0
10. kiwi	42,9	11. papaya	4,6	12. raspberry	34,4
13. blackberry	42,9	14. plum	36,0	15. honeydew melon	11,2
16. water melon	44,6	17. Figgie	9,4	18. date	6,3
19. red currant	19,0	20. sour cherry	22,3	21. cherry	52,3
22. grapefruit	21,7	23. other	5,4		

In the case of declaring favourite fruit the respondents had the possibility of giving more answers, too, as it was in the case of favourite kind of vegetable. That is why the sum total reaches over 100%. As the most favourite kinds of fruit first of all apples (77%), followed by strawberries, bananas, grapes, peaches, oranges and apricots were named (all of them were named by over 50% respondents). These data give, that in the case of fruit not only „home products“ (apple, strawberry, apricot), as it was in the case of vegetable, but also exotic fruits are often chosen, as bananas or oranges.

Table 32. – *Consumption of bread (kind):*

<i>Kind of bread</i>	<i>% respondents</i>
White bread	36,7 %
Brown bread	58,1%
Rye bread	29,2%
Other kinds of bread	7,1%
Not eating bread	1,2%

Bread in various kinds belongs to the important food sorts eaten in our country. Traditionally it was the main part of „everyday menu“ of Czech population. Data to this item show, that this tradition can be felt as strong even today, because the most given answer concerns brown bread (over 58%) and brown bread together with rye bread reached over 87%.

Table 33. – *Consumption of drinks*

<i>Kind of drink</i>	
coke and other sparkling drinks (Mirinda etc.)	8,3%
fruit juices	41,7%
beer	27,9%

tap water	47,3%
mineral water	56,9%
black tea	26,0%
green and herb tea	38,8%
coffee	50,4%
wine	23,7%
other	6,0%

In the question concerning consumption of drinks the respondents could choose more answers, that is why the sum total reaches over 100%. According to these answers the most often drink is mineral water (56,9 %), followed by coffee (over 50%), tap water and fruit juice. Beer was named less than expected (nearly 28%), the same is true for black tea (26%), coke and other sparkling drinks (only 8,3%).

Using of salt: 40,2 % respondents salt their meals after having prepared them.

Table 34. – *Used spices (in %)*

<i>Kind of spice</i>	
Proper	78,8%
Paprika powder	75,6%
Caraway seed	80,8%
Marjoram	78,1%
Basil	36,7%
Thyme	25,6%
Balm	5,8%
Anise	5,0%
Tarragon	6,7%
Nutmeg	19,0%
Curry	43,1%
Other	26,0%

With traditional cooking as well as modern cooking, using of spices is put together. In the question concerning using of spices the respondents could choose more answers, that is why the sum total reaches over 100%, too. The scale of used spices mentioned in the answers of respondents is very wide. As most often used spices caraway seed, proper, marjoram and paprika powder were mentioned. It shows rather traditional attitude toward using spices, because just these above named spices have been used in the Czech cooking for a long time. As a new trend using of other spices, it means first of all spice compositions, must be presented.

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Table 35. – *Consumption of meat (in %)*

<i>Kind of meat</i>	
I do not eat meat	0,6%
Chicken	91,7%
Beef	23,8%
Pork	69,4%
Fish	46,7%
Turkey	27,9%
Calf	3,3%
Duck	6,0%
Other	6,2%

Meat has belonged to important parts of nutrition for a long time and it belongs to them today, too. The attitude toward concrete kinds of meat is, however, not constant. In comparison with the old Czech cooking the consumption of beef has decreased. According to the results of our research chicken is the most often consumed kind of meat (in nearly 97%), followed by pork which was named by nearly 70% respondents. Fish is also an often consumed kind of meat (46,7%). On the opposite the number of respondents, who declared they do not eat meat at all, is very low (only 0,6%). (In the question concerning consumption of meat the respondents could choose more answers, that is why the sum total reaches over 100%.)

Table 36. – *Reasons of deciding when buying food (in %)*

<i>Reason of deciding</i>	
Price	57,1%
Content of calories	11,7%
Advertisement	3,5%
Fat content	18,1%
Sugar content	6,2%
According how healthy it is	37,7%
Tradition, family habits	40,6%
Taste	77,1%

In this item the respondents had the possibility to choose more than one answer, too, that is why sum total reaches of answers to this question over 100%, too.

Facts, that bring important information about the nutrition style of a family, are surely reasons for deciding in buying foods. Why do people decide for buying just these food products and not the other ones, it is useful to know not only for producers. In the Czech Republic there are discussions about these reasons. On the one hand the data from our research confirmed that the role of price is rather strong, as it is often mentioned, on the other hand it was not the strongest reason for deciding in buying foods. The most often named reason was the taste (77%), in many cases together with tradition and family habits.

2. Shopping

Shopping belongs to such activities, which must be done in every household and which take amount of time. There are differences in family habits connected with shopping – on the one hand shopping is felt as an unpleasure necessity, on the other hand it can be felt even as an attractive free-time activity.

Table 37. – *The frequency of doing shopping*

<i>Every day</i>	<i>during the week</i>	<i>at week-ends</i>	<i>according to possibilities</i>	<i>monthly</i>
2,3 %	33,7 %	26,2 %	41,9 %	3,7 %

The frequency of doing shopping in families is very different. Both extreme data were mentioned rather rarely (2,3% and 3,7%), the other possibilities were chosen more often. More concrete analysis of these answers is complicated, because of high choice of the answer „We do our shopping according to possibilities“ by nearly 42% respondents.

Table 38. – *Preference of shop types*

<i>Type of shop</i>	
Supermarket close to home	66,2 %
Hypermarket	46,5 %
Small shops	26,0 %
Market	10,4 %
Other	1,7 %

Preference of shop types in doing shopping is an important information concerning family shopping habits. In the question concerning choice of shop types the respondents could choose more answers, that is why the sum total of answers reaches over 100%. Supermarkets close to home are preferred as a shop type (named by 66% respondents), the second most chosen type is a hypermarket (46,5%). Shopping in small shops is done less (mentioned by 26% respondents) and shopping in a market rarely.

Table 39. – *Reasons of choosing the shop*

Prices	57,8 %
Range of goods	54,8 %
Distance from home	34,8 %
Customs	40,4 %
Other	3,8 %

Reasons of choosing the shops by families are often discussed, that is why this question could bring useful facts. In this question the respondents had the possibility to choose more answers, that is why the sum total reaches over 100%. The most often named reasons of choosing the shop were the prices and range of goods, both mentioned in more than 50% cases. Customs were mentioned even more often than distance of the shop from home.

IV. Education

1. Education

Table 40. – *Educational structure of members in the common household*

<i>Level/type of school</i>	<i>% family members</i>
primary	7,4%
professional	13,3%
secondary	2,9%
matura	33,2%
technician	1,9%
upper secondary	14,4%
university	27,3%

The level of education reached by searched persons belongs to facts which influence the life style of individuals and families. Data in the table 40 present the educational level and type of passed schools of families' members. According to this data 7,4% respondent passed so-called basic school (the name of school type of primary and lower secondary education in the Czech Republic), 51,3% respondents passed various kinds of so-called secondary schools and 27,3% respondents are graduates of universities.

Table 41. – *Educational structure of parents of both partners*

<i>Level/type of school</i>	<i>mother</i>	<i>father</i>	<i>mother in law</i>	<i>father in law</i>
primary	15,8%	7,1%	14,6%	4,9%
professional	26,8%	33,7%	29,2%	29,2%
secondary	29,1%	16,5%	24,6%	17,1%
matura	9,2%	3,5%	6,3%	2,3%
technician	–	–	–	–
upper secondary	4,8%	13,4%	2,9%	12,1%
university	11,5%	22,7%	5,9%	16,5%

As for the parents of respondents and of their partners, the reached level of education has other structure than in the case of respondents and their partners. The numbers of persons who finished their education by the so-called basic school is higher in the case of women (mothers and mothers in law). The number of graduates of universities is lower than in the case of respondents and their partners in all categories, but first of all in the case of mothers and mothers in law.

In these categories even the information „unfinished primary school“ has appeared: in the case of 1,8% mothers, 0,9% fathers, 1,2% mothers in law and 0,8% fathers in law.

2. Profession

Profession and questions concerning it belong from several points of view very close to the topic life and life style of adults and of the whole families. Process of self-fulfilment is very important for the majority of population, and the realization of this process and its time demands on everyday life have influence on the life style of families. That is why a block of questions to the topic profession and occupation was worked in our research.

Table 42. – *Place of work of respondents and family members*

<i>Place of work</i>	
Small business	10,5 %
Middle business	16,4 %
National big business	12,5 %
Multinational big business	7,9 %
State administration institute	28,6 %
Local government	2,1 %
Educational institute	8,7 %
Health services	6,4 %
Civil organisation	1,8 %
Other, non governmental institute	6,6 %

At first the place of work of respondents and working family members was asked. The data show, the highest part of respondents and working family members works in institutes of state administration (28,6%). These institutions are followed by middle business and national business firms and companies (16,4% and 12,5%). These numbers can be felt as typical for a big town with institutions of state administration and developing structure of business firms.

Table 43. – *Structure of the families from the point of view: occupation*

<i>Occupation</i>	
Worker	15,5%
Clerk	25,4%
State administrator	31,8%
Home	1,1%
Technician	7,6%
Teacher	6,7%
Entrepreneur	6,4%
Farmer	0,4%
Pensioner	5,2%

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According to the answers about the occupation of respondents and their partners in our sample there was the majority of clerks and state administrators (together over 57%), followed with a great distance by workers (15,5%), technicians (7,6%) and teachers (6,4%).

The reasons of the majority of clerks and state administrators lie not only in the general trend in the development of occupation structure, but also in the searched territory, i.e. a big town, which is an administrative centre of the region, with a lot of institutions. The number of entrepreneurs (6,4%) of today is higher than in older generations, of course, because of social-politic and economic development in the Czech Republic.

Table 44. – *Structure of the families from the point of view: position in the occupation*

Leader	21, 3%
Subordinate	78, 7%

Facts given as answers to the item position in occupation obtain the expected structure of positions: the majority of subordinate employees (78,7%), minority of leader positions (21,3%).

Table 45. – *Occupation of parents*

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Mother</i>	<i>Father</i>	<i>Mother in law</i>	<i>Father in law</i>
Worker	31,7%	33,3%	31,3 %	27,9 %
Clerk	25,5%	17,9%	20,8 %	16,5 %
State administrator	18,7%	16,3%	13,5 %	13,7 %
Home	1,7%	–	3,5 %	1,2 %
Technician	1,9%	14,2%	1,2 %	13,7 %
Teacher	9,8%	3,8%	5,4 %	2,1 %
Entrepreneur	0,4%	2,7%	0,8 %	0,8 %
Farmer	2,9%	2,7%	1,7 %	2,1 %
Pensioner	2,3%	2,1%	1,9 %	0,8 %

In comparison with the structure and quantity of occupations in the case of respondents and of members of their households the same data concerning the parents of respondents and their partners show another distribution of occupations in this generation. The higher part of workers both in the case of women (mothers and mothers in law) and in the case of men (fathers and fathers in law) is the greatest difference: from 27,9% to 33,3% in the generation of parents in comparison to 15,5% in the generation of respondents.

This question asking about the occupations not of parents altogether, but separately of women and men (mothers and mothers in law and fathers and fathers in law), could bring data showing gender differences in occupations. These data are evident: for example the number of teachers is higher in the case of women than in the case of men (9,8% and 5,4% versus 3,8% and 2,1%), the same stands in the case of clerks (25,5% and 20,8% versus 17,9% and 16,5%), reverse situation is shown in the case of technicians, of course (14,2% fathers and 13,7% fathers in law versus 1,9% of mothers and 1,2% of mothers in law).

V. Free time

1. Free time

Ways of spending free time of course together with the amount of free time belong to the important features of life style characteristics. According to current trends in free time activities the role of sport activities in spending free time was searched as one of the first questions in this topic.

Sport activities of respondents: 59% respondents mentioned they realize regular sport activities in their free time.

Table 46. – *Kind of sport activity*

Biking, bicycling	22,9%
fitness, aerobic	35,9%
hiking	8,5%
tenis	2,2%
swimming	9,6%
sport games	12,2%
athletics	5,2%
gymnastics	0,8%
skiing, winter sports	2,4%

The answers given to the question concerning kinds of sport activities show that the current trends in sport activities obtain in the case of Czech respondents, too. The high part of respondents attending fitness centres or practising aerobics (nearly 36%) or biking/bicycling (nearly 23%) corresponds with the preferred sport activities in the current world. These sport activities are followed by sport games (12,2%) and swimming (9,6%). As a bit surprising fact the low number of respondents who declared skiing and winter sports as their sport activity ought to be mentioned.

Table 47. – *Frequency of these activities*

every day	8,3%
3-4x in a week	29,3%
1-2x in a week	49,2%
less often	13,2%

In connection with the role of sport activities in spending free time the frequency of sport activities was searched. The majority of respondents realize sport activities in the week-frequency (78,5%), either once or twice in a week (49,2%), or three times and four times in a week (29,3%). As understandable fact the low part of respondents realizing the sport activity every day (only 8,3%) is felt. The average frequency of sport activities is 1,7x in a week.

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Table 48. – *Character (kinds) of all free time activities (in %)*

1. I have no hobbies.	0,8	2. visiting places of amusement (disco, restaurant, pub)	a) 1,7 b) 5,6 c) 11,5	3. do-it-yourself	a) 8,1 b) 2,3 c) 0
4. gardening	a) 16,8 b) 23,5 c) 0,3	5. needle work	a) 18,8 b) 1,2 c) 0,3	6. talking, visiting, entertainig	a) 0,8 b) 10,4 c) 11,7
7. chess, cards, bridge atc.	a) 0 b) 4,2 c) 1,7	8. other games	a) 1,0 b) 2,9 c) 1,9	9. walking	a) 3,9 b) 34,6 c) 2,9
10. reading	a) 49,2 b) 1,5 c) 0,2	11. watching TV	a) 14,8 b) 51,2 c) 0,6	12. listening to music (at home)	a) 22,9 b) 6,5 c) 0,4
13. playing music, singing	a) 1,4 b) 1,7 c) 1,2	14. going to cinema	a) 0,6 b) 10,8 c) 3,8	15. going to theatre	a) 0,6 b) 8,8 c) 3,1
16. visiting concerts	a) 0,6 b) 5,6 c) 3,1	17. sports	a) 14,1 b) 13,7 c) 10,6	18. excursions	a) 0,8 b) 41,7 c) 6,5
19. other	a) 2,3 b) 1,9 c) 0,6	20. fitness	a) 6,9 b) 1,9 c) 3,8	21. hobby circles (chorus, club)	a) 1,2 b) 1,5 c) 1,2

A voluminous item was focused on the kind of free time activities of respondents. They could choose their favourite free time activity from offered possibilities and they could name more answers. Beside it they had to declare individual or common realizing of these activities (alone, with family members, with friends). These data are given under a) (alone), b) (with family members), c) (with friends).

The most often given answers are: watching TV (together more than 66%), reading (more than 50%), and excursions (49%), followed by walking, gardening and sport activities. Only rarely the cultural activities were mentioned.

Table 49. – *Visiting of hobby circles by children (in %)*

	<i>Organized by school</i>		<i>Outside the school</i>	
	<i>Son(s)</i>	<i>Daughter(s)</i>	<i>Son(s)</i>	<i>Daughter(s)</i>
Sport	16,7	13,3	33,5	25,2
Music	1,2	5,1	2,5	9,6
Foreign languages	7,3	10,2	1,2	3,9
Other	1,5	2,1	3,7	5,2

The question concerning free time activities of a child or children is an important source of facts not only to the topic „free time in Czech families“, but to the topic of role of education in free time activities, too. Additional searched facts to the kind of

institutional character of these activities and to the differences between boys and girls (here: sons and daughters) bring interesting results, too. These results are, however, not surprising: as expected in sport, music and other kind of hobby circles school do not play the leading role, while studying of foreign languages as free time activity is organized predominantly by school.

Generally sport hobby circles are chosen by children as the most frequent hobby circles (or their parents choose these circles for them): 50,2% sons and 38,5% daughters do (or did) sport. There are differences in the choice of hobby circles between boys and girls: boys choose sport hobby circles more often than girls, music hobby circles are chosen more often by girls, in the case of foreign languages the situation is the same, but the difference between boys and girls is not so big.

Table 50. – *Preference of being invited for a week-end*

<i>Week-end social activity</i>	
Pig-killing and dinner on pig-killing day at the relatives	10,6%
Dinner in the restaurant with friends	30,2%
Village fair, evening feast with the relatives	14,7%
The 50 th marriage anniversary of grandparents, with the extended family	17,9%
Garden party at good friends, barbecue outside	66,5%
Dinner with the neighbours, listening to music and a peaceful chat	10,8%
Wedding feast under a tent, with Gypsy music and mutton-stew	4,8%

The question to the choice of favourite spending free time in the case of inviting searched the preference of special kinds of free time activities of Czech families – inviting to a pig-killing or marriage anniversary etc. is not made very often. Among these possibilities Czech respondents choose in the most cases a garden party with good friends and barbecue outside (66,5%), followed by dinner in a restaurant with friends (30,2%). In this item more answers were possible, that is why the total number of questions reaches over 100%.

In current time the kind and way of spending holidays are often searched features of life style of individuals and families, too. In our research item concerning respondent's and family holidays was formulated in several questions aimed to inland and abroad, to frequency of holidays, to the fellowship in spending holidays.

Table 51. – *Inland holiday in the last three years*

<i>Number of inland holidays</i>	
No	23,7%
1x in this period	22,7%,
2x in this period	23,8%
3x and more in this period	29,8%

According to the results nearly a quarter of respondents did not spend any inland holiday during the last three years (23,7%). The other cases are nearly equalized, with a

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light majority of three and more inland holidays in the period. The families were on an inland holiday about 1,7 times in an average in the last three years.

Table 52. – *With whom did the respondent spend his inland holiday(s)?*

Alone	3,8%
with his family	57,3%
with the partner	18,9%
with friends	10,4%
with family and friends	18,7%

As it was mentioned above, one question was formulated to the item, with whom did the respondent spend his inland holiday(s). The majority of them spent it not alone (96,2%), but with the family (more than 57%) or the partner (nearly 19%). The answer „with family and our friends“ was given nearly in the same number of cases.

The same questions as in the case of inland holidays were given to respondents in the case of holidays abroad.

Table 53. – *Holiday abroad in the last three years*

<i>Number of holidays abroad</i>	
No	25,0%
1x in this period	31,3%,
2x in this period	22,5%
3x and more in this period	21,2%

The results about the frequency of holidays abroad are not markedly different from the results concerning frequency of inland holidays, first of all in the case of no holiday: one quarter of respondents had no holiday abroad in the last three years. Among other respondents the majority was once on a holiday abroad (31,3%), and the other possibilities were mentioned equally (in more than 20%). The average frequency is 1,4 holiday abroad in the last three years.

Table 54. – *With whom did the respondent spend his holiday abroad?*

Alone	2,9%
with his family	51,7%
with the partner	19,4%
with friends	13,1%
with family and friends	15,8%

Also in the case of spending holiday(s) abroad alone or together with other persons, the answers are not very different from the answers concerning inland holiday(s): 97% respondents did not spend their holiday(s) abroad alone, they spent it (or them) first of all with their families (51,7%) or partner (19,4%) or with the family and friends (15,8%).

Table 55. – *Free time of respondents in hours*

<i>Amount of free time</i>	
No free time at all	2,1%
Free time only on holidays	2,3%
Less than 1 hour every day	6,2%
1 hour	10,6%
2 hours	26,3%
3 hours	23,5%
4 hours	10,8%
5 hours	6,3%
6 hours and more	7,5%

Not only in the researchs, but also in everyday conversation the amount of free time of children and adults is discussed. Our research asked the respondents (= adults), how much free time daily they have. Only a small part of respondents declared they have either no free time at all (2,1%) or they have free time only on holidays (2,3%). The majority of respondents could formulate the amount of free time in hours every day, in the most cases between two or three hours (26,3% and 23,5%). The average amount of free time is about 2,6 hours in a day.

Additional information: 4,4 % respondents mentioned, that the amount of leisure time is different by seasons.

2. Cultural participation

As partly modern, partly traditional component of life style the attitude toward culture and the quantity (and quality) of culture activities are understood. That is why a block of questions concerning cultural participation was included into our research.

Table 56. – *The number of books in the household*

<i>To 10</i>	<i>11-20</i>	<i>21- 50</i>	<i>51-100</i>	<i>101-200</i>	<i>201-300</i>	<i>301-400</i>	<i>401-500</i>	<i>501-600</i>	<i>more than 600</i>
1,2%	1,9%	8,1%	16,3%	19,4%	16,9%	12,9%	9,4%	3,7%	10,2%

Traditionally the attitude toward literature and as the first indicator the keeping of books in the household is felt as an important feature of culture of the family. The answers of our respondents show, the number of books in the Czech households is really very different. The most of respondents gave the number between 50 and 300 books (nearly 53% together), but further two categories are represented by a part more than 10% (from 301 to 400 books and more than 600 books). Only 3% respondents declared less than 20 books in the household. Of course, this question did not solve the quality of these books and the possible difference between keeping books and reading books.

Table 57. – *The number of CDs, cassettes etc. in the household*

<i>Not at all</i>	<i>to 10</i>	<i>11-30</i>	<i>31-50</i>	<i>51-70</i>	<i>71 and more</i>
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1,5 %	3,1%	11,9%	19,6%	14,4%	49,4%
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Beside the keeping of books also the keeping of CDs, cassettes etc. in the household was searched. The answers show, that the keeping of this medium is obvious more and more. Only 1,5% gave they have no CDs etc. The most given answer mentioned 71 and more CDs, cassettes etc. (nearly 50%).

In further part of the block of questions about the cultural activities of respondents (and their families) the participation in various cultural events was searched.

Table 58. – *Frequency of visiting theatre*

every month	4,6%
several times a year	24,8%
rarely	44,8%
not at all	25,8%

Visiting of theatre performances was asked at first. According to the results, the most of respondents do not visit theatre performances very often, because the most given answer was „rarely than several times in a year“, even in 44,8%, and the number of respondents who do not visit theatre at all is really high: 25,8%. To this fact the information about a settled theatre in Hradec Králové and further guest theatre performances given in the town (even with a well-known festival of European theatres) ought to be completed.

Table 59. – *Frequency of visiting concerts*

every month	2,5%
several times a year	25,2%
rarely	44,4%
not at all	27,9%

Visiting of concerts was asked, of course, too. The results in this item are not very positive, too, because nearly 28% respondents do not visit concerts at all and a big part of the others visits concerts rarely than several times a year (44,4%). As a comment to these facts the existence of philharmonic orchestra in Hradec Králové and numerous further concerts performed in the town have to be mentioned.

Table 60. – *Frequency of visiting cinema*

every month	7,1%
several times a year	37,1%
rarely	34,4%
not at all	21,3%

Visiting cinema is understood as a very popular cultural activity from the beginning of movies. According to the answers of respondents it is realized more often than visiting theatre performances and concerts. There is a part of respondents which does

not visit cinema (21,3%), but a big part of respondents visit cinema several times a year or every month (together 44,2%).

Table 61. – *Frequency of visiting museum*

every month	–
several times a year	13,8%
rarely	51,5%
not at all	34,7%

Visiting of museum exhibitions does not belong to frequent cultural activities of our repondents. Only a small part of them visits museum(s) several times a year (13,8%), and the majority of them goes to exhibitions rarely than several times in a year or even not at all (together 86,2%). As in the above mentioned cases also in this item the existence of an important museum in Hradec Králové with a lot of exhibitions must be mentioned.

Table 62. – *With whom does the respondent visit cultural events*

<i>Visits:</i>	<i>theatres</i>	<i>concerts</i>	<i>cinemas</i>	<i>museums</i>
alone	3,2%	4,7%	2,8%	4,6%
with family	73,2%	60,6%	77,2%	80,6%
with friends	21,3%	31,1%	17,3%	10,1%
with anybody else	2,3%	3,6%	2,7%	4,7%

Not only the frequency of visiting cultural events was searched. In further questions the respondents were asked with whom they visited cultural events. From the answers the high number of common cultural activities realized first of all with family members can be seen (from 60 to 80%). Visiting of cultural events alone is not usual and it was mentioned very rarely (in all cultural activities less than in 5%).

Other outdoor family activities: Beside the sport and cultural activities there are other possibilities of spending free time out of home. That is why the question asking about favourite family activities of this kind was given to the respondents:

Visiting amusement parks was mentioned by 2,5% respondents, visiting ZOO by 9,8% respondents. Visiting of shopping and cultural centres was given by 17,7% respondents, visiting playgrounds by 8,1% respondents, visits of botanical garden are chosen in 3,9% families, visiting of swimming pool was mentioned by 13,5%, further other activities were mentioned in 13,4%. A small part of respondents (3,8%) gave no such outdoor family activities.

Table 63. – *Frequency of watching TV by respondent and by children*

	<i>respondent</i>	<i>child</i>
Not at all	0,6%	22,7%
every day	74,0%	51,5%
moretimes a week	18,8%	21,7%

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1-2x a week	5,4%	2,9%
even less	1,2%	1,2%

Watching TV is the most often mentioned free time activity by many people of today. In our research there are similar results. As it was shown and commented in the table 48, watching TV was the most given answer to the question asking about kind of free time activity – either alone or together with family members, 66% respondents said it. That is why the answers detailed concerning this activity bring useful data to it.

The respondents were asked about the frequency of watching TV concerning themselves and concerning their child or children. A high majority of respondents watch TV every day (74%), with those, who watch TV not every day, but more times in a week they are altogether even nearly 93%. Only less than 2% respondents watch TV less than once in a week or even not at all.

In the case of the child or children of our respondents the majority of them watch TV every day, too (51,5%), but the part of those children, who do not watch TV at all, is not small – it was given in 22,7%.

Table 64. – *Duration of watching TV at one occasion*

	<i>respondent</i>	<i>child</i>
Less than 1 hour	14,2%	16,3%
1-2 hours	51,1%	39,0%
2-3 hours	26,5%	16,2%
3 and more hours	8,8%	4,8%

Following question asked about the duration of watching TV at one occasion. The most respondents gave the duration from one to three hours (together over 77%), the part of those, who watch TV more than three hours at one occasion is rather low (8,8%).

There are similar data concerning the duration of watching TV of children: over 55% children from those, who watch TV, do that from one hour to three hours at one occasion, and only 4,8% watch TV three and more hours. From the results presented in the table 63 it must be repeatedly mentioned, about 23% of children do not watch TV at all.

As the second often mentioned free time activity reading was given in the answers of our respondents. According to the data in the table 48 over 50% respondents mentioned reading as their free time activity. More information to it were searched, too.

Reading of books by the respondent: 83,7 % respondents mentioned they read books.

Reading of newspaper: 77,9 % respondents read the newspapers.

Table 65. – *Using of internet by respondent*

<i>Place of using internet</i>	
at home	24,5%
at work	16,3%
at home + at work	26,5%

internet café	1,3%
at friend	1,2%
other	1,9%
not at all	28,3%

As a relatively new, but nowadays already self-evident feature of communication, data acquisition and even free time activity using of internet is felt. In the research the current situation in using internet not only by respondents, but also by other family members was searched.

According to the results a relatively high majority of respondents uses internet: either at home or at work or both at home and at work – altogether more than 67% respondents have a good possibility of using internet and use it in fact, further 4% use internet at other possibilities (internet café, at friend etc.). That means, that over 70% of respondents (= adults) use internet. It is really a high number, when we compare it with the wide meaning, the computer literacy of adults in the Czech Republic is not good enough yet. As further interesting fact the high accessibility of internet ought to be mentioned and in this context a weak role of internet café as a place of using internet today (mentioned in only 1,3%).

Table 66. – *Using of internet by the members of families*

<i>Son(s)</i>	<i>daughter(s)</i>	<i>partner</i>	<i>grandparents</i>	<i>other</i>	<i>nobody</i>
25,5 %	19,6 %	25,9 %	0,8 %	3,7 %	24,5 %

Using of internet by other members in the family was searched, too. The data in this item are not so high as in the case of respondents: 25,9% of respondents' partners and only 25,5% sons and 19,6% daughters use internet. (In these numbers the age of children is not taken into consideration). As a positive fact a rather low part of those families must be taken, in which nobody uses internet (24,5%).

VI. Values and religion

1. Interpersonal relationship within family

Table 67. – *Opinions on forces keeping marriage together (in %)*

Statement	Important	Less important	Not important
a) There is someone I can rely on when there are problems in the outside world.	87,9	10,2	1,9
b) There is someone who takes care of subsistence.	62,5	32,6	4,9
c) There is someone who looks after the family.	86,8	11,7	1,5
d) There is someone together whom you can create the conditions for life.	81,5	15,8	2,7
e) There is an emotional partner.	87,9	10,6	1,5
f) There is an intellectual partner.	54,5	38,8	6,7
g) There is someone who is a true father (mother) of the child(ren).	86,9	9,4	3,7

The respondents were asked about their opinion, what are the real forces keeping a marriage together. They received a list of seven statements and they ought to decide, if the concrete statement is according to their opinion important for keeping the marriage, less important or not important. That means that every statement must cover opinions of respondents with 100%.

The results are very interesting: no statement was felt as unimportant for a higher number of respondents. The majority of statements was felt as important by a very high number of respondents, as the data in the case of statements a), c), e), g) – in all cases more than 86%. Together with the data to the statement d) it can be generally said, that the answers showed the importance of mutual care, help, role of family as a shelter for its members, role of true parents of children, role of emotions.

The only statement with a lower number of respondents thinking about the importance of it for keeping marriage together was the statement f): There is an intellectual partner in the marriage (for 54,5% important, for 38,8% less important).

2. Values

Table 68. – *Value orientation of respondents*

Value	arithm. mean	modus
Work	5,59	6
Family	6,59	7
Making fortune	4,09	4
Luck	5,68	7
Idea, belief	3,71	4

Peacefulness	5,68	7
Freedom	5,57	7
Appreciation	5,00	6
Fatalism	2,70	1
Pleasure	3,66	4

In this item a list of values was given to the respondents, and they were asked to express their opinion on the importance of values on the scale from one (least important value) to seven (the most important value, it is not possible to live without it). Facts presented in the table 68 show two data to each value, i.e. arithmetic mean and modus. According to them, as the most important values from the list, people cannot live without them, first of all family, luck, peacefulness and freedom were named. A high importance was given to work and appreciation. As a not important value fatalism was given.

Table 69. – *Opinions of dominant life values*

<i>Value</i>	
to be free and independent	19,8%
to love own country	2,1%
to have friends	13,3%
to live a quality life style	36,9%
to be tolerant	22,1%
to make a career	2,7%
to be married, to have a partner	49,2%
to have a job and enjoy it, where all abilities can be used	63,2%
to have a good physical and mental health	87,7%
to be straightforward and honest	28,5%
to have property and money	9,2%
to live in concord with the principles of belief	2,7%
to travel and to get to know the world	15,9%
to have the possibility of life-long learning	6,7%
to have children	73,5%
to have a job assuring the financial over-standard	12,1%
to have leisure-time enough	9,8%
to cherish cousinship	14,1%
to live a virtuous and moral life	10,2%
to reach internal harmony	23,3%

A great relevance was given to the attitudes of respondents toward dominant life values in our research. In the question concerning these attitudes the list of twenty

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concrete life values was given to the respondents and they had to decide which five of them are the most important for them.

The order of importance of five most mentioned values according to the opinion of our respondents is as follows:

to have a good physical and mental health	(87,7%)
to have children	(73,5%)
to have a job and enjoy it, where all abilities can be used	(63,2%)
to be married, to have a partner	(49,2%)
to live a quality life style	(36,9%)

The whole number of offered values in the list, i.e. twenty, can be a reason of a wide distribution of opinions and also a reason of a rather low results in the case of some values.

The value system of the family is according to the opinion of the respondent:

Table 70. – *Opinion of the value system of the family*

completely traditional	6,9%
rather traditional	61,6%
rather modern	29,6%
completely modern	1,9%

According to the results of research the value system of the most families is neither completely traditional nor completely modern, because these classifications were mentioned by small parts of respondents. The majority of respondents thinks the family value system is rather traditional (61,6%), followed by those who think the family value system is rather modern (29,6%).

3. Religion

In relation to value system belief and religion was traditionally felt as an important matter of fact. In a block of questions the attitude of respondents toward religion was searched.

Table 71. – *Respondents and their families and the attitude toward religion*

<i>Religion</i>	
Not religious	76,2%
Catholic	20,4%
Protestant	0,6%
Evangelic	1,3%
Other	1,5%

Probably in the context of past period the religion and the attitude toward religion is felt as a rather private matter in the Czech Republic. In spite of this fact all respondents

were disposed to declare their attitude toward religion. A high majority of them declared they are not religious (76,2%). From those, who declared they are religious, i. e. not the whole quarter of all, the majority is Catholic. Other religions are represented very weakly. These data correspond with the results of other researchs to this topic.

Table 72. – *Going to church*

<i>Frequency</i>	<i>% respondents</i>
Regularly	2,5%
Not regularly	2,7%
On holidays	3,8%
Others	1,7%
Not at all	89,3%

Life in religion has a rather limited exterior form in the Czech Republic. A very low part of respondents gave regular going to church (2,5%), even together with not regular going to church (2,7%, together regular and irregular going to church: 5,2%) this number is much lower than the number of respondents who declared they are religious (together 23,8%).

Table 73. – *Practicing of religion in the family*

With the partner regularly	7,5%
With the partner irregularly	7,7%
With the child(ren) regularly	0,8%
With the child(ren) irregularly	5,0%
Alone	28,5%
Other answer	50,5%

Data in this table concern those respondents, who declared, they are religious. According to the data mentioned above, these data concern only 23,8% of all respondents. From the answers it is clear, practicing of religion does not belong to forms of keeping family contacts in the Czech families, even not in the religious families, because practicing of religion is not realized together with partner or children very often.

Over 50 % respondents (from those, who are religious) mentioned, they practice their religion in their own way.

Comfort in religion was found by 9,1 % respondents of all.

4. Prejudice

The communication with other people, the kind of behaviour to them can be influenced by prejudice. The role of prejudice in the family life was searched through the question asking about the attitude of the respondent to a potential partnership of his/her child with a person exciting prejudice.

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Table 74. – *Attitudes of respondents to the partnership of the child with following persons (in %)*

<i>Person as my child's partner</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Do not agree</i>	<i>Do not care</i>
Person with lower qualification than the child	85,6	1,7	12,7
Physical worker	86,7	1,3	12,0
Intellectual	84,6	1,4	14,0
Leftist person	59,7	6,6	33,7
Rightist person	61,7	3,7	34,6
Person much older than the child	58,5	22,8	18,8
Person much younger than the child	58,5	21,4	20,1
Roma	18,6	67,9	13,5
Serbian	35,9	44,5	19,6
Arabian	23,6	61,2	15,2
Chinese	28,8	53,7	17,5
Russian	38,6	42,8	18,6
Jewish	53,6	23,2	23,2
Partner of the same sex	37,7	48,9	13,4
Prostitute	7,9	84,8	7,3
Person of other confession	66,7	6,7	26,6
Person without confession	74,8	3,1	22,1

The respondents had to declare their opinion to the partnership of their child with a person of special characteristics, together for 17 cases. They had the possibility to agree, to disagree or to declare they do not care about it. The results show in some of listed cases the Czech respondents are very or at least rather broad-minded (in the items as lower qualification, physical worker or intellectual, leftist or rightist person, and persons of other confession or without confession) – in all these cases the number of disagreeing respondents was low (less than 7%). On the other hand lower toleration or even intolerance was clear in the item of ethnic differences, potential partner of the same sex and prostitute.

VII. Socio-demographic situation

1. Income

Table 75. – *Income of family members (in %)*

<i>Income level</i>	<i>1. member</i>	<i>2. member</i>	<i>3. member</i>	<i>4. member</i>
Subsistence level	1,8	2,9	0,8	0,6
Minimal salary	5,8	3,8	1,9	0,4
1,5multiple of min. salary	22,8	14,3	3,9	1,0
Double the minimal salary	32,7	24,4	4,1	1,2
More-multiple of min. salary	35,8	37,9	2,5	0,4

The data in this table give more informations about the income level in Czech families. First of all it is clear, that the income as high as the subsistence level is very rare in the Czech Republic and even the income on the level of minimal salary concerns a small part of population, too. Second, in the majority of Czech families there are two persons with their income and the incomes of other persons are very low.

The average income of the first family member is nearly double the minimal salary, while the the average income of the second family member is 1,5 multiple of minimal salary.

Table 76. – *Trend of financial situation in the last three years*

<i>Trend</i>	<i>% respondents</i>
Improving of financial situation	41,3%
No changes in financial situation	44,8%
Worsing financial situation	13,9%

According to the results in this item the trends in development of financial situation can be taken as rather good. Only a small part of respondents gave, their financial situation has become worse (nearly 14%) in the last three years, the majority of respondents gave either no changes or even improving of financial situation (both cases in more than 40%).

In the case of 14% respondents who gave worsening financial situation in the last three years as the reasons of this development decrease of income, becoming alone (widow), increase of prices and becoming the pensioner were named.

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2. Type of accomodation

Table 77. – *Type of building respondents live in*

Family house	35,2%
Block of flats	40,0%
Other multistoried flat house	22,5%
Villas or apartment house	0,8%
Other type	1,5%

As expected, in a big city such as Hradec Králové, the majority of its population lives in the blocks of flats (40,0 %), followed by living in family houses (35,2%). Other multistoried flat houses were mentioned as lately as on the third place, while other types of buildings are not typical for Czech big towns.

Table 78. – *Size (area) of a flat (house) in m²*

<i>Area to 50 m²</i>	<i>70 m²</i>	<i>80 m²</i>	<i>100 m²</i>	<i>150 m²</i>	<i>more than 150m²</i>
9,2%	22,8%	20,6%	19,5%	15,6%	12,3%

The adequate area of a flat or of a house is usually felt as one of important conditions for a good life style of persons and families. That is why the area conditions of living were searched.

The data got from the research show, there are great differences among flat or house area of families. The data are structurated into six area categories, and the numbers in all six categories can be characterized as nearly equal, there is no area category with extreme low or high number. The first (smallest) category and the last (greatest) one are represented by lower parts of answers (9,2% and 12,3%). The majority of respondents live in a flat or house with the area to 80 m² (together 52,6%).

Table 79. – *Number of rooms in the flat (house) and number of really used rooms*

<i>Number of rooms</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5 and more</i>
% flats (houses) with room(s)	1,4%	15,4%	41,3%	22,1%	19,8%
% really used rooms	1,5%	17,1%	43,7%	23,3%	14,4%

To the questions characterizing the standard of living the number of rooms in the flat or house is usually included. The respondents were asked to declare how many rooms their flat or house has and how many rooms of this number are really used.

The majority of respondents live in a flat or room with three rooms (41,3%), followed by those who have four rooms (22,1%) or even five or more rooms (19,8%). The data concerning really used rooms are lower in the case of the flats or houses with five or more rooms (the difference is 5,4%), and in other categories a bit higher, but without any extreme difference.

The type of rooms in the house (flat): Not only the area of the flat or the house and the number of rooms are indicators of quality of living, but also the equipment of flats and houses by other rooms, such as kitchen, bathroom, WC etc., has a great importance in it.

Kitchen was mentioned by practically all of respondents (99,8%), nearly the same situation was mentioned in the case of WC (97,9%) and a bathroom (95%). The bathroom together with the WC was mentioned by 24,8% respondents. 36,7 % respondents gave the lunchroom, 64,8% respondents the larder and 33,5% respondents mentioned the veranda.

Table 80. – *Further house(flat) facilities*

<i>House/flat facility</i>	
Pleasure garden	36,3%
Kitchen garden	31,2%
Farm animals	6,9%
Coach house, barn	5,2%
Domestic animal	35,6%
Cellar	86,2%
Swimming pool	9,8%
Gym	2,7%
Sauna	1,5%
Garage, workshop	41,2%
Other farm building	4,0%

Further house or flat facilities (beside number and type of rooms) were searched as additional characteristics of way of living. The respondents were given 11 flat/house facilities, they ought to give if they have them. Except a cellar these facilities concern in the most cases the living in a house than in a flat and the data confirm it. A high majority of respondents has a cellar (86,2%), further possibilities were given in less than 50%: a garage and/or a workshop (41,2%), a pleasure garden (36,3%), a kitchen garden (31,2%). More than one third of respondents has a domestic animal (35,6%).

The ownership of flat or house, where the family lives, is felt as an important datum concerning living and life style of families.

Table 81. – *The type of ownership*

<i>Type of ownership</i>	
House in family ownership	34,0%
Flat in family ownership	38,5%
Local government flat	13,5%
Official residence	1,1%
Other type of ownership	12,9%

According to the answers of respondents more than two thirds of families own their place of living, i.e. family house or flat (together 72,5%). Living in the local

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government flats is not so often (in 13,5%) and living in official residences even more rare (only 1,1%). Resting 12,9% families live in other type of living (for example in the house or flat of parents etc).

In further questions *the way of the acquisition of actual home* of the respondent was searched. The most often way of its acquisition was buying with a loan (23,5%), followed by the acquisition from the family (by heritage), in 21,7%. 13,5% respondents got their living through buying without a loan, the same number through the change (13,3%) and through the construction with a loan. „Other way of acquisition“ was mentioned by 11,5 % respondents.

The way of the acquisition of actual home can be connected with the financial situation of the family. The respondents were asked to say if they have *debt concerning living*.

According to the given data, 29,2 % households have a credit. From this whole number the credit amounts to 100 000 Kč in the case of 42,5 % households. The credit between 100 000 and 500 000 was mentioned by 36,8% respondents, the credit upon to 1 000 000 Kč was mentioned by 11,5% respondents and the credit above 1 000 000 Kč was mentioned by 9,2 % families. Note: In the time of realizing the research 30 Kč (Czech crowns) = 1 Euro.

Future plans with living: The place of living, flat or house, its acquisition and its equipment, hangs together with rather great financial costs. In spite of them people usually do not suppose they stay in the same flat or house without any changes for the whole life. The respondents were asked if they have plans for future with their living.

52,5% respondents gave, they have no plans. 19,2% respondents plan the construction or reconstruction, 8,7% respondents consider the change of flat or house, 7,3% respondents want to buy a house or flat, 3,8 % respondents plan an enlargement and 8,5% respondents have another plan.

The intention of moving: In the relation with planned or considered changes of living the plan of moving is connected. That is why respondents were asked to give these plans. The low number of respondents planning moving is not high.

Such a plan was mentioned by only 11% respondents. Moving from town to town was given in 5,8% cases, moving from town to village is planned in 3,8% cases, from village to town in 1,2% cases. Moving abroad is planned by 0,2% families.

3. Infrastructure

Further block of questions in our questionnaire concerned the flat/house infrastructure, its equipment etc.

The way of heating in flat (house): The greatest number of families are connected to the central heating (51,5%), followed by heating with gas (33,7%), and heating by electricity (7,7% households). Heating by coal or wood was mentioned by 6% respondents, heating with oil by 0,2% respondents. 0,8% respondents mentioned other way of heating.

Supplying with water: As the most typical way of supplying flat or house with water the connecting to the water pipe network was mentioned (95,9%). 3,5% families get

water from a well with a motor-pump, 0,2% respondents mentioned the well without a motor-pump. The same number of respondents mentioned „other way of supplying with water“.

4. Possessing and goods in household

As additional data to the standard of living of searched families the equipment of household by long-term facilities was asked. According to the results the household are rather good equipped by these facilities, as it is clear from the table 82 with data:

Table 82. – *Long-term facilities (equipment of households in %)*

<i>Long-term facility</i>	
Bicycle	93,3%
Motorcycle	15,2%
Car	86,2%
Refrigerator	99,4%
Spin dryer	17,3%
Washing machine	27,3%
Automatic washing machine	97,3%
Vacuum cleaner	99,0%
PC	78,8%
Notebook	21,0%
Internet access	58,1%
Video player	79,4%
Video camera	29,8%
TV	99,6%
Home cinema system	16,0%
DVD player	38,1%
CD player	84,0%
Hi-fi system	63,5%
Dishwasher	34,6%
Air conditioner	3,8%
Microwave oven	90,2%
Musical instrument	38,1%
Mobile telephone	96,9%
Cord telephone	62,7%
Deep freezer	87,7%
Cable TV, TV sat	33,3%

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Searched household are really good equipped by many long-term facilities. The list of those facilities which are in nearly all households (in more than 90% households) is rather wide:

TV	99,6%
Refrigerator	99,4%
Vacuum cleaner	99,0%
Mobile telephone	96,9%
Bicycle	93,3%
Microwave oven	90,2%

There is a numerous list of other long-term facilities owned by a high number of searched households, as it can be seen in the table 82, i. a. the high number of household with cars (86,2%), with PC (78,8%) etc.

Ownership of a garden, week-end house etc.: Ownership of a garden, an orchard or a week-end house can influence the life style of the family.

According to the results of our research summer house or week-end house is owned by 27,3% families, weekend parcel or garden is owned by 22,7% families, the ownership of an orchard was mentioned by 16,5% respondents and a plough land or other field is owned by 15,8% respondent families.

The way of heating in flat (house): The greatest number of families are connected to the central heating (51,5%), followed by heating with gas (33,7%), and heating by electricity (7,7% households). Heating by coal or wood was mentioned by 6% respondents, heating with oil by 0,2% respondents, 0,8% respondents mentioned other way of heating. The majority of households connected to the central heating is a typical feature of a big town, as well as the very low part of households heating by coal or wood.

The way of supplying the household with water: As the most typical way of supplying flat or house with water the connecting to the water pipe network was mentioned (95,9%). 3,5% families get water from a well with a motor-pump, 0,2% respondents mentioned the well without a motor-pump. The same number of respondents (0,2%) mentioned „other way of supplying with water“.

As in the several other characteristics the data concerning the supplying of the households with water are felt as typical for a big town, i.e. the high majority of households connected to the water pipe network (95,9%).

5. Environment

The way of conducting of sewage: As an example of solving environment themes the way of conducting of sewage in the households was searched: As the most often case of conducting of sewage the connecting to a network sewer was declared (in 90,8%). 1,9% respondents have their own home-made purifier, 4,8% households have a drain tank. The sewage-water container with sewage taking services was mentioned by 2,5 % respondents.



Nitra

**II. 2.4. National research report from Slovakia, Constantine the
Philosopher University in Nitra, Faculty of Social Sciences and
Healthcare, Nitra**

II. 2. 4. National research report from Slovakia, Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra, Faculty of Social Sciences and Healthcare

I. Introduction

Peter Ondrejko

The grant project VEGA 1/1002/04 – *Contemporary Family in Slovakia* arose as a natural response to the need of addressing and researching the fundamental issues of family and their sociological reflection. After completing the initial heuristic stage, the researchers discovered that putting the knowledge of family in Slovakia, as studied from literature, into a broader European context, as it should be, was not enough. Such approach is standard, even obligatory in a research that is striving towards its scientific attributes. A viable solution was afforded by extending and elevating the “literary” comparative approach to the level of empirical comparative research. From the very beginning, cooperation with international researchers was viewed beneficial. This change against the original, much more modest intention, put on higher demands in terms of research strategy, and, in particular, its organization, in addition to its subject-matter and methods. As the project scope was now beyond family in Slovakia, involving the comparative possibilities with family living in Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic, it proved necessary to take account of what the researchers found as shared by the family life in those countries, in addition to the national specifics such as traditions, social habits (e.g. eating), religious differences, demographic behavior and the like. The researchers were often forced to compromise, when deciding not to abandon the comparative approach to the selected samples in all four participating countries.

1. Family as Subject-Matter of (Our) Research¹

The latest works on the sociology of family often require differentiation between the terms “way of life” (*Lebensform*) and “form of family” (*Familienform*). These discussions (e.g. Nave-Herz, 1994, 2004, Vaskovics 1997, Schneewind, K.A 1998, BURR, H., Reiss, i. & Nye, F. J., i a.) result from discussing the dimensions of family life and the family-constitutive elements as a system that represents generational differentiation and special cooperation with features of emotionality and solidarity in family.

In the early 1990s, the issues of the meaning of modernism, modern way of life and the role of identity of the human ego are being highlighted anew. According to Giddens, the most significant changes in this respect are those “[...] that take place in our personal life – sexuality, partner relationships, *marriage* and the life of *family* (emphasis

¹ Family research was carried out, in substantial measure, by applying sociological theories and methods of collecting, processing and interpreting data, including construction of the selected sample made by using quota.

P.O.)” (cited acc. to Šubrt, J., 2007, p. 170). Even though marriage and parenthood, including family life is often considered normal and obvious and belonging to our daily existence, the meaning of these terms has changed, as “[...]marriage [...] ceased to be viewed as the major defining basis of living as a couple. Instead, people find it more important to *have a relationship*”. Such relationship should be understood as the connections based on emotional communication, in which the resulting benefit becomes the major reason of sustaining such relationship (Šubrt, J. 2007, p. 170).

In the families scrutinized in our research, the combination of both traditional and postmodern value orientation and life forms dominates. We have put forward a hypothesis that the life of Slovak family occupies a middle ground between continuity and change, a quality, whose individual aspects and attributes it will be necessary to empirically identify, verify and assess. Arguably, what we currently see are the first signals of the new upsurge of marriage rate and marriage now devoid of patriarchal residues and integrating love, spousal cohabitation and sexuality, in addition to a greater mutual tolerance, friendship and support, the re-gaining of life's energies, relaxation of daily stress, “breaking away” from the dictate of competition, and even economic partnership.

Concomitant issues include the founding of families, choice of marital (and extra-marital) partner, the arrival of a child in family, family disintegration, divorce, remarriage, children living in such families, economic situation, gender aspects, human sexuality and others. René König referred to family (2002, p. 541) – and rightly so – „a socially total phenomenon“, and he saw family analysis as having „a paradigmatic importance for the general sociology“, and occupying a „strategically central position“ in many sociological sub-disciplines. Additionally, we are aware that these issues have a deeper, qualitative dimension of inner emotionality and that contributing to the quality of life.

a) The Concept of Family

While referring to family change, we derive such changes from the idea of the “traditional normal family”. That idea appears to be tremendously homogenous, and characterizing such forms of family life, where both parents act as spouses living with their children in a common household. Roles in such family are traditionally divided along gender-specific lines; father has an out-of-home profession and commutes to work. Mother takes care of the upbringing of children and the household. Her role is associated with expressive behavior (emotionality, sensibility, understanding and orientation towards the needs of the other members of the family). Children are school-goers and prepare for their future profession, have their share in the household works, as possible and necessary. This way of life is conflict-free, and each person accepts his/her role in the family, which serves as basis of the predominating harmony.

In reality, however, such family model has been rather exceptional, for all family members, in Slovakia as early as late 1960s and early 1970s. The growing employment rate of women, the up-surging divorce rate and increasing number of children born outside of marriage can easily disturb that idea. Yet, the above changes in family were related to that very harmonious idea of family, thus resulting in repeated conclusions of institutional crisis of family or even its soon-to-be ultimate demise.

In this respect, we have accepted the recommendation *to conceive family as a variant of the systems of intimate relationships that can contain both intragenerational*

and intergenerational constellations (groupings) of persons (freely accord. to Schneewind, 1994, p. 439). We consider it necessary to designate specific groupings of persons in family, to be able to differentiate such relationship frameworks that cannot be designated as familial, yet can be still applicable for that definition. We believe such concept of family to be most suitable to be saturated with content of traditional and non-traditional life-forms of familial nature, and, concurrently, suitable for capturing the contemporary “familial reality”.² Sociologically, diverse forms of family can be defined in this manner (according to the way the family is founded, number of generations within family, division of roles and their assumption in family, place of residence, employment of family members and the like) The results of our research unambiguously confirm the said diverse forms of family lives according to the selected indicators.

Initially, the researchers assumed that what we, currently and in near future, see is an *increased importance of family in the life of children and youth*. To be sure, the return of family as a traditional value is a social phenomenon not exclusive to Slovakia. Young people seem to return to numerous other traditional values such as order, decency, friendship and love that they hardly find elsewhere in such concentrated form as in family. Possibly, this can be accounted for as a response to extreme individualism, plurality of mutually exclusive values and attitudes connected with loss of orientation and, perhaps even, the sense of security felt by children and youth. Family is inviting here as a relative safe haven in the storms of daily existence, offering role models worth following. It appears that, in addition to criminality and drug abuse, a return to family and its values can also serve as an outlet and refuge from the increasing uncertainty and inherent risks facing, in particular, the youth. Arguably, even *the return to family is but an alternative escape route from Bauman's “fluid modernity”*. Still, as a phenomenon, several independent researches confirmed that it involves a considerable growth of the importance of family as a socializing factor, and, consequently, advancement of the positive influence on the young generation. Obviously, these are only first considerations that must be further operationalized and empirically verified, in particular, when the process of socialization is to be understood as the underlying mutual intersection of the biological psychical and social system and their interpretation by those who are concerned – the young people and their families.

The socialization processes appear to be built into everyday life of family. Eating, cooperation and assistance in household works, leisure activities (games, walks, watching television and such like.), going to bed, getting up in the morning, discussions, polemics and quarrels and the like, all allow the definition and importance of the roles of the parents, the roles of the children, the definition of the permissible and the forbidden, the definition of what “is worth the trouble”, what is condemnable, and so forth. The structure of the internal family communication, the domestic scenes and rituals, both depend on the

² Nuclear family (*jadrová rodina*) is a two-generation family. As a rule, it is referred to as *conjugal family* (*manželská rodina*), despite marriage being no precondition for its existence. It can be differentiated into *family of orientation* (*orientačná rodina*), the meaning of which will be derived from the process of socialization within that family, and *family of procreation* (*reprodukčná rodina*), the meaning of which will be derived from its biological purpose.

life situation and the circumstances of a family, the cohesion or the conflict potential of marriage or partnership, as well as from personal properties of both parents and children. Although not much attention has been so far paid directly to the socializing processes in family, the parental upbringing has been dealt with extensively in pedagogics, namely, in terms of forms of upbringing, their relationship to the understanding of parental authority and the social origin or position of family. Family, too, has its hidden curriculum, what, in school, is referred to as “secret study plan”, an extremely strong dependence on material, social and psychic relationships between family and its social environment, as well as within the family itself. Examples are afforded by the instances of social isolation of families and its aftermath in children’s behavior, difficulties with out-of-family communication, and with accepting the demands, in particular, of social performance (in school, profession), and such like.

2. Characteristics of preparation and implementation of research

The first stage of research preparation was to analyze Slovak and international monographs, studies and researches focusing on family changes on the global scale. On that basis, the research team attempted to specify the generally valid patterns of changes, and to seek parallels with the family life in the Slovak Republic (or, for that matter, within the intended scope research, with family life in the Nitra Region and the Region of Eastern Slovakia on comparative basis). Consequently, an exact specification of selected operationalized qualitative aspects of life processes and criteria of their assessment was made.

The original research conception of the Slovak researcher included issues such as certain economic characteristics of family, selected aspects of Romany families, educational styles, sexual education, position of family seniors and anthropological measurements of family members, which are ultimately missing in the final comparative research. (Realization and statistical processing of these issues can be found in the Slovak version of the final report and is presented as part of the project carried out by the Slovak Ministry of Education.)

The survey network was provided by the students of the School of Social Development and Health Care of the Constantine the Philosopher University, who, after special training, had visited families in selected localities. Using anonymous questionnaires, interviews and anthropological measurements, the survey team members have collected and recorded requested information from family members. These were first encoded and inspected, and subsequently recorded on magnetic media, cleaned and processed by first-degree sorting.

Under the newly structured final report, this will involve basic interpretation of data in the following areas:

- Basic characteristics of families and forms of cohabitation
- Family functions in maintaining contacts and habits and mutual help
- Family consumption
- Free time and social activities of family members
- Value orientation, relationships and spiritual characteristics of families
- Social and economic situation of families

3. Presentation activities

The most important research-related event was the international scholarly conference FAMILY AT THE THRESHOLD OF MILLENNIUM held 15-16 May 2005 in Bratislava, and co-organized by the Center for the Study of Family and Labor (Slovak Ministry of Labor, Social Issues and Family), to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the International Year of Family and the Family Day – 15 May – as officially announced by the U.N. General Assembly, under the auspices of Mrs. Silvia Gašparovičová, the wife of the President of the Slovak Republic.

The conference sought to provide grounds for exchanging the latest information and experience from the current researches of family, government and regional family policies and institutional family-promoting practices, and hosted nearly two hundred experts from Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary and France. The discussion issues were of particular interest for politicians, theoreticians, researchers, pedagogical staff, government office-holders, consultants and non-governmental organizations. Based on abstracts sent by active participants and submitted as proceedings to all conference participants, the organizers decided to include their speeches in the plenary session and expert sections. The latter were as follows:

1. *Family and Value Orientation*
2. *Family Policy in Legislation and Practice, Family and Health*
3. *Family, Genders and Labor*
4. *Economics of Family and Poverty*

The conference served its purpose well, providing a broad spectrum for analyzing the current state of affairs and changes in development of the family institution in the context of social relationships, both in Slovakia and Europe. Concurrently, it helped to show the methodological problems of family research and scholarship, pointing out that although the expert and research institutions are able to account for the dynamic changes, yet fail to submit a model of a prospective workable family in the new century should look like. The speeches as held at the conference are presented in an eponymous conference proceedings, and some are included, slightly modified and extended, in the reviewed publication *Rodina v novom miléniu* (Family in the New Millennium, forthcoming).

In connection with the presentation of the conference conclusions four press conferences were made and broadcasted on the TA 3 channel, in Slovak State Radio and the television and radio broadcast in Nitra.

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II. Methodology of the research

Peter Bičan – Richard Slávik

In 2005 in the Nitra's region a relatively wide sociological-statistical empiric research was conducted from the life of the present family in Slovakia. Except for the basic functions of the family and the forms of cohabitation, the research was also studying the questions of family consumption, free-time family's activities, value orientations, socio-economic factors and the consumption of the members not living in the common-law-marriage. During the empirical research preparation, the sphere of questions has gradually enlarged to the question of sexual education in families and the educational styles. The original version of the questionnaire has been revised according to the international adjustments.

The answer sheets developed for the research:

1. The family on the threshold of a new millennium
2. The styles of education in the family – respondent
 – child
3. The attitudes to men, women and sexuality – respondent
 – child
4. Anthropology answer sheet.

Answer sheet 1, is the so-called “answer sheet for family“, is where the main respondent is the housewife; in case of her absence the man-husband in the household answered our questions. In the case of both person's absence, the next present member of the household answered. It is the basic answer sheet of the research.

Answer sheet 2. is the standardized sheet for educational styles. Therefore they are different for the respondent (parent) and for the child. In the answer sheet we have presented a whole range of normal situations between the parents and children. The respondent's task was to evaluate, according to own experiences, how the mother or father deals with these situations.

Answer sheet 3. is different in content for the parent and the child. It contains opinions, attitudes about health, men, women and sexuality.

Answer sheet 4. contains questions relating to anthropology.

For international comparison (Polish, Hungarian, Czech and Slovak), it was agreed that only answer sheet 1 is going to be used.

The sociological-statistical research of families had been conducted on the sample of families living in Nitra's region. The units of analysis were households. The following places of living were studied:

1. Old town
2. Flats in exclusive localities
3. Block of flats
4. Luxury locations
5. Villages near the town

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Households were chosen with the help of a list of addresses provided by the City office in Nitra. First those parts of the town were selected where data collection should have taken place, then elements of the sample were selected according to these places of living. From the 12 728 households in Nitra's region we chose **500** households from the above mentioned parts of the town. The distribution of the sample according to the place of living is presented in table 1.

Table 1. – *The distribution of the sample according to the place of living*

place of living	number of households	percentage of households	number of households chosen	number of questionnaires that could be processed
1	1483	11.65	60	51
2	3293	25.87	135	123
3	4778	37.54	195	200
4	1640	12.88	67	66
5	1534	12.05	63	54
altogether	12728	100	520	494

The interviewers were students of the Faculty of Social Sciences and Health Service. The interviewers took away **520** answer sheets, and they filled out and brought back **505** answer sheets. The context and logical control has resulted in keeping **494** answer sheets. These answer sheets were then processed by the SPSS program.

Piloting has been finished by the end of year 2004, with the help of 56 sheets. After piloting and training the interviewers, the collection of information has started through our own interviewer's network in March, 2005.

520 answer sheets have been given to the interviewers in April, 2005. The rate of answer sheets returned was 97.1%. After relevant checks, 494 answer sheets were processed for the research. Frequencies, and basic tables were created in September, 2005. Some indicators have been selected for the sake of further comparisons:

1. type of residence
2. marital status of the respondent
3. number of members in the households
4. type of family
5. the tradition-modernity of the family

III. Results of Research in the Nitra Region

1.-2. Basic characteristics, forms of cohabitation and socio-professional status of families

Peter Ondrejko

The empirical research involved 494 responses to the numbers of family members. Respondents included 446 women (90.3%), 35 men (7.1%) and 13 children (2.6%), older than 12 years of age. In 494 families we encountered a relatively broad spectrum of *forms* of partner cohabitation. The overwhelming majority (350, i.e. 70.9%) are married couples (spouses). The second largest group – significantly smaller – is that of divorced couples living without a partner (56, 11.3%); additionally, 8 (1.6%) are divorced couples living with a partner. The third largest group (27, i. e. 5.5%) is that of unmarried parents living without a partner. Here, too, a small group of unmarried parents living with a partner (9, i. e. 1.8%) could be added. Surprisingly significant turned out to be the group of widowers living on their own (33, 6.7%). Only a single widower in our sample lives with a partner. Negligible in number is the group of women living on their own (3, 0.6%) and the somewhat larger group of married women living with another partner (outside of marriage) (7, 1.4%).

The average duration of marriage of our respondents is 21.29 years. The largest number of marriages in our sample lasts 25 years, 9% of respondents (44) out of the total of 378 of those living in marriage during our empirical research has been living in marriage for 20 and 21 years. The longest marriage encountered has been lasting for 63 years.

Out of the total number of respondents (494) 65 (13.2%) indicated previous marriage in the past, 391 (79.1%) of respondents replied negatively. The table below shows an overview of the current marital status of our respondents:

Table 1. – *An overview of the current marital status of Slovakian respondents*

Marital status	Number of respondents (abs.)	Number of respondents in %
Single	27	5.5
Single with partner	9	1.8
Married living alone	3	0.6
Married couple	350	70.9
Married women living with a partner	7	1.4
Divorced living alone without partner	56	11.3
Divorced living with partner, not alone	8	1.6
Widower living alone	33	6.7
Widower living with partner	1	0.2
TOTAL	494	100

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Separate data are offered by the years of life spent in marriage. The average marriage in our sample amounts to 20.484 years (out of the total of 378 marriages), which should be thought of as a very positive finding.

For completeness's sake, it should be noted that out of the total number of respondents 65 were previously married, which amounts to 13.2%. The overwhelming majority of respondents live in their first marriage (391, i.e. 79.1%). The table below shows the number of household members:

Table 2. – *Number of household members*

1 person	2 persons	3 persons	4 persons	5 and more persons	Total
36 (7.3)	93 (18.8%)	133 (26.9%)	174 (35.2%)	58 (11.7%)	494 (100)

The occurrence of single person households was predominantly due to the prolonged absence of one partner (work-dependent) and their children.

The gender of respondents was given by the internationally agreed research standard, under which the woman is the preferential respondent in the family. The man would only respond in the event of the woman's absence or where no woman is living with the family. Hence, 411 respondents (83.2%) were women and only 12.6% (62 respondents) men.

Table 3. – *Respondent nationality*

Slovak	Hungarian	Czech	Polish	Other	Total
454 (91.9%)	12 (2.4%)	6 (1.2%)	2 (0.4%)	20 (4%)	494 (100%)

Our respondents were predominantly born in larger towns. The following table shows their respective places of birth. Given the considerable variance of the place of birth, we have categorized according to size.

Table 4. – *Place of Birth*

Settlement	Village	Small Town	Larger Town	No indication	Total
4 (0.8%)	49 (9.9%)	139 (28.1%)	277 (56.1%)	25 (5.1%)	494 (100)

We believe that the place of birth exercises considerable influence on the family's way of life. In terms of housing, we have selected diverse parts of the urban agglomeration so as to be able to record the way of life characteristic both for urban agglomerations and agglomerations of rural nature, even though both are administered as a township. The urban agglomeration was monitored in 4 types: living in the historical old town, in town housing, concrete housing developments on the periphery (sidlisko) and living in larger villa-like family houses. The remaining respondents were inhabitants of the suburban agglomeration of rural nature Dolné Krškany, Horné Krškany, Janíkovce).

Table 5. – *Where Families Live*

Old Town	Town Housing	Concrete developments	Family houses and villas/*	Suburban agglomeration	Total
51 (10.3%)	123 (24.9%)	200 (40.5%)	66 (13.4%)	54 (10.9%)	494 (100%)

*/For the sake of completeness, 66 respondents living in family houses and villas do not live in a separate town quarter; rather they live in two concrete developments (Klokočina – 23 respondents and Chrenová – 43 respondents).

In terms of the way of life, it is highly significant as to whether parent's mother and father live together with their children and grandchildren. The overwhelming majority of our respondents' grandparents, i.e. parents of children of the researched families live in their own house (293 women and 201 men). Grandparents living together with our families amount only to 34 (6.9%) for women and 19 (3.8%) for men. The percentage of grandparents living in nursery homes is negligible (0.6 % women and 0.4% men).

The brothers or sisters of parents in our families live and overwhelmingly (60.7%) keep contact with them regularly; irregular (occasional) contact is given only in 10.3% and no contact is indicated only by 3.0% of respondents. For completeness'sake, contacts with sisters are somewhat more frequent than the contacts of respondents with brothers.

Where the children of our respondents fail to live in a common household with them (154 children of our respondents, they keep daily contact in 60 instances and a several-times-per week contact in 129 instances. 75 respondents indicate a several-times-per month contact. Most contacts are kept by means of visits and telephone, less so by e-mails and letters. Many different types of contacts are combined. Surprisingly many respondents gave no reply to these questions at all (357).

In our sample, 446 women (90.3%) and 334 men (67.6%) lived in a family. 644 children live in the total number of 494 visited families, thus averaging 1.31 children per single family.

A significant family characteristic is indicated by the number of children in a family. In our sample, the following numbers were identified:

Table 6. – *Type of family according to number of children*

Number of (own)children in family	Number of families (abs.)	Number of families (%)
1 child (younger family)	43	8.7
1 child (older family)	177	35.8
2 – 3 children younger family	35	7.1
2 – 3 children older family	99	20.0
Childless younger family	25	5.1
Childless older family	83	16.8
No reply, irrelevant etc.	32	6.5
Total	494	100

Thus, our sample was typologically dominated by an older family with single child (35.8%), followed by an older family with 2-3 children (20 %). The older childless family

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(16.8%) outnumbers that of younger childless family (5.1%), although, in particular, young families could have been expected to be childless (for various reasons). Overall, the number of children in a family does not tend to differ in proportion to the length of marriage. 189 is the number of younger families characterized as families with 20 and less years of marriage. The average number of children living in younger families is 1.83. 199 is the number of older families characterized as families with 20 and more years of marriage. The number of children in these families averages 1.8. This finding seems surprising, and, as such, contradicts the assumed trend declining number of children in younger families.

Overwhelmingly, our respondents declare themselves as Catholics. Other religions are underrepresented to the extent of irrelevance for our purposes. This should be noted, as we expected significant differences in the way of life depending on religious faith. As the table below shows, this aim was abandoned due to the lower, insignificant representation of other than Catholic respondents.

Table 7. – *Religion*

	Men (abs.)	Men (%)	Women (abs.)	Women (%)	Total (abs.)
Catholic	50	13,6	319	86,4	369
Calvinist	0	0	3	100	3
Slovak Lutheran	2	10,0	18	90,0	20
Jewish	0	0	2	100	2
Other	1	20,0	4	80,0	5
Unreligious, atheists/*	9	12,2	65	87,8	74
Ne reply	4	19,0	17	80,9	21
Total	66		428		494

* Numbers are calculated; respondents were extremely unwilling to reply to several survey team members

Next, 494 respondents were to indicate the frequency of their church-going practice, as shown in the table below:

Table 8. – *Frequency of church-going practice*

Ceremonial church-going:	Absolute numbers	Percentage
Regularly	88	17.8
Occasionally	110	22.3
On religious events	86	17.4
Other frequency, randomly	30	6.1
No	96	19.4
No reply	84	17.0
Total	494	100

The apparent differences between ceremonial church-going and religiousness will be examined later, while considering value orientation.

Obviously, the respondents featured physically disabled people (20, i.e. 4%), mentally disabled (2, i. e. 0.4%), and 27 people with impaired sight or hearing or other disability (27, i. e. 5.1%).

The respondents' age structure indicates a relatively fortunate choice in the construction of the survey sample. The most survey-significant is the group of 36 to 56 year olds, as shown by the table below. Distortion on the women side is due to the fact that as much as 86.9% responses were women.

Table 9. – *Respondents' Age*

Age	Men (abs./ %)	Women (abs./ %)	Total (abs./ %)
Up to 35 years	16 / 26.7	86 / 21.6	102 / 22.3
36 to 56 years	32 / 53.3	249 / 62.6	281 / 61.4
57 and above	12 / 20	63 / 15.8	75 / 16.5
Total (abs.)	60	398	458
Total (%)	100	100	100

Out of the total of 494 respondents, the majority is employed in mid-size companies (70, amounting to 14.2%) and schools 44 (8.9%); the rest works in a number of different workplaces (health care organizations, regional government, private companies, science and research, among others). A considerable number, as much as 69 respondents were unemployed (14.0%) and 4 on maternal leave (0.8%).

The largest group of respondents (136, i.e. 27.5%) works as technical and economic staff. For illustration, all professions identified in research are shown:

Table 10. – *Professions of respondents*

Profession	Abs.	Relative
Worker	65	13.2
Technical and Economic	136	27.5
Health care	27	5.5
Housewife	11	2.2
Technician	16	3.2
Teacher	40	8.1
Private entrepreneur	15	3.0
Agriculture	5	1.0
Retired	40	8.1
No response	135	27.3
Total	494	100.0

The surprisingly high number of no responses implies certain awkwardness about revealing one's profession or, possibly, unemployment.

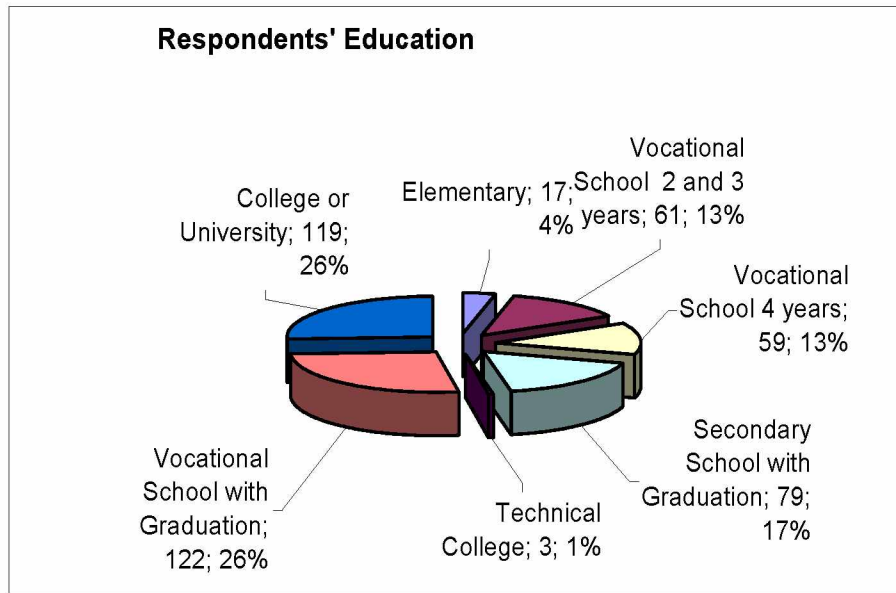
The data concerning respondents' education indicate a relatively high level of educational structure.

In view of the above, it can be concluded that the family examined in our research through the selected sample is educated, as witnessed by the education accomplished by at least one of our respondents replying to questions on his/her family.

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This is clearly and unambiguously shown by the following chart:

Figure 1. *Respondents' education*



Thus, arguably, the social phenomena examined in the research correlate significantly, in particular, with the education of our respondents (as exemplified by remarriages).

The education of our respondents' parents is significantly lower. 114 (23.1%) mothers of our respondents have finished elementary school only, 20 (4.0%) did not even finish elementary school. On the other hand, 23 mothers of our respondents has graduated from university (4.7%) and 28.3% has finished secondary school with graduation. The education of our respondents' fathers is higher. Elementary school has not been finished by only 15 (3%), 75 (15.2%) have finished elementary school, 115 (23.3) are skilled workers, 183 have finished secondary school and 43 (8.7%) have graduated from university.

Profession, too, can be considered significant. Examining the contingencies between profession and previous marriage of our respondents, the highest occurrence was clearly identified with technical and economic staff (19, i.e. 43.2 percent from the total number of those who are currently remarried) and teachers (overwhelmingly women, 9, i.e. 18.2%). We have found no respondent working as housewife or in agriculture that is currently remarried.

3. Family functions by holding contacts, mutual assistance and customs observation

Jana Majerčíková – Rastislav Bednárík – Monika Štrbová

3.1. Patterns of Communication

a) The functions of the family at keeping contacts

The neighbours, the colleagues, the friends and the relatives of course together make the social network to every man. Contact between members of the social network are based on emotional but cognitive support too, and also the varied forms of material help are not neglectable. The facilities and manners of keeping contacts between generations within the scope of family with children living in selfemployed households were the object of our interest. We were asking the same about keeping contacts within the scope of the wider family, primarily with respondent's living parents and parent-in-laws as well as with respondent's siblings and their partners.

So if we are going to think about the keeping of contacts between generations, at first we will focus our attention to co-operation of the parents and children who live in a separate household. The quality and the intensity of contacts is admittedly different with children who share common household although they are adults.

Leaving the parental house is reputed as a step to change of life into manhood. The event should be realised in various life stages. For example in our country it means the acquisition of the economic and financial independence, and a less frequent reason is becoming adult (18th age of life). The primary data we are presentating in table 3.1 according to studied families have probably 1/3 children living in separate households.

Table 3.1. – *Children living in separate households in % of answers*

Children living in separate households	%
Yes	31.2
No	63.3
Did not answer	6.5
Together	100

Seeing that co-operation between informative and procreative family under our conditions, (if respondent's children had already been the founder of a new family), or children living independent, is traditionally comparatively intensive, we examined in which way it would realize. The respondents had possibility to indicate the intensity of keeping contacts at offered description of co-operation. Table 3.2 presents respondent's reactions to the manners of communications between them and their independent children.

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Table 3.2. – *Manners of keeping contacts in % of those who have an independent child(ren)*

Manners of keeping contacts	Answered	did not answered	together
by phone	89	11	100
by letters	9.1	90.1	100
by e-mails	18.8	81.2	100
by visits	90.9	9.1	100
other	5.2	94.8	100

From table 3.2 we can see that the chat through the phone and visiting dominates with probably 90% from the existing manners. Also that 19% who uses internet for communication is not negligible. In case of approximately every fifth studied family the parents and children are exchanging e-mail messages. Only 9% of respondents and their children use a classical form: writting letters. The frequency of mutual participation of parents and their children in a current daily life is high. It is implicit from another data which we have found. We were keeping an eye on the frequency of contacts, which could have been realized everyday, more times a week, more times per month and less often. As it is visible from table 3.2 the mutual visits are the most frequent forms of contact. Furthermore, we present in table 3.3 how often parents and children realize personal contact. According to this data, the mutual visit is frequent, more than half of the respondents stated, that they meet their children daily (16,4%) or more times a week (40,7%). More than a quarter of the parents (27,1%) meet their children more times per month and 15,7% even less frequently. It should not mean an alienation or discontinuation, we are anticipating that the most relevant reason is the distance of residence, which separates respondent's family and their independent child.

If the parents and their independent children meet often (57,1%), it is probably not just because of chivalrous visits or family's celebrations. It's content is also mutual help which replaces unaccessible services or another necessary help – the financial, social, and it is an exchange of informations too, and last but not least it strengthens community feelings.

Table 3.3. – *The extent of keeping contact between parents and independent children in % of those who have answered*

	visits	phoning	e-mails	letters	Other
Everyday	16.4	29.9	20.7	–	–
more times a week	40.7	47.4	20.7	7.1	50.0
more times per month	27.1	20.4	31.0	–	37.5
less often	15.7	2.3	27.6	92.9	12.5
Together	100	100	100	100	100

The parents and the independent children often, according to our result (table.3.3) phone. Approximately in case of every third parent – the respondent (29,9%) phones his child daily, it is phenomenal that also every second one (47,4%) does so a few times a week and more, these, although impersonal contacts, we should suppose to be frequent.

To our minds, it is the evidence that cultivating and keeping intergenerational relations has a significant importance in the life of both families.

According to results of the survey TNS SK from April 2006, more than one-thirds of the Slovakian population uses the internet actively. Probably one-fifth of our population has an internet access at home, especially pupils and students, businessmen, academic educated people and the younger generation, as well as the users of personal computers (Webnewspapers, 2006). Almost 19% of respondents have stated, that they communicate through the e-mail messages, and it is in line with these findings. It is evident that the parents are not so professional in this kind of communication, they are in relatively higher age, which means that the probability of installing the internet is minimal, however, the open space still stays at work. From table 3.3, it is possible to see that 20,7% of respondents often writes through this channel, and 31% does so more times per month. The data regarding keeping contact through letters or another form, presented in tables 3.2 and 3.3, are negligible. In the preceeding items the respondent acted in the parent's role, but in the next questions she conversely placed herself into the role of a child. We were interested in if the respondent's and her/his partner's parents were still alive.

Table 3.4. – *Respondent's living parents and parent-in-laws in % of answers*

	mother	father	mother-in-law	father-in-law
Yes	68.6	46.6	54.4	35.2
No	28.9	47.4	29.6	44.9
Do not know	–	–	0.8	0.6

Women live longer, what is reflected in our respondent's answers also. Almost two thirds of them (68,8%) have their mother and more than a half (54,4%) have also a mother-in-law alive. The mother of 28,9% of respondents has already died, similarly the mother-in-law of 29,6% of respondents has also died. Fathers are represented in lower numbers in the respondent's wider family, 46,6% of respondents's fathers and 35,2% of their partners's fathers live. The amount of dead fathers (47,2%) and father-in-laws (44,9%), in comparison with their wives, is higher.

The behaviour of present family in Nitra is admittedly influenced by the amount of persons as well as the amount of generations who share one flat or house. Similar to our question referring to the number of households where the children still live together with the parents, we were also interested in the presence of the respondents' parents and parent-in-laws.

Table 3.5. – *Respondents's living parents and parent-in-laws, in % of answers*

	mother	father	mother-in-law	father-in-law
On his/her own	87.2	88.5	88.7	90.8
With respondent	10.1	8.4	5.1	4.6
At retirement home	0.9	0.9	1.2	1.2
Elsewhere (at relatives, siblings, nurse	1.8	1.3	4.3	1.2
I do not know	–	0.9	0.8	2.3
Together	100	100	100	100

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Along this line the results are almost definite. From table 3.5 we can see that the majority of respondents' and their partners' parents live on their own. So almost 9 from 10 parents and parent-in-laws live independent. If they live together with the respondents, they are mostly the respondent's parents (10,1% of mothers and 8,4% of fathers) - in our case they were mostly women. According to our results, another alternatives of living, and eventually nursing the respondent's and their partner's parents, are not spent on.

About 90% of respondents' and their partners' parents live in their own household. Then the question, just like in case of respondents' children living in separate households, was proper and so, we examined the forms of interaction and communication they use the most often.

Table 3.6. – *The manners of keeping contact between the respondents and their independent living parents, in % of answers*

Manners of keeping contact	answered	did not answer	together
by phone	53.6	46.4	100
by letters	6.3	93.7	100
by e-mails	4.5	95.5	100
by visits	61.9	38.1	100
Other	3.0	97.0	100

As well as with independent children, the respondents and their partners visit their parents the most often (61,9%) and keep contact also by phone (53,6%) (table 3.6). However the frequency of communication is always determined by many factors; according to acquired evidences, the major attention of respondents is the inverse of the case of independent children (almost 90% of respondents visit and phone them there). We assume, that parents still feel it necessary to help their children, if it is possible. The remaining means of bilateral communication are almost unused – only 6,3% of respondents write letters to their parents, and 4,5% send e-mail messages.

We were interested in how often this happens. According to table 3.7, when the e-mail and letter communication between the respondents and their parent used, these occasions are infrequent.

Table 3.7. – *Frequency of keeping contact between respondents and their parents, who live alone and replied, in %*

	visit	phone	e-mail	letters	alternatively
Every day	11,4	25,7	13,6	–	6,7
More times a week	35,9	53,2	27,3	12,9	46,7
More times a month	41,2	17,7	–	6,5	26,7
Rarely	11,4	3,4	59,1	80,6	20,0
Together	100	100	100	100	100

The situation is different with personal contacts, that take place more times per week in 35,9% of cases, and more times per month in 41,2% of the cases. When respondents are calling, the amount of contacts is even higher: in every fourth

respondents' family with parents call daily (25,7%) and more then half of the respondents (53,2%) is calling to their parents and partners through the phone more times per week.

If we think about family of the respondents and their partners in a broader sense, there is a question connected to their living siblings. We were also interested in their mutual contacts.

Table 3.8. – *Living siblings of the respondents and their partners, in % of answers*

	yes	no	together
Brother / brothers	59,7	40,3	100
Sister / sisters	49,8	50,2	100
Brother in law / Brother in laws	64,2	35,8	100
Sister in law / sisters in laws	46,8	53,2	100

From table 3.8 we can see, that the respondents and their partners have living siblings. In the wider family of the respondents, brother-in-laws appear in 64,2%, this value is comparable to the number of brothers, that is nearly 60%. If we think about women, their number of occurrence is lower, nearly half of the respondents (49,9%) have living sisters, as well as 46,8% have living sister-in-laws.

In table 3.9 we show the evidence, which reflects the contacts with these siblings. If the respondents have brothers, most of them try to communicate with them (60,7%). 10,3% of respondents and their partners have rare connection with their brothers, 3,0% of respondents do not meet them. The situation is similar with sisters. It seems, that however in the wider family of the respondents and their partners there are a lower number of sisters and sister-in-laws, contacts are kept with them more often. Two thirds of respondents (67,4%) told, that they were still in touch, and nearly 9% answered, that they keep contact but very rarely as well as in the case of brothers and brother-in-laws, only 3,0% do not communicate with sisters and sister-in-laws at all.

Table 3.9. – *Contacts with siblings of respondents and their partners, in % of answers*

	With brother/brothers	With sister/sisters
Yes	60,7	67,4
Partly yes	10,3	8,9
No	3,0	3,0
No reply	25,9	20,6
Together	100	100

There is also a big group of respondents, who did not answer. If approximately one fourth of respondents do not reply, it indicates the purpose - reluctance from something. There can be many various consequences. But one of the most possible reasons can be the bad relationship between respondents and their partners to their siblings.

3.2. Helping each other

a) The bilateral help in slovak families

Slovak and consequently the Nitra region's families, are characterized by the high frequency of bilateral help, including the wider family. There is a bilateral help especially between the parents's households and the households of the independent children's families. Just because of that, the questions in the answer sheet have been asked like, whether the family has an independent child(ren) and if yes, whether they help each other and how does it happen exactly. Then followed the questions like how was the bilateral help between the respondent's (grand) parents families and the respondent's families. In all cases we talk about those families, who no longer live together but separately. This fact was the main reason why we asked people in the questionnaire whether they have any children with an own family and if they have one, whether they help each other and how do they perform it. We were also interested in whether there were any mutual aid between the families of their grandparents and them. In fact we wanted to follow up the continuity of solidarity between generations.

First we are going to study the bilateral help between the families of the independent children and the respondent (Table 3.10 and Table 3.11), so the relationship of the parents – children.

Table 3.10. – *The manner of help to the child/children living in an independent household and the manner of help offered by the independent children to the parents – in % of ans.*

Mode of help	Parent to child	Child to parent
– of no concern	65,2	65,6
– no help	11,9	14,8
– help, without specification	5,1	4,7
– taking care of the child/ren	3,8	–
– housework	1,8	3,6
– money	8,5	2,4
– take care ...	2,8	6,3
– where necessary	0,2	0,6
– work	–	1,4
– material	0,6	0,6
Total	100,0	100,0

Table 3.11. – *The manner of help to child/children living in independent households and the manner of help the independent living children provide for their parents – in % of those, who have children living separate*

Mode of help	Parent to child	Child to parent
– be no concern	5,2	7,8
– no help	26,0	35,7
– help, without specification	14,3	13,0

– taking care of the child/ren	12,3	–
– housework	5,8	10,4
– money	26,0	7,1
– take care ...	8,4	18,8
– where necessary	0,6	1,3
– work	–	4,5
– material	1,3	1,3
Total	100,0	100,0

The first information means that about 1/3 of the questioned families have children who live separately. 22,9 % of the questioned families support the families of their separately living children. Those families which have children living separately support their children in 68% of the cases through financial support and also by taking care of their children etc. More than ¼ of families don't support the families of their separately living children.

On the other hand less than 19,6% of the questioned families get any aid from the families of their separately living children. In 56,5% of cases children help them with their household, work and support them financially. However, more than 1/3 of families with separately living children state that their children don't give them any support. The older families help the younger families more often than vice versa.

Generally, (Table 3.12) parents support the families of their children more in the old town, especially in the area with the houses (37,3%) and less often in suburbs (10,9%) what is caused partly by the demographic composition of each area.

Table 3.12. – *The aid supplied to the independent child's/children's family/families, according to the place of living. The answers are in percentages*

The aid to the child / Place of living	1	2	3	4	5	All
– yes I support the children	37,3	23,5	21,5	24,3	10,9	22,9
– of which is financial support	15,5	9,8	7,5	7,6	3,7	8,5
– no I don't support the children	17,6	9,8	13,0	12,1	7,4	11,9
– no answer	45,1	66,7	65,5	63,6	81,5	65,2
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Place of living: 1 = old town, houses 2 = old town, apartments, 3 = block of flats, 4 = villas area, 5 = suburbs

Table 3.13 shows, that in the families with children living separately there is an equal amount of support in each types of areas (from 62,5% in suburbs to 71,4% in villas areas), in average 26% of this support is financial support.

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Table 3.13. – *The aid supplied to the independent child's/children's family/families, according to the place of living, in case of families where the children moved out. (In percentage)*

The aid to the child / Place of living	1	2	3	4	5	All
– yes I support the children	67,8	68,2	69,6	71,4	62,5	68,8
– of what is financial support	28,6	29,3	23,2	23,8	25,0	26,0
– no I don't support the children	28,6	22,0	26,8	28,6	25,0	26,0
– no answer	3,6	9,8	3,6	–	12,5	5,2
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Place of living: 1 = old town, houses 2 = old town, apartments, 3 = block of flats, 4 = villas area, 5 = suburbs

According to the type of the family (Table 3.14) it is clear that the aid to the families of separately living children is more often given by the older families, mainly by babyless families (more than half of those families support the separately living children).

Table 3.14. – *The aid given to the independent child/children, according to the type of the family. The answers are in percentages*

The aid to the children / Type of the family	1	2	3	4	5	6	All
– yes I support them	–	14,7	2,8	36,3	–	54,2	22,9
– of which is financial support	–	5,6	–	13,1		21,7	8,5
– no I do not support	2,3	6,2	8,6	16,2	12,0	25,3	11,9
– no answer	97,7	79,1	88,6	47,5	88,0	20,5	65,2
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Type of the family: 1 = up to 35 years with 2+ children, 2 = over 35 years with 2+ children, 3 = up to 35 years with 1 child, 4 = over 35 years with 1 child, 5 = up to 35 years without children, 6 = over 35 years without children

According to table 3.15. the most helpful to their children are the families with more children (3/4 of those families), a little less helpful are the older families living without their children (2/3 of those families). The main form of support is finance.

Table 3.15. – *The aid given to the independent child/children, according to the type of the family, considering families where the children have moved out. (In percentages)*

The aid to the children / Type of the family	1	2	3	4	5	6	All
– yes I support them		75,7		70,5		67,7	68,8
– of which is financial support		30,3		25,0		27,7	26,0

– no I do not support		18,2		25,0		29,2	26,0
– no answer		6,1		4,5		3,1	5,2
Total	–	100,0	–	100,0	–	100,0	100,0

Type of the family: 1 = up to 35 years with 2+ children, 2 = over 35 years with 2+ children, 3 = up to 35 years with 1 child, 4 = over 35 years with 1 child, 5 = up to 35 years without children, 6 = over 35 years without children.

According to the level of education (Table 3.16), the aid to the families of the children occur more in those families where the parents have higher education and less in families with lower education.

Table 3.16. – *The aid given to the independent child/children, according to the type of education of the second person (usually man). The answers are in percentages.*

The aid to the children/Type of education	1 Elementary School	2 Apprentice training centres	3 Secondary School	4 Trade schools	5 University	All
– yes	19,1	10,7	26,1	22,1	21,0	20,7
– no	23,8	14,3	14,8	5,2	10,5	11,4
– no answer	57,1	75,0	59,1	72,7	68,5	67,9
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

According to table 3.17 in case of families with separately living children, the families with lower education support their children in about 62% of the cases, but in the families with higher education this proportion is around 78% of the cases, what is really a notable difference. Table 3.17 also presents the support by the questioned women and men – men are more helpful (71,4 %) than women (65,8 %).

Table 3.17. *The aid given to the independent child/children, according to sex and the type of education of the second person (usually man). The answers are in percentages.*

Sex, Type of education: / The aid to the children :	Men	Women	Elementary + Apprentice training centres	Secondary School + Trade School	University	All
– yes	71,4	65,8	61,6	69,4	77,6	68,8
– no	25,0	28,4	33,3	25,5	19,4	26,0
– no answer	3,6	5,8	5,1	5,1	3,0	5,2
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

We have already pointed out that the children who moved out support their parents less than the parents support the children. Explanation in more details is provided in table 3.18 and it says that the aid is more common in the area of the old town in houses (29,4 %) than in suburbs (9,3 %), what is influenced by the demographic composition of each area.

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Table 3.18. – *The aid from the independent child/children, according to the place of living. The answers are in percentages.*

The aid from the children / Place of living	1	2	3	4	5	All
– yes, the children support us	29,4	18,7	19,5	22,7	9,3	19,6
– of which is financial support	5,9	1,6	3,5	–	–	2,4
– no, the children do not support us	25,5	13,0	15,5	10,6	11,1	14,8
– no answer	45,1	68,3	65,0	66,7	79,6	65,6
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Place of living: 1 = old town, houses 2 = old town, apartments, 3 = block of flats, 4 = villas area, 5 = suburbs

According to table 3.19, in case of families where children moved out, families from the villas area get the biggest support from their children (62%) compared to the other areas of the town. It seems, that in those areas, where parents support their independent children more, the support by children for their parents is also bigger. The form of financial support by the children for their parents is only slightly more than 10% - only parents living in the houses in the old town and in the block of flats belong here, but financial support by the parents for their children is from 25% to 30%. Children usually help their parents in the household etc.

Table 3.19. – *The aid from the independent child/children, according to the place of living, considering those families where the children moved out. (In percentages)*

The aid from the children / Place of living	1	2	3	4	5	All
– yes, the children support us	53,5	56,1	57,1	61,9	50,0	56,5
– of which is financial support	10,7	4,9	10,7	–	–	7,1
– no, the children do not support us	42,9	29,3	39,3	28,6	37,5	35,7
– no answer	3,6	14,6	3,6	9,5	12,5	7,8
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Place of living: 1 = old town, houses 2 = old town, apartments, 3 = block of flats, 4 = villas area, 5 = suburbs

Table 3.20 shows the aid of the independently living children to their parents in the older families, mainly in the babyless ones (48, 2 % from all older babyless families).

Table 3.20. – *The aid supplied by the child/children living in a separate household, according to the type of the family. The answers are in percentages.*

The aid from the children / Type of the living	1	2	3	4	5	6	All
– yes, the children support us	2,3	11,3	2,9	27,3	12,0	48,2	19,6
– of which is financial support	2,3	1,7	–	4,0	4,0	3,6	2,4
– no, the children do not support us	–	10,2	5,7	24,2	8,0	30,1	14,8
– no answer	97,7	78,5	91,4	48,5	80,0	21,7	65,6
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Type of the family: 1 = up to 35 years with 2+ children, 2 = over 35 years with 2+ children, 3 = up to 35 years with 1 child, 4 = over 35 years with 1 child, 5 = up to 35 years without children, 6 = over 35 years without children.

Basically (Table 3.21) children who live separately help the families of their parents: in older families with 1 child (50 %), however in the older families with more children (27,5 %) and in the cases of older people without children (60 %).

Table 3.21. – *The aid supplied by the child/children living in a separate household, according to the type of the family, considering those families where the children moved out. (In percentages)*

The aid from the children / Type of the family	1	2	3	4	5	6	All
– yes, the children support us		57,5		50,0		60,0	56,5
– of which is financial support		9,1		9,1		4,6	7,1
– no, the children do not support us		36,4		43,2		35,4	35,7
– no answer		6,1		6,8		4,6	7,8
Total	–	100,0	–	100,0	–	100,0	100,0

Type of the family: 1 = up to 35 years with 2+ children, 2 = over 35 years with 2+ children, 3 = up to 35 years with 1 child, 4 = over 35 years with 1 child, 5 = up to 35 years without children, 6 = over 35 years without children.

The aid the parents get from their children who live separately do not depend on the level of education of the parents (Table 3.22 and Table 3.23). It means that also parents with elementary education, as well as the parents with secondary grammar education and with university education get the support from their children who live separately, in more than ½ of the cases (in percentage 53% - 58%). The sex of the questioned people is also not a reason for the different form of aid children give to their parents: men as well as women from the families where the children live separately (in around 55% of the cases) state that the children provide them with a support.

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Table 3.22. – *The aid supplied by the child/children living in a separate household, according to the type of education of the second person (usually man), in percentages*

The aid from the children / Type of education	1 Elementary School	2 Apprentice training centres	3 Secondary schools	4 Trade School	5 University	All
– yes	19,1	16,1	32,8	4,7	16,5	17,1
– no	19,0	8,9	13,3	22,6	14,3	15,0
– no answer	61,9	75,0	53,9	72,7	69,2	67,9
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table 3.23. – *The aid supplied by the child/children living in a separate household, according to the sex of the second person (usually man), considering those families where the children moved out. (In percentages)*

Sex, Type of education: / The aid from the children :	Men	Women	Elementary Schools +Apprentice training centres	Secondary Schools +Trade Schools	University	All
– yes	54,4	55,5	53,5	54,1	58,2	56,5
– no	39,3	38,7	40,4	40,8	34,3	35,7
– no answer	6,3	5,8	6,1	5,1	7,5	7,8
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

In this part we follow up the mutual aid between the questioned people and their parents – whether their parents (grandparents) were providing help to the present families and whether those families help their parents (grandparents) and if yes, how.

Let's start with the aid of the (grand) parents towards the families. The question was, what kind of help did (or still do) the families get from their parents. The result is (Table 3.24), that almost half of the families (46,2 %) received aid from their parents through taking care of their children, around 1/3 to ¼ of families received food, money or a help concerning their living, in about 12% of the families (grand) parents helped with housework and in 4% of the families the (grand) parents helped with the renovation of the houses.

Table 3.24. – *The aid supplied by the parents according to the place of living. In percentages.*

The form of the support / Type of the living	1	2	3	4	5	All
– accommodation	29,4	20,3	20,5	30,3	24,1	23,1
– care of the children	49,0	38,2	44,0	50,0	57,4	46,2
– care of the house	13,7	11,4	9,5	19,7	13,0	12,1
– money	31,4	27,6	31,0	21,2	31,5	28,9
– help in kind (food)...	33,3	30,1	32,5	30,3	25,9	31,0
– renovation of the house	5,9	3,3	3,5	1,5	11,1	4,3
– other help	2,0	1,6	2,0	4,5	3,7	2,4
– no help	–	1,6	1,5	–	9,3	2,0

Place of living: 1 = old town, houses, 2 = old town, apartments, 3 = block of flat, 4 = villas area, 5 = suburb

The provision of care for children (was) is more common for (grand) parents living in the houses (49% – 57%) than in case of those families living in apartments or in the block of flats (38% – 44%). In kind help was supplied less in suburbs (26%) and financial help was provided less in the villas areas (21%). Aid through getting an accommodation was supplied more often in the families who live in the houses (24% - 30%) than in the families living in the flats (20%). (Grand) parents were helping or are helping with housework more often in the villas areas (20%), than in the other areas (9% - 14%), and the help with the renewal of the house was or is more common in the suburbs (11%).

Care provided for the children was more common in case of (grand) parents with younger families with children (more than 2/3 of them), in kind help appeared mostly in older families with children (Table 3.25). (Grand) parents were helping or are helping mostly to the families with children but also to the babyless families. (Grand) parents were helping the younger families in getting an accommodation.

Table 3.25. – *The aid supplied by the parents, according to the type of family. In percentages*

The form of support / Type of family	1	2	3	4	5	6	All
– living	32,6	20,9	42,9	22,2	28,0	15,7	23,1
– care about children	69,8	52,0	68,6	49,5	4,0	27,7	46,2
– care about the household	9,3	11,9	14,3	12,1	8,0	14,5	12,1
– money	27,9	30,5	28,6	32,3	32,0	22,9	28,9
– in kind help (food...)	25,6	31,6	25,7	40,4	36,0	27,7	31,0
– renovation of the house	2,3	6,2	–	3,0	4,0	3,6	4,3
– other help	–	2,8	–	1,0	8,0	3,6	2,4
– no help	–	2,8	–	2,0	8,0	1,2	2,0

Type of the family: 1 = up to 35 years with 2+ children, 2 = over 35 years with 2+ children, 3 = up to 35 years with 1 child, 4 = over 35 years with 1 child, 5 = up to 35 years without children, 6 = over 35 years without children.

It is symptomatic that in more cases were (grand) parents helping their children if the children had a university education (Table 3.26.). The (grand) parents of the children with a university education were helping them through looking after their children: 51,7%. The proportion of in kind help was 39,2% (13% more than in other families with lower education), help through finance was 37,1% (10 – 14% more) and through housework the proportion was 14,7% (4% more).

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Table 3.26. – *The aid supplied by the parents according to the type of the education of the second person (usually man), in percentages.*

The form of support / Type of education	Elementary Schools + Apprentice training centres	Secondary Schools + Trade Schools	University	All
– living	23,4	24,5	21,7	23,1
– care about children	48,1	44,3	51,7	46,2
– care about the household	10,4	10,4	14,7	12,1
– money	23,4	27,1	37,1	28,9
– in kind help (food ...)	26,0	26,6	39,2	31,0
– renovation of the house	3,9	5,2	3,5	4,3
– other help	–	2,1	3,5	2,4
– no help	2,6	3,1	1,4	2,0

The most common forms of help which are provided by the families in the town Nitra towards the (grand) parents (Table 3.27) are: regular visits (54%) and housework or maintenance of the household of the (grand) parents (49%). Other forms are less common – in 21,7% of cases it was or it is a treatment or a nursing aid for the (grand) parents and in 15% of the cases it is financial help. For the families in the town Nitra it is not very usual to use the service of the paid nurse, only 0,8% of the cases reported this option.

People from the houses in the old town supply their parent with visits, and also a mental or an emotional encouragement appears in less cases (43,1%) than people from the suburbs (63%) and people from the villas areas (57,6%) indicate. Housework and maintenance of the household of (grand) parents are mostly done by people from the villas areas (62,1%) and suburbs (59,3%), and less in the other areas of the town of Nitra (43% – 49%). Providing treatment or nursing aid for (grand) parents characterises people from the suburbs (37 %) mostly, and in other areas of the town, only 18,5% – 22,7% of the cases reported these options. Financial support is natural for people from all areas; only people from the villas area support their (grand) parents less, only in 4,5% of the cases.

Table 3.27. – *The aid supplied by the children towards their parents according to the place of living*

The form of support / Place of living	1	2	3	4	5	All
– paid nurse	–	–	1,0	4,5	–	0,8
– money	15,7	17,1	16,5	4,5	16,7	15,0
– maintenance of the household	49,0	43,1	45,5	62,1	59,3	49,0
– treatment and nursing aid	21,6	19,5	18,5	22,7	37,0	21,7
– regular visits, mental and emotional encouragement	43,1	51,2	55,0	57,6	63,0	54,0
– other help	–	0,8	3,0	–	1,9	1,6
– no support at all	7,8	11,4	6,0	1,5	1,9	6,5

Place of living: 1 = old town, houses 2 = old town, apartments, 3 = block of flats, 4 = villas area, 5 = suburb

According to the type of family (Table 3.28), the older families pay for a “helping hand” for their parents more often – most probably it is a help concerning the maintenance of the household. The older families are also more helpful towards their (grand) parents with the nursing aid, finance and visits than the younger families with children. The babyless younger families help their (grand) parents by visiting them (64%, that is more than 10% above average), but they care less about the maintenance of the household of their (grand) parents (40%, that is 9% less than average).

Table 3.28. – *The aid supplied by the children towards their parents, according to the type of the family*

The form of support / Type of family	1	2	3	4	5	6	All
– paid nurse	–	0,6	–	2,0	–	–	0,8
– money	7,0	19,2	5,7	16,2	16,0	10,8	15,0
– maintenance of the households	51,2	55,9	34,3	52,5	40,0	39,8	49,0
– treatment and nursing aid	9,3	28,2	8,6	23,2	4,0	27,7	21,7
– regular visits, mental and emotional encouragement	48,8	63,3	48,6	51,5	64,0	42,2	54,0
– other help	2,3	1,7	–	3,0	–	–	1,6
– no support at all	9,3	6,8	2,9	5,1	4,0	7,2	6,5

Type of family: 1 = up to 35 years with 2+ children, 2 = over 35 years with 2+ children, 3 = up to 35 years with 1 child, 4 = over 35 years with 1 child, 5 = up to 35 years without children, 6 = over 35 years without children.

Table 3.29. – *The aid supplied by the children towards their parents according to the type of education of the second person (usually man). In percentages.*

The form of support / Type of education	Elementary Schools + Apprentice training centres	Secondary Schools + Trade Schools	University	All
– paid nurse	1,3	1,0	0,7	0,8
– money	13,0	14,1	19,6	15,0
– maintenance of the household	51,9	50,5	51,0	49,0
– treatment and nursing aid	27,3	20,3	23,1	21,7
– regular visits, mental and emotional encouragement	48,1	53,1	65,7	54,0
– other help	1,3	1,6	2,1	1,6
– no support at all	6,5	6,3	4,9	6,5

Higher level of education (Table 3.29) means a bigger support towards (grand) parents through regular visits and financial support. Families with a lower level of education supply their (grand) parents more often through treatment and nursing aid. The maintenance of the household and housework is of equal importance at all educational levels.

3.3. Family habits

Keeping the family habits alive gets the members of the family together and it also maintains and strengthens the existing bond among them. The family habits also form the family life. The family habits start with repeating some activities in some social situations which take place in the family. It contains the activity, which are performed as certainty and do not need any other decision on their purpose.

In case of most of the families the act of giving gifts is an important part of family habits and so are the celebrations of many different occasions. We wanted to find out which are those occasion when the respondents give gifts to one another and on which occasion they congratulate on one another. As we can see in the Table 3.30 the most common occasion of giving gifts and indicating appreciation and affection are Christmas (94,7%) and birthdays (95,1%). In 87,7% of the cases nameday is also an opportunity for this kind of act. In 58,3% of the cases the questioned families claimed that the members receive gifts also on St. Nicolaus Day and in 49,4% of the cases the mothers receive gifts on Mother's Day. Approximately in each third respondent family they give a gift to each other on the Wedding Anniversary (33,4%), on Valentines Day (36,8%), Women's Day (32,0%), Children's Day (37,2%) and also on the graduation etc (34,8%).

Table.3.30. – *The occasions when the members of the family give a gift or congratulate to one another. In percentages.*

	Yes	No	together
Christmas	97,4	2,6	100
Easter	27,1	72,9	100
St.Nicolaus	58,3	41,7	100
Birthday	95,1	4,9	100
Nameday	87,7	12,3	100
Wedding Anniversary	33,4	66,6	100
Valentines Day	36,8	63,2	100
Other occasions (graduation)	34,8	65,2	100
Women's Day	32,0	68,0	100
Children's Day	37,2	62,8	100
Mother's Day	49,4	50,6	100
Others	2,2	97,8	100

The present is a symbol which represents our relationship to the person who receives this gift and it is a simple demonstration of an interpersonal sympathy. Its value and provision are relatively connected to the fact how the person who gets the gift and who gives the gift are perceived. Even in case of a formal matter, the gift should please the person whom it is given to. General rule is that the value of the present does not reflect the real effort which was given to get the present. The range of presents and their financial value are the following topic in our questionnaire. Respondents answered the questions regarding the range of presents more often than the questions referring to the financial value. As we can see in Table 3.31, most of the respondents are not very keen on saying how much money they spend on buying presents for the family members. Most of the

people buy presents which cost from 200 to 500 SKK (14,8%). Almost 14% buy presents for the family members which cost maximum of 200 SKK. On the other hand there are people who are able to buy presents up to 2000 SKK (11,7%).

Table. 3.31. – *Financial value of the presents. In percentages.*

Cheaper presents		More expensive presents	
Up to 200,- Sk	13,8	Up to 2000,- Sk	11,7
Up to 500,- Sk	14,8	Up to 5000,- Sk	2,1
Up to 1000,- Sk	1,2	Up to 10 000,- Sk	0,2
No answer	70,2	No answer	86,0
Together	100	Together	100

If we think about the range of the presents, we will find out that the most popular ones are flowers (58,7%) and cosmetics (57,1%). Half of the respondents give or get sweets and almost half of them (48,2%) gets also clothes. Very often the respondents give books (42,7%) as a present. Approximately in each fifth respondent family (21,9%), people give a bottle of alcohol or they go to the restaurant (20,0%). According to our results, the respondents are not very original because only a few of them give a ticket to the cinema, theatre, fitness, sauna, massage or a gift made by them. This fact can be connected to the type of personality of the person who receives the gift and there exists some kind of tradition in it. We assume that the financial situation of the questioned families is the main factor that determines the price of the present. Orientation towards symbolic presents (flowers, sweets, alcohol) and towards practical presents (cosmetics, clothes, books) is also the indicator of financial capacity of the respondents.

Table. 3.32. – *The range of presents. In percentages.*

	Yes	No	Together
Done by themselves	8,5	91,5	100
Visiting the restaurant	20,0	80,0	100
Ticket to the theatre, cinema or concert	4,0	96,0	100
Flowers	58,7	41,3	100
Symbolic present	28,7	71,3	100
Excursion	1,4	98,6	100
Season ticket to the fitness centre	0,8	99,2	100
Ticket to the sauna or massage	2,6	97,4	100
Bottle of alcohol	21,9	78,1	100
Sweets	50,0	50,0	100
Food (fruits, coffee)	14,8	85,2	100
Cosmetics	57,1	42,9	100
Book	42,7	57,3	100
Clothes	48,2	51,8	100
Other	3,2	96,8	100

Celebration and providing gifts in our families are connected with the occasion of sitting together behind the table. These kinds of meetings characterise the family and are

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demonstrations of communication with the surroundings. Participants of these meetings do not need to be only the members of the family. Considering this matter we asked the respondents if they have had any guests for who they cooked a lunch or a dinner in the last 6 months. Results are seen in Table 3.33.

Table 3.33. – *Guests invited for lunch or for dinner. In percentages.*

Yes – parents	4,9
Yes – friends	23,3
Yes – children	5,9
Yes – not specified	23,9
No	40,5
No answer	1,6
Together	100

According to the received results, close members of the wide family are not invited for lunch or dinner very often. Only 4,9% of parents and 5,9% of their children were invited for lunch or dinner in the last 6 months. Nearly 24% of respondents had some guests for lunch or dinner but they did not specify who they were. We assume that they could be colleagues, friends or siblings. Another big part of the invited guests (23,3%) were the close friends of the respondents. Respondents who gave us a negative statement were highlighted (40,5%). We assume that the main reason is that there is no time available, or there is no money or efforts to contact other people in this way.

In the last year 58,0% of respondents welcomed some guests for the sake of having lunch or dinner together. From this group of people 47,7% had lunch or dinner with their friends, children or parents once a month. More than one quarter of the respondents (26,9%) invited somebody for lunch or dinner occasionally, approximately twice in the past six months. In Table 3.34 we can see that 17,5% of questioned people had some guests for lunch or dinner approximately 3 or 4 times per month, mostly in the cases of celebrations.

Table 3.34. – *Intensity of inviting guests for lunch or dinner. In percentages.*

Once in the past 6 months	7,8
Twice in the past 6 months, occasionally	26,9
3-4 times per a year, for the celebrations	17,5
Monthly, often	47,7
Together	100

Meeting by the table in purpose of having lunch or dinner together with the closest members of the family can be the act of sharing their lives. Up to these days we have a tradition of the Sunday lunch and in some families there is also an every day dinner. Regular meetings behind the table in purpose of spending some time together are still very important to us. It is a good occasion to solve some family problems, to share experiences, to exchange information, to revise the achieved goals, or to plan the future.

According to Table 3.35 in the responding families such a situation takes place mostly on Sunday when they have lunch together in 70,0%, or on Saturday, in case of 37,2% of respondents. Individual occasions are the reasons for such a meeting in 50,4% of the cases. According to our results, the tradition of having some meal together regularly in the families which live in the same household is fading away. Everyday dinner is common only in 23,5% of responding families. Most of the families have a meal together once a week.

Table 3.35. – *Meeting in purpose of having a meal together.*

	yes	no	all
Every day breakfast	13,8	86,2	100
Every day lunch	9,9	90,1	100
Every day dinner	23,5	76,5	100
on Saturday, breakfast	25,3	74,7	100
on Saturday, lunch	37,2	62,8	100
on Saturday, dinner	20,0	80,0	100
On Sunday, breakfast	28,5	71,5	100
On Sunday, lunch	70,0	30,0	100
On Sunday, dinner	20,6	79,4	100
Individual occasions	50,4	49,6	100
We do not sit behind the table together	3,2	96,8	100
Together			100

One third of the respondents (33, 8%) used to have a rest or a sleep after lunch, mostly at the weekends. We assume that people have time for this kind of relaxation mostly on Sunday. This type of relaxation is usual for people who are very busy during the week, also for families with little children who used to have a sleep after lunch and their age is also determining, as well as their character and health condition. In the family of each fifth respondent at least one member of the family has a rest or sleeps after lunch every day. Only 8,5% of respondents answered that in their family they do not sleep after lunch.

If we consider only those families where they usually sleep after lunch, in most of these families having a rest is usual for all members of the family (33,7%). As seen in Table 3.36, the frequency of sleeping after lunch is very similar for husbands (23,6%) and for wives (22,9%) as well. Most probably, in those families where two or three generations live together, sleeping after lunch is characteristic to the parents (12,5%) and in 6,4% of the cases to the children.

Table 3.36. – *Sleeping after lunch in the responding families. In percentages.*

Husband	23,6
Wife	22,9
Children	12,5
Parents	6,4

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All members of the family	33,7
Siblings, grandchildren, friend	0,9
All together	100

Members of the family are supposed to deal with some necessary duties regarding the everyday running of the household. Running the household and care about the children are divided between both partners. The roles which consequent from the usual model of the family can have the classical patriarchal structure (the man – leader of the family and the woman – taking care of the children and the household) or there exists the model of the family which is based on the partners diversion from traditional roles. According to this model, partners perform all necessary tasks equally with due respect and cooperatively, depending on the time available for the partners. This model works on the principle of social equality and the partners relations to both sexes. In case the family consists of more generations and also the family has older children, the other members of the family can also participate in performing some duties. Table 3.37 regards the situation in our respondent families.

Table 3.37. – *Performing tasks regarding the household and care for the children.*

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From the table above we can see how the families from Nitra deal with the domestic duties and take care of the children. The most important position in the family is the mother's – wife's. In most of the families she is the one who does cooking (64,8%), washing (71,9%) and ironing (64,4%), shopping (49,6%), cleaning (53,0%) and washing up (43,3%). According to this evidence, the domestic duties are the domain of the women and it is one of the indicators of traditionalism in the families of our respondents. Husbands are more keen on doing DIY jobs (50,0%), official matters (30,0%), paying the bills (28,3%) and mowing the lawn (28,9%).

The answers in the cell "all" are very interesting in terms of the division of duties in the family and in the household. The percentage of some activities is a signal which could change the mentioned habits. The highest percentage, 30,0% belongs to washing. Taking the garbage out (31,6%), doing the shopping (28,3%) and cleaning (29,1%) are according to our evidence done by most of the members of the family. In each fifth family cooking (19,6%), official matters (18,8%) and jobs in the garden (22,7%) are not done by a woman only, but also by all members of the family.

3.4. Summary

Contacts and relation in the family help to build and develop social capital. Family is the place where the feeling of trust is created. According to gained information the relationships among generations in Nitra's family are frequent. Almost one third of respondents have children, who live in independent households. Aproximately 9 out of 10 respondents call their independent children or they visit them.

In 40,7% of the cases they visit one another more frequently and in 47,7% of the cases they call one another more often. The situation is very similar with older parents of the respondents and their partners, but the attention of them is focused on their children not on their parents. The most spread forms of keeping contact are frequent visits (61,9%) and phoning (53,6%). Respondents and their partners communicate with their children, parents and siblings to strenghten their relationships. At least one half of respondents or their partners have brothers or sisters and aproximately two thirds of them communicate with them. If the human being searches for stable life in the family because he is not able to find it in social community, Nitra's family is the right example for demonstrating the stability of relationships in the family.

When we summarize the information, we can say, that families in Nitra help one another. Generation help is typical for slovak family, what we demonstrated in this research. This help and support have an important function in communication. It solves practical needs of parents and isolated children, and completes the life of participants.

Older people, or better to say, grandparents helped the middle generation family to look after children (nearly one half of the families from the remote parts of the town accept this help including young families (two thirds)). Next forms of help for middle generation from the side of older people is also money (28,9% more characteristic for people with a university degree), material help (31%, but less characteristic for young families) and help with finding an accommodation (23,1%, more characetristic for younger families and for those living in family houses and villas).

Middle generation families express thanks to their grandparents with frequent visits, moral backup (more then half of families do it like this, they come from the neighbourhood, they have more children, and families with higher education level). A

very important way of being grateful to our grandparents was service provided in their houses, but also help with housework, which was mentioned by more than half of middle generation families (mostly families with more children and older families with one child and also families living in villas). More than 1/5 of middle generation families offered their parents help in taking care of them (typical for older families, for families living in remote parts of the town (37%) and for families with higher education). Money as a form of help for older people is not frequently used nowadays, more characteristic in families with university education.

Except for this help, there is also mutual support between middle generation families and families with independent children. It is the case of 1/3 of Nitra's families, which have isolated and independent children. Families of these children are supported by their parents in more than 2/3 cases (mostly with money – 26% – and taking care of the children – 12,3%), more characteristic in families with higher level of education. Independent children help their parents in households (10,4%), they take care of their parents (18,8%), and help with money but in small amounts (7,1%). Mutual help between the middle generation and independent children is relatively more developed in old town, in neighbourhoods, than in remote parts of the town.

In Nitra's families, members of the family give gifts to one another. This is connected to culture and celebrations of personal festivals. Occassions, for which nearly every member is given a present are Christmas (94,7%) and birthday (95,1%). In 87,7% of the cases appear the namedays. Also St. Nicolaus day is a good reason for giving a present (58,3%) and mothers day (49,4%) also. In nearly every third family, people celebrate wedding anniversary, Valentin day, The day of women, The day of children, promotion, etc.

Presents have in the observed families a symbolic and a practical nature. Respondents are not creative in this case. Other choice is determined by tradition and also by financial capacity, because only one couple of all respondents reported as a gift a ticket to the cinema, or theatre, ticket to fitness centrum, or homemade presents. From those people who gave us information about prices of gifts, the majority spends between 200,- and 500,- Sk (14,8%). In the families nearly 14% of respondents buy gifts, the value of which is not higher then 200,- Sk. But 17% of people are able to spend 2000,- Sk.

Family parties are connected to sitting at the table. In the last year 58% of respondents welcomed guests with the aim to have lunch or dinner together, but only 4,9% of these people were grandparents and 5,9% children. Nearly 24% of respondents entertain invited guests, but who they were exactly, they did not specified. The next invited group of people consists of friends (23,3%).

Tradition of everyday meeting and eating in the families is slightly disappearing, according to statistics. Only 23,5% of families keep this tradition. But meetings with weekly periodicity, especialy on Sundays, are still present in our lives (70%). The next afternoon habit of Nitra's families is afternoon sleep. This is the habit of one half of all respondents, from them 20% sleep every day and 33,8% sleep during weekend after lunch.

Typical family habits- stereotypes are dominant in Nitra's families while doing houseworks and taking care of children. The main role in the responding families is the mother's – wife's. In most of the families she cooks, does the ironing, washes the clothes and dishes, does the shopping. Care about the household is still associated with women, this is a traditional position of the woman. A husband does small repairs in the household, he arranges official documents, he pays fees or cuts the grass.

4. Family consumption

Alena Kolesárová – Darina Marcinková

A. The family meals

Every culture develops its own kitchen. It is characterised by the constituting foodstuffs, manners of cooking and the spices. Family is the basic unit in transmitting the culture from generation to generation and we should anticipate, that members of a family will like similar meals.

The following information express the food structure of Nitra's inhabitants, but also their eating habits, favourite ingredients of food and the like. Owing to anticipated differences, the information are selected according to type of respondent's place of living.

1. Using animal's and plant's fats for cooking in families.

Fats are one of the basic nutrients of men and they are essential components of food. Fats come from plant and animal resources and consist of carbon, hydrogen and oxygen. They represent rich resource of energy for people and support the body's ability to work. The body needs them necessarily to absorb A, D, E, K vitamins, which are dissolving in fat.

Table 1. – *Used kinds of fats for cooking, according to place of living*

Used fats	1	2	3	4	5	Total
oil	88,2	93,5	93,0	86,4	81,5	90,5
grease	9,8	4,9	6,5	10,6	16,7	8,1
margarine	2,0	0,8	–	1,5	1,9	0,8
other	–	0,8	0,5	1,5	–	0,6
			100%			

Note: Residential districts: 1 = old town, family houses, 2 = old town, block of flats, 3 = dwelling estates, panel houses, 4 = villa, block of apartments, 5 = suburb villages

We can say, that the inhabitants of Nitra's region, use plant oil the most often when they are cooking – that was chosen by 90.5% of all respondents. 8.1% of respondents use grease, and another sorts of fat like margarine, butter and the like, the respondents chose these options very rarely – 1.4%.

However Nitra's inhabitants, in general, use oil for cooking, we have noticed small differences in terms of type of residence. While 5% of the inhabitants living in blocks of flats use grease, in family houses 10% and in suburb villages one fifth (20%) of inhabitants cooks with it.

2. Eating meals without feeling hunger

Eating habits influence health conditions, but the dominant and actual problem of modern men is eating more than it is necessary. Although the direct connection between

frequency of eating when not hungry and men's weight is not proved, obviously this promotes obesity.

Table 2. – *Eating meals without the feeling of hunger, according to place of living*

Eating without the feeling of hunger	1	2	3	4	5	Total
does not eat	49,0	56,9	57,5	42,4	42,6	52,8
eats ...without explain situation	3,9	12,2	5,0	13,6	11,1	8,5
during watching TV	18,7	4,9	9,5	6,1	11,1	8,7
on celebrations	7,8	4,9	10,0	4,5	5,6	7,3
out of boredom	7,8	4,1	6,5	9,1	17,8	7,3
noshing	3,9	4,9	5,5	15,2	3,7	6,3
in stress	7,8	8,9	3,0	6,1	3,7	5,5
on visits	3,9	1,6	2,5	3,0	5,6	2,8
always eats	–	1,6	0,5	–	1,9	0,8

Note: Residential districts: 1 = old town, family houses, 2 = old town, block of flats, 3 = dwelling estates, panel houses, 4 = villa, block of apartments, 5 = suburb villages

From the total rate of respondents, more than a half (52.8%) eats food when they are hungry. Others (47.2%) have reported that they eat also if they don't have the feeling of hunger. By analysing this phenomenon according to location and type of living it has turned out, that inhabitants living in block of flats have the biggest discipline – 57% have reported that they eat food only if they are hungry. On the contrary, more than half of the respondents from family houses in the old town (51%), but first of all the respondents from dwelling estates (57.4%) and from suburb villages have declared, that they eat also if they do not have the feeling of hunger.

From the concrete opportunities, or situations of eating without being hungry, the following possibilities were mentioned:

The opportunities and situations of eating without the feeling of hunger

– during watching TV	22,6 %
1. on celebrations	18,8 %
2. out of boredom	18,8 %
3. noshing	16,3 %
4. in stress	14,2 %
5. on visits	7,2 %
6. always eats	<u>2,1 %</u>
	100 %

From among those respondents who have named the situation, in which they eat the most often, when they are not hungry, its worth paying attention to those, who eat during watching TV and live in family houses in the old town (from them 30.8%) and in dwelling estates (25.8%), who eat out of noshing (26.4%), and live in villa, block of

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apartments, and those who eat out of boredom and live in suburb villages of Nitra (25.7%).

3. Eating and popularity of some kinds of vegetables

Vegetables are plants belonging to various botanic classes, which through cultivation acquired such attributes that make them advisable and very important supplements of human food. Vegetables are important for men because they supply the vitamins, and mineral substances.

Table 3. – *The frequency of eating vegetables, according to place of living*

Eating vegetables	1	2	3	4	5	Total
every day	39,2	31,7	35,0	39,4	24,1	34,0
3–4 times a week	37,3	39,0	30,0	36,4	44,4	35,4
once – twice a week	21,6	25,2	32,5	22,7	29,6	27,9
not characteristic	2,0	4,1	2,5	1,5	1,9	2,6
Total			100%			

Note: Residential districts: 1 = old town, family houses, 2 = old town, block of flats, 3 = dwelling estates, panel houses, 4 = villa, block of apartments, 5 = suburb villages

From the results of our search it is visible, that more than two thirds of Nitra's people eat vegetables every second day at least. We have found, that from the total amount of respondents 34% had declared that they eat vegetable every day and 35.4% eats vegetables three to four times a week. 17.9% of Nitra's people eat vegetables one to two times a week, and only a minimum of respondents (2.7%) have reported, that eating vegetables was not typical in their family.

Families living in family houses in old town and in the villa, block of flats eat vegetables every day (39.2%, 39.4%) and on the contrary, the least vegetable consumption we observed in suburb villages (24.1%).

The most often selected vegetables in general are tomato (reported by 76.3% of respondents) and potato (selected by 72.9% of respondents). More than half of the respondent's has selected carrot (62.6%), cucumber (59.9%), corn (57.5%), green pepper (56.9%), cauliflower (53.0%), radish (53.0%) and cabbage (50.2%) also.

Analysis by type of living have displayed small differences in popularity. In suburb villages it is interesting that the most preferred vegetables, the potato (79.6%) and tomato are on the second place (77.8%). Citizens living in family houses in the old town, compared to others, have also selected green pepper in a significant amount (72.5% compared to 62.5% – 37.0% in another types of living) and cauliflower (70.6% compared to 56.0% – 44.7%).

4. Eating and popularity of some kinds of fruits

Fruit is represented by fruit or seeds of various grown and wild plants. We often eat them raw, so as the vitamin content sensitive to warmth not to minimize. Eating fruits beside everyday food is one of the basic prerequisites of healthy nutrition. The frequency

of eating fruits according to the type of family's place of living is shown in the following table:

Table 4. – *The frequency of eating fruits according to the family's place of living*

Eating fruit	1	2	3	4	5	total
every day	45,1	45,5	43,5	50,0	46,3	45,3
3–4 times a week	43,1	35,8	33,0	30,3	31,5	34,2
once–twice a week	9,8	14,6	20,5	19,7	22,2	18,0
not characteristic	–	3,3	2,5	–	–	1,8
never	–	–	–	–	–	–
altogether			100%			

Note: Residential districts: 1 = old town, family houses, 2 = old town, block of flats, 3 = dwelling estates, panel houses, 4 = villa, block of apartments, 5 = suburb villages

Our results show, that four fifth of Nitra's people eat fruits every second day at least. From the total amount 45.3% of the respondents have reported that they eat fruit everyday, probably one third of respondents (34.2%) eats fruit 3-4 times a week and almost one fifth (18.0%) of them eats fruits once or twice a week. Only a minimum amount of respondents (2.5%) have reported, that eating fruits is not typical in their family, or they do not eat fruits.

We have noticed that respondents living in family houses in old town eat fruits every second day at least (88.2%), the frequency is less in families living in villa, block of apartments (80.3%) and in block of flats in old town (80.3%), and even less in suburb villages (77.8%) and in dwelling estates, blocks of flats (76.5%).

Most of the respondents have declared that apple is their most favourite kind of fruit (78.3%). More than half of the respondents have named banana (64.0%), grapes (62.3%) and orange (54.3%).

According to respondent's place of living we have discovered smaller differences. The popularity of banana proved to be the highest in family houses in the old town and suburb villages (70.6% and 70.4%), as well as more than half of respondents reported the popularity of apricot (52.9%) and cherries (51.0%) and water melon (52.8%) in the block of flats in the old town.

5. Consumption of bread

Bread has a significant role in our daily eating and it is a rich resource of sacharids. Bread from white flour is easier to digest, however, graham bread is much more valuable because it contains proteins, vitamins and cellulose.

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Table 5. – *The most frequently chosen kinds of bread, according to family's place of living*

Eating bread	1	2	3	4	5	Total
brown bread	74,5	70,7	76,0	69,7	61,1	72,1
white bread	23,5	26,0	20,5	33,3	38,9	25,9
rye-bread	23,5	14,6	15,5	16,7	16,7	16,4
other	3,9	5,7	7,5	1,5	1,9	5,6
does not eat bread	–	0,8	1,0	–	–	0,6

Note: Residential districts: 1 = old town, family houses, 2 = old town, block of flats, 3 = dwelling estates, panel houses, 4 = villa, block of apartments, 5 = suburb villages

From the above table it is evident, that almost three quarters (72.1%) of respondents eat brown bread. One quarter of the respondents (25.9%) eat white bread the most often and probably two fifths of the respondents (22.0%) eat rye and another kind of bread.

Considering respondent's place of living it is interesting, that in suburb villages, as compared to the whole Nitra region, less respondents eat brown bread – 91.9% as compared for example to 76.0% in dwelling estates, panel houses, where there is 20.5% of respondents reported on it. The highest representation of rye's bread consumers was found in family houses in the old town, which is considering white bread consumption (23.5%) is also interesting.

6. Beverage consumption

Drinking liquids has superior significance for life and health. The organism needs two to three litres of water daily as the base of digestive liquids and also for decomposing and elimination of the injurious and toxic substances from the body.

Table 6. – *The most frequently chosen beverages according to the family's place of living*

beverages	1	2	3	4	5	Total
mineral water	76,5	63,4	71,5	66,7	70,4	69,2
coffee	60,8	57,7	44,5	37,9	48,1	49,0
green tea	39,2	47,2	42,5	42,4	44,4	43,5
fruit juices	29,4	34,1	33,0	30,3	35,2	32,8
tap water	49,0	30,9	32,0	24,2	25,9	31,8
Coke, Sprite etc.	9,8	24,4	19,5	15,2	14,8	18,6
Beer	9,8	10,6	13,0	18,2	7,4	12,1
black tea	13,7	9,8	11,5	7,6	7,4	10,3
Wine	13,7	5,7	9,0	10,6	7,4	8,7
Other	3,9	4,9	1,5	3,0	3,7	3,0

Note: Residential districts: 1 = old town, family houses, 2 = old town, block of flats, 3 = dwelling estates, panel houses, 4 = villa, block of apartments, 5 = suburb villages

As it is evident from the table, more than two thirds of Nitra's sample drink mineral water (69.2%) mainly and less than one third drinks tap water (31.8%). Almost half of them drinks coffee (49.0%). Almost one half of the respondents (43.5%) drinks green tea. The popularity of black tea is unrelatively low (10.3%). The third of respondents drinks fruit juices (32.8%), as often as they drink water. Less than one fifth selected beverages like Coke, Sprite, etc. (18.6%) and alcoholic beverages, individually, because the respondents were mainly women (beer 12.1%, wine 8.7%).

In terms of the type of family's place of living there are some differences mainly because mineral water and tap water are drank at family houses in old town the most often (76.5%, 49.0%). In comparison with families in another localities, in the old town the coffe is drunk more significantly – in case of family houses it appears in 60.8% of families and in old town block of flats 57.7% families drink it.

7. Using salt for consumption and using spices when preparing meals, according to the family's place of living

The opinions concerning salt usage and using spices when preparing a meal are different. But for sure we should consider them as titbits in the real sense of the word, because they provide a good taste and they are used in almost every household in case of most food preparations.

Table 7. – *Using salt, according to the family's place of living*

using salt	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Yes	92,2	89,4	93,5	92,4	96,3	92,5
No	7,8	10,6	6,5	7,6	3,7	7,5
altogether			100%			

Note: Residential districts: 1 = old town, family houses, 2 = old town, block of flats, 3 = dwelling estates, panel houses, 4 = villa, block of apartments, 5 = suburb villages

Using salt is in general very frequent in the families: 92.3% of respondents reported it. Small differences can be observed according to the type of family's place of living: respondents who use less salt live in block of flats in the old town (10.6%) and those using the least salt live in suburb villages (3.7%).

People in Nitra generally use spices when preparing food. They use pepper the most often (93.3%), which is the product of baked seeds of a tropical bush. Those spices that are national products are also used very often – pepper powder (used by 86.4% of respondents), caraway seed (77.1%) and marjoram (70.9%). During the past decades, the foreign curry had become natural in the slovak kitchen. Nowadays curry is used by more than half of the respondents (53.6%). More than a third of respondents (37.0%) use basil and one fifth uses nutmeg (20.6%) and thyme (18.8%).

There are minor differences in using spices according to respondent's place of living, though significant differences have not been displayed, but we should think, that at the family houses of the old town (except for pepper) the pepper powder, caraway seed and marjoram are used by the respondents in almost every family (92.2%, 84.3%).

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8. Eating and types of consumed meat according to the family's place of living

The opinions on meat consumption, which constitutes significant part of our food are different. Some talk about the harm done by eating meat and promotes vegetarianism or veganism, others when eating meat prefer eating fish and chicken.

Table 8. – *Eating meat, according to the type of the family's place of living*

Eating meat	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Yes	98,0	100,0	99,5	98,5	100,0	99,4
no	2,0	–	0,5	1,5	–	0,6
			100%			

Note: Residential districts: 1 = old town, family houses, 2 = old town, block of flats, 3 = dwelling estates, panel houses, 4 = villa, block of apartments, 5 = suburb village

On the basis of discovered information, it is, in general, possible to think, that in the studied Nitra's population there is a minimum number of people, who do not eat meat – 0.6%. In terms of individual localities of living, these individuals are represented also minimally (from 2.0% – 0.5%).

Table 9. – *The most often consumed kinds of meat, according to the family's place of living*

Kind of a meat	1	2	3	4	5	Total
chicken	92,2	95,1	93,5	93,9	94,4	93,9
pork	60,8	51,2	51,0	62,1	55,6	54,0
fish	51,0	50,4	49,0	40,9	37,0	47,2
turkey	27,5	31,7	26,5	24,2	29,6	27,9
beef	15,7	22,8	17,5	25,8	35,2	21,7
duck	3,9	8,9	3,5	4,5	7,4	5,5
calf	2,0	2,4	1,5	4,5	3,7	2,4
other	2,0	1,6	1,0	3,0	1,9	1,6

Note: Residential districts: 1 = old town, family houses, 2 = old town, block of flats, 3 = dwelling estates, panel houses, 4 = villa, block of apartments, 5 = suburb villages

People in Nitra eat chicken, pork and fish meat the most often. Chicken has become the most preferred kind of meat. This kind of meat is consumed in case of more than nine tenth (93%) of the respondents. Probably one half of respondents reported, that besides chicken meat they eat pork and fish too (54.0%, 47.2%). Turkey and beef meat is consumed significantly in probably one quarter of households (27.9%, 21.7%), another kinds of meat are represented in less significance.

In terms of place of living we can find small differences: mainly the higher consumption of pork meat and fish meat at family houses in the old town (60.8%) and in villa, block of apartments (62.1%) as compared to others (51.0% – 55.6%). The lower

extent of eating fish meat (37% as compared to 51% – 40.9% in other localities) and higher extent of beef consumption (35.2% as compared to 15.7% – 25.8% in others localities) is interesting also in the suburbs village's case.

9. The influencing factors when deciding on buying food, according to the type of family's place of living

The individuals are influenced by many factors, whether it relates to the facilities, needs or also to the omnipresent direct or indirect advertisements.

Table 10. – *The basis of choosing a food product, according to the type of family's place of living*

Shopping according to	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Price	60,8	71,5	67,5	69,7	77,8	69,2
Tasty	66,7	61,8	58,5	57,6	66,7	60,9
How healthy it is	41,2	43,9	45,0	42,4	38,9	43,3
Tradition, family tradition	19,6	17,9	18,0	16,7	24,1	18,6
Grease content	15,7	16,3	12,5	15,2	16,7	14,6
calorie content	5,9	4,9	7,5	15,2	7,4	7,7
on the basis of the trade name	5,9	8,1	6,0	15,2	5,6	7,7
advertisement	3,9	8,1	4,5	6,1	13,0	6,5
sugar content	3,9	4,1	5,0	4,5	1,9	4,3
other	–		1,5	1,5	–	0,8

Note: Residential districts: 1 = old town, family houses, 2 = old town, block of flats, 3 = dwelling estates, panel houses, 4 = villa, block of apartments, 5 = suburb villages

As it is evident from our data, the commanding factors behind shopping food are the prices (69% of the respondents) and taste (60.9%). Almost one half of the respondents (43.3%) reported also the product's being healthy as the motivating factor, however some coherent and incarnate criterias like the grease content (14.6%), calorie content (7.7%) and sugar content (4.3%) are represented in a lesser extent. Keeping tradition as the motivating factor when shopping food has been reported by less than one fifth of the respondents (18.6%).

Concerning the place of living we can see, that price is the most frequently stated reason, especially in suburb villages (77.8%), and especially among those, who live in family houses of the old town (60.8%). Buying food on the basis of tradition was reported by almost one quarter of the respondents from the suburb villages (24.1%), what in terms of individual localities is the highest frequency.

10. The appreciation of tradicionality and modernity in family meals

Decision on whether the meal of our own family should be considered to be traditional or modern is influenced by many objective and subjective factors. On the one hand, new kinds of foods and manners of meal are used traditionally, on the other hand, there is an idea about what does traditional and modern meal mean.

The following table expresses the subjective classification of respondents' nutrition into the categories modern or traditional.

Table 11. – *The subjective classification of family consumption into tradition and modernity, according to the family's place of living*

Nutrition	1	2	3	4	5	Total
it is completely traditional	21,6	22,0	19,0	12,1	14,8	18,6
it is rather traditional	64,7	51,2	54,5	62,1	61,1	56,5
it is rather modern	13,7	26,0	23,5	22,7	24,1	23,1
it is completely modern	–	0,8	3,0	3,0	–	1,8
altogether			100%			

Note: Residential districts: 1 = old town, family houses, 2 = old town, block of flats, 3 = dwelling estates, panel houses, 4 = villa, block of apartments, 5 = suburb villages

From the information we have it is evident, that three quarters of the respondents (75.1%) has classified its own family's nutrition as traditional. The most frequent answer is "more or less traditional" (56.5%) - it constitutes the triple of the amount of the answer "totally traditional" (18.6%). Other respondents (24.9%) has classified their nutrition as modern. The answer "more or less modern" was selected by 23.1% of respondents and the answer "totally modern" was selected only by 1.8% of the respondents.

In terms of the type of living, most of the respondents, who consider their family's nutrition traditional, live in family houses in the old town (86.3%).

B. Shopping

During the past decades the population's manner and structure of shopping has been altered by the capitalist approach. The same is visible in the big cities, among which Nitra also belongs. The creation of supermarkets and especially the hypermarkets, step by step, has taken away the population's shopping from small markets near the houses, and the manner of shopping has changed too.

Table 12. – *The frequency of performing big shoppings for the family, according to the place of living*

frequency of shopping	1	2	3	4	5	Total
every day	7,8	7,3	4,5	3,0	7,4	5,7
once a week	29,4	35,0	33,5	37,9	31,5	33,8
at weekends	31,4	31,7	26,0	34,8	27,8	29,4
not attached to time, whenever we have time	31,4	29,3	28,5	28,8	35,2	29,8
Monthly	11,8	11,4	15,5	12,1	11,1	13,2

Note: Residential districts: 1 = old town, family houses, 2 = old town, block of flats, 3 = dwelling estates, panel houses, 4 = villa, block of apartments, 5 = suburb villages

It is evident, that Nitra's inhabitants are shopping mostly during the week (33.8% of all respondents), or if they have got time (29.8%), and also at weekends (29.4%). These are the largest number of answers. Some differences can be seen in terms of residence; while in the family houses of the the old town shopping at the weekends (31.4%) dominates and also the case when they have got time, in suburb villages, the option when they have got time (35.2%) prevails, and in other types of places of living most respondents shop during the week (in old town, block of flats – 35.0%, in villa, block of apartments – 37.9%).

Table 13. – *The most frequent places of shopping for the family, according to the place of living*

The most frequent places of shopping	1	2	3	4	5	Total
in a supermarket close to our home	43,1	40,7	49,0	37,9	38,9	43,7
in big supermarkets (e.g. Tesco, Cora)	56,9	65,0	57,0	59,0	72,2	59,7
in a small shop nearby my house	39,2	28,5	34,5	34,8	33,3	33,4
in the market	25,5	30,1	11,5	18,2	14,8	18,8
in other places	–	4,1	–	1,5	–	1,2

Note: Residential districts: 1 = old town, family houses, 2 = old town, block of flats, 3 = dwelling estates, panel houses, 4 = villa, block of apartments, 5 = suburb villages

The information in the above table documents the changes in the structure of shopping. The most frequent places of shopping are the hypermarkets (59.7% of Nitra's people are shopping there) and supermarkets (43.7%). The small markets and market-places are becoming places more for extra shopping – in small markets shops are chosen

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by one third of the respondents (33.4%) and at market-places, one fifth (18.8%) of the respondents do their shoppings. The expressive representation of respondents from the suburb villages in terms of shopping at hypermarkets (72.2%) documents the fact of their accessibility and that they are built in the outer parts of the cities.

Table 14. – *The determining factors behind family shopping, according to the place of living*

Determining factors	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Prices	58,8	63,4	59,0	75,8	77,8	64,4
range of goods	47,1	51,2	57,5	57,6	55,6	54,7
distance of the supermarket	35,3	26,8	31,5	37,9	18,5	30,2
Customs, got used to it	19,6	29,3	19,5	10,6	25,9	21,5
other ...	–	2,4	0,5	1,5	5,6	2,6

Note: Residential districts: 1 = old town, family houses, 2 = old town, block of flats, 3 = dwelling estates, panel houses, 4 = villa, block of apartments, 5 = suburb villages

When shopping, more than half of the respondents considers the prices especially (64.4% from all respondents) and the range of goods (54.7%).

C. Summary

Knowledge of the basic patterns of food, meal habits and coherent customs constitutes the necessary requirement concerning the decision of existing aspect and planning of changes. The influence of meal habits, the abundant and non-balanced meal has an extremely large influence on the population's hygienic conditions. As the literature states, among the ten main causes of the death, the fifth one are the meal habits, exercising a bad effect on the coronary vessels, causing some kinds of cancer, shock, diabetes mellitus and atherosclerosis. It means, that eating is a very important behaviour relating to our health and it is necessary to pay attention to this. On the basis of the research, it is possible to generalize some statements.

Which are the characteristic ways of preparing meals and the characteristic meals in case of Nitra's families?

1. Nine tenth of the families (90.5%) uses plant oils for cooking the most often.
2. Almost one half (47.2%) consumes food also when they do not feel hunger, mostly during watching TV, on celebrations, out of boredom, noshing and when in stress.
3. In more than two thirds of the cases they eat vegetable every second day at least (in case of one third, the frequency is everyday)
4. In general, the most frequently reported vegetables are tomato (chosen by 76.3% of respondents), potato (72.9%), carrot (62.6%), cucumber (59.9%), corn (57.5%), green pepper (56.9%), cauliflower (53.0%), radish (53.0%) and cabbage (50.2%).

5. In four fifths of the families, fruit is consumed every second day at least (almost in case of half of the respondents the frequency is everyday).
6. Probably one third of the respondents (34.2%) consumes fruits 3-4 times a week and almost one fifth (18.0%) 1-2 times a week.
7. People in Nitra consume brown bread the most often (72.1%), drink mineral water (69.2%), salt the food (92.5%), above all, use pepper for cooking, pepper powder, caraway seed and marjoram ((93.3%, 84.3%).
8. Almost all respondents eat meat (99.4%), mainly chicken (93.9%).
9. Determining factors when buying food are the prices (69% of respondents), the taste attributes (60.9%) and almost one half of the respondents (43.3%) selected the health related explanation also as the motivating attribute.
10. Three quarters of the respondents (75.1%) has classified his family's nutrition as traditional.

From the results it is also visible, that Nitra's inhabitants are shopping in various time frequenties – the most often they do it during the week, and at weekends if they have got time, while they decide on the basis of the price and range of choice.

5. Free time and cultural participation

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5.1 The freetime activities

Information in Table 1 shows that only 31% of respondents are, in various frequentities but actively, doing sports. 69% of the respondents do not do any sports. From all of the respondents, 6.5% did not answer this question.

Table 1. – *Performing sports*

Performing sports	%
Yes	31
No	69
Together	100

Among those who have answered the question positively, inhabitants of the blocks of flats were the most numerous (12.1%). Others do sports less in the old town – block of flats (7.1%), in villa, block of apartments (4.5%), then in suburb villages (3.8%) and the least in the family houses – of the old town (3.4%). People living in the city do sports the most often, and we suppose they have better opportunities and places for these activities.

Table 2 shows the types of sports performed by the respondents. Among the active respondents (31%), who have answered positively to the previous question, (9.9%) is doing fitness and cycling (6.3%). The next favourite sports of the respondents are swimming (3.8%), the ball sports (3.4%) and athletics (3.2%). Some individuals are doing another sports like – gymnastics (2.2%), tourism (1.8%) and, identically, (0.8%) tennis and winter sports.

Table 2. – *Type of sports in %*

Type of sports	%
Cycling	6,3
Fitness	9,9
Tourism	1,8
Tennis	0,8
Swimming	3,8
Ball sports	3,4
Athletics	3,2
Gymnastics	2,2
Winter sports	0,8
Mismatch	67,6
Together	100

Respondents do sports actively 1–2 times a week (15.6%). 6.3% of the respondents does sports daily, 5.3% of the respondents does it – more times a week – 3–4 times, 4.7% of the respondents has selected the option “seldom”.

People living in dwelling estates, blocks of flats do sports the most often (37.5%) and at the family houses in the old town (24.4%) the most frequent answer was 1–2 times a week in 19.7–11.5% (Table 3.). In villas, block of apartments it is lower (15.6%), in the old town (the family houses) and in suburb villages (10–12.5%). The smallest number of doing athletics is found in the old town area, in the family houses, where we should expect, that the oldest population lives there. According to Table 3, especially people living in dwelling estates, blocks of flats do sports daily (7.6–5.7%).

Table 3. – *Type of sports/ residential district in %*

Frequency of sports	1	2	3	4	5	Together
daily	3,8	5,7	7,6	1,3	1,3	19,7
Weekly 3–4 times	1,9	3,2	6,4	3,2	1,9	16,6
Weekly 1–2 times	4,5	11,5	19,7	7,6	5,7	49,0
Seldom	0	3,8	4,5	2,5	3,8	14,6
	10,2	24,2	38,2	14,6	12,7	100

Notice: Residential district: 1 = old town, family houses, 2 = old town, block of flats, 3 = dwelling estates, panel houses, 4 = villa, block of apartments, 5 = suburb villages

a) The characteristics of free time activities

In question number 16, “Which free time activity is characteristic for you“ the respondents should choose five out of the 21 offered alternatives of spending free time.

In general, we should state, that the most preferred were the alternatives to be performed together with family members. When spending free time, the respondents preferred the options with member/s of the family to those activities like: watching TV – 50%, walking – 28.9%, gardening – 22.5% or trips and tours – 18.8%. Further activities, which the respondents had preferred were: chatting, visits and courting – 13%, chess, playing cards, party games – 12.6%, visits to the theatre and concerts – 11.1%, and cinemas visits – 4.3%.

In case of visiting places of entertainment – 10.5%, billiard and bowling – 3.0% and the hobby clubs – 1.6% of the respondents have preferred spending their free time with their friends. It is interesting, that in case of those activities, which are often done together with the family, the role or choice of friends is just a bit less. For example in the case of visits, chatting, courting – 8.3%, cinema visits – 3.4%, theatre and concert visits – 6.5% or trips and tours – 4.7%.

There are free time activities, which the respondents rather spend alone, eventually in more cases with the family. There belong to those, like: do-it-yourself works – 9.5%, with the family – 6.7%, handicrafts – 22.7%, reading – 50.8%, listening to the music (at home) – 17.4% or playing the musical instruments – 2.8%. Then come the sport activities – 7.9% and fitness programs – 4.5%.

It is interesting, that the respondents prefer gardening also alone – 10.9%, walks – 11.1% and, especially, watching TV – 17.2%.

According to the type of accommodation we should state, that respondents living in the dwelling estates, blocks of flats prefer visiting places of entertainment with friends, and their preference remains also in case of party games, chess, playing cards (10.8%), doing sports (9.1%) and the hobby circles (44.4%).

Mainly people living in the dwelling estates, blocks of flats, and also those living in suburb villages, prefer the do-it-yourself works (18.1 – 9.6%), the handicrafts (32.5 – 14.6%), or the fitness programs (32.0 – 16.1%). Many respondents do the gardening and apart from those living in estate's kind of living (28.5%) we did not notice more significant differences in the choice of these alternatives of spending free time: the old town, family houses (17.6%), the old town, block of flats (18.8%), villa, block of apartments (21.2%) and suburb villages (19.9%). Respondents living in the old town, block of flats spend the most of their time by walking (31.7%), also in the dwelling estates (38.3%). The persons living in old town, block of flats attend party games, play chess and cards (18.1–37.3%).

Respondents living in dwelling estates, blocks of flats engage in watching TV (40.6%) and doing sport (39.4%). Respondents living in the city pay the biggest attention to their family (38.8% – 11.6%).

Respondents in the age of 36 – 56 years showed the biggest representation in do-it-yourself work – 64.9%, in handicrafts and other games – 68.0%, walking – 65.1%, reading 61.0%, watching TV – 60.2%, listening to music – 60.8%, theater and concert visits – 62.6% and others. We should state, that their manner of spending free time is, in comparison with the lower and higher age categories, the clearest.

People of lower ages, up to 35 years report the following ways of spending free time the most often: visiting places of entertainment (disco, inn, restaurant) – 33.8%, chatting, visits, courting – 26.8%, other games – 32.0%, cinema visits – 30.8%, billiard and bowling – 33.3% and sport – 29.7%.

Respondents, older than 57 years presented choices like do-it-yourself work (18.2%), gardening (28.8%), handicrafts (26.1%), party games (17.5%), reading (22.3%), watching TV (17.1%), and playing a musical instrument (17.4%). The respondents in higher ages do not or almost never participate in activities like visiting places of entertainment (2.6%), other games or the billiard and bowling.

5.2 Social and relaxation activities

Among free time activities we can also study invitations for weekend programmes. The respondents had to choose two options out of a list of seven: invitation by good friends to an elegant restaurant, with dinner and music (**31.2%**), invitation by village relatives to the village fair, evening feast with the relatives (17.8%), the 50th marriage anniversary of grandparents, with the extended family, relatives (18.6%), garden party of good friends, listening to music, barbecue outside (**66.2%**), invitation by the neighbours for dinner, listening to music and a peaceful chat (13.6%). The least attractive for the respondents were the pig-killing and dinner on pig-killing day at the relatives (11.1%) and wedding feast under a tent, with Gypsy music and mutton-stew (8.3%). It is possible to deduce from our data, that two types of people exist. The common attribute is the company of good friends and the listening to the music during these activities. We should

state, that the respondents like seeking the free parties, unconstrained fun, and on the other hand the invitation to elegant places.

Holiday is an essential component of spending free time. The question we asked was “How many times have you been on holiday in Slovakia in the last three years?” The answer “Not once” came from 40.3% of the respondents. The second most frequent answer was the alternative “Once”, which was indicated, as table 4. shows, in case of 18.1–29.9% of the respondents. More than twice has been indicated by 17.6–18.2% of the respondents.

Table 4. – *Holiday in Slovakia during the last 3 years in %*

Holiday in Slovakia during the last 3 years	%
Not once	40,3
Once	23,9
Twice	17,6
Three and more times	18,2
Together	100

Spending holiday in Slovakia, was the most characteristic to respondents living in the dwelling estates, blocks of flats (40.5%), in old town, block of flats (24.9%) and in villa, block of apartments (13.4%). The respondents living in family houses in the old town and in suburbs villages reported on these holiday attempts slightly more than 10% of the cases each.

17.7% of the respondents who indicated spending holiday in Slovakia in the past three years, belonged to the age range of 36 – 56 years. Those, who have been on holiday in Slovakia more than twice, selected this alternative in 23.2% of the cases. It should mean, that this age category contains the largest number of persons in the productive age, and they are able to save money for a holiday, and eventually, they can afford it financially. Respondents, who have not been on holiday, appear in the age category 36 – 56 years the most often, in almost 20% of the cases. Only a small proportion in the age higher than 57 years has been on a holiday like this (1.3–2.2%).

In summary we can say, that the respondents have only a few holiday options. They either do not have the time and finance to go on a holiday, or if they have, they choose spending their holidays abroad.

The question “If you have been on holiday in Slovakia, who were you spending it with?” was answered only by those, who had answered positively to the previous question, i.e., they were on an inland holiday during the last three years. According to Table 5., the greatest representation had the alternative “with members of the family” in 37.7% and with family (with the partner) and friends in 12.8%. With friends 8.1% of the respondents were spending their holiday more often than alone (1.8%). From the respondent's answers we can see, that they were spending their holiday with member/s of the family the most often.

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Table 5. – *Holiday in Slovakia spent together with ... , in %*

Holiday in Slovakia spent together with ...	1	2	3	4	5
Yes	1,8	37,7	8,1	12,8	15,2
No	58,9	23,1	52,6	48,0	45,5
Mismatch	39,3	39,3	39,3	39,3	39,3
Together	100	100	100	100	100

Notice: Spend with: 1 = alone, 2 = with family member, 3 = with partner, 4 = with friends, 5 = with family (with partner) and friends

The parallel changes in sociocultural and socioeconomical attitudes in the society have probable impact also on the manner of the slovak family's life, specially on the way of spending free time. On the one hand, there is a growing number of possible social, cultural and relaxation activities, on the other hand the potential of the slovak family to exploit these alternatives is probably influenced by economic alternatives, but also by the structure of the families and by the way of their life. Our questions enquired about how respondents spend their free time at weekends and during holidays. We can see, that almost one half of the respondents has not been on an abroad holiday in the last 3 years and one quarter of the respondents has been on a holiday like this just once in the given period. The remaining proportion of respondents has been on holiday abroad twice or more times.

From among more than 50% of the respondents who have been on a holiday abroad, every 40th has traveled alone, with the family has travelled almost one third of them. Almost every 10th of the respondents who has been on a holiday abroad has travelled with a partner and similarly with friends. Just 9% of the respondents who has been on holiday abroad was travelling together with members of the family, the partner and with near and dear friends.

Most of the respondents who have been on a holiday alone, live in family houses in the old town, people from the suburb villages have travelled with family members the most often, people from dwelling estates, blocks of flats or from villa, block of apartments similarly have preferred spending their holiday together with their partner mostly, people from dwelling estates and block of flats in the old town preferred spending their holiday with friends.

From Table 6. it is possible to see, that almost one half of the respondents have between two to four hours free time daily. Every tenth respondent has free time only during holidays, and eventually has the feeling, that he/she does not have any free time. The amount of free time per day does not depend on perceiving the tradition and modernity in the respondent's free time spending, or from the type of living.

Table 6. – *Amount of free time / residential district, in % ans.*

Free time / residential district	1	2	3	4	5	Aggregate
never or only during holidays	1,0	3,4	3,6	1,8	0,8	10,8
1 hour	1,4	2,4	4,8	0,6	1,8	12,3
2–4 hours	3,6	12,5	19,3	7,2	5,6	48,3

5 and more hours	2,8	4,8	9,7	1,8	1,8	21,0
other	1,4	0,6	3,0	1,6	0,8	7,5
<i>Together</i>	<i>10,3</i>	<i>24,9</i>	<i>40,5</i>	<i>13,4</i>	<i>10,9</i>	<i>100</i>

Notice: Residential district: 1 = old town, family houses, 2 = old town, block of flats, 3 = dwelling estates, panel houses, 4 = villa, block of apartments, 5 = suburb villages

The biggest part of respondents who have 2 – 4 hours of free time daily live in block of flats in the old town, in villa, block of apartments and suburb villages. In suburb villages only 7.5% of the respondents does not have any free time or has free time only during holidays.

Three quarters of the respondents reported that their free time habits are traditional. Traditional ways of spending free time are found mainly in case of childless parents over 35 years, respondents elder than 57 years or married couples living together for more than 30 years.

The largest group of respondents in the age between 36 – 56 years contains those, who have 2-4 hours of free time daily (56.2%). 63% of them are families with one child, who live in dwelling estates, blocks of flats or in the block of flats in the old town. Also in case of the group of respondents up to 35 years, the largest group are those, who have 2 – 4 hours of free time (40.7%). In case of the group of respondents over 57 years can we find the biggest number of those, who have more than 5 hours of free time daily.

5.3 Cultural and communication activities

As part of free-time and social-cultural activities of families we can also study the various information resources they have. It can be either a printed material like books, or analogue or digital materials.

The largest group of respondents (40.3%) has 50 – 200 books at home. The group of respondents, who own 50 books and less, consider their cultural habits more traditional. Those who have more than 600 books consider their cultural habits more modern.

Table 7. – “How many books are there in your household?” – in % of answers

Books	%
1–50	21,7
51–200	40,3
201–600	31,4
601 and more	6,6

There is a relationship between the number of books in the households and the age of respondents. The older the respondent is, the more books he or she has at home. Especially, respondents in the age of 35 years have 51-200 books at home. Conversely, people older than 57 years have more than 200 books. The rate of respondents up to 35 years, who own more than 600 books is only 1%.

The presence of more than 50 CDs in households is observable in case of more than ½ of the respondents, what is considered to be a modern element. On the contrary, those who have less than 50 CDs are considered to be traditional.

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It is surprising, that more than 43.4% of respondents in the age category between 35 – 56 years has more than 71 CDs in their households. This case is probably caused by the expansion of new audioforms (e.g. mp3), which is stored on memory cards, usb drives or hard discs. None or 10 CDs were reported in case of 1/3 of the respondents over 57 years.

From the range of cultural activities, we were interested in our respondents' interest in going to the theatre and their companies for this activity. With a monthly regularity people up to 35 years visit the theater, but only in 1.9%.

Table 8. – *Frequency of going to the theatre – in % of answers*

Frequency/theatre	%
Regular/ monthly	2,8
Several times/ yearly	22,1
seldom	44,1
never	31,0

Respondents visit theatre with their family (43.7%) or with friends (23.3%) the most often. More than ¼ of respondents did not answer this question.

Free time and culture play an important role in people's life. These develop people's sensitivity to beauty and their sense of aesthetics and also it serves as a form of relaxation.

We have also studied the concert-going habits of the respondents.

Table 9. – *Frequency of going to concerts – in % of ans.*

Frequency / concert	
Regular / monthly	0,9
Several times / yearly	8,5
Seldom	36,4
Never	54,2
Alltogether	100

We can see, that the concert going activity of our respondents is rather small, almost nothing. 54.2% of those questioned does not go to concerts. 36.4% of respondents goes to concerts seldom. Respondents in the age between 36 – 56 years go to concerts the most often. If the respondents decide on going to a concert, they go with their friends (52.8%), eventually with members of the family (42.6%). More detailed analysis shows, that people living in dwelling estates visit concerts regularly / monthly.

Table 10. – *Going to concerts / age of respondent – in %*

	-35	36-56	57+	Alltogether
Regular/ month		0,5	1,4	1,9
Several times/ yearly	11,6	25,0	6,0	42,6
seldom	13,4	34,3	5,1	52,8
neither	1,4	1,4		2,8
Together				100

We have also studied respondents' cinema going habits. Altogether 458 respondents have answered this question. 22.3% of respondents belonged to the age category 35 and less years. From the category: 36–56 years of age 61.1% of respondents come from and from the category 57 and more years the rate of respondents was 16.6%. 2.4% of respondents visit the cinema in a monthly regularity. 13.1% of respondents visit cinema several times a year. Almost 37% of respondents visit the cinema usually. The largest percentual representation appeared in case of the alternative “never”, which has the value of 47.6%. 58.4% of the respondents go to the cinema with their family members. The “with friend” alternative has been selected by 37% of the respondents. The proportion of the cinema as well as the concert visit is very small.

Table 11. – *Frequency of going to the cinema – in % of ans.*

Frequency / Cinema	
Regular / monthly	2,4
Several times / yearly	13,1
Seldom	36,9
Never	47,6
Together	100

In the age category of 35 years and less belongs to the 22.2% of respondents. 60.8% of them were from the age group of: 35-56 years. Another 17% represented the 57 and more year olds.

Regularly, in every month, 2.6% of the respondents go to museums or exhibitions. The “several times/yearly” alternative was selected by 15.9% of respondents. The museums and exhibitions are visited by 45.5% of respondents usually. 36% of them do not engage in activities like this. Family or family members are the most often selected partners for museum or exhibition visits. This alternative was selected by 56.4% of respondents. The next highest representation (30.5%), has been achieved by the “with friends” alternative. People living in the old town go to exhibitions with a monthly regularity.

The highest amount of answers have been registred in the “I do not go to any concerts or cinemas” alternative. In case of visits to the museums and exhibitions, the most preferred answer became the “seldom” answer.

We were also asking about other outdoor activities the respondents engage in. The question has been a half-closed one, so the respondents had the possibility to use the “other” alternative also. This alternative have ben selected by 7% of the respondents. The most frequently chosen outdoor activities were going to the beach and swimming pool visits 28.3%. 25% of the respondents have preferred the “Plaza” alternative. The ZOO visit was preferred by 17% of the respondents. 11.8% of the respondents visit the playgrounds. Relatively low representation was given to the amusement park visit – 4.9%, as well as to the botanical garden visit – 4.4%. Table 12. reveals, that in general (regardless of the type of residence), the swimming pool visit is the most preferred activity. The playground as well as the ZOO visit is preferred by citizens living in the dwelling estates. It is possible to state, that the most preferred other outdoor activities are attached to the summer holidays, with going to swimming pools and to the beach.

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Table 12. – *Extra outdoor activities – in % of ans.*

Extra outdoor activity	
Amusement park	4,9
ZOO	17,9
Plaza	25,6
Playground	11,8
Botanical garden	4,4
Beach, swimming pool	28,3
Other	7,1
Together	100

Concerning the frequency of watching TV by the respondent (he/she) and the children, we can see, that they watch TV daily the most often. (82% of respondents and 63% of children). Watching TV sometimes (especially less often) was indicated by 2.4% of respondents and 1% of children. 2% of the adult respondents and 25% of the children do not watch TV.

Table 13. – *Frequency of watching TV – in %*

Frequency of watching TV	adult %	children %
Daily	82	63
More then once	12	9
1 or 2 times per week	2	2
Sometimes	2	1
don't watch TV	2	25
Together	100	100

Citizens (man and women) from the dwelling estates watch TV daily in 33%. To those, who do not watch TV, belongs 1% of the questioned citizens in the dwelling estates. Concerning the children, according to the type of residence, 27% of children from the dwelling estates, blocks of flats watch TV daily. From those who do not watch TV were 10% from the dwelling estates, blocks of flats.

The most frequently reported answer was watching TV for 1-2 hours on one occasion and also the next most frequent answer was watching TV for 2-3 hours. More than 15% of the respondents have reported watching TV for more than 3 hours on one occasion. Children's answers were watching TV 2-3 hours, as well as 1-2 hours on one occasion. 14% of children watch TV 3 and more hours on one occasion.

Table 14. – *Frequency of watching TV on one occasion – in %*

Frequency/ Tv	adult %	child %
1 hour or less	10	10
1–2 hours	40	24
2–3 hours	33	24
More then 3 hours	16	14
Mismatch	1	28
Together	100	100

According to the type of residence, it is possible to define the frequency of watching TV as follows: the most of men and women from the dwelling estates, the blocks of flats have reported to watch TV for one hour or less on one occasion in 3% of the cases, as well as from the old town, block of flats – 2.8%. Respondents from the dwelling estates, blocks of flats watch TV for more than 3 hours daily in 8.1% of the cases. The remaining percentages are: 4.5% from the old town, block of flats, 1.4% from the old town of the family houses, as well as the suburb villages 0.4% and from willa, block of apartments.

5.9% of children from the dwelling estates, blocks of flats watch TV for more than 3 hours daily. The remaining percentages are: 3.2% from the old town, block of flats, 1.8% from the old town - family houses, as well as the suburb villages and 1% from the villa, block of apartments.

The frequency of watching TV on one occasion, in terms of their age highlights that 6.1% of respondents in the age between 36-56 years have reported watching TV for one hour and less. 2.4% in the age of 35 years and less, and 1.3% among 57 and more years old men and women reported the same. Watching TV for more than 3 hours daily was reported by 8.9% of those, who are in the age between 36-56 years, 3.9% in the age of 35 years and less, and 2.6% among 57 and more years old respondents.

Table 15. – *Frequency of watching TV on one occasion / age, in %*

Frequency / Tv / age, in %	1	2	3	Together
1 hour or less	2,4	6,1	1,3	9,7
1 – 2 hours	10,8	24,2	5,0	40,0
2 – 3 hours	6,5	20,8	6,5	33,8
More then 3 hours	2,6	8,9	3,9	15,4
Mismatch	0	0,9	0,2	1,1
Together	22,3	60,8	16,9	100

Notice: Age of respondent: 1 = 35 years and less, 2 = 36–56 years, 3 = 57 and more

79% of the respondents read books and 21% of do not. According to the type of residence 30.4% of respondents from the dwelling estates, blocks of flats read books and 10.1% of these inhabitants do not read books. In case of 20.2% of respondents from old town, block of flats read books and 4.7% do not. Men and women from villa, block of apartments read books in 10.5% and the 2.8% of them do not. The inhabitants of the suburb villages read books in 9.3% and in 1.6% they do not. The old town, family houses are represented, in case of reading the books, in 8.9%.

Analysis of the gestion of reading books according to age groups yielded the result, that those respondents, who belong to the 26-56 years old group category read books in 50.2% of the cases and, together, 10.2% of the respondents of this age category have reported, that they do not read books.

We should state, that people reading books dominate, no matter of the type of living or of the age of the respondents.

Respondents reported on reading journals more often than on reading books: according to the answerst 96% of the respondents read newspapers and only 4% do not. 48% of respondents do not use the Internet. From those, who use it, 18% declared that they use it at work the most often. 14% use the internet both at home and also at work and

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12% of the respondents have reported only the case „at home“ as their answer. The internet coffees are used by 5% of respondents. 2% use the Internet at their friends' or 1% uses it elsewhere. From among those 48%, who do not use the internet, 19.6% live in the dwelling estates, blocks of flats, 11.8% lives in the old town, block of flats, 6.4% in villas, block of apartments and the remaining % consists of the respondents living in suburb villages and in the old town, in family houses.

According to the age of respondents, in the age between 36-56 years, 25.8% do not use the internet, the case is similar for 13.4% of 57 years and older and for 8.6% of those, who belong to the 35 years and less age group.

The Internet is mostly used by the daughters (33%) and sons (32%), then by partners (19%). The others are represented in 12% and the woman partner in 3%. The grandparents use the internet the least – 1%.

6. Tradition and modernity in the lifestyle of families

Anna Križanová – Mária Pešeková

6.1. Value Orientation of Respondents

A value system represents values that a person respects, and that attracts him/her. These are organised among each other in a certain way, thus they are not arbitrary groupings, but they represent a certain system. The development of values and the value system and its influence is, in case of every normal person, a difficult psychological process that is usually called the value orientation. Through the value orientation we can have a deeper look at the motives and goals of human effort, understand attitudes, interests, and the direction of activities, as well as what fills one's life, one's life experience. The system of values is innate to every human being, regardless of whether he/she is aware of it, or not. It is a relatively consistent unit, but at the same time, a dynamic one. It develops throughout the entire life, and as a consequence, it has a different form in a young person and a different form in the autumn of one's life. At the same time it is determined by the social environment of a person, and it significantly reflects even such characteristics as sex, age, world view, and the level of mental and social maturity. In a so broadly formulated research like this one, it is possible to grasp only substantial characteristics of the value system and the value orientation of the studied population. However, if we leave out the examination of this area, we would significantly deprive our knowledge and we would not be able to interpret some phenomena being studied. When characterising the selection set it is necessary to stress its important aspect, i.e. that up to 90% of respondents are women, what has been definitely translated into the value orientation.

In the first place we will introduce basic values that are necessary for the life according to our respondents. A respondent assessed the importance of 10 values on a scale from 1 – the least important – to 7 – the most important value.

Table 6.1.1. – *The order of the importance of values in a person's life based on their necessity. (the data are given in %)*

Importance from 1 to 7 (1 = the least important, 7 = the most important, it is impossible to live without this).

Value	Importance						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. family	4,0	0,4	0,6	1,8	1,2	10,5	81,4
2. peacefulness	4,3	1,8	2,8	8,7	9,5	18,0	54,9
3. freedom	5,7	1,2	3,0	9,3	11,3	19,2	50,2
4. luck	4,7	1,8	2,8	12,6	12,6	12,6	43,7
5. work	3,6	2,6	3,4	9,7	15,8	22,5	42,3
6. idea, belief	6,5	5,5	7,9	23,5	19,4	14,8	22,5

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7. appreciation	4,3	5,1	9,7	20,9	24,1	20,4	15,6
8. sensual pleasure	8,7	5,1	9,9	31,0	20,2	15,2	9,9
9. making fortune	9,1	8,5	16,6	29,1	16,6	11,9	8,1
10. providence (God)	36,4	15,0	11,5	22,3	6,9	4,3	3,6

As it is shown in the table, up to 81.4% of respondents consider the family to be the highest value, and according to them it is impossible to live without it. Other positions were taken up, with a significant set back, by the following values, such as the peacefulness, freedom, luck. From the assessed values respondents stated the providence as the least important

6.1.2. Views on the dominant life values

We asked the respondents how they would characterise the overall value system of their families. A significant majority, 290 (58%) were inclined to the characteristic that it is rather traditional, 88 (17.8%) respondents labelled it as traditional, 107 (21.7%) finds it rather modern, and only 9 (1.8%) people labelled it as modern.

When collecting opinions on the dominant life values a set of 20 values was submitted to the respondents. They were asked to select five of them which they consider to be the most important in their lives. We provide the order of values as it was stated by the respondents. The data are given in %. The first information represents the whole set. Letter T is given to the assessments of those respondents who find their value systems to be traditional, and letter M is given to the assessments of those respondents who find their value systems to be modern. This second degree analysis has shown major differences in certain values.

Table 6.1.2. – *Life Values According to Their Importance. /a respondent could select five/*

1. to have a good physical and mental health	79,14	T 78,57	M 81,03
2. to have a job that you enjoy, and where you can use all your abilities	57,48	T 55,82	M 62,93
3. to have children	55,26	T 54,76	M 56,89
4. to be straightforward and honest	41,90	T 42,59	M 39,65
5. to live a virtuous and moral life	36,03	T 38,62	M 27,58
6. to be married, to have a partner	31,57	T 33,06	M 26,72
7. to cherish cousinship intensively	29,75	T 28,30	M 35,34
8. to reach internal harmony	28,13	T 25,66	M 36,20
9. to be free, and independent	25,70	T 26,19	M 24,13
10. to have intensive friendships	21,25	T 21,16	M 21,55
11. to have tolerance	20,04	T 20,89	M 17,24
12. to live a high quality life style (car, resaurant, travelling, quality clothes)	19,83	T 19,04	M 22,41
13. to have a job that can assure you financially over-standard	14,97	T 14,02	M 18,10

14. to have a possibility to travel and to get to know the world	12,34	T 11,11	M 16,37
15. to live in concord with the religious principles of belief	9,51	T 10,84	M 5,17
16. to have property and money	8,50	T 8,46	M 8,62
17. to have a possibility for life-long learning	7,08	T 7,14	M 6,89
18. to have enough leisure time	6,88	T 6,87	M 6,89
19. to love your own country	6,47	T 7,67	M 2,58
20. to build a career	5,87	T 6,08	M 5,17

As shown, the value of good physical and mental health is on the first place with a significant superiority. The job where I can use my abilities and to have children ranked second and third, having approximately the same scores. The value to build a career ranked last. It is the result of predominantly female population in the set because males would definitely give a different meaning to the career. There are quite significant differences in case of some values based on the overall label of the value system.

The most significant differentiations between the traditional and the modern value system are related to these values:

– to have a job that you enjoy, and where you can use all your abilities	T 55,82	M 62,93
– to live a virtuous and moral life	T 38,62	M 27,58
– to be married, to have a partner	T 33,06	M 26,72
– to cherish cousinship intensively	T 28,30	M 35,34
– to reach internal harmony	T 25,66	M 36,20
– to live in concord with the religious principles of belief	T 10,84	M 5,17
– to love your own country	T 7,67	M 2,58

6.2. Relationship characteristics

6.2.1 Views on the importance of forces that keep a marriage together

In the past in a traditional society a family was founded by getting married and having children. The marriage was seen as impossible to split. With society's modernisation the number of divorces gradually increased as forms of marriage endings. In the present society less and less marriages are contracted. We were interested in what keeps a marriage together according to our respondents.

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Table 6.2.1. – *Statements that are considerations that can serve as forces that can keep a marriage together*

Statement	Important		Less important		Not important		Missing	
	Frequency %		Frequency %		Frequency %		Frequency %	
There is someone you can rely on when there are problems in the outside world.	304	61,5	75	15,2	3	0,6	112	22,7
There is someone who takes care of subsistence.	145	29,4	192	38,9	12	2,4	145	29,4
There is someone who looks after the family.	248	50,2	91	18,4	4	0,8	151	30,6
There is someone together with whom you can create the conditions for life.	252	51,0	99	20,0	3	0,6	140	28,3
There is an emotional partner.	128	25,9	192	38,9	19	3,8	155	31,4
There is an intellectual partner.	59	11,9	227	46,0	32	6,5	176	35,4
There is someone who is a true father (mother) of the children	215	43,5	85	17,2	19	3,8	175	35,4

Most of all it is necessary to stress that one third of respondents did not answer this question. It would be interesting to find out why because it is not an intimate question. We actually asked for their definitions of a firm marriage. They could not define it or they did not want to?

The respondents have chosen 4 pillars of marriage; a reliable person in case of problems in the outside world, looking after the family, taking care of subsistence, and a partner in creating conditions for life, and the fatherhood and motherhood ranked only after these.

We asked the respondents what they missed most of all in the relationships with other people. It is comforting that more than one third of respondents (37%) do not miss anything from the things mentioned; 18% miss respect and appreciation from others. Other 13% miss from others attention and carefulness, 10% miss love, and the same number of respondents state that they have to help themselves.

6.3. Prejudice

A prejudice is a model of hostility in interpersonal relationships that is pointed against the whole group or against its individual members. We tried to measure prejudice against members of various groups. We asked the respondents what they would do if their child married or lived permanently with its member.

Table 6.3.1. – *What would be your attitude if your child would marry or live permanently together with a ...*

	accept	refuse	do not care
1. Person who has lower qualifications than your child?	73,1	4,7	22,3
2. Physical worker?	77,5	2,2	20,2
3. Intellectual?	67,4	20,2	27,5
4. Leftist person?	47,2	6,7	46,2
5. Rightist person?	5,7	6,9	47,4
6. Person who is much older than your child?	32,0	37,9	30,1
7. Person who is much younger than your child?	31,1	38,9	30,0
8. Romany person?	17,6	57,9	24,5
9. Serbian?	34,2	29,1	32,6
10. Arabic?	25,1	43,9	31,0
11. Chinese?	29,1	36,4	34,5
12. Russian?	40,1	24,5	35,4
13. Jewish?	39,1	28,3	32,6
14. Partner of the same sex?	19,4	59,1	21,5
15. Prostitute	5,3	77,7	17,0
16. another religion	57,1	8,3	34,6
17. no religion	57,5	7,3	35,2

The highest degree of refusal has been recorded against persons who make their living through prostitution, up to 77,7% would refuse them. Homosexual partners would be refused on the second (59,1%), and Romany partners on the third place (57,9%). Partners of inappropriate age have also been significantly refused (37,9% a 38,9%). Surprisingly religious tolerance has been found. Also, quite a significant degree of refusal against the Arabic (43,9%) and the Chinese (36,4%) has been found. Political opinions have not been a source of refusal.

7. Socio-economic situation of families

Rastislav Bednárík

The average income of Nitra families in 2005, as surveyed here, oscillated between 11,900 to 27,600 SKK, with the average income per single family member being 6,460 SKK (between 3,920 SKK to 8,980 SKK within the standard deviation). These data are slightly more favorable than the data for all Slovakia, which is partly due to the slightly higher percentage of respondents with secondary and university-level education in the selected sample.

Approximately 48.4% of households are regularly saving, and 45.3% households are indebted. A more distinct inclination towards saving is reported with university-educated respondents. Families with children have reportedly higher indebtedness than childless families.

Subjective assessment of family's financial situation in the last 3 years is moderately critical, with 21.3% respondents considering their situation improved, 38.4% unchanged and 31.9% worse. Families with more children and elementary-educated respondents report a more critical attitude towards their financial situation.

As for housing, most inhabitants live in flats of 51 – 80 m² (incidence 35.8%). The average population of a flat is 3.31 people. The average number of rooms per single flat is 3.05. 5.9% live in 1-room flats, 21.3% in 2-room flats %, 38.5% in 3-room flats, 16.8% in 4-room flats and 14.8% of families live in 5 and more room flats. As much as 84.8% of houses and flats is owned by their inhabitants.

Almost 100% of flats has a bathroom, toilet and kitchen, 62% of flats have a larder, 31% a dinning-room, 26.7% of flats (houses) has a veranda, 64.4% a cellar, 29.8% a garage or a workshop; 6.7% of households have a weight-lifting room and 3.6% of houses have a pool. 41.9% of families own a pleasure garden, 9.5% owns farming animals (as opposed to 44.4% of families in suburban municipalities), 22.5% a kitchen garden (as opposed to 63.0% of families in suburban municipalities) and 19.8% owns domestic animals (as opposed to 51.9% of families in suburban municipalities).

As for the housing infrastructure, water is supplied from public network (94.5%), sewerage by the public sewerage system 87% (as opposed to 46.3% houses in suburban municipalities with their own cesspits) and heating, in particular, gas heating (49.4%) and central heating (36.8%).

The Nitra families own mechanical household aids – automatic washing machine (84.6%), vacuum cleaner (93.1%), refrigerator (94.5%), freezer (83.6%), microwave oven (80%); a dishwasher is owned only by 10.1% households. Ownership of transport means is as follows: 65.4% personal car, bicycle 77.9%; however, a motorcycle is owned only by 8.3% of households. In terms of telecommunications, 88.7% of families owns a mobile phone, 60.5% of households has a fixed line telephone, and 30.2% of households has an Internet connection. 60.3% of families has a desktop PC and 12.6 of families has a notebook. 16.2% respondents reports ownership of a recreational second house (coach house or a cottage).

IV. Theoretical Conclusion – Analysis and characteristics of the process of changes in contemporary family

Peter Ondrejko

Family constitutes the fundamental element of the social structure and its dominant functions include reproduction of the humankind, economy, the upbringing of the progeny, transfer of cultural patterns and continuation of cultural development. As a transformer between the life of its members and society-at-large, family is a sum and intersection of both intimate and social relationship, this bearing on almost all realms of human existence. This is reflected in the research project and, further, in the broad spectrum of areas that characterize family.

All aspects of the life of contemporary family in the Slovak Republic have been, for some time, undergoing significant changes. Such changes are not addressed, on one hand, as conducive to progress, positive developments, evolution and the like, or, for that matter, in terms of crisis, regression, stagnation or even pathological development. The main reason is that the Slovak research, educational, political, legal social or other institutions have as yet no adequate quantity of relevant and comprehensive data. Another reason is that the very issue of setting criteria for possible evaluation of contemporary family is still largely open. The processes of change can be characterized on social and structural level (demographic trends, changes in education and labour, the course of human life as the institution of change, the growing economic standard and its differentiation, general tendencies of liberalization, changes in the self-assessment of woman, changes in labor, education and such like). Concluding the research, the development of Slovak family in the last decade has, arguably, been combining historical continuity with significant changes. Young families, too, are dominated by a mixture of traditional and postmodern attitudes to values and forms of life. The research has confirmed the initial conceptual hypothesis that the life of the Slovak family occupies the middle ground between continuity and change, i.e. a quality, whose individual aspects and attributes can be first empirically identified and verified and then evaluated. The research fellows argue that what we currently see are the first signals of the new upsurge of a propensity to marriage, and the fading out of negative population growth, a demographic behavior that is devoid of patriarchal residues, a virtual integration of love, spousal cohabitation and sexuality, in addition to a greater mutual tolerance, friendship and support, the re-gaining of life's energies, relaxation of daily stress, "breaking away" from the dictate of competition, and even economic partnership. The empirical data witness a declining number of permanently single men and women, and, on the level of general values, indicate the high position of family life, in particular, with young people.

Concurrently yet, the existing differences between countries and nations involved in the research (Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia) are undeniable, mainly in family policy; nevertheless, these differences do not concern three major characteristics that show that the contemporary family can be characterized as follows:

1. greater dependency on the state,
2. greater independence from the circle of relatives,
3. greater independence of spouses from family

Further, it can be concluded that the sociological aspects of family research, in addition to orientation towards marriage and having children and nuclear family roles, involve the rise of entirely new, attributive roles that largely conditioned by the conclusion of marriage. These roles extend over the entire life of a person, and even beyond, surviving separation or death of one partner. (such as the wife's mother becoming a mother-in-law, sister or brother becoming sister-in-law or brother-in-law, respectively and the like).

Thus, we arrive at the following pattern of changes and the possible division of family's lifestyles:

- **Conjugal family.** By substantial measure, the majority of children in Slovak grow up, as previously, with their own parents and in a married family. It is estimated that, currently, approx. 85 % of children and families live this way. The current divorce rate has had a zero growth rate, and, in our estimate, more than $\frac{3}{4}$ of children remain free from divorce or parental separation at least before reaching their age of 18. Special attention should be paid to the attitude of men towards establishing families and the issue of fatherhood that has been – with minor exceptions – slowly disappearing from our focus. Importance should be attached to one of the most recent findings that men in independent and free-lance professions have a significantly lower propensity to marry and become fathers as compared to workers, employees and technical and economic staff.

- **Extramarital cohabitation with children.** The number of families with children living outside of official marriage has increased in the last decade; nevertheless, its percentage is still negligible compared to the majority of developed European countries (estimated approx. 0.5%). Some unmarried parents ultimately decide to enter marriage after their first child is born. Specific and more detailed data on these developments in Slovakia are as yet absent.

- **Single parent families.** The number of families with only one parent taking care of the child has increased considerably, regardless of reasons (failure to provide parental duties, separated lives, death of a parent, prison sentence and the like), which we consider only secondary for the purposes of this research. Many parents, particularly women, have experienced at least temporary or short-term single parent care of their child(ren). Considerable percentage of single parent families (estimated approx. 10%) have absolutely no contact with the other parent.

- **Step-children families (of at least one parent) and "Continuation Families" (with marriage entered into after death of one parent or divorce).** A number of minor children has no kinship with their social parents. For a variety of reasons, no biological kinship exists between children and parents in such families. A certain percentage (approx. 6%) is able to experience this, at least temporarily, in their lifetime.

- **Number of children in family.** Even though, overall, the average number of children in family has declined, most children still grow up having either a brother or a sister. The number of single child families has increased. In macrosociological terms, the decline of fertility equals net reproduction of population.

- **Relationships between generations.** As a result of longer average life and having less children in a family, today's people tend to have more vertical than horizontal familial relationships, which means that the life in a family includes increasingly more generations and less members of the same generation. Thus, members of several generations (as much as four) often happen to live concurrently (in various families). The family in which care

is provided to parents and children (or even grandchildren) is referred to as representing “sandwichgeneration”.

For the latest developments, the thesis of “isolated nuclear family” appears to be arguably untenable. Although some older people live in nursery homes, due to the increased demands on intimacy in family, two- or even three-generation families sharing a household are not infrequent. However, the monitored statistical data in Slovakia are unsuitable for mapping the said phenomenon; they may be misleading and invalid, as they are reporting on a different reality, they cannot be relied upon. These data do not refer to any quality or quantity of inter-generational relationships.

The most significant family change does not lay in pluralization of the forms and manners of familial life; rather, it rests in the changed orientation towards partnership as a benchmark within familial relationships.

III. Tradition and modernity: a comparative trans-national analysis

Klára Tarkó – Zsuzsanna Benkő – László Lippai – Katalin Erdei

Since the title of our international research is “Tradition and Modernity in the Lifestyle of the Families of the Visegrád Countries”, the comparative analysis of the countries concerned shall be limited to grasping the problem area of tradition and modernity. Other conclusions which may follow from reading the individual national chapters (Chapter II) shall be drawn by the expert reader.

The international research consortium held a 1.5-day workshop to agree upon the indicator variables which, according to their experiences and theoretical knowledge, would allow to capture objectively the presence of tradition and modernity in the lifestyle areas subject to study in all four countries. In the following chapters, we shall present the objective indicators obtained this way, and compare them with the subjective indicators generated on the basis of the self-reporting of the respondents.

1. Nutrition habits

The indicators of traditional nutrition include the following elements: favourite vegetables include potato, cabbage and green peas; favourite fruits include apple, redcurrant and strawberry; drinks tap water; meat consumption predominated by pork; product choice governed by tradition and family habits. We counted the number of indicators identified above indicated by our respondents (Table 1.).

Table 1. – *Traditional nutrition habits of families in terms of the objective indicators (as % of the national sample)*

Nutrition – objective – traditional	Hungary n=453	Poland n=500	Czech Republic n=510	Slovakia n=492	Total N=1955
0	0,4	2,4	0,4	0,6	1,0
1	5,3	9,6	3,1	6,5	6,1
2	10,4	18,6	8,2	10,6	12,0
3	14,3	25,2	15,3	15,0	17,5
4	19,4	19,6	21,0	22,0	20,5
5	19,4	12,4	18,8	16,7	16,8
6	14,8	7,0	12,0	13,4	11,7
7	11,5	4,6	13,5	9,8	9,8
8	4,4	0,6	7,6	5,5	4,6
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

If 5-8 of the traditional nutrition indicators were chosen, the nutrition of the family/household was labelled “explicitly traditional”; if 1-4 were chosen, it was labelled

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“moderately traditional” and if 0 were chosen, “non-traditional”. The following results were obtained by country (Table 2.).

Table 2. – *Objective 3-category tradition indicator of nutrition habits, by country (%)*

	Hungarian n=453	Polish n=500	Czech n=510	Slovakian n=492	Total N=1955
Non-traditional	0,4	2,4	0,4	0,6	1,0
Moderately traditional	49,4	73,0	47,6	54,1	56,2
Explicitly traditional	50,1	24,6	52,0	45,3	42,9
Total	100	100	100	100	100

The following choices were considered to be indicators of modern nutrition habits: favourite vegetables including asparagus, zucchini and aubergine; favourite fruits including banana, orange, and pineapple; drinks mineral water; meat consumption predominated by turkey meat; product choice governed by advertisement. The choices of the respondents were counted, and yielded the following results (Table 3.).

Table 3. – *Modern nutrition habits of families in terms of objective indicators (as % of national sample)*

Nutrition – objective – modern	Hungary n=456	Poland n=500	Czech Republic n=520	Slovakia n=494	Total N=1970
0	2,9	12,6	5,8	5,3	6,7
1	8,8	24,2	14,2	18,2	16,5
2	18,6	25,4	22,5	19,4	21,6
3	17,3	21,2	23,1	21,3	20,8
4	21,7	10,0	19,6	17,6	17,2
5	14,9	4,8	9,6	10,3	9,8
6	9,2	1,0	3,5	4,9	4,5
7	5,3	0,8	1,3	2,2	2,3
8	1,3	0,0	0,4	0,8	0,6
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

For the purpose of the study, we aggregated our data. Those choosing 5-8 elements of the modern nutrition indicators were labelled “explicitly modern”, those choosing 1-4 “moderately modern”, and those choosing none (0) “non-modern” (Table 4.).

Table 4. – *Objective 3-category modernity indicator of nutrition habits, by country (%)*

	Hungarian n=456	Polish n=500	Czech n=520	Slovakian n=494	Total N=1970
Non-modern	2,9	12,6	5,8	5,3	6,7
Moderately modern	66,4	80,8	79,4	76,5	76,0
Explicitly modern	30,7	6,6	14,8	18,2	17,3
Total	100	100	100	100	100

A new complex indicator embodying nine categories was created by combining the 3-category tradition/modernity indicators (Table 5.). The last two lines of the table show the aggregates for values indicated with the qualifiers “moderately”, “explicitly” and “typically”, which are called, summarily, “traditional” and “modern”, respectively.

Table 5. – *Values generated from the combination of objective tradition/modernity indicators for nutrition habits, by country and for the 4 countries together (%)*

Objective categories nutrition habits	Hungarian n=452	Polish n=500	Czech n=510	Slovakian n=492	Total N=1954
Explicitly traditional	0,7	1,2	2,0	1,2	1,3
Typically traditional	31,0	19,2	39,4	29,7	29,8
Moderately traditional	2,2	10,4	3,7	4,1	5,2
Explicitly modern	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0
Typically modern	12,2	2,4	3,1	3,9	5,2
Moderately modern	0,4	1,4	0,2	0,6	0,7
Neither traditional, nor modern	0,0	1,0	0,2	0,0	0,3
Non-typical	35,2	60,2	40,8	46,1	45,8
Bipolar	18,4	4,2	10,6	14,4	11,7
Total	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Traditional</i>	33,9	30,8	45,1	35,0	36,3
<i>Modern</i>	12,6	3,8	3,3	4,5	5,9

According to the objective indicator, the Czech sample shows the most traditional nutrition habits (45,1%), followed by the Slovakian (35,0%), the Hungarian (33,9%), and finally the Polish sample (30,8%). Tradition is clearly predominant both in the entire international sample and in every country. The non-typical value, i.e. the identical but not significant, choice of traditional and modern elements, is highest for the Polish sample (60,2%). The bipolar choice, i.e. the identical and frequent selection of traditional and modern indicators, was conspicuous in the Hungarian sample (18,4%).

At our request, the respondent families did self-reporting, too, on their nutrition habits. The relevant results are shown by country in Table 6.

Table 6. – *Family nutrition habits in terms of subjective indicators (as % of the national sample)*

Family nutrition – subjective	Hungary n=457	Poland n=495	Czech Republic n=520	Slovakia n=494	Total N=1966
Traditional	62,4	74,7	60,0	75,1	68,1
Modern	37,6	25,3	40,0	24,9	31,9
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

In terms of the subjective indicator, too, the lead role is taken in every case by nutrition qualified as “traditional”. According to the subjective ranking, Slovakia comes first (75,1%), Poland second (74,7%), Hungary third (62,4%), and the Czech Republic fourth (60,0%). As it can be seen, the above objective ranking based on the degree of the

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presence of “traditional” features is altered if self-reporting by the respondents is taken as a basis.

Table 7. – *Distribution of values generated by the combination of objective tradition and modernity indicators for nutrition habits, in terms of subjective indicators, by country and for the 4 countries together (%)*

Objective categories nutrition habits	Hungarian n=451		Polish n=495		Czech n=510		Slovakian n=492		Total N=1954	
	Traditional or modern according to the subjective indicator (%)									
	T	M	T	M	T	M	T	M	T	M
Traditional	42,1	20,5	34,6	20,0	51,8	35,1	39,6	20,7	41,6	25,2
Modern	7,9	20,5	2,7	7,2	0,7	7,3	3,8	6,6	3,6	10,8
Neither traditional, nor modern	0,0	0,0	0,5	0,8	0,0	0,5	0,0	0,0	0,2	0,3
Non- typical	32,9	39,2	58,4	66,4	36,4	47,3	44,5	51,2	44,0	49,7
Bipolar	17,1	19,9	3,8	5,6	11,1	9,8	12,1	21,5	10,6	14,0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

41.6% of those who described their own nutrition habits as “traditional” in the total international sample were assigned to the “traditional” category in terms of the objective indicator as well, and 10.8% of those declaring themselves “modern” to the objective “modern” category. Within the total international sample, the nutrition habits of 28.3% were “traditional”, and those of 3.4% were “modern” in terms of both the objective and the subjective indicator, i.e. the self-reporting of around 1/3 in the total sample was correct. Broken down by country, the relevant nutrition habit values were the following: 42.1% of those declaring themselves “traditional” in the Hungarian sample, 34.6% in the Polish sample, 51.8% in the Czech sample, and 39.6% in the Slovakian sample proved to be “traditional” according to the objective classification, too. Among those claiming to be “modern”, 20.5% in the Hungarian sample, 7.2% in the Polish sample, 7.3% in the Czech sample, and 6.6% in the Slovakian sample were “modern” according to the objective rating, too. 34% of the Hungarian sample (T: 26.2%; M: 7.8%), 27.7% of the Polish sample (T: 25.9%; M: 1.8%), 33.9% of the Czech sample (T: 31.0%; M: 2.9%), and 31.5% of the Slovakian sample (T: 29.9%; M: 1.6%) proved to be consistent in the case of nutrition habits of the family, so the rate of around 1/3 across the total sample persisted, particularly in the Hungarian sample.

2. Free time habits

In terms of the objective indicators, the free time habits of respondents were considered to be “traditional” if their choices included the following: no physical exercise; typical free-time activity: needlework, conversation, visiting others, entertaining, dating, and reading; going on holidays (at home or abroad) with family members. On the basis of

their choices from 7 indicators, the respondents received scores of 0-7 along the objective indicator of tradition (Table 8.).

Table 8. – *Traditional free time activities of families in terms of objective indicators (as % of the national sample)*

Free time – objective – traditional	Hungary n=458	Poland n=500	Czech Republic n=520	Slovakia n=494	Total N=1972
0	3,9	1,2	6,7	5,5	4,4
1	19,7	16,6	19,6	16,8	18,2
2	36,5	29,8	33,8	30,4	32,6
3	26,4	30,6	21,5	29,4	26,9
4	10,7	16,6	13,7	14,2	13,8
5	2,8	5,2	3,7	3,2	3,8
6	0,0	0,0	1,0	0,6	0,4
7	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

The resulting values were aggregated, and the following labels were used: choice of 4-6 elements of the traditional free time habits: “explicitly traditional”; choice of 1-3 elements: “moderately traditional”; choice of 0 elements: “non-traditional”. The distribution of the relevant results by country is shown in Table 9.

Table 9. – *Objective 3-category tradition indicator of free time habits, by country (%)*

	Hungarian n=458	Polish n=500	Czech n=520	Slovakian n=494	Total N=1972
Non-traditional	3,9	1,2	6,7	5,5	4,4
Moderately traditional	82,5	77,0	75,0	76,5	77,6
Explicitly traditional	13,5	21,8	18,3	18,0	18,0
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Our objective modernity indicator was based on the following choices: active engagement in physical exercise; typical free time activities: fitness programmes, watching TV, and visiting venues of entertainment (discos, pubs, and restaurant); and holidays (at home or abroad) with friends. The distribution of the relevant scores of 0-7 is shown in Table 10.

Table 10. – *Modern free time habits of families, in terms of objective indicators (as % of the national sample)*

Free time – objective – modern	Hungary n=458	Poland n=500	Czech Republic n=520	Slovakia n=494	Total N=1972
0	9,4	38,2	7,7	13,2	17,2
1	42,4	43,0	38,8	49,0	43,3
2	31,0	17,0	34,4	24,3	26,7
3	11,1	1,8	11,9	9,1	8,5

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4	4,1	0,0	6,2	3,6	3,5
5	1,7	0,0	1,0	0,4	0,8
6	0,2	0,0	0,0	0,4	0,2
7	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

In order to aggregate our data, the response categories were grouped once again: the choice by respondents of 4-7 elements from among the indicators of modern free time habits was labelled “explicitly modern”, the choice of 1-3 of the same was called “moderately modern”, and the choice of 0 elements was marked as “non-modern”. Our results are shown in Table 11.

Table 11. – *Objective 3-category modernity indicator of free time habits, by country (%)*

	Hungarian n=458	Polish n=500	Czech n=520	Slovakian n=494	Total N=1972
Non-modern	9,4	38,2	7,7	13,2	17,2
Moderately modern	84,5	61,8	85,2	82,4	78,4
Explicitly modern	6,1	0,0	7,1	4,5	4,4
Total	100	100	100	100	100

The results in Table 12. were generated by combining the objective tradition and modernity indicators. The last two lines of the table show the aggregates for values indicated with the qualifiers “moderately”, “explicitly” and “typically”, which are called, summarily, “traditional” and “modern”, respectively.

Table 12. – *Values generated by the combination of objective and subjective modernity indicators for free time habits, by country and for the 4 countries together (%)*

Categories Free time habits	Hungarian n=458	Polish n=500	Czech n=520	Slovakian n=494	Total N=1972
Explicitly traditional	2,4	5,2	2,3	3,4	3,3
Typically traditional	10,5	16,6	15,2	13,6	14,0
Moderately traditional	7,0	32,4	5,4	9,7	13,7
Explicitly modern	0,7	0,0	1,3	0,8	0,7
Typically modern	4,8	0,0	5,0	2,6	3,1
Moderately modern	3,3	0,6	5,4	4,7	3,5
Neither traditional, nor modern	0,0	0,6	0,0	0,0	0,1
Non-typical	70,7	44,6	64,6	64,2	60,9
Bipolar	0,7	0,0	0,8	1,0	0,6
Total	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Traditional</i>	<i>19,9</i>	<i>54,2</i>	<i>22,9</i>	<i>26,7</i>	<i>31,0</i>
<i>Modern</i>	<i>8,8</i>	<i>0,6</i>	<i>11,7</i>	<i>8,1</i>	<i>7,3</i>

The objective indicator of family free time habits clearly shows the predominance of tradition. The relevant rate is highest for Poland (54,2%), and it is 23,2% points higher

than the value referring to the total international sample. The second highest value, well behind Poland's, is that of the Slovakian sample (26,7%), followed by the Czech (22,9%), and the Hungarian (19,9%) values. The rate of the non-typical category stood out for the Hungarian sample (70,7%).

Table 13. shows the results of the respondents' self-reporting on their own free time habits.

Table 13. – *Family free time habits in terms of subjective indicators* (as % of the national sample)

Family free time habits – subjective	Hungary n=458	Poland n=497	Czech Republic n=519	Slovakia n=494	Total N=1968
Traditional	73,4	73,0	64,7	76,9	71,9
Modern	26,6	27,0	35,3	23,1	28,1
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Tradition prevails according to the subjective indicator, too. Its value is highest for Slovaks (76,9%), followed closely by the Hungarian (73,4%), and the Polish (73,0%) respondents. The data for the Czech sample come last (64,7%). Consequently, the ranking order of the predominance of tradition is altered here, too, as compared to the values obtained for the objective indicator.

Table 14. – *Distribution of the values generated by the combination of objective tradition and modernity indicators for family free time habits in terms of the subjective indicator, by country and for the 4 countries together (%)*

Objective categories Free time habits	Hungarian n=458		Polish n=497		Czech n=510		Slovakian n=494		Total N=1968	
	Traditional or modern according to the subjective indicator									
	T	M	T	M	T	M	T	M	T	M
Traditional	22,6	12,3	57,0	47,0	28,6	13,1	28,7	20,2	34,5	22,6
Modern	8,3	9,8	0,3	1,5	11,9	10,9	6,1	14,9	6,5	9,2
Neither traditional, nor modern	0,0	0,0	0,3	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,1	0,0
Non-typical	69,0	75,4	42,4	51,5	58,9	74,9	64,5	63,2	58,6	66,9
Bipolar	0,0	2,5	0,0	0,0	0,6	1,1	0,8	1,8	0,4	1,3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

As for free time habits, 34,5% of those declaring themselves "traditional" within the entire international sample proved to be "traditional" according to the objective indicator, too, and 9,2% of those declaring themselves "modern" proved to be "modern" objectively, too. In other words, the self-categorisation of 27,4% of the total international sample (T: 24,8%; M: 2,6%), i.e. somewhat less than one third of it, proved to be correct. At the level of the respective national samples, our data showed the following picture: From among those who classified their own free time habits as "traditional", 22,6% in Hungary, 57,0% in Poland, 28,6% in the Czech Republic, and 28,7% in Slovakia were

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assigned to the “traditional” category on the basis of the objective indicator as well. The corresponding rates for the subjective modernity indicator were the following: 9.8% in the Hungarian sample, 1.5% in the Polish one, 10.9% in the Czech one, and 14.9% in the Slovakian one turned out to be “modern” in the classification based on the objective indicator as well. This means that 19.2% of the Hungarian sample (T: 16,6%; M: 2,6%), 42.0% of the Polish sample (T: 41,6%; M: 0,4%), 22.4% of the Czech sample (T: 18,5%; M: 3,9%), and 25.5% of the Slovakian sample (T: 22,1%; M: 3,4%) classified the free time habits of their families consistently. The classification was most successful for the Polish sample, and least so for the Hungarian one.

3. Family habits

Family habits were classified as “traditional” objectively with the help of the following indicators: respondent helps in housework/household work in the parents’ home; gives presents on birthdays; flowers are the typical present; respondent generally does shopping in the market; the place of shopping is determined by customs/by being used to it. These 5 indicators showed us the extent of the traditional nature of the family habits, with possible scores of 0-5 (Table 15.).

Table 15. – *Traditional family habits in terms of objective indicators* (as % of the national sample)

Habits – objective - traditional	Hungary n=458	Poland n=500	Czech Republic n=520	Slovakia n=494	Total N=1972
0	0,2	15,0	0,0	0,8	4,1
1	9,4	39,6	15,2	17,0	20,5
2	29,0	31,2	36,2	36,4	33,3
3	40,6	11,4	36,2	32,2	29,9
4	16,2	2,6	10,8	11,1	10,0
5	4,6	0,2	1,7	2,4	2,2
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

The data were aggregated as follows: respondents choosing 3-5 elements of the indicators of traditional family habits: “explicitly traditional”; those choosing 1-2 elements: “moderately traditional”, those choosing 0: “non-traditional” (Table 16.).

Table 16. – *Objective 3-category tradition indicator of family habits (%)*

	Hungarian n=458	Polish n=500	Czech n=520	Slovakian n=494	Total N=1972
Non-traditional	0,2	15,0	0,0	0,8	4,1
Moderately traditional	38,4	70,8	51,3	53,4	53,8
Explicitly traditional	61,4	14,2	48,7	45,7	42,1
Total	100	100	100	100	100

The objective modernity indicator of family habits was generated on the basis of the following factors: supports parents with money; gives presents on Valentine’s Day; typically gives gift vouchers as present; generally does shopping in big supermarkets; the

shopping location is determined by the range of products being offered. Indicator values: 0-5 (Table 17.).

Table 17. – *Modern family habits in terms of objective indicators* (as % of the national sample)

Habits – objective – modern	Hungary n=458	Poland n=500	Czech Republic n=520	Slovakia n=494	Total N=1972
0	6,3	47,8	22,3	11,5	22,4
1	20,1	35,4	32,5	26,5	28,9
2	45,9	11,4	35,0	27,9	29,8
3	23,8	4,8	9,6	24,3	15,4
4	3,1	0,6	0,6	8,9	3,2
5	0,9	0,0	0,0	0,8	0,4
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

The values in the above table were aggregated: respondents selecting 3-5 elements of the modern family habits were assigned to the category of “explicitly modern”, those marking 1-2 element were categorised as “moderately modern”, and those choosing 0 elements went into the “non-modern” category (Table 18.).

Table 18. – *Objective 3-category modernity indicator of family habits (%)*

	Hungarian n=458	Polish n=500	Czech n=520	Slovakian n=494	Total N=1972
Non-modern	6,3	47,8	22,3	11,5	22,4
Moderately modern	65,9	46,8	67,5	54,5	58,6
Explicitly modern	27,7	5,4	10,2	34,0	19,0
Total	100	100	100	100	100

The results in Table 19. were generated by combining the objective tradition and modernity indicators. The last two lines of the table show the aggregates for values indicated with the qualifiers “moderately”, “explicitly” and “typically”, which are called, summarily, “traditional” and “modern”, respectively.

Table 19. – *Values generated by the combination of objective tradition and modernity indicators of family habits, by country and for the 4 countries together (%)*

Categories family habits	Hungarian n=458	Polish n=500	Czech n=520	Slovakian n=494	Total N=1972
Explicitly traditional	2,8	6,4	10,6	5,5	6,4
Typically traditional	40,6	7,4	34,2	22,3	25,9
Moderately traditional	3,5	32,4	11,7	5,7	13,5
Explicitly modern	0,0	0,4	0,0	0,2	0,2
Typically modern	9,8	4,6	6,3	15,8	9,1
Moderately modern	0,2	5,6	0,0	0,2	1,5
Neither traditional, nor modern	0,0	9,0	0,0	0,4	2,4
Non-typical	25,1	33,8	33,3	32,0	31,2

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Bipolar	17,9	0,4	3,8	18,0	9,8
Total	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Traditional</i>	46,9	46,2	56,5	33,5	45,8
<i>Modern</i>	10,0	10,6	6,3	16,2	10,8

The picture does not change for the family habits either: tradition plays an outstanding role. The highest value is shown by the Czech sample (56,5%), and it is 10,7 points higher than the average for the international sample. Then comes the Hungarian sample (46,9%), the Polish sample (46,2%), and finally the Slovakian sample (33,5%) with the lowest value. The “non-typical” response category does not stand out in any of the countries. The “bipolar” category, on the other hand, is relatively high for the Czech (18,0%) and the Hungarian (17,9%) samples.

Subjective judgements on the family habits are shown in Table 20.

Table 20. – *Family habits in terms of subjective indicators* (as % of the national sample)

Family habits – subjective	Hungary n=457	Poland n=493	Czech Republic n=520	Slovakia n=494	Total N=1964
Traditional	68,1	36,9	67,9	77,9	62,7
Modern	31,9	63,1	32,1	22,1	37,3
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

The role of tradition is quite marked in the total international sample in terms of the subjective indicator, too, but, interestingly, the correlation is the inverse for the Polish sample, where only 36.9% of respondents deem the habits of their families “traditional”. The choice of “traditional” is highest in Slovakia (77,9%), exceeding by 15,2% points the value for the total international sample. Hungary (68,1%) and the Czech Republic (67,9%) produced nearly identical results.

Table 21. – *Distribution of the values generated by the combination of objective tradition and modernity indicators for family habits in terms of the subjective indicator, by country and for the 4 countries together (%)*

Objective categories family habits	Hungarian n=457		Polish n=493		Czech n=520		Slovakian n=494		Total N=1964	
	Traditional or modern according to the subjective indicator									
	T	M	T	M	T	M	T	M	T	M
Traditional	49,2	42,5	38,5	50,5	61,5	46,1	35,3	26,6	46,8	44,3
Modern	10,0	9,6	15,4	8,7	4,5	10,2	14,8	22,0	10,7	11,2
Neither traditional, nor modern	0,0	0,0	6,6	10,0	0,0	0,0	0,3	0,9	1,1	4,4
Non-typical	25,1	25,3	38,5	30,9	31,2	37,7	32,7	28,4	31,2	31,0
Bipolar	15,8	22,6	1,1	0,0	2,8	6,0	16,9	22,0	10,2	9,1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

46.8% of those having qualified their family habits as “traditional” in the total international sample proved to be “traditional”, and 11.2% of those deeming themselves “modern” to be “modern” according to the respective objective indicators as well. The family habits of 29.3% of the total international sample were “traditional” according to both indicators, and the family habits of 4.2% were “modern” according to both. That is, 33.5% of the total international sample, i.e. one third, classified their family habits correctly. In a breakdown by country, within the group of those claiming to be “traditional”, the distribution of those qualifying as such in the objective classification as well was the following: Hungarian sample – 42,9%, Polish sample – 38,5%, Czech sample – 61,5%, and Slovakian sample – 35,3%. Among those declaring themselves “modern”, the distribution of those assigned to the same category on the basis of the objective indicators as well was the following: Hungarian sample – 9,6%, Polish sample – 8,7%, Czech sample – 10,2%, and Slovakian sample – 22,0%. According to the analysis of the entire sample by country, the share of respondents assigned consistently according to the subjective and the objective indicator was the following: Hungary – 36,6% (T: 33,5%; M: 3,1%), Poland – 19,7% (T: 14,2%; M: 5,5%), Czech Republic – 45,0% (T: 41,7%; M: 3,3%), and Slovakia – 32,4% (T: 27,5%; M: 4,9%). The consistency of the classification is the highest for the Czech sample: almost half of the sample population assigned their family habits to the category, where they were put objectively also by their choices. The consistency of the classification was lowest for the Polish sample.

4. Cultural habits

Our objective indicator for the cultural habits was generated with the help of the following indicators: goes to theatre/movies with the family; does not use the Internet. Our indicator could be assigned values of 0-3 (Table 22.).

Table 22. – *Traditional cultural habits of families in terms of the objective indicators (as % of the national sample)*

Cultural habits – objective- traditional	Hungary n=458	Poland n=500	Czech Republic n=520	Slovakia n=494	Total N=1972
0	22,5	21,4	15,8	19,0	19,6
1	38,2	53,6	32,9	47,6	43,1
2	29,9	22,0	44,2	26,1	30,7
3	9,4	3,0	7,1	7,3	6,6
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

It was necessary to re-categorise our values in this case, too: those choosing 2-3 elements of the indicators of traditional cultural habits were labelled “explicitly traditional”, those selecting 1 element “moderately traditional”, and those naming 0 elements “non-traditional” (Table 23.).

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Table 23. – *Objective 3-category tradition indicator of cultural habits, by country (%)*

	Hungarian n=458	Polish n=500	Czech n=520	Slovakian n=494	Total N=1972
Non-traditional	22,5	21,4	15,8	19,0	19,6
Moderately traditional	38,2	53,6	32,9	47,6	43,1
Explicitly traditional	39,3	25,0	51,3	33,4	37,4
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Our objective modernity indicator was generated on the basis of the following variables: goes to theatre/the movies with friends; uses the Internet. The values scored 0-3, depending on the number of choices (Table 24.).

Table 24. – *Modern cultural habits of families, in terms of objective indicators (as % of the national sample)*

Cultural habits – objective – modern	Hungary n=458	Poland n=500	Czech Republic n=520	Slovakia n=494	Total N=1972
0	31,9	48,0	23,5	38,3	35,3
1	42,6	43,6	56,0	36,8	44,9
2	16,4	7,0	16,7	18,2	14,6
3	9,2	1,4	3,8	6,7	5,2
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Following the aggregation of our indicators, the following labels were obtained: choice of 2-3 elements of the indicators of modern cultural habits: “explicitly modern”; choice of 1 element: “moderately modern”; choice of 0 elements: “non-modern” (Table 25.).

Table 25. – *Objective 3-category modernity indicator of cultural habits, by country (%)*

	Hungarian n=458	Polish n=500	Czech n=520	Slovakian n=494	Total N=1972
Non-modern	31,9	48,0	23,5	38,3	35,3
Moderately modern	42,6	43,6	56,0	36,8	44,9
Explicitly modern	25,5	8,4	20,6	24,9	19,7
Total	100	100	100	100	100

The results in Table 26. were generated by combining the objective “tradition” and “modernity” indicators of cultural habits. The last two lines of the table show the aggregates for values indicated with the qualifiers “moderately”, “explicitly” and “typically”, which are called, summarily, “traditional” and “modern”, respectively.

Table 26. – *Values generated by the combination of objective tradition and modernity indicators of cultural values, by country and for the 4 countries together (%)*

Categories cultural habits	Hungarian n=458	Polish n=500	Czech n=520	Slovakian n=494	Total N=1972
Explicitly traditional	18,8	16,4	16,0	18,2	17,3
Typically traditional	20,5	8,6	35,4	15,2	20,1
Moderately traditional	12,2	31,0	7,3	19,2	17,4
Explicitly modern	15,5	5,4	9,0	12,8	10,5
Typically modern	10,0	3,0	11,5	12,1	9,2
Moderately modern	6,1	15,4	6,5	5,5	8,4
Neither traditional, nor modern	0,9	0,6	0,2	0,8	0,6
Non-typical	15,9	19,6	14,0	16,2	16,4
Bipolar	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0
Total	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Traditional</i>	<i>51,5</i>	<i>56,0</i>	<i>58,7</i>	<i>52,6</i>	<i>54,8</i>
<i>Modern</i>	<i>31,6</i>	<i>23,8</i>	<i>27,0</i>	<i>30,4</i>	<i>28,0</i>

The share of cultural habits assigned to the “traditional” category according to the objective indicator is very high. The highest value is that for the Czech sample (58,7%), followed by the Polish (56,0%), the Slovakian (52,6%), and the Hungarian samples (51,5%). The rate of the “non-typical” category is highest in the Polish sample (19,6%). No “bipolar” value was recorded for any of the countries.

Table 27. shows the results of the subjective classification of family cultural habits.

Table 27. – *Family cultural habits in terms of subjective indicators (as % of the national sample)*

Cultural habits of the family - subjective	Hungary n=458	Poland n=492	Czech Republic n=520	Slovakia n=494	Total N=1964
Traditional	65,9	75,2	64,4	75,7	70,3
Modern	34,1	24,8	35,6	24,3	29,7
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

The choice of the category of “traditional” was uniformly high for the total international sample and for each country. Its rate was highest in the Slovakian (75,7%) sample, followed by the Polish (75,2%), the Hungarian (65,9%), and the Czech (64,4%) samples.

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Table 28. – *Distribution of the values generated by the combination of objective tradition and modernity indicators for cultural habits according to the subjective indicator, by country and for the 4 countries together (%)*

Objective categories	Hungarian n=458		Polish n=492		Czech n=520		Slovakian n=494		Total N=1964	
Cultural habits										
	Traditional or modern according to the subjective indicator (%)									
	T	M	T	M	T	M	T	M	T	M
Traditional	55,6	41,7	63,2	35,2	57,0	61,6	55,3	44,2	57,9	47,2
Modern	25,8	44,2	22,2	28,7	26,9	27,6	27,5	39,2	25,6	34,6
Neither traditional, nor modern	1,0	0,6	0,3	0,0	0,3	0,0	1,1	0,0	0,7	0,2
Non-typical	17,5	13,5	14,3	36,1	15,8	10,8	16,0	16,7	15,9	18,0
Bipolar	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

57.9% of those describing the cultural habits of the family as “traditional” was “traditional”, and 34.6% of those qualifying them as “modern” was “modern” according to the objective indicator as well. 51% of the total sample (T: 40,7%; M: 10,3%), that is, more than half of it, classified the cultural habits of their family correctly. In a country breakdown, within the category of those who qualified their cultural habits as “traditional”, the rate of those proving to be “traditional” according to the objective indicator as well was the following: Hungarian sample – 55,6%, Polish sample – 63,2%, Czech sample – 57,0%, and Slovakian sample – 55,3%. The corresponding rates for those proving to be “modern” according to the objective indicator as well from among those qualifying themselves as “modern” in the subjective classification was the following: Hungarian sample – 44,2%, Polish sample – 28,7%, Czech sample – 27,6, and Slovakian sample – 39,2%. The country-specific distribution of cases assigned to the same category according to both the subjective and the objective indicator in the total sample was as follows: Hungarian sample – 51,8% (T: 36,7%; M: 15,1%), Polish sample – 54,7% (T: 47,6%; M: 7,1%), Czech sample – 46,5% (T: 36,7%; M: 9,8%), and Slovakian sample – 51,4% (T: 41,9%; M: 9,5%). In the category of cultural habits, the classification of the Polish sample proved to be most consistent, while the Czech sample was the least consistent among the countries, but let us emphasise that the relevant rates were high for every country.

5. Value system

The following were ranked among the components of the objective indicator of the traditional nature of families’ value systems: in marriage they attach primary importance to having someone providing for the family as a cohesive factor; the family is a leading value in their estimation; they stress the importance fostering ties with relatives; and they are religious. Scores between 0-4 were assigned to the values (Table 29.).

Table 29. – *Traditional value systems of families in terms of objective indicators (as % of the national sample)*

Value system – objective - traditional	Hungary n=458	Poland n=500	Czech Republic n=520	Slovakia n=494	Total N=1972
0	16,2	0,6	9,4	5,7	7,8
1	58,3	4,6	58,7	36,4	39,3
2	23,1	55,2	29,2	42,9	37,8
3	2,4	39,2	2,7	14,4	14,8
4	0,0	0,4	0,0	0,6	0,3
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Our categories obtained by aggregation were the following: 3-4 elements chosen from the indicators of the traditional family value system: “explicitly traditional”, 1-2 elements chosen: “moderately traditional”, 0 elements chosen: “non-traditional” (Table 30.).

Table 30. – *Objective 3-category tradition indicator of families’ values, by country (%)*

	Hungarian n=458	Polish n=500	Czech n=520	Slovakian n=494	Total N=1972
Non-traditional	16,2	0,6	9,4	5,7	7,8
Moderately traditional	81,4	59,8	87,9	79,4	77,1
Explicitly traditional	2,4	39,6	2,7	15,0	15,1
Total	100	100	100	100	100

The following elements were interpreted by us as indicators of the modern nature, from an objective point of view, of families’ value systems: the primary cohesive factor in their estimation is having a spiritual partner; they value highly success; freedom and independence play a key role in their lives; and they are non-religious. Scores between 0-4 were assigned to the indicator (Table 31.).

Table 31. – *Modern value system of families in terms of objective indicators (as % of the national sample)*

Value system – objective – modern	Hungary n=458	Poland n=500	Czech Republic n=520	Slovakia n=494	Total N=1972
0	39,5	39,6	7,5	51,8	34,2
1	39,1	42,6	41,0	34,8	39,4
2	19,0	16,6	41,0	11,7	22,4
3	2,4	1,2	9,8	1,6	3,9
4	0,0	0,0	0,8	0,0	0,2
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

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The following categories were obtained through the further aggregation of the values: choice of 3-4 elements of the indicators of a modern family value system: “explicitly modern”, choice of 1-2 elements: “moderately modern”, choice of 0 element: “non-modern” (Table 32.).

Table 32. – *Objective 3-category modernity indicator of families' values, by country (%)*

	Hungarian n=458	Polish n=500	Czech n=520	Slovakian n=494	Total N=1972
Not modern	39,5	39,6	7,5	51,8	34,2
Moderately modern	58,1	59,2	81,9	46,6	61,8
Explicitly modern	2,4	1,2	10,6	1,6	4,1
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Our indicator embodying nine categories, which allows making an objective evaluation of the family value system, was obtained through the combination of the above objective tradition and modernity indicator values. The last two lines of the table show the aggregates for values indicated with the qualifiers “moderately”, “explicitly” and “typically”, which are called, summarily, “traditional” and “modern”, respectively.

Table 33. – *Values generated by the combination of objective tradition and modernity indicators of value systems, by country and for the 4 countries together (%)*

Categories Value system	Hungarian n=458	Polish n=500	Czech n=520	Slovakian n=494	Total N=1972
Explicitly traditional	1,7	18,4	0,8	8,9	7,5
Typically traditional	0,7	21,0	1,9	6,1	7,5
Moderately traditional	37,8	20,6	6,7	42,9	26,5
Explicitly modern	2,0	0,0	2,3	0,8	1,3
Typically modern	0,4	1,0	8,3	0,8	2,7
Moderately modern	14,2	0,0	7,1	4,9	6,4
Neither traditional, nor modern	0,0	0,6	0,0	0,0	0,2
Non-typical	43,2	38,2	72,9	35,6	47,9
Bipolar	0,0	0,2	0,0	0,0	0,1
Total	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Traditional</i>	<i>40,2</i>	<i>60,0</i>	<i>9,4</i>	<i>57,9</i>	<i>41,5</i>
<i>Modern</i>	<i>16,6</i>	<i>1,0</i>	<i>17,7</i>	<i>6,5</i>	<i>10,4</i>

Our results project an interesting image. The category of “traditional” has a low value in the Czech sample (9,4%), and the value of the “modern” category is equally low (17,7%), but the “non-typical” ratings stand out (72,9%). Thus the choices of respondents in the Czech sample gave the least help for their categorisation. Tradition is assigned the highest rate for the Poles (60,0%), who are followed by Slovakian (57,9%), and then Hungarian (40,2%) respondents.

The results in Table 34. show the subjective qualification of the family value system.

Table 34. – *Family value system in terms of the subjective indicator (as % of the national sample)*

Value system subjective	Hungary n=454	Poland n=473	Czech Republic n=515	Slovakia n=494	Total N=1936
Traditional	71,6	81,0	68,9	76,5	74,4
Modern	28,4	19,0	31,1	23,5	25,6
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

In contrast with the objective indicator, the subjective one shows the predominance of the choice of “traditional” in every country. As for the objective indicator, this rate was highest in Poland (81%), and it was followed by the relevant rates for Slovakian (76,5%), Hungarian (71,6%), and Czech (68,9%) respondents.

Table 35. – *Distribution of the values generated by the combination of objective tradition and modernity indicators for the value system according to the subjective indicator, by country and for the 4 countries together (%)*

Objective categories Value system	Hungarian n=454		Polish n=473		Czech n=515		Slovakian n=494		Total N=1964	
	Traditional or modern according to the subjective indicator (%)									
	T	M	T	M	T	M	T	M	T	M
Traditional	40,3	41,1	60,8	63,3	12,1	3,8	59,5	52,6	43,9	35,8
Modern	15,7	20,2	0,8	2,2	17,2	20,0	5,8	9,5	9,5	14,3
Neither traditional, nor modern	0,0	0,0	0,3	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,1	0,0
Non-typical	44,0	38,8	37,9	34,4	70,7	76,3	34,7	37,9	46,5	49,9
Bipolar	0,0	0,0	0,3	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,1	0,0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

43.9% of respondents labelling the value system of their family “traditional” and 14.3% labelling it “modern” proved to be “traditional” and “modern”, respectively, according to the objective indicator as well. The self-reporting results of 36.3% of the total international sample (T: 32,6%; M: 3,7%) corresponded to the objective classification based on the indicators chosen by the international research team, that is, somewhat more than 1/3 of the international sample had a realistic view of the value system of their family. Broken down by country, within the population of those assigning themselves to the “traditional” category, those in the objective “traditional” category were distributed as follows: Hungarian sample – 40,3%, Polish sample – 60,8%, Czech sample – 12,1%, and Slovakian sample – 59,5%. The distribution of those qualifying as modern according to the objective category, too, among those describing themselves as the same, was the following: Hungarian sample – 20,2%, Polish sample – 2,2%, Czech sample – 20,0% and Slovakian sample – 9,5%. Rates indicating the consistency of the classifications are: Hungarian sample – 34,6% (T: 28,9%; M: 5,7%), Polish sample – 49,7% (T: 49,3%; M: 0,4%), Czech sample – 14,5% (T: 8,3%; M: 6,2%), and Slovakian

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sample – 47,7% (T: 45,5%; M: 2,2%). The consistency of the classification was highest in the Polish sample and lowest in the Czech sample.

Table 36. below gives a summary of the number of top rankings (i.e. highest % rate among the 4 countries), by country, in terms of the subjective and objective indicators of tradition and modernity.

Table 36. – *Summary of first places in terms of the rank order of the objective and subjective indicators of tradition and modernity, by country*

Categorisation criterion		Hungary n=454	Poland n=473	Czech Republic n=515	Slovakia n=494
objective	T	–	Free time habits (54,2%) Value system (60,0%)	Nutrition habits (45,1%) Family habits (56,5%) Cultural habits (58,7%)	–
	M	Nutrition habits (12,6%) Cultural habits (31,6%)	–	Free time habits (11,7%) Value system (17,7%)	Family habits (16,2%)
subjective	T	–	Value system (81,0%)	–	Nutrition habits (75,1%) Cultural habits (75,7%) Free time habits (76,9%) Family habits (77,9%)
	M	–	Family habits (63,1%)	Free time habits (35,3%) Cultural habits (35,6%) Nutrition habits (40,0%)	–

Table 36. clearly shows that, with regard to the 5 topics under study, Hungary has no leading position in terms of either the objective, or the subjective “tradition” indicator. It scored highest among the countries according to the objective “modernity” indicators in two cases (nutrition and cultural habits). Poland proved to be the most traditional according to the objective indicator in two cases (free time, and value system). The value

system of the Polish sample is the most traditional according to both investigation criteria. From among the four countries under study, it proved to be the most modern in terms of the objective indicator of family habits. The sample of the Czech Republic obtained several first positions: objectively, it proved to be the most “traditional” in the areas of nutrition, family and cultural habits, respectively, and the most “modern” in two cases (free time habits, family value system) and, subjectively, the most “modern” in three cases (free time habits, cultural habits, and nutrition habits). In other words, its free time habits were deemed the most “modern” in both the objective and the subjective classification, whereas the rating of the cultural and nutrition habits, according to the objective and subjective indicators, projects the inverse image. The Slovakian sample proved to be the most “traditional” of the four countries according to the subjective classification on four occasions (nutrition, cultural, free time, and family habits) and, objectively, the most “modern” in terms of family habits, which contradicts the subjective data.

Table 37. gives a summary of the consistency of classifications by country and of the four countries together. That is, the cells of the table show the distribution of respondents relative to the total sample having proved to be consistently “traditional” or “modern” in terms of the objective and subjective “tradition” and “modernity” indicators alike.

Table 37. – *Relative rates of distribution indicating the consistency of categorising lifestyle features in the total international sample and by country*

Lifestyle area	Hungarian n=454		Polish n=473		Czech n=515		Slovakian n=494		Total N=1964	
	Consistently traditional or modern (%)									
	T	M	T	M	T	M	T	M	T	M
Nutrition	26,2	7,8	25,9	1,8	31,0	2,9	29,9	1,6	28,3	3,4
Free time habits	16,6	2,6	41,6	0,4	18,5	3,9	22,1	3,4	24,8	2,6
Family habits	33,5	3,1	14,2	5,5	41,7	3,3	27,5	4,9	29,3	4,2
Cultural habits	36,7	15,1	47,6	7,1	36,7	9,8	41,9	9,5	40,7	10,3
Value system	28,9	5,7	49,3	0,4	8,3	6,2	45,5	2,2	32,6	3,7
	Distribution of consistent ratings (traditional and modern together), %									
Nutrition	34,0		27,7		33,9		31,5		31,7	
Free time habits	19,2		42,0		22,4		25,5		27,4	
Family habits	36,6		19,7		45,0		32,4		33,5	
Cultural habits	51,8		54,7		46,5		51,4		51,0	
Value system	34,6		49,7		14,5		47,7		36,3	

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Table 37. shows that classification consistency is regularly higher for the ratings of tradition than of modernity. In the total international sample, the consistency of the rating of the cultural habits is highest, and this correlation is present at the level of the individual countries as well. The second highest value at the level of the total international sample describes the value system. In this case, however, there is marked variability by country: the highest value is that for Poland (49,7%), and the lowest one is for the Czech Republic (14,5%). The indicator of the Slovakian sample (47,7%) is hardly lower than the Polish one, and the Hungarian sample ranks third (34,6%). From among the way-of-living areas under study, family habits rank third: 1/3 (33,5%) of the total international sample classified themselves correctly. Broken down by country, the value of the Czech sample ranks first (45,0%), then comes that of the Hungarian sample (36,6%), followed by the Slovakian sample (32,4%), and the Polish sample (19,7%) brings up the rear. Judgements on nutrition habits come fourth (31,7%); in a country-by-country breakdown, this is the item showing almost the most consistent results, if only with minor deviations (the relevant value is highest for the Hungarian sample – 34,0%; and lowest for the Polish one – 27,7%). Last, but not least, mention should be made of free time habits. Classification consistency seems to be the lowest here (it is 27,4% at the level of the total international sample), with major fluctuations by country: the value of the Polish sample stands out (42,0%), and those of the other three countries are rather similar (Hungarian sample: 19,2%, Czech sample: 22,4%, Slovakian sample: 25,5%).

Table 38. gives a summary of the categories in need of further analysis for the four countries.

Table 38. – *Distribution of the cases in the “non-typical” and “bipolar” categories, by topic and country*

Objective categories	Hungarian n=452	Polish n=500	Czech n=510	Slovakian n=492	Total N=1954
Nutrition habits					
Non-typical	35,2	60,2	40,8	46,1	45,8
Bipolar	18,4	4,2	10,6	14,4	11,7
Categories Free time habits	Hungarian n=458	Polish n=500	Czech n=520	Slovakian n=494	Total N=1972
Non-typical	70,7	44,6	64,6	64,2	60,9
Bipolar	0,7	0,0	0,8	1,0	0,6
Categories Family habits	Hungarian n=458	Polish n=500	Czech n=520	Slovakian n=494	Total N=1972
Non-typical	25,1	33,8	33,3	32,0	31,2
Bipolar	17,9	0,4	3,8	18,0	9,8
Categories Cultural habits	Hungarian n=458	Polish n=500	Czech n=520	Slovakian n=494	Total N=1972
Non-typical	15,9	19,6	14,0	16,2	16,4
Bipolar	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0
Categories Value system	Hungarian n=458	Polish n=500	Czech n=520	Slovakian n=494	Total N=1972
Non-typical	43,2	38,2	72,9	35,6	47,9
Bipolar	0,0	0,2	0,0	0,0	0,1

In the interpretation of our research team, based on the objective indicator, the category “neither traditional, nor modern” means that respondents chose none of the objective indicators of tradition and modernity, respectively, which were included in the list. The relevant values are very low for the total sample (family habits: 2,4%; cultural habits: 0,6%; nutrition habits: 0,3%, value system: 0,2%, and free time habits: 0,1%), and, therefore, we will not interpret them below.

The category labelled “bipolar” means that, from among the objective indicators of both tradition and modernity included in the list, the maximum figure or one close to it is indicated, that is, a high value is obtained in the direction of “modern” as well as “traditional”. The percentage of these values, too, is low (cultural habits: 0,0%, value system: 0,1%, free time habits: 0,6%), with the exception of two cases. For the family habits, the relevant value is 9,8% in the total international sample. By country, the two highest values were scored by Slovakia (18,0%) and Hungary (17,9%). In Poland, the corresponding rate was only 0,4%, and in the Czech sample 3,8%. The occurrence of the cases to be assigned to the “bipolar” category was highest at the level of the total international sample for nutrition habits (11,7%). By country, the highest value is recorded for the Hungarian sample (18,4%), followed by the Slovakian sample (14,4%), then the Czech (10,6%), and the Polish (4,2%) sample.

The highest values were obtained in the category labelled “non-typical”. This category means that both tradition and modernity indicators were chosen to a small extent, that is, the respondent appeared to be “moderately modern” and “moderately traditional” simultaneously. In terms of free time habits, this value is very high for the total sample (60,9%). A breakdown by country shows an even more outstanding value for the Hungarian sample (70,7%). The second highest value is encountered for the system-of-values area (47,9%) where, in a country breakdown, the relevant value of the Czech sample stands out (72,9%). Nutrition habits rank third (45,8%), with an outstanding value for the Polish sample (60,9%). Family habits come fourth (31,2%), with relatively similar country-specific rates. Finally, cultural habits occupy the fifth position (16,4%), with the Polish sample showing a value which deviates upward from that (19,6%).

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