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EMOTIONAL BONDS IN THE POLISH FAMILY DURING THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION IN POLAND ACCORDING TO EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

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Abstract

Family relationships have been becoming increasingly important in Polish, contemporary society especially after the socio-political transformation in Poland. Before that time, family studies were strongly influenced by the socialist system and propaganda. Currently, family relationships are also diverse in structure and in functions. In reply to the widely debated »family crisis« hypothesis, the author of this article suggests that family relations will be more important in the 21st century, because there is a positive association between the experience of strong emotional bonds in the family and the strength of family relationship. Consequently, supporting emotional family ties means also supporting the growth of healthy relationships in the society. Therefore, the aim of this article is to present the bonds between members of the Polish family at the end of the 20th, and at the beginning of the 21st centuries on the basis of the results of surveys conducted by CBOS (Public Opinion Research Centre in Poland).

Keywords: family studies, relationships, emotional bonds, contemporary family in Poland.

Introduction

Comprehensive development of research on the family in Poland, examining family structures, behaviours, relationships, and attitudes has started and continued alongside the social, economic, political, cultural and educational transformation after 1989. Before that time, research was strongly influenced by the political system, which did not foster the development of family studies. Family issues were often marginalised or blocked, by the socialist system, especially if they were not in accordance with socialist propaganda. Thus, prior socialist output was full of ideological ideas and limited to issues accepted by the regime¹. In this context, it should also be mentioned that in Poland, family studies have been treated as a separate discipline by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education only in recent years. Earlier, the issues pertaining to the family were addressed separately from various perspectives: sociological, economic, psychological, pedagogical, political, philosophical, theological and others. This was with the exception of the Catholic Church institutions which were underlining the marriage bond, communion between man and woman, intergenerational relationships etc., thus paying attention to the integral and holistic approach to family studies. This was specific to the Institute of Family Studies in Łomianki, which has conducted research on the family from a multifaceted perspective since its foundation.

Family is the first, natural and unique environment for a child because of special bonds between parents and children, grandparents and grandchildren, siblings and other close family members. It should be taken into account that it has been statistically proven that there is a positive association between the experience of strong emotional bonds in the family and a lower risk of marital instability and divorce². Consequently, supporting strong, emotional family ties means supporting a positive scenario of growth of a healthy society. Therefore, the aim of this article is to outline the bonds between members of the Polish family. Firstly, at the end of the 20th, and then, at the beginning of the 21st centuries, based on the statistical data available. The turn of the century was a special time for Poles because it was time of a difficult transition from the preceding socialist system, ideology, economy, society, policy to a new, capitalist economy, system, structure, mentality, society and culture. Rapid and powerful political, social, economic, cultural and religious changes impacted the family as a whole, its members and relations between them. Due

¹ Cf. Elżbieta OSEWSKA (ed.), Focus on Family and Education, Split, 2016; Elżbieta OSEWS-KA (ed.), Rodzina i edukacja w zmaganiu o przyszłość Europy, Tarnów, 2016; Józef STALA – Jadranka GARMAZ (eds.), Strengthening Families, Kraków, 2016; Elżbieta OSEWSKA – Józef STALA (eds.), The Contemporary Family: Local and European Perspectives, Kraków, 2015; Jerzy KUŁACZKOWSKI, Pedagogika rodziny. Teoria wychowania w rodzinie, Warszawa – Łomianki, 2009, 9–13; Józef WILK, Pedagogika rodziny, Lublin, 2002; Virginia SATIR, Rodzina. Tu powstaje człowiek, Gdańsk, 2000.

² Cf. Maria BRAUN-GAŁKÓWSKA, Psychologiczna analiza systemów rodzinnych osób zadowolonych i niezadowolonych z małżeństwa, Lublin, 1992; Maria RYŚ, Psychologia małżeństwa w zarysie, Warszawa, 1999.

to the complex and transitory nature of the discussed phenomena, we should pose the following questions: Were the changes in the family in Poland similar to other post-socialist countries? How strong were the emotional bonds in the Polish family during the transformation period? What was the originality of the Polish family? What kind of social and pedagogical conclusions may be drawn from the statistical data from that time?

Thus, the aim of the first part of the article is to explore family bonds based on the surveys conducted in 1994. The second part deals with the same issue based on the surveys carried out in the end of 2003 – the last year before the accession of Poland to the European Union in May 2004, when the influences of Western societies on the Polish society became much stronger. The last part of this text offers pedagogical conclusions drawn from the research.

1. The last decade of the 20th century

Processes and phenomena pertaining to the changes of the family from the socio-political transformation period attracted the growing interest among sociologists and family specialists. As a result, the issues relating to the family, in its broad sense, started to be covered by the Public Opinion Research Centre (CBOS). The data collected by CBOS has become interesting material demonstrating various aspects of the development, conditioning and functioning of the family in Poland. The research into the family conducted in September 1994 on a random sample of Poles³ shows that they place family high on their list of values and life goals. Family is, above all, highly valued since it is the environment in which basic emotional needs such as love, a sense of belonging, understanding, respect and appreciation are fulfilled through personal relationships. Probably in the context of various changes and challenges in the 1990s in Poland, the family was seen by Poles as an intimate and secure environment that also met the need for safety, stability and psychic balance. Adults in Poland positively evaluated family bonds and referred to very good relationships in a close family circle and between generations, great trust for other members and continued development of family ties.

The data gathered by CBOS in 1994 confirms this hypothesis. Eighty-six per cent of Poles declared that they have the best relationship with their husband or wife. Of these, fifty per cent considered the relationship to be very

³ Public Opinion Research Centre (CBOS), Rodzina: wartość uznawana czy realizowana? Research statement, Warszawa, (November 1994), BS/197/175/94, http://www.cbos.pl/ SPISKOM.POL/1994/K_175_94.PDF, (Accessed 18.VIII. 2020), 1–18.

good, and thirty-six per cent thought their relationships are good enough. Interestingly, eighty-eight per cent of people surveyed highly value the relationship with parents. Forty-six per cent of respondents were of the opinion that their relations were very good, and forty-two per cent thought that they were good enough. Seventy-four per cent of Poles surveyed had a high opinion about their relationship with parents-in-law, which were considered to be either very good (31%) or good enough (43%). Such results of the survey could also have been caused by a strong need to present one's family in the best possible light. The existence of strong emotional bonds with the immediate family is proved by the information about a person who could be trusted with any issue. Eighty-five per cent of those interviewed reported that there was such a person in their lives. The spouse was chosen by two-thirds of the respondents, parents by sixteen per cent and siblings by nine per cent. Seventeen per cent of the people who responded sought a person they could trust outside their family, for example, among friends or neighbours. Keeping strong bonds in a family could be connected with the experience of trust, because in the socialist society of mistrust it was much safer to trust family members than individuals from various social circles. The data gathered indicates that in 1994, that is at the beginning of the transformation, the family was the basic source of satisfaction and fulfilment of love, understanding and trust needs for the majority of Poles. Even if Polish people idealised the picture of their families, it can be said that the Polish family in the early 1990s was characterised by strong emotional bonds.

2. The beginning of the 21st century

Family has always been a flexible institution and has reacted to changing social and political circumstances in a dynamic way, and yet kept the social norm for concrete historical reasons. We should explore how emotional relations in the Polish family formed almost ten years later. The survey conducted in December 2003 by the Public Opinion Research Centre covered the issues concerning relations with family and friends⁴. Has the extended family in Poland lost its validity and strong emotional bonds or rather retained them? Has the emphasis on interpersonal relationships between spouses, parents and

⁴ Public Opinion Research Centre (CBOS), W kręgu rodziny i przyjaciół. Research statement, Warszawa, (January 2004), BS/4/2004, http://www.cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2004/ K_004_04.PDF, (Accessed 18.VIII.2020), 1–16.

children, grandparents and grandchildren, as well as the cousins, changed in the new context?

Due to an opportunity to meet face-to-face, have a conversation and stay in contact, it is possible to foster family relations. Living close to other family members may make it easier to contact them more frequently, although this is not the most important factor because of the development of various means of communication. Thus, Poles were asked about their territorial closeness to other family members. The respondents were given several statements to choose from.

Table 1. Dispersion of Polish	families ⁵
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Which of the statements best describes your family?	In percentage
Most members of my immediate family* live close to one another, in the same town / village, or municipality, or in different places, but not very far away from one another	70
My immediate family are scattered all over Poland	23
My immediate family are scattered all over the world	6
I do not have a family**	1

* Parents, parents-in-law, adult children, siblings, spouse's siblings, grandparents, grandchildren.

** In 1999, six people mentioned they had no family; and in 2003, nine people.

Seventy per cent of people surveyed reported that there was a small distance between the places where members of the immediate family lived. Twenty-three per cent of those surveyed live in Poland, but they are scattered all over the country. Six per-cent of the survey respondents said that their family were scattered all around the world. Another interesting issue was to assess whether a small distance between the places family members lived meant more frequent contact between them. Hence, Poles were asked the following question: How often do you meet different members of your family?

⁵ Public Opinion Research Centre (CBOS), W kręgu rodziny i przyjaciół. Research statement, Warszawa, (January 2004), BS/4/2004, http://www.cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2004/ K_004_04.PDF, (Accessed 18.VIII.2020), 3.

	Frequency of meetings*						
How often do you meet your	at least once a week	at least once a month	a few times a year	once a year	once every few years	I have not seen them for at least five years	I do not know how they are doing or whether they are alive
	Percent						
- parents?	72	15	8	2	1	1	0
– grandchildren?	62	20	13	3	2	1	0
– adult children living indepen- dently?	60	20	13	4	2	1	0
- parents-in-law?	47	27	15	5	3	1	1
- sibling(s)?	44	23	22	7	2	2	0
– grandparents?	36	28	22	8	3	2	2
- spouse's sibling(s)?	23	24	32	10	5	4	2
– other relatives?	10	19	41	17	10	2	1
– spouse's other relatives?	6	16	40	18	12	3	4

 Table 2. Frequency of family meetings⁶

* Responses of people who have the following: parents (657 people), grandchildren (313 people), adult children living independently (388 people), parents-in-law (435 people), sibling(s) (889 people), grandparents (268 people), (647 people), other relatives (960 people), spouse's other relatives (694 people).

According to the data obtained, eighty-seven per cent of Poles often meet their parents. Of these, seventy-two percent meet their parents at least once a week, and fifteen per cent do this at least once a month. None of the respondents mentioned complete absence of contact with their parents. Eighty-two per cent of Poles meet their grandchildren with a similar frequency that Polish people meet their parents. Eight per cent of respondents said they met their adult children once or more times a month. Meetings with parents-in-law happen a little less frequently, but nonetheless forty-seven per cent of them take place at least once a week, and twenty-seven per cent at least once a month. Meetings with siblings happen with similar frequency. Polish people see distant relatives and spouse's relatives just a few times a year. The frequency of

⁶ Public Opinion Research Centre (CBOS), W kręgu rodziny i przyjaciół. Research statement, Warszawa, (January 2004), BS/4/2004, http://www.cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2004/ K_004_04.PDF, (Accessed 18.VIII.2020), 3–4.

meetings with family members confirms that for Poles living at the beginning of 21st century contacts with the extended family are still very important.

Unity and family bonds depend on many circumstances. External circumstances include, among others, the following: the involvement of a person for the good of other family members, mutual help, closeness and spending time together. Consequently, adult Poles were asked the following question: Which occasions do you meet your family on?

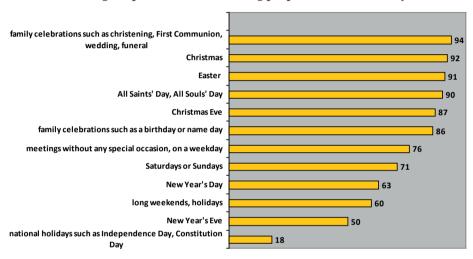


Chart 1⁷ Which occasions do you usually meet your family on? Percentage of positive answers among people who have a family (N=991)

From the data presented in Chart 1 it is possible to conclude that Poles value family meetings. Most often, they meet their family to celebrate occasions such as Christening, First Communion, weddings or funerals (94%). Family meetings give them an opportunity to talk and share ideas. Very often, people meet during religious celebrations such Christmas Eve, Christmas, Easter and All Saints' Day. It is evident that in Poland, in 2004 there was a strong tradition of celebrating religious festivals within a family community, which was accompanied by a family culture prompting people to prepare to celebrate religious festivals with family. Family meetings in celebration of New Year's Eve and New Year's Day are less frequent and national holidays are the

⁷ Public Opinion Research Centre (CBOS), W kręgu rodziny i przyjaciół. Research statement, Warszawa, (January 2004), BS/4/2004, http://www.cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2004/K_ 004_04.PDF, (Accessed 18.VIII.2020), 6–7.

least frequent reason for meeting family. A characteristic of Polish families is that people celebrate both birthdays and name days (86%). The importance and strength of family bonds are proved by the fact that people want to meet their relatives on weekdays, Saturdays and Sundays, although they rarely decide to spend holidays in a wider family company. If children and teenagers participate in various family meetings, it is likely that they will continue this tradition in the next generation. However, this will also depend on many circumstances connected with family meetings and the quality of childhood experiences. The more positive the childhood experiences of family meetings are, the stronger the wish to continue them.

The reason people want to stay in contact with their family is the opinion that it is a natural environment providing safety and love. Needs change because of the development of both family structure and members. Apart from love and safety, people expect trust, understanding and closeness. Consequently, adult Poles were asked the following question: How many family members do you keep in close contact with?

How many family members do you keep in close contact with?	Responses of people having a family (according to the year of survey) %			
	1999 (N=1028)	2003 (N=991)		
None	5	2		
One person	5	5		
Two people	8	12		
Three / four people	19	21		
Five to nine people	43	41		
Eleven and more people	19	14		
Difficult to say	1	5		
The average number of friends in a family	8	7		

Table 3. Number of family members keeping in close contact⁸

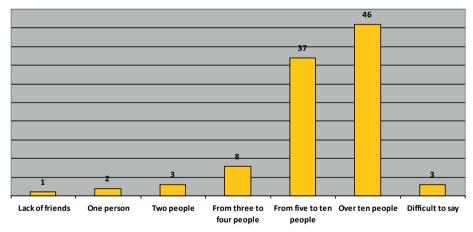
According to the data obtained, adult Poles stay in contact with a few or even several family members. Only two per cent of respondents said that they did not keep in close contact with their family. Statistically, a respondent remains in close contact with seven family members. In comparison with

⁸ Public Opinion Research Centre (CBOS), W kręgu rodziny i przyjaciół. Research statement, Warszawa, (January 2004), BS/4/2004, http://www.cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2004/K_004_04. PDF, (Accessed 18.VIII.2020), 8.

1999, the average number of close friends from the family declared by the respondents decreased from eight to seven people. When we compare the data from the end of 2003 with the data from 1999, one can see that the number of respondents having at least five close family relatives diminished (from 62% to 55%), whereas the number of people having from two to four close relatives increased (from 27% to 33%). The percentage of respondents who do not keep in close contact with their family declined (from 5% to 2%), which is a positive change. It seems that both in 1999 and in 2003, Polish people declared and appreciated close and friendly family ties.

In the new context of a democratic society Poles were almost forced to create their own private lives, but also to keep contacts in their professional and social spheres. Have they managed to balance successfully between the professional/public appearances and the family ties? One can gain an interesting picture of Poles' bonds after comparing the data relating to the number of friends in and outside the family.

Chart 2⁹ Responses related the number of friends in and outside the family in percentage



The average number of friends in and outside the family: 13

The data gathered in 2003 present that, statistically, an average adult Pole had thirteen friends. Almost half of respondents (46%) stated more than ten people belonging to a circle of friends, and thirty-seven per cent said they had

⁹ Public Opinion Research Centre (CBOS), W kręgu rodziny i przyjaciół. Research statement, Warszawa, (January 2004), BS/4/2004, http://www.cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2004/K_ 004_04.PDF, (Accessed 18.VIII.2020), 11–12.

between five and ten friends. Only one percent of people surveyed replied that they had no friends either in the family or outside it. Interestingly, according to the data collected by Public Opinion Research Centre (CBOS), those who do not participate in religious practices have the fewest friends. It is especially visible when referring to close family ties. The more often the respondents participate in religious practices, the more people from their families they consider their friends. Those practising at least once a week state seven family members on average, while those who practise their religion a few times a year declare six family members. Non-practising people consider only five family members to be their friends. They also have fewer friends outside their family, which is five on average. Both in and outside the family non-practising people are characterised by a smaller number of friends than those practising their religion – nine people on average. Therefore, it can be asserted that religious practises foster interpersonal contact, openness and establish close, even intimate relations both within and outside family.

3. Pedagogical and pastoral conclusions

After the fall of socialism in Poland, the processes of transformation of the socio-political system represented a great challenge for the Polish family. The transition from a centralised one-party system to an unknown multi-party democracy, private market economy and a new social structure was more complicated and diversified than it was expected¹⁰. These changes happened not only outside of the family, but they also affected family life, structure and function. Family, in Poland, has slowly been turning into private domains of life, yet it seems that before 2004, the family still kept some mechanism of resistance created during the time of partitions and socialism. Due to historical circumstances and a strong Catholic identity, spouses have been directed towards unity and communion, and the Polish family was viewed as an important, lifelong task based on the traditional attitudes towards family, a Christian understanding of marriage as a sacrament and strong, family bonds.

In conclusion, it can be stated that, in the last decade of the 20th century, and at the turn of years 2003 and 2004, Polish people had a feeling that there was a territorial and spiritual closeness with members of their families, which

¹⁰ Cf. Józef STALA – Jadranka GARMAZ (eds.), Strengthening Families, Kraków, 2016; Elżbieta OSEWSKA -Józef STALA (eds.), The Contemporary Family: Local and European Perspectives, Kraków, 2015; Józef STALA (ed.), Zdrowa i mocna rodzina fundamentem społeczeństwa, Kraków, 2019; Józef STALA, Families: Opportunities and Challenges, Kraków, 2019.

was proved by the frequency of family contact and a tradition of family meetings in celebration of special occasions and religious festivals.

Every family builds its own world and, either directly or indirectly, defines its content, establishes goals, creates a family structure, and changes and modifies individual aspirations of the members. Every family sets up its unique, individual and dynamic system of family relations strengthened or weakened by internal and external factors. One of the crucial factors impacting the unity and consistency of a family are family ties, especially the emotional ones. Emotional family bonds are mainly associated with making efforts to fulfil such emotional needs as presence, contact, love, friendship, trust, respect and acceptance. Relations between family members, husband and wife, parents and children, siblings, grandparents and grandchildren, and relatives have their emotional tinge and affect other family members. They also have their own dynamics dependent on the circumstances, situation and the stage of family development¹¹.

Five developmental stages can be found in the development of a family: the initial stage (from the first meeting between a man and a woman until their wedding), the stage of marriage bond formation (from the wedding to the birth of the first child), the stage of awakening and development of parental attitudes (from the birth of children to the time when they become adults), the stage of mutual family partnership (when parents live together with adult and financially independent children), the empty nest stage (from the moment when the last adult child leaves home until the death of a husband or wife)¹². Each stage is characterised by different family climate and emotional bonds. The forces connecting family members with one another change in each period. Some of these forces become weaker, others disappear and are replaced by new ones; there are also such forces which become stronger. The feelings which cause young people to marry are often not strong enough. Thus, they need to be strengthened so as to create strong emotional bonds which will ensure a stable and happy family life. Relations between spouses develop over the time that the husband and wife spend together, and on the basis of their originality, differences and similarities of personality. As their relationship develops, there is a chance that satisfaction between spouses results in growing emotional attachment. In such a situation, young couples or young parents need the support of extended family members. They will help achieve emo-

¹¹ Cf. Maria RYŚ, Psychologia rodziny, in: Józef STALA – Elżbieta OSEWSKA (eds.), Rodzina – bezcenny dar i zadanie, Radom, 2006, 328–377.

¹² Cf. Jerzy LASKOWSKI, Małżeństwo i rodzina, Warszawa, 1982, 29.

tional stability, solve problems, gain family communication skills, adopt the attitude of openness, devotion and responsibility for a family¹³.

Sociological research conducted in Poland indicates that family is high in the hierarchy of social value and life goals. Family is treated as a place of satisfying basic emotional needs as well as safety, belonging and psychic balance needs. The respondents have also declared that family is a source of satisfaction, although the picture of the Polish family based on their answers seems too ideal. It is interesting that both in the1990s and at the turn of the century, the respondents said that there was a deep feeling of territorial closeness with the members of the family living independently: parents, adult children, siblings, parents-in-law, grandparents and grandchildren. One in four respondents said their family were scattered all over Poland, and one in sixteen said their relatives were scattered all over the world at the beginning of the 21st century. Despite that, the respondents claimed they stayed in regular contact with family members.

Essentially, during a period of ten years, that is from the 1990s until the beginning of the 21st century, family relations did not change, although the intensity of contact between parents and children living separately decreased slightly. Frequent family contact may, on the one hand, be the result of customs or the Polish tradition. On the other hand, this points to the need to meet, talk to and contact the immediate family. The Polish family in the 1990s and at the beginning of the 21st century, care about strengthening ties without limiting contact only to the nuclear family (parents and children), but members also care about staying in contact with families of origin: both with parents and grandparents. Almost all Poles (94%) participate in important family celebrations, especially christening, First Communion, baptisms, weddings and funerals. Religious celebrations with the extended family are also very important, which indicates that Polish people want to celebrate family occasions and religious festivals with members of the family, including the extended one. The frequency of contact is demonstrated by the responses pertaining to close contact with family members. It seems that love and friendship bonds are very strong in the Polish families since only two per cent of respondents who have families do not maintain friendly relations with family members. Frequent contact and strong family ties create favourable conditions for bringing up the youngest generation.

¹³ Cf. Bronisław MIERZWIŃSKI, Szczęście w małżeństwie – mit czy rzeczywistość, u: *Katecheta*, 41 (1997) 3, 182–184.

The Polish family in the period 1994–2004 gave the youngest generation an opportunity to stay in contact not only with parents, but also with grandparents and relatives, which created an interesting system of personal educational environment. This was possible because parental weaknesses could be minimized by educational influence of grandparents or other family members. This had considerable importance in the process of moral and religious education. Very often, grandparents or other family members looked after a child / children when both parents went to work. Due to strong family bonds and frequent family contact children learnt the skill of coexisting not only with parents, but other adults as well, including the elderly. The experiences of having various interpersonal contacts in a family, prepared children very well for other social contacts. Maintaining various intergenerational contact made inculturation possible because different generations introduced children to new areas of ideas, languages, history, art, customs and traditions. They also widened the scope of cultural works which a child could experience. This enabled the young generation to assess, compare or choose the values, standards and behaviour patterns.

From the perspective of pedagogy, consistency and unity of the family and strong family ties form the basis of decent education and formation processes. Therefore, it seems that the Polish family during the dramatic political, social, economic, cultural and religious changes, which began in 1989, kept strong family ties which allowed the family to maintain unity and give children an upbringing which was different from that suggested or even imposed in socialist schools. Frequent contact and strong ties contributed to building authority by parents, grandparents and other adult family members as well. Strong family ties also helped to maintain marital fidelity because the immediate family made efforts in order not to let a young couple split up, sometimes by putting pressure on them. The youngest generation grew up being in contact with parents, siblings, and other members of the extended family, and in consequence they experienced a variety of family relations from the beginning. The contemporary family is less reliant on its institutional and legal character and is more focused on its emotional intimacy and interpersonal love. On the basis of this presupposition, the relations across more than two generations have been becoming increasingly important to young spouses, as have the relations between the nuclear family and extended families, even if they are scattered all of the world. This may be a challenge, but also an oppor**Elżbieta OSEWSKA,** Emotional Bonds in the Polish Family During the Social and Political Transformation in Poland According to Empirical Research

tunity for more personal, original and innovative pro-family initiatives undertaken by governmental and nongovernmental organizations in cooperation with families.

Sažetak

EMOCIONALNE VEZE U POLJSKOJ OBITELJI TIJEKOM DRUŠTVENE I POLITIČKE TRANSFORMACIJE U POLJSKOJ PREMA EMPIRIJSKIM ISTRAŽIVANJIMA

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Obiteljski odnosi postaju sve važniji u suvremenom poljskom društvu, osobito nakon društveno-političke transformacije u Poljskoj. Prije toga, obiteljske studije o obitelji su bile pod snažnim utjecajem socijalističkog sustava i propagande. Trenutno, obiteljski su odnosi također raznoliki kako u strukturi tako i u funkcijama. U odgovoru na hipo-tezu o »obiteljskoj krizi« o kojoj se naveliko raspravlja, autor ovog članka sugerira da će obiteljski odnosi biti važniji u 21. stoljeću jer postoji pozitivna povezanost između iskustva snažnih emocionalnih veza u obitelji i snage obiteljskog odnosa. Prema tome, podržavanje emocionalnih obiteljskih veza znači i podupiranje rasta zdravih odnosa u društvu. Stoga, cilj je ovog članka predstaviti veze između članova poljske obitelji krajem 20. i početkom 21. stoljeća na temelju rezultata istraživanja koje je proveo CBOS (Centar za istraživanje javnog mnijenja u Poljskoj).

Ključne riječi: obiteljske studije, odosi, emocionalne veze, suvremena obitelj u Poljskoj