



Hilfen für die junge Generation

Assistance for the Younger Generation

Statistik und Planung in der Großstadt

Statistics and Planning in Big Agglomerations

Edition 2005

Die familiäre Situation

The family Situation

herausgegeben von
edited by

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Changes of household and family structure in Budapest

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1. Introduction

In **the first part** of the paper I would like to outline **five important changes in the household and family structure** and their causes in Budapest. The transformation process of these living forms is connected to the population decline of Budapest taking place since 1980, which was becoming more intense during the 1990s. On the 1st February, 2001 Budapest had 1 million 778 thousand inhabitants, 12 percent less than 11 years before, while between 1980 and 1990 the population diminished only by 2.1 percent. Both the natural decrease and the negative balance of migrations contributed to this decline; the natural increase had a slightly greater impact than the negative balance of migrations on this process. Between 1990 and 2001 the population loss due to the natural decrease was -6.3 percent, while the loss due to the net migration was -5.5 percent.

The changes in family structure are strongly connected with the ageing process of the population since 1960, the gap between the number of children and that of aged people has been widening continuously since then. At the time of the latest census on the 1st February, 2001, the percentage of children under 15 years was 13 percent, by 4 percentage points less than in 1990. The percentage of people aged 60 years or more grew from 22 percent to 23 percent in this period.

In the **second part** of the paper I would like to work out **typical family structures** in Budapest **by age group and residence** of people. Maps illustrate the concentration of family types in the 77 statistical sub-city districts.

I.

2. **Most important changes in household and family structure between 1990 and 2001**

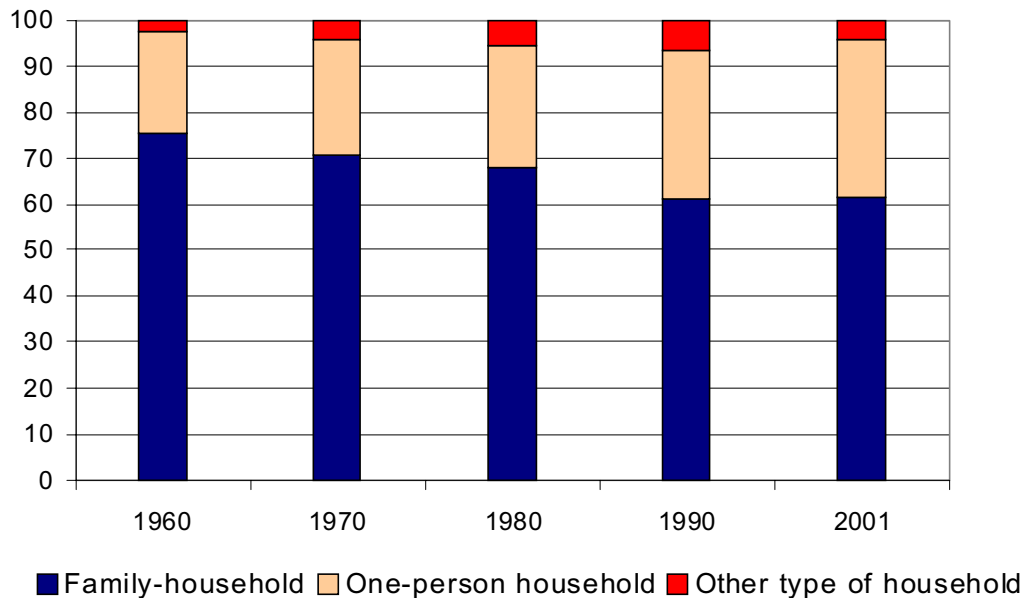
- The decline of the proportion of family-households to all households stopped, the ratio of single households did not increase.
- The size of one-family households decreased, while in contrast to this, the size of more-family households raised since 1990 (though their ratio is only 3 percent).
- The percentage of lone-parent families to all families stabilized, while in the former periods it increased continuously.
- The ratio of cohabitation to all couples increased to a much greater extent in the Hungarian capital than in the rest of country.
- In many families there are children older than 14 years; the percentage of families with children under 15 dropped significantly.

2.1 **The decline of the percentage of family-households to all households has stopped**

At the time of the census of February 2001, 770 thousand households were registered in Budapest, and 1 million 733 thousand people were living in them, by 11 percent less, than in 1990. The composition of households, regarding the percentage of family households and other households has changed in a way which is different from the former tendency. Between 1980 and 1990, the percentage of family households in proportion of all households diminished from 68 percent by 6.6 percentage points, but in the next decade it grew by 0.3 percentage points to 61 percent. Most family households (97 percent) are one-family households; this is practically the same percentage as in 1980. The other side of the before-mentioned tendency is that the percentage of one-person households didn't grow in the same extent, as in the previous decade. In February 2001, 266 thousand persons lived in single households, which is 15 percent of the inhabitants of Budapest and 35 percent of all households.

1. Figure

Distribution of households by household types in Budapest



2.2 Changes in size of households

The size of households had a different trend among one-family households and more-family households. 290 persons fall per 100 one-family households, less by 5, than 10 years ago; among these families there was not any significant change in this regard. By contrast, the size of two- and more-family households grew, the number of persons per 100 more-family households increased from 510 to 526. However, only 5 percent of the inhabitants of Budapest lived in these more-family households; this proportion increased since 1990.

1. Table

| Number of persons per 100 family-households | | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| Year | All family households | One-family households | | | Two family households | Three-and more |
| | | together | married couples and cohabitation | one-parent family | | |
| | | 1960 | 318 | 308 | .. | .. |
| 1970 | 312 | 300 | 305 | 256 | 515 | 802 |
| 1980 | 302 | 296 | 304 | 252 | 505 | 788 |
| 1990 | 300 | 295 | 305 | 257 | 503 | 801 |
| 2001 | 296 | 290 | 300 | 251 | 513 | 810 |

2.3 Rise of lone-parent families stopped among families

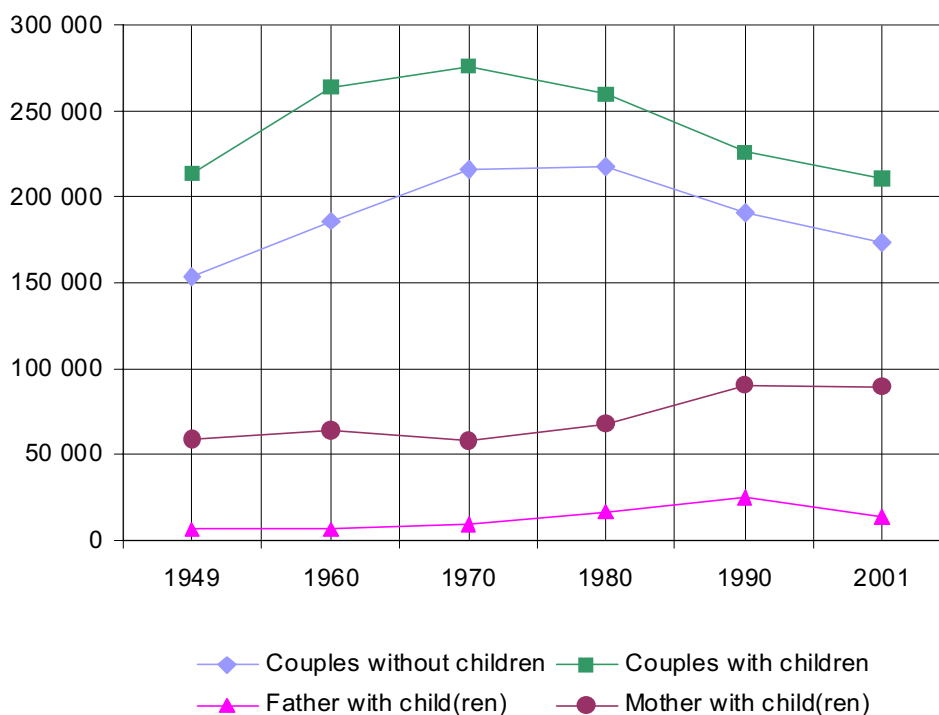
On the 1st February, 2001, 487 thousand families lived in Budapest. The proportion of couples – based on either marriage or cohabitation – to all families was 79 percent, while the remaining 21 percent were lone-parent families. The percentages between the two big family types did not changed since 1990, while from 1960 to 1990 the opposite trend was characteristic: the percentage of couples continuously decreased, whereas the ratio of one-parent families with children grew .

2.4 The number and ratio of cohabitation grew to great extent

A significant trend of the former decade in Budapest was that the ratio of cohabitation to all couples raised from 7.4 percent to 14.7 percent.¹

2. Figure

Development of families by family types in Budapest

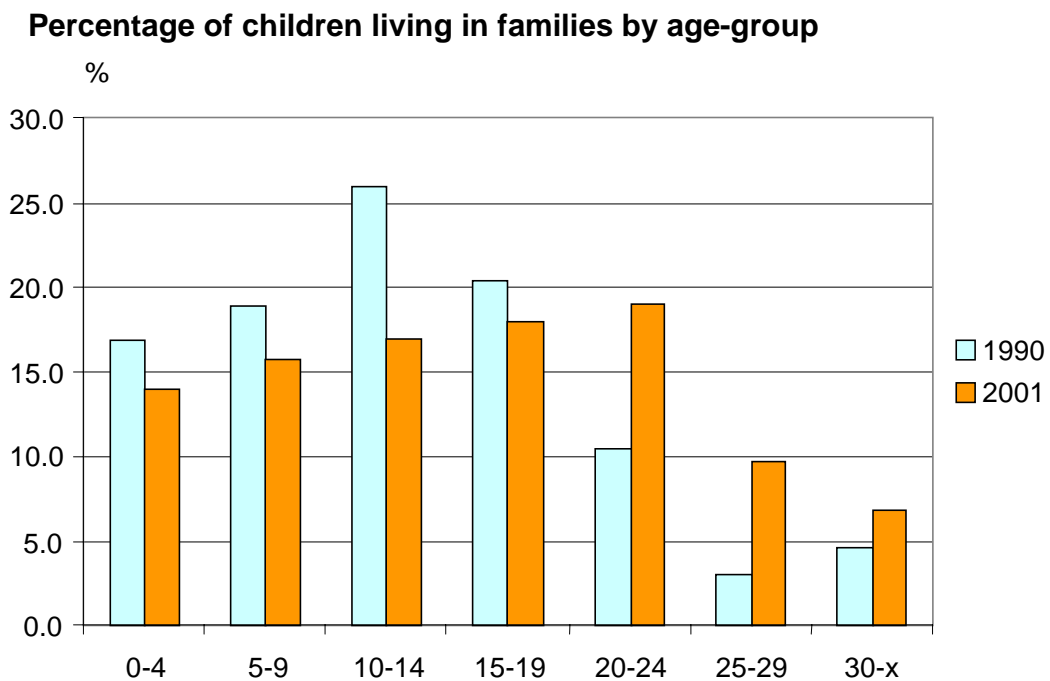


¹ In Hungary according to the law “cohabiting persons are two persons in a common household living in emotional and economical community”. The Hungarian law recognize in more points the consensual union of two persons – not necessarily of different sex –, and for the cohabitation are to less extent the legislative regulation of marriage, the larger extent that of relatives in force. The census registrates the family status according to the legal situation and by own declaration.

2.5 Children living in families

In 2001 the number of children per 100 families was 98, the same as it was 11 years before, while among the children under 15 years of age this indicator decreased from 60 to 46. Since 1990 the breakdown of children by age-group changed respectively, most children living in families are older the 14 years. At the time of the last census, regarding the breakdown of children by 5-year-age-group, the proportion of children living in families was in the age-groups over 20 years one after another higher, while there were increasingly fewer children in the lower age groups than 11 years before.

3. Figure



A considerably higher share of the whole population between 15-29 years lived in families than in 1990. The percentage of children living in families increased by 10,0 percentage points to 84 percent among the population 15-19 years of age, and by 18 percentage points to 54 percent among the population 20-24 years of age, whereas it grew by 16 percentage points to 30 percent among young people between 25 and 29 years during this period.

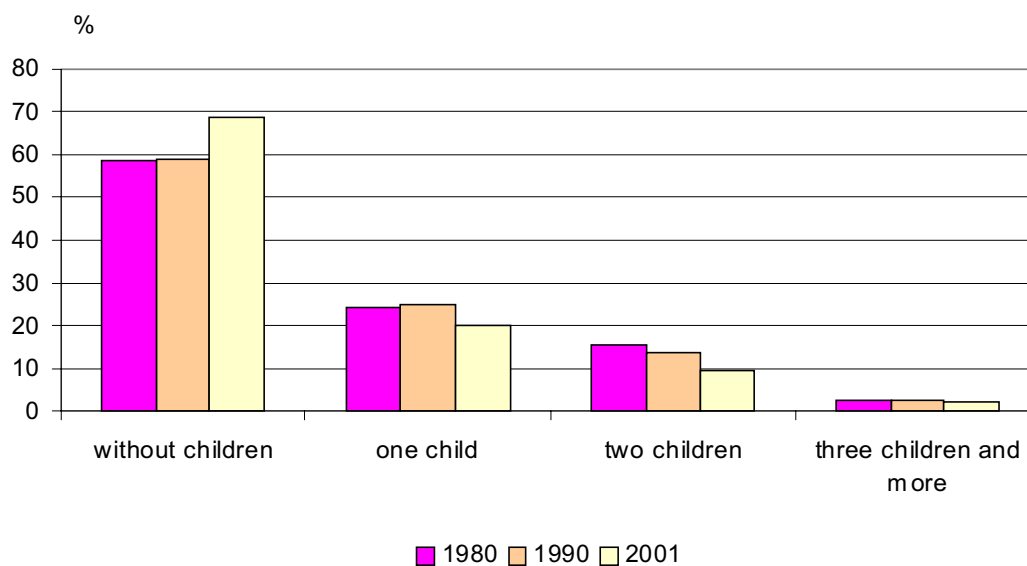
The longer stay of children in families can be explained by the shift of the studying period. At the same time among the children living in families over 20 years of age employees were in majority as in the former periods.

2.6 Decline of families with children under 15 years of age among families

The most important factor of this trend is that the percentage of couples without children under 15 years of age grew from 59 percent to 69 percent since 1990. In the second place, the ratio of couples with one child decreased by 5.3 percentage points to 20 percent, and the percentage of couples with two children also sank by 4.3 percentage points to 9.4 percent, whereas the ratio of families with four or more children did not change in this period.

4. Figure

Percentage of families by the number of children under 15 years



3. Relations of the changes in family structure

The decrease of the number of children under 15 years of age per 100 family is primarily connected to the **absence and postponement of childbirths** in families. This phenomenon is illustrated by the data of heads of families by age-group. The share of heads of childless families under 40 years grew considerably – from 13 percent to 20 percent –, of which the partage of persons under 30 years increased twice. The proportion of heads of childless families older than 60 years had no significant changes in this period, it was 53 and 54 percent respectively. However, among families with child(ren) decreased the share of younger heads of families.

This process has been developing parallelly in the last 11 years with the **raise of consensual unions**. In 2001, 40 percent of the family-heads, younger than 30 years of age and 16 percent of them between 30 and 39 years lived in cohabitation.

Changes in the age-structure of the population and their relationships with the **development of fertility rates** (number of live-births per 1000 females of corresponding age) is a significant background factor. The partage of women between 15-49 years in the female population over 14 years increased at the beginning of the 90s in relation to the years of 1985-1989. However, during the last decade this proportion decreased to a lesser extent. Of which the share of the female population 20-29 years increased, the share of the age-group 30-39 years decreased during the 90s, while fertility rates changed in the opposite way.

In the younger age-groups fertility rates dropped significantly, whereas there was a considerable raise of rates in the age-group 30-39 years. The moment of childbirths is definitely postponed in the course of life: in Budapest the median age of mothers at first delivery shifted from 23,5 year in 1990 to 27.5 year in 2002. In the period 1985-2002 the development of the number of live-births per 1000 females aged 15-49 shows fluctuation, in the long term a decreasing trend. In 2001 and 2002 the fertility rate of females aged 15-49 increased again by less extent. This raise is the result of improvement of fertility rates in the age-group 30-39 years.

One of the important factors which are to consider is the **migration of a part of families with child(ren)** to the surrounding Pest county, specially to the urbanised area around the capital city. The breakdown of migrants by age-group makes probably this statement.

Since 1990 the migration loss of Budapest for Pest county increased continuously. The net migration per 1000 inhabitants fall from -0,8 of the year 1990 to -8,6 in 2002. In the period 1990-2002 this indicator was in the age-group 30-39 the highest (in 2002 -14,1), while in the other age-groups the values were on a lower level, for example in the age-group 40-49 it was 8,1 in 2002, finally the top position of the age-group 30-39 strengthened during the period.

II

The analysis of living forms of households and families implies questions in wider sense of social segregation in the case of big cities, so in Budapest too. If in the spatial structure of the big city in some areas can be proved that a household/family structure is characteristic to a great extent, we can take in account the probability of the existence of closed communities. One of the significant factors of the social segregation is the concentration of similar houshold/family structures in an area. This phenomenon is closely connected to the housing, residential and other sociological situation of the inhabitants of these areas.²

The examination of spatial structure can be improved by the study of connections between life-cycles and household/family structures. In the following table these hypothetic relationships are systematized.

2. Table

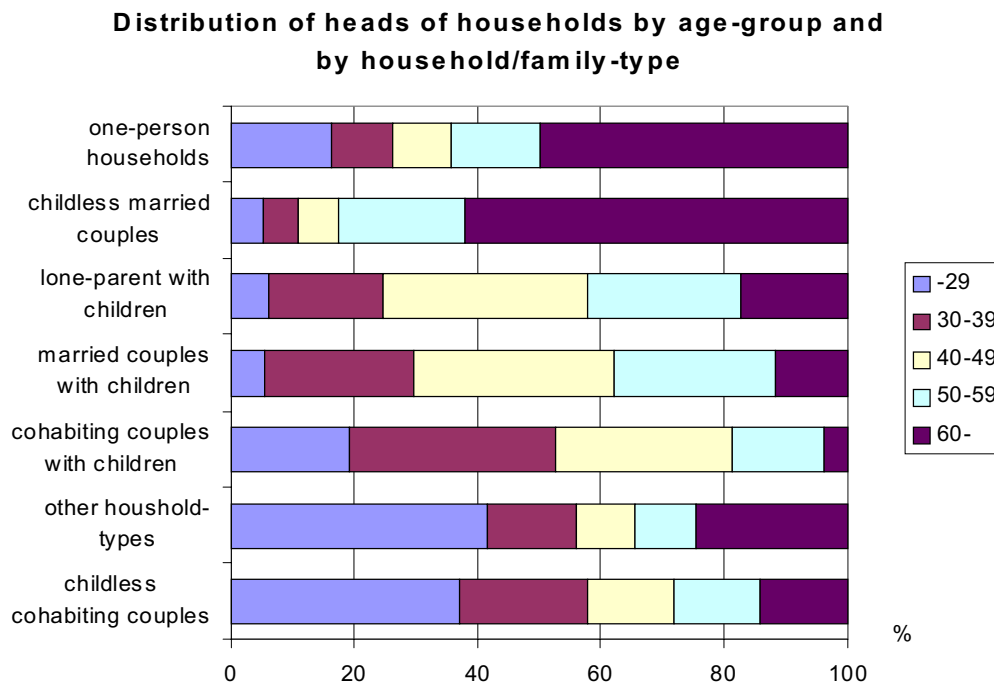
| Hypothetical relationships between life-cycles and household/family-types | |
|--|---|
| Life-cycle | Household/family-type |
| Young and old age | One-person household |
| Under 30 years | Cohabitation |
| 30-39 years | Cohabitation with Child(ren) |
| 40-59 years | Married couples ore one-parent family with child(ren) |
| Over 59 years | Married couples without child |

² Social segregation means separation and isolation of social groups in spatial aspect The examination of social segregation includes .traditionally the following starting points: social, professional position, position in the life-cycle, ethnic minorities. Recent studies work with partly new terms investigating these problems: lifestyle, prestige and security zone communities as gated communities.

It was already mentioned that at the time of the latest census, 35 percent of all households were **one-person households**. This average varies strongly according to the age of people. One half of heads of households aged 60 years and more lives in single households, and you can see the same among heads of households under 30 years (48 percent). In the age group of 30-59, this household type is not so characteristic.

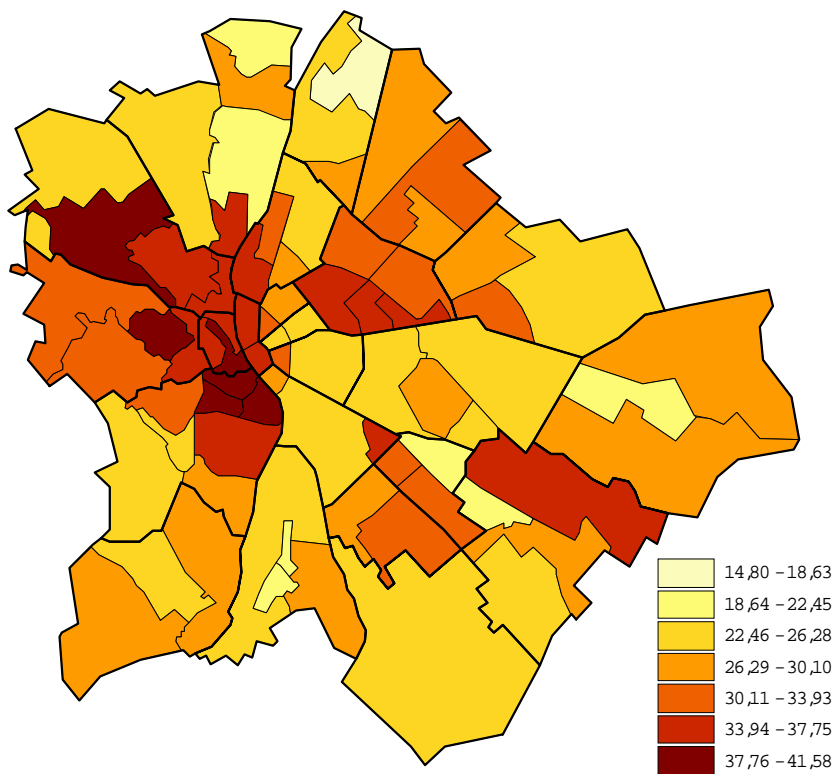
Two-fifth of heads of household living in **cohabitation** without children are younger than 30. One-third of heads of household living in **cohabitation with children** are 30-39 years old. A decisive part (one third) of heads of household living in **marriage with children** are between 40-49 years old, and the same is correct for heads of household living in **lone-parent families**. The highest proportion (60 percent) of heads of household living in **marriage without children** are 60 years old and over. According to the results life-cycle formes proceeding after each other can be drawn like a curve: one-person households of young people, cohabitation, consensual union with child(ren), married couples with child(ren) or one-parent family, older married couples, finally one-person households.

5. Figure

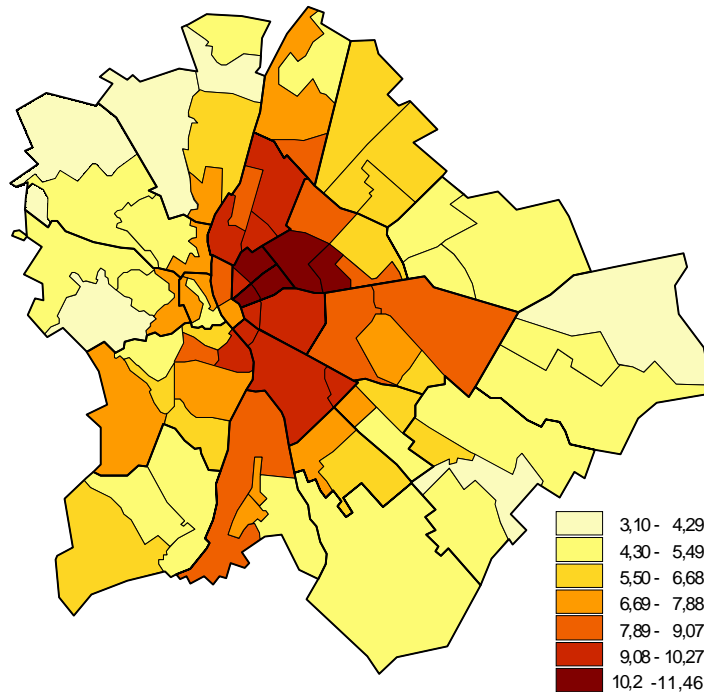


The household types can be well sorted not only by age-group of heads of household but also **by residence** of them in Budapest. The next maps (1.-6. map) show what extent are concentrating some household and family types in several residential areas of Budapest. For this analysis, I used the 77 statistical sub-districts of Budapest as territorial units. (On administrative level, there are 23 districts in Budapest). The following table contains the supposed connections between groups of sub-districts and household/family structures.

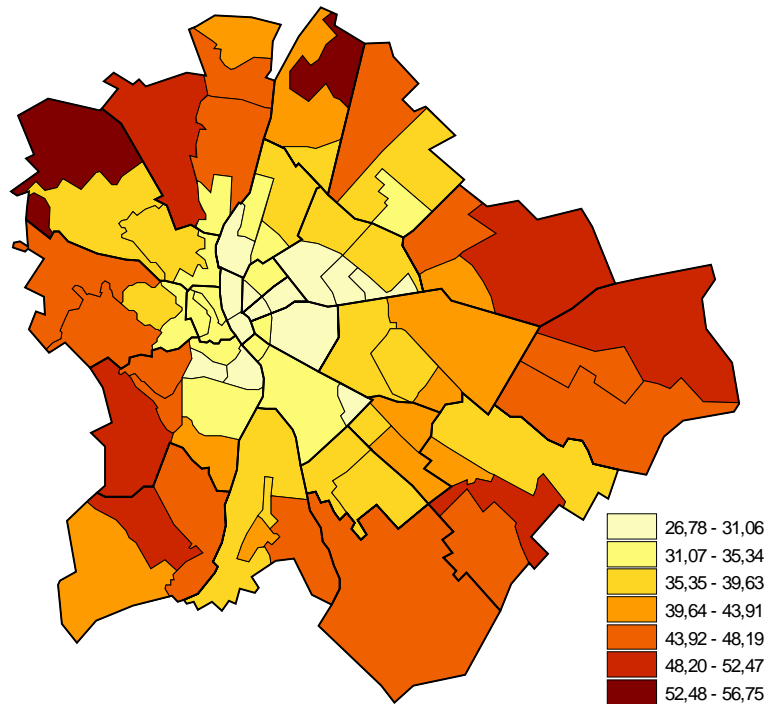
1. Map: Ratio of childless married couples in all families in sub-city districts of Budapest, %



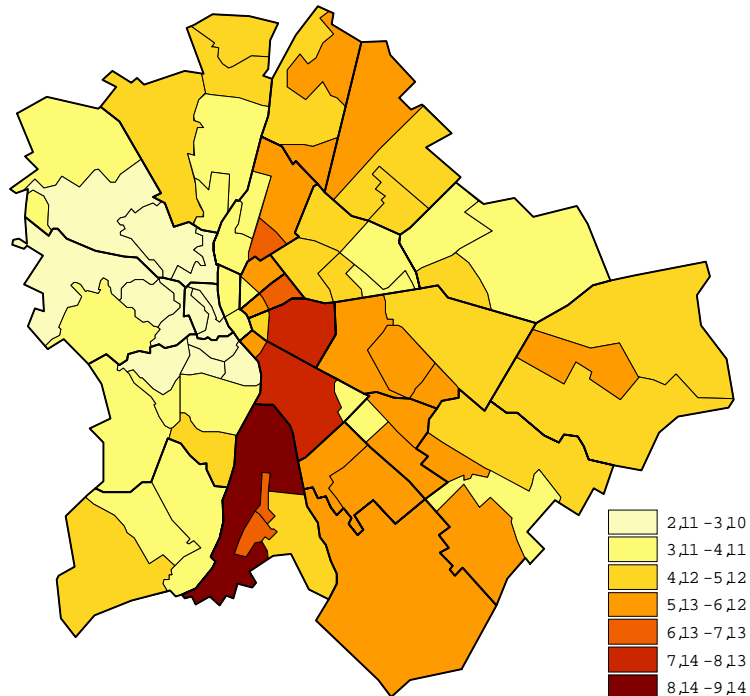
2. Map: Ratio of childless cohabiting couples in all families in sub-city districts of Budapest, %



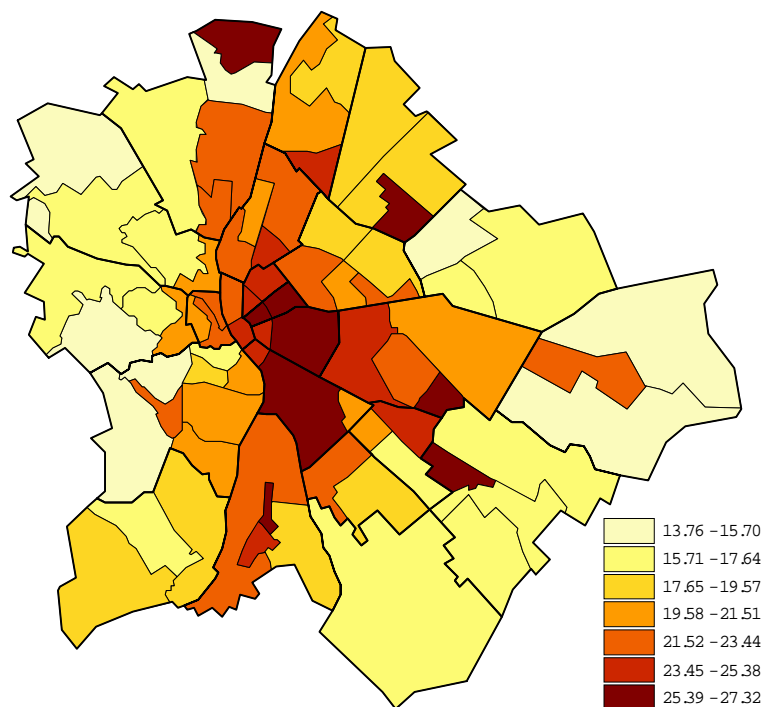
3. Map: Ratio of married couples with child(ren) in all families in sub-city districts of Budapest, %



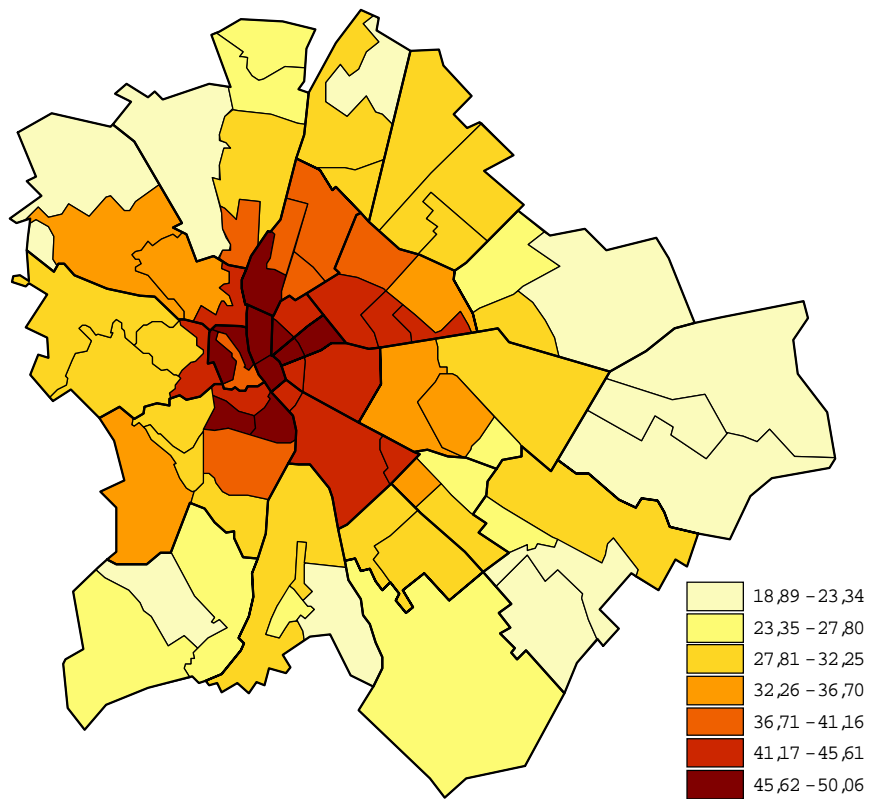
4. Map: Ratio of cohabiting couples with child(ren) in all families in sub-city districts of Budapest, %



5. Map: Ratio of one-parent families in all families in sub-city districts of Budapest, %



6. Map: Ratio of one-person households in all households in sub-city districts of Budapest, %



3. Table

| Relationships between the character of sub-city districts and the household/family types | |
|--|---|
| Character of sub-city districts | Household/family type |
| Centre | Singles, fewer married couples with child(ren) |
| Representative centre | Singles, fewer married couples with child(ren) |
| Centre with mixed functions | <i>Particularity:</i> cohabitations, one-parent families, fewer older married couples |
| City border | Married couples with child(ren), fewer singles |
| Transitional areas | average |
| Inner sub-districts of Buda | Older couples, fewer cohabitations with child(ren), |
| | fewer one parent-families |

The first specificity of this concentration is correct for sub-districts in the **centre of the city**: the highest percentage of single households, and the lowest percentage of married couples with children is concentrated here. The core city can be divided in two parts from another aspect: one part has mostly representative business and administrative roles, while another part has a mixture of functions with partly wrecked buildings. This second part has more peculiarities in addition to the one pointed out above: the percentage of cohabitations without children is here the highest, and the ratio of older married couples is the lowest. Lone-parent families live here in higher density, too.

The second characteristic zone is composed mostly of **sub-districts located on the city border**: the highest percentage of married couples with children, and the lowest percentage of single households can be found here. Cohabitations with children are characteristic partly of some non-representative sub-districts in the core-city, and of some Southern sub-districts on the city border.

The ratio of married couples with children goes lower and lower as we come nearer to the centre of the city. Some sub-districts are of **transitional character** not only from a geographical but also from this point of view. In some of these sub-districts, the percentage of lone-parent families is also transitional.

I have not yet mentioned the most obvious characteristics of Budapest: the city is divided in two parts by the river Danube, and the most representative residential areas are situated on the right side of the Danube, in the hills of Buda. The percentage of cohabitations with children and of lone-parent families in inner sub-districts of Buda is the lowest. However, the ratio of older married couples is the highest in these sub-districts.

Finally, I have clusterized the 77 sub-districts of Budapest by the above-mentioned dimensions of family and household structure.

The applied method: k-means clusters.

Considered variables (in brackets the average of Budapest):

- percentage of married couples without children to all families, % (28.8)
- percentage of cohabitations without children to all families, % (6.9)
- percentage of married couples with children to all families, % (38.5)
- percentage of cohabitations with children to all families, % (4.7)
- percentage of lone-parent families to all families, % (21.1)
- percentage of one-person households to all households, % (34.6)

In the process of simplifying the classification, I finally found five clusters which characterize quite well the typical living forms in Budapest by residence. These are the followings: One group of sub-districts (*4. cluster in the 4. Table and in the 6. Figure*) can be characterized by a high proportion (37 percent) of married couples without children and higher ratio of cohabitations without children (8 percent) as the average, and much lower percentage of married couples with children, and finally by the very high (44 percent) proportion of one-person households. This group of sub-districts is mostly situated in the representative business and administrative sub-districts and in the centre.

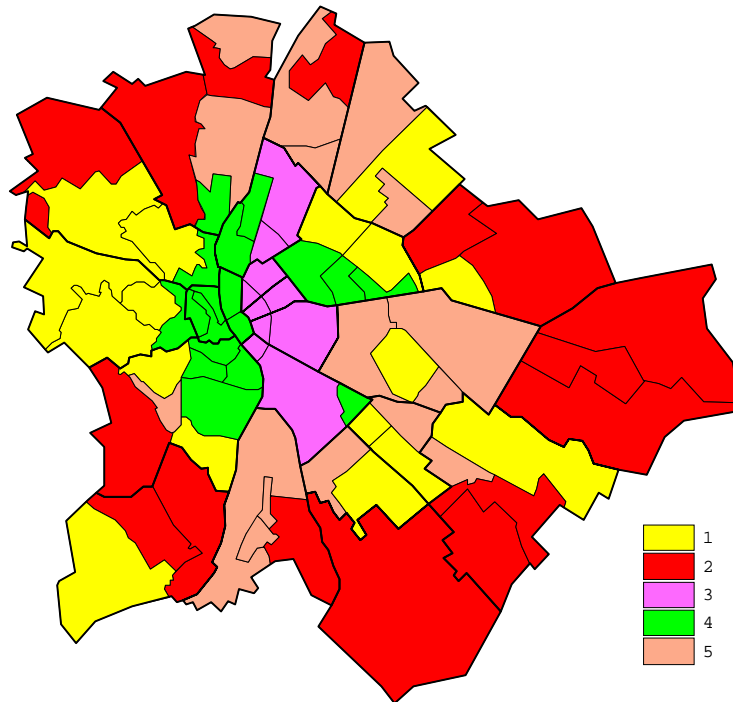
Another part of the core-city of mixed functions (*3. cluster*) is also illustrated on the map: the percentage of cohabitation is higher than the average of Budapest, and the ratio of lone-parent families and one-person households is also significant. One cluster is mostly composed of some sub-districts on the city border (*2. cluster*), where the proportion of married couples with children is high, but one-person households are usually lacking. One of the two groups of sub-districts near to the average of Budapest (*1. cluster*) is characterized by the higher ratio of married couples, and by lower share of one-parent families. *5. cluster* differs from the average in this two relations in the opposite way, and less single households live here.

4. Table

| Percentage of household/familytypes in the five clusters of household/familytypes | | | | | | |
|--|-----------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------------|
| Variable | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Budapest |
| Married couple | 32,6 | 25,9 | 27,0 | 36,8 | 23,7 | 28,8 |
| Cohabitation | 5,7 | 4,6 | 10,0 | 8,1 | 6,8 | 6,9 |
| Married couple with child(ren) | 39,8 | 48,4 | 31,9 | 30,7 | 40,4 | 38,5 |
| Cohabitation with child(ren) | 3,9 | 4,4 | 5,8 | 3,2 | 5,5 | 4,7 |
| One-parent family | 17,9 | 16,7 | 25,2 | 21,2 | 23,5 | 21,1 |
| One-person household | 31,7 | 22,6 | 43,6 | 44,2 | 29,1 | 34,6 |
| <i>Number of sub-districts in clusters</i> | <i>17</i> | <i>16</i> | <i>10,0</i> | <i>18</i> | <i>16</i> | <i>77</i> |

6. Figure

Household/family types in sub-city districts of Budapest



Conclusions

The first part of the paper is an overview about the most important changes in household and family structure in Budapest between 1990 and 2001. One of the most significant changes is the decrease of the share of families with children under 15 years of age in all families, which is connected to more factors: postponement of childbirths in the course of life of families, decrease of fertility rates in younger female age-groups and the migration of families with children to the surroundings of the city.

The second part deals with spatial types of household and family structures in connection of the variation of life-cycle which is one of the significant indicators of social segregation in big cities. In this regard there are definitely characteristic groups of sub-city districts in Budapest.

Sources of the data:

Censuses in Hungary of the years 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990 and 2001, as well as vital statistics in Hungary

Reasons for and consequences of divorces and separations of marriage in Poland in 1995 – 2001

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1. Introduction

The article takes up the issue of divorce in Poland in 1995 – 2001 and separation of marriages¹ in 2000 – 2001. The authors analyse the following: reasons for divorce and separation, age of divorced and separated spouses, structure of divorces and separations by duration of marriage, education of divorced and separated spouses, dissolution of marriage by number of children.

They rely on readily available data from The Demographic Yearbooks covering the 1996 – 2002 period, which have proven an invaluable source of information on the issue in question.

2. Divorce and Separation – Related Issues

From 1 January 1946 Polish courts have been declaring the cessation of conjugal relations² through divorce on condition that there has been a total and irreparable break-down of marital life, and further that the well-being of minor children does not stand in the way of the dissolution of the marriage. Divorce in Poland has been, and continues to be, a typically urban phenomenon (cf. F. Adamski, 1994, p. 151).

¹ See also M. Kuciarska – Ciesielska work of 2003.

² Marriage is a life-long union aimed at the pursuit of joint good. Marriage should be permanent and divorce should be allowed in exceptional circumstances only.

Separation³, existing alongside divorce, is also sought more often by city dwellers. In Poland courts have started declaring divorce in 2000. Where marital life has ceased altogether, each of the spouses may file a petition with the court for separation of marriage. Yet despite total cessation of marital life the court will refuse separation, if it were to cause harm to spouses' minor children.

The following figure prominently as spouse-engendered reasons for divorce and separation: infidelity, abuse of alcohol, objectionable relation towards the family (causing bodily harm), housing problems, financial misunderstandings, idleness, refusal to have sex, neglecting the family, discrepancy of characters, long absence, desertion by the spouse. Reasons, which are nobody's fault, include: life threatening illness of the spouse or his/her children, sexual deficiency, inability to have sex. Reasons that are either nobody's fault or spouse-engendered consist of infertility, objectionable conduct by spouse's family, age differences, irreconcilable philosophies of life, faulty statements of intent.

The reason for separation, which in European legal systems, including the Polish system, exists side by side with divorce is to prevent the dissolution of marriage. It constitutes an attempt at rescuing the bonds of marriage. Separation, in stark contrast to divorce, does not provide for re-marriage.

³ In family law the institution of separation of marriage (separation of spouses at table and bed) is a legal institution enforceable on the strength of a court ruling, which allows for cancellation of the obligation to engage in marital life but falls short of dissolving the marriage. Thus, in stark contrast to divorce, separation does not allow for the dissolution of marriage but merely for partial voiding of its consequences.

3. Trend and Forecast of Divorces in Poland

The picture of the 1995 – 2001 divorce front in Poland in terms of numbers and reasons in absolute numbers and in percentage terms is outlined in Table 1 and Figures 2 and 3. Research into the phenomenon of divorce in Poland in 1995 – 2001 points out to a rise in their number. In order to determine the average increase in the number of divorces in Poland during the period in question the authors estimated the following linear function of the trend:

$$\hat{y}_t = 38,250 + \underset{(30.0637)}{989} \cdot t \quad (t = 1, \dots, n),$$

$$R^2 = 0.6285, \quad R = 0.7928, \quad (1)$$

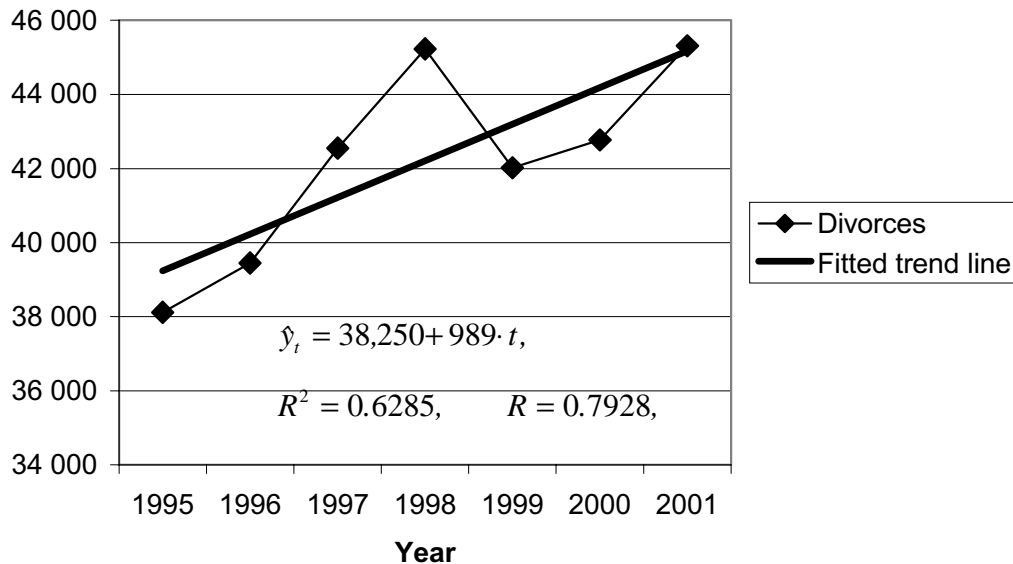
where t is a coded value used to represent the year, and n denotes the number of observations (in this instance $n = 7$).

The parameter estimates contain the calculated t – statistics. Considering that parameter estimates are statistically significant⁴ at the 5 percent level, and further that some 62.9 percent of the variation of the phenomenon in question was explained by the estimated trend line, one must conclude that the number of divorces in Poland in 1995 – 2001 grew by an average of nearly 1000 cases annually. The number of divorces and the estimated trend function are presented in Figure 1.

⁴ The critical value for a level of significance of $\alpha = 0.05$ and 6 degrees of freedom stands at 2.4469.

1. Figure

Linear trend in number of divorces in Poland in 1995 – 2001



The obtained results confirm that the short term point forecasts can be calculated on the grounds of an estimated trend function.

Using Eq. (1) with $t = 8$, $t = 9$ and $t = 10$, we obtain extrapolation forecasts concerning the number of divorces for three years ahead. Thus we have:

| Year | | \hat{y}_T |
|------|---|-------------|
| 2002 | – | 46,162 |
| 2003 | – | 47,151 |
| 2004 | – | 48,140 |

We note that the $T = n + 1$, $n + 2$, and $n + 3$.

The percent error of the calculated point forecast denoted by V_T in the prediction period T is given by

$$V_T = \frac{\sigma_T}{\hat{y}_T} \text{ for } T = n + 1, n + 2, \dots \quad (2)$$

where \hat{y}_T is a predicted value of the dependent variable Y_T in time T .

The standard error of the point forecast denoted by σ_T for a simple linear regression with a constant term is defined as

$$\sigma_T = \sigma_u \left[1 + \frac{1}{n} + \frac{(T - \bar{t})^2}{\sum_1^n (t - \bar{t})^2} \right]^{\frac{1}{2}} \quad (3)$$

where t denotes time variable ($t = 1, \dots, n$) and \bar{t} is the average of the time variable t . Replacing the unknown by its estimate

$$S_e = \left[\frac{1}{n-2} \sum_{t=1}^n (y_t - \hat{y}_t)^2 \right]^{\frac{1}{2}} \quad (4)$$

then gives⁵

$$\sigma_T \approx S_e \left[1 + \frac{1}{n} + \frac{(T - \bar{t})^2}{\sum_1^n (t - \bar{t})^2} \right]^{\frac{1}{2}} \quad (5)$$

For the data in Table 1, Eq. (2) for the $T = n + 1, n + 2, n + 3$ gives

| Year | | V_T in % |
|------|---|------------|
| 2002 | – | 5.10 |
| 2003 | – | 5.44 |
| 2004 | – | 5.82 |

4. Reasons for Divorce and Separation in Poland

As can be seen from the figures outlined in Table 1, infidelity, alcohol abuse, discrepancy of characters (disturbances of communication between spouses), failure to satisfy one's own psychological needs, and objectionable relation towards family (acute, recurrent distress) were the key reasons for divorce over the period in question. The audience should be reminded that infidelity, on numerous occasions, led to a stable relationship with another person and a keenly felt desire for a new marriage. Under such circumstances divorce alone can allow the party guilty of infidelity an opportunity to attain his/her life's goals.

⁵ The values for the variable T are assumed to be accurate; i.e. there is no error in the value of T .

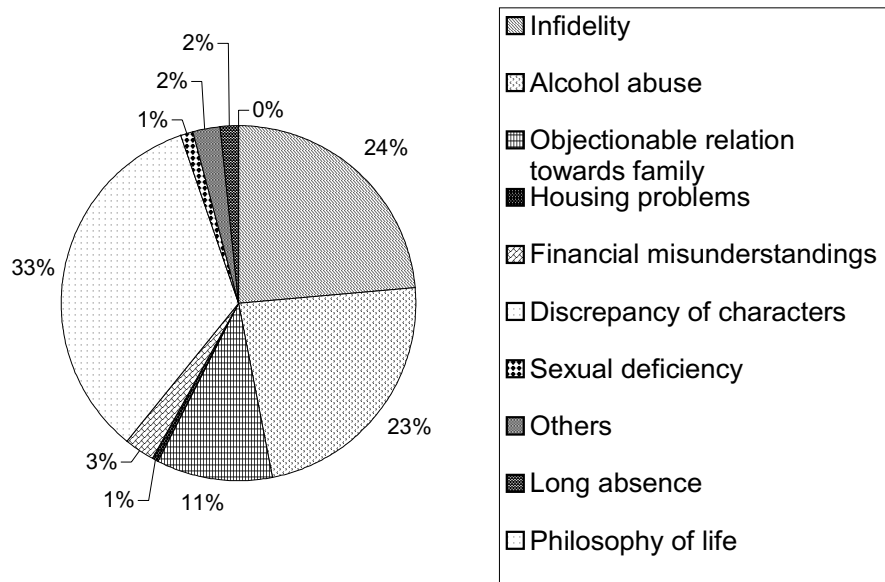
1. Table

| Divorce by reason in 1995 - 2001 in absolute value and as percentage | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--------|-------|--------|-------|--------|-------|--------|-------|--------|-------|--------|-------|--------|-------|
| Year Description | 1995 | | 1996 | | 1997 | | 1998 | | 1999 | | 2000 | | 2001 | |
| | | in % | | in % | | in % | | in % | | in % | | in % | | in % |
| Total | 38.115 | | 39.449 | | 42.549 | | 45.230 | | 42.020 | | 42.770 | | 45.308 | |
| of which: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Infidelity | 6.695 | 23,67 | 6.462 | 22,66 | 6.552 | 22,50 | 6.780 | 21,93 | 6.058 | 21,50 | 5.815 | 21,09 | 5.910 | 20,23 |
| Alcohol abuse | 6.595 | 23,32 | 6.474 | 22,70 | 6.330 | 21,74 | 6.565 | 21,24 | 5.581 | 19,81 | 4.943 | 17,93 | 5.021 | 17,19 |
| Objectionable relation towards family | 2.977 | 10,53 | 2.878 | 10,09 | 2.794 | 9,59 | 2.817 | 9,11 | 2.399 | 8,52 | 2.253 | 8,17 | 2.458 | 8,42 |
| Housing problems | 147 | 0,52 | 153 | 0,54 | 165 | 0,57 | 117 | 0,38 | 132 | 0,47 | 124 | 0,45 | 132 | 0,45 |
| Financial misunderstandings | 761 | 2,69 | 877 | 3,07 | 962 | 3,30 | 923 | 2,99 | 980 | 3,48 | 1.050 | 3,81 | 1.147 | 3,93 |
| Discrepancy of characters | 9.595 | 33,92 | 10.144 | 35,57 | 11.047 | 37,93 | 12.448 | 40,27 | 11.866 | 42,12 | 12.224 | 44,33 | 13.386 | 45,83 |
| Sexual deficiency | 359 | 1,27 | 336 | 1,18 | 299 | 1,03 | 303 | 0,98 | 252 | 0,89 | 263 | 0,95 | 229 | 0,78 |
| Others | 676 | 2,39 | 644 | 2,26 | 538 | 1,85 | 584 | 1,89 | 506 | 1,80 | 554 | 2,01 | 584 | 2,00 |
| Long absence | 464 | 1,64 | 538 | 1,89 | 418 | 1,44 | 351 | 1,14 | 349 | 1,24 | 319 | 1,16 | 308 | 1,05 |
| Philosophy of life | 15 | 0,05 | 15 | 0,05 | 16 | 0,05 | 26 | 0,08 | 49 | 0,17 | 27 | 0,10 | 33 | 0,11 |

Source: Own calculations on the base of Demographic Yearbook of Poland, GUS, Warsaw, 2001 - 2002

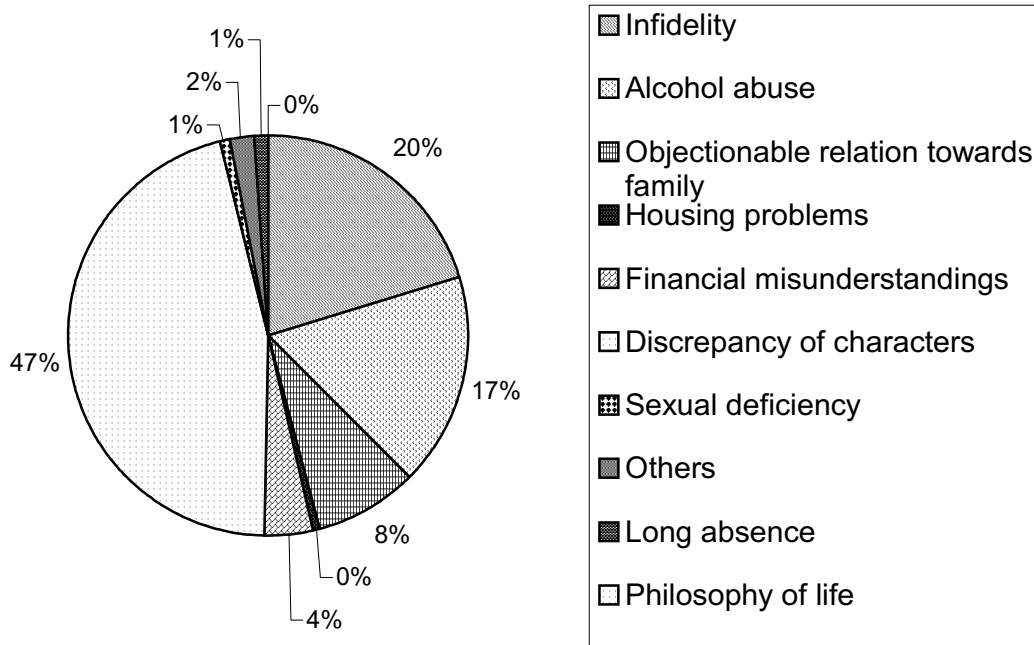
2. Figure

Divorce by reason in 1995



3. Figure

Divorce by reason in 2001



It must be noted that financial misunderstandings, family's financial status, long absence, sexual deficiency, housing problems and philosophy of life figured relatively less prominently as the reason underlying the break-up of marriages during the period in question.

The reasons for separation of marriage in 2000 – 2001 are shown in Table 2 and Figure 4. These were the following: alcohol abuse, discrepancy of character, infidelity and financial misunderstandings. Interestingly enough, objectionable relation towards family and housing problems figure less prominently as reasons for separation.

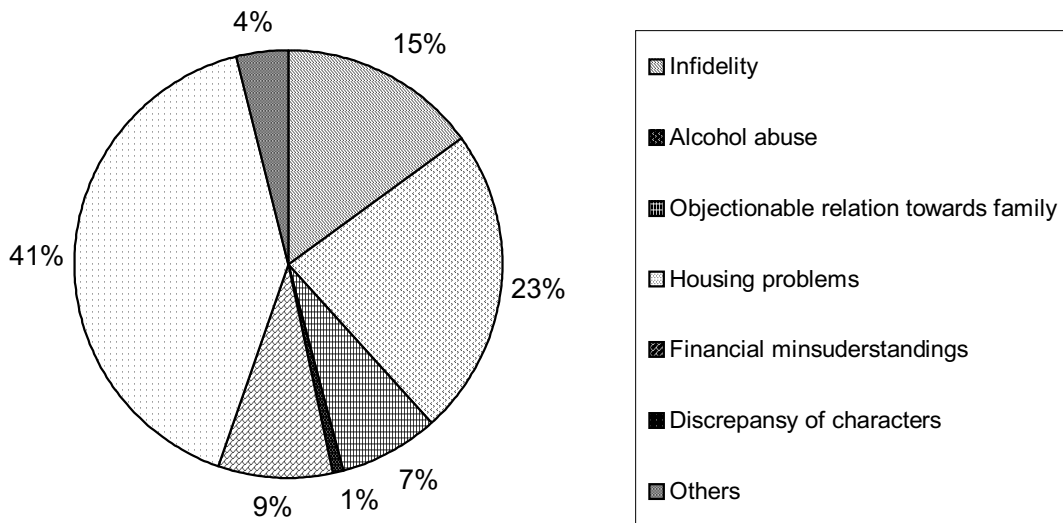
2. Table

| Reasons for separation in 2000 - 2001 in absolute values and as percentage | | | | |
|--|-------|-------|------|-------|
| Description \ Year | 2000 | | 2001 | |
| | | in % | | in % |
| Total | 1.340 | | 2345 | |
| of which: | | | | |
| Infidelity | 119 | 12,11 | 242 | 14,91 |
| Alcohol abuse | 225 | 22,89 | 380 | 23,41 |
| Objectionable relation towards family | 64 | 6,51 | 121 | 7,46 |
| Housing problems | 5 | 0,51 | 14 | 0,86 |
| Financial misunderstandings | 85 | 8,65 | 140 | 8,63 |
| Discrepancy of characters | 444 | 45,17 | 665 | 40,97 |
| Others | 41 | 4,17 | 61 | 3,76 |

Source: Own calculations on the base of Demographic Yearbook of Poland, GUS, Warsaw, 2001 - 2002

4. Figure

Reasons for separation in 2001



5. Age Differences in Divorcees and Separated Spouses, Differences of Duration of Dissolved Marriage and Education

The break-down of marriage through divorce in the under 30 age group is frequent after a relatively short marriage. The principal reason for the break-down of a marriage is psychological and emotional immaturity of spouses and the perception that “one can turn a new leaf” which stems from the conviction that “if one fails in one marriage, then one gets the change to start something new”.

There is no shade of doubt that this breeds an attitude characterised by lack of responsibility for the marriage, spouse and children born during the relationship. It must be emphasised that the wide social attitude (liberal treatment of the inviolability of the marital bond) which unquestionably favours divorce plays an important role in the emergence and perseverance of this crisis-spawning element of marriage and family. The phenomenon is taking all the guise of a social ailment: in a way, divorce has become chic.

Divorced couples more often than the total number of couples contracted marriage at a very young age, not being fully grown-up emotionally, very often expecting a baby. Table 3 contains figures on divorced and separated persons in 2001, by gender and age at the time of the contract of marriage and at dissolution of marriage⁶. The data indicate that the structure of separated and divorced couples is similar in all age groups. It can also be seen that the percentage of separated persons who got married before 24 years of age was slightly smaller. Another striking fact which is the smaller proportion of males in the age group which gets married the most often (24 and younger) and a higher percentage of persons getting married in the 25 – 29 and 30 – 34 age groups.

⁶ The authors analyse the phenomenon on the basis of figures for 2001 alone due to negligible differences in structure between 2000 and 2001.

3. Table

| Divorced and separated persons in 2001 by gender and age at the time of contracting marriage and dissolution of marriage (in percent) | | | | | | | |
|--|--------|---------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|-------------|
| Description | Total | Age | | | | | |
| | | 24 or younger | 25 - 29 | 30 - 34 | 35 - 39 | 40 - 49 | 50 and over |
| Divorced | | | | | | | |
| Age at time of contracting the marriage | 90.616 | 68,71% | 18,77% | 5,95% | 2,87% | 2,45% | 1,24% |
| Male | 45.308 | 60,51% | 24,47% | 7,29% | 3,41% | 2,84% | 1,48% |
| Female | 45.308 | 76,90% | 13,08% | 4,61% | 2,33% | 2,07% | 1,01% |
| Age at time of filing for divorce | 90.616 | 7,80% | 19,19% | 17,52% | 15,36% | 28,26% | 11,88% |
| Male | 45.308 | 4,68% | 17,59% | 18,06% | 15,96% | 29,77% | 13,94% |
| Female | 45.308 | 10,92% | 20,78% | 16,97% | 14,76% | 26,75% | 9,82% |
| Separated | | | | | | | |
| Age at time of contracting the marriage | 4.690 | 64,01% | 21,71% | 7,01% | 3,20% | 2,73% | 1,34% |
| Male | 2.345 | 56,59% | 26,70% | 8,36% | 3,54% | 3,41% | 1,41% |
| Female | 2.345 | 71,43% | 16,72% | 5,67% | 2,86% | 2,05% | 1,28% |
| Age at time of filing for separation | 4.690 | 3,33% | 10,96% | 13,75% | 15,05% | 34,56% | 22,35% |
| Male | 2.345 | 2,09% | 8,91% | 13,77% | 14,67% | 35,86% | 24,69% |
| Female | 2.345 | 4,56% | 13,01% | 13,73% | 15,44% | 33,26% | 20,00% |

Source: Own calculations on the base of Demographic Yearbook of Poland 2002

It is also noteworthy that there are marked age differences in both of the above groups of divorced and separated spouses at the time of filing for dissolution of marriage. The age profile of separated persons is higher than that of divorcees. The percentage of separated spouses in the 24 or under, 25 – 29, 30 – 34 age groups is lower than that of divorcees, whilst the same is notably higher in the 40 – 49 age group and becomes much higher in the 50 and over group. In 2001 in the 50 and over age group, men seeking divorce accounted for 13.94 percent of all divorcees, compared with 9.82 percent of women, whilst persons taking recourse to separation accounted for 24.69 percent and 20.00 percent of all separated persons respectively.

Such meaningful differences at the time of dissolution of marriage may result from the following: 1) persons seeking separation still cherish the hope of rescuing their marriage and eliminating the factors which stand in the way of a happy marital and family life, 2) separated persons do not plan to remarry.

Let us now focus on differences in the duration of marriage amongst divorced couples. The data in Table 4 indicate that the subgroups of divorcees and separated persons reveal striking differences in terms the duration of marriage. Divorce is most common amongst couples with 5 – 9 years of marriage experience, with couples of 5 years or under ranking number two (see Figure 5). Another notable trend indicates that the longer the duration of marriage the smaller the number of couples filing for divorce, although couples married 30 years or over reveal a higher rate of divorce.

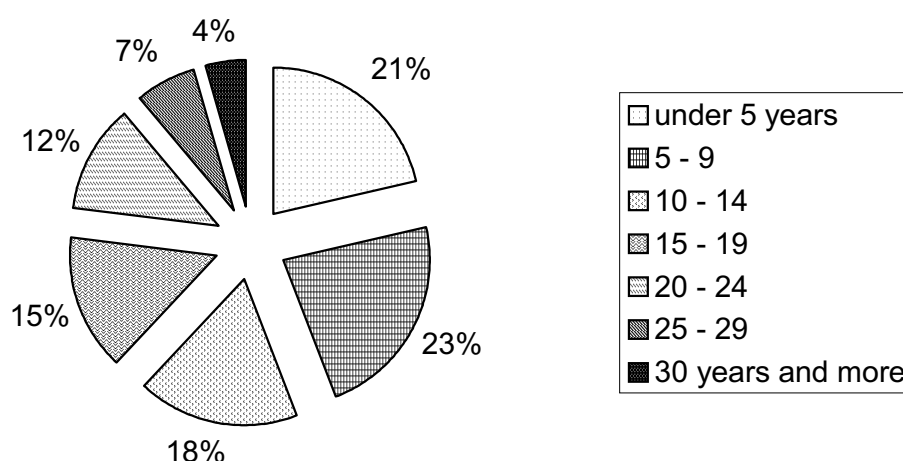
4. Table

| Divorced and separated persons in 2001 by duration of marriage (in %) | | | | | | | | |
|---|--------|----------------------|--------|---------|---------|---------|---------|------------------|
| Description | Total | Duration of marriage | | | | | | |
| | | 5 years or under | 5 - 9 | 10 - 14 | 15 - 19 | 20 - 24 | 25 - 29 | 30 years or over |
| Divorced | 45.308 | 21,42% | 22,65% | 17,85% | 15,12% | 11,85% | 6,67% | 4,45% |
| Separated | 2.345 | 12,54% | 17,40% | 16,08% | 18,25% | 14,75% | 10,19% | 10,79% |
| Urban areas | 83,45% | 12,11% | 17,12% | 15,48% | 17,88% | 15,59% | 10,68% | 11,14% |
| Rural areas | 16,55% | 14,69% | 18,81% | 19,07% | 20,10% | 10,57% | 7,73% | 9,02% |

Source: Own calculations on the base Demographic Yearbook of Poland, GUS, Warsaw 2002

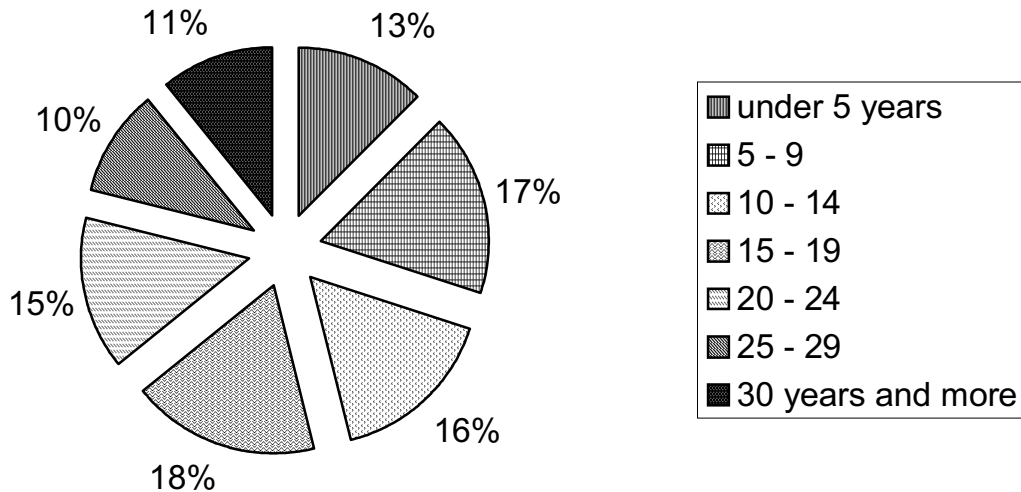
5. Figure

Divorced in 2001 by duration of marriage



6. Figure

Separated in 2001 by duration of marriage



The structure of separations by duration of marriage looks different, though. Separated couples have a longer marriage behind them. Over a half (63.4 percent) of separated persons had a married life of at least 19 years, and 10.8 percent even of 30 years (see Figure 6). The rate of separation during the first 5 years of marriage is much smaller (12.5 percent) compared to the number of divorces during the same period (21.4 percent).

In the case of separations the place of residence is a meaningful factor. Cities have a larger proportion of separated couples with 30 or more years of married life (11.14 percent) than villages.

Let us have a look at the structure of divorced and separated couples in 2000 – 2001 by education (see Table 5). The structure of divorcees is similar to that of separated couples during the years in question. The rate of divorce and separation is high amongst people of higher, secondary and primary education. Thus education is meaningful in making a decision whether to break down a malfunctioning marriage and leave the spouse and it also has strong bearing on the type of solution taken (divorce, separation).

5. Table

| Divorced and separated in 2000 - 2001 by education level (in %) | | | | | | | |
|---|--------|-----------|----------------|-----------|---------|--------------------|---------|
| Description | Total | Education | | | | | |
| | | higher | post-secondary | secondary | primary | incomplete primary | unknown |
| 2000 | | | | | | | |
| Divorced | 85.540 | 12,50% | 1,29% | 69,04% | 16,13% | 0,23% | 0,80% |
| Male | 42.770 | 11,47% | 0,67% | 70,68% | 15,81% | 0,22% | 1,15% |
| Female | 42.770 | 13,53% | 1,92% | 67,41% | 16,45% | 0,24% | 0,46% |
| Separated | 2.680 | 17,35% | 0,00% | 67,87% | 13,69% | 1,08% | 0,00% |
| Male | 1.340 | 14,55% | 0,00% | 70,45% | 13,81% | 1,19% | 0,00% |
| Female | 1.340 | 20,15% | 0,00% | 65,30% | 13,58% | 0,97% | 0,00% |
| 2001 | | | | | | | |
| Divorced | 90.616 | 13,10% | 1,20% | 69,31% | 15,42% | 0,20% | 0,78% |
| Male | 45.308 | 11,72% | 0,64% | 71,02% | 15,28% | 0,19% | 1,14% |
| Female | 45.308 | 14,47% | 1,75% | 67,59% | 15,56% | 0,20% | 0,42% |
| Separated | 4.690 | 14,61% | 1,66% | 68,14% | 14,93% | 0,66% | 0,00% |
| Male | 2.345 | 12,58% | 0,90% | 70,06% | 15,35% | 1,11% | 0,00% |
| Female | 2.345 | 16,63% | 2,43% | 66,23% | 14,50% | 0,21% | 0,00% |

Source: Own calculations on the base of Demographic Yearbook of Poland, GUS, Warsaw 2001 - 2002

It needs to be pointed out that the differences between divorce and separation are also gender related, especially in the secondary and higher education group (see Table 5).

6. Situation of Children From Dissolved Marriages

The authors now wish to dwell on the important issue of the fate of children of estranged parents. Before it declares a divorce or a separation of marriage, the court should take into consideration the impact of its decision on minor children of parents experiencing marital problems.

We should note that in Poland the rate of divorced marriages with minor children has remained traditionally high for many years. It must also be noted that despite a total break-down of marital life, divorce must not be declared if it were to hurt the well-being of the minor children born in wedlock (ability to ensure their peace and stability, psycho- somatic health).

Research into divorces where children are involved indicates that their number in Poland grew (see Table 6). In order to capture the divorce trend where children are involved the authors have estimated a function of a polynomial trend of the 3rd grade.

The results of the estimation are the following:

$$\hat{y}_t = 22,093 + \underset{(7.4318)}{5,155.2 \cdot t} - \underset{(-1.4413)}{1,215.7 t^2} + \underset{(1.2519)}{87.2 t^3} \quad (t = 1, \dots, 7), \quad (6)$$

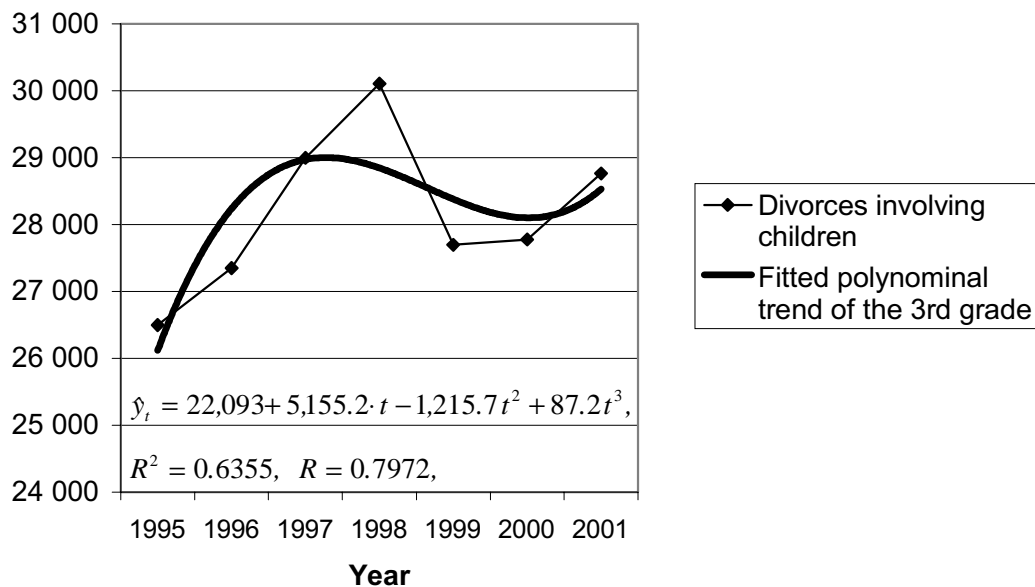
$$R^2 = 0.6355, \quad R = 0.7972,$$

where the values of t -statistics⁷ are written under parameter estimates.

We note that this curvilinear trend explains 63.55 percent the variance in the dependent variable. Figure 7 shows the trend equation fitted to the actual data.

7. Figure

Polynomial trend in the number of divorces involving children in Poland in 1995 – 2001.



We are now ready to use Eq. (6) to forecast for three years ahead. The results are:

| Year | \hat{y}_T |
|------|-------------|
| 2002 | 30,188 |
| 2003 | 33,604 |
| 2004 | 39,299 |

⁷ The critical value of t -statistics for a significance degrees of $\alpha = 0.05$ and 3 levels of freedom stands at 3.182. Lack of significance of calculated values of estimate of parameters of the polynomial trend stems from the small number of observations. In this instance $n = 7$ where n denotes the number of observations.

Finally, using Eq. (6) we need to obtain the percent of the point forecast for the case of three explanatory variables t , t^2 , and t^3 plus a constant term for $T = n + 1$, $n + 2$ and $n + 3$. They are

| Year | | V_T in % |
|------|---|------------|
| 2002 | – | 12.76 |
| 2003 | – | 24.97 |
| 2004 | – | 39.70 |

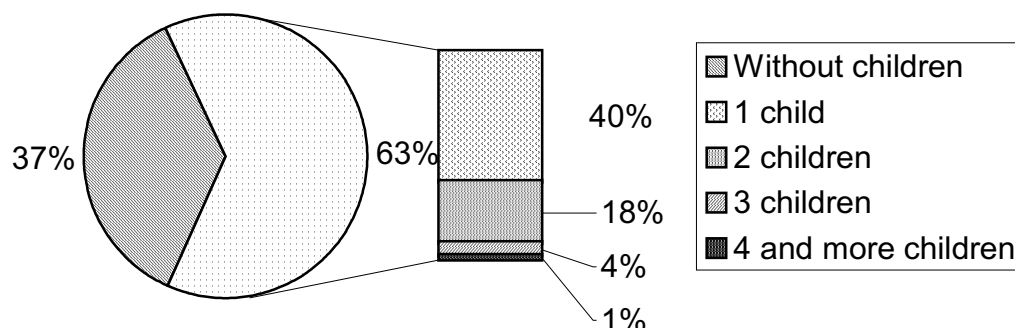
6. Table

| Dissolved marriage by number of children in 2001 (in %) | | | | | | | | |
|---|----------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------------|
| Description | Divorces | | | | | | | Separations |
| | 1995 | 1996 | 1997 | 1998 | 1999 | 2000 | 2001 | |
| Year | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 38.115 | 39.449 | 42.549 | 45.230 | 42.020 | 42.770 | 45.308 | 2.345 |
| Without children (in %) | 30,48 | 30,67 | 31,85 | 33,44 | 34,09 | 35,06 | 36,52 | 35,48 |
| With children (in %) | 69,52 | 69,33 | 68,15 | 66,56 | 65,91 | 64,94 | 63,48 | 64,52 |
| With children | 26.496 | 27.349 | 28.996 | 30.104 | 27.696 | 27.776 | 28.763 | 1.513 |
| By number of children (in %) | | | | | | | | |
| 40,67 | 40,52 | 40,28 | 39,98 | 40,06 | 40,11 | 40,00 | 33,05 | |
| 1 child | | | | | | | | |
| 22,67 | 22,30 | 21,44 | 20,72 | 19,97 | 19,32 | 18,30 | 22,09 | |
| 4,69 | 4,94 | 4,77 | 4,36 | 4,41 | 4,15 | 3,96 | 6,82 | |
| 1,49 | 1,57 | 1,65 | 1,50 | 1,48 | 1,36 | 1,23 | 2,56 | |

Source: Own calculations on the base of Demographic Yearbook of Poland, GUS, Warsaw 1996 -2002

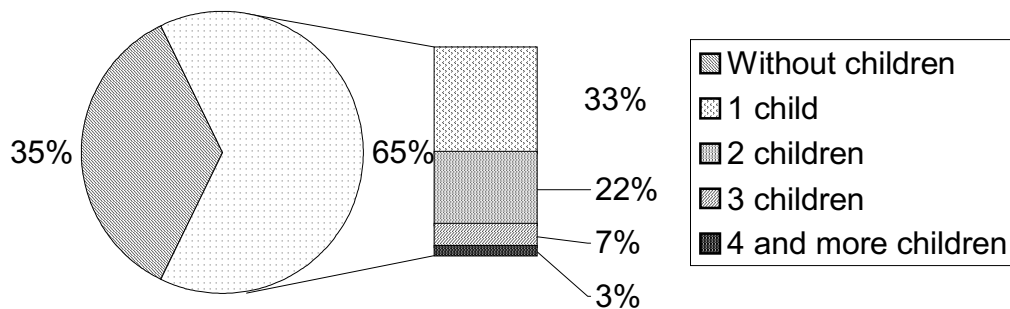
8. Figure

Divorces by number of children in 2001.



9. Figure

Separations by number of children in 2001.



Dissolution of marriage by number of children in 2001 is illustrated in Table 6 and Figures 8 and 9. Nearly 64 percent of divorced and separated persons have dependent children. They mostly have one child⁸, and interestingly enough, more rarely two children and sporadically more. Moreover, 2001 saw 45,308 divorced couples, which means 90,616 adults no longer have reasons for marital conflict, but at the same time bear a deeply-rooted grudge against their spouse for the failure of their marriage.

⁸ In Poland a family with a small number of children is typically connected with city life, but it is fast catching on in the countryside. All empirical research confirms the fact that the most widely accepted model is the one with one or two children (see a work by W. Ignatczyk, 2002). Consequently, Poland's demographics are in a sorry state. Since the beginning of the 1980s the rate of population growth has been dropping, and beginning in 1989 Poland has found itself saddled with a negative population growth rate. Currently, Poland is experiencing the lowest birth rate since World War II (see a work by A. Zeliace, 2001).

Add to that another 2,345 separated couples in 2001, i.e. 4,690 separated adults. One must not overlook the fact that in 2001 as many as 95,306 adults in Poland experienced the break-down of their married life. As a result the children of divorced and separated parents pain at their parents' failure to live up to the marital vow of inviolability of marriage, as well as an inferiority complex resulting from the fact that their peers live in families with parents loving each other and loving their children.

7. Conclusions

The growing rate of break-down of marriage is a manifestation of a moral crisis of the Polish family, a unique union of people. A drop in the number of new marriages⁹ in the 1990s is beyond dispute. Divorce in Poland is a phenomenon principally affecting urban areas. The growing number of marriages breaking down after 15 or more years of joint life is particularly disturbing. The break-down rate in this group stands at 38.1 percent of all divorced persons (see Table 4). Equally disturbing is the growing number of divorced couples with minor children. These marriages account for 63.5 percent of all marriages which broke down¹⁰ (see Table 6).

The list of motives spouses cite as reasons for seeking divorce is long. It features infidelity and spouse's drinking problem as the most common cause, with financial and housing problems ranked number two followed by sexual mismatch. The main reason however is spouses' psychological and emotional immaturity and their conviction that it is possible to „turn a new leaf“. In a way, divorce has become something of a fad, especially amongst older couples. Given the long working hours of mothers and fathers, home ceases to be a place for family life¹¹ and a stimulant of psychological and emotional bonds between the spouses.

⁹ The country's austere socio-economic situation has become a factor playing a role in delaying people's decision to get married.

¹⁰ It is worth noting that the relatively high cost of divorce proceedings alone cannot become a sufficient stop-gap against this socially adverse process.

¹¹ In Poland, professional activity amongst women mothers became a distinguishing mark of the second half of the 20th century. Increasingly women seek employment for non-pecuniary reasons. These reasons are the most manifest amongst educated women, and their number in Poland has been growing, but it also reflects global trends underlying women's social and professional emancipation (see a work on the issue by A. Szuman, 2001).

This factor has been recognised to be the key factor behind the strength of marital life. Perceiving married life as a place for taking, rather than giving, a place for receiving rather than for sharing or self-effacement have become the fate of a typical spouse and parent. Not to mention alcoholism, speed of life, the much talked about model of the “business – woman”, and the peddling of anti-family models in mass media.

One must not turn a blind eye to the fact that divorce has serious implications for children. Empirical research shows that children who have grown up without fathers are more prone to suicide, flight from home, discipline problems and rape (this problem concerns mostly boys), walk-out on school and contracting the marriage more during their teenage years (this concerns girls), thus giving birth to children as teenagers, more often becoming single mothers, or taking refuge in divorce. It is essential to reduce the consequences of divorce or separation which lead to psychic deprivation of children, which in turn often results in psychological disturbances, loss of interest, activity and reduction in the degree of professional and family success.

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Factors determining stay of children in interventionist institution in the light of social and economic changes in Poland after 1989

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INTRODUCTION

The need of possession of home, not only in materialised form is one of basic needs of a human being having crucial impact on proper kilter of family. Properly functioning family is one of significant elements of every society. It constitutes important natural socialising and educational environment. Every member looks for support in the family. But the family is the most important for children, who in properly functioning family find happiness, warmth and basis for kilter in adult life.

Social and economic changes in Poland after 1989 athwart changes in the economic system gave a new sense of factors conditioning life of Polish families. Transformation from the required-and-distributive into free-market economy with successive adaptation it to universal and European standards affected the social and economic status of many Polish families. Rapidly changing standard of material living, increasing unemployment of one or both parents became factors joining familial community, mobilising for mutual fight for providing it with essential economic and educational conditions. But on the other hand, hard living conditions influenced on increasing number of improperly functioning families, not providing their children with basic needs¹.

In the effect of Polish reality, it became necessary to deprive children of natural parental care by placing them in various types of caring and educational institutions. This elaboration targets on presentation of changing social and economic conditions of Polish families in the period of social and economic transformation and their influence on factors determining stay of children in interventionist institution on the example of Caring Service in Szczecin.

¹ See. Cudak H.: "Rodzina polska u progu XXI wieku", Mazowiecka Wyższa Szkoła Humanistyczno-Pedagogiczna, Łowicz 1997, p. 10 and next.

SOCIO-ECONOMICAL FACTORS INFLUENCING FAMILY CONDITION

Basic fact for all sciences about man, both biological, as well as social, is that there exist close union between man and circumjacent world.

Elements of the man's environment are things and people staying in varied relationships. Every man is element of his environment also; his presence in environment influences relationships between elements. .

If we speak about family as child's environment then we have to remember that child is the integral element of family, is a part of a complicated net of relations with the rest of family.

The relations of interaction have cause-effect character and changes of one element of environment or whole environment, cause changes in man, and inversely, changes in his behaviour cause changes in his environment.

In the article authors attempted to identify the socio-economical factors, shaping the surroundings of family and influencing psycho-physical development of the children.

It is possible to distinguish two groups of factors shaping the surroundings of family: social and economic. Among social factors:

- the demographic factors (the population growth, migrations, the number of population and the households, it's structure and size);
- the lifestyle (fashion on definite lifestyle);
- the education of population;
- inclinations in population;
- social pathologies (i.e. alcoholism, drug habit, crime itp.).

Among economic factors influencing the surroundings of family we may talk about:

- the growth of gross domestic product;
- unemployment;
- inflation;
- the cost of capital (the rate of interest);
- the purchase power of households (relation of earnings to prices);
- level of poverty.

More important factors, conditioning living of Polish families after 1989, were talked over below.

Size of households in light of Hozer's theory of the "Quantum Satis"

In market economy, we may observe essential proportion of number of households and number of firms and farms. This proportion results from the theory of Quantum Satis. In current socio-economical conditions this relation should be about 5. The number of households as reported by last general census in 2002 was 170 061, the number of firms and farms was 63 100. In European Union members, such number of households as in Szczecin would result in only 34 000 firms and farms.

As it is visible, the number of firms and farms in Szczecin is too big (for about 30 000), which is among other things effect of independent economic activity of workers on principles of the outsourcing of services for larger subjects. This excess in the number of firms and farms lowers general profitability and in future will cause the destructive competition, what may influence the labour market and indirectly also on property market in Szczecin.

The prognosis of population in Poland to 2030 r. prepared by General Statistical Office prognoses falling number of children, then small growth and stabilization on level 1,6 (and so below the level of the reproduction) as well as further fall in death-rate of both sexes in all groups of age. The differences between provinces should gradually disappear. The slow growth of migration between provinces and between cities and villages is forecasted. This will result in increasing number of people flowing in cities from villages.

In first two decades the number of population of Poland will keep on the level of about 39 million, then it will get smaller to 38 million in 2030. The proportions of population will change in all groups of age: children and youth's below 18 years part will decrease from 25.6 percent in 1998 to 18.1 percent in 2030; part of people in age 65 years and over will grow up from 11.9 percent to 21.1 percent.

The foreseen growth of population in context of changes in number and structure of households, very important role plays forecasted number of people in age 65 years and over: during next 30 years this number will grow to about 64 percent. In all provinces those changes will be unequal. In majority of provinces the fall of number of population will happen.

It in range of variability of households' structures, it was accepted that the long-term tendency of changes is the growing share of small households and falling of large households.

Such tendency has stepped out for several decades in developed countries and was caused by many factors. The gradual change of structure of population according to age is one of them (growth of the share of persons' in older age as result of earlier low number of children as well as lengthening the life). Second from essential factors of changes of size households is economic growth. This growth causes from one side the growth of percentage of economically independent people (having own earnings), and from the other side enlargement of supply of the flats, which meets demand because men usually desire to live individually. It concerns not only families with children and persons in elder age but also youth which becomes independent materially from parents early.

The third factor - in some countries – is change in society's customs, this is raising number of relationships not based on a marriage, as well as spreading of other behaviours that are not favourable to persistence of families.

In Polish conditions it does not seem to be possible to observe changes in process of the formations and durability of families. However, there are differences between regions as well as between cities and villages. We can suppose that those differences will stay for long.

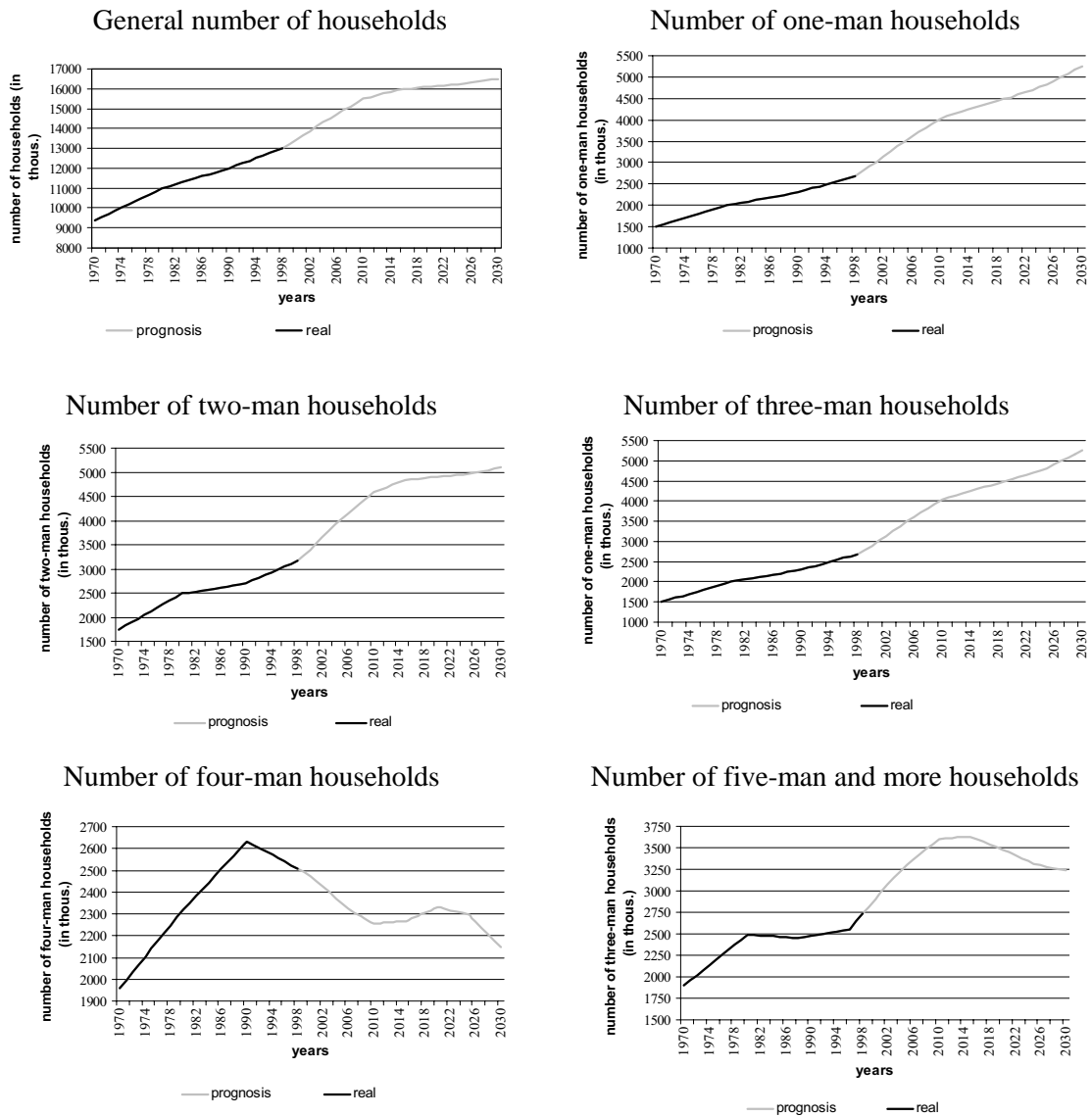
1. Table:

| Average size of household in Europe | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Countries | 1950 | 1960 | 1970 | 1980 | 1990 |
| Sweden | 2,9 | 2,8 | 2,6 | 2,3 | 2,3 |
| Germany | 2,9 | 2,8 | 2,7 | 2,4 | 2,3 |
| Denmark | 3,1 | 3,0 | 2,8 | 2,5 | 2,3 |
| Netherlands | 3,5 | 3,2 | 2,8 | 2,5 | - |
| Switzerland | - | 3,3 | 2,9 | 2,5 | - |
| Finland | 3,6 | 3,3 | 3,0 | 2,6 | 2,4 |
| Austria | 3,1 | 3,0 | 2,9 | 2,7 | 2,6 |
| Belgium | 3,0 | 3,0 | 2,9 | 2,7 | - |
| France | 3,1 | 3,1 | 2,9 | 2,7 | 2,7 |
| Norway | 3,3 | 3,3 | 3,0 | 2,7 | 2,4 |
| Gr. Britain | 3,2 | 3,1 | 2,9 | 2,7 | 2,5 |
| Luxemburg | - | 3,3 | 3,1 | 2,8 | - |
| Hungary | - | 3,2 | 3,1 | 2,9 | 2,7 |
| Italy | 4,0 | 3,6 | 3,3 | 3,0 | 2,8 |
| Greece | 4,1 | 3,8 | 3,4 | 3,1 | - |
| Bulgaria | - | 3,9 | 3,2 | 3,2 | - |
| Poland | - | 3,6 | 3,5 | 3,2 | 3,1 |
| Spain | - | 3,8 | 3,6 | 3,4 | -2,9 |
| Portugal | 4,1 | 3,8 | 3,7 | 3,4 | - |
| Yugoslavia | 4,4 | 4,0 | 3,8 | 3,6 | - |
| Ireland | - | 4,1 | 4,1 | 3,8 | 3,5 |

Source: Household demography and household modeling - Van Imhoff E., Kuijsten A., Hooimeijer P., Van Wissen L., Plenum Press, New York 1995

Assuming continuation of economic growth, the growth rate of stock of flats should not be lower than now. Assuming low relative increase of population, the growth of number of flats in relation to number of population will contribute to growth of number of households because a number of large households will reform in larger number of smaller households. Increase in number of flats, as well as economic growth will have an impact on growth of number of households. In this situation many generations families residing together, will be less and less prone to describe themselves as one household. These changes will be probably most visible in villages.

1. Figure: Households according to size in 1970 - 2030 in Poland.



Source: The prognosis of households in Poland according to provinces for 1999 - 2030, GUS, Warszawa 2000

Though the small fall of number of population to level of 37,8 million in 2030 year is forecasted for Poland, the number of households will grow up to 16,5 million and this will be caused by change of structure of households. Percentage of 1- and 2-person households will grow considerably, percentage of 3-person families will also grow, but only till 2015. After 2015 year fall of number of such households is forecasted. The share of large households (4, 5 and more members) will get smaller considerably, and it will result from changes in the model of family as well as changes of lifestyle.

2. Table:

| Forecasted average size of household in Poland | | | |
|--|------------------------|----------------------------------|--|
| Year | Population (thousands) | Number of households (thousands) | Average number of persons in household |
| 1988 | 37107,0 | 11970,0 | 3,10 |
| 1995 | 38609,4 | 12501,0 | 3,06 |
| 2000 | 38288,2 | 13431,7 | 2,85 |
| 2005 | 38328,7 | 14519,9 | 2,64 |
| 2010 | 38564,2 | 15485,8 | 2,49 |
| 2015 | 38808,0 | 15929,8 | 2,44 |
| 2020 | 38829,4 | 16117,7 | 2,41 |
| 2025 | 38482,4 | 16247,0 | 2,37 |
| 2030 | 37832,4 | 16489,6 | 2,29 |
| Source: The own calculation on the ground of Forecasts of households in Poland according to provinces for 1999 - 2030, GUS, Warszawa 2000 | | | |

According to prognoses of General Statistical Office the average size of household in Poland in 2030 year will be only 2.29 persons.

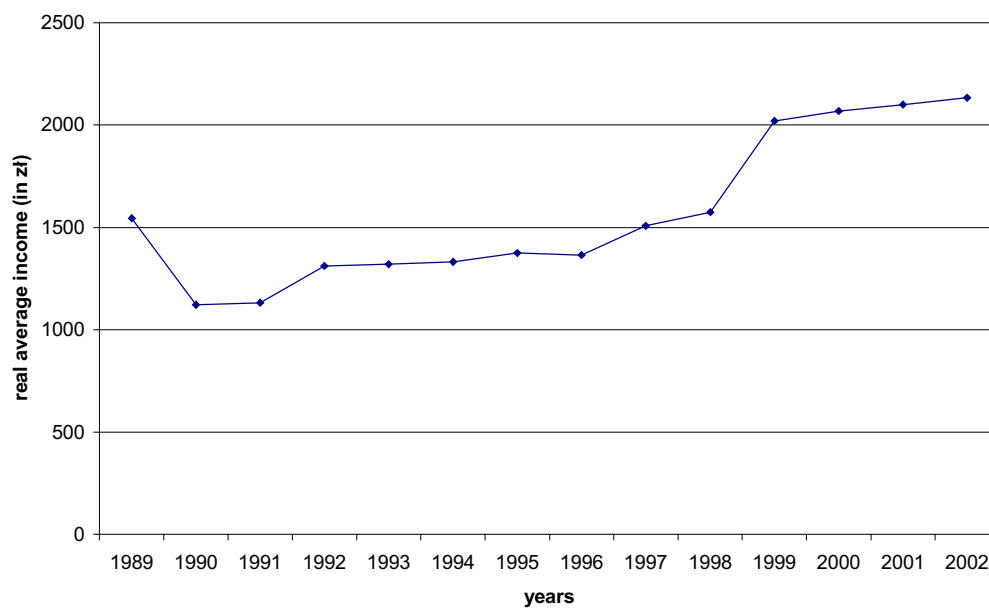
Earnings of population

Received incomes in relation to average market prices (the purchase power) has got principal influence on ability to the satisfy needs of families and through this also on creating material conditions for psychical and physical development of the children. In period of system transformation (with except 1990) we got the growing trend of real average monthly earnings, and this means that the prices of services and consumer goods grew slower than incomes, therefore households could purchase more and more goods.

The growing asymmetry of income distribution was unfortunately negative phenomenon, that is well-off got rich more quickly than less well-off. This phenomenon can influence the feeling of lack of improvement in material situation by the bigger part of households.

2. Figure:

Dynamics of real average income in Poland in 1989-2002
(in 2002 prices).

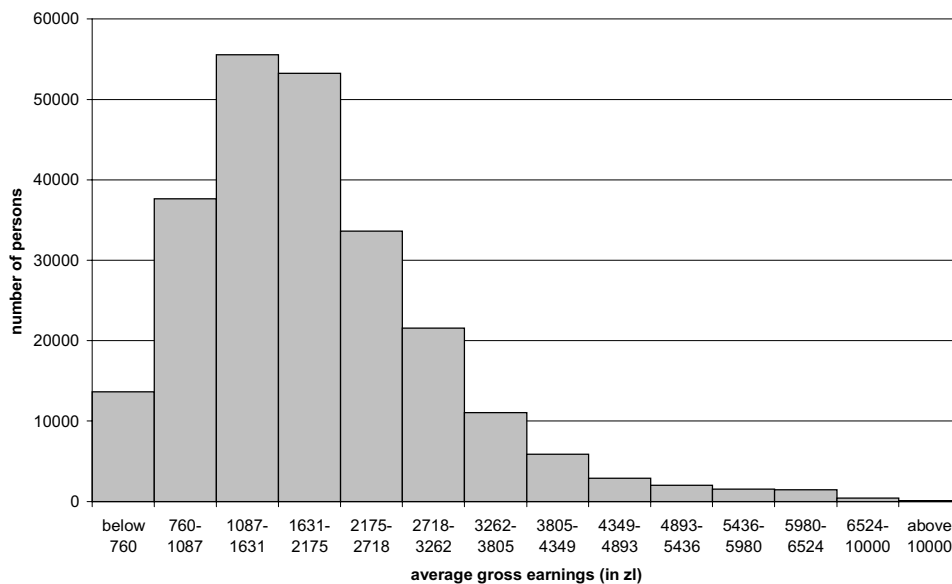


Source: Own calculation on the ground of data from General Statistical Office (www.stat.gov.pl).

From 1989 the asymmetry of distribution of incomes in Poland grew systematically. The phenomenon of asymmetry exists also in Szczecin. This means that households with lower than average earnings predominate in Szczecin. This is visible on the following chart, which represents the distribution of gross earnings in Szczecin in 2002.

3. Figure:

Distribution of gross earnings in Szczecin in 2002



Source: Own study on the ground of the data from Province Statistical Office in Szczecin

Problems of poverty

The prosperity is a state of high-level of the satisfaction of varied needs of society or individual. It's general measure is the level of GNP per capita.

The poverty is a level of life with an income lower than minimum desired to satisfy basic needs for existence, that is lower from of threshold of poverty, taking into account the minimum costs of living measured with consumer prices index. People who do not it achieve this threshold are numbered to living in poverty. In macro-economics poverty means simultaneously high inflation and unemployment. Both measures of this unfavourable phenomena added together create the coefficient of poverty (poverty index) called also coefficient discomfort. The setting of the threshold of poverty is separate problem, that is settlement which from households should be recognized as poor. It is the problem of identification of poverty.

According to standards of UN to biological survival the indispensable income on jedna person in height 2 \$ daily (for developing countries). It in turn in United States they use relative line of poverty, formed across division of the cost of biological minimum by so called Engle's coefficient IE, being the percentage of expenses on food in general expenses of households. The spatial identification of poverty is the next important problem, e.g. identification in small areas. It is this the particularly essential element of regional policy which should be oriented on equalizing the levels of development in areas where it with different reasons people live more poorly.

The identification of poverty areas may be accomplished with the help of the taxonomic methods. These methods permit contraction of synthetic measure, falling within the range of (0,1). We will call this measure the coefficient of prosperity and it's complement to unity - the coefficient of poverty. To construct the coefficient it is indispensable to specify most essential factors influencing the feeling of "satisfaction" that households achieve, called universally "prosperity". The following variables were used to calculate the level of poverty in Szczecin province's administrative districts:

- monthly average gross earnings,
- number of firms and farms per 1000 occupants number,
- percentage working in national economy,
- registered percentage of unemployed,
- number of persons per one flat,
- the number of square meters of usable surface of flat per one person,
- elementary schools per 10 000 occupants,
- the number of institutions of ambulant health care per 10 000 occupants.

The composition of values of variables according to administrative districts of Szczecin province in 2001 contains table 3.

3. Table

| Values of variables used to construct the coefficient of prosperity according to administrative districts of Szczecin province | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|-------------------|---------------------|----------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| district | number of firms and farms on 1000 occupants | em- ployed (%) | Un- employed (%) | in- comes | number of occupants per flat | number of m ² per occupant | number of schools per 10000 occupants | health care posts per 10000 of occupants |
| bialogardzki | 77,3 | 25,6 | 15,1 | 1546,63 | 3,45 | 17,18 | 3,4 | 2,17 |
| choszczenski | 67,3 | 24,3 | 12,9 | 1593,42 | 3,43 | 17,46 | 4,9 | 2,34 |
| drawski | 82,8 | 24,8 | 15,0 | 1553,24 | 3,45 | 17,94 | 4,1 | 7,56 |
| goleniowski | 85,8 | 29,3 | 10,7 | 1737,52 | 3,44 | 18,27 | 4,1 | 3,84 |
| gryficki | 101,8 | 24,8 | 14,3 | 1619,45 | 3,47 | 18,16 | 4,2 | 4,51 |
| gryfinski | 83,7 | 30,1 | 10,0 | 2065,48 | 3,66 | 16,99 | 4,7 | 3,64 |
| kamienski | 116,3 | 26,6 | 11,4 | 1597,22 | 3,39 | 19,01 | 4,6 | 6,81 |
| kolobrzesci | 18,6 | 34,3 | 6,6 | 1606,5 | 3,36 | 18,96 | 3,7 | 12,40 |
| koszalinski | 83,9 | 24,8 | 13,6 | 1675,86 | 4,02 | 16,85 | 5,9 | 6,21 |
| mysliborski | 79,0 | 30,5 | 11,5 | 1600,6 | 3,48 | 17,74 | 4,1 | 3,43 |
| policki | 107,2 | 31,7 | 6,7 | 2186,4 | 3,57 | 18,58 | 4,6 | 3,40 |
| pyrzycki | 70,7 | 26,8 | 12,1 | 1654,58 | 3,62 | 17,40 | 4,4 | 8,24 |
| slawieski | 81,9 | 26,7 | 15,2 | 1512,95 | 3,77 | 17,93 | 4,7 | 8,65 |
| stargardzki | 84,2 | 24,7 | 10,6 | 1660,79 | 3,47 | 17,30 | 3,1 | 3,65 |
| szczecinecki | 80,9 | 26,8 | 14,7 | 1862,39 | 3,34 | 17,70 | 3,9 | 9,33 |
| swidwinski | 73,8 | 23,7 | 15,4 | 1517,55 | 3,42 | 17,87 | 4,1 | 9,53 |
| walecki | 93,0 | 24,9 | 11,5 | 1571,99 | 3,40 | 17,81 | 3,7 | 4,93 |
| Szczecin | 147,8 | 39,4 | 5,2 | 2144,64 | 2,91 | 19,47 | 2,0 | 5,39 |
| Koszalin | 148,5 | 37,1 | 8,9 | 1917,2 | 3,01 | 18,37 | 2,0 | 16,17 |
| Swinoujscie | 142,5 | 32,8 | 6,8 | 1776,81 | 3,12 | 17,94 | 2,5 | 3,46 |
| Polska | 78,7 | 38,0 | 8,1 | 2045,11 | 3,23 | 19,50 | 4,4 | 3,43 |

Source: Statistical Review of Szczecin's province, Province Statistical Office 2002, Szczecin

Szczecin's province consists from 20 administrative districts, in this 3 of them they are on rights of cities: Szczecin, Koszalin and Świnoujście. For comparative aims, coefficient of prosperity was build also for a whole country. The following schedule contains for administrative districts the composition of coefficients of prosperity. The higher value the higher level of prosperity is in studied area and the better conditions are to development of local property markets.

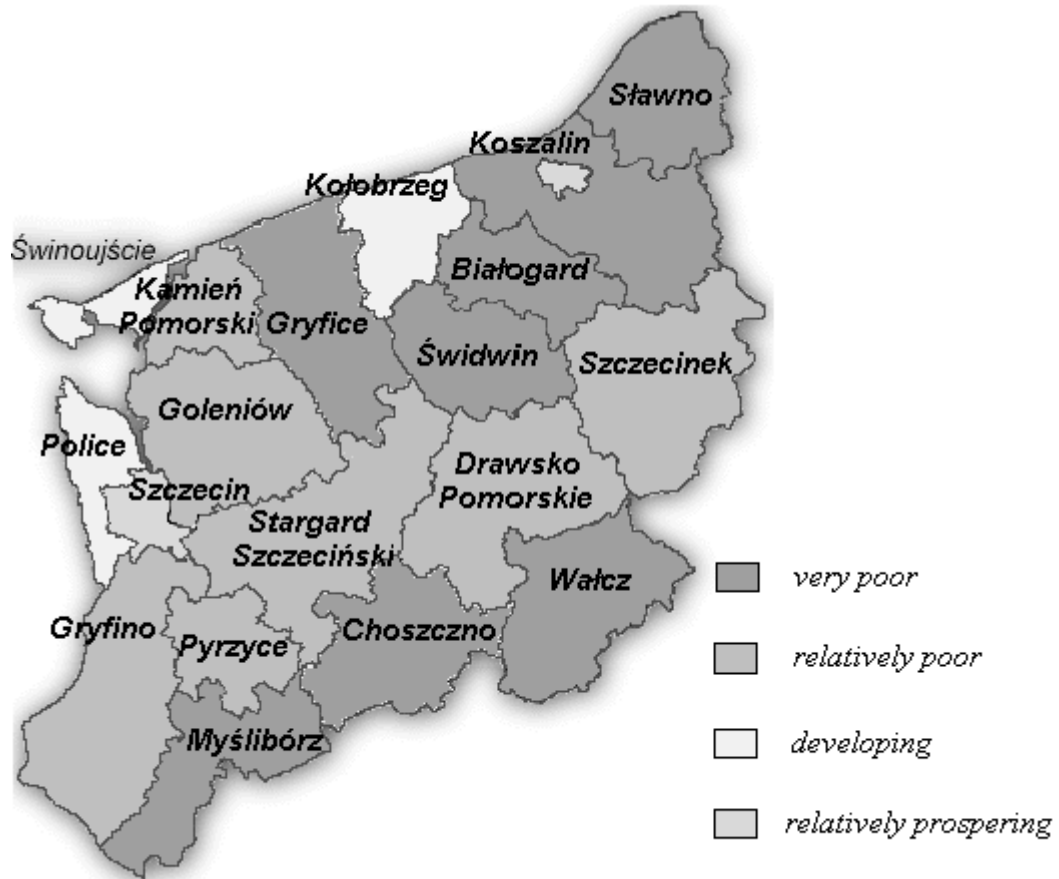
4. Table:

| The Coefficients of prosperity for administrative districts of Szczecin province and Poland | | |
|---|------------------------|-----------------------|
| districts | prosperity coefficient | |
| Szczecin | 0,606 | relatively prospering |
| Koszalin | 0,479 | |
| Swinoujscie | 0,433 | developing |
| policki | 0,397 | |
| kolobrzescski | 0,365 | |
| Polska | 0,346 | |
| gryfinski | 0,339 | relatively poor |
| kamienski | 0,316 | |
| goleniowski | 0,305 | |
| drawski | 0,279 | |
| szczecinecki | 0,276 | |
| stargardzki | 0,268 | |
| pyrzycki | 0,250 | |
| gryficki | 0,247 | |
| walecki | 0,246 | very poor |
| mysliborski | 0,240 | |
| choszczenski | 0,235 | |
| bialogardzki | 0,219 | |
| koszalinski | 0,212 | |
| slawienski | 0,206 | |
| swidwinski | 0,200 | |
| Source: Own calculation | | |

The highest values of coefficient of prosperity have 3 cities: Szczecin (0,606), Koszalin (0,479) and Swinoujscie (0,433), which cannot be doubtful. In turn the poorest areas of province are the administrative districts of eastern and south part of region, among the following districts: swidwinski, slawienski, koszalinski, bialogardzki, choszczenski, mysliborski, walecki. It is disturbing that as many as 15 administrative districts are characterized by lower level of poverty than average poverty for Poland. Outside the town on rights of administrative district the only administrative districts: policki and kolobrzescski got higher coefficient than average for Poland. Areas, where the coefficient of prosperity did not cross the value of 25th percentile of studied community, we should recognize as areas very high degree of poverty. The spatial schedule of coefficient of poverty for province represents fig. 4.

4. Figure

Coefficients of poverty according to administrative districts in 2001



Source: Own calculation

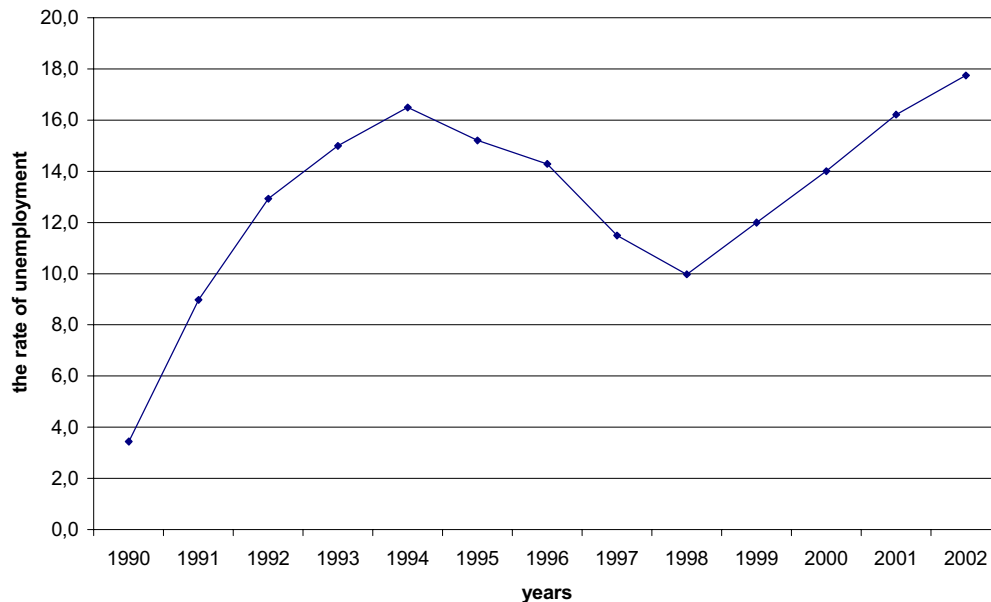
The map of poverty in administrative districts of Szczecin province permits identification of areas with lowest coefficients, and in which it would necessary to develop programs of development as well as starting financial aim for these regions (i.e. in future with structural funds from European Union).

Unemployment

Unemployment is negative phenomenon. Relatively low and stable in time level is desirable, though very often it is characterized by seasonality. This is connected with character of employment in some sectors of economy, i.e. the agriculture, building. In market economies there is obviously some “sure” level of unemployment, the natural unemployment (different for different economies), which level oscillates around 5-6 percent. Unfortunately in Poland the foot of unemployment crossed the level of neutral foot three times (look fig. 5).

5. Figure

Dynamics of the rate of unemployment in Poland in 1990-2002



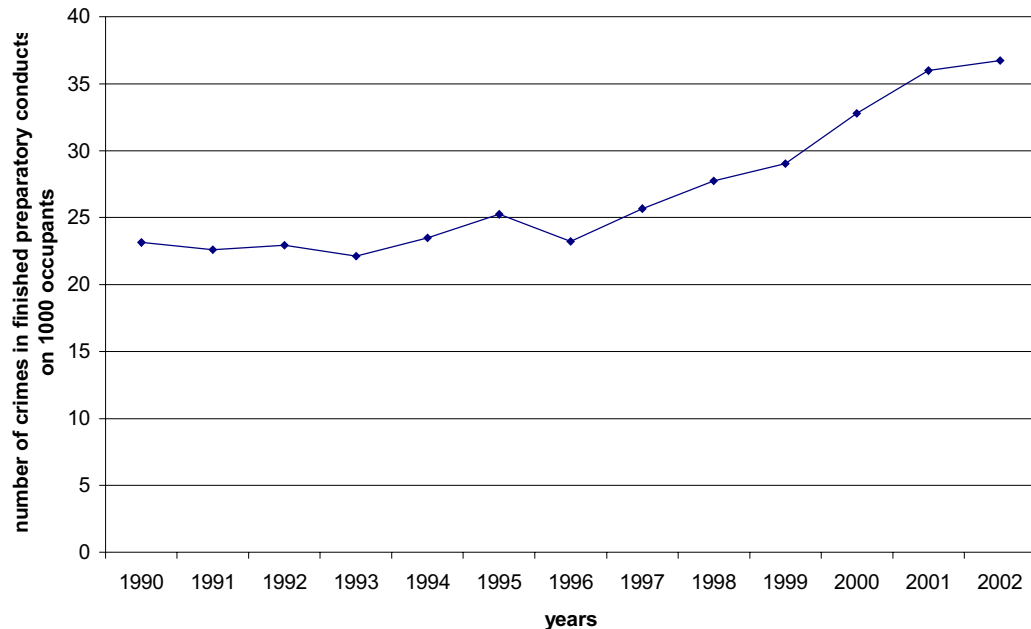
Source: GUS (www.stat.gov.pl)

Social Pathologies (alcoholism, crime)

By presented demographic and economic factors, essential meaning and influence on families have social phenomena peculiarly such as alcoholism and crime. Unfortunately together with the change of political and economic system, we may observe growth of negative phenomena. The systematic growth of crime in Poland was observed. In 1989 we had 23 crime on 1000 occupants, in 2002 this is near 37 on 1000 occupants.

6. Figure

Dynamics of number of crimes in finished preparatory conducts on 1000 occupants in Poland in 1990-2003.

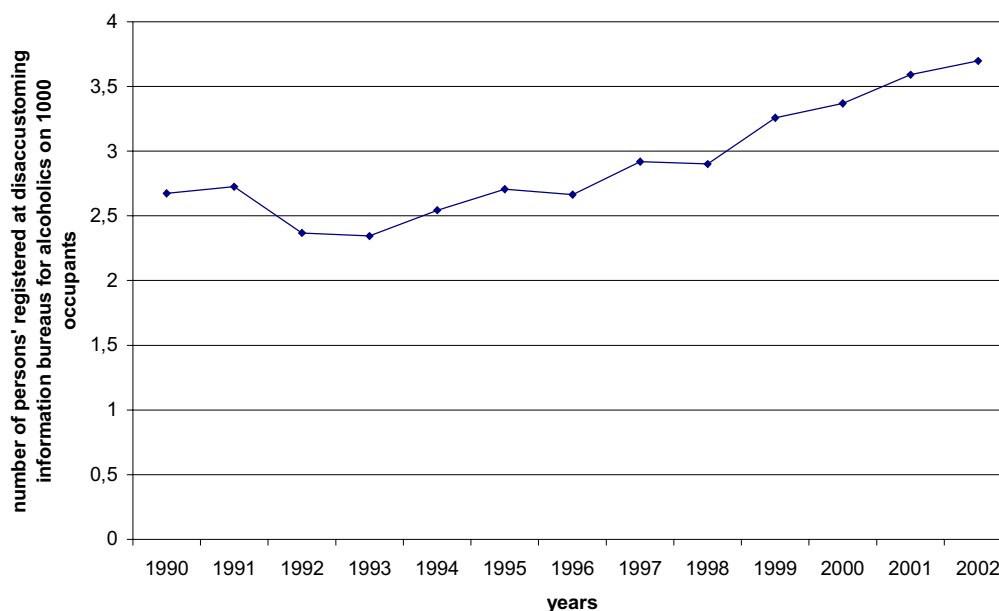


Source: Own study on the ground of data from GUS (www.stat.gov.pl)

How statistics prove, the number of recorded at disaccustoming information bureaus for alcoholics grows also. Registered at such information bureaus persons' number crossed already 3,5 person on 1000 occupants. There is a lack of statistical data on how many is touched by the problem of alcoholism but not recorded at special information bureaus. Authors estimate that this number is even five times larger. Alcoholic disease of one or two parents is often the main cause of children's stay in orphanages.

7. Figure

Dynamics of the number of persons' registered at disaccustoming information bureaus for alcoholics on 1000 occupants in Poland in 1990-2003.



Source: Own study on the ground of GUS data (www.stat.gov.pl).

In 1937 average Pole drank about 0,7-0,8 litre of pure alcohol, in half of the eighties it was already about 7-8 litres and at present it's over 10.

FACTORS DETERMINING STAY OF CHILDREN IN THE INTERVENTIONIST INSTITUTION ON THE EXAMPLE OF CARING SERVICE IN SZCZECIN

In the face of many deviations, system of Polish family that was discussed in the first chapter of this paper during last several years had been seriously shaken. So there is often need for the state to strengthen proper family functioning, as well as taking total control over a child menaced by dysfunction of family by competent institutions.

One of forms of care for children that functions in Polish reality is interventionist institution designed for children requiring immediate twenty-four-hour help and isolation from hitherto existing environment.

Role of interventionist institution in Szczecin is fulfilled by Caring Service, which tasks are:

- elaboration of pedagogic diagnosis and psycho-physical state of a child and ascertainment of indications for further didactic and educational work;
- work with a family for return of a child to family, helping family in liquidation of causes, of which child was placed in the institution;
- providing conditions for education adjusted to age and possibilities of a child;
- organising proper compensating-and therapeutic and reclaiming activity.

Additionally, this institution creates conditions for versatile development, according to standards of care and education in the caring-and-educational institutions. It provides children with sense of safety, cares for respect of emotional relationships between child and parents, leads therapeutic activities with children and parents. In realisation of these tasks the Caring Service co-operates with pupil's parents, court, police, schools, psychological-and-pedagogic bureaus and adoptive-and-caring centres.

Because of close location of Szczecin, Service also accepts juvenile foreigners, which has been caught during illegal crossing Polish border. Basis of acceptance of a child in the institution is decision of Family Division, in unexpected cases on application of police, school or social organisations. Children are accepted twenty four hours a day. Stay of children in Caring Service ends with return of a child to family, qualification to the other form of care, coming of age, in case of long unjustified absence of a child in the institution and court ruling of end of staying in the institution.

As noticed by Krupinski², stay of children in the Caring Service is generally connected with:

- decay of a family (divorce, leave of one of parents, joining in new, often irregular marriages);
- pathology and dysfunction of a family (alcoholism, demoralisation, crime, prostitution, moral decay, disorder of emotional ties);
- low cultural level of parents;
- life shiftlessness of parents, pedagogic inefficiency;
- random situations (parents' disease, leaving abroad)³.

Apart from social, economic and psychological factors determining stay of children in the interventionist institution, such as the Caring Service in Szczecin, the biggest problem the institution must face is lack of will of co-operation of biological family.

² See: *Ibidem*.

³ See: Krupiński A.: "Pogotowie Opiekuńcze w systemie opieki nad dzieckiem", WSiP, Warszawa 1990, p.31.

Among the social conditions coming from outside of a family, the most frequent are:

- orphanage;
- semi orphanage;
- temporary or permanent lack of possibilities of taking care for children by parents;
- level of parents' education;
- place of living – districts of poverty and pathology.

Amongst economic conditions, which are the indirect cause of placing children in the institution, the most common are:

- lack of regular source of incomes;
- insufficient incomes;
- improper use of possessed means;
- lack of incomes, lack of means for living;
- lack of proper flat;
- bad living conditions.

Analysing type of referrals of children to the Caring Service in Szczecin (see table 5 and figure 8), it is obvious that percentage of children placed in the institution on permanent stay in relation to referrals for temporary stay increases. It is a new occurrence in functioning of interventionist institution. It testifies that the institution loses its temporary character and gradually transforms into a resocialisation institution.

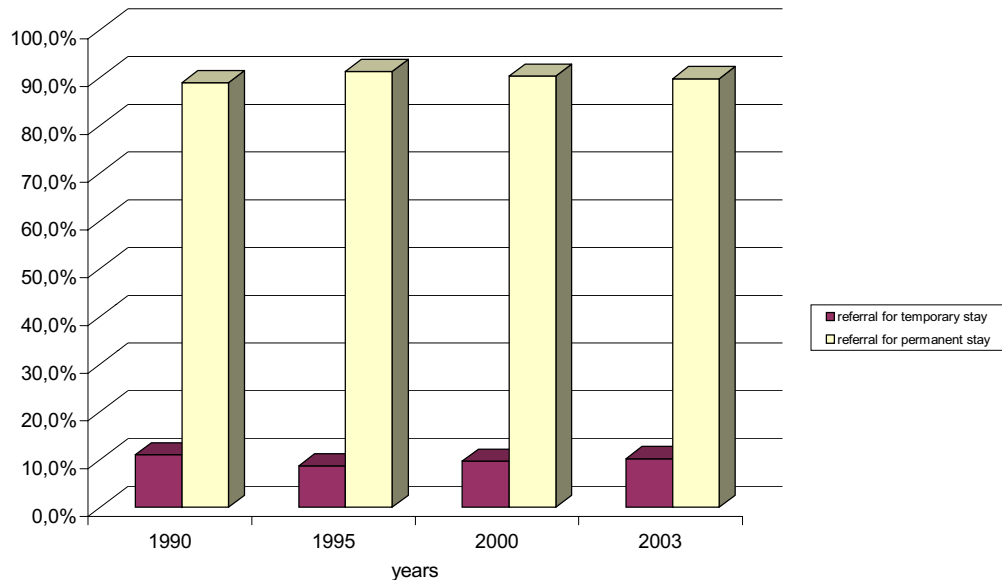
5. Table:

| Type of referrals of children to Caring Service in Szczecin in years 1985, 1990, 1995, 2000, 2003 | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--------|------------|--------|------------|--------|------------|--------|------------|--------|------------|
| Specification | 1985 | | 1990 | | 1995 | | 2000 | | 2003 | |
| | number | percentage | number | percentage | number | percentage | number | percentage | number | percentage |
| referral for temporary stay | 38 | 13,2% | 27 | 11,0% | 31 | 8,7% | 20 | 9,7% | 14 | 10,2% |
| referral for permanent stay | 249 | 86,8% | 218 | 89,0% | 325 | 91,3% | 187 | 90,3% | 123 | 89,8% |
| sum | 287 | 100,0% | 245 | 100,0% | 356 | 100,0% | 207 | 100,0% | 137 | 100,0% |

Source: own researches on the basis of data obtained from the Caring Service in Szczecin

8. Figure:

Type of referrals of children to Caring Service in Szczecin in years 1990, 1995, 2000, 2003



Source: own researches on the basis of data obtained from the Caring Service in Szczecin.

Data presented in table 6 and figure 9 illustrate age of children accepted to the Caring Service. It is clear that with time passing, number of placed children being in age group above 12th year of life increased from 36,9 percent in 1985 to 49,6 percent in 2003. However, percentage of children in age 3-6 years decreased.

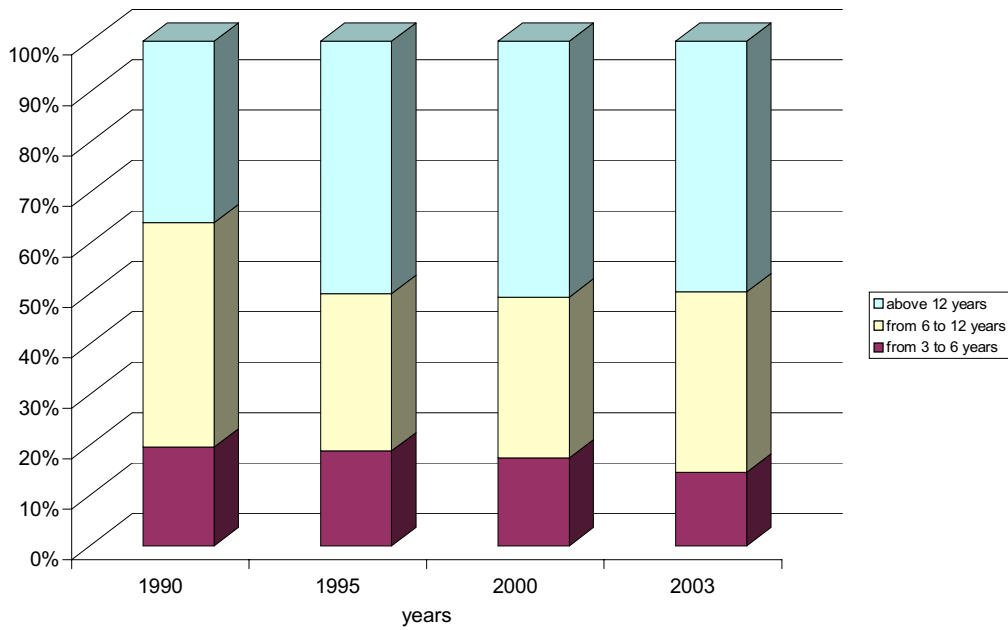
6. Table:

| Age groups and number of children referred to the Caring Service in Szczecin in years 1985, 1990, 1995, 2000, 2003 | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--------|------------|--------|------------|--------|------------|--------|------------|--------|------------|
| Specification | 1985 | | 1990 | | 1995 | | 2000 | | 2003 | |
| | number | percentage | number | percentage | number | percentage | number | percentage | number | percentage |
| from 3 to 6 years | 70 | 24,4% | 48 | 19,6% | 67 | 18,8% | 36 | 17,4% | 20 | 14,6% |
| from 6 to 12 years | 111 | 38,7% | 109 | 44,5% | 111 | 31,2% | 66 | 31,9% | 49 | 35,8% |
| above 12 years | 106 | 36,9% | 88 | 35,9% | 178 | 50,0% | 105 | 50,7% | 68 | 49,6% |
| sum | 287 | 100,0% | 245 | 100,0% | 356 | 100,0% | 207 | 100,0% | 137 | 100,0% |

Source: own researches on the basis of data obtained from the Caring Service in Szczecin

9. Figure

Age groups and number of children referred to the Caring Service in Szczecin in years 1990, 1995, 2000, 2003



Source: own researches on the basis of data obtained from the Caring Service in Szczecin.

Table 7 and figure 10 indicate on relation between social pathology of families and number of children from these families coming to the Caring Service. In analysed years the biggest number of referrals consisted of children coming from families, where alcoholism combined with rows and fights took place. In analysed years it should be noted that number of placed children coming from families affected with unemployment and mental disorders increased.

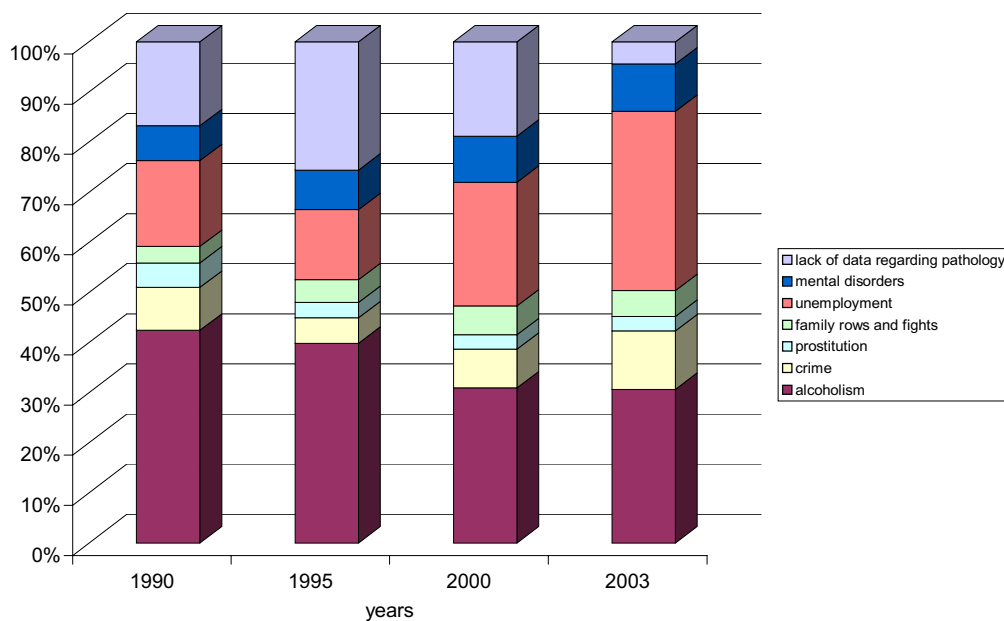
7. Table:

| Pathology of family life in families of children referred to the Caring Service in Szczecin in years 1985, 1990, 1995, 2000, 2003 | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--------|------------|--------|------------|--------|------------|--------|------------|--------|------------|
| Specification | 1985 | | 1990 | | 1995 | | 2000 | | 2003 | |
| | number | percentage | number | percentage | number | percentage | number | percentage | number | percentage |
| alcoholism | 86 | 30,00% | 104 | 42,4% | 142 | 39,9% | 64 | 30,9% | 42 | 30,7% |
| crime | 21 | 7,30% | 21 | 8,6% | 18 | 5,1% | 16 | 7,7% | 16 | 11,7% |
| prostitution | 14 | 4,90% | 12 | 4,9% | 11 | 3,1% | 6 | 2,9% | 4 | 2,9% |
| family rows and fights | 18 | 6,30% | 8 | 3,3% | 16 | 4,5% | 12 | 5,8% | 7 | 5,1% |
| unemployment | 35 | 12,20% | 42 | 17,1% | 50 | 14,0% | 51 | 24,6% | 49 | 35,8% |
| mental disorders | 12 | 4,20% | 17 | 6,9% | 28 | 7,9% | 19 | 9,2% | 13 | 9,5% |
| lack of data regarding pathology | 101 | 35,20% | 41 | 16,7% | 91 | 25,6% | 39 | 18,8% | 6 | 4,4% |
| sum | 287 | 100,00% | 245 | 100,0% | 356 | 100,0% | 207 | 100,0% | 137 | 100,0% |

Source: own researches on the basis of data obtained from the Caring Service in Szczecin

10. Figure

Pathology of family life in families of children referred to the Caring Service in
Szczecin in years 1990, 1995, 2000, 2003



Source: own researches on the basis of data obtained from the Caring Service in Szczecin.

According to the fact that life conditions influence the size of a family, because with its increase, density in a flat increases, and therefore income per capita decreases, in the paper we also analysed having children of families of children placed in the Caring Service (see table 8 and figure 11).

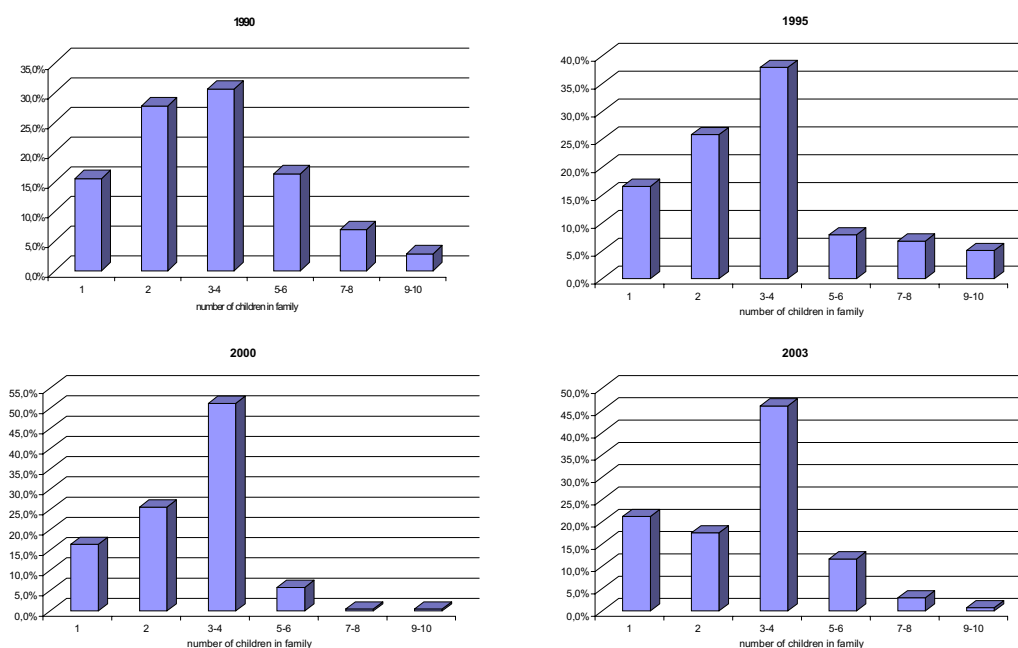
8. Table:

| Having children of families of analysed pupils in years 1985, 1990, 1995, 2000, 2003 | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--------|------------|--------|------------|--------|------------|--------|------------|--------|------------|
| Specification | 1985 | | 1990 | | 1995 | | 2000 | | 2003 | |
| | number | percentage | number | percentage | number | percentage | number | percentage | number | percentage |
| 1 | 52 | 18,1% | 38 | 15,5% | 59 | 16,6% | 34 | 16,4% | 29 | 21,2% |
| 2 | 78 | 27,2% | 68 | 27,8% | 92 | 25,8% | 53 | 25,6% | 24 | 17,5% |
| 3-4 | 101 | 35,2% | 75 | 30,6% | 135 | 37,9% | 106 | 51,2% | 63 | 46,0% |
| 5-6 | 34 | 11,8% | 40 | 16,3% | 28 | 7,9% | 12 | 5,8% | 16 | 11,7% |
| 7-8 | 20 | 7,0% | 17 | 6,9% | 24 | 6,7% | 1 | 0,5% | 4 | 2,9% |
| 9-10 | 2 | 0,7% | 7 | 2,9% | 18 | 5,1% | 1 | 0,5% | 1 | 0,7% |
| sum | 287 | 100,0% | 245 | 100,0% | 356 | 100,0% | 207 | 100,0% | 137 | 100,0% |

Source: own researches on the basis of data obtained from the Caring Service in Berlin

11. Figure

Having children of families of analysed pupils in years 1990, 1995, 2000, 2003



Source: own researches on the basis of data obtained from the Caring Service in Szczecin

From analysis of above-presented data it results that the biggest percentage of pupils of the Caring Service consisted of children coming from families with three and four children. The smallest percentage consisted of children coming from so-called families with many children, having 9-10 of them.

CONCLUSION

Analysing this paper referring to factors conditioning stay of children in the interventionist institution on the example of the Caring Service in Szczecin, we could draw the following conclusions:

1. In analysed years we could observe increase of age of children accepted to the institution. The biggest percentage consists of children at the age of 12 and more years.
2. Number of pupils, whose parents suffer from mental disorders and number of children coming from families affected with alcoholism increases.
3. Large number of pupils come from families not having permanent place of registration, whose parents live on allotments, houses of lonely mother, or doss houses.
4. Time of stay of children in the interventionist institution increases dangerously from statutory period of three months to one year and longer.
5. Age of children inflicting educational problems decreased. Now this problem even affects children in the age of 7 and 9.
6. More and more often children in the age of 16 and 17 are accepted to the institution (because of incapacity of family counting on help and change of difficult situation).
7. During last several years (especially after 1990), occurrence of accepting juvenile foreigners intensified.

THE SITUATION OF FAMILIES AND THE ACCESS TO EDUCATION IN POLAND

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1. Introduction

The system transformation which has been done in Poland since 1989 caused a lot of changes in different elements of people's activities. The Central Statistical Office of Poland performs surveys of the living conditions of the population. The household surveys concern:

- the level and the structure of income,
- the level and the structure of expenditures,
- equipment with certain durables,
- consumption of certain goods.

Essential changes in the households' budget survey were made in 1993. Six socio-economic groups were introduced:

- employees,
- employees-farmers,
- farmers,
- self-employed,
- retired persons and pensioners,
- living on unearned sources.

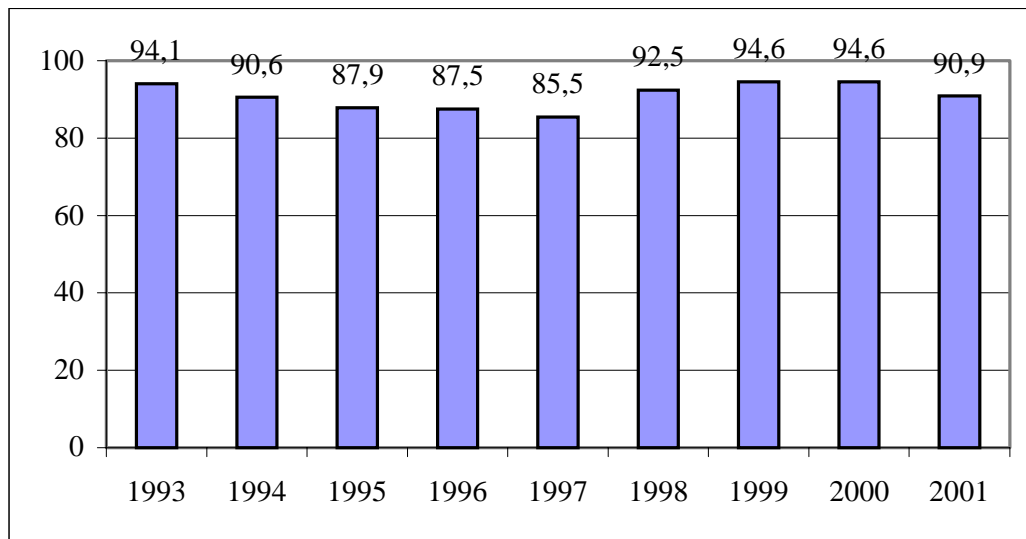
Until 1997 the Central Statistical Office used Polish Classification of Goods and Services. In 1998 the methodology was changed according to the international Classification of Individual Consumption by Purpose which consists of 12 main divisions. One of them is education. As the definitions of the categories were revised the data from before 1998 are not completely comparable. Another source of information about living conditions of the population is the *Socio-Diagnosis 2003* conducted by prof. J. Czapiński and his team. One of the main thesis of this survey is that "the Poles appreciated the education, the communication technologies and the health. They invest more and more in those domains". So there is necessity of developing such services but on the other side the development depends on the wealth of the society.

2. The Influence of Financial Situation of Households On The Access To Education

According to The Central Statistical Office of Poland the nominal average disposable income increased in years 1993 – 2001 but the real disposable income grew only to 1997. No growth was observed in the next years. A famous economist Ernst Engel formulated a hypothesis that the consumption expenditures should not overcome 80 percent of the income. The 20 percent part ought to become savings or other expenditures. In all these years, for which the data were available this proportion was not held (Figure 1). The Polish households spend most of their income on the consumption purposes.

1. Figure

Percentage of average consumption expenditures in average disposable income in Poland in years 1993- 2001

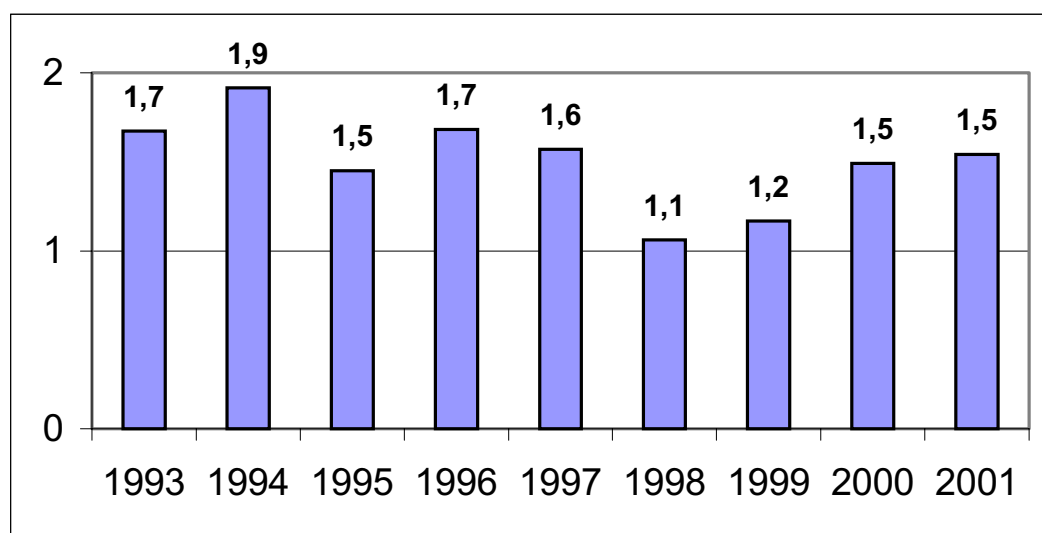


Source: The Central Statistical Office of Poland and own computations

The material position of household determines their performance in different categories of consumption, also in taking opportunity of educational services. The households assign not more than 2 percent of expenditures for educational purposes (Figure 2).

2. Figure

Expenditures on education as percentage of consumption expenditures
in Poland in years 1993- 2001

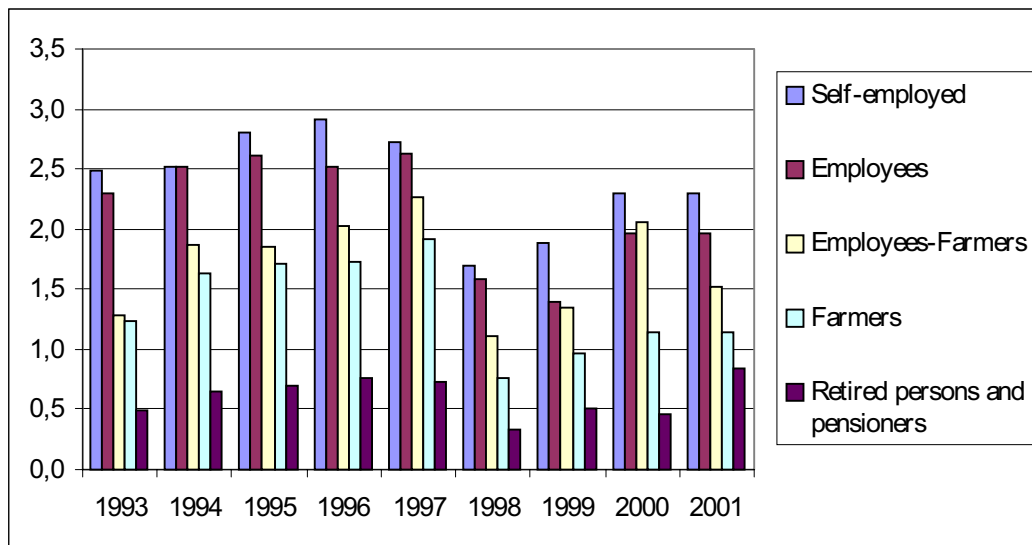


Source: The Central Statistical Office of Poland and own computations

This category of expenditures differs much from one socio-economic group to other (Figure 3).

3. Figure

Expenditures on education as a percentage of consumption expenditures – different socio-economic groups



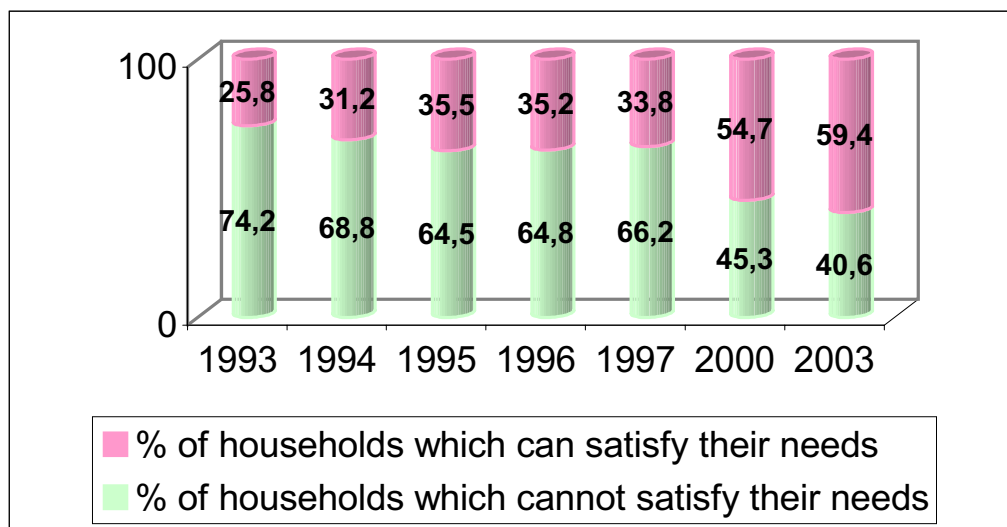
Source: The Central Statistical Office of Poland and own computations

The lowest percentage is observed for retired persons and pensioners who have rather little needs for educational services. There is no tradition in Poland in taking part in educational activities by older persons. As it can be seen the households of self-employed and employees spend much more of their expenditures on education than the households related to agriculture. It is said that there is an educational gap between towns and cities and villages.

The access to education is strictly connected with the material condition of the family. According to the *Socio-Diagnosis 2003* the percentage of the households which cannot satisfy some needs is decreasing substantially. At present households with financial problems make 40 percent of the whole and at the beginning of 90s it was about 70 percent (Figure 4).

4. Figure

Percentage of households which can and cannot satisfy their needs



Source: Socio-Diagnosis 2003

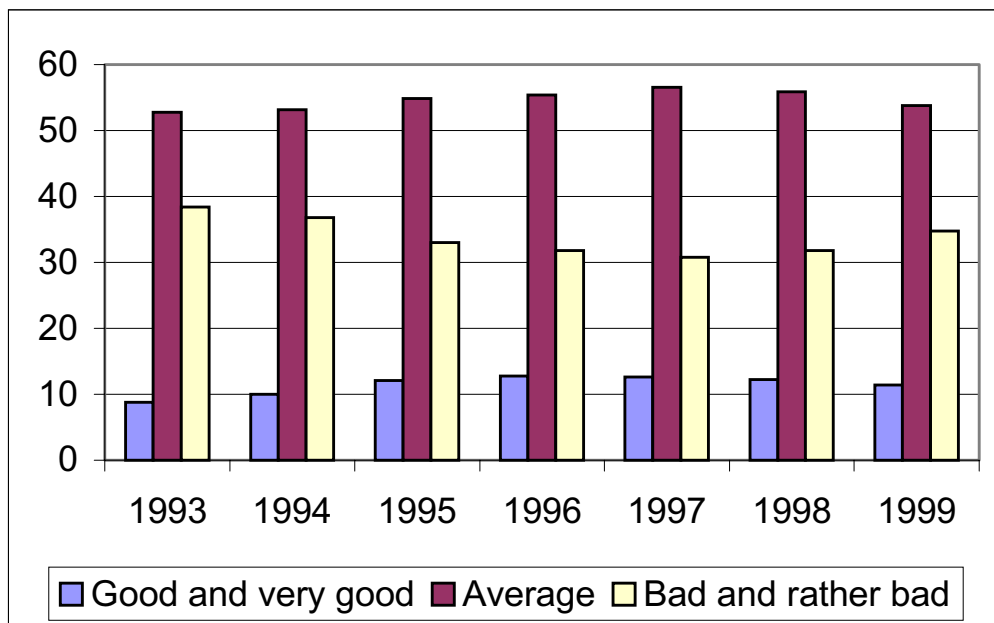
Subjective evaluation of the financial position of households is also presented by The Central Statistical Office of Poland. The results are given in three-degree scale:

- very good and rather good,
- average,
- bad and rather bad.

The distribution of answers is shown in Figure 5.

5. Figure

Subjective evaluation of financial position (in percent)



Source: The Central Statistical Office of Poland

A low percentage of households evaluating the financial position as a "good or rather good" can be observed. The maximum is 12.8 percent and it is decreasing since 1996. On the contrary the percentage of "bad and rather bad" is about 30 percent (about three times more). The households with average situation dominate.

The Central Statistical Office survey concerning the conditions of living of population is also focused on estimating the poverty range in the society. The poverty boundaries (lines) were defined as following:

1. Relative poverty line - expenditures less than 50 percent of the average
2. "Legal" poverty line – the amount of the income which according to the law allows to get aid from social help institutions
3. The minimum of existence – includes only the basic needs. The consumption lower than this level may cause problems with help (surviving)
4. Leyden Poverty Line – subjective boundary equal more or less to the incomes declared as hardly sufficient.

The percentage of people below different types of poverty lines are given in the table 1.

1. Table:

| Percentage of people below poverty lines in Poland in years 1993-2001 | | | | |
|--|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| Year | A | B | C | D |
| 1993 | 12 | - | - | 40 |
| 1994 | 13,5 | - | 6,4 | 33 |
| 1995 | 12,8 | - | - | 30,8 |
| 1996 | 14 | - | 4,3 | 30,5 |
| 1997 | 15,3 | 13,3 | 5,4 | 30,8 |
| 1998 | 15,8 | 12,1 | 5,6 | 30,8 |
| 1999 | 16,5 | 14,4 | 6,9 | 34,8 |
| 2000 | 17,1 | 13,6 | 8,1 | 34,4 |
| 2001 | 17 | 15 | 9,5 | 32,4 |

Source: The Central Statistical Office of Poland

More than 30 percent of respondents live beneath the Leyden Poverty Line. That means that income of nearly every third Pole is evaluated as not sufficient for the living. Although this measure is not objective but reveals that the essential percent of the population cannot satisfy consumption needs properly. The percentage of people living below the minimum of existence is increasing from year to year. The growth of number of people who cannot satisfy basic biological needs is substantial. In five years period the increase was 5,2 percentage points. The relative poverty is also growing. The percentage of people who have not more than 50 percent of average expenditure grew 5 percent point from 1993 to 2001.

A little decrease was observed in 1995 but than the negative changes were continued. The similar rule can be observed in so called "legal poverty line" The percentage of people authorized for social help fluctuated about 12 – 15 percent with the maximum value 15 percent. It confirms the previous results – the range of poverty in Polish society is growing bigger in the last years. It is reflected in less possibilities in obtaining goods and services. Bad financial position forces a lot of families to reduce educational expenditures.

As it was mentioned before big differences between rural and urban areas exist. As the expenditures on education are much lower in villages, the existing disproportion between towns and villages (Figure 6) will probably persist.

6. Figure

Percentage of population participating in educational services in cities and in villages in Poland

| Age | Big cities | Villages |
|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| 16-19 years | <p>6% 94%</p> | <p>12% 88%</p> |
| 20-24 years | <p>38% 62%</p> | <p>39% 61%</p> |
| 25-29 years | <p>18% 82%</p> | <p>8% 92%</p> |
| 30-39 years | <p>8% 92%</p> | <p>3% 97%</p> |
| More than 39 years | <p>2% 98%</p> | <p>1% 99%</p> |

Source: Socio-Diagnosis 2003

Little differences in the access to education are observed only in primary education. For the youngsters aged 16-19 the differences are already visible (it is more or less secondary education) and than they occur all the time. The dispersion is the largest in the next age interval (20-24) when the proportions of the people who are studying and not studying are just the opposite. This age interval is equal to the third stage of education (tertiary education – studies, studium and other forms of post-secondary education). This disproportion is also reflected in the percentage of people with higher education – less than 7 percent in villages to 18 percent in towns.

3. The Comparison Of The Situation Of Education in Poland And Other European Union Countries

The comparison of Polish and other European families' position on education was carried out. Unfortunately in statistical sources freely available in Poland and the European Union there are not indicators which would be comparable with those only just presented. In the process of analysing Union statistical information, it turned out that, educational systems in European countries are very divergent. The process of making European education systems more attractive, with higher quality and broader access is currently conducted. It is necessary to stress, that all countries differ from each other in cultural, religious and linguistic point of view. In the European countries education systems developed in different social and political circumstances. That's why the process of making European educational systems comparable is very difficult. The works on development education systems in the European Union started at the Lisbon European Council held in March 2000. The Heads of State and Government acknowledged that "the European Union is confronted with a quantum shift resulting from globalisation and the challenges of a new knowledge-driven economy" and set the major strategic goal: "to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion".

In the Work Programme (approved in February 2002), changes in all educational levels (primary, secondary, tertiary), professional education and lifelong learning are described in details. Major strategic goal mentioned above would be adopt also by new members, and that is why those countries were invited to work on the Programme.

The European Council adopted three strategic goals (and 13 associated concrete objectives) to be attained by 2010:

- I. Increasing the quality and effectiveness of education and training systems in the European Union:
 - A. improving education and training for teachers and trainers;
 - B. developing skills for the knowledge society;
 - C. ensuring access to information and communication technologies (ICTs) for everyone;
 - D. increasing the recruitment to scientific and technical studies;
 - E. making the best use of resources;
- II. Facilitating the access of all to the education and training systems:
 - A. open learning environment;
 - B. making learning more attractive;
 - C. supporting active citizenship, equal opportunities and social cohesion;
- III. Open up education and training systems to the wider world:
 - A. strengthening the links with working life and research, and society at large;
 - B. developing the spirit of enterprise;
 - C. improving foreign language learning;
 - D. increasing mobility and exchanges;
 - E. strengthening European co-operation.

The Programme defines the quantitative and qualitative indicators for comparing progress.

For the sake of character and subject of this paper from all associated concrete objectives were chosen these ones, which directly concern families and their members situation. Only quantitative indicators with complete data were taken to compare education systems in Poland and other European countries.

Objective 1.B

Developing skills for the knowledge society

The definition of relevant skills is not defined in the Lisbon strategy. Although, it is a mistake, literacy in reading and numeracy are used as exclusive measure of relevant skills. The basic skills which are necessary for knowledge-based society must also concern attitudes, talent, knowledge, middle- and long-term needs, cover the vocational and technical skills, personal competencies in science, foreign languages and ability to learn.

This goal should be closely connected with improvement of education quality and professional teachers training. Quantitative indicators for monitoring progress are:

- Percentage of population with secondary education;
- Average reading literacy;
- Average numeracy literacy;
- Average scientific literacy.

Objective 1.D

Increasing the recruitment to scientific and technical studies

The European Council in Uppsala in March 2001 decided, that the progress in science, technology, innovations and competition is necessary for the European Union. For that reason development of knowledge society must be based on increase of recruitment on science and technology in secondary and tertiary educational level.

The only one (with available data for all countries) quantitative indicator for analysing realisation of this aim is:

- Share of tertiary graduates in science and technology per 1000 inhabitants aged 20-29.

Objective 1.E

Making the best use of resources

The realisation of this goal is indirectly connected with subject of this paper. But it seems possible, that the higher public expenditure on education are, the access to education system and training for average citizens is easier, and thereby they willingly use advantages of education continuation and lifelong learning.

Additionally in knowledge society the increase of expenditure on education make effective teaching more possible. The European Council invites participate countries to increase human capital public expenditure but the level of this changes is not defined. Quantitative indicator for monitoring progress is:

- Total public expenditure on education as a percentage of GDP.

Objective 2.A***Open learning environment***

All Member States recognise that changes in education system must lead to facilitate the access to education in all levels. Flexible guidance and information systems about interesting specialization must be available for pupils, students or adults. At the same time, the possibility of changing discipline and improving qualifications must be guaranteed. Education and training systems need to be designed and adapted to local conditions and perspectives. They must be also adopted to family-friendly timetables, child care during courses, location etc.

The only one (with available data for all countries) quantitative indicator for analysing realisation of this aim is:

- percentage of population aged 25-64 participating in training.

Objective 2.B.***Making learning more attractive***

Changes in education systems must also take into consideration needs and interests of individuals. These operations should lead to higher employment level and to satisfy demand for high qualified personnel. Modernisation of education systems must include lifelong learning and pointed at need of brushing up knowledge and improving professional qualifications.

Quantitative indicators for progress monitoring are:

- percentage of population in tertiary educational level;
- percentage of population, aged 18-24 only with secondary educational level and not in educational training.

Objective 2.C

Supporting active citizenship, equal opportunities and social cohesion

In democratic societies equal chances of use of education systems must be secured. This means that the education and training systems have to lead people to realize that racism, intolerance, discrimination on any ground is unacceptable. Access to education should be guaranteed for people in unfavourable position, especially handicapped, persons having difficulties with study, living outside the main educational centres.

Quantitative indicator for progress monitoring is:

- percentage of population, aged 18-24 only with secondary educational level and not in educational training.

The level of chosen indicators for previous Member States, Poland, Iceland and Norway are shown in the following figures. All values are compared with average value for EU-15.

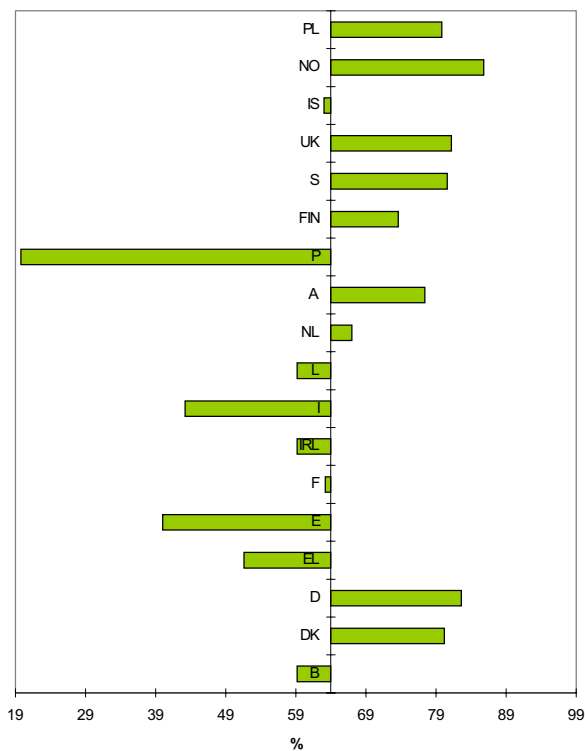
Percentage participation in population of persons with secondary education is higher in Poland, than in most of the European Union countries, and the same it exceeds union average. It is necessary to remember, that number of persons having secondary education can not be identified with high quality of education.

Fig. 2, 3, 4. Average reading literacy; Average numeracy literacy; Average scientific literacy.

1. Figure

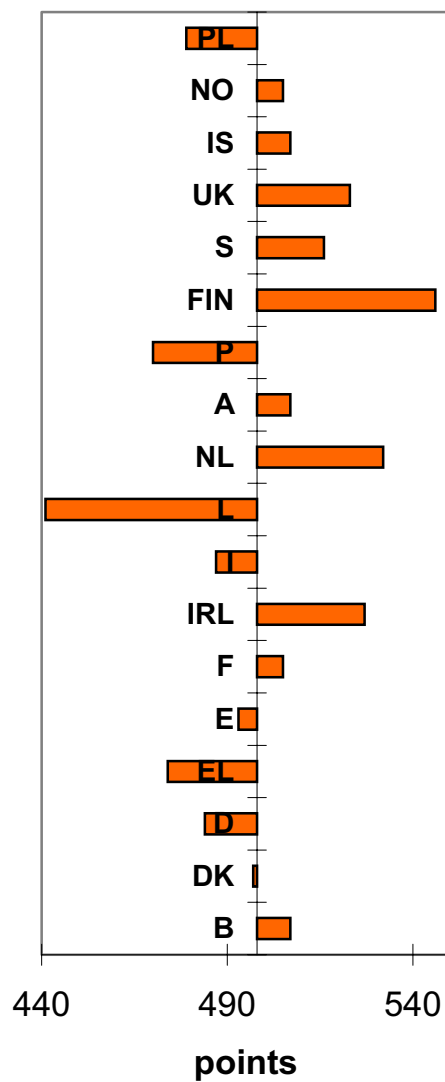
Developing and defining the relevant skills for the knowledge society.

Percentage of population with secondary education
(EU-15 = 63,9)



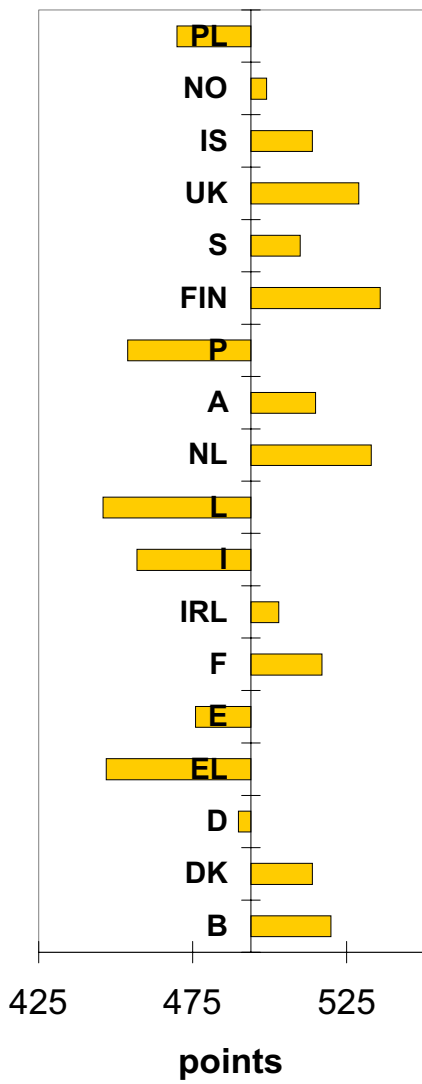
2. Figure

Average literacy skills
(EU-15 = 498)



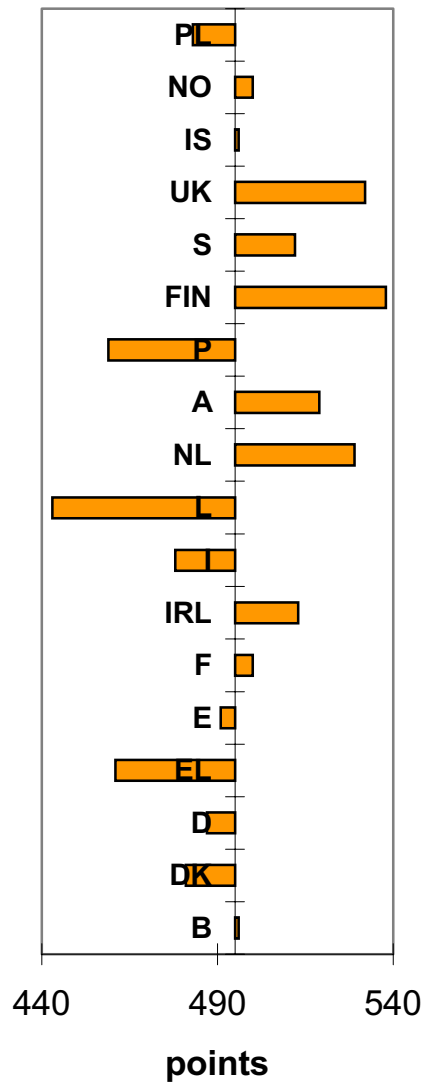
3. Figure

Average numeracy skills
(EU-15 = 494)



4. Figure

Average scientific skills
(EU-15 = 495)

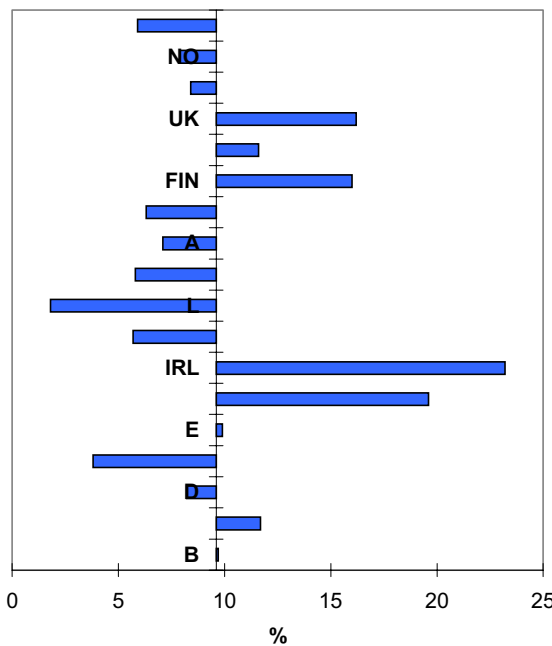


The highest skills in reading, numeracy and scientific literacy are presented by citizens of United Kingdom, Sweden, France and Holland. The worst situation among EU-15 countries concern Portugal, Luxembourg and Greece. The number of points in Poland calculated for these skills is unfortunately lower than union average value.

The highest share of tertiary graduates in mathematics, science and technology is in Ireland and France. United Kingdom, Finland, Denmark and Sweden exceed average union value. In Poland this value is nearly 4 percent points lower than Union average.

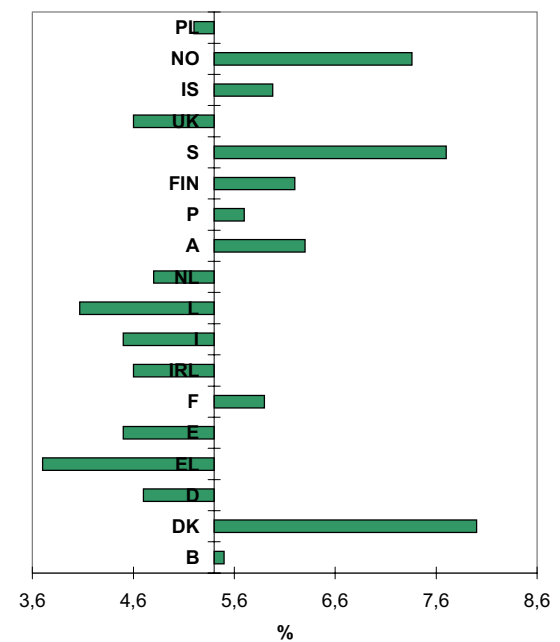
5. Figure

Share of tertiary graduates in science and technology per 1000 inhabitants aged 20-29
(EU-15 = 9,6)



6. Figure

Total public expenditure on education as a percentage of GDP
(EU-15 = 5,4)

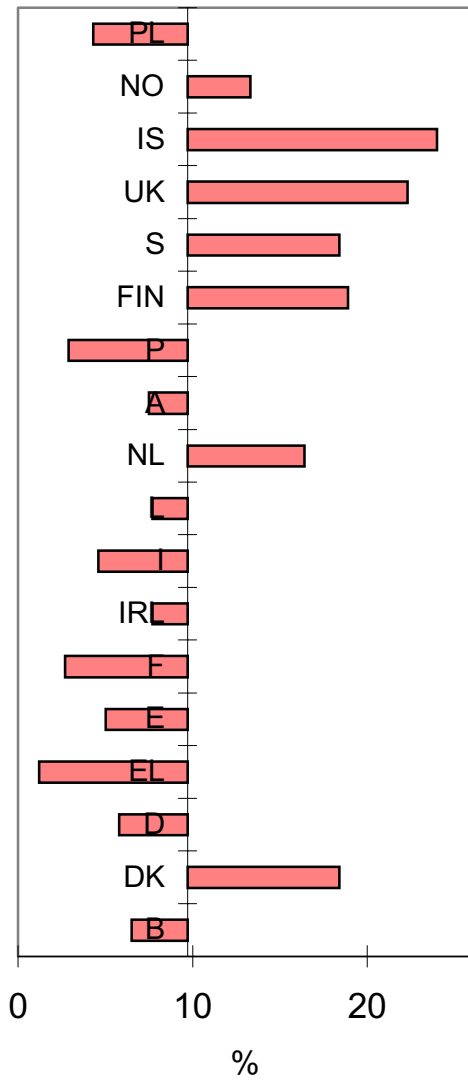


Denmark bears the highest expenditure on human capital among EU-15 countries. Results presented in previous Figures show that Denmark basic skills are on high level, many of Denmark have complete secondary education and the share of tertiary graduates in science is also higher than Union average. The example of education system of Denmark with system of share of public expenditure on education should be followed. Next country, with high percent of GNP allocated in education is Sweden. In this state, situation presented in Fig. 1, 3, 5 is comparable with Denmark indicators. Good results in all presented indicators are observed in United Kingdom, however percentage of GDP allocated in human capital is lower than Union average value. Interesting value of expenditure of GDP indicator is noted in Portugal. The values of all presented indicators are lower than Union average except public expenditure on education. In Poland public expenditure on education as percentage of GDP are 0,2 percentage points lower than Union average value, so it could be taken as compared value.

Fig. 7-9. percentage of population aged 25-64 participating in training, percentage of population in tertiary educational level, percentage of population, aged 18-24 only with secondary educational level and not in educational training.

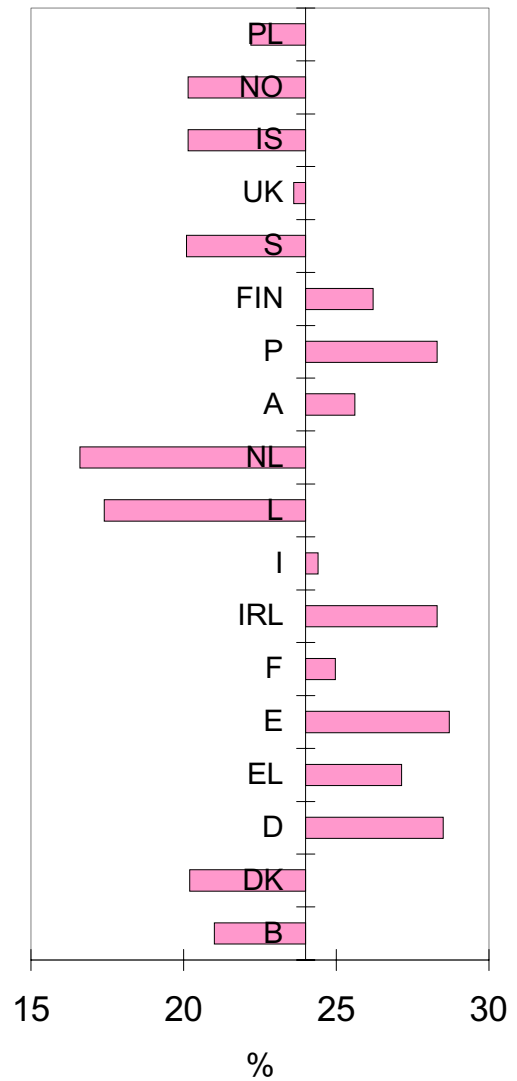
7. Figure

Percentage of population aged 25-64 participating in training



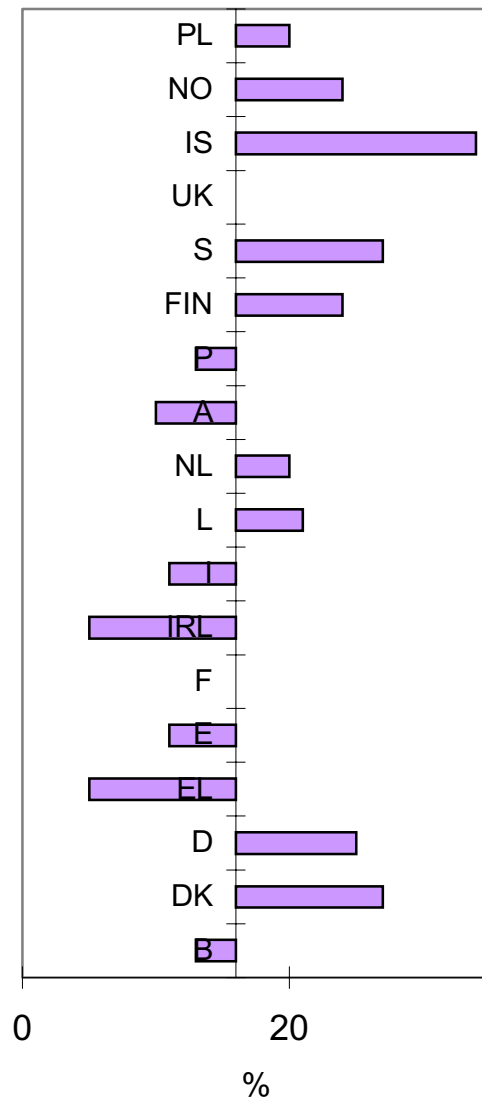
8. Figure

Percentage of population in tertiary educational level



9. Figure

Percentage of population, aged 18-24 only with secondary educational level and not in educational training



In United Kingdom, Finland, Sweden, Denmark and Holland the most adults participate in training. The indicator of lifelong learning is in Poland lower than Union average value. The same situation as in Poland is also in Austria, Italy, Ireland, France, Spain, Greece and Germany. But in these countries percentage share of population in tertiary educational level is higher than the European Union average value and percentage of population with only secondary educational level and not participating in training is lower than in other countries. The lowest participation of population in tertiary educational level is observed in Holland and Luxembourg. In Poland values of all these indicators are worse than union average values.

The first part of this paper presents that social situation in Polish families and the financial possibilities of effective use of education system and participating in training is not satisfactory.

Values of indicators included in Lisbon strategy and shown in second part of this paper unfortunately also prove that situation of education in Poland is worse than in the best States of the European Union.

Quantitative indicators defined in Lisbon strategy make possible to compare progress in education systems of member states. But these indicators should be systematically modernised and improved because currently used indicators does not fully analyse problems characterised in strategic goals. The European Commission and Education Council will communicate its conclusions and proposals for “Programme of education systems progress in Europe” in spring 2004.

Social polarisation in Berlin? Family and child poverty in central city districts

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The following study refers to the situation of families in Berlin. Due to several demographic and economic changes after the reunification of Germany the social and spatial structure of Berlin changed lasting. The household and family structures diversified, the number of single parents and unmarried parents with children is growing, meanwhile the number of children per family is decreasing. There is a growing number of patchwork families and single households without children. In total the population of Berlin is decreasing, meanwhile the rate of foreigners is growing. The economical situation is problematic, the number of unemployed people is growing since years, the polarisation about income and occupation leads to an increase of very high wages at the one hand side and very low incomes at the other hand side. Due to the financial problems of the city the municipal government disassociated from the social housing programs. Families who can afford it migrate to the suburbs. Altogether this expedites the social segregation in some areas. Especially affected of this social change are the inner city districts of Berlin.

Figure 1 shows the spatial structure of Berlin before the municipal reform in 2001. The following analysis will concentrate on three of the former districts: on Berlin Mitte, the historical city centre of Berlin and the centre of East Berlin and on Berlin Wedding and Berlin Tiergarten, two districts of the former western part of Berlin.

The districts of Berlin before 2001



In the scope of the municipal reform in 2001 these three districts were joined into one governmental area – the district Mitte (figure 2). Mitte has 318.600 inhabitants, it is the seat of the German government and the new centre of Berlin, the Potsdamer Platz. But growth and decline are very close to each other in Mitte: the district has plenty of social problems :

The districts of Berlin after 2001



The unemployment rate is 16.2 percent (Figure 4).

Unemployment in the districts of Berlin 2002



13 of 100 (12.8 percent) inhabitants are dependent on social aid. These social aid recipients will be our group of interest. The IFAD is doing researches about social aid recipients in Berlin since several years, this time we had a look on the poverty of families and children in Berlin Mitte.

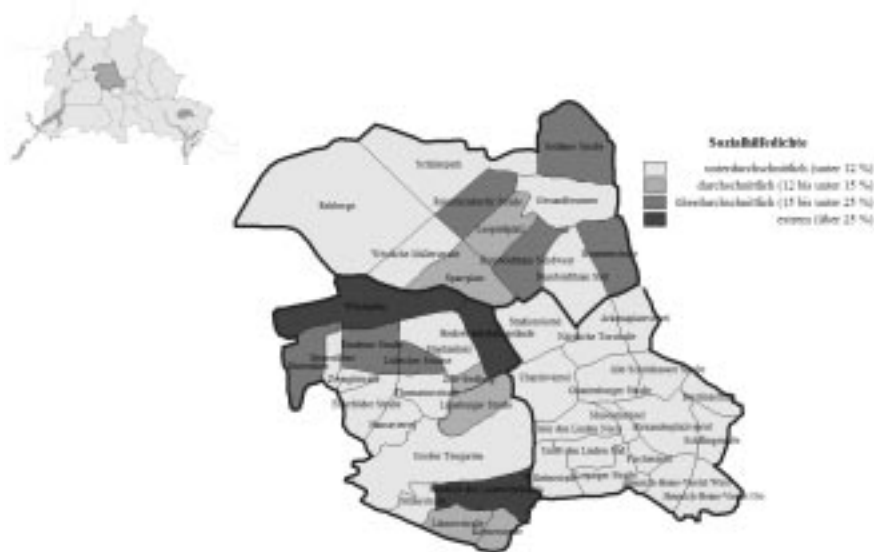
In the German welfare system social aid is the last stage of social support, it is the so called social security net. It is based on several principles. The most important one is that social aid is just given to a person that is not able to help him- or herself, that has no close relatives who can provide him or her and that is not getting support from other institutions of the welfare system. Social aid is seen as an aid to self aid. The amount of social aid varies from 148 Euro for a child till the age of 7 and 296 Euro for a Person in a single household. Rent is given extra (figure 5).

Households with social assistance in Berlin 2002



What our analysis could show first is the concentration of poverty in special areas. The social aid recipients are concentrating mainly in some parts of the western districts, mainly in areas with a rate of foreigners that is more than 30 percent, high crime rates, high rates of youth unemployment and of unemployment in general. There are little social, freetime and child care offers for families and children and so on (figure 6).

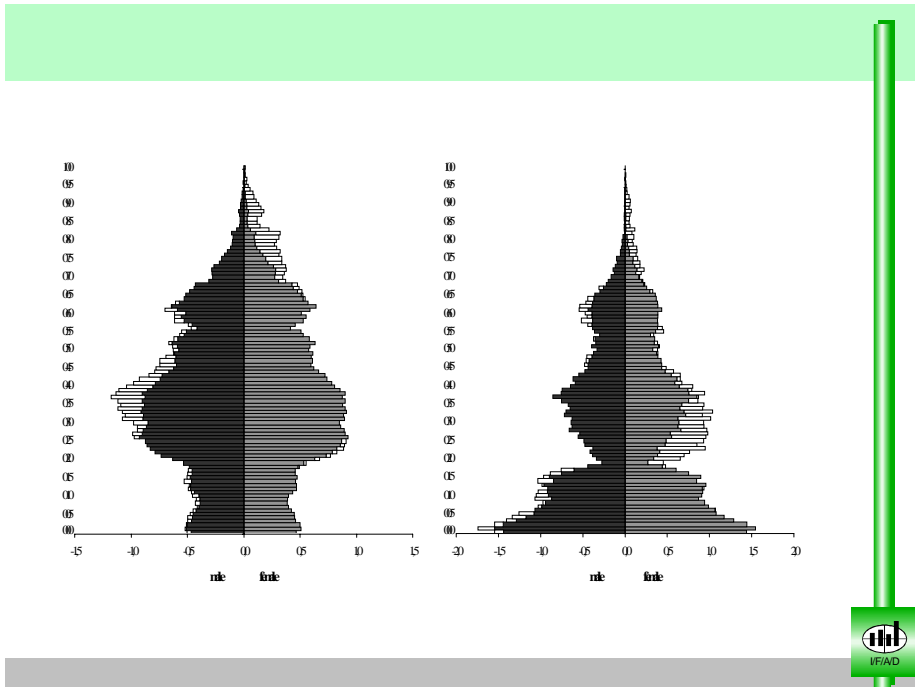
Spatial segregation of the social aid recipients



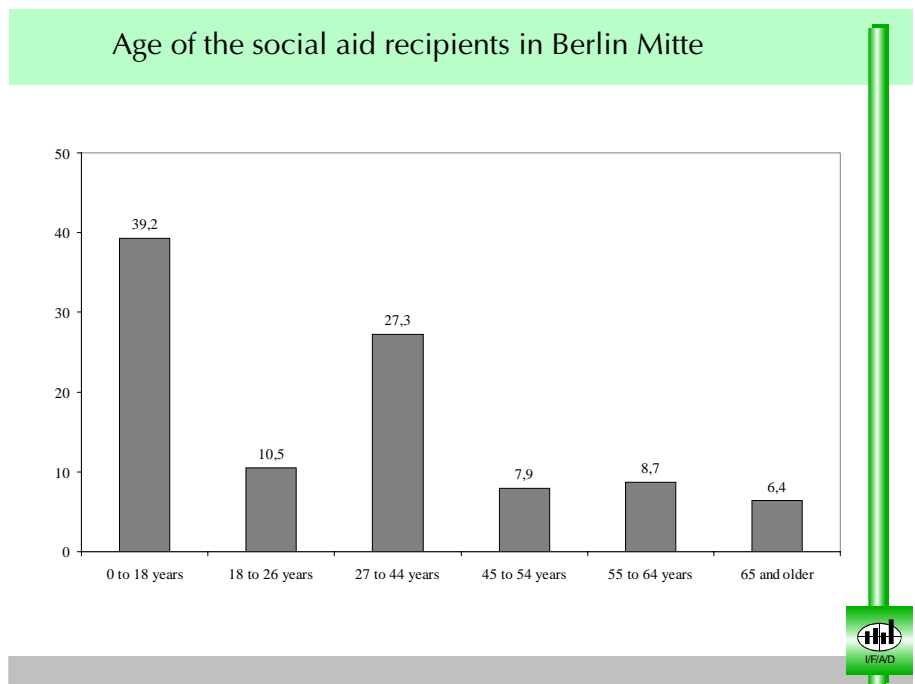
The following part concentrates on the social and demographic structure of the persons and households in social aid.

Figure 7 shows the life table of the inhabitants of the district Mitte compared to the life table of the social aid recipients.

The average age of the social aid recipients is 28,6, this is ten years younger than the population of Mitte in average. Children have the highest risk to become dependent on social aid, followed by young women between 20 and 35.



Most of the recipients are underage children and adults between 20 and 40 (figure 8).



Looking at the nationality of the social aid recipients one finds big differences among the risk of getting social aid (table 1). The highest social aid rates have children till the age of 5 years in the district Wedding. Two third of the foreign and almost one third of the german children of that age get social assistance there. In average the social aid ratios of foreigners are double as high as the ratios of the german population.

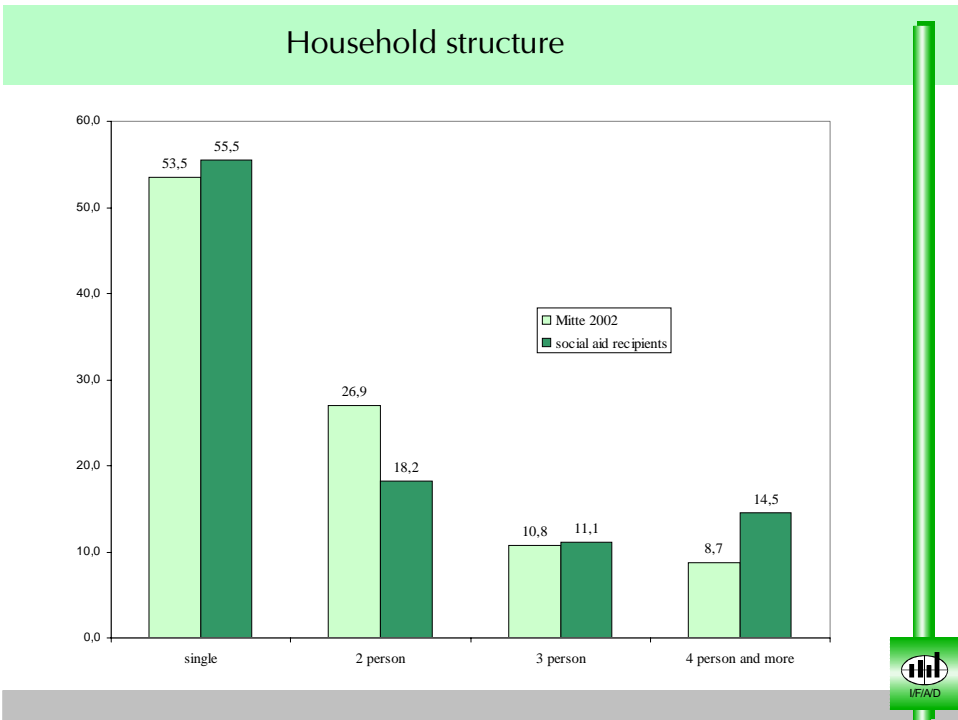
Furthermore we found the phenomenon of age poverty. Usually the poverty of pensioners is said to be fought in Germany latest since the 70ties, but in Berlin Mitte almost one quarter of the foreign pensioners are dependent on social aid in comparison to just 4 percent of the german. The reasons may be discontinuous employment and thus low pension demands.

Social aid recipients by age and nationality

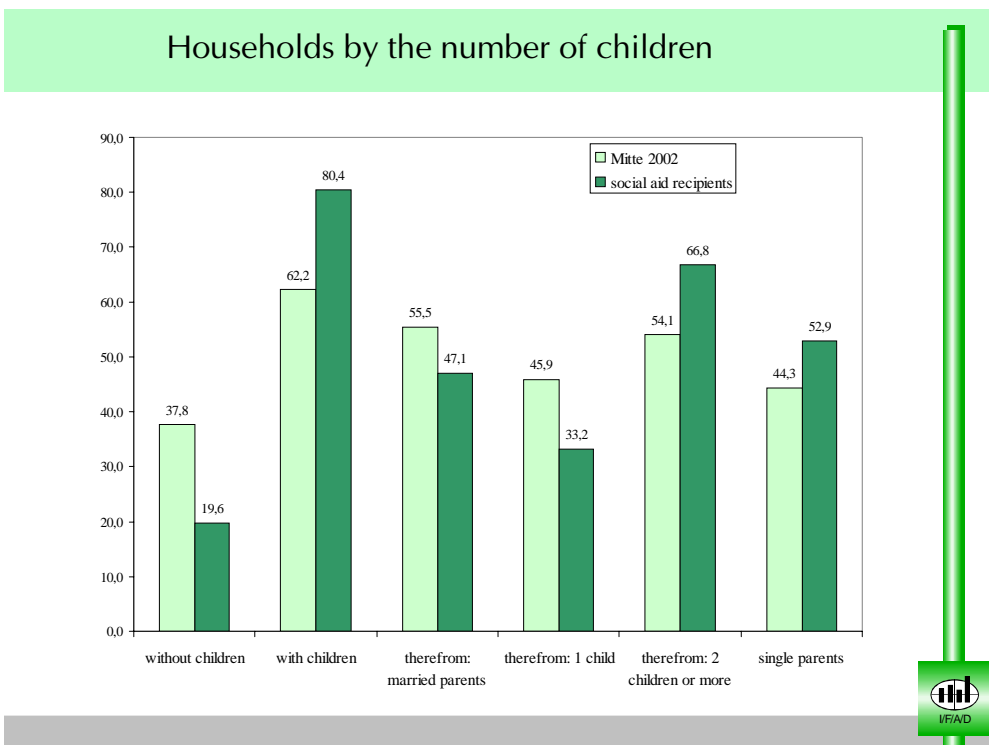
| AGE | MITTE | | WEDDING | | TIERGARTEN | | MITTE TOTAL | |
|--------------------|------------|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| | German | Foreign | German | Foreign | German | Foreign | German | Foreign |
| 0 to 5 years | 17,6 | 39,5 | 30,1 | 62,7 | 23,0 | 57,3 | 26,2 | 59,8 |
| 6 to 11 years | 12,1 | 29,5 | 25,6 | 38,2 | 20,9 | 37,5 | 22,1 | 37,6 |
| 12 to 17 years | 6,8 | 18,8 | 21,7 | 31,0 | 16,9 | 33,1 | 16,8 | 30,8 |
| 18 to 24 years | 3,9 | 5,4 | 8,1 | 11,2 | 11,6 | 12,6 | 8,1 | 11,0 |
| 25 to 26 years | 3,4 | 4,6 | 10,8 | 15,4 | 8,3 | 11,3 | 7,7 | 12,5 |
| 27 to 44 years | 3,5 | 5,9 | 9,4 | 16,4 | 9,0 | 14,9 | 7,4 | 14,4 |
| 45 to 55 years | 3,7 | 6,6 | 6,4 | 10,4 | 8,3 | 13,2 | 6,4 | 10,9 |
| 55 to 64 years | 3,2 | 10,6 | 9,1 | 17,1 | 8,4 | 16,6 | 7,3 | 16,5 |
| 65 years and older | 2,0 | 18,2 | 4,7 | 21,3 | 4,9 | 24,5 | 4,0 | 22,2 |
| Total | 4,3 | 9,2 | 11,0 | 21,1 | 10,2 | 19,4 | 9,0 | 19,2 |



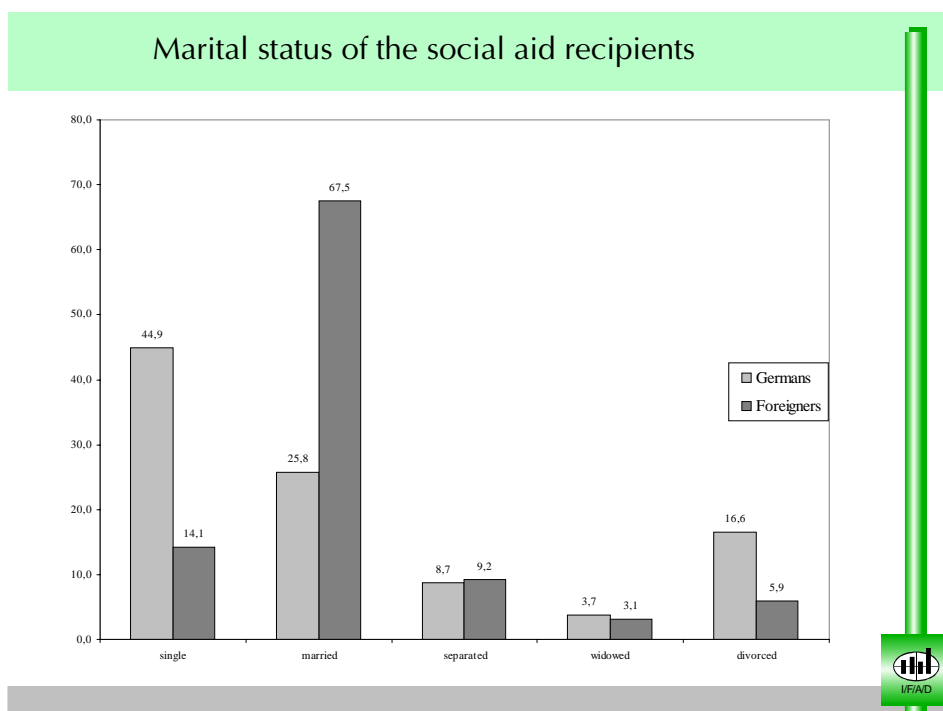
The households of the social aid recipients are distinctly bigger than of the population in average (figure 9). Also there are slightly more single households. Obviously the poverty risk of two- and three-person households is the lowest.



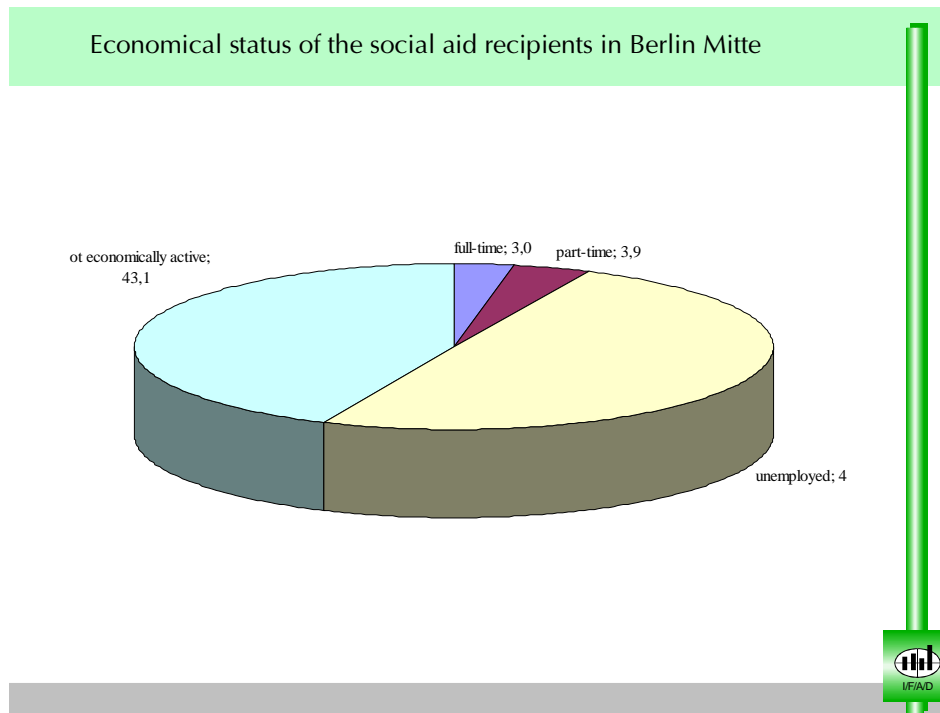
Families with children have a clear higher risk to become dependent on social aid than families without children. The highest social aid rates have families with more than 1 child and single parents (figure 10).



The analysis of the marital status by nationality shows further differences between the german and foreign social aid recipients (figure 11). They depend probably on cultural habits and different traditions – such as early marriage . So 44 percent of the german recipients are single and just one quarter is married – compared to 67,5 percent of the foreign recipients. That implies that for foreigners marriage is no poverty protection. For germans the poverty risk is higher for singles than for married couples and is increasing with the seperation from the partner. 16.6 percent of the german social aid recipients in Mitte are separated. The loss of the second income is often followed by social aid. A majority of the foreign couples probably have to low incomes cause of the higher unemployment rates of foreigners, lower wages or a wife that is not economically active.

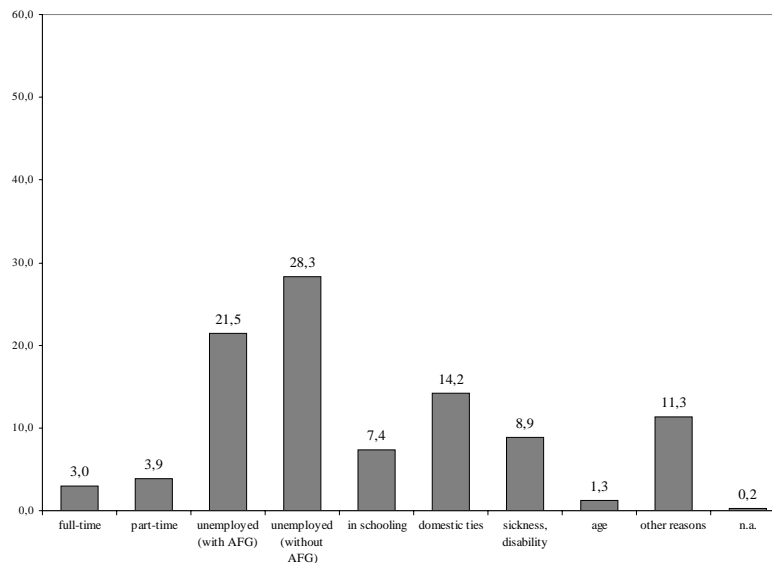


Out of the data about the economical status arose that half of the social aid recipients are affected by unemployment (figure 12). This is the main reason for getting social aid. 43.1 percent are not economically active.



The reasons to be not economically active differ between in schooling, sickness and disability, age and domestic ties and other reasons (figure 13). 14.2 percent of the social aid recipients are not working because they take care of their children or other family members. They are mostly female, 23 percent of the german and 29 percent of the foreign women stay at home because of that reason.

Economical status of the social aid recipients in Berlin Mitte



Exceptional high is also the average duration of the social assistance with 42 month or three and a half year (table 2). More than one third of the recipients in Berlin Mitte are more than 5 years dependent on social aid. As further analysis showed is the duration of the social assistance increasing with the age of the recipients, the size and the structure of the household. With every child the duration is increasing considerable, too.

Duration of the social assistance

| duration | Mitte | Wedding | Tiergarten | total |
|------------------------------|-------|---------|------------|-------|
| short (1 year or less) | 26,2 | 22,2 | 21,0 | 22,2 |
| middle (1 to 3 years) | 28,8 | 26,4 | 25,8 | 26,5 |
| long (3 to 5 years) | 16,8 | 17,6 | 16,6 | 17,2 |
| very long (5 years and more) | 28,2 | 33,8 | 36,6 | 34,1 |



Summarizing the results that implies that we have a disastrous family situation in the inner city districts of Berlin. It is already known that giving birth to a child and founding a family is increasing the poverty risk, especially for women between 20 and 40. More than one child, a foreign citizenship and to be a single parent has the same effect. But in Berlin Mitte the majority of the children is spending relevant parts of their childhood in material poverty. Likewise foreign pensioners have a high risk of poverty in age. In the inner city districts we have more and more social aid recipients that have biographies that are in main parts minted by material poverty - the childhood, the family founding phase, the pension. And maybe in between one is unemployed. The long average duration of the social assistance is supporting that thesis. The social aid recipients are concentrating in some small areas in Berlin Mitte – not far from the new city centre, next to economic growth and prosperity. So indeed - for the inner districts of Berlin we can speak about an alarming social polarisation of the population – mainly by occupation and income.

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