

**Communism and the decline of the family.
Resemblance between the occupational levels of Polish siblings from different gender,
generations, political background and family forms.**

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1. Introduction and hypotheses.

In this paper we present analyses on the decline of the family for the Polish society and analyses on sibling resemblance in occupational levels.

The family as a cornerstone of society is said to decline, individualism in modern societies is supposed to increase. The evidence of existence of these processes is scarce and mostly anecdotal. In most societies there is the tendency to evaluate the quality of past societies more positively than that of the present. Due more to selective memory and change of responsibilities during the life-course, than due to 'real decline'.

Popenoe (1988) remarks that the belief in the reality of family decline is by no means widespread among sociologists of family. He cites Alex Inkeles: "one cannot make a convincing case that in modern society the family has suffered a substantial decline in its human importance relative to other institutions and relations in which individuals invest their emotions, their loyalties, and their times". Popenoe also found similar citations from well known sociologists as Glen Elder and Theodore Caplow.

Popenoe (1988:8-9) claims to document in his book five main ways in which the institution of the family in advanced societies are weakening:

1. family groups are becoming internally deinstitutionalised, that is, their individual members are more autonomous and less bound by the group and the domestic group as a whole is less cohesive.
2. the family is weakening in carrying out its traditional functions, as socialising children and providing care.
3. the family as an institution is losing power to other institutional groups in society, for instance the state.
4. the family is weakening in the sense that individual family groups are decreasing in size and becoming more unstable, with a shorter life span, and people are members of such groups for a smaller percentage of their life course.
5. family decline is occurring in the sense that familism as a cultural value is weakening in favour of such values as self-fulfilment and egalitarianism.

Given these different views on the reality of family decline in modern societies among sociologists, more empirical evidence is needed to show what really is going on.

^{*} This paper was made during a special course in the Faculty of Educational Sciences of the University of Amsterdam. H. Ruigrok participated in that course given by J. Dronkers. B. Mach made the data available. It is presented at the session 'Organisatie van de bezetting' of the 7de Sociaal-wetenschappelijke Studiedagen, 11 and 12 april 1996 in Amsterdam. Direct all correspondence to: J. Dronkers, SCO-Kohnstamm Institute, University of Amsterdam, Wibautstraat 4, 1091 GM Amsterdam, the Netherlands. Phone: +31-20-5251327. Fax: +31-20-5251300. E-mail: jaapd@sco.educ.uva.nl

If the importance of the family is declining and individualism is increasing, empirical evidence can be found in the declining effect of the family on the life chances of family offsprings in successive birth-cohorts.

A possible indication of declining importance of the family and increasing individualism is a lower resemblance of the life chances of siblings. The degree of resemblance of the life chance of siblings reflects partly interactions between siblings, and their common background (both social and biological).

If the family is internally deinstitutionalised, if the family carries its socialising function less effectively, if other institutional groups in society have taken over functions of the family or if the family has become more unstable, the family culture will be weakened and the interaction between siblings less intensive and they have less in common and thus the resemblance of the life-chances of siblings will be smaller.

As a consequence, this resemblance in life chances between siblings should be smaller in younger cohorts compared with that of older cohorts, if there is a real decline of the importance of the family and an increase of individualism.

A comparable study for the Netherlands (Dronkers, 1993) showed a declining resemblance between the educational attainment of siblings in the three Dutch birth-cohorts. The differences between siblings have become relatively larger in younger Dutch cohorts compared to older cohorts. These results support the arguments regarding the decline of the family or the supposed increase of individualism during the second half of the 20th century in the Netherlands. De Graaf en Huinink (1992:102-103) in a German sample did find a comparable outcome: a decreasing educational common family factor in predicting the educational levels of German siblings from different birth-cohorts during the 20th century. De Graaf & Huinink did also find changes in the importance of a common occupational family factor in the prediction of the occupational prestige of these German siblings, but there is no clear trend. Kuo and Hauser (1995) studied the educational resemblance between black and white brothers in the USA. They found a declining resemblance between black and white brothers if one compares birth-cohorts born between 1907 and 1946. Borgers, Dronkers, Rollenberg, Evans & Kelley (1995) also found a decreasing resemblance between the educational attainment of Australian siblings from different birth-cohorts of the 20th century. This means that from these studies one can conclude that the sibling resemblance and thus the importance of the family in Australia, Germany, the Netherlands and the United States has declined.

In contrast of Western societies in Hungary the resemblance in the educational, occupational and wealth levels of siblings did not decline during the 20th century (Toka & Dronkers, 1996). They found in birth-cohort-comparisons that education, occupation and wealth of brothers and sisters raised or born during the state socialist regime in Hungary resembled more than the education, occupation and wealth of brothers and sisters born and raised within the same social class before the imposition of a state socialist regime in Hungary. The authors explain this Hungarian deviance by the oppressive nature of the Hungarian communist regime. An oppressive regime increases the importance of the family despite the possible modernisation of that society. The forceful dominance of one small political class in state socialist societies destroyed many non-political institutions or discouraged free participation of citizens in these institutions. The dominance of one small political class obstructed the

growth of groups and cultures outside the official mass-organisations and institutions, controlled by the state socialist party. The suppression of private enterprises and property also limited the options of individuals in these societies. All these oppressive aspects forces members of that societies to seek for shelter and support within their families and small groups of good friends.

This deviant case shows that the trend towards individualism and a decline of the family seems not to be universal and a non-avoidable consequence of modernisation of society. In this paper a birth-cohort-comparison of resemblance of the life-chances will be made for Polish society, in order to test whether the explanation of the Hungarian exception in declining sibling resemblance by the oppressive nature of the communist regime is correct. If this explanation is correct, resemblance between polish siblings should not decrease.

Communists have always seen themselves as the most modern political force in capitalist societies. Thus one might expect that their outlook and behaviour is more modern than that of non-party members. If that is true the resemblance of the life-chances of siblings from Communist families should be smaller then those from non-communist families.

The power of the party to benefit its loyal members can also decrease the resemblance of the life-chances of siblings from Communist families, because they need their families less for shelter and support. Therefore in this paper we will make comparisons between siblings with fathers who are member of the communist or allied parties, with the resemblance of siblings whose fathers are not members of the communist parties.

In this article, we test also another possible effect of the decline of the family. Popenoe (1988) remarks that the decline of the family can also be due to modern trends in family-life with the result of unstable families, such as divorce, re-marrying, one-parent families or families falling apart for different reasons. If this is true, resemblance of the life-chances between siblings from one-parent families should be lower than the resemblance between siblings from two-parent families. The only comparisons of the resemblance between siblings from one- and two-parent families has until now been made for Australia (Borgers, Dronkers, Rollenberg et. al. 1995). They found no differences in educational resemblance between siblings from one- and two-parent families. An explanation of this failure to find differences there is that the problems of the one-parent families force siblings to rely more on each other and limit siblings to benefit from their individual opportunities. In this paper we will again compare the resemblance in life-chances of siblings from one- and two-parent families, but now for Poland.

One of the first topics discussed in sibling-research were the possible differences between results of male and female sibling data. One argued that the life-chances of brothers and sisters within a family have less in common then the life-chances of brothers and brothers or sisters and sisters.

The earlier analyses in the USA, Australia and Europe with like-gender and cross-gender sibling pairs did not show large and systematic differences in the parameters for the gender combinations, but small unsystematic differences were found (Hauser & Wong, 1989; Dronkers, 1989, 1992; De Graaf & Huinink, 1992; Van Eijck & De Graaf, 1994; Kuo & Hauser, 1995; Toka & Dronkers, 1996; Borgers, Dronkers, Rollenberg, et. al. 1995).

Given these considerations regarding the decline of the family in modern societies and regarding the communist regime in Poland, we formulate the following hypotheses on the degree of occupational resemblance between siblings. We will restrict our analyses to occupational resemblance because only data were available on the occupational level of Polish siblings (see section 3).

HYPOTHESIS 1.

There are no systematic differences in occupational resemblance between cross-gender and like-gender Polish siblings.

HYPOTHESIS 2.

Occupational resemblance between siblings from different Polish generations will not decline but the resemblance of the generations who became adults during the Communist regime will be highest.

HYPOTHESIS 3.

The occupational resemblance between siblings from Communist families will be smaller than that of siblings from non-communist families in Poland.

HYPOTHESIS 4.

The occupational resemblance between siblings from one-parent families will be smaller than that of siblings from two-parent families in Poland.

2. Model.

This paper presents analyses of the effects of measured and unmeasured aspects of parental background on the occupational prestige of their children in Poland. Sibling models are used for this analysis, using information about occupational prestige of siblings of one family and the available parental characteristics.

The sibling-model contains a latent unobserved variable to model the degree of resemblance between occupational prestige of two siblings. This common-family-factor represents the total sum of influences of all observed and unobserved family characteristics effecting the occupational prestige of the siblings.

Observed variables are parental educational and occupational levels, that can partly explain the common-family-factor.

Unmeasured common-environmental characteristics and reciprocal influences of siblings, as well as genetic factors are relevant mechanisms to explain the common-family-factor. These unobserved characteristics are meaning the totality of social and genetic characteristics influencing occupational prestige resemblance of siblings within the same family.

Sibling analysis has the important advantage of estimating the degree in which:

- the usual measured environmental indicators (parental occupation and education) are able to explain only partly the common family factor, because a family is more than the sum of parental education and occupation.

- the common family factor explains partly the occupational prestige of the individual sibling. The degree of which the common-family-factor explains the variances of the occupational prestige of the individual siblings is the indicator of the resemblance between siblings. The lesser the common-family-factor explains the occupational prestige of the individual siblings, the lesser the resemblance between siblings and thus the lesser the importance of the family in the explanation of differences in life-chances.

A model to distinguish between the effects of parental background, common family factor and individual occupational attainment was developed by Hauser & Wong (1989). The model is a Multiple Indicators, Multiple Causes model (MIMIC). The most simple version of this model is given in figure 1.

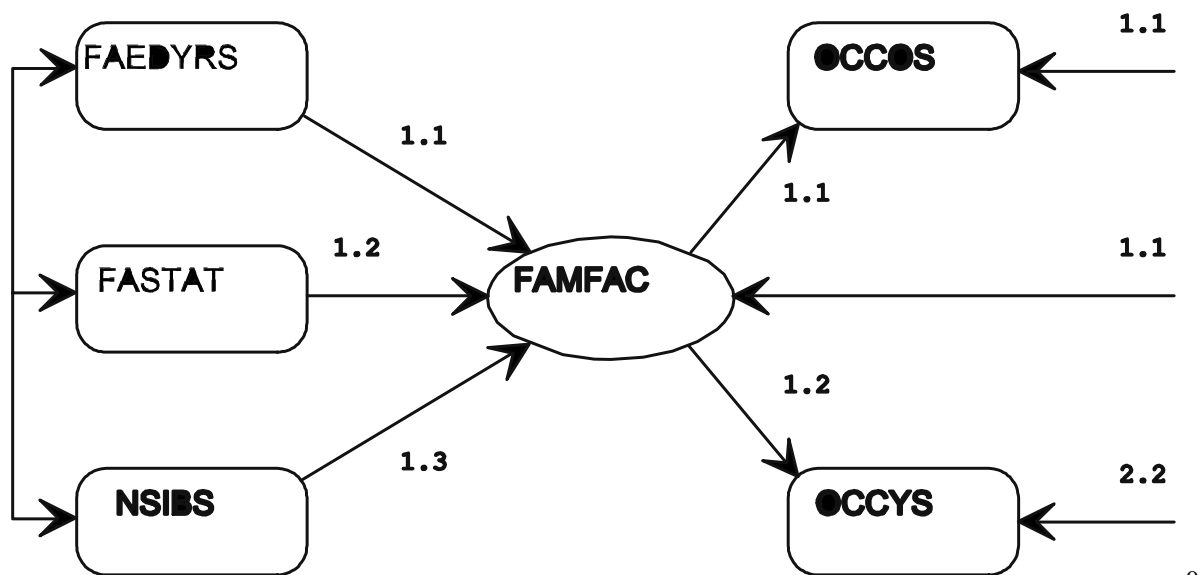


Figure 1

This model assumes no direct effects of factors of the causes (parental characteristics) on the indicators (occupational level of the individual siblings). The MIMIC model specifies exogenous background characteristics that affect the occupational attainment of the siblings through a single unmeasured common family factor. This common family factor accounts for the occupational resemblance of siblings.

A more technical explanation of this model can be found in Hauser & Wong (1989). A short explanation is presented here, to help understand the analyses.

The common family factor is a latent variable (FAMFAC), of which the occupational attainment of both siblings (OCCOS, OCCYS) are the indicators with factor loadings $\lambda_{1.1}$ $\lambda_{2.1}$.

The family factor is affected by the educational level of father (in this polish data information on the education of the mother was not available) FAEDYRS, the occupational prestige of the father FASTAT and the number of siblings NSIBS, with regression coefficients $\gamma_{1.1}$, $\gamma_{1.2}$, $\gamma_{1.3}$, which are also correlated Φ -matrix.

$\zeta_{1.1}$ indicates the degree to which fathers occupation and education and the number of siblings

are unable to explain the common family factor. As these parental characteristics explain the common family factor lesser, the unmeasured family characteristics are more important for the explanation of the occupational attainment of the siblings. One can say that this explained variance reflects the balance between parental social class (measured with fathers education and occupation and the number of siblings) and those family characteristics which cannot be reduced to class. The larger the explained variance of the common family factor, the more important is the parental class; the smaller the explained variance, the more important is the family.

Error terms $\varepsilon_{1.1}$ and $\varepsilon_{2.2}$ indicate the effects of factors unique to each sibling and unrelated to the common occupational family factor or to parental characteristics. As these error terms are larger and the common family factor predicts worse the occupational levels of the individual siblings, the family is less important in comparison with this unique factors. One could say that this error terms reflect the balance between the parental family and the unique occupational attainment of each sibling.

The MIMIC model does not assume direct effects of the causes (the parental characteristics) on the indicators (the occupational level of the siblings). The parameter $\lambda_{1.1}$ has to be fixed to 1.0 so that the parameter of the γ -matrix are the constrained effects of parental occupation on the occupational level of the older sibling and the parameter of $\lambda_{1.2}$ is the proportional adjustment expressing the constrained effect of parental occupation on the occupational level of the youngest sibling. If the parameter of $\lambda_{1.2}$ is equal tot 1.0, the effects of parental characteristics are equal to both siblings. If this parameter is smaller than 1.0, parental characteristics have a smaller effect on the occupational level of the younger sibling compared to that of the older sibling, and vice versa. One might expect that the younger sibling will be less influenced by parental characteristics than older siblings, because parents tend to educate older siblings more strictly than younger siblings.

All the models are estimated with LISREL VIII (Jöreskog and Sörbom, 1993).

This model constructed by Hauser & Wong was applied only on data from the USA (Hauser & Wong, 1989; Kuo & Hauser, 1995), The Netherlands (Dronkers, 1989, 1993) and Germany (de Graaf & Huinink, 1992) Australia (Borgers, Dronkers, Rollenberg, et. al. 1995) and Hungary (Toka & Dronkers, 1996). Nearly all these studies compare siblings combinations of the same or different gender. Only de Graaf & Huinink (1992), Dronkers (1993) Kuo & Hauser (1995) Borgers, Dronkers, Rollenberg, et. al. (1995) and Toka & Dronkers (1996) made comparisons between several birth cohorts. Borgers, Dronkers, Rollenberg, et. al. made also comparisons between siblings from migrantgroups, between siblings from one- and two-parent families, and between families with or without working mothers. Comparisons have not yet been made between families with fathers with different political power.

3. Data.

Our data comes from the survey "Social Structure II" carried out by the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences in January 1988. This survey was nationally representative for the population aged 18 years and more.

Information was collected about the respondent's education and occupation, education and occupation of the father, number of children of the father, family-form and place of living at

the respondent's age of 14 years. No information was asked about the mother. The respondent answered all these questions, and was asked also about his or her father and one brother or sister, and his or her occupation. No questions were asked about the education of the sibling.

We selected those respondents who formed a pair with the sibling, thus only children, or respondents whose sibling died at young age were deleted. Each pair of the respondent and the sibling were with the help of their birth-years ordered in such a way that the oldest of each pair became the older sibling and the youngest the younger sibling. The unit of this new data set is not longer the individual respondent but a pair of siblings (N=1001).

The definitions of all available variables and their coding are displayed in figure 2.

Figure 2. Variables and their codings.

Variables	Coding
Father's educational attainment	Years of education, ranging from 4 to 16
Father's occupational status	International occupational prestige scale (Treiman, 1977).
Number of siblings	Number of father's children, ranging from 2 to 17
Occupational prestige oldest sibling	International occupational prestige scale (Treiman, 1977).
Occupational prestige youngest sibling	International occupational prestige scale (Treiman, 1977).
Gender	*1 older brother / younger brother *2 older sister / younger sister *3 older brother / younger sister *4 older sister / younger brother
Generations	The mean of the year of birth of both siblings *1 1921 - 1938 *2 1939 - 1947 *3 1948 - 1956 *4 1957 - 1967
Family form at the age of 14	*1 one-parent or other family forms (e.g. relatives *note) *2 two parent family
Political orientation	*1 father communist or allied party member *2 father no communist or allied party member

*note: (Given the Polish history the main cause of an one-parent family might not be divorce but death).

As mentioned in the introduction four series of comparisons will be made.

The first comparison is between the four gender combinations: older brother / younger brother; older sister / younger sister; older brother / younger sister; older sister / younger

brother.

The second comparison is between four generation-cohorts based on the mean of the year of birth of respondent and sibling. Given the Polish history we have split them in four generations. 1. Born before 1939; 2. 1939-1947 War and post-war political uncertainty; 3. 1948 -1956 Stalinism; 4. after 1956 to 1967 post-Stalinism and Solidarnosc.

The third comparison is made between sibling-pairs where the father was a member of the communist or allied parties (N=175), and sibling pairs where the father was not occupied in communist politics (N=817).

The fourth comparison is between two groups of sibling-pairs living in a family with two parents (N=865), with one parent/ in stepfamilies or with other relatives (N=127).

4. Results.

4.1. Gender differences in sibling resemblance.

In this section we test the first hypothesis:

1. There are no differences in occupational resemblance between cross-gender and like-gender Polish siblings.

In table 1. the selection of the most parsimonious model is shown. The basic model is model a; all unstandardised parameters can be different for the four cross-gender and like-gender siblings. The models b to f equalise one or more unstandardised parameters for the different sibling pairs. The degree of change in the χ^2 , given the increase of degrees of freedom, gives information whether this equalising is justified by the data. Only non-significant differences in the χ^2 between the basic model and the compared model justify the equalisation of the unstandardised parameters for the four groups.

Based on the outcomes of model b to f the final, most parsimonious model is estimated (g). In that final model, the unstandardised effects from fathers education level (faedyrs), fathers occupational status (fastat) and the number of siblings (nsibs) are equal for the four groups (model b); the unstandardised effects of the common family factor on the occupational attainment of the younger sibling is equal for the four groups (model c), and the variance of the common family factor is equal for the four groups (model d).

The error-variance in occupational variance of the individual siblings is not equal for the four groups (model e) and the effect of the common-family-factor on the occupational level of the oldest sibling is not equal to the effect on the occupational level of the youngest sibling (model f).

Table 1. selection of the most parsimonious model for gender like and cross-gender sibling pairs

model	χ^2	df	p	diff	χ^2	df	p	
a. all parameters free	8	8	.36					
b. eff parents on famfac for all	15	17	.53	b-a	7	9	.62	ns

model	χ^2	df	p	diff	χ^2	df	p	
groups equal *age								
c. eff famfac on occys *age	16	11	.13	c-a	7	3	.06	ns
d. variance famfac for *age	11	11	.43	d-a	2	3	.49	ns
e. errorvariance occos occys for all groups equal	34	14	.0016	e-a	25	6	.0002	s
f. occos=occys=1*famfac *age	24	12	.02	f-a	15	4	.003	s
g. final model b+c+d	27	23	.23	g-a	18	15	.22	ns

note: we show the truncated χ^2 but we used the full χ^2 . *age: for all groups equal.

The unstandardised parameters for the final most parsimonious model g are shown in table 2. Here we can see that our hypothesis is acceptable : there are no systematic differences between the unstandardised parameters of cross-gender and like-gender sibling pairs. Also the parental background characteristics effects the common family factor the same for all gender combinations (row 5).

The error variances of the occupational level of the individual siblings with the lowest error variances for the like-gender combinations (brother / brother; sister / sister) and the highest error variances for the cross-gender combinations (brother / sister; sister / brother).

The effect of the common-family-factor is stronger on the oldest sibling and weaker on the youngest sibling, but this is not different for the four siblingpairs.

We can conclude from these results that father's education and occupation and the other unmeasured family characteristics have equal effects for the occupational level of both sexes in Poland, but that brothers and sisters differ more in their occupational levels than sisters and sisters and brothers and brothers.

Thus the first hypothesis can be accepted, but there are some differences between Polish siblings of different gender.

Table 2. gender: parameters of the most parsimonious model with t-values

	osmale / ysmale	osfemale / ysfemale	osmale / ysfemale	osfemale / ysmale
1. education father-famfac	10.17	10.17	10.17	10.17
t-value	7.38	7.38	7.38	7.38
2. occ status father-famfac	.13	.13	.13	.13
t-value	4.64	4.64	4.64	4.64
3. nsibs-famfac	-6.90	-6.90	-6.90	-6.90
t-value	-4.21	-4.21	-4.21	-4.21
4. famfac unexplained by parental background (1-R2)	.70	.72	.71	.73
t-value	5.07	5.07	5.07	5.07
5. famfac occ oldest sibling	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00

	osmale / ysmale	osfemale / ysfemale	osmale / ysfemale	osfemale / ysmale
6. famfac occ youngest sibling	.70	.70	.70	.70
t-value	7.42	7.42	7.42	7.42
7. occ os unexplained by famfac (1-R2)	.49	.68	.63	.69
t-value	5.41	7.51	7.18	8.03
8. occ ys unexplained by famfac (1-R2)	.73	.83	.83	.74
t-value	8.92	9.51	10.26	8.63

occ = occupation; os = oldest sibling; ys = youngest sibling.

4.2. Differences in sibling resemblance between generations.

In this section we test the second hypothesis:

Occupational resemblance between siblings from different Polish generations will not decline, but the resemblance of the generations who became adults during the Communist regime will be highest.

Table 3 shows the selection of the most parsimonious model. The procedure is equal to that of the previous section. In the final model the unstandardised effect on the common family factor of the parental characteristics is equal for all generations (model b), and the variance of common famfac is equal for all groups (model d) and the errorvariance of the occupational status of both siblings is equal (model e).

Table 3. Selection of the most parsimonious model for generation sibling pairs

model	χ^2	df	p	diff	χ^2	df	p	
a. all parameters free	8	8	.36					
b. eff parents on famfac for all groups equal *age	24	17	.10	b-a	15	9	.07	ns
c. eff famfac on occys *age	16	11	.11	c-a	8	3	.05	s
d. variance famfac for *age	11	11	.37	d-a	3	3	.38	ns
e. errorvariance occos occys for all groups equal	17	14	.25	e-a	8	6	.22	ns
f. occos=occys=1*famfac *age	23	12	.02	f-a	14	4	.01	s
g. final model b+d+e	33	26	.14	g-a	24	18	.13	ns

note: we show the truncated χ^2 but we used the full χ^2 . *age: for all groups equal.

The unstandardised parameters of final model g. are shown in table 4.

All parameters, unstandardised effects of father's education and occupation are equal for the four generations and they explain the same amount of variance in the common-family-factor

for the four generations. The errorvariance of occupational prestige for oldest and youngest sibling does not differ significantly over the generations (model e). The results on the youngest sibling show more explained variance by the family factor for the generations born during and after the second World War, what indicates that in hard times the family is more important for their offsprings to survive.

This results indicate no decline of the family in Poland during the 20th century. This confirms our second hypothesis and shows that the earlier conclusions on sibling resemblance in Hungary of Toka and Dronkers (1996) were not an incidental outcome.

table 4. generations: parameters of the most parsimonious model with t-values

	1921-1938	1939-1947	1948-1956	1957-1967
1. education father-famfac	10.77	10.77	10.77	10.77
t-value	7.58	7.58	7.58	7.58
2. occ status father-famfac	.13	.13	.13	.13
t-value	4.47	4.47	4.47	4.47
3. nsibs-famfac	-7.86	-7.86	-7.86	-7.86
t-value	-4.72	-4.72	-4.72	-4.72
4. famfac unexplained by parental background	.76	.72	.67	.72
t-value	5.19	5.19	5.19	5.19
5. famfac occ oldest sibling	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
6. famfac occ youngest sibling	.60	.96	.78	.47
t-value	3.97	6.34	6.64	3.27
7. occ os unexplained by famfac	.65	.63	.62	.63
t-value	11.18	11.18	11.18	11.18
8. occ ys unexplained by famfac	.84	.66	.73	.89
t-value	16.67	16.67	16.67	16.67

occ = occupation; os = oldest sibling; ys = youngest sibling

4.3. Sibling resemblance in communist families and non-communist families.

In this section we test the third hypothesis:

The occupational resemblance between siblings from Communist families will be smaller than that of siblings from non-communist families in Poland.

The possible differences in the relative importance of parental background for occupational status of siblings from communist or not communist families has not been a topic in sibling research before.

Table 5. shows the selection of the final, most parsimonious model. The procedure is equal to that of the previous section. In the final model (model g) we equalise the unstandardised effects of the parental characteristics on the common-family-factor for all groups (model b) the unstandardised effects of the common-family-factor on the occupational attainment of the youngest sibling (model c), the variance of the family-factor (model d) and the errorvariance of the occupational status of both siblings is equal (model e).

Table 5. Selection of the most parsimonious model for sibling pairs with communist fathers

model	χ^2	df	p	diff	χ^2	df	p	
a. all parameters free	5	4	.27					
b. eff parents on famfac for all groups equal *age	9	7	.20	b-a	4	3	.21	ns
c. eff famfac on occys *age	8	5	.15	c-a	2	1	.09	ns
d. variance famfac for *age	7	5	.17	d-a	2	1	.11	ns
e. errorvariance occos occys for all groups equal	9	6	.17	e-a	3	2	.14	ns
f. occos=occys=1*famfac *age	12	6	.05	f-a	7	2	.02	s
g. final model b+c+d+e	18	11	.08	g-a	12	7	.07	ns

note: we show the truncated χ^2 but we used the full χ^2 . *age: for all groups equal.

The parameters of the final model g. are presented in table 6.

As the table shows there are no differences in the parameters. So this means there are no differences between siblings from a communist family and siblings from a non-communist family. A more modern life-style for the communist families, a smaller effect of parental social class or a trend towards decline of the family is not found. The third hypothesis has to be rejected.

Table 6. communist families: parameters of the most parsimonious model with t-values

	father communist party member	father no communist party member
1. education father-famfac	10.27	10.27
t-value	7.35	7.35
2. occ status father-famfac	.13	.13
t-value	4.55	4.55
3. nsibs-famfac	-7.13	-7.13
t-value	-4.31	-4.31
4. famfac unexplained by parental background	.78	.70
t-value	5.15	5.15

	father communist party member	father no communist party member
5. famfac occ oldest sibling	1.00	1.00
6. famfac occ youngest sibling	.73	.73
t-value	7.53	7.53
7. occ os unexplained by famfac	.65	.63
t-value	10.96	10.96
8. occ ys unexplained by famfac	.78	.76
t-value	16.40	16.40

occ = occupation; os = oldest sibling; ys = youngest sibling

4.4. Sibling resemblance in one- and two-parent families.

In this section we test the fourth hypothesis:

The occupational resemblance between siblings from one-parent families will be smaller than that of siblings from two-parent families in Poland.

Sibling research with one- and two-parent families was done for the first time by Borgers, Dronkers, Rollenberg et. al. (1995). We compare two groups: the first with siblings who were raised by one-parent or other family form (e.g. relatives) (N=127), and the other with siblings raised by two parents (N=865).

Table 7 shows the procedure to select the most parsimonious model. In this most parsimonious model g. the unstandardised effects of the common-family-factor on the occupational status of the younger siblings are equal to the unstandardised effects of the common-family-factor of the occupational status of the older sibling for both groups (model c and f), the variance of the common-family-factor is equal for all groups (model d) and also the error variance of the occupational attainment of both siblings is equal (model e). However the unstandardised effect of father's education and occupation on the common-family-factor are not equal for one- and two-parent families.

Table 7. selection of the most parsimonious model for different family forms

model	χ^2	df	p	diff	χ^2	df	p	
a. all parameters free	9	4	.06					
b. eff parents on famfac for all groups equal *age	20	7	.004	b-a	11	3	.008	s
c. eff famfac on occys *age	9	5	.10	c-a	.12	1	.73	ns
d. variance famfac for *age	9	5	.8	d-a	.78	1	.38	ns
e. errorvariance occos occys for all groups equal	10	6	.11	e-a	1	2	.51	ns
f. occos=occys=1*famfac *age	13	6	.04	f-a	4	2	.13	ns

model	χ^2	df	p	diff	χ^2	df	p	
g. final model c+d+e+f	14	9	.11	g-a	5	5	.37	ns

note: we show the truncated χ^2 but we used the full χ^2 . *age: for all groups equal.

The parameters of this final model g. are presented in table 8.

The only differences are the effects of father's education and occupation. In one-parent families the education of the father is more important than in two-parent families, while the occupation of the father is more important in two-parent families and is not important for one-parent families. This unexpected result might be explained by the importance of the cultural capital of the disappeared father which might be effective even as he has disappeared, while the financial capital of the father is only effective as long as the father is around.

There is no difference in unexplained variance of the family-factor by the parental characteristics. There is no difference found in unexplained variance by common family-factor in the occupational level of the individual siblings. So there is no reason to believe that a one-parent family in Poland is less effective as a two-parent family. The same outcome as found in the sibling research in Australia (Borgers, Dronkers, Rollenberg, et. al. 1995). This results means a rejection of our fourth hypothesis.

Table 8. family forms: parameters of the most parsimonious model with t-values

	one parent family	two parent family
1. education father-famfac	9.68	7.88
t-value	2.95	6.45
2. occ status father-famfac	-0.037	.17
t-value	-0.74	6.04
3. nsibs-famfac	-11.39	-5.56
t-value	-2.57	-3.75
4. famfac unexplained by parental background	.67	.69
t-value	6.80	6.80
5. famfac occ oldest sibling	1.00	1.00
6. famfac occ youngest sibling	1.00	1.00
7. occ os unexplained by famfac	.72	.72
t-value	17.23	17.23
8. occ ys unexplained by famfac	.68	.69
t-value	16.04	16.04

occ = occupation; os = oldest sibling; ys = youngest sibling

5. Conclusion and discussion.

In accordance with our hypothesis we did not find systematic differences in the resemblance of occupational levels between cross-gender and like-gender sibling pairs in Poland, although siblings of different gender show some differences.

The results on the second hypothesis for generations siblings show no decline of the family in state-socialist Poland. The youngest sibling in war- and post-war-time shows more resemblance with the oldest sibling than in other generations. This indicates that the sibling resemblance is dependent on the stability of the state/country and on the politic situation. Wartime and post-war instability and establishment of the oppressive communist regime have an opposite effect on the "decline of the family". This effect of wartime and unstable situations shows the importance of the family for the future of their children, specially in difficult times.

The third hypothesis showed no modernisation difference between the communist and non-communist families. The communist party does not offer their members the opportunity to live more free and modern than the rest of the non-communist society.

One- and two-parent families show different importance of education and occupation of the fathers, but no difference found in sibling resemblance. One- and two parent families do not differ in their strength to influence the future of their offsprings. An explanation is that the problems of one-parent families forces siblings more to rely on each other and limit siblings to benefit from their individual opportunities.

In the Polish society during the war and state-socialist period, family life and dependence on the family showed their importance and this trend shows that the decline of the family is not as universal as assumed by others. We saw that the importance of the family increased, and that like in Hungary after World War II, in Poland in the period of wartime and political difficult times the family is more the cornerstone of society. Political and social suppression can have unexpected positive effects, like the strengthening of the family.

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Abstract.

We analyse the effects of family background on occupational attainment in Poland. We use sibling models with an unmeasured latent variable for family background which captures the total sum of all family and environmental influences to analyse resemblance between occupational prestige of pairs of siblings. We find in generations-comparisons that the effect of family background has increased in Poland in the 20th century, in contrast to modernisation trends and increased individualism in the western European countries and USA and Australia.

Occupational resemblance between siblings in different generations increase when the effect of family background increase, due to war- and post-war difficult political and economical circumstances.

We find no differences between different gender-groups, no differences for different family-forms and no differences between families with communist allies, and without communist allies.