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Sources of Knowledge about Parenting and Causes of Lack Thereof at the Birth of a First Child from Parents' Perspective

Introduction

Parenting changes the lives of women and men who become mother and father after the birth of their first child. These are entirely new roles, for which no one can be fully prepared beforehand because nothing can replace experience. However, the foundations acquired in a natural way in one's own family along with pedagogical knowledge gained through broadly understood education should help young parents feel ready to perform these new challenging tasks. Still, many parents feel insecure in the new role. Raising and caring for a child is a fundamental task for each family, to which parents are often unprepared. Frequently, they base it on intuition and their own experiences, learning from older family members or through observation of other families. At some stage of this difficult process however, they should get support from schools attended by their children (and other institutions), provided that school education and home upbringing are treated as complimentary. Obviously, individual efforts and environmental influences could also be beneficial.

Education, in the broadest sense, is preparing the young for participation in a society. This process begins within a family, in which rearing may be intentional, planned and conscious (reflective), similarly to institutions which are purposefully educational (including schools), or, it can be casual and spontaneous (non-reflective).¹ Raising children can

¹ S. Kawula, J. Brągiel, A.W. Janke: *Pedagogika rodziny. Obszary i panorama problematyki*. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 2005, p. 102.

be perceived as purposeful and thoughtful when it is based on sufficient knowledge about the process and accompanied by appropriate attitudes. Only then, can it mean a high level of pedagogical culture.

According to I. Jundziłł, pedagogical culture is a kind of behavior manifesting itself in the awareness of educational objectives, broadening the knowledge of education, sensitivity towards issues relating to children and young people, and a sense of responsibility for the young generation. It finds its fullest expression in the proper influence on children, young people and adults.² D.C. Diehl, J.N. Wentz, and L.F. Forthun emphasize: "As most parents will recognize, the list of topics that parents need to master is almost endless, starting before birth and extending all the way to adulthood. Parents should be knowledgeable of child development stages, constructive discipline, positive communication, and a whole array of other parenting issues. Parenting is a lifelong exercise in learning that requires the ability to find answers to your pressing questions."³ What it implies is the need for ongoing education, which should begin even before a child is born. However, studies show that the reality is quite different.

The parents who "fail" because their children cause problems are usually blamed by their environment and experts, whereas, at the same time, little is done to help them become more effective in a most demanding, responsible and difficult job of raising children. They are, according to T. Gordon, "blamed but not trained."⁴

C.R. Rogers distinguished two types of learning: cognitive and experiential. The first, also called meaningless, corresponds to abstract knowledge, whereas the latter, regarded as significant, refers to applied knowledge. The main difference lies in the needs and wants of the learner. Significant learning entails personal involvement and pervasive effects on the learner; it is self-initiated and evaluated by the learner.⁵ Parents' knowledge of raising a child usually derives from experiential learning, but, in many cases, it may turn out insufficient. Therefore, it seems that the combination of the two types, together with parents' growing involvement as the key condition, would contribute to a higher level of parental knowledge.

² I. Jundziłł: *Środowiskowy system wychowawczy w mieście*. Warszawa: WSiP, 1983, p. 149.

³ D.C. Diehl, J.N. Wentz, L.F. Forthun: "Strengthening Families: Knowledge of Parenting and Child Development". <http://edis.ifas.ufl.edu/fy1245>, University of Florida Extension Publications (EDIS) [access: 6.02.2015].

⁴ T. Gordon: *Parent Effectiveness Training*. New York: Penguin Group Incorporated, 1975, pp. 1-2.

⁵ C.R. Rogers: *Freedom to Learn*. Columbus, OH: Merrill, 1969, p. 5.

Insecurity Concerning Most Parents

This article refers only to a portion of the author's research on pedagogical culture of parents and their attitudes towards parent training. The survey was conducted in Polish cities, towns and villages among 680 mothers and fathers from different backgrounds, representing different education, profession and age. A detailed analysis can be found in the author's book on pedagogical culture.⁶ In this article, the author focuses only on the sources of knowledge and causes of parents' lack of knowledge about parenting when their first child is born.

Firstly, it should be noted that only about one third of parents (32%) felt that they knew how to raise a child when they became parents.⁷ Half of them rated their preparation as "average" while less than one fifth (18%) admitted that they did not have sufficient knowledge about parenting. The differences between men's and women's responses were rather insignificant. The affirmative answer was chosen by 34% of mothers and 29% of fathers, the negative response by 17% of mothers and 21% of fathers, and an "average" option was 50% for both sexes. This is a surprising result, because a much higher educational competence and knowledge of the care and upbringing is generally attributed to mothers. It is not necessarily seen as acquired education, but a skill coming from feminine and motherly intuition. However, this stereotype was not confirmed by the findings of my research.

As for other factors differentiating respondents' replies, most disparities were irrelevant. Residents of small towns were slightly more likely to declare having sufficient knowledge about parenting. They chose the negative answer less frequently than other groups. The same applies to respondents professionally involved in education (mainly teachers, educators and researchers). It could also be observed that the higher education the parents received, the higher their self-assessment in this area was. With regard to age, the older the respondents, the more often they answered in an affirmative way, and the less frequently they indicated the "average" option. The oldest group showed the most similar proportions in all three response choices; the younger the age, the more

⁶ M. Bereźnicka: *Kultura pedagogiczna rodziców w społeczeństwie informacyjnym*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Pedagogicznego, 2015.

⁷ The question was answered by 671 respondents: 418 women and 263 men; 213 residents of villages, 179 – small towns, 276 – large cities; 77 respondents professionally involved in education, 510 – other professions, 84 – non-working persons; 219 of those with higher education, 396 – secondary education, 39 – primary/middle school education; 52 parents under the age of 25, 189 – aged 25 to 35, 379 – aged 35 to 55, and 47 – over the age of 55.

disparities appeared (fewer “yeses” and increasingly “average”). Results concerning the negative answer were not regular and they were the least popular among parents aged 25 to 35.

These results provoke many questions. In the survey, the question about acquiring sufficient knowledge on parenting was accompanied by a request for a justification for the given answer. It was filled out only by 57% (391 respondents): 143 parents indicated their source of knowledge and 248 explained the reasons for the lack thereof.

All the charts in this article were prepared by the author based on her own research.

Sources of Knowledge about Parenting

The most frequently indicated source of knowledge about parenting was experiences gained in the respondents’ own families (44% of all contributors⁸). Figure 1 shows the obtained data.

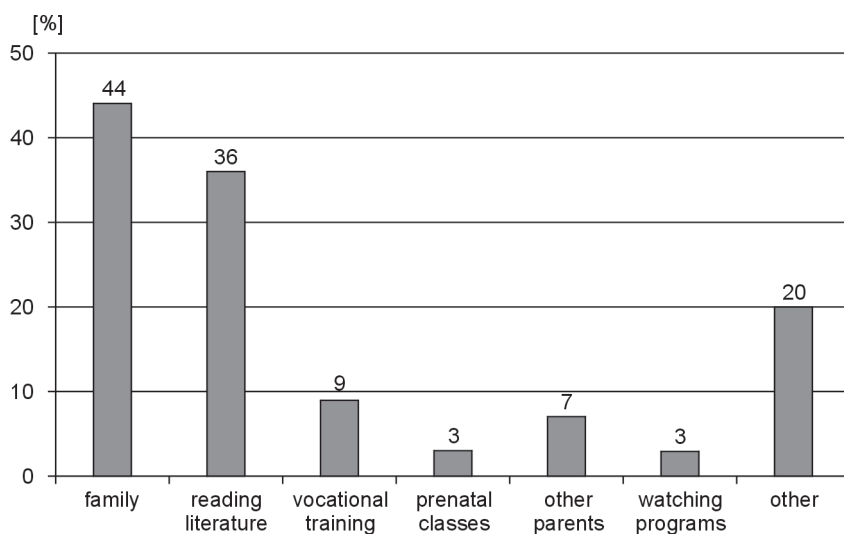


Fig. 1. Sources of parents’ knowledge about parenting at the birth of their first child

⁸ This survey was filled out by 143 respondents: 109 women and 34 men; 50 residents of villages, 38 – small towns, 54 – large cities; 27 respondents professionally involved in education, 101 – other professions, 15 – non-working persons; 52 of those with higher education, 77 – secondary education, 3 – primary/middle school education; 14 parents under the age of 25, 40 – aged 25 to 35, 84 – aged 35 to 55, and 5 – over the age of 55.

Referring to the literature on parenting, which includes guides, educational publications and articles, was indicated by over one third of parents. Significantly, fewer participants, that is less than one tenth, pointed to vocational training (mainly pedagogical studies) and other people's experiences. Only a few parents cited prenatal classes and watching TV educational programs. The category "other" (one fifth of respondents) included mainly emotional rather than factual explanations such as willingness to be a parent/feeling ready for parenthood.

Figure 2 shows clearly that gender has been an important factor in the discussed issue.

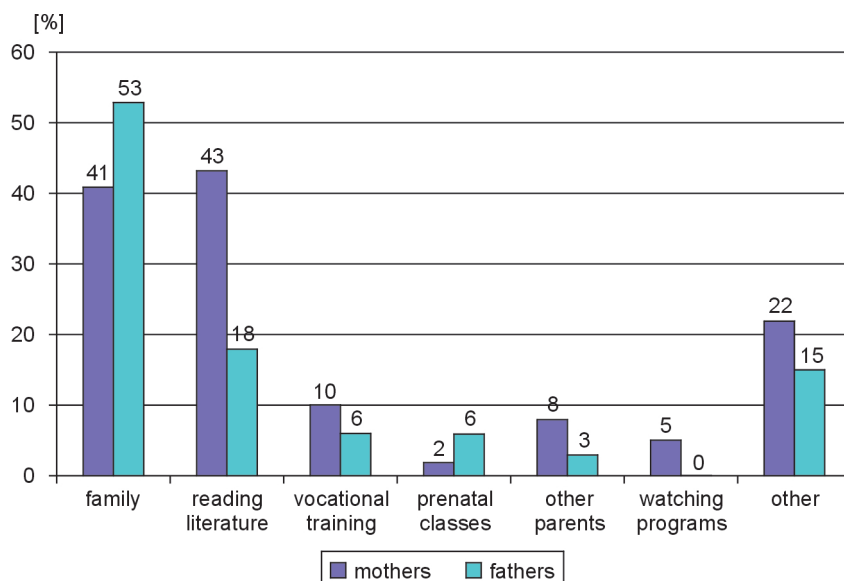


Fig. 2. Parents' gender and the sources of their knowledge about parenting

Mothers more than twice as frequently as fathers declared learning through literature and television programs, whereas fathers more likely relied on family experience. On the other hand, men seemed to be less interested in drawing from pedagogical practice of other parents. Also, more women's responses qualified as the category "other."

Analyzing the data in terms of the parents' place of residence revealed some differences presented in Figure 3.

It can be seen that family experiences were chosen mostly by respondents from small towns, next from big cities, and least frequently by those living in villages. It is surprising, given the common belief that family traditions are the most strongly rooted in the rural environment. The larger the city, the more frequently respondents declared reading literature and watching television programs, and the less likely they

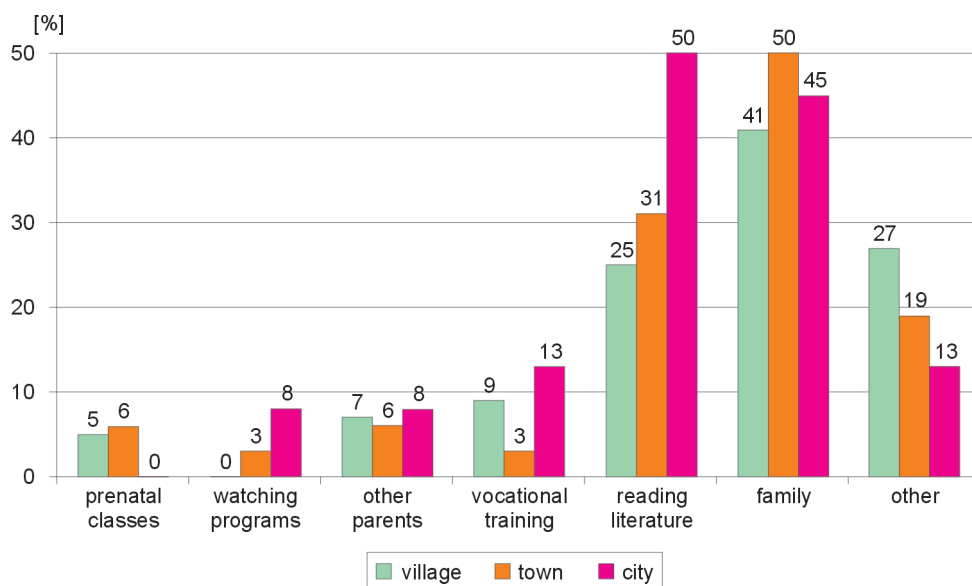


Fig. 3. Parents' place of residence and the sources of their knowledge about parenting

were to choose the category "other." This may indicate that residents of major cities are preparing for parenthood trying to gain more professional information, while parents from the countryside are more prone to following intuitively the feeling of "the right moment," unrelated to education. Vocational training was the least frequently chosen option by small-town residents.

The participants of the survey represented very different professional areas. For the purpose of this study, I divided them into three groups (Figure 4).

As might be expected, the respondents associated with science and education, more often than the other two groups, cited vocational training as a source of their knowledge. They were also more likely to resort to pedagogical literature. The category "others," containing all vague responses, did not apply to them at all. On the other hand, educators more often than other professionals claimed their knowledge came from the home they had been growing up, and slightly more often – from other parents, which was not that obvious. This means that they were trying to combine professional knowledge with their own family's experience and observation of other mothers and fathers. Non-working parents' responses, in most significant cases, were similar to those obtained from parents representing "other professions"; most frequently they did not choose any of the answers (compared to two other groups). They also did not indicate prenatal classes or watching programs (this also applies to educators).

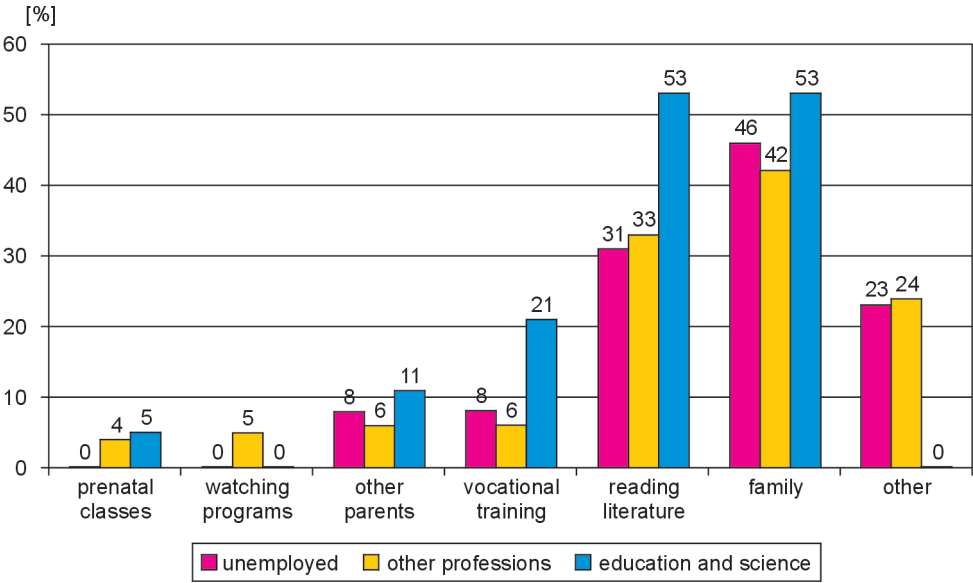


Fig. 4. Parents’ professions and the sources of their knowledge about parenting

Figure 5 shows the collected data regarding parents’ educational background.

The authors of vague statements (the category “other”) were mostly parents with primary/middle school education. Relatively high

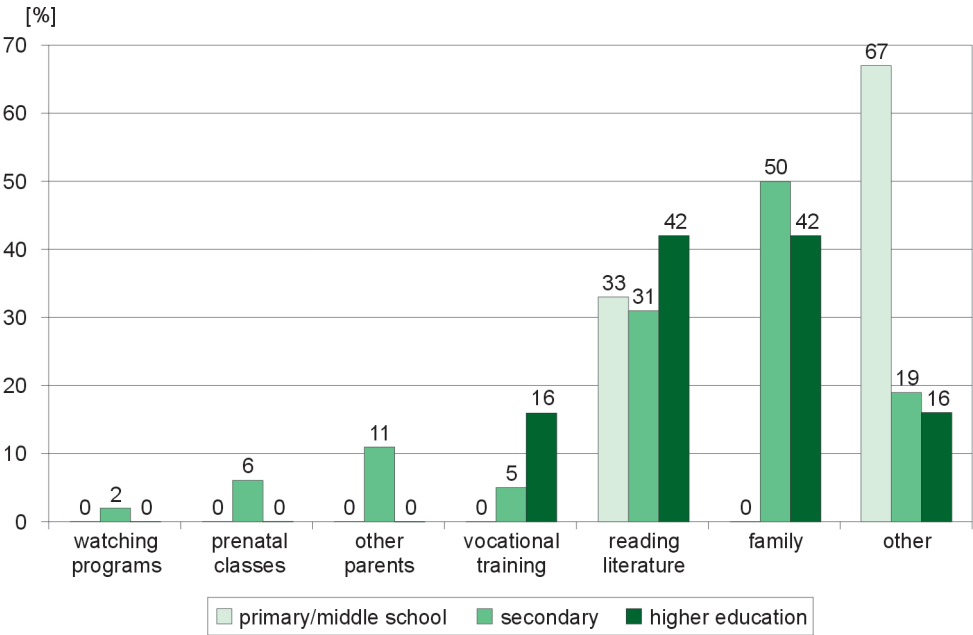


Fig. 5. Parents’ level of education and the sources of their knowledge about parenting

percentage indicated regarding literature. However, all the percentage data in this analysis refer only to respondents who specified the source of knowledge (or accounted for its lack), and the representation of this group was rather sparse. It is striking that none of the respondents mentioned their own family's experiences. Perhaps they did not consider them worth identifying with. To compare, the family source was indicated by as many as 42% of parents with secondary education and half of university graduates. The middle group was the only one who admitted to drawing from experience of other parents, attending prenatal classes and watching programs about raising children. Quite surprisingly though, some of them pointed to vocational training (they might not have completed their pedagogical courses), indicated mainly by university graduates.

For the purpose of this study, respondents were divided into four age groups (Figure 6).

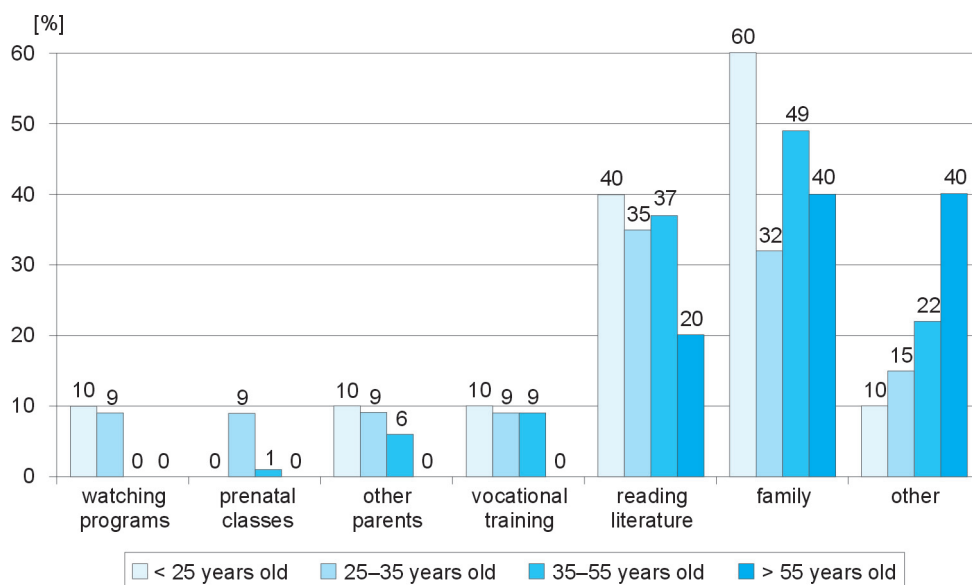


Fig. 6. Parents' age and the sources of their knowledge about parenting

The youngest parents, under the age of 25, more often than others indicated their own family as a source of knowledge about parenting. However, the next youngest group (aged 25 to 35) chose that answer the least frequently. The older the respondents were, the more frequently they pointed to sources classified as "other." The oldest respondents (over the age of 55) declared reading about education the least frequently. It can be easily explained by the fact that literature dealing with parenting is much more popular and accessible nowadays than it was a few decades ago. Vocational training, observation of other par-

ents, attending prenatal classes (benefited from primarily by participants aged 25 to 35) or watching TV programs were also less frequently indicated. That latter source was mentioned mainly by the two younger groups (approx. one tenth of respondents under the age of 35). This is understandable considering only recent popularity of such programs.

Disparities in the use of pedagogical and psychological literature by different groups of respondents were related to gender, age, place of residence and profession. Such contents were more readily used by women, parents under the age of 55, residents of big cities and professionals in the field of education/science. Other differences were rather minor, except for vocational training (naturally, chosen mainly by educators) and the category “other” encompassing vague statements (the most frequently indicated by parents with the lowest educational level and the oldest groups of respondents).

Causes of Parents’ Lack of Knowledge

The analysis of responses concerning sources of knowledge about parenting revealed the reasons why new parents lacked relevant knowledge⁹. As shown in Figure 7, the answers were not particularly varied.

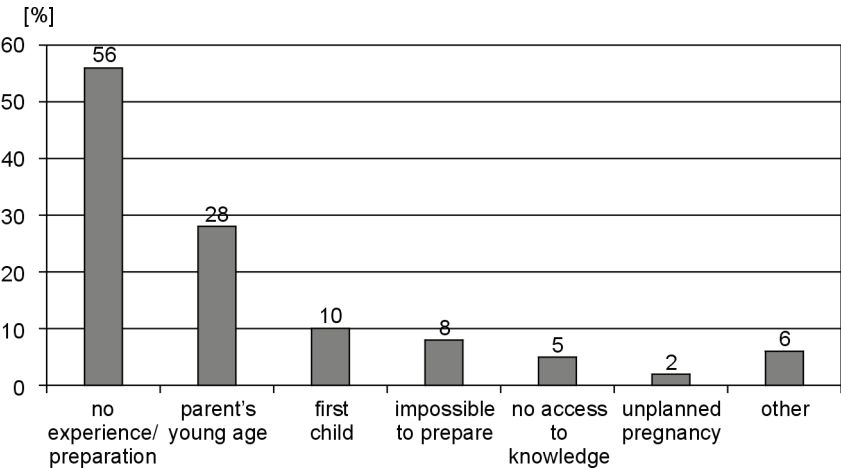


Fig. 7. Causes of parents’ lack of knowledge about parenting at the birth of their first child

⁹ This survey was filled out by 248 respondents: 156 women and 92 men; including 87 residents of villages, 55 – small towns, 103 – large cities; 22 respondents professionally involved in education, 198 – other professions, 28 – non-working persons; 74 of those with higher education, 55 – secondary education, 11 – primary/middle school education; 32 parents under the age of 25, 78 – aged 25 to 35, 125 – aged 35 to 55, and 12 – over the age of 55.

Over half of the parents pointed to their lack of preparation and experience; one tenth dealt with parenting responsibilities for the first time. More than a quarter of respondents mentioned their young age when they became parents. A small group responded that it was impossible to prepare for parenthood. A small percentage of respondents referred to the lack of access to certain knowledge, unplanned pregnancy, detrimental family patterns, lack of parental support and fears of overwhelming responsibilities and expectations.

Figure 8 presents gender statistics.

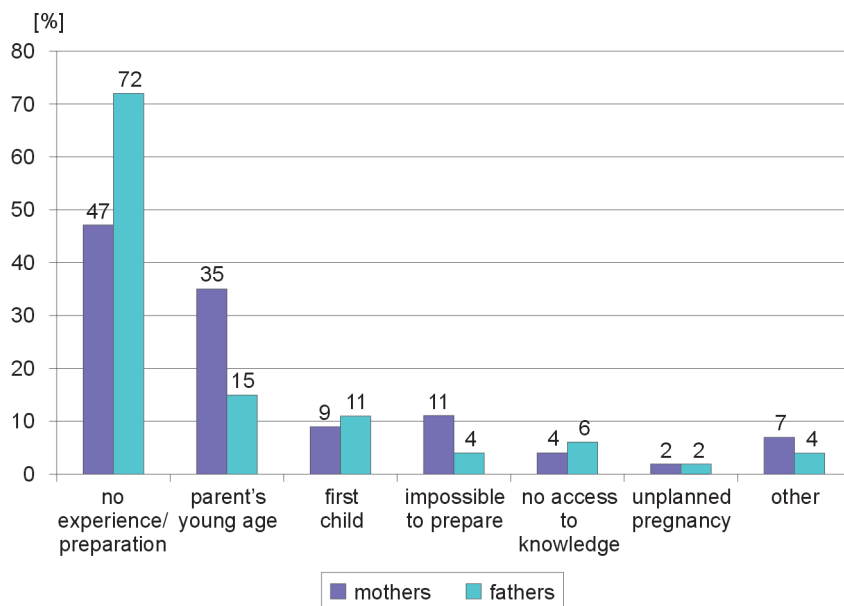


Fig. 8. Gender and causes of parents' lack of knowledge about parenting

Male respondents, more frequently than female respondents, accounted for their lack of knowledge citing unpreparedness and inexperience. They admitted that before their first child was born, they had not been thinking about fatherhood. Some males also believed that men were by nature less inclined for parenting. Female respondents declared more frequently that they had been too young for motherhood. They were more often convinced that it was impossible to prepare for motherhood because theoretical knowledge alone would be insufficient.

Further differences were revealed by an analysis of the respondents' places of residence (Figure 9).

Residents of small towns were more inclined than others to point to their lack of preparation/experience; rural residents saw the principal reason for the lack of knowledge in the fact that it was their first child,

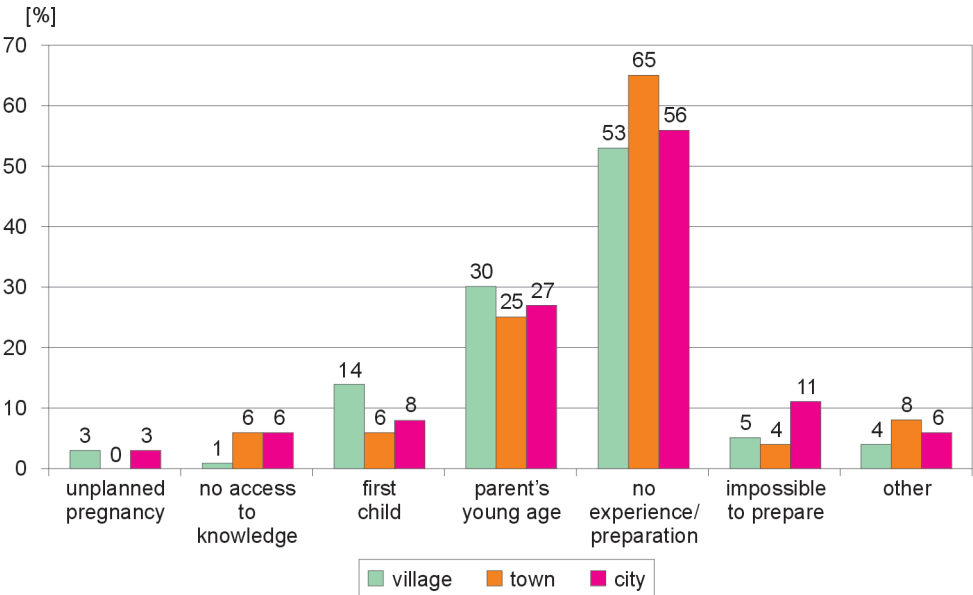


Fig. 9. Parents' place of residence and causes of their lack of knowledge about parenting

and residents of large cities emphasized that one could not prepare for parenthood at all. It is worth noting that only people from smaller towns did not mention unplanned pregnancy while the inhabitants of villages, despite having more limited access to knowledge, hardly ever indicated that reason. Unplanned pregnancy was infrequently blamed for the new parents' lack of knowledge.

As shown in Figure 10, some surprising results were revealed among respondents working in the field of education/science (and others).

Although professionals working in the field of education/science are expected to possess broader theoretical knowledge about parenting and related pedagogical aspects, this group, several times more often than others, were convinced that it was impossible to prepare for motherhood and fatherhood. At the same time, they less frequently than others pointed to their lack of preparation and experience (this category was chosen most often by other professionals) as well as their young age when they became parents. Non-working parents had the highest percentage of responses qualified as "other."

The data showing parents' responses in connection with their educational background are illustrated in Figure 11.

The inability to prepare for parenthood was cited mainly by university graduates who were also least likely to declare they had been too young when their first child was born. Understandably, the lower the education level, the higher the percentage of people who claimed that they had not had access to knowledge. The obvious first child statistic

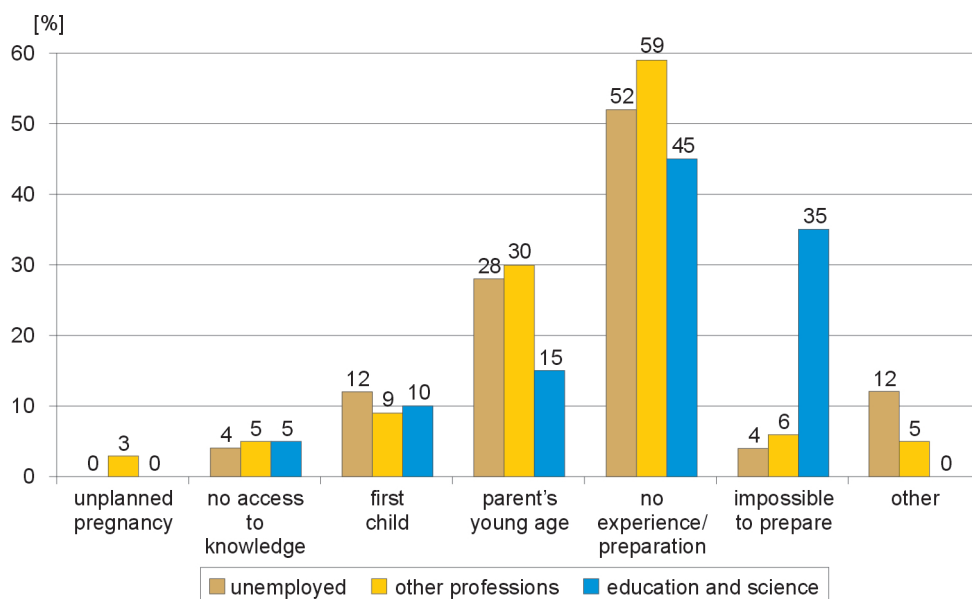


Fig. 10. Parents' professions and causes of their lack of knowledge about parenting

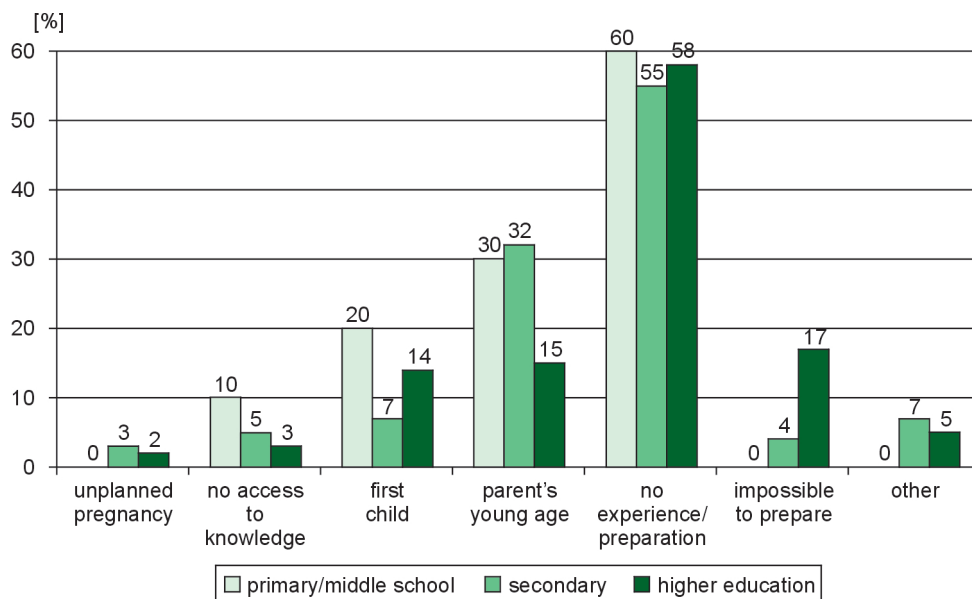


Fig. 11. Parents' level of education and causes of their lack of knowledge about parenting

appeared least frequently among high school graduates, and most frequently in a group of primary/middle school graduates. Interestingly, in the latter group there were no indications of any unplanned pregnancy.

Figure 12 shows the collected data in connection with the age of respondents.

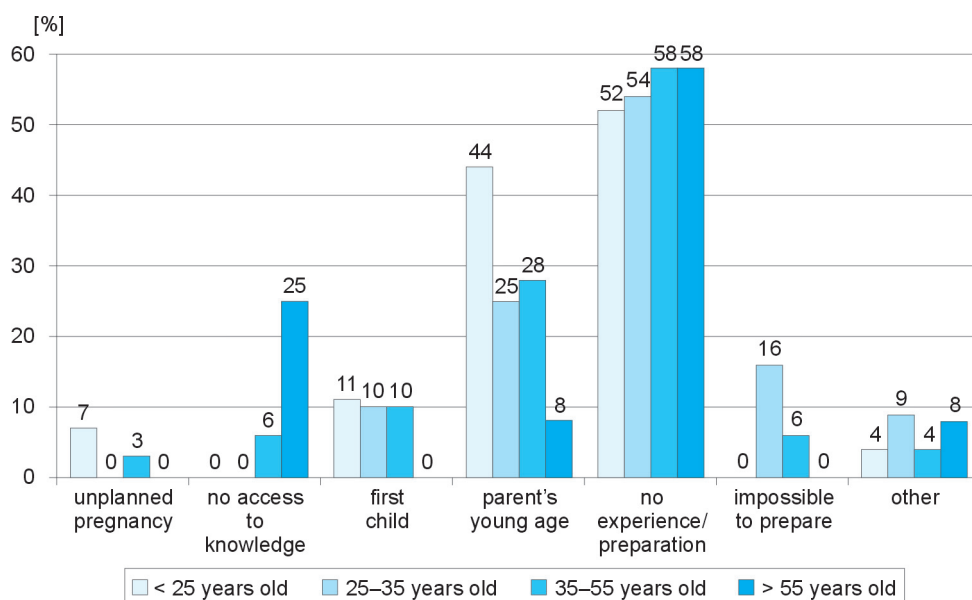


Fig. 12. Parents' age and causes of their lack of knowledge about parenting

The older the parents were, the more frequently they declared lack of access to knowledge. This is understandable since a few decades ago there were fewer television programs and shows, radio broadcasts, social campaigns, guides and magazines about parenting/education/communication with children than there are nowadays. The Internet itself has been indisputably influencing that situation through easy and instant access to numerous websites dealing with the subject. Moreover, the number of different courses and workshops offered to parents as well as their popularity is growing in Poland.

Respondents over the age of 55 never chose the first child explanation and indicated their very young age as new parents several times less frequently than others. That factor along with unplanned pregnancy was emphasized mostly by respondents under 25 years of age. Only the "middle" groups (aged 25 to 55, with a majority aged 25 to 35) emphasized the impossibility to prepare for parenthood.

Comparing the results obtained from different groups revealed disparities in statistics concerning lack of experience or preparation (mentioned more frequently by fathers), parents' young age (less popular among fathers, graduates, people over the age of 55 and education professionals), first child statistic (chosen mainly by rural residents and omitted by the oldest respondents), the belief that it is impossible to prepare for parenting (more frequently emphasized by urban residents, university graduates, educators and parents aged 25 to 35) and no access to knowledge (mainly interviewees over the age of 55).

Conclusions

To sum up, a portion of the compiled data regarding parents' knowledge about parenting or lack thereof, turned out to be surprising. Certain aspects require a further study, considering the fact that not all of my respondents were willing to clarify their responses concerning their knowledge or lack of knowledge. It may be the reason why the picture is incomplete, suggesting that these results should be verified. Nevertheless, it is possible to discern some patterns and draw general conclusions based on the above statistics.

Parents' sources of information about parenting at the birth of their first child seem to be rather limited. None of the answers was indicated by more than half of the respondents. The principal source of knowledge was their own family. Experiences at home in which the respondents had been growing up proved to be six times more meaningful than the observation of other parents (44% and 7%). As far as more professional sources are concerned, less than one third of parents claimed they had read guides, educational publications and articles on parenting while nearly one tenth had some kind of vocational training. Other sources, including prenatal classes and watching relevant programs on TV got low results. It should be emphasized that none of the respondents mentioned school as a source of knowledge about parenting and there were no declarations concerning parental training programs.

It can be said that the explanations for the lack of knowledge about parenting were not very original. More than half of the respondents simply wrote that they had not been prepared or had not had any experience. Over one fourth indicated their young age, one tenth stressed quite an obvious fact that it was their first child, and slightly fewer respondents cited impossibility to prepare. No access to knowledge was mentioned mainly by the oldest respondents, which seems to be out of date given the countless opportunities provided by the Internet.

The results of research on the level of preparation for parenthood at the birth of their first child (also confirmed by their today's self-esteem) and on the sources of the new parents' knowledge and causes of its lack, highlighted once again the necessity to raise pedagogical culture in Polish society.

First of all, parents' awareness should be developed to prevent irresponsible attitudes to child rearing and child neglect. The second step is to provide new parents with access to knowledge and learning opportunities as well as assistance and support, especially on the part of schools and kindergartens (with thoroughly educated teachers), social

workers,¹⁰ psychological and pedagogical counselling centers along with other institutions involved in education. In addition, desirable attitudes should be strengthened in our society by implementing educational values¹¹ through appropriate contents for children and youth in schools and universities, for the wider society – in the media, and in the case of believers – in their churches. Integrated, long-term and systematic actions can definitely improve the level of pedagogical culture of parents and, in this way, help raise a generation of wise, responsible young adults who will become positive role models to their children, contributing to the creation of a valuable and multilaterally developing society.

Notwithstanding the educational role of institutions, the influence of parents on upbringing cannot be diminished. They can neither be ignored and unappreciated or relieved of their educational duties. They should be aware that they are the first and most influential educators responsible for their children's upbringing and they are ultimately decisive. Any institutional, or other kind of support, ought to be considered complementary.

In view of my research, most parents do see the need for actions raising the level of pedagogical knowledge in Polish society (one tenth had no opinion on this subject; significantly, no one gave a negative reply). School is a source of knowledge of how to bring up children only for every tenth respondent. However, when problems with a child's behavior occur, more than one third of parents would seek support in that institution. Nearly 50% of respondents believe that parenting classes organized in schools would be beneficial (also two fifths believe that the preparation for future roles should start as early as in childhood/youth, by means of a school subject called Education for Family Life).

Therefore, strategies developed in the future should incorporate family support along with possibilities for parents to educate themselves. M.R. Sanders and M.L. Woolley emphasize that "there is substantial evidence that parent training based on social learning models is effective in managing a wide variety of behavioral and emotional problems in children."¹² It involves parents of both young children¹³ and adoles-

¹⁰ S. Holland: *Child and Family Assessment in Social Work Practice*. London: Sage Publications, 2004.

¹¹ M. Bereżnicka: *Wartości kształcenia we współczesnej szkole*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Pedagogicznego, 2010.

¹² M.R. Sanders, M.L. Woolley: "The Relationship Between Maternal Self-efficacy and Parenting Practices: Implications for Parent Training." *Child: Care, Health & Development* 2005, vol. 31 (1), p. 65.

¹³ M. Chang, B. Park, S. Kim: "Parenting Classes, Parenting Behavior, and Child Cognitive Development in Early Head Start: A Longitudinal Model." *The School Community Journal* 2009, vol. 19 (1).

cents.¹⁴ Early childhood programs have the potential to affect a large number of families. They may also act as an early warning and response system preventing abuse and neglect.¹⁵ Moreover, they would provide parents with encouragement and education and build resiliency in children.¹⁶

In *Parent Training Programs: Insight for Practitioners*, parent training is defined as “a program in which parents actively acquire parenting skills through mechanisms such as homework, modeling, or practicing skills. [...] This definition was based on decades of research showing that active learning approaches are superior to passive approaches.”¹⁷ It is also necessary to raise mothers and fathers’ consciousness of the significance of upbringing and a variety of issues connected with parenting, such as self-control of parents as role models or teaching children to follow their own (good) internalized standards of conduct rather than their parents’ dictates, inner control instead of conforming to authority, among others.

Moreover, M.R. Sanders and A. Morawska emphasize that “parents are more likely to learn the skills, increase their intentions to implement them and actually implement and maintain them when targeted parenting skills are modelled and demonstrated, and also (a) dysfunctional attributions or beliefs about the reasons for children’s behavior are changed; (b) positive expectancies and parenting self-efficacy are increased; (c) social supports are activated; and (d) parents learn to manage distressing affect that interferes with effective parenting.”¹⁸ Fulfilling these conditions requires further analysis and research. Nevertheless, it seems to be one of the most essential and urgent issues in Polish family pedagogy.

¹⁴ L.C. Taylor et al.: “Parent Training and Adolescent Social Functioning: A Brief Report.” *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, Springer US. link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s10826-014-0106-2 [access: 14.01.2015].

¹⁵ M.D. Reppucci, P.A. Britner, J.L. Wollard: *Preventing Child Abuse and Neglect through Parent Education*. Baltimore, MD: Paul H. Brookes Publishing Co., 1997.

¹⁶ *Strengthening Families. A Guidebook for Early Childhood Program*. Washington D.C.: Center for the Study of Social Policy, 2007, section 1.1.–1.3.

¹⁷ *Parent Training Programs: Insight for Practitioners*. Atlanta, Georgia: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2009, p. 2.

¹⁸ M.R. Sanders, A. Morawska: “Can Changing Parental Knowledge, Dysfunctional Expectations and Attributions, and Emotion Regulation Improve Outcomes for Children?” *Encyclopedia on Early Childhood Development*. Centre of Excellence for Early Childhood Development. <http://www.child-encyclopedia.com/Pages/PDF/Sanders-MorawskaANGxp.pdf> [access: 12.02.2015], p. 6.

There has been no structured parent training program for parents in Poland yet. In her book on pedagogical culture, mentioned in this paper, the author discusses the idea of such a project. She considers the contribution from schools, parents' awareness, role of the media, financial costs and other factors. The issue of parental training requires a lot of debates and research, taking into consideration different political, social, economic and educational aspects. As H.A. Giroux claims, pedagogy should constantly enter into dialogue with other fields and theoretical domains to influence people's relationships with others and the world, and make it possible to live in a just society¹⁹. Families, being fundamental social units, with their high or low pedagogical culture, have a huge impact on these issues, and as such, on the future of succeeding generations.

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¹⁹ H.A. Giroux: "Cultural Studies, Public Pedagogy, and the Responsibility of Intellectual." *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 2004, vol. 1, no. 1, p. 64.

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Sources of Knowledge about Parenting and Causes of Lack Thereof at the Birth of a First Child from Parents' Perspective

Summary: The aim of this paper is to present the results of a survey on the knowledge of parenting at the birth of a first child, in particular responses regarding parents' self-evaluation. The author analyzes parents' sources of knowledge about parenting and causes of the lack of knowledge. The survey highlights the need for raising pedagogical culture and social awareness in Poland. Efforts have been undertaken to achieve this goal. However, there has been no organized, efficient program involving all parents.

Key words: parenting, raising children, knowledge, education, pedagogical culture

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**Die Borne des Wissens über Erziehung
und die Ursachen des Mangels an solchem Wissen bei
der Geburt des ersten Kindes
aus der Sicht dessen Eltern**

Zusammenfassung: Der Beitrag hat zum Ziel, einen Teil der Forschungen darzustellen, welche den Kenntnissen der Eltern im Bereich der Elternschaft in dem Moment als ihr erstes Kind zur Welt kommt, gewidmet wurden. Die Verfasserin möchte besonders die von den Befragten eingeholten Informationen über Borne ihres Wissens oder über Ursachen des fehlenden Wissens darüber präsentieren. Die Forschungsergebnisse beweisen, dass es nötig sei die pädagogische Kultur und das soziale Bewusstsein der Eltern in Polen zu steigern. Solche Maßnahmen werden schon zwar in gewissem Maße ergriffen, doch es fehlt immer noch an einem kohärenten Programm, das alle Eltern berücksichtigen würde.

Schlüsselwörter: Elternschaft, Kindererziehung, Wissen, Bildung, pädagogische Kultur