

## ATTITUDES OF THE CITIZENS OF SERBIA TOWARDS THE GOALS OF FAMILY UPBRINGING

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*Abstract.* The subject of discussion are the attitudes of citizens towards the qualities that children should be encouraged to learn in the family, based on the data collected in the fourth wave of the World Values Survey (1999-2004). The aims of this paper are: to determine the hierarchy structure of citizens' values regarding the qualities that children should be encouraged to learn as part of their family upbringing; to determine whether the priority is given to the development of autonomous or conformist personality, as well as the correlates of each of these two orientations; to determine what the position of Serbian public opinion is in comparison to the European countries encompassed by the World Values Survey. The analysis comprises representative samples from 33 European countries, in total 48,220 respondents. The research in Serbia comprised 1200 citizens aged 18 and above. It was shown that Serbian public opinion gives priority to the development of the qualities of an autonomous personality over conformist. Regarding the values and goals of upbringing, Serbia is at the level of average of the European countries as a whole. The younger and more educated respondents give priority to the development of autonomous qualities, as well as those who acquired post-materialist values. Progressive goals of upbringing which are supported by the public can be accomplished with significant changes in the direction of increase of social standard, quality of education and competence of all those people who participate in the upbringing of the young.

*Key words:* public opinion, family upbringing, values, goals of upbringing, autonomy, conformism.

### Introduction

Family relations and upbringing styles are the field of life which significantly depends on the more general values of an individual. It is considered that especially important for the family are the values which determine the desirable type of family organisation and family relations, as well as the values which point out to the desirable type of personality (Golubović, 1981). The attitudes about the desirable type of personality, that is, about the qualities

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that should be developed in children, implicitly indicate the goals of upbringing and the appropriate upbringing style oriented towards the accomplishment of the set goal of upbringing. Certain approaches to value research are based on the very assumption that value orientations of individuals determine their attitudes towards the desirable type of personality, and therefore, conclusions about values were drawn on the basis of estimations of the desirability of certain qualities that should be encouraged in children. The interest of researchers for parenting values is understandable when the influence of parenting values on the socialisation of children is taken into account. An insight into parenting values, especially the values related to upbringing of children, enables to foresee their upbringing methods and understand better the effects of socialisation.

By parenting values Kohn (1969, 1976) assumes the values that the parents would like most to be embodied through the behaviour of their children, and these are implicitly suggested by the qualities that the parents consider the most desirable to be acquired by their children. Kohn studied the relation between social class and parenting values with the intention of determining what the implications of class differences with regard to the values for the parental practice of raising children are. The obtained findings support the expectations about the linkage between social class and parenting values. The members of the middle class give priority to child qualities which indicate self-direction or self-development, and the parents who belong to labour class insist on conformity. Self-development assumes behaving according to one's own judgement and inner standards, which suggests autonomous personality, while conformity means acting according to external standards and the influence of external authority.

Kohn's research of upbringing goals and values inspired several researches which were carried out in Serbia. The findings of the research of parenting values and upbringing goals in the families with children of preschool age indicate that conformist qualities are valued more in worker's families, while the members of middle class value more the qualities which belong to the dimension of self-development (Tomanović-Mihajlović, 1997). Workers value most the conformist qualities such as honesty, good behaviour and obedience, and assign the least value to intellectual curiosity, the quality belonging to the dimension of self-development. On the other hand, experts and artists value most the qualities which suggest self-development, such as reasonableness and intellectual curiosity, and do not value much behaviour in keeping with gender role, as well as ambitiousness, that is, orientation towards success. These findings are in accordance with the results obtained by Kohn in his research.

Applying the adapted Kohn's scale of values on the sample of parents and teachers, it was found that the majority of parents and teachers strives towards developing the qualities of autonomous personality in children and youth, while as the least important goals were mentioned the conformist qualities and values (Pjurkovska-Petrović & Ševkušić, 1996). Both groups of respondents chose the following qualities as the most desirable: independence in thinking and making decisions, responsibility and accuracy, the ability to realistically judge oneself and others. It was shown that there are no large differences between parents and teachers regarding the perception of the most desirable and the least desirable goals of upbringing. The differences appeared with respect to some values occupying the middle position in the hierarchy. More often than teachers, parents chose the qualities which suggest the traditional understanding of upbringing, while for teachers it was more important that their pupils be curious and interested.

Findings of the research carried out on the sample of primary and secondary school teachers also demonstrate that teachers consider the development of autonomy as a very important goal of upbringing-educational process (Stojiljković, 2005). The most important thing for the teachers is that the pupils develop the ability for learning and intellectual curiosity, that they become responsible people who will perform their job competently and thoroughly and that they acquire the knowledge necessary for further education, and the least important for them is that pupils should accept gender determined roles, become neat and tidy and develop national and patriotic feelings. Teachers' focus on encouraging intellectual curiosity of pupils and endeavours to form those pupils' qualities which are the basis for future successful, responsible and conscientious performance of the chosen profession, indicate that teachers lay emphasis on the qualities which are support self-regulation and self-direction, which are the key characteristics of autonomous personality.

Using factor analysis of the findings obtained by the research of expectations of primary school pupils regarding the upbringing-educational goals and effects of schooling, two interpretable factors were singled out: the first factor indicates social orientation and taking care of other people, while the second one suggests the goals regarding personal development (Joksimović & Stojiljković, 2006). There is no doubt that both of these goals are important, and that can explain the finding that pupils assign great importance to the goals from both groups. Preference of goals which indicate social orientation is positively correlated with the conformity of pupils, while the preference of goals which contribute to the personal development and development of autonomy of the young is negatively correlated with conformity.

This finding indirectly leads to the conclusion that non-autonomous pupils, prone to conformity, give priority to the goals which suggest direction towards others, while the non-conformists appreciate more the goals oriented towards personal development and autonomy.

The findings of the research of the characteristics of family relations and values in child upbringing show that for the parents of primary school pupils it is most important for children to develop intellectual abilities, independence and ambitiousness, and these are equally desirable both for boys and girls (Luković, 2004). These data suggest that, concerning the most desirable qualities, there are no significant differences with regard to child's gender, which indicates non-traditional, that is, modern values of parents. The content of the first three most desirable qualities, among which independence occupies the second place, also indicates modernity of the parents, which is reflected in their aspiration that their children should be autonomous and competent. However, certain traditionalism is reflected in assigning more importance to the qualities which are more appreciated in patriarchal environment as far as female children are concerned, such as loyalty and neatness, while courage is considered the most desirable quality for children of male gender.

The subject of further discussion will be the opinions of different categories of citizens concerning the qualities children should acquire in the family, which means that the research comprises not only those who have children they take care of and raise, but also the citizens whose descendants have grown up and already formed themselves as individuals, as well as those who do not have children. It is the public opinion of Serbia, which will make it possible to gain a broader insight into value orientations of the citizens, notwithstanding their situation regarding offspring. The analysed data will enable drawing conclusions about the general social climate concerning the goals of upbringing of the young generations, which can be an important guideline for the work of planners and accomplishers of the upbringing-educational process. Since these are the data of the World Values Survey, the answers of Serbian citizens can be compared to the answers of the respondents from other countries, and therefore the findings which refer to Serbia can gain wider significance.

The World Values Survey comprises comparative researches carried out on representative samples in more than 70 societies on all six continents, in the duration of more than a quarter of a century.<sup>1</sup> It started with the Euro-

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<sup>1</sup> Further information about the World Values Survey can be found on the website [www.worldvaluessurvey.org](http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org).

pean Values Survey in the period 1981-1984, the second wave of research was carried out in the period 1989-1993, the third during 1994-1999, and the fourth was finished during the period of 1999-2004<sup>2</sup>. Applying factor analysis on the data from the World Values Survey, Inglehart (1997) identified two dimensions of cross-national variation and constructed the Global Cultural Map. The first dimension of cultural variation is formed by the dimension of traditional versus secular-rational values, which are often called modern or post-modern values. The main component of the second cultural dimension is the polarisation between materialist and post-materialist values, that is to say, the value priority shift from economic and physical safety to self-expression, subjective well being and quality of life (Inglehart&Welzel, 2005).<sup>3</sup>

Comparative analysis of the World Values Survey results obtained in the four waves of research in the period from 1980 to 2000 has demonstrated that the attitudes towards parental roles and socialisation of children differ significantly depending on the level of socioeconomic development of the country, where less developed societies are characterised by the preference of obedience and unconditional respect for parents, while the more developed societies prefer independence, responsibility and autonomy of judgement (Foa, 2007). In this paper, attention will also be focused on the value positioning of the citizens of Serbia concerning the choice between qualities which suggest obedience and conformity on the one hand, and autonomy on the other. Empirical basis is formed of the data obtained in the fourth wave of the research which was conducted, as part of the World Values Survey, in the period from 1999 to 2004, including Serbia (in 2001).

### **Methodology of the research**

*Research questions and aims.* The subject of the investigation are attitudes of the citizens of Serbia towards the goals of family upbringing related to the qualities that children should acquire and develop in the family.

General aims of the study are the following: (1) to determine the hierarchy structure of citizens' values with regard to the qualities that should be encouraged in children during family upbringing and (2) to compare findings about the value preferences of the citizens of Serbia with the preferences of other European countries citizens.

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<sup>2</sup> The fifth wave of research, which started in 2005, is currently under way and the results are not available to the public yet.

<sup>3</sup> For more details see Pavlović (2006).

Within the first general aim special aims are to determine: a) whether the citizens of Serbia give priority to the development of autonomous or conformist personality and b) which the correlates of each of these two orientations are.

*Respondents.* Survey in Serbia was carried out on the representative sample of the citizens of Serbia aged 18 and above (N=1200 respondents). 48% of respondents of male gender and 52% respondents of female gender were comprised. Regarding the age structure, there are 27% of the young aged 18 to 34, 41% of respondents belong to the age group from 35 to 54 years, and 32% of the respondents are over 55 years old. 64% of the respondents are married, 19% are not married, 2% live together as married, 6% of them are divorced, while there are 9% of widowers (widows). One quarter of the respondents does not have children, 22% have one child, 42% have two children, and 11% of the respondents have three or more children. As far as educational structure is concerned, the respondents with secondary education are dominant (42.6%), then equally present are those with university or college education (22.7%) as well as those who completed primary education (22.1%), while the smallest number of respondents have not completed primary education (12.6%). Regarding the population size of the settlement, 22% of the respondents live in a town of 50.000-100.000 inhabitants, 15% each live in settlements with up to 2.000, i.e. 20.000-50.000 inhabitants, while 12% live in cities with more than 500.000 inhabitants.

Serbia was compared with 32 European countries or geopolitical communities<sup>4</sup>, which were surveyed in the fourth wave of the World Values Survey. The research encompassed 48.220 respondents in total.

*Variables and instruments.* Data about the desirable child qualities and characteristics of respondents were taken from the World Values Survey Questionnaire.

The answers to the question where the respondents were asked to choose up to five qualities from the list of ten qualities that children can be encouraged to learn at home, which are, in their opinion, especially important, were used as an indicator of values of family upbringing. The respondents performed their choice concerning the following qualities: (1) independence, (2) hard work, (3) feeling of responsibility, (4) imagination, (5) tolerance and respect for other people, (6) thrift, saving money and things, (7) determination, perseverance, (8) religious faith, (9) unselfishness and (10) obedience.

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<sup>4</sup> Austria, Albania, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Belarus, Czech Republic, Germany, Denmark, Spain, France, Finland, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Ireland, Iceland, Lithuania, Latvia, Moldova, Montenegro, Macedonia, Netherlands, Portugal, Poland, Romania, Russia, Sweden, Slovakia, Slovenia, Turkey and Ukraine.

Bearing in mind the applied procedure of research, where the respondents could choose up to five qualities, but not rank them mutually, by the application of factor analysis it was not possible to confirm the assumptions about dimensionality, i.e. grouping of certain qualities. However, cluster analysis indicates that we can discuss two large groups of qualities. One cluster is formed of the qualities imagination, religious faith, unselfishness, thrift, saving money and things, determination, perseverance and obedience; the second cluster is formed of the qualities independence, feeling of responsibility, tolerance and hard work. From the first group, as characteristic representative of the qualities which indicate conformity and traditionalism, *obedience, religious faith and thrift, saving money and things* were singled out, while from the second group, as characteristic representatives of the qualities which suggest autonomy and non-traditional values, *independence, tolerance and responsibility* were selected. Other qualities were not the subject of further analysis.

Based on the combination of six qualities which are the subject of this analysis, typology of made choices was established for each respondent with regard to the fact whether the priority was given to autonomous or conformist personality. Those respondents who chose one, two or three qualities from the group of autonomous qualities were grouped among the respondents who aspire towards autonomous goals, while those who opted for the qualities which suggest traditionalist values were considered conformist oriented respondents. Since the qualities which form one cluster indicate both conformity and traditionalism, these terms are used alternately. However, since the second cluster comprises the qualities which suggest autonomy, which is contrary to conformity, in further discussion it will predominantly be spoken about the conformist upbringing goals and values. The respondents who did not choose the qualities from these two groups at all or equally often chose both the autonomous and conformist values form the category of the so-called mixed type.

The selection and classification of qualities was supported, apart from statistical reasons (the results of cluster analysis), by the findings obtained by Kohn (1976) and the approach used by Foa (2007) in his analysis of the World Values Survey data. According to Kohn, parents' inclination towards encouraging self-development and autonomy is reflected in the choice of qualities such as understanding for other people, intellectual curiosity, responsibility and self-control, while orientation towards conformity is suggested by the choice of qualities such as obedience of parents, good behaviour, neatness and tidiness. As one of the indicators of authoritarian parenting values, Foa included choosing obedience as a desirable quality, while

among the indicators of autonomous values he included assigning importance to the development of independence and feeling of responsibility.

Materialist and post-materialist values were studied in such a way that the respondents were asked to choose, out of four aims (maintaining order in the state, fighting rising prices, protecting freedom of speech, giving people more say in important government decisions), the two which should be the aims of their state in the following ten years and to rank them according to their importance.

As far as socio-demographic characteristics are concerned, the effect of the following variables was examined: age, sex, marital status and number of children, level of education and population size of the settlement.

*Data processing.* Statistic analyses are made with data taken from *European and World Values Surveys Four-wave Integrated Data File, 1981-2004*, v. 20060423 (2006). Percentage and correlation analysis were performed, while Chi-Square test and Cramer's V coefficient were used for the assessment of the significance of differences.

## Results of the research

### *Estimation of the importance of child qualities*

Estimations of the importance of qualities that children should be encouraged to learn at home on the Serbian sample show that hard work is at the first place according to the frequency of choosing, at the second is feeling of responsibility, tolerance is third, and independence occupies the fourth place. Religious faith is at the penultimate place, and the ultimate place is occupied by imagination (table 1). The most desirable child qualities on the sample of other European countries are responsibility and tolerance, and the least desirable are imagination and religious faith. If the preferences of each of ten analysed qualities are compared between the population of Serbia and the population of other European countries it is shown that there are no large differences in the structure of preferences, which is indicated by the significance of rank correlation coefficient (.809;  $p < .001$ ). It should be pointed out that in the population of both entities more than half of respondents prefer the same four qualities – hard work, feeling of responsibility, tolerance and independence, out of which three belong to the group of autonomous values.

The comparison of the distribution of the groups of qualities which suggest autonomous and conformist values also shows that the respondents who think that, first and foremost, children should be encouraged to learn qualities of autonomous personality, are dominant (Table 2). In Serbia, as in



other European countries, two thirds of respondents aspire towards autonomous values and goals of upbringing, while only 14% of them support conformist or traditionalist values. If the data obtained on the level of Europe are compared with the data about the distribution of these values on the sample of Serbia, it is shown that the acceptance of upbringing goals on the sample of Serbia completely reflects the pattern of desirable qualities on the level of Europe as a whole ( $\chi^2=.073$ ;  $df=2$ ;  $p<.964$ ; Cramer's V coefficient  $=.001$ ;  $p<.964$ ). In that sense, it could be said that Serbia is an average representative of Europe.

*Table 1: Preference of child qualities in Serbia and other European countries (%; Rank)*

Child qualities	Serbia		Other European countries	
	%	Rank	%	Rank
Independence	61	4	51	4
Hard work	75	1	54	3
Feeling of responsibility	72	2	75	1
Imagination	10	10	20	10
Tolerance	65	3	72	2
Thrift, saving money and things	31	8	37	5-6
Determination, perseverance	41	5	37	5-6
Religious faith	20	9	23	9
Unselfishness	34	6	27	8
Obedience	32	7	31	7

\*Note: Data are weighted for N=1000.

*Table 2: Acceptance of autonomous and conformist aims in Serbia and other European countries (%)*

Level of analysis	Upbringing goals			Total
	Autonomy	Mixed	Conformity	
Serbia	67.8	18.0	14.2	100
Other European countries	67.5	18.4	14.1	100

With the intention of finding out what lies at the basis of the choice and preference of qualities that children should be encouraged to learn at home, the correlates of autonomous, i.e. conformist values of family upbringing were examined. The starting assumption of the paper was that, in the same way in which they influence general attitudes and values, certain socio-demographic characteristics also influence the views on whether the priority in child upbringing should be given to the development of conformity or autonomy. With the intention of finding out which socio-demographic and

other characteristics of the respondents are relevant for their choice of desirable child qualities, the effects of gender, age, education, marital status, parenthood, materialist/post-materialist values and religious faith were checked.

*Correlates of estimation of importance of child qualities  
in the population of Serbia*

*Gender* of the respondents is not significantly correlated with the preferences of child qualities, which means that the members of both gender similarly value the qualities children should be encouraged to learn at home ( $\chi^2=.114$ ;  $df=2$ ;  $p<.945$ ). The obtained data about the non-existence of different expectations of men and women from children can indicate a more modern attitude towards the upbringing of young generations or at least declarative gender equality when it comes to thinking about the young.

*Table 3: Preference of upbringing goals according  
to the age of the respondents (f; %)*

Age in years	Upbringing goals						Total	
	Autonomy		Mixed		Conformity		f	%
	f	%	f	%	f	%		
15-24	90	71.4	23	18.3	13	10.3	126	100
25-34	156	78.8	29	14.6	13	6.6	198	100
35-44	176	75.5	36	15.5	21	9.0	233	100
45-54	171	66.3	49	19.0	38	14.7	258	100
55-64	106	58.6	37	20.4	38	21.0	181	100
65 and above	114	55.9	42	20.6	48	23.5	204	100
Total	813	67.8	216	18.0	171	14.3	1200	100

*Age* of the respondents is significantly correlated with the preferred goals of family upbringing ( $\chi^2= 48.261$ ;  $df = 10$ ;  $p<.000$ ; Cramer's V coefficient = .142;  $p<.000$ ). Although in all age groups more numerous are the citizens who give priority to the qualities from the group of autonomous qualities, their number gradually declines after the age of 45, and the majority of them belong to the age category from 25 to 34 years (table 3). These findings can be explained by larger conservativeness and traditionalism of older generations, but also by the conditions in which the older generations grew up and were socialised.

*Marital status* of the respondents is also correlated with the choice of qualities which should be encouraged in children ( $\chi^2=22.115$ ;  $df=6$ ;  $p<.001$ ; Cramer's V coefficient = .096;  $p<.001$ ). The respondents who have not been

married yet choose autonomous goals more frequently than others, and conformist goals more rarely (Table 4). Primarily, this can be ascribed to the fact that there are more young people among those who are not married. However, probably even independently from age, autonomy is more appreciated by those who are not married, since getting married is a part of traditional values. On the other side, the widowers and widows, who are more present among the older respondents, more often than the others prefer conformist goals, which indicates the indirect influence of age.

*Table 4: Preference of upbringing goals according to the marital status of the respondents (f; %)*

Marital status	Upbringing goals						Total	
	Autonomy		Mixed		Conformity			
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Married	529	66.9	145	18.3	117	14.8	791	100
Divorced/Separated	48	67.6	16	22.5	7	9.9	71	100
Widow/Widower	69	61.1	15	13.3	29	25.7	113	100
Not married	167	74.2	40	17.8	18	8.0	225	100
Total	813	67.8	216	18.0	171	14.3	1200	100

The next examined variable is the status of respondents according to the fact whether and how many children they have. The obtained data suggest that the preference of autonomy declines with the increase in the *number of children*, while the preference of conformity rises ( $\chi^2=30.926$ ;  $df=6$ ;  $p<.000$ ; Cramer's V coefficient = .114;  $p<.000$ ). Inclination towards autonomy is exhibited more in those who do not have children (74%), which can, to a certain degree, also be ascribed to the effect of age, since there are more people who do not have children among young respondents. However, the mere fact that somebody is a parent can also partially contribute to the preference of conformist values and traditionalism, since the process of socialisation, during which parents endeavour to raise their children to adopt the social norms, demands a certain dose of conformity as well. Worthy of attention is the finding that the inclination toward autonomy is almost equally exhibited in those with one (69%) or two children (68%), and less often among the respondents with three or more children (50%).

Attitudes towards the qualities that children should be encouraged to learn at home significantly depend on the *level of education* of the respondent ( $\chi^2=174.968$ ;  $df=6$ ;  $p<.000$ ; Cramer's V coefficient = .271;  $p<.000$ ). As the level of education rises, so does the preference of autonomous qualities, and therefore the autonomous value orientation is twice more present in the

answers of the respondents with college and university education than of those who do not have completed primary schooling (Table 5). These data are in accordance with the findings of other similar researches (Kohn, 1969; Tomanović-Mihajlović, 1997). Kohn ascribes the influence of education on values to certain attributes developed through education, such as intellectual flexibility and wideness of perspective. Unlike the less educated, who rely on authorities precisely because of their insufficient knowledge, the more educated individuals demonstrate a larger degree of autonomy themselves, and therefore value it more.

*Table 5: Preference of upbringing goals according to the level of education of the respondents (f; %)*

Level of education	Upbringing goals						Total	
	Autonomy		Mixed		Conformity			
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Incomplete primary	58	38.7	38	25.3	54	36.0	150	100
Primary	138	52.3	62	23.5	64	24.2	264	100
Secondary	370	72.8	93	18.3	45	8.9	508	100
College/university	241	88.9	23	8.5	7	2.6	271	100
Total	807	67.6	216	18.1	170	14.2	1193	100

Religious respondents more often (17%) than non-religious (7%) give priority to conformist qualities ( $\chi^2= 25.17$ ;  $df = 4$ ;  $p < .000$ ; Cramer's V coefficient = .107;  $p < .000$ ). Although, the variable *religiousness* is not discriminative enough, because of large number of those respondents who consider themselves religious. On the other side, the religious individuals are less inclined towards autonomous values (63%) than the non-religious (78%). However, regardless of religiousness, the majority of respondents gives priority to autonomous qualities.

The findings show that the position of the respondents on the dimension *materialism-post-materialism* is correlated with the preference of the qualities that children should acquire in the family ( $\chi^2= 71.11$ ;  $df = 4$ ;  $p < .000$ ; Cramer's V coefficient = .174;  $p < .000$ ). As can be seen in table 6, priority to the development of autonomous qualities is given more by post-materialist (91%) than materialist oriented respondents (58%). This is understandable when it is taken into account that both post-materialism and the aspiration towards autonomy belong to the non-traditional i.e. modern values.

Pearson correlation coefficient shows that there is a positive correlation between the *population size of the settlement* where the respondents live and their choice of upbringing goals ( $r = 0.22$ ;  $p < .000$ ). Precisely, the inhabitants

of big cities are more inclined towards autonomous values than the inhabitants of smaller towns and villages. To a certain degree, this can be ascribed to the higher level of education of the inhabitants of larger settlements, but also to the effects that the socio-cultural climate of a bigger town has on the widening of horizons and acquisition of modern values.

*Table 6: Preference of upbringing goals according to (post)materialist values of the respondents (f; %)*

Values	Upbringing goals						Total	
	Autonomy		Mixed		Conformity		f	%
	f	%	f	%	f	%		
Materialist	331	57.8	120	20.9	122	21.3	573	100
Mixed type	400	75.6	88	16.6	41	7.8	529	100
Post-materialist	65	91.5	4	5.6	2	2.8	71	100
Total	796	67.9	212	18.1	165	14.1	1173	100

### *Discussion*

The outcomes of the socialisation of the young depend on numerous factors, among which general social climate regarding the values towards which the society strives and which it wants to pass over to young generations has a very important role. Public opinion survey is one of the ways to gain insight into social climate and desirable values. The comparison between different countries and regions makes it possible to perceive the relative position of each of the countries included in the survey, as well as to obtain the findings on socioeconomic and cultural factors of the dominant value tendencies. The World Values Survey data are a very valuable source of information on various aspects of individual and social values. Our attention in this paper was focused on the findings which refer to the values of family upbringing regarding the qualities which children should be encouraged to learn at home.

Although different terms were used within parenting attitudes literature, such as independence versus obedience, traditional versus non-traditional values, bureaucratic versus entrepreneurial norms, self-direction versus conformity to external authority, in almost all cases we are dealing with a single dimension from autonomy to authority values (Foa, 2007). Such a distinction can also be found in previous research conducted in Serbia, with the endeavour of determining whether priority is given to the autonomous or conformist personality. The World Values Survey data which refer to Serbia show that the Serbian public opinion gives significantly more priority to the

development of the qualities of an autonomous personality. Compared to the other European countries, Serbia is in the middle, i.e. on the level of average of the European countries as a whole. Based on these, as well as the previous findings, it can be concluded that there is a favourable psychological climate in Serbia for the development of the autonomy of personality (Pjurkowska-Petrović & Ševkušić, 1995; Stojiljković, 2005). These data should be taken with certain restrictions because of social desirability of the qualities which indicate autonomy. During the interpretation of the obtained results, it should be taken into account that there were restrictions stemming from the nature of comparative research in social sciences, such as differences in language, motivation and general context in which the research was carried out (Inglehart & Welzel, 2004).

The findings about the preference of autonomous qualities of child personality are somewhat contrary to the findings and conclusions of the research about the marked authoritarianism in Serbia (Golubović, Kuzmanović & Vasović, 1995; Pantić, 1995). Discrepancy can be explained by several arguments. The methodology applied in the research of authoritarianism is significantly different from the way in which the data on desirable child qualities were collected. In the first case, it is a scale containing several statements which indirectly suggest authoritarianism, while the question about the desirable child qualities was asked directly. And, since people often aspire towards the qualities they lack, it is possible that it was precisely the insufficient independence of certain respondents that contributed to their appreciation of autonomy and their wish to encourage it in children. However, the findings about the marked authoritarianism should also be taken with certain restrictions. It is rightly considered that personality traits are not at issue here, but the beliefs characteristic for a traditional and patriarchal environment which have been acquired by social learning, and which can also be changed by social learning (Rot & Havelka, 1973).

In general, emergence or maintenance of authoritarian orientation is ascribed to the influence of political system and authoritarian political climate (Golubović, Kuzmanović & Vasović, 1995; Pantić, 1995), from which follows that the change of political climate could contribute to the decrease of authoritarianism. As early as in research conducted in 1994 decreased authoritarianism of pupils was noticed when compared to the findings from 1988, which is attributed to increased criticism of the young towards authorities and pressures of social groups (Kuzmanović, 1995). The findings of the World Values Survey in Serbia also show that in the period between the two waves of research (1996-2001) there appeared the increased valuing of tolerance, independence and responsibility, and these are the very qualities

which make up the syndrome of autonomous orientation (Pavlović, 2007). It can be assumed that the changed social and political climate in the past years in the direction of larger democratisation also contributed to the larger inclination of Serbian citizens towards autonomy.

The data obtained in Serbia show that the autonomous upbringing goals are preferred by the younger and more educated people, the inhabitants of larger towns, those who are post-materialist oriented, in a word, by the representatives of modernism. When it comes to the young, the question can be raised whether their modernism is the result of their age or their attitudes are also caused by the conditions in which they were socialised. The analysis of the findings of the World Values Survey shows that in the majority of countries there is an intergenerational shift regarding the valuing of autonomy, which means that each successive cohort exhibits more autonomy-oriented attitudes than their elders at the same age (Foa, 2007). It can be assumed that the attitudes of the present generation of the young are not only influenced by their age as such, but also by the conditions and influences in the period of their growing up which, due to the general trend of modernisation, became more suitable for the development of autonomy.

Although the correlation between the acquisition of post-materialist values and preference of the qualities of an autonomous person was established, it should be mentioned that this correlation is not high, which can be attributed to a very small number of post-materialist oriented citizens. The question arises how to explain the discrepancy between the large desirability of autonomy and small acceptance of post-materialist values, when it is taken into account that both the first and the second orientation indicate modernism. Preference of materialist aims of society can be explained by the low financial standard (low GDP per capita), transition period and personal insecurity of citizens (Pavlović, 2006). It seems that the modernity of citizens is exhibited much more when it comes to the qualities which should be encouraged in children, while they are predominantly traditional concerning the issue of aims of the society. This can also be substantiated by the findings of the researches of parenting values and attitudes, which show that the respondents displayed the largest modernism regarding the upbringing of children; all the attitudes which promote democracy and egalitarianism in the relations between parents and children gained large support (Tomanović-Mihajlović, 1997). The reasons for inclination towards encouraging autonomy in children can be sought for in certain historical and cultural peculiarities of the Serbian nation, such as fighting for independence, resistance to the imposed authorities, as well as in the cult of child and youth characteristic for the contemporary developed societies. When it comes to conformity,

we repeat that, besides obedience, index of conformist orientation was compounded of religious faith and thrift. Although nowadays religiousness is very widespread in Serbia, it should be born in mind that religion was suppressed in the period of socialism, which has definitely left an imprint in the mind of citizens. As far as thrift is concerned, it has never been a typical characteristic of the people from this area, and the inflation that the society and the citizens were facing for years not only disabled saving money, but also called into question its sense.

Disregarding the modernist and progressive ideas of the citizens about the goals of upbringing, there is no doubt that there are serious obstacles on the road towards the accomplishment of these goals, stemming from the general poverty of the society and great social stratification, moral erosion, confusion of values. One of the important prerequisites of successfulness in the accomplishment of upbringing goals is their balance, as well as the balance between different influences. However, although the society proclaims the value of autonomy, responsibility and tolerance, reality does not confirm that, which is easily visible, especially in the media and political life. Another problem is insufficient competence of the parents for the development of these qualities, as well as decreasing influence and reputation of school and teachers. The accomplishment of upbringing goals which are oriented towards the development of an autonomous personality, and for which it was confirmed that they have the public opinion support, demands changes on all levels of the society, which would make it possible for the good intentions to become reality.

*Note.* This paper is the result of the work on the projects which are financially supported by the Serbian Ministry of Science (2006-2010): »Education for knowledge-based society« (No. 149001) and »Democratic models of developing social cohesion, tolerance, human rights and economic growth in political and institutional processes of EU integration in Serbia« (No. 149017).

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Примљено 20. 08. 2007; прихваћено за штампу 25. 10. 2007.

Снежана Јоксимовић, Славица Максић и Зоран Павловић  
СТАВОВИ ГРАЂАНА СРБИЈЕ  
О ЦИЉЕВИМА ПОРОДИЧНОГ ВАСПИТАЊА  
*Анстракт*

Предмет разматрања су ставови грађана о особинама које деца треба да усвоје у породици на основу података који су прикупљени у оквиру четвртог таласа Светске студије вредности (1999-2004). Циљеви рада су: утврдити хијерархијску структуру вредности грађана с обзиром на особине које код деце треба развијати у оквиру породичног васпитања; утврдити да ли се предност даје развоју аутономне или конформистичке личности, као и корелате сваке од ове две оријентације; установити каква је позиција српског јавног мњења у односу на

европске земље које су обухваћене Светском студијом вредности. Испитивање је спроведено на репрезентативним узорцима грађана 33 европске земље у Србији спроведено је на репрезентативном узорку 1200 грађана узраста од 18 и више година. Налази добијени у Србији поређени су са 32 европске Показало се да српско јавно мњење предност даје развоју особина аутономне личности у односу на конформистичку. У погледу вредности и циљева васпитања, Србија се налази на нивоу просека европских земаља као једне целине. Развоју аутономних особина предност дају млађи и образованији испитаници, као и они који су усвојили постматеријалистичке вредности. Прогресивни васпитни циљеви који имају подршку јавног мњења могу се остварити уз значајне промене у правцу повећања друштвеног стандарда, квалитета образовања и компетентности свих који учествују у васпитању младих.

*Кључне речи:* јавно мњење, породично васпитање, вредности, васпитни циљеви, аутономија, конформизам.

## Снежана Ђоксимовић, Славица Максич и Зоран Павловић МНЕНИЯ ГРАЖДАН СЕРБИИ О ЦЕЛЯХ СЕМЕЙНОГО ВОСПИТАНИЯ

### *Резюме*

Предметом рассмотрения в предлагаемой статье являются мнения граждан о качествах, которые дети должны усвоить в семье, на основании данных, собранных в рамках четвертой волны Всемирного исследования ценностей (1999-2004). Цели исследования: выявить иерархическую структуру ценностей граждан по отношению к качествам, которые необходимо развивать у детей в рамках семейного воспитания; узнать, отдается ли предпочтение развитию автономной или конформистской личности, а также выявить корреляты каждой из упомянутых установок; выявить, какова позиция сербского общественного мнения по отношению к европейским странам, охваченным Всемирным исследованием ценностей. Исследование проводилось на представительном корпусе испытуемых (1800 граждан в возрасте 18 лет и старше). Результаты, полученные в Сербии, были сопоставлены с результатами исследования в 32 странах Европы. Авторы пришли к выводу, что сербское общественное мнение отдает предпочтение развитию качеств автономной личности по отношению к конформистской. Относительно ценностей и целей воспитания, Сербия находится на среднем уровне, характерном для стран Европы как одного целого. Развитию автономных качеств предпочтение отдают испытуемые с более высоким образованием и младшего возраста, а также те, которыми усвоены постматериалистические ценности. Прогрессивные воспитательные цели, пользующиеся поддержкой общественного мнения, можно реализовать при условии значительных перемен в сферах повышения уровня благосостояния народа, качества образования и компетентности всех, кто принимает участие в деле воспитания молодого поколения.

*Ключевые слова:* общественное мнение, семейное воспитание, ценности, воспитательные цели, автономия, конформизм.