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ERKKI OLKINUORA

NORM SOCIALIZATION
THE FORMATION OF PERSONAL NORMS

UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ, JYVÄSKYLÄ 1974

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PREFACE

The main part of the present research was carried out during the period I was awarded a scholarship by the Social Science Research Council of the Academy of Finland. I wish to thank the Council for support, without which it would not have been possible to conduct the project on the present scale. I am grateful to the Institute for Educational Research for arranging excellent working conditions in a scientifically stimulating environment. I also wish to express my gratitude to the Defence Forces for giving me permission to use recruits as subjects. I thank Professor Raimo Konttinen and Associate professor Risto Sänkiäho for methodological advice. I am indebted to Professor Paavo Seppänen and Associate professor Marjatta Marin for reading the various versions of the manuscript and offering penetrating criticism and useful suggestions for improvements. Miss Annikki Poutiainen, B.A., has performed the computer runs beyond the call of duty. I am indebted to Mr. Sauli Takala, M.A., for his invaluable help at the various stages of my work especially in revising the English version of the manuscript. My thanks are also due to Mr. Glyn Hughes, B.A., and Mr. Richard Stephens, Ph.D., for checking the language of the manuscript and making it more readable. My discussions with Professors William Faunce and Frederick Waisanen of Michigan State University concerning the conceptualization of the problem area and the organization of the thesis were stimulating. I am deeply grateful to Professor Waisanen for his encouraging and friendly supervision when I started writing the thesis.

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Jyväskylä, September, 1974

Erkki Olkinuora

TIIVISTELMÄ

Tutkimuksen perustavoitteet ovat olleet seuraavat:

a) Normisocialisaation yksilötason tuotosten eri aspekteja - persoonallisia normeja, normatiivisia odotuksia ja normivieraantumista - kuvaavien perusdimensioiden ja niiden välisten suhteiden teoreettinen ja empiirinen analysointi.

Koska asenne ja persoonallinen normi ovat lähekkäisiä, joskin määrittelmällisesti eri kohteisiin liittyviä, käsitteitä, otettiin persoonallisten normien rakenneulottuvuuksien määrittelyn lähtökohdaksi viimeaikaisissa asenneteorioissa paljon käytetty jaoittelu affektiiviseen, kognitiiviseen ja toiminnan komponentteihin.

b) Persoonallisten normien ja normatiivisten odotusten moniulotteinen mittaaminen 'semanttista differentiaalia' muistuttavalla 'normidifferentiaalilla'. Tämän metodisen kokeilun tarkoituksena on ollut persoonallisten normien mittaamisen kehittäminen monipuolisemmaksi, entistä moninaisemmat asetelmat ja näkökulmat empiirisissä tutkimuksissa sallivaksi.

c) Erilaisten ympäristöjen ja olosuhteiden (sosiaalistamista säätelevien inputteijöiden) vaikutuksen persoonallisiin normeihin tutkiminen koko socialisaatioprosessia koskevassa viitekehyksessä. Nämä sosiaalistumiseen vaikuttavat tekijät eli tutkimuksen riippumattomat muuttujat luokiteltiin seuraaviin tasoihin: (i) yksilöön itseensä liittyvät tekijät (kykytaso, koulutus, persoonallisuuden ominaispiirteet jne.), (ii) lähimpään sosiaalistumisympäristöön liittyvät tekijät (lapsuuskodin sosioekonominen status, vanhempien käyttämät sosiaalistamismenettelyt jne.) ja (iii) koko yhteisöön liittyvät tekijät (vallitsevat arvot, normit ja asenteet eli kulttuuriympäristö, asuinpaikan yhteisötyyppi: kaupunki-maaseutu, jne.). Riippuvina muuttujina, joiden suhteen vaikutuksia tarkasteltiin, käytettiin a-kohdassa mainittuja perusulottuvuuksia operationaalistavia skaaloja.

d) Eräiden vaikutusketjujen tarkempi analysointi (elaboraatio-osa, ks. kuvio 6). Näissä syventävissä analyyseissä otettiin lähemmän tarkastelun kohteeksi yhteisötyypin vaikutus (koko yhteisöön liittyvä tekijä), kodin sosioekonomisen statuksen vaikutus (lähimpään sosiaalistumisympäristöön liittyvä tekijä) sekä koulutustason vaikutus (yksilöön itseensä liittyvä taustatekijä) persoonallisiin normeihin ja normivieraantumiseen. Tutkittaessa yhteisötyypin ja kodin sosiaaliryhmän epäsuoria vaikutuksia pidettiin vanhempien käyttämiä sosiaalistamismenettelyjä väliin tulevina muuttujina siten, että

ensin tutkittiin ensin mainittujen muuttujien vaikutuksia vanhempien käyttämiin sanktiointimenettelyihin ja sitten jälkimmäisten vaikutuksia persoonallisiin normeihin ja normivieraantumiseen.

Kohdissa a ja c mainittuja tutkimustavoitteita toteutettiin tutkimuksen perusosassa (Section I) testaamalla seuraavia tutkimusongelmittain ryhmitettyjä hypoteeseja, jotka sisältävät kehitetlyn nk. persoonallisten normien rakenneteorian ydinkohdat, käyttämällä hyväksi b -kohdassa esitettyyn mittaamistapaan perustuvia empiirisiä aineistoja:

A. Teoreettisesti määriteltyjen persoonallisten normien rakennekomponenttien empiiriseen olemassaoloon sekä niiden välisiin riippuvuuksiin liittyvät ongelmat:

Hypoteesi A1: Voidaan löytää empiiriset faktorit, jotka voidaan perustellusti tulkita teoreettisten määritelmien mukaisiksi persoonallisten normien rakennekomponenteiksi.

Hypoteesi A2: Vaikka kyseiset komponentit ovatkin empiirisesti toisistaan eriytyneitä, korreloivat ne yleensä keskenään johdonmukaisen positiivisesti.

Hypoteesi A3: Vaikka persoonallisten normien rakenne pyrkiikin tasa-painottumaan, saattaa se tietyissä olosuhteissa joutua epätasapainon tilaan, mikä näkyy normin komponenttien välisenä negatiivisena tai nollakorrelaationa.

B. Persoonallisten normien muuttumista koskevat ongelmat:

Hypoteesi B1: Muutosvastus on keskimäärin suurin affektiivisessä komponentissa ja heikoin kognitiivisessa komponentissa (hierarkisen muutosvastuksen hypoteesi).

Hypoteesi B2: Komponenttien erilaisen muutosvastuksen takia joutuu persoonallisten normin rakenne muuttuessaan helposti enemmän tai vähemmän pitempiaikaiseen epätasapainotilaan.

C. Persoonallisten normien eri rakennetyyppien yhteyksiä normivieraantumisen eri tyyppihin ja jälkimmäisten välistä riippuvuussuhdetta koskevat ongelmat:

Hypoteesi C1: Epävarmuus normeista ja normittomuus ovat normivieraantumisen toisistaan riippumattomia tyyppejä, mikä näkyy empiirisesti siten, etteivät ne korreloi keskenään merkittävästi.

Hypoteesi C2: Sellaisten persoonallisten normien rakenteiden, joissa suhteellisen voimakas affektiivinen komponentti on konfliktissa toimintakomponentin tai kognitiivisen komponentin tai molempien kanssa, määrällä on merkitsevä riippuvuus normiepävarmuuden asteen kanssa, mutta ei normittomuuden kanssa.

D. Persoonallisten normien muodostumiseen, niiden rakenteelliseen balanssiin ja normiepävarmuuden asteeseen vaikuttaviin tekijöihin liittyvät ongelmat:

Hypoteesi D1: Kuhunkin persoonallisten normien rakennekomponenteista eniten vaikuttavat tekijät ovat, ainakin osittain, toisistaan eroavia (ts. eri komponentteihin vaikuttavat osittain eri tekijät).

Hypoteesi D2: Useimmat niistä tekijöistä, jotka vaikuttavat johonkin komponenteista, vaikuttavat niiden kautta myös persoonallisten normien rakenteen tasapainoisuuteen sekä normiepävarmuuden asteeseen.

Hypoteesi D3: Vaikka tekijät, jotka vaikuttavat persoonallisten normien rakenteen tasapainoisuuteen, vaikuttavat yleensä myös normiepävarmuuden asteeseen, ei jälkimmäinen vaikutus tule välttämättä aina esiin, sillä sen ilmenemiseen vaikuttaa myös yksilöllinen ambivalenssin ja konfliktin sietokyky väliin tulevana tekijänä.

Eräitä esitetyistä hypoteeseista ei voitu suoraan testata käytettävissä olevilla empiirisillä materiaaleilla. Kuitenkin niidenkin paikkansapitävyydestä saatiin suoritetuissa analyyseissa osittaista, epäsuoraa tietoa. Kaiken kaikkiaan keskeiset hypoteesit saivat siinä määrin tukea, että persoonallisten normien rakenneteoriaa voidaan pitää kohdealueen ilmiöiden kuvaamisen ja tutkimisen kannalta katsottuna tarkoituksenmukaisena ja hyödyllisenä viitekehysenä. Hypoteesien D1 ja D2 validiutta testattiin nk. AID -analyyseilla (Automatic Interaction Detection), joiden yhteenveto (ks. taulukko 8) sisältää informaatiota hypoteeseja testaavan osan keskeisimmistä tuloksista. Tutkimuksen perusmateriaalin, johon edellä mainitut tulokset perustuvat, muodostaa aineisto, mikä koottiin 713:sta palvelustaan juuri suorittamaan saapuneelta varusmieheltä persoonallisten normien monidimensionaalisia mittauksia sisältävällä kyselylomakkeella (ks. Appendix 1). Saaduista lomakkeista oli 601 siksi puutteettomasti täytettyjä, että ne voitiin ottaa lopulliseen näytteeseen. Koska tämä aineisto sisältää vain yhden mittauskerran, täytyi raken-

nekomponenttien hierarkista muutosvastusta koskeva hypoteesi B1 testata aikaisemmin kerätyllä pienemmällä aineistolla, mikä sisältää samoilla henkilöillä suoritettuihin toistettuihin mittauksiin perustuvaa pitkittäisleikkauksellista tietoa persoonallisten normien komponenttittaisista muutoksista.

Toisen osan syventävät analyysit, vaikkakin ne perustuvat ex post facto-asetelmiin, näyttävät tukevan eräiden aikaisempien tutkimusten mukaisesti sitä käsitystä, että yhteiskunnan alueelliseen ja sosiaaliseen rakenteeseen liittyvät tekijät, asuinpaikan yhteisötyypillä ja lapsuuskodin sosioekonomisella statuksella operationaalistettuina, vaikuttavat vanhempien sosiaalistamisenettelyihin (esim. kurinpitotekniikat) ja sitä kautta sosiaalistettavien persoonallisiin normeihin. Tämän epäsuoran vaikutuksen lisäksi ko. tekijöillä näyttää olevan myös suurempia, nk. kontekstuaalisia vaikutuksia persoonallisiin normeihin. Mielenkiintoisia tuloksia tuottivat ne kodin sosioekonomisen statuksen, yhteisötyypin ja oman koulutustason riskiintaulukointiin perustuvissa osaryhmissä suoritettut regressioanalyysit, joissa toimintakomponenttia edustavia muuttujia - toimintavalmiutta ja todellista normikäyttäytymistä - ennustettiin muita komponentteja, havaittua sosiaalista kontrollia ja normiepävarmuutta edustavilla mitoilla. Normikäyttäytymisen ennustettavuus multippelikorrelaatiolla kuvattuna vaihteli voimakkaasti osaryhmästä toiseen samoin kuin affektiivisen ja kognitiivisen komponentin kriteerimuuttujan varianssista selittämät osuudetkin. Tämä viittaa siihen, että sosiaalisaatioympäristön tarjoaman stimulaation määrällä ja laadulla on olennaista vaikutusta siihen, minkälaiseksi muodostuu yksilön sisäinen, hänen käyttäytymistään ohjaava kontrolli, tuleeko siitä esim. affektiivisten elementtien dominoima vai rationaalinen ja altruistisen tai omaan hyötyyn tähtäävän, egoistisen kognitiivisen kontrollin luonnehtima.

SUMMARY

The main objectives of the present study were the following:

(a) To analyze theoretically and empirically the basic dimensions and interrelations of various aspects of the outcomes of norm socialization at the individual level (personal norms, normative expectations and norm alienation).

Since attitude and personal norm are closely related concepts, though by definition connected with different objectives, the definition of the **structural** dimensions of personal norms was based on a classification into affective, cognitive and behavioral components, which is much used in recent attitude theories.

(b) To measure multidimensionally personal norms and normative expectations with the "norm differential" which resembles the semantic differential. The purpose of this methodological experiment was to develop the measurement of personal norms so that it would be possible to use more complex designs and wider perspectives in empirical research.

(c) To study the effects of various environments and conditions (i.e. the input variables that control socialization) on personal norms in the framework of the entire socialization process. The factors affecting socialization, i.e. the independent variables, were classified into the following levels: (i) factors connected with the individual (abilities, level of education, personality traits, etc.), (ii) factors connected with the nearest socialization environment (the socio-economic status of the childhood home, socialization methods used by the parents, etc.), and (iii) factors connected with the entire community (prevailing values, norms and attitudes, i.e. cultural milieu; type of place of residence: urban - rural, etc.) The dependent variables, in terms of which the effects were studied, were operationalized scales of the basic dimensions mentioned above in (a).

(d) To elucidate some causal chains (Elaborative part of Section II, see Figure 6). These elaborative analyses focussed on the effects of the type of community (factor connected with the entire community), of the socio-economic status of the home (factor connected with the nearest socialization environment) and of the level of education (factor connected with the individual) on personal norms and norm alienation. When the indirect influence of the type of community and the socio-economic status of the home were studied, the parents' socialization methods were used as intervening

variables so that the effects of the priormentioned variables on the parents' sanctions were studied first and then the effects of sanctions on personal norms and norm alienation.

The research tasks mentioned in points (a) and (c) were performed in Section I by testing the hypotheses that are grouped according to the problem area. They contain the essential elements of the developed "theory of the structure of personal norms". The testing was based on empirical data collected by using the measurement technique described in point (b). The following hypotheses were put forward:

A. Problems concerning the existence of the structural components of personal norms and the relations between them:

Hypothesis A1: We will find empirical factors which can with justification be interpreted to represent the theoretical components defined in ch. 1.1.2.

Hypothesis A2: Although empiricallly distinct (i.e. discernible from each other), the components of personal norms (and normative expectations) have, in general, consistently positive correlations with one another.

Hypothesis A3: Despite the general tendency toward structural balance, the structure of a personal norm may, however, get into a state of imbalance, this being reflected in zero or negative correlations between the components of the norm.

B. Problems concerning changes in personal norms:

Hypothesis B1: The resistance to change is, on the average, strongest in the affective component and weakest in the cognitive component (the hypothesis of hierarchical change resistance, see p. 9).

Hypothesis B2: Because of the components' differential resistance to change the structure of a personal norm may get into a state of a more or less temporal imbalance during its change.

C. Problems concerning the relations between the structures of personal norms and types of norm alienation, and relations within the latter:

Hypothesis C1: Uncertainty about norms and normlessness are independent types of norm alienation, which is reflected in a nonsignificant correlation between them.

Hypothesis C2: Those structures of personal norms in which a relatively strong affective component is in conflict with the behavioral or with both the behavioral and the cognitive component have a significant relationship with norm uncertainty but not with normlessness (see figure 2, p. 4).

D. Problems concerning the factors influencing the formation of personal norms, their structural balance, and uncertainty about norms:

Hypothesis D1: The factors influencing most the affective, cognitive, and behavioral components are empirically, at least partially, distinct from each other.

Hypothesis D2: Most of the factors that influence any one of the components also have an effect on the balance of personal norms and on the level of norm uncertainty.

Hypothesis D3: Though the factors that have an effect on the structural balance of personal norms also have, in general, an effect on the level of norm uncertainty, the latter effect does not necessarily occur, since it also depends, besides the above factors on the factors influencing individual tolerance of ambiguity and conflict.

All the hypotheses listed above could not be directly tested by the empirical materials. Even hypotheses of this type, however, could be partially and indirectly verified by the results. On the whole, the central hypotheses were supported to such an extent that the structural theory of personal norms can be regarded as an adequate and useful frame of reference for the description and analysis of the problem area. The validity of Hypotheses D1 and D2 was tested with AID analyses (Automatic Interaction Detection), which are summarized in Table 8, providing information about the central results obtained in the hypothesis-testing part of the study. The results are mainly based on data covering 713 men who had just begun their military service, collected by means of a questionnaire measuring personal norms multidimensionally (see Appendix 1). Of the questionnaires obtained, 601 were completed in such detail that they could be included in the final sample. Since the data is based on one measurement only, it was necessary to test Hypothesis B1, concerning the hierarchical resistance to change of structural components, with more limited data collected earlier. It contains longitudinal information about the componential changes in personal norms, based on repeated measurements with the same subjects.

The elaborative analyses of the second part, although based on ex-post facto designs, seem in accordance with some earlier studies to support, the view that factors connected with the regional and social structure of society, operationalized by type of place of residence and the socio-economic status of the childhood home, influence parents' socialization methods (e.g. disciplinary methods) and through them the personal norms of those subject to socialization. Besides this indirect influence, these factors also seem to have more direct, so-called contextual effects on personal norms. Regression analyses, on sub-groups based on the cross-tabulation of the socio-economic status of the home, type of community and level on education, in which the variables representing the behavioral component (behavioral readiness and actual norm behavior) were predicted by means of measures of the other two components, of perceived social control and of norm uncertainty yielded some interesting results. The predictability of norm behavior, as indicated by the multiple correlation coefficient, as well as the proportions of the variance of the criterion variable explained by the affective and cognitive components, varied considerably from one group to another. This indicated that the quantity and quality of stimulation offered by the socialization environment essentially determine the formation of the individual's internal, behavior-regulating control, for instance, whether it comes to be dominated by affective elements, or by rational and altruistic, or by opportunistic and egoistic cognitive control.

Introduction

This research publication contains two parts, both of which are based on the same empirical data, both having their own theoretical background, results, and conclusions. Since Section II was planned on the basis of the results of Section I, it can be regarded as its theoretical and empirical elaboration. The structure of the contents reflects the chronological development and extension of the theoretical approach. The study was initiated by a conceptual analysis of the components of personal norms leading eventually to the construction of "a theory of the structure of personal norms". It describes the outcomes of norm socialization at the individual level and the crucial factors influencing them through learning processes. These sections of the theory development are presented in the first four subchapters. In the last three background subchapters of Section I, this theory is seen in a wider context. The results report the testing of the main hypotheses of the theory, which could be carried out by the collected empirical data. The testing of the hypothesis concerning the hierarchical resistance to change of the structural norm components is grounded on the empirical material of an earlier research project (Olkinuora, E. 1971) including repeated measurements, because the data of this study do not allow a longitudinal analysis. Otherwise this earlier material has served as a pilot study for the development of the measuring devices for this study. Also the interview material collected by the Research Institute of the University of Tampere (Varis, T. et.al. 1968, and report No. 53/1968 of the research institute) containing a statistical sample of 1025 persons representing the Finnish-speaking population of Finland (aged fifteen and over) is on some points used for comparison, and for empirical illustration of the effect of a person's party identification on personal norms. Section I can be regarded as the basic part of the study, since the testing of most central hypotheses is included in it.

Section II is designed to be more sociological and clear-cut (i) by diminishing the number of independent variables on the basis of the results of Section I, (ii) by defining some possible causal chains to be tested by analyses of section II, (iii) by paying attention especially to the role of

factors of community level in the norm socialization. The introduction of Section II outlines the basic scheme for the theoretical and empirical analyses. The summary of the theoretical background presents the main assumptions and expectations of this part. The last chapter of the study presents a brief evaluation of the results, and discusses possible directions of further research and ways of improving the measuring devices.

It is difficult to study the process of socialization meaningfully without reference to value-judgments. At different times and in different societies there have been various views concerning desirable outcomes of socialization (objectives of socialization reflected in the conceptions of 'ideal personality' prevailing in the culture) and the proper means for producing such results (norms defining acceptable and/or desirable means of socializing action believed to lead to the attainment of the set objectives). The cultural variation of values concerning socialization has been also reflected in differences of emphasis in various theoretical social psychological or sociological approaches to socialization (this is discussed in the light of some examples in ch. 1.1.5.). Thus, it appears to be useful to make explicit the value-criteria underlying the present study. In judging the functionality and 'goodness' of different conditions of socialization, i.e., factors operating in socialization, the criterion has been whether or not they foster or inhibit an individual's social development, i.e., whether they foster or not the development of altruism, rationality, autonomy (relative independence of others) and sustainty (awareness of one's goals and persistence in striving for them). These personality traits, or consistent behavioral dispositions, are considered to define the highest levels of social development, and are regarded as desirable. The features in question are thought to be especially valuable in rapidly changing, modern, industrialized societies. They are assumed to have the following positive functions at the individual level:

- they promote the individual's capacity to perform changing roles in a modern, complex society competently
- they foster the individual's capability for social exchange, and through it, increase the number of available alternatives for his conduct
- they promote the individual's ability to adapt himself flexibly to new and changing conditions

- they improve the individual's ability to grasp social reality and to influence institutional decision-making.

If a large proportion of the population possesses these qualities, it is believed to have the following positive functions at the community level:

- it makes the community less resistant to fairly rapid, but controlled social change, and makes it easier for the community to adapt itself flexibly and without considerable social disturbances (e.g., without anomie, disorganization etc.) to new conditions

- it releases creative energy to induce relevant social change

- it improves the opportunities for an adequate, democratic control of societal processes.

The realization of the positively valued functions depends, however, on the social organization of a society (e.g., the form and distribution of power and the institutional frame of power use in a society).

The essential points of the theoretical and empirical analyses of Section I, with the exception of the discussion in chapters 1.1.5. and 1.1.6., may be found in an earlier article (Olkinuora, E., 1972a) published in English. The views of chapter 1.1.5. have been presented more extensively in another article written in Finnish (Olkinuora, E., 1972b). It was considered useful, however, to publish the theoretical considerations with all elaborations and empirical tests in a uniform presentation. When assessing the relevance of a study we look for evidence of its sociological significance and of the usefulness of the knowledge obtained. Sociology, as a general social science, is interested in the environmental factors that influence human behavior. It is especially the process of socialization through which these factors affect our behavior, and the quality of socialization is greatly dependent on the contents of culture and the form of the social structure of a community. The input of our socialization environment determines, to a great extent, which are the social norms we adopt to guide as personal norms our conduct and how effectively we learn them. If we have more knowledge about the basic dimensions of socialization outcomes and the relationships of these outcomes to the conditions of socialization we may be able to arrange the conditions of socialization of our educational institutions to better promote the attainment of the objectives set for individual's social development. In this sense we see our study to belong to the category of educational sociology.

1. HYPOTHESES TESTING SECTION

1.1. Theoretical Background

1.1.1. Foundations for the Development of a Theory of the Structure of Personal Norms

The construction of the structure of personal norms was initiated based on the following considerations:

1. In most investigations personal norms have been measured one-dimensionally by undifferentiated attitude scales. In such cases one cannot be sure which aspect of the concept of personal norm has been operationalized. The crucial drawback of these measures is the absence of the definitional criterion of the prevalence of a personal norm; intraindividual sanctions, i.e., feelings of guilt or pangs of conscience. Mäkelä (1963, p. 33) says that one should be able to measure attitudes and personal norms independently using verbal techniques. Furthermore, the measurement may be conceptually clarified by independent measures for normative expectations and internalized norms. According to Mäkelä it is not important from the definitional point of view whether one's behavior is consistent with the norm or not, but one should feel inner sanctions after breaking the norm. Thus one should also make a distinction between norm behavior and the internalized norm. In spite of wishes to divide the concept of norm into components, a consistent theory has not been presented that would contain definitions of the components and the relations among them. The lack of this kind of conceptual analysis apparently explains why a multidimensional method of measuring norms has not yet been developed. This method is necessary in the precise mapping of many empirical relationships.

2. The concepts of alienation and anomie have been used in the descriptions of a variety of different phenomena at both individual and collective level. This has caused conceptual confusion, which again prevents the effectiveness of theoretical analyses and the development of measuring instruments. Because of the ambiguity of the term alienation, Israel (1968, pp. 204-205) has proposed abandoning this concept and replacing it with a new concept, reification, definition of which can be based on Marxian theory. An alternative way is the conceptual analysis of the sub-areas of alienation and relationships among them. Seeman (1959, pp. 789-791) has used this kind of analysis at the level of individual alienation. He has

constructed a typology on the basis of different definitions of the concept presented in sociological literature. Seeman's typology, however, can be considered only a preliminary classification because it does not consist of a systematical presentation of the relationships between the types (cf. Allardt 1964, p. 78). Conceptual confusion in the area of alienation has also resulted in poor measuring instruments. For instance, the measuring qualities of the widely used alienation scales by Srole (1956, pp. 709-716) and Nettler (1957, pp. 670-677) have not proved satisfactory (at least in Finnish studies), which has made the interpretation of empirical materials problematic. The writer contends that clearly differentiated definitions of the various types of norm alienation may be realized through a multidimensional approach to personal norms.

3. In the field of attitude research the multidimensional approach has proved useful and has made new points of view possible (cf. Karvonen 1967, Kothandapani 1971, and Rosenberg & Hovland 1960, pp. 1-14). One can expect that this kind of approach would also be useful in the area of personal norms.

1.1.2. Structural Components of Personal Norms

Karvonen (op. cit., p. 11) considers that "in terms of the social system and the personality system, attitudes and norms can be regarded as instruments for attaining certain objectives. These objectives can be called values". Thus the concepts of attitude and norm are closely related to each other. Therefore, the multidimensional theory of attitude, especially in the form developed by Karvonen, was taken as one model for dividing the concept of personal norm into its structural components. We think that the concepts of attitude and norm, however close, should be defined and measured distinct from each other, and 'the borderline' between them should be made clear. When this has been done we could study, for instance, how certain attitudes influence norm behavior in given situations, and how norms determine the patterns of avoidance or approach linked with attitudes toward certain objects¹, respectively. Mäkelä (op. cit., p. 3) defines the norm as a conceptual rule

1) The study of Ajzen and Fishbein (1970) demonstrates that one can predict a greater proportion of behavior by taking among the predictors also one's beliefs about the normative expectations of others than is the case when behavior is predicted by an attitude alone.

according to which acts can be divided into ordered, forbidden, allowed and recommended. According to Goldman and Shore (1971) "... it is consistent with most formulations to define a norm as a shared belief on how persons should act (prescription) or should not act (proscription)". Social norms are prevailing in a society or in a group and are supported by social sanctions. Personal norms are prevailing in the personality system and the sanctions are now intraindividual. Fishbein (1967) regards as personal norms the individual's beliefs about what he personally feels he should do. In most unidimensional definitions of attitude, based on a conception of attitude as a latent variable capable of predicting or explaining overt behavior, the affective dimension is emphasized. Thus, an attitude can be defined as "evaluative feelings of pro or con, favorable or unfavorable, with regard to particular objects" (see Wicker 1969, pp. 42-43). In the wider definitions of a multidimensional approach this dimension is regarded as only one, though important, of the structural components of attitude as exemplified by Karvonen's formulation (op. cit., p. 19): "Attitude is a positive or negative response tendency toward a particular psychological object, a tendency which is manifested in the affective, cognitive and action response areas". Although Karvonen does not present specified definitions for each of the components of an attitude one can conclude that they have the following meanings in his theory of attitude structure:

1. The affective component of an attitude is composed of the pleasant versus unpleasant feelings aroused by the object (ibid., p. 16).

2. The cognitive component of an attitude contains an individual's beliefs about the significance of the objects from the point of view of his value objectives, i.e. the perceived instrumentality of an attitude object (cf., ibid., pp. 17 and 61). Thus basing himself on Rosenberg's (1960) view Karvonen considers that in addition to the affective component the cognitive component also contains evaluative elements.

3. The action component of an attitude means a readiness to act in a certain way toward the object (cf. ibid., pp. 18-19).

We think that the corresponding components with regard to personal norms can be defined as follows:

- A. 1. The affective component, i.e., the degree of internalization of the norm defined in terms of the internal sanctions within the individual.
2. The cognitive component, i.e., the individual's perception of the instrumentality of the act, his belief in its worth as a means of achieving his value objectives.

3. The behavioral component, i.e., the tendency towards behavior consistent with or contrary to the norm. Here we can distinguish between an attitudinal readiness, which we may call behavioral readiness (intentions), and a manifest tendency, i.e., actual norm behavior. The latter is affected by numerous specific situational factors in addition to behavioral readiness. The structure of personal norms is composed of these three components, but closely linked to them are normative expectations, which can be divided into two sub-components:

B. 1. Sanction readiness, i.e., the readiness of the individual to sanction the norm behavior of others.

2. The perception of social control, the sanctions that an individual believes would be directed toward him from outside if he should deviate from the prevailing norm (we can make a further distinction between expectations concerning formal and informal sanctions, the former indicating the sanctioning of official institutions and the latter sanctions of people with whom one has everyday interaction).

These sub-components of normative expectations are expected to correlate positively with the structural components of personal norms.

The structural components are assumed in most cases to be consistently and positively correlated, in which case the norm structure is considered to be in a state of balance. For various reasons there may be groups and individuals whose norms are not in a state of balance. These cases will be analyzed more thoroughly later. The hypothesis of positive correlations can be supported by the following arguments:

a) According to general theories of balance affective, cognitive and behavioral elements in the personality system tend to organize themselves into a consistent, noncontradictory totality (cf. Festinger 1957 and Heider 1946, pp. 107-112). Theories of this kind have received empirical support in many investigations (cf. Insko 1967).

b) In the socialization process there is an implicit goal to make the members of a society behave in accordance with prevailing norms, to make them consider behavior consistent with the norms as an instrumental means for obtaining objectives, and to feel internal sanctions when violating norms.

c) Kohlberg (1969, pp. 347-480) thinks that the development of affections, cognitions and behavior have a common basis, which produces positive correlations between these elements. He claims that social development is characterized by a general structure that manifests itself as successive levels of a psychological balance. The process leads to increasing balance so that any structural level is always more balanced than a previous one.

1.1.3. Process of Component Formation

The components are assumed to be analytically and empirically distinct from one another because they have been formed as a result of different learning processes. Thus it is assumed that the formation of different components is affected to some extent by different factors.

The formation of the affective component is assumed to be mainly determined by a conditioning process (cf. Aronfreed 1969). In the process of socialization the sanctions of socializing agents, especially those of parents, have an important role. A given kind of norm behavior is usually sanctioned in a certain way, which increases or decreases the probability of that form of behavior occurring in the future (depending on the type of sanction, whether it is experienced as a reward or a punishment). The violation of norms is generally negatively sanctioned, which induces feelings of unpleasantness. We can now assume that affective feelings caused by sanctioning form the basis of feelings of guilt and bad conscience and that these feelings become associated with certain forms of behavior. Because the sanctioning in everyday life is rarely regular and consistent, the conditioning usually takes place through intermittent reinforcement. According to learning theories the conditioned affective response learned in this manner resists extinction effectively. This is why the resistance to change is considered strong within the affective component (especially because intermittent reinforcement takes place during a long period). The norm may also reinforce itself, which tends to strengthen the resistance to change. The avoidance of internal sanctions can be experienced as a reward. During the conditioning process there may appear stimulus generalization, i.e., other factors besides actual norm violations may cause conditioned feelings. For instance, mere intention of doing 'the wrong act' may cause feelings of guilt. The hypothesis of the resistance to change can be specified as follows: The stronger the affective component through conditioning the stronger is its resistance to change. Although other factors may also influence the formation of the affective component, the sanctions probably play a central role in it. Very important from the point of view of how effective the affective component is in regulating norm behavior is the ability to distinguish between situations when the norm is prevailing and when it is not. As a rough generalization we can state that the greater the number of negative sanctions, the less they have been rationally explained, and the more inconsistent the sanctioning has been, the weaker is the ability to distinguish

situations when the norm is prevailing from those when it is not. Since an individual is in such cases uncertain about norms, norm violations easily occur and generalized guilt feelings arise.

The cognitive component is probably mostly influenced by perceptions about the consequences of different behavior patterns (behavior of self or others, how effective certain behavior seems to be as a means to obtain given goals, which kind of sanctions follow different forms of behavior; etc.). Whereas the formation of the affective component is thought to be caused mainly by conditioning, an essential part of the formation of the cognitive component is assumed to take place through cognitive and model learning. This kind of learning may also take place on the symbolic verbal level through identification and vicarious reinforcement. Thus mass media communication especially influences the cognitive component (cf. Olkinuora 1971). Since S-R associations from cognitive learning are not as close as those from conditioning, especially when the stimulus-substance is not completely uniform, we can assume that the resistance to change within the cognitive component is weaker than within the affective component. We can further reason that this component, as the easiest one to change, is the element by which imbalanced norm structures tend to become balanced. For instance, an individual may try to decrease through rationalization the conflict resulting from violating the internalized norm. He may rationalize that the act was not bad considering the extenuating circumstances, or he may perceive the behavior contrary to a norm to be instrumental in obtaining some personal goals. Some experimental research results give evidence for the existence of such rationalization mechanisms (Festinger & Freedman 1964, pp. 220-243). The direction of cognitive norm reactions is greatly affected by the individual's value system. These values are more or less conscious criteria for judging the instrumentality of different acts in different conditions. Essential from the point of view of the direction of cognitive evaluations is the quality of the adopted values. If individual values are mostly egoistic, which could also be understood as a lack of moral values, one evaluates the instrumentality of an act based on selfish utility, but if the values are mostly altruistic, the instrumentality is evaluated on a general basis taking others into account.

The following factors are thought to affect the formation of the cognitive component:

1. The level of cognitive abilities and that of education may affect the individual's capacity to form integrated norm and value systems. The

regularity of sanctioning and its rational explanation during childhood socialization may also help an individual to see more clearly the relations between values and norms.

2. The socio-economic status of the childhood home and the degree of urbanization of one's residence community may be crucial factors, since the degree of relevant cognitive and social stimulation varies with them.

3. A person's own social status is probably a significant factor, too (cf. Merton 1957, pp. 131-194) Since the access to socially approved, legal means of obtaining common goals is socially structured, the pressure towards deviating patterns is thought to be stronger in lower social strata, in which the instrumentality of scarce, legal means becomes generally doubted.

4. Cohen (1955) suggests that the characteristic of deviant sub-cultures, especially of delinquent gangs, is the negativism and antagonism of values and norms compared with those of the whole society. A deviant sub-culture furnishes a kind of group rationalization to the individual's conflicts between norm-violating behavior and internal sanctions. Thus membership of a deviant sub-culture is assumed to influence the cognitive component.

Numerous factors affect the normative behavior but the most important of these may be internal sanctions (the affective control), perceived social control (external sanctions), perceived instrumentality of certain behavior (cognitive control), the strength of impulses tending to direct the satisfaction of needs, and situational factors. Thus, most of the factors assumed to influence the affective or cognitive components are considered as having an effect also on the behavioral component. Membership of a deviant sub-culture has an especially strong impact on the formation of behavioral dispositions. Some factors, however, directly influence behavioral responses (for instance, differential reinforcement of reactions) without being mediated to the behavioral level through the aforementioned determinants. Exceptional conditions of socialization, e.g., broken homes or repressive parents, often have a significant role in the deviant behavioral tendency. The factors determining norm behavior can be described schematically as in Figure 1. The determinants are regarded as motives, and the arrow in the figure roughly describes in which direction the emphasis of motivation changes during 'normal social development'.

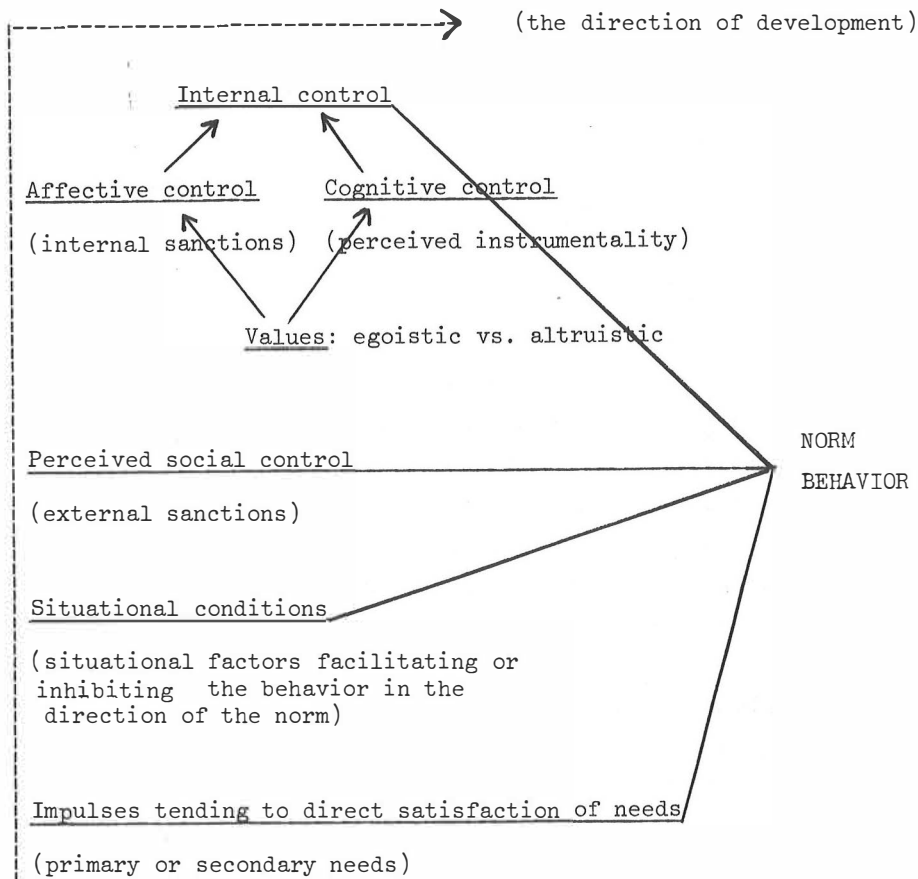


FIGURE 1. Determinants of norm behavior

At the lowest level characterized by the lack of socialization, behavior is determined mainly by basic needs and situational factors (for instance, the behavior of an infant). In the following stage one begins to anticipate probable sanctions for violating the normative expectations of socializing agents, and the behavior becomes, to a high degree, directed by perceived informal social control. Later on when external sanctions become internalized, the behavior will be strongly regulated by affective, internal control. If there has been a sufficient accumulation of relevant social and cognitive stimulation, a consistent system of values is formed, serving as a basis for cognitive, internal control. In this taxonomy based on the primacy of the determinants, i.e. motivational sources of normative behavior, the rational behavior grounded on cognitive control guided by altruistic values is regarded

as the highest stage of social development. One necessary condition for this stage is presumably an optimal intensity of the affective component. On the one hand it should be low enough to 'give space' for cognitive control, being on the other hand high enough, however, to furnish the individual with sufficient motivational energy to strive towards valued objectives. The main motives of an individual's normative behavior - if they are predominantly affective or cognitive - may vary from one situation to another depending, for instance, on role expectations directed towards him in the situation, but it may be possible to find empirically consistent differences in the basic determinants of normative behavior between groups of persons coming from differing socialization conditions. This outline of possible levels in the control of normative behavior opens up an interesting point of view to the issue of the most adequate mode of explaining human behavior (e.g. if one should prefer a positivistic versus finalistic way of explanation). If one's behavior is largely determined by a strong affective control, it can be characterized as unflexible, mechanistic, and often very inhibited in quality. It may well be the case that this kind of conditioned behavior can be rather well explained behavioristically. On the other hand, if a person's behavior is guided by a flexible, cognitive control, taking into account both situational factors and value objectives, then the behavior is of intentional nature, and can be best 'explained' in a finalistic, teleological way, for instance, by so-called practical syllogisms (see, e.g. von Wright 1972, and Allardt 1972). In the latter case we cannot fully understand a person's behavior before we know which are the objectives he is striving for, and what is the specific meaning of the situation to him. If we can demonstrate that different kind of factors - conditioned affective, internal sanctions, situational factors, and behavioral objectives - all have their independent share in determining our normative behavior, it seems apparent that we need all types of explanations in order to be able to find out really satisfactorily the foundations of our conduct. Behavior can be seen as a function of interaction of factors linked with (i) past socializing experiences (producing readiness to react in given ways to certain stimuli) (ii) present situation, and (iii) anticipated future state of affairs (objectives influencing behavior through intentions). The different modes of explanation partially differ from one another with respect to which of the above categories of factors they put the main emphasis on.

The change resistance of the behavioral component is thought to be weaker than that of the affective and greater than that of the cognitive component (the hypothesis of hierarchical resistance to change). Internal and external sanctions stabilize norm behavior, but the impulses for direct need satisfaction and situational factors may more or less temporarily decrease its stability. The direction of normative behavior depends on the interaction and the relationships between determinants. In the case of individuals whose ability to differentiate norm situations is weak and who are uncertain of their norms, the prediction of behavior may be less successful than on the average. The more consistent the affective and cognitive components are with each other, the higher is the probability that the behavioral component will be consistent with them, too, and that the structure of the norm will be balanced. The need impulses are often antagonistic to internal inhibitions and external control, which induces an individually varying tendency to behave against norms. The hypothesis of hierarchical resistance to change forms an essential basis for considerations about the change processes of norm structures and the relationships between the balance of the norm structures and norm alienation.

1.1.4. Factors Affecting the Balance of Norm Structures and Relations between Different Types of Structures and Norm Alienation

Most of the factors affecting any one of the norm components should affect the degree of balance of norm structures. Whether or not a structure becomes balanced is a complicated situation resulting from many interaction effects. Kohlberg (1969) considers that the balance between affective, cognitive and behavioral elements depends primarily on the amount of relevant cognitive and social stimulation during the socialization process.

The typology of norm structures in figure 2 presents, in a simplified manner, the alternative norm structures and their relations to norm alienation according to the theory.

Degree of norm internalization (affective comp.):

Behavior: Cognitive comp.	Internalized +		Not internalized -	
	Consistent with norm +	Inconsistent with norm -	Consistent with norm +	Inconsistent with norm -
Regards behavior consistent with norm as instrumental +	+++ No norm alienation 1.	+--+ 2.	-++ 5.	--+ 6.
Does not regard behavior consistent with norm as instrum. -	++- 3.	+-- 4.	-+- 7.	--- Not socialized to the norm 8.
NORM ALIENATION:	Norm uncertainty		Normlessness	

FIGURE 2. Typology of norm structures

We assume that norm uncertainty is associated with norm structures, where a relatively strong affective component conflicts with the cognitive or the behavioral component, or both (cells 2,3 and 4)¹. Conversely, normlessness implies one extreme of the affective component, i.e., an individual has not internalized the norm. The structure of cell 1 portrays a balanced situation where there is no kind of norm alienation, and cell 8 describes a situation where the degree of alienation is the highest, i.e., no norm socialization has occurred.² The empirical generality of different structures may vary considerably in a given population. For the reasons mentioned in the context of the behavioral component, we assume that structures 2 and 4 induce most uncertainty and are quite general. If conditions for 'normal socialization' are satisfactory (e.g., the society as a whole is not in the state of anomie, cf. Durkheim 1951) the norms are generally rather strongly internalized at the individual level; thus norm uncertainty is probably more common than normlessness. It is assumed that normlessness results from deviant conditions where the necessary condition for becoming socialized has not been fulfilled: identification with some social model.

- 1) In addition to the internal imbalance of personal norms, uncertainty about norms may also be due to the cross-pressures created by competing norms, from which the selection of "the most proper" in the situation may cause difficulties.
- 2) This cell also describes those cases when one does not at all know the norm in question.

Because the typology describes alternative structures of only one norm, we specify the relationships between an individual's norm system and the types of norm alienation as follows:

a) The greater the proportion of imbalanced norm structures (especially types 2 and 4) the more probable is the manifestation of norm uncertainty at the emotional level. The individual tolerance of ambiguity and conflict, however, affects the aforementioned relationships as an intervening variable. Given this assumption, factors influencing the balance of norm structures are also expected to affect the level of norm uncertainty.

b) The fewer social norms (of a certain community) an individual has internalized, the stronger is his normlessness.¹ A pertinent empirical question is how to determine the point of scale that defines whether or not the norm has been internalized.

We regard our differentiation between normlessness and uncertainty about norms as important both analytically and empirically. These distinct types of norm alienation seem to be in many cases confused with each other. Certain modes of behavior, e.g. classified as criminal in statistics, have been regarded in many studies as indicators of normlessness. We cannot, however, be sure that it is only normlessness which causes given behavioral consequences. They may be partly due to the uncertainty about norms, too, or even other factors. It is likely more useful to operationalize the different types of norm alienation as independent of norm behavior, and to study the effects of each type on the latter. As an example of confusing normlessness with uncertainty about norms at the conceptual level there is the following definition of normlessness in the dictionary of sociology edited by Theodorson & Theodorson (1970, p.277): ..."Normlessness often may be a result not of too few norms, but of an awareness of too many that could apply in a situation, leading to an inability on the part of the individual to accept one norm as superior to another, and causing him to withdraw and refuse to commit himself to any single norm or set of norms".

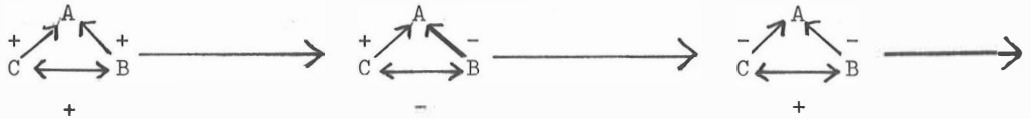
The change of a personal norm can be described as transformations from one cell to another in the typology. A significant factor influencing changes in the norm structures of adults is vertical and horizontal social mobility, bringing persons to new 'social climates'. The greater the difference between the old and the new normative environment the stronger is the pressure on personal norms to change. Consider the example of a student coming from the country to study in the city. While at home he (or she) was subjected to control based on strict norms, (e.g., smoking and drinking of alcohol being forbidden). In

1) The concepts of norm uncertainty and normlessness are relative in the sense that we have to define these individual states in relation to a certain social system. An individual may be uncertain about, or has not internalized, the norms of a whole society, or those of a given subculture, group etc. However, both uncertainty about, or lack of internalization of, the norms of a given social system produces some degree of dissociation of an actor from that social system.

peer groups, which he joins as a member, the expectations defining the role of a student consist of models of behavior that may stimulate feelings of guilt. These new conditions create pressure on his norms to change¹. It depends on the quality of the pressure if the behavioral or cognitive component changes first. Some alternatives of possible change processes are described graphically in figure 3.

Starting point

The first alternative: the behavioral component changes first

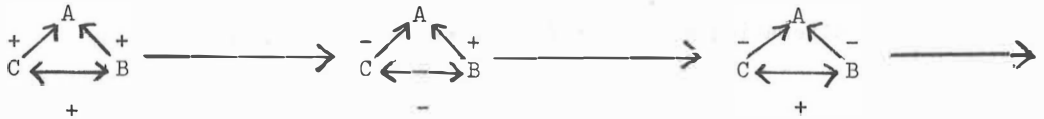


The structure is in balance

The behavioral and affective components are in conflict

Both the behavioral and cognitive components are in conflict with the affective component.

The second alternative: the cognitive component changes first



The structure is in balance

The cognitive and affective components are in conflict

Both the cognitive and behavioral components are in conflict with the affective component

A = affective component B = behavioral component C = cognitive component
(+ indicates balanced and - imbalanced relation between components connected with an arrow)

FIGURE 3. Example of some possible alternatives for norm change

According to the hypothesis of hierarchical resistance to change, the affective component changes more slowly than the others. Therefore, the structures may easily become imbalanced during the change process, and feelings of norm uncertainty may result. The duration of the state of imbalance depends on the conditions inducing change and on the strength of the resist-

1) It is possible, of course, that the social norms one has internalized are changing themselves. Thus linked with the general cultural change, one must adapt himself to new conditions even within the familiar physical and social setting. It is probable that the changes of social norms first become reflected in the cognitive component of personal norms.

ance of the affective component. After a sufficient period of time the affective component may have changed to the extent that its relations with other components regain balance again. Thus the process may begin from a state of balance and result in a new state of balance. Certain conditions, however, may cause a more permanent state of imbalance reflected in feelings of uncertainty. If these conditions cause a continuous violation of internalized norms the uncertainty about norms may gradually change to normlessness after the decline of internal sanctions.

1.1.5. Norm Components in the Frame of Reference of the Socialization Process

Hitherto, the purpose of the conceptual analysis has been to clarify the outcomes of norm socialization at the individual level in order to be able to describe and measure them more precisely. By relating norm components to a wider frame of reference, one should obtain a clearer understanding of the relationships between the elements of input and output in the socialization process and, furthermore, between the concepts of the theory of the structure of personal norms and certain other theories (cf. Olkinuora 1972 b).

During the process of socialization the culture of a society is transmitted through certain social systems, i.e., socializing institutions from one generation to another (for different views on socialization, see LeVine 1969). During that process an individual becomes aware of the contents of the culture as a result of interaction between different systems. Parsons' concepts of cultural components and systems of action serve as an adequate framework into which the structural components of personal norms may be placed. Commonly shared values, norms and attitudes constitute the integral elements of culture. Allardt (1972) distinguishes between structural, institutional and cultural explanations at social level and between causes, habits and motives at a corresponding individual level. According to this view, culturally conditioned values, norms and attitudes are considered to belong to the category of motives. Both norms and attitudes may be seen as means for attaining value objectives. There exists a close conceptual relationship between them (cf. Karvonen 1967, p. 11), which needs further refinement. By examining both norms and attitudes in the framework of socialization we hope to gain a clearer picture of the difference between them.

Socialization can be divided into two components, depending on how explicit and goal-directed the socializing action is:

a. Formal socializing done by special institutions; The most important of these institutions is the school system where the objectives are explicitly expressed in written form in curricula. The objectives of the Cognitive domain contain the elements and processes needed to perform instrumental activities (cf. Bloom 1959). The affective objectives concern social and character development, i.e., the learning of roles, values, norms and attitudes which are necessary in order to behave adequately as a member of society (see e.g., Kratwohl et al. 1964).

b. Informal socializing is not formally organized, being generally less well planned and less aware of its objectives than formal socializing. The most significant institution exercising informal socializing is the family, having both manifest and latent socializing functions. Other institutions belonging to this category are peer group (play groups, a school class, cliques, gangs of male youths, etc.), work group and mass communication.

According to Parsons (1951), the culture equips the members of society with commonly shared situational definitions of how to grasp social reality and how to conduct interaction. These definitions include cognitive, cathectic and evaluative elements by which they can be classified. Bredemeier and Stephenson (1962, pp. 11-14) believe that the basic classification among the above mentioned cultural components may be accomplished if they influence primarily what one perceives or how one reacts. The cognitive meanings of culture, especially, have an impact on our perceptions telling us what exists, what has been, what will be and what should be. They also contain conceptions and beliefs, the truth of which cannot be tested. Cathectic and evaluative (normative) definitions guide action. The cathectic meanings reveal to us what is regarded as pleasant or unpleasant, and what to approach or to avoid. Social attitudes, positive or negative feelings attached to certain objects belong to the area of cathectic definitions. They are transferred to the individual level through learning. Cathectic elements become closely associated with the cognitive elements, i.e., certain response tendencies are already linked to perceptions described behavioristically in psychology as S-R connections. Thus during the socialization process conditioning takes place and psychological attitudes subsequently arise.

In addition to the cathectic, the evaluative elements also determine our reactions by indicating what is good, what is bad, what is permitted and what is forbidden. By expressing the social desirability of different acts they integrate the functioning of a social system and form the basis

of mutual normative expectations. When social norms become internalized at individual level they control one's conduct as personal norms. These evaluative criteria may sometimes gain primacy even over cathectic definitions of situation i.e. in certain social roles the moral code also regulates attitudinal behavior. For instance, a physician is expected to do his best when treating a patient though he does not like him. When conduct is guided primarily by cognitive elements, i.e. by perceptions, facts and beliefs, we call it instrumental action. If dominated by cathectic elements, we speak about expressive action. If strongly controlled by normative expectations we name it moral action (cf. Rex 1961, p. 107). The following general statements are made of the learning processes through which the cultural elements are adopted at the individual level:

1. The cognitive elements are brought to an individual level mainly by cognitive learning.
2. The cathectic elements are transmitted by conditioning to an individual level.
3. The evaluative elements are adopted mostly by model learning (i.e., by identification and imitation) and by selective reinforcement of behavioral responses.

The results of different learning processes tends, however, to become organized into an internally consistent whole (the hypothesis of cognitive consistency, cf. Festinger 1957). The cognitive elements of a culture have a crucial impact on the cognitive components of attitudes and personal norms. The cathectic elements have a strong effect on the affective component of personal norms besides that on attitudes. In addition to personal norms the evaluative elements influence the behavioral component of attitudes and perceptions of social reality (cf. Sherif 1966).

Another conceptual scheme of Parsons (1961, p. 38) serves as a second relevant axis in our frame of reference of the socialization process. According to Parsons the general system of human action contains the following subsystems, the control relationships among them forming a hierarchy: The system of culture, i.e., the normative structure of a society controls and integrates the functioning of the social system. For instance, prevailing cultural values, ideals of personality and social norms determine the goals and means of socializing institutions. The social system controls, by the sanction mechanisms of social control, the system of personality, which further controls the system of organism. The cultural system at the social level and the personality system at the individual level can be seen as

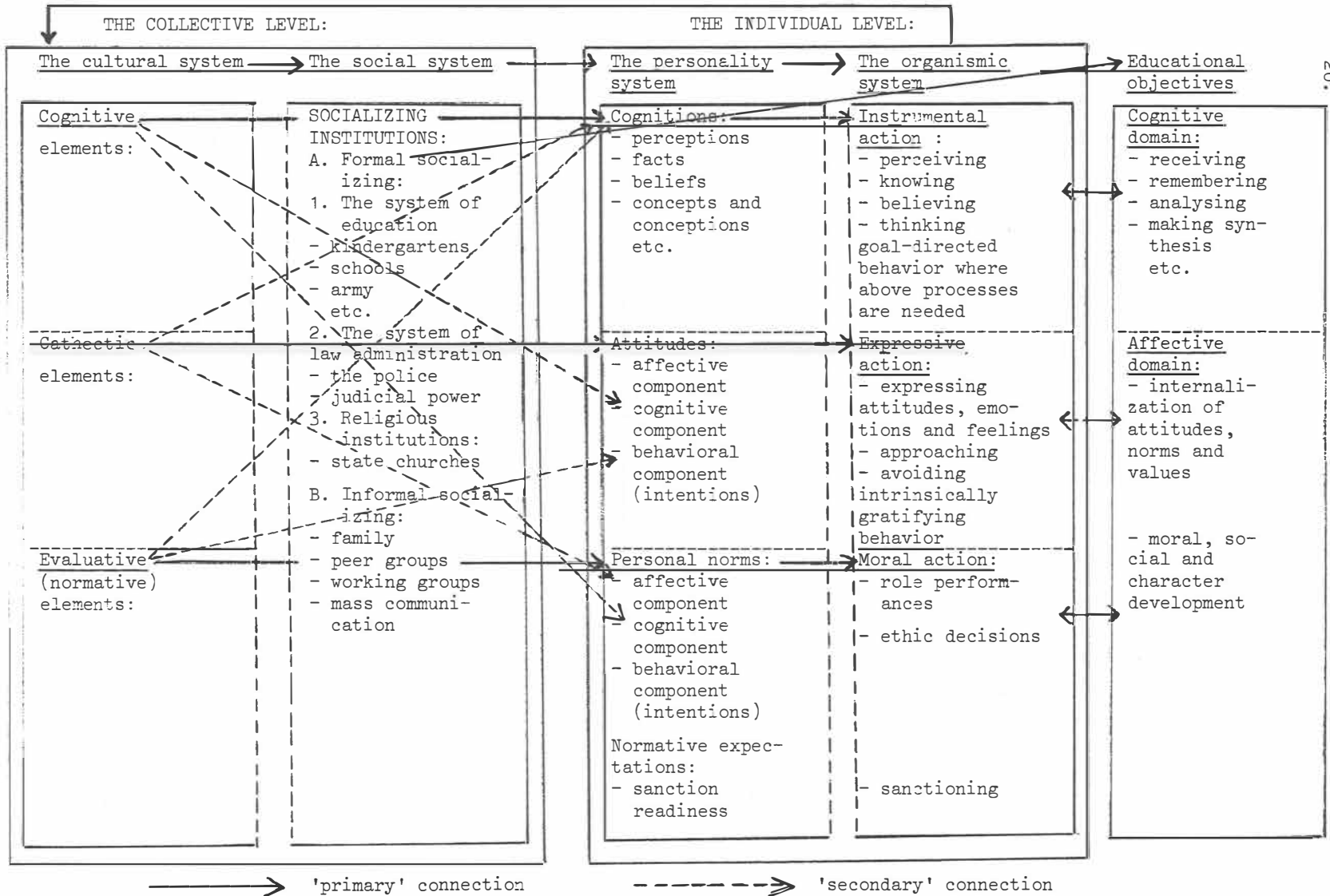


FIGURE 4. Personal norms in the frame of reference of the socialization process

cybernetic, nonmaterial control and regulative systems inside the concrete systems (cf. Malinen 1972, pp. 12-14). The personality system (psychic) describes the level of thinking, motives and behavioral intentions, and the system of organism (physical) the level of external behavior which is determined, in addition to internal motives, by specific situational factors and physical restrictions. Figure 4 is a graphic summary of the outlined framework of the socialization process illuminating the connections of norm components with the other concepts. The scheme also illustrates the difference between concepts of personal norm and attitude. Firstly, objects of norms are acts (objects defined by verbs) and those of attitudes are psychological objects defined by nouns. Secondly, the personal norms are based on evaluative, cultural elements. Attitudes have their origin in cathectic definitions. Thus in attitudes it is a question of preferences, whereas in norms it is a question of role obligations and moral duties. That is why the latter are usually more strictly controlled by sanctions. Thirdly, the behavioral component of norm is more specific when compared with that of attitudes. The former implies an inclination to perform, or not to perform certain acts and the latter refers to general tendencies of approach or avoidance, the specific patterns of which are regulated by norms.

1.1.6. Evaluation of the Parsonsian View on Socialization

The system of concepts formulated by Parsons is considered useful as a general framework of socialization. His approach, however, has some emphases which are seen as one-sided. As a functional analyst Parsons stresses integration and oneness of the social system (cf. Rundblad 1967, 236, Rex 1961, p. 104). He considers individuals primarily as parts of the social system being voluntarily motivated to strive for commonly shared goals. According to Parsons internalization of the moral code of the system eliminates possible conflicts between individual needs and demands of community. Thus he puts an emphasis on the power of the socialization process and on conformity of an individual to the general expectations of the social system and to the specific expectations toward his status position (cf. Gouldner 1970, pp. 218-220). This approach directs one to an 'oversocialized' conception of the individual and to regard conforming role actors as desirable objectives of socialization. The analyst of social and moral development consider, however, the following traits to characterize persons at the highest levels of development (cf. Kohlberg 1969, Peck & Havighurst 1960 and Kay 1968).

- autonomous, capable of resisting group pressures and of making independent ethical decisions

- rational, able to apply flexibly internalized values, norms and principles.
- altruistic, emphatically taking into account other people and their needs
- sustained, motivated by distant, often symbolic, inner rewards (according to the theory of the structure of personal norms social maturity expresses itself as norm behavior guided by cognitive control based on altruistic values, cf. figure 1. p.10)

These researches consider conforming behavior caused by the fear of external or strong inner sanctions to occupy an intermediate position in the hierarchy of developmental levels. According to Gouldner (1970, pp. 211-220) the biological structure of people, the qualities of ecological surroundings and material cultural objects developed during historical process are overlooked in Parsons' formulations. Gouldner considers that the tendency of the personality system toward functional autonomy produces resistance toward the pressures of the social system. This point of view coincides with the views of theorists of social development previously mentioned. Apparently, a socially mature individual is functionally autonomous. Gouldner further thinks that the socialization process does not only include the adaptation and internalization of social norms and roles but also the development to individuality, to a unique personality. The development of self contains a discriminative process; perceiving similarities and differences. The self is not only built up on conformity to others' expectations, but also on breaking the system of mutual, complementary expectations of ego and alter. The organization and cumulation of perceived differences form the basis of the self-concept. Thus the awareness of individuality is realized in conflicts with others. The conformity gives a picture of one's 'goodness' reinforcing one's self-esteem, but nonconforming behavior shapes one's self-concept regarding potency. Self-regard is founded on feelings of potency. It would seem, therefore, that autonomous persons are guided in their conduct more by the needs of self-regard than by the needs of self-esteem.

Parsons' conceptions about the effectiveness of socialization and the integrative power of the moral code of the system contain some empirical hypotheses which appear in need of revision. Firstly, he assumes implicitly that all individuals can be easily socialized: Many studies indicate, however, that many socio-cultural and psychological factors may hinder adequate socialization in many cases (e.g., McClosky & Schaar 1965).

The mere differences between individuals cause variation in the socialization outcomes.

Secondly, Parsons' approach is grounded on an assumption that the normative structure of a society is a consistent, non-contradictory totality commonly shared by all people independently, for example, of their social status. This conception underestimates differences between subcultures and conflicts between factors inducing socialization. Several studies treating alienation (e.g. Meier and Bell 1959, Dean 1961, Mizuchi 1960 etc..) provide evidence suggesting that structural factors affect the level of internalization of a moral code. These factors create counterpressures inhibiting socialization and producing deviant subcultures (cf. e.g., Merton 1957, pp. 131-161). According to Gouldner (op.cit.) the following reasons hinder uniform socialization and produce subcultural alternatives to moral rules:

1. Different parts of the social system have different degrees of commitment to the system and its moral code.
2. Moral socialization does not automatically create conformity. It is a result of a compromise between the needs for functional autonomy of the individual parts of the system and the needs for integration of the whole system. The subsystems (e.g., social classes) develop moral codes of their own which deviate to some extent from that of the whole society. The tension between parts is often reflected through different interpretations of moral rules.
3. The degree of conformity to a moral norm varies from one point of time to another, depending on whether it restricts or allows the functional autonomy of the subsystem.
4. There is usually more than one rule influencing the decision-making in a given situation. Which of them is selected as the basis for decisions depends on their relationship to functional autonomy.

It seems that a function analytic approach to socialization pays too little attention to the renewal of culture, i.e., to social change. Its approach is most adequate in describing the socialization of an undifferentiated society, having a consistent moral code and a strong pressure toward conformity, where the implicit goal of socialization is the maintenance of the prevailing social order (cf. Allardt 1964, p. 28). In communities of this type the restriction of individuality to a minimum is functional from the point of prevailing values. The promotion of individuals' independence, critical attitude and creativity is nowadays demanded from formal socialization

provided in schools (cf. the report of the Finnish committee for the curriculum of the comprehensive school, 1969). These qualities are regarded as fostering cultural renewal and accelerating social change. The fostering of creativity and individual autonomy presupposes the permission of differences and thus not very strong pressure toward conformity. According to Allardt (op. cit. p. 28) the objective of expectations of dissimilarity is effectiveness. He considers that reduction of the pressure is, as a rule, linked to the differentiation of the division of labor. Also Riihinen (1965) thinks that industrialization has been accompanied by general orientation emphasizing effectiveness. On the basis of previous statements the functionality of conformity underlined by Parsons needs refinement: under what conditions is it, or is it not, functional and what is the optimal degree of conformity, taking into account both social stability and change? The premises of an approach also have relevance when considering the concept of alienation. Parsons' theoretical view on the role of moral socialization is seen as follows: internalization of moral norms → conforming behavior → social integration. In this framework alienation is conceived as absence of internalization causing deviant behavior and disintegration. So alienation is seen in a functionalistic way of thinking only as dysfunctional. We may discover, however, that a certain degree of given types of alienation produces positive consequences even if we take social order as a criterion. An optimal amount of deviant reactions may clarify and reinforce the basic values and norms of a society. Certain types of alienation can be seen as functional (e.g. tendencies of renovating goals and/or means, cf. Merton 1957) from the viewpoint of social change. Etzioni (1968) assumes, that there are universal, basic social needs, the satisfaction of which depends on social structures. Given this view, the degree of generality and the depth of alienation are seen to indicate how responsive the society and its most important institutions are to individuals' needs. Under unsatisfactory conditions alienation may, as one factor, promote the birth of social reformist movements which try to change structures to become more responsive to those needs. Gouldner's concept of the autonomy tendency of the personality system may also be seen as describing a universal need and at this point it is close to the view of Etzioni. If a society is to some extent sensitive to its members' needs for functional autonomy, a controlled but relatively rapid social change will probably take place. If on the other hand a society is not responsive to these needs a conflict arises between individuals' wants and the need for the maintenance of

structures. The result may be 'stagnation of structures', or in some cases their irruptive, quick, even violent change. Thus, Gouldner's view leads to a more dynamic conception of society: the tension between the integration pressure of society and the need to functional autonomy of its part forms the mechanism of change. According to Gouldner (op.cit.p. 225), many-sided enculturation, providing individuals with rich knowledge and many skills (cf. Kohlberg: the importance of the amount of relevant social and cognitive stimulation), promotes their independence of social systems, and, on the other hand, their capability to create and maintain such organizations which shelter them from 'excessive' influence of specific cultural systems. Both social and cultural systems may furnish individuals with means of protection against the 'one-sided' effect of each.

Kohlberg's cognitive-developmental approach to socialization can also be regarded as more dynamic than the Parsonsian view of socialization. In accordance with Piaget, Kohlberg assumes that there are universal stages in the cognitive development of a child, and that it depends on the quality of stimulation offered by the environment how quickly and how far one manages to proceed in the hierarchy of developmental levels. In addition to this, Kohlberg thinks that there are also universal levels in social development based on cognitive processes. Before one can move from one level of social development to the next one above, it must be preceded by a corresponding change of level in the ability to grasp cognitively the social reality. Thus the dynamic aspect in this approach is perceiving socialization at the individual level as a dialectical process based on the interaction of the inner cognitive structure of an individual and the input of the social structure of one's socialization environment. In other words, changes in moral and social development are a function of a stimulus environment which is, on the one hand, incongruent enough to stimulate a conflict inside the prevailing level of development of a child, but congruent enough, on the other hand, to foster assimilation and accommodation in the Piagetian sense. This means that the beliefs and perception of a child concerning underlying rules and principles of social interaction and morality differ to such an extent that it creates pressure to restructure his cognitions to fit better with his perceptions about 'the real state of social affairs'. Thus essential in social development and in moral judgements is how one cognitively defines social situations and moral principles, which is further dependent on his level of ethical concept formation (for instance, how one figures out the principles of reciprocity, justice, and equality). The conventional morality belonging to the intermediate levels of Kohlberg's hierarchy defines the principles of justice and reciprocity on the basis of prevailing social order and its rules, whereas the morality of the highest developmental level sees that the social order should

have its foundations on universal principles of justice. At this level it is regarded as one's basic duty to obey the universal principles of justice behind the social order (cf. Kantian concepts of categorical imperatives) and not the prevailing social order itself. Kohlberg has also operationalized his ideas about universal successive stages on a scale measuring social development. According to him its validity (and through it the validity of the hypothesis of universal stages of development) has received empirical support in international comparative studies where his scale has been tested in different cultural settings. However, the most dramatic evidence for the validity of the scale has been obtained in experimental studies, in which the subjects believed that they were giving electrical shock to a person they could see through a window (so-called Milgram's experiment). The experimenter put pressure on the subjects to give stronger and stronger shocks to 'the victim'. The subjects could see how the victim suffered from the shocks and prayed for mercy on him. Most of the subjects in most experiments, which included various kinds of persons as subjects, would have been ready to give physically damaging or even fatal (if real) electrical shocks to the victim. Only the subjects classified according to Kohlberg's scale as belonging to the highest stage of development refused absolutely to give strong shocks to the victim. These results may seem surprising, even unbelievable, but the events in the Nazi concentration camps demonstrate that persons regarded as 'usual citizens' in 'normal' conditions may behave surprisingly in exceptional conditions. At the same time the presented examples demonstrate what over-conformity expressing itself in uncritical obeying of orders, whatever they are, may lead to. Persons of this kind can be easily utilized by leaders of power positions for their purposes, but the persons at a higher level of social development are more capable of resisting group pressures or orders experienced as morally wrong.

If we further compare the foundations of Parsonsian views to those of Marxian theory, we will find profound differences between the approaches concerning the role of norm socialization: In Parsonsian theory, as is typical of western sociology in general, culture and its normative structure is seen as something basic determining patterns of social action, whereas in Marxian theory the material conditions, especially the mode of production in the economic sector, form the basic structure of a society determining in many ways the prevailing cultural values and social norms (see e.g., Eskola 1970). In fact, Parsons' theory of social action was a kind of counter-reaction against Marx' theory of practice (praxis), and is therefore the opposite of the latter (cf. Therborn, G. 1973). When Parsons emphasizes the subjective orientations of actors, Marx stresses the objective process of transformation in production. These differences

in the premises of the two approaches also lead to differing conceptions about the role of norm socialization in a capitalistic society. Included in the Parsonsian view seems to be an idea that a capitalist society offers a freedom to individuals to choose between alternative objectives and modes of conduct, but in order to avoid the harmful effects of selfishness, the role of norm socialization (i.e., the moral code) is decisive in producing commonly shared preferences to select certain patterns of action in certain culturally defined situations leading to 'a social harmony'. According to the Marxian view the role of norm socialization in a capitalistic society is to hide the basic conflict, the class struggle, due to the relations of production based on the private ownership of the means of production, and to get also the members of the working class to believe that it is to the benefit of all to behave in accordance with prevailing bourgeois values. From this point of view it is also seen that the power elites of capitalistic society make use of the institutions exercising formal socializing and mass media in supporting and strengthening the so-called 'bourgeois hegemony' (cf. Eskola, A. 1967 and Allardt, E. 1967). In order to ward off the danger of becoming socialized into capitalistic ideology, the Marxists stress the importance of class consciousness in realizing one's position in the relations of production and one's real benefits (cf. Blom, R. 1973). On the basis of this we can expect that one's party identification (if one votes socialist vs. bourgeois party) may also have an effect on personal norms in addition to the factors mentioned before.

By comparing the functionalistic approach to other theoretical standpoints an attempt has been made to illustrate how they lead to dissimilar conceptions of the nature of society and basic functions of socialization. An attempt has also been made to demonstrate that in psychological theories of moral and social development (e.g., Kohlberg 1969, Peck & Havighurst 1960, cf., also Kay 1968) and in some sociological analyses (Gouldner 1970, Etzioni 1968 and Allardt 1964) there are certain points of convergence which are not commonly found, due to different conceptualizations.

Regardless of the criticisms presented, the conceptual scheme evolved by Parsons is seen as useful in the analysis of the socialization process if one is aware of possible one-sided emphases when applying it.

1.1.7. Norm Socialization: Summary

In this chapter a study is made of the factors assumed to have a crucial impact on personal norms and norm alienation. Most of the factors that influence any one of the structural components are expected to have an effect also on the balance of norm structures and on the degree of norm uncertainty. These independent variables are divided into three categories which indicate, as it were, a set of expanding circles beginning from the individual himself:

I Individual characteristics influencing the learning of norms:

McClosky and Schaar (1965) found that psychological factors, cognitive styles of perception and personality traits, have a considerable effect on anomic alienation in combination with or independent of sociocultural circumstances. These are categorized as follows:

1. Cognitive factors influencing individual capability of learning and understanding.

2. Emotional factors having an effect on the ability to grasp social reality.

3. Beliefs and opinions, which inhibit or facilitate social interaction (e.g., the inclination to adopt extreme opinions and attitudes). In addition to these psychological factors, educational background, occupation, and other components of social status are important determinants of the individual capability for social exchange (cf. Allardt 1964, pp. 71-86). Poorly crystallized, imbalanced social status may cause normative cross-pressures, and may therefore have a noticeable impact on the balance of norm structures and norm uncertainty.

II The conditions concerning the individual's nearest socialization environment

1. The sanctions of socializing agents: One becomes socialized through learning different age roles under the influence of different institutions. In this process the following stages may be identified (cf. Takala 1965, p.20).

- a. Socialization of early childhood in the family.
- b. Socialization at elementary and secondary school levels.
- c. Socialization at vocational schools, colleges, universities etc.
- d. Socialization in working organizations and groups (we could speak further of becoming socialized to the role of a spouse and father or mother, if married, and having one or more children).

The so-called basic socialization takes place primarily during the first stage, but also partially, during the second. The sanctions of socializing agents, i.e., methods of reinforcing desirable behavior and inhibiting undesirable behavior, have a central role at this early stage. The effects of parental sanctions (cf. Peck & Havighurst 1960, pp. 174-181, Berkowitz 1964 and Nummenmaa 1963, pp. 17-19) are the most significant. The following aspects of sanctions appear to be the most essential ones:

- a. The degree of consistency of sanctioning, i.e. how systematically one uses rewards and punishments.
- b. The type and strength of punishments (e.g., severe, physical punishments do not induce effective internalization, cf. Festinger & Freedman 1964, pp. 241-242, Berkowitz 1964, pp. 52-53).
- c. The ratio of punishments and rewards in sanctioning influences the emotional atmosphere at home and may also have an effect on the childrens' willingness to identify themselves with their parents and, subsequently, imitate them (cf. Nummenmaa 1968, pp. 120-138).
- d. Argumentation for sanctions, i.e. whether one explains or not the rational reasons behind sanctions when enforced (cf. democratic vs. authoritarian child-rearing attitude, Berkowitz op.cit. p. 77 and Takala 1965, p. 43). The use of arguments encourages the learning of norms and has an effect on the quality of conscience (cf. Peck & Havighurst op. cit. pp. 166-173).

2. The socio-economic status of the home: The socio-economic status is not a one-dimensional index, but rather a common denominator of a cumulative cluster of variables. Many factors influencing the richness of stimulus surroundings at home are linked with it and consequently affect social development.

3. Peer groups: The socializing influence of the peer group is strong especially at school age (e.g., Takala 1965). Peer groups are subcultures, the norms of which often deviate from those of the home. The greater the discrepancy is between those norms, the higher is the probability that cross-pressures will arise inducing norm uncertainty. Membership of juvenile delinquent groups or adolescent gangs is assumed to have particularly considerable effect on both the cognitive and behavioral components, since the values and norms of these groups are antagonistic to those of the larger society (cf. Cohen 1955, pp. 22-37). According to Cloward (1959) access not only to approved means (cf. Merton 1957), but also to illegal ones, explains deviant action tendencies. Cloward considers that the access to both types of means depends on the following structural aspects:

a. The learning structure - the relevance of a particular environment to learning values, norms and skills needed in given roles.

b. The opportunity structure - possibilities for performing learned skills.

Both the learning and opportunity structures of approved vs. illegal means are related to socio-economic status. The access to approved means correlates positively with socio-economic status, but the relationship between the latter and access to illegal means is the reverse.

III The conditions for socialization in the society:

According to Blau (1960), social facts may be divided into two basic types; values and norms describing culture and facts describing social structure¹, i.e., the network of social relations in which interaction becomes organized and, as a result, differentiates society into classes. This categorization seems to be relevant in analyzing those global factors, at a community level, which influence personal norms. This effect is both direct and indirect. Culture and social structure have an indirect effect upon personal norms by exerting influence on the nearest socialization environment of childhood. Cultural standards define the objectives (e.g., prevailing ideals of personality) and means of socialization (cf. Inkeles 1968). These standards vary between social classes. In addition, the cultural and structural aspects of community also have direct, so-called structural or contextual effects on norms (especially on norm behavior, cf. Blau 1960, Tannenbaum & Bachman 1964 and Valkonen 1971, pp. 125-127).

1. Cultural factors: The consistency vs. inconsistency of the moral code of a society may be one important factor. If the culture includes some conflicting elements it probably creates normative cross-pressures causing imbalanced norm structures and norm uncertainty. In some cases there is lacking an effective norm system for the whole society, which is then in a state of anomie, as defined by Durkheim. In this situation there is considerable normlessness at the individual level, too.

1) The crucial dimensions of social structure are, according to Inkeles (1969), the following

1. Ecological, the size, density, physical distribution and social composition of population and its relation to resources and surrounding populations
2. Economic, the social forms of production and delivery of goods and services
3. Political, the structure of power, its distribution and the forms and institutional frame of power use.

2. Structural factors:

a. The form of distribution, i.e., the composition of social statuses in a certain community or group has a structural effect on the entire normative climate where the socializing action occurs.

b. The social distance between different levels of status hierarchy (the openness of society) affects the access to approved means, and the differential distribution of frustrations vs. rewards to various levels causes differences in socialization techniques between strata.

c. The degree of dissimilarity of socializing of different institutions; e.g., how well socializing inputs of home and school are linked to each other.

d. The amount of vertical and horizontal mobility in society. Both vertical and horizontal social mobility necessarily mean some transformation in one's normative surroundings. The amount and direction of change in individual norm structures, or in the level of norm uncertainty, depend on differences between the new versus old normative environment and the flexibility of individuals' norms.

e. The degree of urbanization is assumed to be one of the community levels factors influencing socialization (cf. Takala 1960, pp. 126-135, Littunen 1962, p. 64, Allardt & Littunen 1961, pp. 287-290, Bronfenbrenner 1958 and Inkeles 1968, pp. 117-122, connections between the degree of urbanization and methods of socializing are analyzed in detail in ch. 2.1.2.)

On the basis of the facts just presented it may be said that many factors influence the balance of norm structures and norm alienation through a complex process of interaction. Therefore, it is not possible to define which are the necessary and/or sufficient conditions for imbalanced norm structures and for uncertainty of norms (or which conditions should be fulfilled so as to prevent any kind of norm alienation). One alternative for obtaining a clearer, more simplified picture of the directions of the effects of various factors on personal norms is to analyze them within the conceptual framework of Kohlberg (1969). According to Kohlberg, moving upward to a higher stage of social development (which means increased psychological balance) presupposes a preceding transformation from one cognitive level to another. Therefore, Kohlberg considers that social development depends on the amount of relevant cognitive and social stimulation during the socialization process. To some extent, it is possible to predict the impact of different factors on the balance of norm structures and on the level of uncertainty on the basis of how they influence the amount of relevant

stimulation and possibilities to make use of it (factors are classified in the same way as was done earlier in this chapter):

A. Individual characteristics influencing socialization (individual ability to make use of relevant stimulation at hand):

High

Low

for example:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - high capability to make cognitive discriminations - level of education: high | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - capability to make cognitive discriminations weak - level of education low |
|---|---|

B. The conditions of socialization in the nearest environment (the amount of relevant stimulation offered):

Good

Poor

for example:

- | | |
|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - sanctioning of the main socializing agents consistent and planned - use of rational explanations as arguments for sanctions (democratic child-rearing attitude) - socio-economic status of the home high | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - sanctioning of the main socializing agents inconsistent and unplanned - no arguments for sanctions (authoritarian child-rearing attitude) - socio-economic status of the home low |
|--|---|

C. The conditions for socialization in the society (global factors influencing the amount of relevant stimulation):

Good

Poor

for example:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - educational system highly developed - possibilities to satisfy basic needs not strongly structured socially or ecologically - actions of different sub-systems and institutions relevantly linked to each other | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - educational system poorly organized and ineffective - possibilities to satisfy basic needs strongly structured both socially and ecologically - actions of different sub-systems and institutions conflicting, creating cross-pressures |
|---|---|

With this framework we can at least roughly characterize those conditions (socialization conditions as a whole good vs. poor) under which the formation of balanced norm structures is quite probable and the level of norm alienation is expected to be low, and, inversely, conditions under which imbalanced norm structures and a high level of norm alienation are generally expected to be found.

1.2. Measurement and the Research Group

Besides describing the practical process of constructing the operational scales we will consider the reliability and representativeness of these scales as indicators of the conceptual components of the theory.

1.2.1. Measurement of Dependent Variables

On the basis of the conceptual analysis of the personal norms, a questionnaire was designed in which the norm is measured multidimensionally, i.e., each of the components is operationalized by separate scales. This type of instrument can be called 'a norm differential' (cf. Karvonen 1967, 44) because the mode of measurement resembles that of a semantic differential (Osgood et al. 1957). The measurement takes place through an evaluation of different acts. On the basis of earlier investigations, acts were included in the questionnaire that seemed to be generally disapproved of in Finnish society, and that represented various levels of intensity of disapproval. Thus the measurement of norms concentrates explicitly upon prohibition norms, to be sure that we are measuring norms really existing in our society, when sanctions are regarded as the criterion for the prevalence of a social norm. In later phases the multidimensional measurement of personal norms could be, perhaps, enlarged to also other types of norms. Each act is judged by scales with seven response categories, with the exception of the scale of actual norm behavior (see appendix 1).

A. Scales of norm components:

I Affective component scales:

1. good - bad
2. estimated intensity of bad conscience

II Cognitive component scales:

3. useful - useless
4. needful - needless

III Behavioral component scales:

5. behavioral readiness: estimated probability of a given act in a given situation, highly probable - highly improbable
6. actual norm behavior: has the respondent performed a certain act during a given time span? yes - no

B. Scales of normative expectations:

7. sanction readiness: estimated probability with which the respondent will sanction normative behavior of others in a given situation: highly probable - highly improbable

8. perceived informal social control: the estimated sanction of others concerning his performance of a given act, no sanction - very strong sanction.¹⁾

Most of the scales are unipolar as a consequence of restricting the measurement only to the prohibition norms. As can be seen, each component has been operationalized with two scales for the testing of construct validity. The representativeness of the measurements in question depends greatly on the chosen set of acts. Numerous acts could not be included in the questionnaire since the greater the number of scales, the more arduous is the process of answering. In empirical analyses the total scores, which were constructed by summing the values of the same scale over acts, are mostly used as scales representing structural components. By these total scores the number of variables representing the individuals' sets of norms and their general structural characteristics can be minimized. The norm uncertainty -type of alienation is measured by a Likert scale having eight items (see appendix 1, items 1.38-1.45). This scale was constructed on the basis of Allardt's alienation theory, in which the different degrees of alienation - situational, role, norm, and value alienation - are assumed to form a cumulative scale. The first two items measure uncertainty in norm situations, the next two uncertainty about norms defining one's role, the following two general norm uncertainty and the last two measure uncertainty about value objectives. In empirical analyses the total score of the scale has been used as a measure of norm uncertainty. Normlessness is not measured by a separate scale. The scales of the affective component are interpreted as also reflecting possible normlessness. In principle, the difference between measures of the affective component and normlessness would be as follows:

Affective component scale: pangs of conscience (see appendix 1., point 2):

Scale of normlessness:	<table style="border-collapse: collapse; margin: auto;"> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">Not at all:</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 0 5px;">2:3:4:5:6:7</td> <td style="text-align: center;">Very much</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td style="text-align: center;">1.</td> <td></td> <td style="text-align: center;">2.</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td style="text-align: center;">not interna- lized (norm- less)</td> <td></td> <td style="text-align: center;">internalized</td> </tr> </table>	Not at all:	1	2:3:4:5:6:7	Very much		1.		2.		not interna- lized (norm- less)		internalized
Not at all:	1	2:3:4:5:6:7	Very much										
	1.		2.										
	not interna- lized (norm- less)		internalized										

1) Those having been in military service about three months had to respond also to a scale of perceived probability to be caught when violating an official army norm (for instance, leaving the garrison area without permission).

By summing up the number of answers indicating no pangs of conscience we would be able to construct a total score representing normlessness. This kind of measure, however, was not formed. Since we are interested in the relationship between the balance of norm structures and uncertainty about norms, a coding system was developed in which the norm measured by evaluating a given act could be classified into seven structure categories operationalizing most of structures of the typology (cf. figure 2). Our coding scheme was intended to make apparent those structures in which the affective component is in conflict with the cognitive or the behavioral component or with both. The structural coding was performed by simultaneous consideration of component scales two, three and five, which all range from one to seven. The components were considered to be in an imbalanced relation with each other (i.e., to have a zero or negative correlation with one another) if the difference between the quantitative values of the scales representing the components in question was three or more. The behavioral component is represented by the scale of behavioral readiness in the coding because the scale of actual norm behavior does not have a one-to-seven value range. The relationship between norm uncertainty and the balance of norm structures is analyzed in the light of the correlation between the total score of the uncertainty scale and the number of balanced norm structures.

The scale of behavioral readiness is based on an adaptation of the 'behavioral differential' (Fiedler et. al. 1964). Behavioral dispositions are reflected in intentions, which Ajzen and Fishbein (1970) found to be significantly predictive of actual behavior under experimental conditions. It is, however, quite probable that in non-laboratory situations the correlation between intentions and actual behavior is not as high. In the first place, many restrictive situational factors constitute intervening variables between behavioral readiness (i.e., intentions) and actual norm behavior. In the second place, intentions and overt action belong to different system levels (see figure 4, p. 18), the former to the level of psychic motivations and the latter to that of overt outcomes, which are affected by physical restrictions. According to Campbell (1963), verbal attitudes and actual behavior represent different levels of a cumulative scale. Both behavioral readiness and actual behavior are operationalized separately in the study, offering as an interesting possibility the investigation of their relationship under non-experimental conditions.

The reliability and representativeness of the norm measures depend at least partially on our success in getting respondents to believe in the confidentiality of their answers. To assure a feeling of confidentiality, the questionnaires were filled out anonymously. The reliability of total scores,

used as dependent variables, was estimated by the internal consistency method. (First the means of correlations among the same original scales from different acts were calculated, see Appendix 3. Then the reliability estimates were formed by placing the means into Spearman-Brown's formula, Cf. Vahervuo-Kalimc 1971, p. 157).

TABLE 1. Reliability estimates of the total scores of norm scales

component/scale		
affect.	good-bad	.66
affect.	pangs of conscience	.71
cognit.	useful-useless	.64
cognit.	needful-needless	.71
behav.	behav. readiness	.61
behav.	actual norm behavior ¹⁾	.77
normat.	sanction readiness	.64
expect.:	perceived social control	.72
normat.	uncertainty about norms ²⁾	.70

We can regard the coefficients as the lowest estimates of 'real reliabilities' because they do not contain the proportion of reliable variance explained by specific act factors (which may sometimes be a rather considerable part of the total variance). Taking this into account, the measurement of dependent variables seems to be sufficiently reliable. However, the reliability of the sum score of the number of balanced structures could not be numerically estimated. Since it is based on differences between the values of original scales representing the affective, cognitive and behavioral components, it includes error variance from all of them. Therefore, the number of balanced norm structures is likely to be more unreliable than are other total scores.

1) Based on tetrachoric correlations

2) Based on the intercorrelations of the items of the scale of norm uncertainty (see appendix 4, point B)

The measurement of actual norm behavior deserves special attention, since it contains particular problems. The kind of measure used in this connection based on retrospective verbal answers by the subjects themselves is commonly regarded as a methodically weak, unreliable measure of overt behavior. Independent observations of the subjects' norm behavior in real situations would naturally have been a much better measure of actual behavior (cf. Wicker 1969, pp. 45-47), but unfortunately we could not afford this in the study. The critical question is, however, whether our measure of actual norm behavior brings anything new into the results compared with the information which can be obtained by the measure of behavioral readiness. In the light of the results of the study (see ch. 1.4.4.3.) it seems that the use of the scale of actual norm behavior has indeed produced for us interesting further information in comparison with the results concerning behavioral readiness. However, this part of the results, to be really valid, should be further confirmed by more objective measures of overt norm behavior.

The author has studied by different item analyses the measurement qualities of the scale of norm uncertainty, since it is being used for the first time in an empirical study (see appendix 4). From the first item analysis we can see that the difference between the means of extreme quartile groups is in each item more than 1,0, which can be regarded as a rough index of good discriminating power for a five-point scale (cf. Eskola 1968, p. 216). Also the high correlations between the items and the total score are observed (see item analysis in point B). Only item six has rather low correlations with the other items. Also a Guttman's scale analysis was employed to test the possibility of forming a one-dimensional cumulative scale of the items (cf. Allardt 1964, p. 84). The computer program was constructed on the criteria presented by Hagood & Price (1952, pp. 143-154) and Eskola (op.cit. pp. 220-233). A scale emerged with a reproduction coefficient (.868) slightly higher than random probability (.83). The reproduction coefficient is, however, lower than .90, which is regarded as a minimum of acceptability. Furthermore, the scale errors are not randomly distributed, which casts some doubt on its one-dimensionality (cf. Eskola op. cit. p. 225). Allardt's assumption concerning the cumulative hierarchy of alienation types is therefore not fully supported. On the other hand, this result may be a consequence of the small number of original items, the formulations of them, etc. Therefore, Allardt's hypothesis cannot be totally rejected. However, norm uncertainty seems to be empirically a rarer type of alienation than uncertainty about values, contrary to Allardt's (op.cit. p. 86) expectations. The learning of abstract values is probably more difficult than the learning of norms. The latter is more closely linked to interactional situations of everyday life, since norms are more explicitly expressed and violating them is regularly sanctioned. According to some

theories the formation of an organized hierarchy of values is seen to take place only at the highest levels of social development (cf., e.g., Krathwohl et al. 1964, Kohlberg 1969). If this is so, it is hardly surprising that many people feel uncertainty concerning abstract values. It is probable that norm uncertainty is more dysfunctional than value uncertainty for individuals trying to intergrate themselves into a community. The total score of the original five-point Likert-scale is used as a measure of norm uncertainty, since the dichotomized items did not form an acceptable Guttman scale.

1.2.2. Measurement of Independent Variables

All of the background factors which were theoretically postulated to have an impact on personal norms could not be operationalized in the questionnaire, due to their sheer numbers. An attempt is made, however, to include important factors from each category:

A. Individual factors:

1. Level of education (see Appendix 1, item 1.12)
2. Membership of a deviant subculture (item 1.29)
3. Number of years living in the present place of residence (item 1.18)

B. Factors concerning the individuals' nearest socialization environment:

4. Number of siblings (item 1.21)
5. 'Normality vs. exceptionality' of one's growing environment (1.22)
6. 'Integration of the nuclear family' (item 1.24 concerning quarrels between parents)
7. Physical and mental health of parents (item 1.23)
8. Sanctions by the father (item 1.25)
9. Sanctions by the mother (item 1.26)
10. Argumentation for sanctions (item 1.27)
11. Religiousness of the childhood home (item 1.28)
12. Socio-economic status of the home (see items 1.13 and 1.14); a combinatory classification based on dichotomized indexes of the prestige of father's occupation and estimated income per month:
 1. High (both prestige and income high)
 2. Middle (prestige high, income level low or prestigh low and income level high)
 3. Low (both prestige and income low)

C. Factors of community level:

13. Degree of urbanization of individual's place of residence; a combinatory classification based on the size and density of population and the type of municipality (see items 1.16 and 1.17)¹

1. Helsinki (cities with a population of 200.000 or more)
2. Tampere, Turku (cities with a population of 100.00 - 200.000)
3. Cities with a population of 50.000 - 100.000
4. Cities and towns with a population of 20.000 - 50.000
5. Towns with a population of 10.000 - 20.000
6. Towns with a population of under 10.000
7. Rural centers (hamlet or village)
8. Sparsely populated rural areas

The measurement of sanction is most problematic in terms of reliability. The most difficult problems concerning other independent variables are: the relevance of classifications (e.g. that of the socio-economic status of the home) on the one hand, and how well the operational scales represent theoretical concepts (e.g. degree of urbanization) on the other hand. The following factors influence the reliability of sanction measurement:

- The measurement is concerned with past events, and thus psychological, selective factors producing memory bias may increase the error of measurement.
- The response categories may have different meaning to different respondents (e.g. smacking, yelling etc., see appendix 1, item 1.25) depending on the individual frame of reference.

These factors may diminish the reliability to an extent which cannot be numerically estimated in this case. An approximation of it, however, can be gained by applying the following criteria:

1. Do we find by these scales similar relationships between sanctions and certain background variables (e.g. between parental sanctions and social strata) to those found in earlier studies?
2. Can we predict personal norms moderately well by sanction variables?

On the basis of the result presented in Section II (in chs. 2.2.1 and 2.2.2.), we can say that the above conditions are fulfilled to a degree that the reliability of the sanction scales may be interpreted as meeting the minimum demands (i.e., through the use of these scales we can obtain meaningful results). If significant relationships had not been found between sanction variables and other measures, we would have not been able to state with certainty which one in reality caused it, low reliability or the validity of the null hypothesis.

1) In the sociological literature the size and density of population are regarded as basic traits defining the degree of urbanization (cf. e.g. Sjöberg 1965, p. 341, Pahl 1968b, pp. 263-266 and Kämäräinen 1970). The type of municipality was taken as the starting point for our operational classification, because it seems to correspond quite well with the basic distinction: urban vs. rural in Finland. This dichotomy was then refined by considering the density of population in rural areas and by the size of population in urban areas.

The representativeness of sanction measurement will be investigated in the light of the following questions: (a) Are the sanction scales directed to the most essential aspects of parental socializing? (b) If so, how well do the scales cover the field? The results of Section II demonstrate that condition (a) has been at least partially fulfilled. It still remains unknown whether the predictability of personal norms could have been improved using more diverse measures of parental sanctions. When we compare the sanction scales with the aspect regarded as the most essential in earlier studies (e.g. Takala 1960, pp. 129-132, McKinley 1964, pp. 82, 105-106, Kohn 1969, pp. 92-103 and Bronfenbrenner 1958), and with the summary in chapter 1.1.7. (point II/1), we find the following deficiencies in the coverage of measurement:

1. The inexactness of the classification of various sanctions may cause insensitivity to the complexity of the interaction between parents and children.

2. The ratio of rewards and punishments is not measured. Attention is given only to punishments, their severity and type, but not to the utilization of rewards.¹

3. The consistency and degree of planning in sanctioning have not been operationalized.²

It would, perhaps, have been better to question the parents themselves concerning their use of sanctions. However, their answers may also contain an error factor, due to the presence of defense mechanisms (e.g. rationalization). Parents do not always maintain a fully realistic and unbiased picture of their child-rearing techniques (including sanctioning) and frequently provide socially desirable answers. Kohn (1969, pp. 103-108), found that the interviewing of parents or children concerning parental socializing yielded similar data. Unfortunately the interviewing of parents could not be afforded in this study.

The relatively insensitive measurement of sanctions may, however, produce interesting information serving as a useful feedback to the theory. Very detailed and numerous questions concerning parental sanctions in the past may even lead to spurious accuracy.

-
- 1) Restricting the measurement only to the negative sanctions is a consequence of an earlier restriction of measurement to prohibitive norms. Performing "a forbidden act" is, as a rule, followed by a negative, and not by a positive parental sanction. Furthermore, in most studies of socialization there has been found a significant relationship between the type of punishment and the degree of internalization, but nonsignificant between the type or amount of reward and internalization (cf. Aronfreed 1969).
 2. This aspect of parental sanctioning is particularly difficult to measure adequately by the technique used in the questionnaire.

1.2.3. Research group

The empirical material was collected by means of the questionnaire filled in anonymously by young men in military service. The men were from one garrison receiving its recruits mainly from the southeastern and eastern part of Finland. The questionnaires were filled in during one day with about 100 men at a time. The respondents were not allowed to speak to each other, and the confidentiality of answers was emphasized in the instructions. The total group of respondents (N 1154) can be divided into two parts:

1. Respondents who had just entered military service in October 1969 (N 713, they had been in service under one week when the measurement took place)
2. Respondents who had been in military service about three months when the measurement took place (N 441, they had entered the service in June of the same year).

In this study the group that had just entered military service is used as a research group in empirical tests of the validity of the hypotheses. The results of the group having been in service a longer time are used in this report only when the findings from the main data are cross-validated by the results of the latter group. The distribution describing the regional representativeness of the research group is presented in per cents in figure 5. It shows that the recruiting area is large enough to contain different types of communities on the rural-urban dimension (see the distribution along this dimension in appendix 5).

Of the questionnaires, 112 were so incompletely filled out (especially with reference to norm scales) that they had to be left out of the final research group. Thus the per cent of drop-out is 15.7, and the final size of the sample is 601. The background variable distributions of this group of insufficient data are, however, compared with those of the final research group, and with the extreme groups of norm uncertainty (see appendix 5) to obtain a picture of the characteristics of the drop-out:

- the average level of education of this group is particularly low, and the average socio-economic status of their homes is as low as in the group of much norm uncertainty
- a high proportion of this group has had a disadvantageous socialization environment (e.g., the parents have been physically or mentally ill, the relationship between parents has been contentious, parental sanctions have been severe and used without any explanations, etc.)
- the proportion of "cannot say" -answers in the items of the scale on norm uncertainty is greater in this group than in other groups, which raises an interesting question: does uncertainty about norm uncertainty reflect a deeper level of norm alienation than certainty about norm uncertainty?

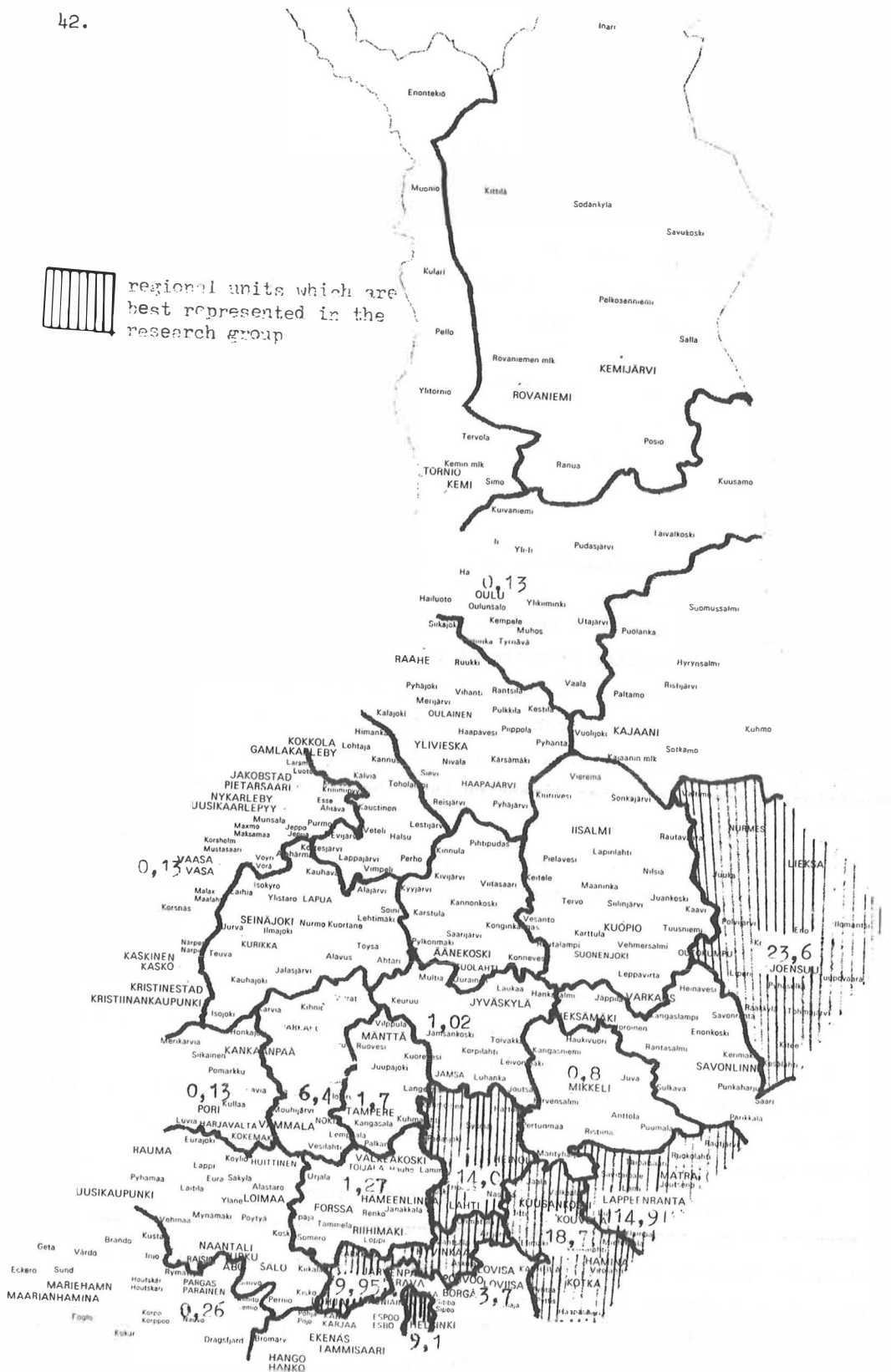


FIGURE 5. Regional distribution of the research group in per cents according to the place of residence

In summary, the distributions of the background variables in the group of insufficient data differ, in most cases, clearly from those of the total research group, and resemble more closely the background distributions of the group of much uncertainty about norms. This selective drop-out may have partly influenced the representativeness of the results. On the basis of the comparison of distributions and a careful inspection of the incompletely filled out questionnaires, the partial absence of answers is interpreted to be due to the following factors:

a) some of the persons belonging to this group had apparently a rather suspicious attitude concerning the confidentiality of the answers, despite instructions emphasizing it. They therefore left out answers concerning points perceived as 'delicate'.

b) it further appears that most of the persons in this group had difficulties in filling out the questionnaire because of their poor educational background, and their unfamiliarity with this kind of form.

Because our sample is not selected by statistical methods we designated it "the research group". It represents in the first place the population of a certain male age-cohort of the recruiting area. The representativeness of this kind of nonrandom sample cannot be accurately assessed, but in order to obtain some information about it (and how the drop-out described above has influenced the representativeness) the research group is compared to the whole age-cohort of men aged 20 to 24 years in Table 2 concerning the distributions of those background variables in which even a rough comparison is possible (the data of the whole age-cohort is drawn from the census of 1970).

TABLE 2. The research group in comparison to the whole age-cohort of men aged 20-24 years with regard to education, and the type of residence community

<u>Education:</u>	research group (%)	the whole age-cohort (%)
- only elementary school	45.2	45.1
- more than elementary school, but less than matriculation examination	31.3	37.3
- matriculation examination, or a school that requires lower secondary diploma	19.1	15.6
- more than matriculation examination	4.2	2.0
<u>Type of community of the place of residence:</u>		
- urban (cities and towns)	45.9	52.5
- rural (rural communes)	54.1	47.5

The distributions of the research group do not differ significantly from the distributions of the whole age-cohort in chi-squared tests, other distributions of background variables are not comparable. This somewhat incomplete and inexact comparison gives, however, some support to the interpretation that our research group is more representative than is usually the case with respect to nonrandom samples. This might be due to the fact that military service in Finland is obligatory thus minimizing possible selective processes, although postponement of service, selection to special troops etc. may cause some bias.

By selecting persons from military service to form our research group we could totally eliminate the effect of sex and for the most part that of age, both of which are generally strong independent variables (cf. for instance, Takala 1965, and Sänkiäho 1973, p. 58). The elimination of the impact of these variables on norms makes it easier to extract more clearly the influence of those independent variables we are mainly interested in from the point of view of our theory. On the other hand this kind of sample restricts the generalizability of results. The socialization experiences of the age-cohort of the research group has been partly unique differing from those of other age groups (its basic socialization has occurred in the fifties about one decade after the Second World War). In this study our main concern is not, however, to estimate the parameters of a certain population but to subject the theoretical considerations to a preliminary empirical testing. This means that the study is partially exploratory in nature, and that conclusions drawn from the results based on the described research group are tentative until further confirmed by other, more exhaustive, materials. Also the use of the statistical tests of significance when taking into account the quality of the sample is not, according to the views of 'orthodox statisticians', wholly acceptable. In this study the tests of significance are used mainly to avoid paying too much attention to random effects (cf. Valkonen, 1971, pp. 105-109). We attempt to base our interpretations and conclusions more on the consistency of trends in results than on single statistical tests.

1.3. Research Problems and Hypotheses

The main purpose of this part of the study is to test the basic assumptions of the background theory, which can be tested by the collected materials. The specific research problems included in the research task and the hypotheses concerning each of the problems are presented below. The list of (i) problems in the form of questions, (ii) hypotheses as anticipated answers to these questions, and (iii) rationales for the hypotheses serves also as a summary of the principal points of the theoretical structure outlined in the background chapter.

A. Problems concerning the existence of the structural components of personal norms and the relations between them:

Problem A1: Do we find empirical elements which are congruent with the definitions of the components of personal norms?

Hypothesis A1: We will find empirical factors which can with justification be interpreted to represent the theoretical components defined in ch. 1.1.2.

Arguments for the hypothesis: The hypothesis is based on the assumption that different types of situational definitions included in culture are adopted into the personality systems through different learning processes forming the basis for the empirical existence of the components theoretically defined (see ch. 1.1.5. and figure 4.).

Problem A2: What are the relationships between the components: do they correlate with each other, or are they totally independent of each other?

Hypothesis A2: Although empirically distinct (i.e. discernible from each other), the components of personal norms (and normative expectations) have, in general, consistently positive correlations with one another.

Arguments for the hypothesis: According to certain well-established theories the personality system has a tendency toward psychological balance (cf. Heider 1946, Festinger 1957, Kohlberg 1969, see p. 6).

Problem A3: Do the components of personal norms correlate positively under all conditions?

Hypothesis A3: Despite the general tendency toward structural balance, the structure of a personal norm may, however, get into a state of imbalance, this being reflected in zero or negative correlations between the components of the norm.

Arguments for the hypotheses: Such kind of socialization conditions which cause disturbances in learning social norms also produce imbalanced personal norms in some groups. Furthermore, conditions inducing pressures on existing personal norms for change may cause zero or negative correlations between the components (see hypothesis B2 and examples in ch. 1.1.4., pp. (14-15)).

B. Problems concerning changes in personal norms:

Problem B1: Do the components differ from each other with respect to their resistance to change?

Hypothesis B1: The resistance to change is, on the average, strongest in the affective component and weakest in the cognitive component (the hypothesis of hierarchical change resistance, see p. 9).

Arguments for the hypothesis: This hypothesis is a summarizing conclusion from considerations concerning the learning processes that influence the formation of each component (see pp. 6-12).

Problem B2: Does the change of personal norms influence their structural balance?

Hypothesis B2: Because of the components' differential resistance to change the structure of a personal norm may get into a state of a more or less temporal imbalance during its change.

Arguments for the hypothesis: Hypothesis B2 is based on the hypothesis of hierarchical resistance to change (hypothesis B1).

C. Problems concerning the relations between the structures of personal norms and types of norm alienation, and relations within the latter:

Problem C1: Are the types of norm alienation as defined in ch. 1.1.4., pp. 11-12, independent of one another (i.e., do not correlate significantly with each other)?

Hypothesis C1: Uncertainty about norms and normlessness are independent types of norm alienation, which is reflected in a nonsigni-

ficant correlation between them.

Arguments for the hypothesis: Contrary to normlessness, in the case of norm uncertainty most of the cultural norms prevailing in one's socialization environments become more or less internalized, but due to inadequate learning conditions the internal sanctions remain rather unstructured. They are not clearly linked with certain stimuli and therefore become easily generalized over different situations and, besides uncertainty, are reflected in feelings of anxiety, etc.

Problem C2: If the types of norm alienation are independent of one another, have certain types of structures of personal norms a closer relationship with norm uncertainty than with normlessness?

Hypothesis C2: Those structures of personal norms in which a relatively strong affective component is in conflict with the behavioral or with both the behavioral and the cognitive component have a significant relationship with norm uncertainty but not with normlessness (see figure 2, p. 12).

Arguments for the hypothesis: The correlation of norm uncertainty with certain kind of norm structures specified above is thought to arise from the following kind of process: socialization conditions which do not foster relevant social learning (for instance, inconsistent sanctioning, unexplained sanctions etc.) \longrightarrow unstructured personal norms reflecting themselves in weak ability to discriminate situations when certain behavior is expected from situations when that kind of behavior is not expected \longrightarrow uncertainty about norms \longrightarrow inconsistent normative behavior \longrightarrow arousal of affective internal sanctions.

D. Problems concerning the factors influencing the formation of personal norms, their structural balance, and uncertainty about norms:

Problem D1: Are the factors influencing the formation of the affective, cognitive, and behavioral components the same, or are they different factors?

Hypothesis D1: The factors influencing most the affective, cognitive, and behavioral components are empirically, at least partially,

distinct from each other.

Arguments for the hypothesis: It is thought that the learning processes by which the components are formed differ from one another, and that this is reflected in the fact that the factors, explaining best the variance within each component, are to some extent different.

Problem D2: Do the factors influencing any one of the components also influence the structural balance of personal norms, and the level of uncertainty about norms?

Hypothesis D2: Most of the factors that influence any one of the components also have an effect on the balance of personal norms and on the level of norm uncertainty.

Arguments for the hypothesis: It is thought that factors which have an effect on any one of the components at the same time influence the relationships between the components, and through them the structural balance of personal norms, and through it further the level of norm uncertainty.

Problem D3: Do all the same factors which influence the structural balance of personal norms necessarily also affect the level of norm uncertainty?

Hypothesis D3: Though the factors that have an effect on the structural balance of personal norms also have, in general, an effect on the level of norm uncertainty, the latter effect does not necessarily occur, since it also depends, besides the above factors, on the factors influencing individual tolerance of ambiguity and conflict.

Arguments for the hypothesis: The relationship between the structural balance of personal norms and the level of uncertainty about norms is not one-to-one, although it is thought to be significant. The location of structural balance and norm uncertainty in a causal chain may be the following: certain type of socialization conditions -----> unstructured personal norms reflecting themselves in imbalanced norm structures (especially the structures in which the relatively strong affective component has zero or negative correlations with other components) -----> individual tolerance of ambiguity and conflict -----> a high level of norm uncertainty.

In this process individual tolerance of ambiguity and conflict is an intervening variable between the structural balance of personal norms and the level of norm uncertainty. Another possibility is that certain conditions of socialization produce both imbalanced norm structures and high uncertainty about norm so that these 'dependent variables' do not have any direct relationship with one another, i.e. the correlation between them is spurious, caused by common underflying factors.

All the hypotheses listed above cannot be directly tested by the empirical materials. However, also the hypotheses that cannot be directly tested can be partially and indirectly verified by the results.

1.4. Results

1.4.1. Testing the Conceptual Validity of Norm Components and Normative Expectations

By means of analyses performed we will try to test empirically the hypotheses listed in ch. 1.3. First we will deal with the conceptual validity of the norm components. We can ask the following question: Can we find empirical counterparts to the theoretical components? If the answer is affirmative as expected in hypothesis A1, it should be seen at the variable level as follows:

a) The original scales, which measure the same component in different acts, should correlate with each other more highly and consistently than scales measuring different components in the same act. (If the latter scales correlate more strongly, it means that clusters of acts and not the clusters of component scales are the primary factors, see appendices 2 and 3).

b) The original and total scores of the scales representing the same component should correlate with each other more strongly than with the scores of scales representing other components (cf. Campbell & Fiske 1959 and Marin 1969).

TABLE 3. Correlations between the total scores of norm scales

Comp./scale	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
1. affect. good-bad									
2. affect. pangs of conscience	<u>.45</u>								
3. cognit. valuable	.62	.33							
4. cognit. needful	.63	.38	<u>.82</u>						
5. behav. behavioral readiness	.33	.41	.28	.32					
6. behav. actual norm behavior	.25	.29	.25	.28	<u>.50</u>				
normative expectations:									
7. sanction readiness	.27	.47	.16	.19	.25	.12			
8. perceived social control	.30	.52	.23	.24	.24	.16	<u>.60</u>		

9. norm uncertainty	-.13	-.08	-.13	-.13	-.36	-.21	-.10	-.09	
10. amount of norm structures in balance	.11	.35	.07	.09	.48	.22	.20	.17	<u>-.17</u>

In the light of the correlations between the original scales, the first requirement seems to be fulfilled (see appendix 2). This can also be regarded as a justification for the formation of total scores. The second demand, with one exception, is met in correlations presented in table 3, which is arranged into the 'multitrait-multimethod' form (cf. Campbell and Fiske 1959). Only the scales of the affective component do not have the highest correlations with each other. This is probably due to the weakness of the scale 'good-bad' as an operational measure of the affective component. This scale seems to consist of both cognitive and affective elements, especially of the former. The example indicates that when we use undifferentiated scales such as 'good-bad' we cannot be sure which aspect of the norm concept has been measured. When a principal components analysis was carried out, based on total score correlations, the rotated empirical components could be interpreted as the expected theoretical components (see appendix 6). This analysis also indicated clearly that the components are empirically distinct from each other, although they correlate positively as expected according to hypothesis A2. Altogether we can conclude that the construct validity of the component measures seems to be fairly good.

We can also see from table 3 that norm uncertainty correlates negatively with the component scales and with the amount of balanced norms, as expected. Norm uncertainty, however, correlates only -0.08 (i.e. nonsignificantly) with the degree of internalization (pangs of conscience). This can be interpreted

as lending partial support to hypothesis C1 that norm uncertainty and normlessness are independent types of norm alienation. The correlation between norm uncertainty and the amount of balanced norm structures (see table 3) gives indirect support to the hypothesis C2 that imbalanced norm structures may be linked with feelings of uncertainty. Moreover, the strongest correlations of both norm uncertainty and the amount of balanced norm structures with the scales of the behavioral component also bear out the assumption that the direction of norm behavior is essential from the point of view of both uncertainty and structural balance of norms. These relationships will be further studied by comparing the first and the fourth quartile groups of the uncertainty score distribution. The relationship between the balance of norm structures and norm uncertainty alienation is not necessarily linear, therefore the correlations do not tell us which types of imbalanced structures are, in particular, connected to norm uncertainty. It is worth noting that the scale of behavioral readiness correlates fairly strongly (.50) with the actual norm behavior. This result is in accordance with the finding of Ajzen and Fishbein (1970) in the area of attitude that intentions are good predictors of overt behavior. The findings of Acock and DeFleur (1972) demonstrate tentatively that if we can also adequately measure situational factors in addition to intentions and include them in a statistical model, taking into account the interaction of intentions and situational conditions, we could arrive at still better predictions of overt behavior.

1.4.2. Preliminary Testing of Some Hypotheses by Comparing Extreme Groups of Norm Uncertainty

To get a clearer picture of the relationships between uncertainty feelings and different types of norm structure, extreme groups were constructed on the basis of the distribution of uncertainty scores. The discriminating power of this scale seems to be good in the light of item analyses (see appendix 4) and the reliability of the scale is also sufficient (0.70). The relationship between norm uncertainty and norm structures was studied first by comparing the groups in terms of the proportions of those having performed a given act and of those whose norm concerning the act in question is in a balance (table 4), and in terms of the means of the total scores of norm scales (table 5).

TABLE 4. Differences between the extreme groups of norm uncertainty with regard to the proportions of 'norm violators' and balanced norm structures

Act:	Proportion of those who have performed the act (per cent)			Proportion of those whose norm structure concerning the act is in balance (per cent)		
	High	Low	significance of the difference	High	Low	significance of the difference
Lying	41,3	28,2	.05	42,0	55,0	.05
Swearing	96,5	88,9	.01	30,1	35,7	-
Stealing	32,2	15,9	.001	66,4	82,3	.001
Marital infidelity	65,7	48,5	.01	30,8	46,2	.01
Fighting	41,1	23,4	.001	44,8	52,1	-
Maligning others	40,6	31,0	n.s.	62,9	74,9	.05
Excessive drinking	87,4	79,5	n.s.	39,2	42,3	-

We can see from table 4, that the scale of uncertainty has a good discriminating power also with regard to norm violations and the balance of norm structures. This and the clear differences between the groups in the distributions of background variables (appendix 5) indicate the validity of the scale, and give support to hypothesis C2 that norm uncertainty is related to the imbalance of norm structures. When we examined more closely, which types of imbalanced norm structures contained the greatest differences between groups (appendix 5), we found that they differed from each other according to the expectations of hypothesis C2 especially in such structures in which the behavioral or both the behavioral and cognitive components are in imbalanced relation with the rather strong affective component. Based on these results it seems that internal conflicts due to norm behavior contrary to the internalized norms are especially linked with uncertainty. It seems that the most general causes for unintentional, deviant behavior are:

a) A weak ability to distinguish whether the norm is prevailing or not, and to select between competing norms in the situation. This causes both norm uncertainty and inconsistent behavior with norms.

b) The factors directing behavior to violate internalized norms, such as the impulses for direct need satisfaction and certain situational factors, are stronger than the factors of internal control inhibiting norm violations.

TABLE 5. Differences between the extreme groups of norm uncertainty in the means of the total scores of norm scales

Component/scale:	Uncertainty about norms:		Significance of the difference	
	High	Low	t	p
aff. : good-bad	40,80	42,30	2,85	.01
" : pangs of conscience	30,91	32,71	2,12	.05
cogn. : useful-useless	38,21	40,65	3,17	.01
" : needful-needless	38,04	40,65	3,32	.01
behav. : behavioral readiness ₁	25,24	32,56	8,56	.001
" : actual norm behavior	4,12	3,30	4,95	.001
normal expect. : sanction readiness	22,62	24,25	1,75	n.s.
" : perceived social control	28,61	30,51	2,06	.05
the number of balanced structures	3,28	3,91	3,59	.001

1) the sum of norm violations; the direction of this scale is opposite to that of other scales.

In both cases the tendency to behave contrary to norms becomes generally linked with imbalanced norm structures and high level of norm uncertainty.

The results in table 5 further confirm the conclusion drawn above. The differences between the groups are most significant in the behavioral component and in the number of balanced norm structures indicating the association of norm uncertainty especially with these variables. The extreme groups were also compared by means of the symmetric transformation analysis (cf. Mustonen 1966) using the principal components matrices as starting points (see appendix 7). Based on this comparison, we conclude that in the group of high uncertainty the internal and external sanctions are not so closely integrated into the behavioral component as in the group of low uncertainty. This means that the internal and external sanctions are not very effective in inhibiting norm violations among people who are uncertain about norms.

The norms were further compared with regard to the distributions of those background variables (see appendix 5) which were assumed to influence norm components and the balance of structures. Also in this respect the differences between the groups are clear. In brief, the main differences were as follows: a greater proportion of the group having much uncertainty is from the countryside or small towns than in the group having a low level of uncertainty. The average level of education and the socio-economic status of the home are lower in the former group. Also, membership of a boy

gang is more common in this group. A greater proportion of parents of the high uncertainty group are ill and quarrelsome than in the group of low uncertainty. Lesser differences were found in variables concerning parental sanctioning. Thus the comparison of distributions of the background variables of the extreme groups indicated that the independent variables operationalized in this study apparently influence norm uncertainty and the structural balance of personal norms. However, this type of analysis does not, of course, tell us which are the most strongly influencing factors concerning each of the norm components, nor what is the explanatory proportion of each factor. This is analyzed in ch.1.4.4. for testing hypotheses D1 - D3.

1.4.3. Testing the Hypothesis of Hierarchical Change Resistance

The testing of hypothesis B1 concerning possible differences in the change resistance of the norm components is not possible using the empirical material gathered in this study. We can, however, test it preliminarily by means of material from another research project called "The extension of television to Finnish Lapland" (cf. Nordenstreng 1970). As a subproject the effects of television on personal norms were examined using the same kind of componential measurement as in this study (Olkinuora 1971). The panel design of the study contained two measurements with a time interval of one year. We can get a picture of the change resistance of the components by examining the correlations of the same variables between measurements in table 6 (also the correlation between measurements of the norm uncertainty scale is calculated. Correlations are calculated separately for two groups: TV-owners and non-owners, because of the potential impact of television on change processes.)

TABLE 6. Stability coefficients of the total scores of norm scales (correlations between repeated measurements)

The possession of TV at the point of time of the 2. measurement	Those having a TV-set (N 66)	Those not having a TV-set (N 43)
Component/scale: Affec.: pangs of conscience " : disapproval	.867 .710	.711 .758
Cogn.: useful-useless " valuable-worthless	.615 .258	.375 .170
Behav.: behavioral readiness	.608	.654
Normative expectations: sanction readiness perceived social control	.546 .676	.596 .747
Norm uncertainty	.282	.060

Stability coefficients seem to bear out the hypothesis of hierarchical change resistance. As expected, stability is greatest within the affective component. This is the most important observation concerning the part of the theory that deals with the change processes of norm structures. Nearly as high as the change resistance of the affective component scales is that of the scale of perceived social control. Taking this into account, as well as the results of factor analyses (see appendix 6), we can make the following interpretation: informal social control is experienced affectively and this forms the basis for the formation of the internal control which takes place through the internalization of the sanctions of external social control. The low stability of the uncertainty scores is interesting. According to our theory, changes in any one of the components may effect the structural balance of norms and, through it, the level of uncertainty. Therefore temporary changes of norm uncertainty are very probable. This does not exclude the possibility that, **for example, because of certain kind of socialization experiences or prevalent conditions, the uncertainty about norms remains permanent in some individuals or groups.**

1.4.4. Testing of Hypotheses Concerning Factors that Influence Personal Norms and Norm Uncertainty

In this chapter the validity of hypotheses D1 - D3 (see ch. 1.3.) is tested by empirical analyses. Included in these hypotheses are the following expectations:

- the factors that predict or best explain the variance of each of the components of personal norms are at least partially distinct from one another (this expectation is derived from one of the most basic assumptions of the background theory, i.e., the assumption that different components are formed through differing learning processes)

- most of the factors that influence any one of the components are expected to have an effect also on the structural balance of personal norms and on the level of uncertainty about norms

- though the factors affecting the structural balance of personal norms are expected to have an effect also on the level of norm uncertainty, the latter effect does not necessarily take place, since individually varying tolerance of ambiguity and conflict influences as an intervening variable how easily the structural imbalances become manifested as feelings of uncertainty.

Since the third of these expectations can be regarded as a specification of the second, it is not as important (as the first two expectations) from the point of view of the theory. In order to obtain information on the basis of which we can draw conclusions whether the hypotheses are supported or not by empirical facts, we needed methods of analysis which reveal the explanatory power of each of the independent variables concerning each of the dependent variables. The selection of the method is not, however, a simple or easy task since the typical problems of survey research that make the analysis of data complicated and often less accurate, are also apparent in this study:

- a great number of independent variables
- a problem of multicollinearity, i.e., the independent variables correlate with one another
- some of the independent variables are measured on the level of a nominal scale
- it is probable that a part of the explained variance of dependent variables is composed of the interaction effects of independent variables, which means that a method of analysis based on a nonadditive statistical model may be more relevant than an additive one. A further problem is, however, which interactions of all possible ones should be included in the model for tests of significance, since due to numerous independent variables the number of possible combinations of interacting variables is very great. There are two basic lines in trying to find a solution to this problem. One is to select on a theoretical basis those interactions to the model one expects to be significant. The other is to use such a method of analysis which selects certain interactions to the model on empirical basis making use of the collected data and statistical criteria.

Taking into account the points of view above, it was regarded that in principle the following two methods of analysis are most suitable for our purposes: Cohen's (1968) adaptation of multiple regression analysis where the independent variables measured with a nominal scale are used as predictors in a 'dummy-coded' form, and AID-analysis (Automatic Interaction Detector, see Sonquist, J.A. & Morgan, J.N. 1964, and Sonquist 1970). AID - computer program is included in the so-called "OSIRIS-package" developed by the Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan). At the point of time when the empirical analysis for the verification of hypotheses D1 - D3 became topical for the first time, the computer program for AID-analysis was not available for use, therefore the analyses were first carried

out by means of Cohen's adaptation of multiple regression analysis. Conclusions concerning the validity of hypotheses D1 - D3 will be based, however, in the first place on the results of AID-analyses, which are therefore presented in the text-part, whereas the results of regression analyses grounded on 'dummy-coded' independent variables are illustrated in appendix 8 serving as cross-check criteria for the results of AID. This solution is due to the following reasons:

- AID-analysis is especially planned to take into account the typical problems of survey-analysis mentioned above, which are present also in this study

- in Cohen's adaptation of regression analysis the order of adding independent variables one at a time into the group of predictors influences the estimation of the main effects of each predictor, when the predictors correlate with one another. The main effects of the independent variables taken first as predictors are easily overestimated, because they also contain the explanatory power of that part of the variance which covaries with the other independent variables taken as predictors later on. The main effects of the latter variables indicate the relationship of only that part of their variance with the variance of the criterion which does not covary with the preceding predictors. Since we could not add the independent variables as predictors in the order we had wanted to (in the program we had to use, the order of adding is the same as the order of the independent variables in the columns of punched cards), it may have caused a certain bias in estimating the effects of each predictor.

- In Cohen's adaptation one has to choose in advance on the basis of theoretical assumptions which interactions one wants to test in the analysis, since in order to make these tests possible one has to include in the predictors the cross-products of those dummy-codes which represent the independent variables assumed to interact. Because of the vast amount of possible interactions in the case of a great number of independent variables many interactions, which, contrary to expectations, are in fact significant, may not be tested. On the other hand, the analysis of AID tests empirically all possible interactions against specified levels of significance, and may therefore reveal unexpected interactions and thus produce new information which may be fruitful from the point of view of the further development of the theory under verification.

- the tree pattern that can be drawn as a summary of the results of AID is very illustrative and easier to interpret than the results of regression analysis in the case of many intercorrelating independent variables.

The analysis of AID is grounded on the following kind of processes and criteria: The analysis proceeds as a partitioning process beginning with first splitting the whole sample into two subgroups in the direction of that independent variable which can best explain the variance of the dependent variable. In the following steps each of these new groups are again divided into two subgroups, each of these into two subgroups and so on until none of the groups can be further divided on account of the following criteria:

- the number of cases in the group does not exceed a certain limit set in advance (in our case the minimum size of the group had to be 20 persons to be eligible for further splitting)

- the group cannot be divided into two new groups such that the difference between their means in the dependent variable exceeds a certain level of significance in a one-way analysis of variance (in our case the minimum level of significance in the F-test had to be .05)

The process of AID resembles that of the stepwise regression analysis. In each step the group having the largest proportion of unexplained variance in the dependent variable is first tried for further splitting. In selecting the independent variable in the direction of which splitting will take place, the criterion is the biggest value of between sums of squares (BSS) in the one-way analyses of variance. After selecting a certain independent variable as the basis for splitting, the program seeks an optimal breaking point for division within the independent variable so that the variance between the new subgroups in the dependent variable will be maximized, and the variance within the groups minimized. This is also grounded on the values of between sums of squares.

When examining the results of AID- analyses we will first go through the results concerning each of the dependent variables, and then the conclusions about the validity of hypotheses D1 - D3 are presented, based on a summary of these results.

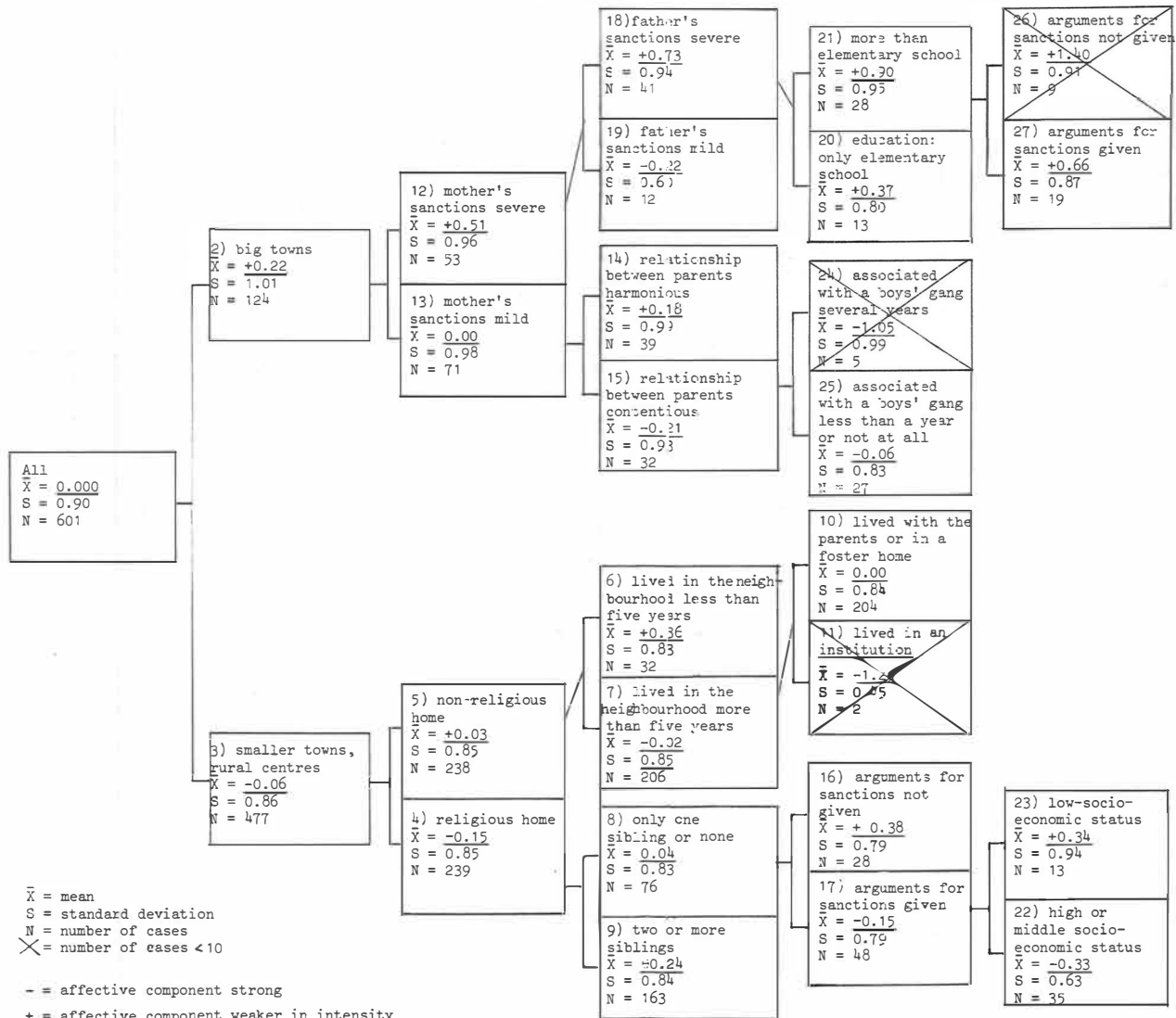
1.4.4.1. Factors that Influence the Affective Component

On the basis of the AID-analysis in which the principal component score representing the theoretical affective component was a dependent variable, the type of the community of the place of residence seems to have the best explanatory power with respect to the whole research group (see table 7.1.). This bears out the interpretation that there is so much variation in socialization conditions (for instance, in the degree of pressure toward conformity) along the dimension urban-rural that it is reflected in the intensity of internalization of norms at the individual level, too. A certain kind of further evidence about the influence of the community level factors is the fact that the number of years of living in small towns or in the countryside (see groups 6 and 7) also has an effect of its own on the affective component of personal norms. "The cutting point lies "between the cities with a population of over 50 000 vs. smaller towns and countryside. Thus it seems that "the urban way of life" is associated with ecological conditions of larger cities. The way of life in smaller cities may not differ much from that in rural communities. In addition to the type of community the variables describing parental sanctions are best in explaining the differences in the strength of the affective component, which seems to indirectly support the assumption that the affective component is formed mainly through a process of conditioning during childhood. Also the religiousness of the childhood home is linked with the average intensity of internal affective sanctions in certain subgroups, which is not surprising. Though there are also other independent variables, which become selected as criteria for further splits in some steps, they have much less significance in explaining the variance of affective norm responses than the variables mentioned above.

Relatively weak is the degree of internalization in subgroup 21 (we do not take into account, in this connection those subgroups where the number of cases is under 10). This group is characterized by the following traits: big city as a place of residence, severe sanctions of father and mother, and more than elementary school as educational background. Relatively strong is the affective component in subgroups 9 and 22. The former is characterized by a small town or a rural community as a place of residence, religious home and having at least two siblings,

TABLE 7. AID-analyses

7.1. Affective component (12.7 % of variance explained)



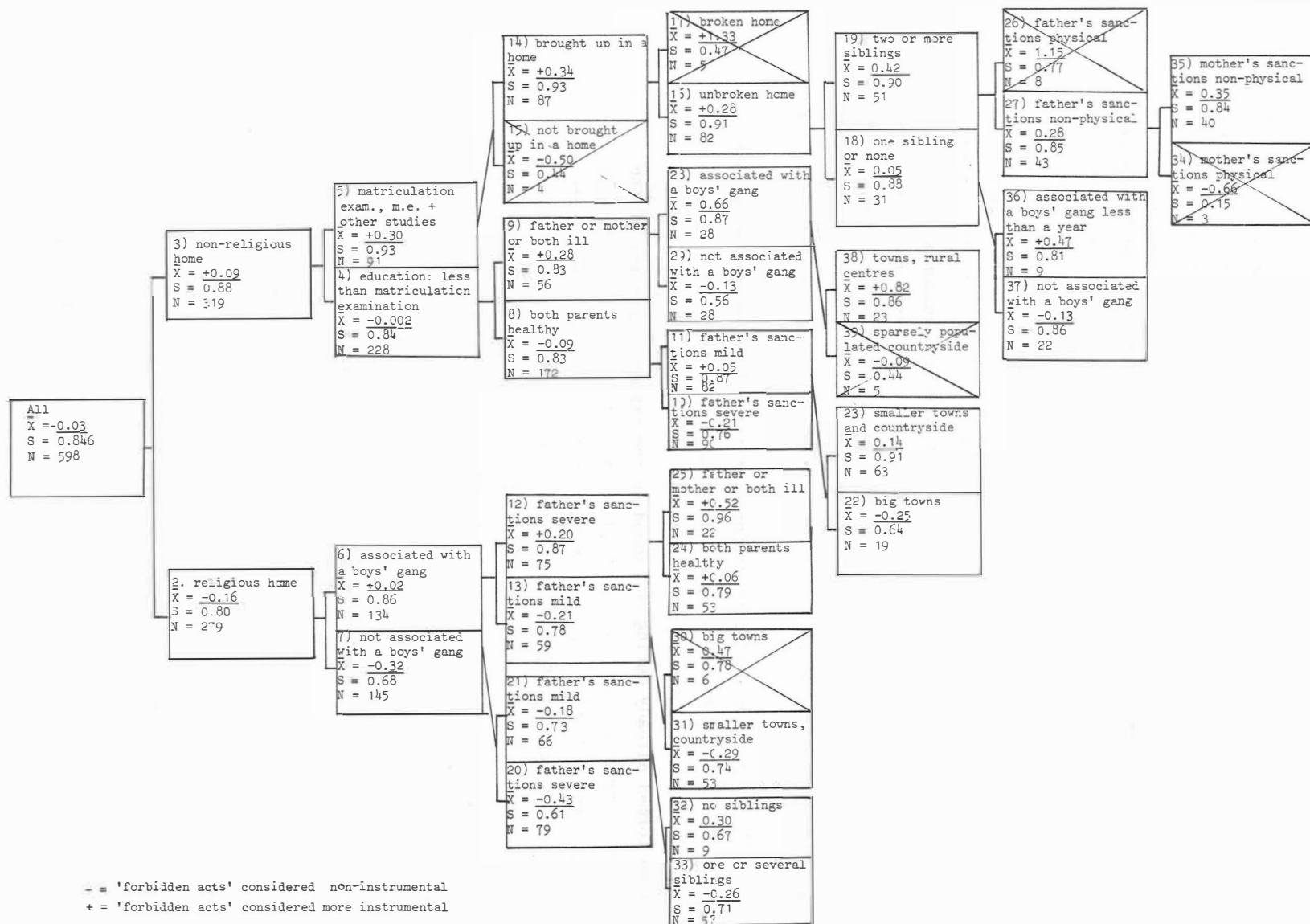
the latter in addition to the first two of the aforementioned traits, by having few or no siblings, the use of arguments for parental sanctions and middle class social background. Also on these points the results are in accordance with expectations. If we also take into account the groups in which the number of cases is under ten, we observe that particularly strong affective component seems to be linked with a long-time membership of a deviant subculture (group 24) and/or being brought up in an institution (group 11). Especially low is the average degree of internalization (implying possible normlessness) in group 26 which is characterized by parental sanctions used without explanations in addition to the traits expressed earlier to be linked with a weak affective component. Although generalizing results based on very small groups is questionable, the AID-analysis may reveal interesting special groups, which can be characterized by exceptional conditions of childhood socialization becoming reflected in either noninternalization or in neurotically strong internalization of norms.

The proportion explained variance of the affective norm reactions (12,7 %) remained rather low, which may be due to the following reasons: (i) if the basic level of norm internalization, for the most part, has been formed already during childhood as the explanatory power of the parental sanctions would indicate, then we must explain the intensity of the present affective component mainly by factors of earlier points of time. In this kind of ad hoc-explanation the proportion of explained variance is not generally high. (ii) The fairly gross way of measuring parental sanctions may lead us to estimate their explanatory power to be weaker than it is in reality. (iii) The intensity of our affective reactions may be also determined by other factors than those of the socialization environment (for instance, the sensitivity of one's autonomous nerve system determined by genetic factors). Since the tree pattern is not symmetric, and the proportion of explained variance in AID-analysis is 3,6 per cent units higher than in Cohen's adaptation of regression analysis, we conclude that a great proportion of the explanatory power of independent variables is composed of their interaction effects.

1.4.4.2. Factors that Influence Cognitive Component

The standardized score from the principal component analysis is used as a dependent variable in the AID-analysis concerning the cognitive component. The complex and asymmetric form of the tree pattern and the

7.2. Cognitive component (19.24 % of variance explained)



fact that in the AID-analysis the proportion of explanation (19,24 %) is much higher than in the regression analysis of the cognitive component (8,7 %, see Appendix 8) points to a considerable share of interaction effects in the explained variance. This makes the pattern somewhat complicated to interpret, but the following observations may be made:

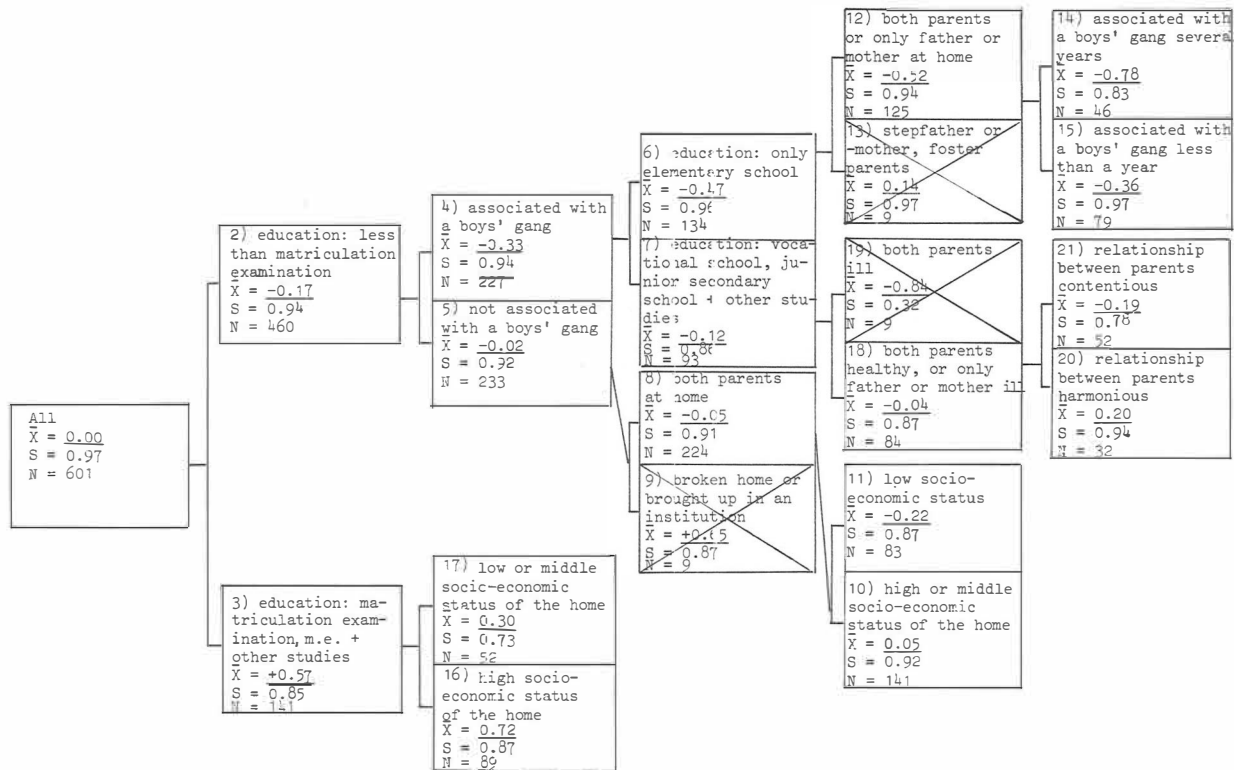
- the explanatory powers of the religiousness of the childhood home, the type of residence community, and a membership of a boys' gang are nearly equal across the whole research group. The value of between sums of squares of the religiousness of the home (2,05) is only slightly higher in the first step than that of the other two variables (2,04 for each).
- if we take into account all steps it seems that membership of a boys' gang is the most important of the independent variables concerning the cognitive component. Those having been a member of a boys' gang regard the performances of 'forbidden acts' as more instrumental from the point of view of their own wants and objectives than those who have not been associated with a boys' gang (cf. groups 6 vs. 7, 28 vs. 29, and 36 vs. 37). This result is in accordance with expectations, since as was mentioned in the background chapter, the values and norms of gang subcultures are often antagonistic to those of a larger society, being reflected in cognitive evaluations of instrumentality of various acts.
- severe sanctions of the father are generally linked with regarding forbidden acts as noninstrumental (see groups 10 vs. 11, 20 vs. 21, and 26 vs. 27), but if one has been a member of a boys' gang the relationship between the severity of father's sanctions and perceived instrumentality of the acts in question is the reverse (see groups 12 vs. 13), indicating the existence of an interaction effect. It may be that in some cases, the father's severe sanctions arouse defiance which is reinforced in a boys' gang, which defies as a group the values and norms of authorities (parents, teachers, etc.). Otherwise the significance of parental sanctions in explaining the variance of the cognitive component is not as great as in explaining the individual differences in the affective component.
- those living in urban communities or in rural centres in most cases regard, performing the evaluated acts as more instrumental than those living in sparsely populated countryside (see groups 30 vs. 31 and 38 vs. 39) with the exception that the difference of the means is reversed, when group 11 is further partitioned into groups 22 and 23, indicating again the existence of an interaction effect.

- in addition to the variables mentioned above the health of one's parents and the level of education seem to have a clear effect on the cognitive component. However, the influence of the level of education is smaller than was expected.

- the acts included in the questionnaire are regarded, on the average, as most noninstrumental in group 20 (if we do not take into account those groups having less than ten cases) which can be described by the following traits: religious home, has not been a member of a boys' gang, and father's sanctions severe. On the other hand, the acts have been regarded as least instrumental in subgroup 38, characterized by non-religious home, low average level of education, father or mother or both parents ill, membership of a boys' gang, and the place of residence in a town or rural centre. If we also take into account subgroups of less than ten cases, it seems that a childhood in a broken home (see group 17) and physical sanctions of the father (group 26) are linked with a strong suspicion concerning the instrumentality of behaving according to certain prohibition norms.

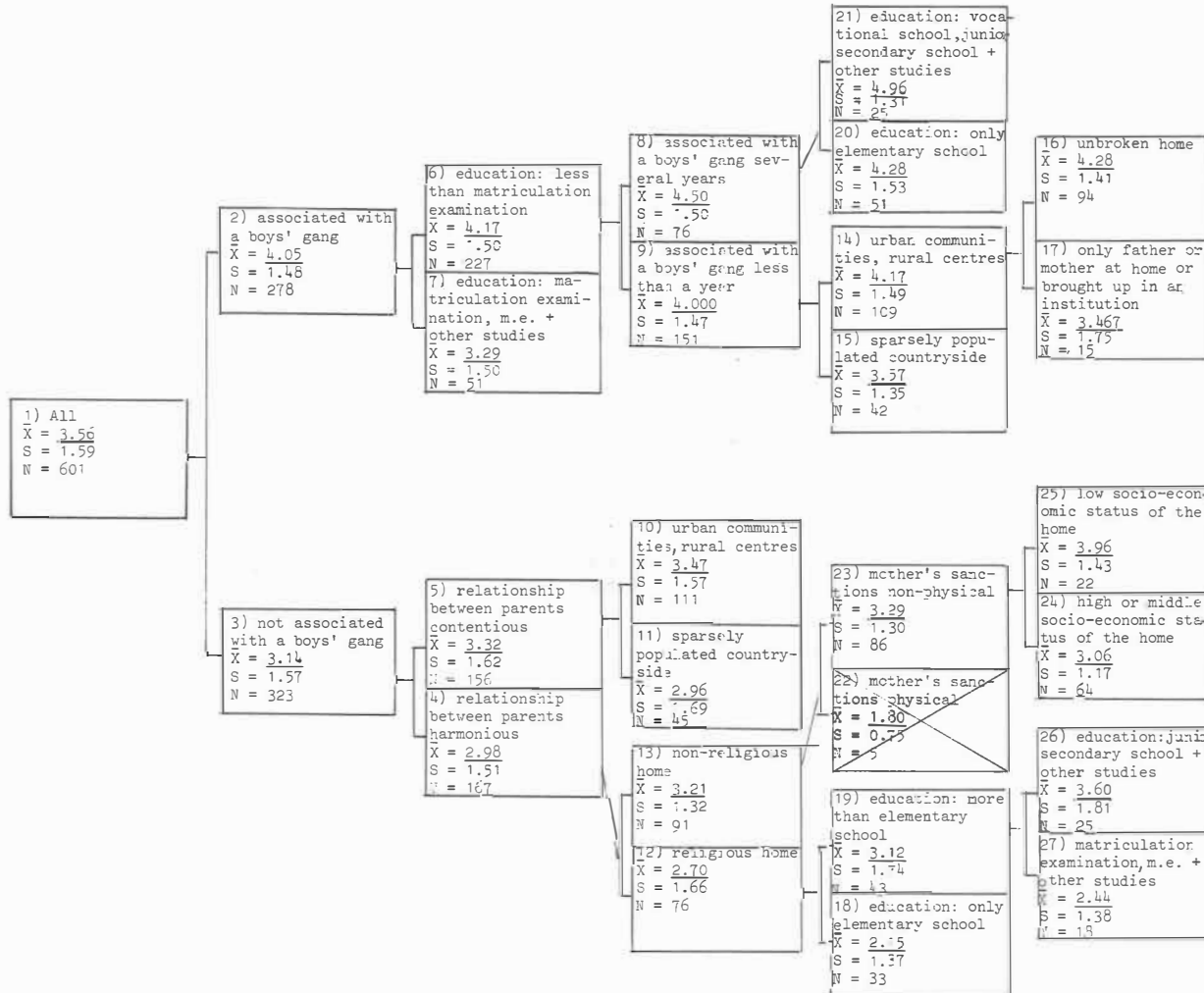
1.4.4.3. Factors that Influence Behavioral Component

We will first study the results of the AID-analysis of the behavioral readiness (see Table 7.3.) and then those of the actual norm behavior (see Table 7.4.). After this, conclusions will be made about the similarity versus dissimilarity of the factors that influence each of these indicators of the behavioral component. The tree pattern of Table 7.3., the values of between sums of squares in the first step, and the values of squared beta-coefficients of the variables which became selected to the AID-model, indicate that the level of education, membership of a boys' gang and the socio-economic status of the home have clearly the best explanatory power among the independent variables with respect to the behavioral readiness. Among these the share of the level of education in explaining the variance of behavioral intentions seems to be much greater than that of the others. A low level of education is, on the average, linked with a greater readiness to perform 'a forbidden act' in a certain situation than in the groups having more education (see groups 2 vs. 3, and 6 vs. 7). Also membership of a boys' gang and low socio-economic status of the home are associated with intentions less consistent with prohibition norms (see groups 4 vs. 5, 14 vs. 15, and 16 vs. 17, 19 vs. 11). Most consistent with these norms are the intentions in group 16, characterized by high level of education and high



- = behavioral intentions less consistent with norms
 + = behavioral intentions consistent with norms

7.4. Actual norm behavior (number of norm violations, 16.78 % of variance explained)



socio-economic background. The self-assessed probability to perform 'forbidden acts' is high in group 14, including persons having only elementary school education, having been associated with a boys' gang several years, and who have at home both parents or only mother or father. If we also take into account the groups of less than ten cases, it seems that physical or mental illness of both parents is linked with intentions inconsistent with prohibition norms (see group 19). The tree pattern of behavioral readiness is fairly clear with regard to interpretation, since the proportion of interaction effects in the explained variance of behavioral intentions seems to be smaller than is the case concerning the AID-analysis of the actual norm behavior.

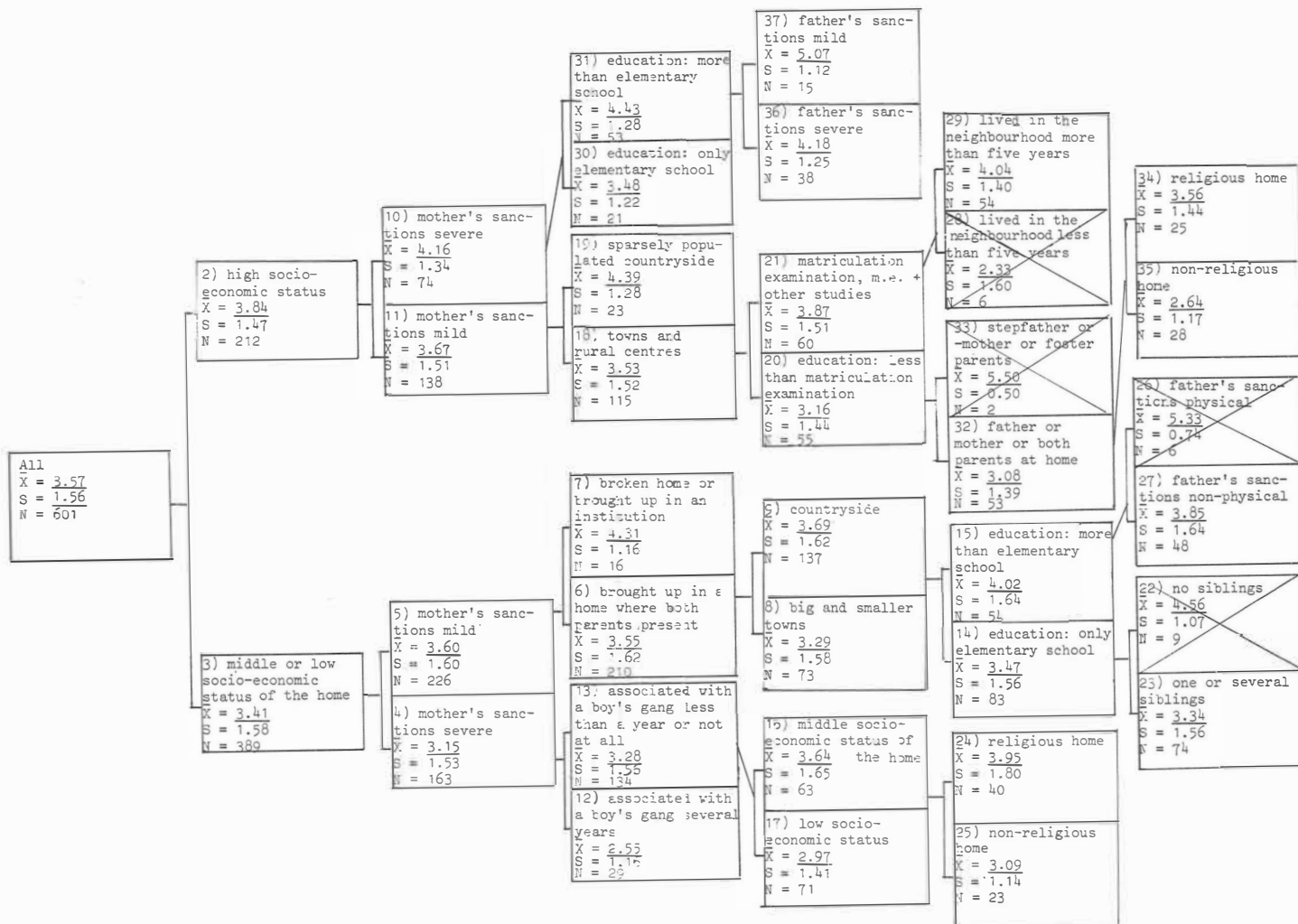
When we compare the results of both indicators of the behavioral component with each other, the following observations and interpretations arise: the level of education, which was the best predictor of behavioral intentions, loses its explanatory power when the actual norm behavior is taken as a dependent variable, whereas membership of a boys' gang turns out to have the best explanatory power of the independent variables in this case. The relationship of the level of education with the behavioral readiness seemed in the light of means to be linear, but its relationship with the actual norm behavior is curvilinear. When those having only elementary school education are more ready to perform acts against the prohibition norms than those having more than elementary school but less than matriculation examination as educational background, their actual behavior is, however, more conformable to the norms than of the latter group (see e.g. groups 18 vs. 19, and 20 vs. 21 in table 7.4.). This interesting phenomenon may have something to do with the mechanisms of social control, so that those having only elementary education background find it useful or rewarding to be conformists in concrete situations. This interpretation can be based on the following findings: when we analyzed the results concerning the respondents with three months of military service, we found that the self-assessed probability to be caught when violating army norms was much higher among those having only elementary education than among those having more education. The finding of Jaakkola (1965) that the frequencies of violating law norms of different social classes are nearly equal, but the risk of being caught is higher among lower classes, indicates that the reported subjective expectations have an objective, real basis. The type of one's residence community did not become selected to the AID-model of behavioral readiness, but becomes selected to the AID-model of the actual norm behavior. A higher degree of urbanization seems to be linked with a greater number of norm violations (see groups 10 vs. 11, and 14 vs. 15) so that the cutting point occurs between sparsely populated countryside

versus more urban communities. This relationship at the individual level is congruent with the ecological correlations, which indicate that the frequency of violations of law norms increases as a function of the degree of urbanization defined according to the size and density of population (cf. Kämäräinen, K. 1970). The number of norm violations is greatest among those having been associated with a boys' gang several years and having more than elementary school but less than matriculation examination as their educational background (see split 21). Rather small is the number of norm violations among those not having been associated with a boys' gang, the relationship of their parents being harmonious (not quarrelsome), having a religious home and only elementary school education (see group 18). If we also take into account the groups with less than ten cases, so the number of norm violations is smallest group 22, which can be characterized by not having been a member of a boys' gang, harmonious relationship between parents, nonreligious home, and physical sanctions of the mother. As a summarizing conclusion concerning the factors that influence the two operational measures of the behavioral component representing its different levels, the level of intentions on the one hand and the level of intentions manifested in actual behavior on the other hand, we state that most of the factors that influence each of the two measures are the same, but the orders of importance of factors having a significant effect on both of them are rather dissimilar.

1.4.4.4. Factors that Influence Structural Balance of Personal Norms

As a dependent variable representing the structural balance of personal norms we have used in the AID-analysis the number of balanced norm structures, which is based on a coding system described earlier (in ch. 1.2.1., p. 34). The complex structure of the tree pattern and the higher proportion of explained variance in the AID analysis (16.56 %) compared with that in the regression analysis (9,73 %) points to the importance of interaction effects as was the case also concerning the cognitive component. The socio-economic status of the home seems to have the highest explanatory power among the independent variables, and it became selected as the basis for partitioning in the first step. Its correlation with the number of balanced norm structures is positive so that a higher socio-economic background is associated with a greater average number of balanced norm structures (see groups 2 vs. 3, and 16 vs. 17). In addition to the socio-economic background, the level of education, mother's sanctions, religiousness of the home, and the type of one's residence community seem to be essential factors from the point of view of the balance of personal norms. The direction of the effect of mother's sanctions on this variable is determined in interaction with the socio-economic background (see groups 10 vs. 11, and 4 vs. 5). Similar to the socio-economic status of the home, also the level of education has a positive relationship with the number of balanced structures according to AID (see groups 30 vs. 31, 20 vs. 21, and 14 vs. 15). Those living in countryside seem to have, on the average more balanced norm structures than those living in towns and cities (see groups 8 vs. 9, and 18 vs. 19). The fact that in a certain part of the research group (see subgroup 21) the average number of balanced norms of those who have moved rather recently to the community is lower than among those who have been living in the present place of residence a longer time (see groups 28 vs. 29) supports partially our assumptions presented in the background (see pp. 14-15) that moving from one normative environment to a new, different environment may produce, at least temporal, imbalance in personal norms during their change. This evidence is not, however, sufficient, since the effect could be seen only in a small group within the whole research group, and we cannot be sure that it is really produced by the migration to new surroundings. If we do not take into account groups having less than ten cases, the average number of balanced norm structures is the highest in group 37 characterized by high socio-economic status of the home, severe sanctions of the mother, mild

7.5. Number of balanced norm structures (16.56 % of variance explained);

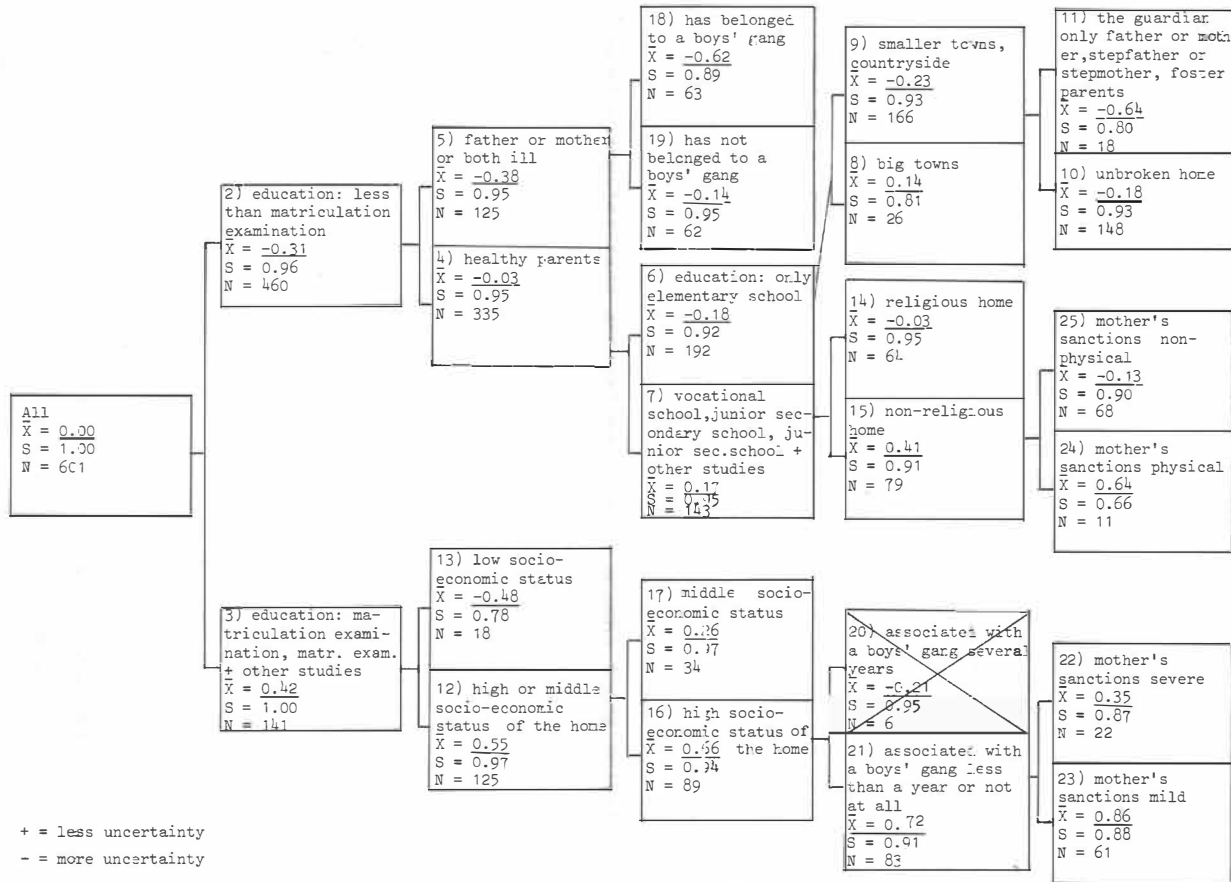


sanctions of the father, and more than elementary school education. Lowest is the mean of the number of balanced structures in group 12, characterized by low or middle socio-economic status of the home, severe sanctions of the mother, and long-term membership of a boys' gang.

1.4.4.5. Factors that Influence Level of Norm Uncertainty

The factors that influence the level of norm uncertainty are, in accordance with expectations, (see Table 7.6.) largely the same as the factors influencing the balance of norm structures, but in this case the proportion of interactions in the explained variance is clearly smaller, making the structure of the tree pattern more simple. The level of education and the socio-economic status of the home are the most important factors concerning both of the dependent variables mentioned above, but now the level of education became selected as the basis for partitioning in the first step instead of the social background, which was the criterion for the first partitioning with respect to the structural balance of personal norms. The tree pattern of norm uncertainty resembles most that of behavioral readiness. This could be expected on the basis of earlier results. It further confirms the conclusion about common underlying factors that influence behavioral dispositions, structural balance of personal norms and the level of norm uncertainty producing significant relationships between these variables that can be seen in correlations in Table 3 (p. 50) and in differences between extreme groups of norm uncertainty in Tables 4 and 5. However, the result that those living in the countryside have, on the average, fewer imbalanced norm structures than those living in towns or cities (see groups 8 vs. 9 and 18 vs. 19 in Table 7.5.) but that their average level of norm uncertainty is higher than that of urban residents (see groups 8 vs. 9 in Table 7.6.) seems to be in conflict with the above interpretation. It may however be valid and the conflict may turn out to be spurious, when we take into account the following facts: the comparison of distributions of extreme groups of norm uncertainty concerning certain types of imbalanced structures indicated that the kind of structures in which the behavioral or both the behavioral and cognitive components are in conflict with a rather strong affective component are especially linked with norm uncertainty (see the last page of Appendix 5). These types of imbalanced norm structures arise when one has internalized the norms, but for some reason behaves against them. The circumstances inducing behavior incongruent with norms also bring about high uncertainty about norms.

7.6. Uncertainty about norms (20.00 % of variance explained)



Since the average degree of internalization of norms is higher among those living in rural communities or in small towns (as can be seen from Table 7.1.) it is probable that if they have imbalanced norm structures most of these structures are the types outlined above and are reflected in a rather high average level of norm uncertainty. Altogether, it is quite possible that in a certain subgroup the total number of imbalanced structures is lower than in some other group, but the number of those structures especially linked with a high level of norm uncertainty is higher than in that other group and is then seen also in higher mean of norm uncertainty. Interesting is the finding that the average level of norm uncertainty of those having at least matriculation examination as their educational background and coming from homes of low socio-economic status (see group 13) is much higher than that of the whole research group. This seems to refer to the effect of a kind of status inconsistency. Because of a high level of education one is moving up 'the social ladder' but is not adequately trained in the environment to his new status position, which arouses uncertainty about norms. When we pay attention to the groups having either a very high (groups 18 and 11) or very low mean of norm uncertainty we find the kind of accumulation of 'good vs. poor' socialization conditions (i.e., amount of possibilities and abilities for relevant learning of social norms and roles) that was expected on the basis of Kohlberg's (op,cit.) theory of social development to influence norm alienation (see pp. 30-31).

1.4.4.6. Summarizing Conclusions

The description of the results of AID-analyses has revealed several interesting facts and details, but the main purpose of these analyses was to subject hypotheses DI-D3 to an empirical test. In order to obtain a clear picture about whether they gain support or not, a summary of the main lines of AID-results is presented in Table 8. When we compare it with the summary of regression analyses serving as a cross-check for the former (see Appendix 8.)¹⁾ we hope to arrive at quite unbiased conclusions concerning the effect of the independent variables on the dependent variables. We will first examine the validity of hypothesis DI, which includes the expectation that the factors which explain or predict best different components of personal norms are at least partially distinct from each other. When we study the summary in Table 8 in the light of this expectation, it is reasonable to pay greatest attention to those variables having a good or fair explanatory power (marked by XXX and XX), and especially to those underlined since they have a good explanatory

1) The following independent variables included in AID-analyses were not included in regression analyses: number of siblings, number of years of living in the present place of residence, 'normality vs. exceptionality' of one's growing environment (see item 1.22 in Appendix 1), and religiousness of the childhood home. In order to diminish the number of independent variables and thus to make the regression analysis less laborious, these variables assumed to be less important were left out.

TABLE 8. Estimated significance of each independent variable in explaining the variance of each of the dependent variables on the basis of AID-analyses; a schematic summary

74.

Independent variable:	Dependent variable in the AID-analysis:	Affective component	Cognitive component	Behavioral component:		Structural balance of personal norms	Norm uncertainty
				behavioral readiness	actual norm behavior		
Socio-economic status of the home		X		XX	X	<u>XXX</u>	XXX
Degree of urbanization of the place of residence		<u>XX</u>	XXX			XX	X
Number of years of living in the present place of residence		X				XX	
Integration of the 'nuclear family' (quarrelling)		X	X	XX	XX	X	
Number of siblings		X	XX			X	
Level of education			XX	<u>XXX</u>	XXX	<u>XXX</u>	<u>XXX</u>
Physical and mental health of parents			XX	X			XX
Father's sanctions		XX	XXX			XX	X
Mother's sanctions		XX	X		X	XXX	XX
Arguments for sanctions		XX					
'Normality vs. exceptionality' of one's growing environment		X	XX	X	X	X	XX
Membership of a boys' gang		X	XXX	XXX	<u>XXX</u>	X	XXX
Religiousness of the childhood home		X	<u>XXX</u>		X	XX	XX
Proportion of explained variance in per cents		12,72	19,24	18,96	18,78	16,56	20,00

Estimates of the explanatory power of the independent variables are based on squared beta-coefficients of the whole AID-model (i.e., taking into account all steps):

XXX = good (squared beta more than 2,00) XX = fair (more than 1,00 less than 2,00) X = some expl. power (over 0,50 less than 1,00) if underlined, the independent variable in question has been selected as the basis for partitioning in the first step (i.e., its explanatory power is the greatest within the whole research group)

power with respect to the whole research group and not only in some of its subgroups. When taking this into account, hypothesis D1 seems to be clearly supported. The factors that best explain the variance of each norm component differ from each other. In addition to this, the order of importance of those factors having a significant association with all of the components varies from one component to another. The conclusion about the validity of hypothesis D1 is also in accordance with the results of regression analyses.

Thus it seems that different component of personal norms are formed in learning processes which differ from one another. This does not presuppose that the factors influencing different components are totally distinct from each other, since as Kohlberg (op.cit.) says the development of affections, cognitions and behavioral dispositions takes place on a common basis; it indicates, rather, differences in the significance of the same factors from the point of view of different components (the formulation of our expectations included in hypothesis D1 refers to these differences in order of importance when we say that factors best explaining the variance of different components are distinct from each other). According to hypothesis D2 we expect that most of the factors influencing any one of the norm components also have an effect on the structural balance of personal norms and on the level of norm uncertainty. The answer to this expectation is not quite clear. However, in the light of summaries in Table 8 and in Appendix 8 the hypothesis seems to be partially supported by the results, but at the same time they seem to warrant a further specification and reformulation. The following reformulation seems to fit better the empirical results: most of the factors influencing any one of the components have also some effect on the structural balance of personal norms and on norm uncertainty, but especially important from this point of view are those that influence the behavioral component. As was stated in connection with AID-analyses concerning the indicators of the behavioral component, the quality and direction of behavioral dispositions seem to be crucial from the point of view of the balance of personal norm and uncertainty about norms. We do not know, however, what the mechanism is by which the association between the aforementioned variables is formed. There are two probable alternatives for the mechanism, which can be presented in the form of causal chains as follows:

- a) certain kind of socialization conditions ———> behavioral dispositions
 consistent with vs. inconsistent with internalized norms ———> personal
 norms balanced vs. imbalanced ———> high vs. low level of norm uncertainty
- b)
- certain kind of soc- ———> certain kind of behavioral dispositions
 ialization conditions ———> balanced vs. imbalanced personal norms
 ———> certainty vs. uncertainty about norms

In the arguments for hypothesis D3 we have preferred the former alternative, in which the dependent phenomena are thought to be located at different points of the time dimension, whereas in the second alternative they are thought to occur simultaneously. In fact hypothesis D3 is a specification of hypothesis D2 based on the logic of the first alternative presented above, and therefore its validity depends on the empirical existence of the outlined mechanism.

Thus, if hypothesis D3 receives support it might mean that the first alternative is more probable. We see from the summaries that the physical and mental health of parents influences the level of norm uncertainty fairly strongly, whereas its effect on structural balance is not significant. We can assume that the health of one's parents belongs to the category of factors having an effect on individual tolerance of ambiguity and conflict. If this is the case, then hypothesis D3 can be interpreted to have received some support. However, this kind of evidence is too uncertain for us to be sure about the validity of hypothesis D3. Therefore the question of the most probable mechanism that links with each other behavioral dispositions, structural balance of personal norms and the level of norm uncertainty, remains without a definite answer.

In hypothesis D1 we did not specify which are the factors that we expect to influence most each of the components, but this was done in the background review in discussions concerning the formation of norm components (see ch. 1.1.3.). We can now compare the congruence of these expectations with the empirical results summarized in Table 8. With respect to the affective component it was expected (see pp. 6-7) that the sanctions of socializing agents, especially those of the parents, have a central role in its formation. The fact that the explanatory power of all sanction variables was fair fits well these expectations. The rather strong effect of the degree of urbanization of one's place of residence may indicate that there are differences e.g. in the pressure towards conformity between the various types of community and these differences in the strictness of informal social control

influence the processes of conditioning by which the basic level of internalization is thought to be formed.

Most of the factors expected to influence the cognitive component strongly (see pp. 7-9), in fact, explain well the variance of the operational scale representing the component in question with the exception that the socio-economic status of the home did not have the expected effect (it was thought mainly on the basis of Merton's theory of anomie that in lower social strata the instrumentality of behaving according to the 'legal norms' is more doubted). Also the effect of the use of arguments for sanctions was expected to be considerable, but in empirical analyses its effect did not come into sight at all.

Most of the factors influencing the affective or cognitive component were expected to also have an effect on the behavioral component, but these expectations were not totally fulfilled. For instance, the effect of parental sanctions was nearly invisible in the empirical analysis of the two operational scales of the behavioral component. It may be that if the behavioral patterns radically change whenever one enters a new age role, at the age of about twenty years the parental sanctions, important determinants of behavior in childhood, are no longer good predictors of the present behavioral dispositions which are now determined more e.g., by the sanctions of peer groups and by other norm authorities than parents. Also the effect of 'the normality vs. exceptionality' of one's nearest socialization environment in childhood, found in many studies to be linked with tendency to deviant behavior, was smaller than expected. On the basis of what has been presented so far in this chapter it can be concluded that the main lines of the results are in agreement with the expectations expressed in hypotheses D1 and D2, but with respect to the details presented above the results are not fully congruent with the more specific expectations. These deviations serve as a useful empirical feed-back for further development and specification of the theory.

It is interesting from the methodological point of view to compare with one another the interpretations from the summaries of AID and regression analyses (see Appendix 8) concerning the effect of each independent variable on each dependent variable. We can say that from the viewpoint of the hypotheses under verification the results obtained from both types of analysis are very much in the same direction. But there are also some differences that are worth noting. It seems that because of the importance of the order of including independent variables in the group of predictors, the effects of certain independent variables become overestimated (for

instance, the effect of the degree of urbanization of the place of residence concerning some dependent variables) in regression analyses. The AID-analysis seems to be more effective, according to the aims of its developers, in revealing interaction effects, which can be seen as higher percentages of explained variance in certain dependent variables compared to those in regression analyses. Thus it also reveals the influence of those independent variables whose effect is composed of only interaction effects, i.e., their effect depends on the values of other independent variables. The AID-analysis is effective for grouping purposes, too. It reveals groups based on a combination of certain independent variables, which may be small, but especially interesting from a theoretical point, or important from the point of some social problems (and therefore in the focus of interest of applied research). In order to reveal these kind of special groups in the regression analysis we have to continue it by a so-called residual analysis and identify those cases which are not close to the regression lines.

When we examine the results from the AID analyses as a whole, taking into account every dependent variable in them, we can state that the following four independent variables included in the analyses seem to have the **greatest** influence on individuals' personal norms and their certainty about norms: the level of education, membership of a boys' gang and its duration, the degree of urbanization of one's place of residence, and the socio-economic status of the home. This evaluation can be based on the following observations:

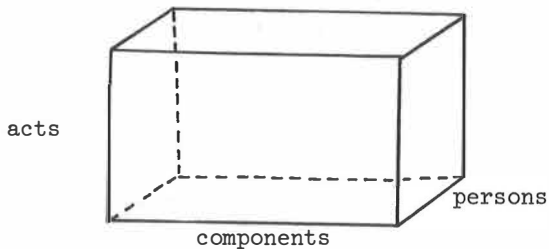
- these are the independent variables which have had a good explanatory power (marked by XXX) in explaining the variance of at least two dependent variables

- in addition to that each of these independent variables has become selected as the basis for partitioning in the first step of AID with respect to at least one dependent variable (see underlinings in Table 8).

In order to avoid misunderstandings we want to point out that when we have used the term "explain" in connection with empirical analyses we have used it in its statistical meaning. In a study like this based on nonexperimental, ex post facto design one cannot be sure, of course, in what way the observed significant relationships of certain independent variables with given dependent variables reflect real cause-and-effect relations.

1.4.5. Discussion

The data of this study can be analyzed, in principle, in three directions, which can be illustrated in the following way:



In the described analyses, we have concentrated mainly on the axes of persons and structural components. Using independent variables as criteria for grouping persons we have studied differences in the componential structures of personal norms between formed groups. Because we have used the total scores as dependent variables, the variance due to specific acts has remained without detailed examination. It is naturally possible that the maximal differences between groups can be found in norms concerning certain acts (this assumption is supported by results in Table 4 and Appendix 5 concerning comparisons of the extreme groups of norm uncertainty in normative reactions to various acts). Our main interest was, however, restricted to analyzing the general structural traits of individuals' norm systems operationalized by total scores. The representativeness of these results depends, in addition on the reliability and validity of empirical scales and the representativeness of the sample of persons, also on the quality of the sample of acts. When we take into account that only few acts could be included in the multi-dimensional measurement of personal norms, the difficulty in selecting (for the questionnaire) a collection of acts which would be a representative sample of the population of acts controlled by prohibition norms in Finnish society becomes evident. We tried to solve this problem by selecting for our measuring instrument acts (see Appendix 1) that had been found to represent different degrees of disapproval in earlier Finnish studies. In order to obtain some idea about the success of our selection of acts a Guttman's scale analysis was carried out on the items of actual norm behavior concerning the acts in question (see Appendix 9). It indicated that one can form from these items an acceptable cumulative scale, which can be regarded as some kind of evidence of the

adequacy of our act sample. For the purpose of forming a picture about the significance and role of 'act axis', and how well one can explain the variance of act clusters, we will present some results from the material of another study¹. This material contains interviews with 1025 persons forming a representative sample of the Finnish population over fifteen years of age. Among other items these persons were asked questions concerning numerous acts, which of them they approve of, which of them they disapprove of, and which are the acts they cannot decide either way on (thus each act is evaluated on a three-point scale). In Table 9 the result of factor analysis based on these answers are presented. Sänkiaho names the obtained factors as follows: (I) "Modernity", (II) "Traditional Finnish way of life", (III) "Nepotism", (IV) "Norms of an atomist community (where people do not know each other) vs. intergrated community" (close social relations among its members creating strong informal social control), and (V) "Temperance". It seems that in this kind of factor analysis of acts the structure and contents of factors depends much on which acts are included in the analysis (i.e., one would have obtained quite different factors, if other kinds of acts had been evaluated). A second observation is that the communalities of act variables are very low. This demonstrates that it may be more meaningful to analyze normative evaluations in the direction of components (as we have done) than in the direction of acts. This means that more universal component factors explain more effectively the variance of norm evaluations than specific act factors. From this point of view it is also interesting to examine how well one could explain the variance of these act factors (factor scores as dependent variables) by independent background variables in step-by-step regression analyses (cf. Sänkiaho, R., op.cit., pp. 56-59). The independent variables used as predictors in his regression analyses are of the same type as the independent variables of our own study, with the exception that included in the former ones are also age and sex, whose effects were eliminated in our study. The proportion of the explained variance of "the modernity factor" was 17 %, and the best predictors were age, occupation, education, and type of community. Of the variance of "traditional Finnish way of life" the predictors explained only 8 %, the best predictors being age, sex, party identification, and education. The proportion of the explained variance concerning "nepotism" was 5 %, and it was composed of the effects of age and social status. By education, sex, the

1) This material was collected by the Research Institute of the University of Tampere in 1968 for the Finnish Broadcasting Company for purpose of mass media research, see Varis, T. 1968. It has been analyzed afterwards by Sänkiaho for methodological purposes. The results presented in this connection are from his report: Sänkiaho, R. 1973

TABLE 9. Varimax-rotated factor matrix of scales measuring acceptability vs. undesirability of various acts

Factors:	I	II	III	IV	V	h^2
<u>Acts</u>						
Moderate use of alcohol	0.316	0.029	0.002	0.023	-0.403	0.263
Blasphemy	0.105	0.613	0.063	0.121	-0.204	0.446
Pornographic literature	0.207	0.416	0.149	0.014	-0.289	0.321
Disparagement of one's country	0.058	0.603	0.114	0.265	-0.021	0.450
Corporal punishment of children	0.094	0.164	-0.027	0.122	-0.064	0.055
Illegal distillation of alcohol	0.127	0.457	-0.022	0.087	-0.476	0.458
Children show disrespect to their parents	0.172	0.393	0.025	0.405	-0.063	0.351
Wearing of miniskirt	0.525	0.104	0.135	0.159	-0.181	0.361
Divorce	0.522	0.202	0.045	0.168	-0.190	0.379
Birth-control	0.592	0.086	0.050	0.018	-0.046	0.362
Laziness	0.092	0.279	0.112	0.543	-0.295	0.480
Gossiping	0.160	0.141	0.122	0.641	-0.078	0.476
Drunkenness	0.241	0.322	0.049	0.237	-0.508	0.478
Political appointment of civil servants	0.041	0.098	0.667	0.048	-0.051	0.459
Buying alcohol for another person	0.325	0.224	-0.009	0.231	-0.483	0.441
Criticism of the legal authorities, cabinet etc.	0.501	0.064	0.035	0.138	-0.110	0.287
Nepotism in the appointment of civil servants	0.054	0.054	0.666	0.084	0.020	0.456
Extramarital relationships	0.187	0.407	0.035	0.208	-0.400	0.404
Abortion	0.478	0.161	-0.044	0.109	-0.317	0.367

place of residence, father's social status and municipality one could predict 9 % of the variance of the fourth factor, "atomism". The proportion of the explained variance of "temperance norms" was 19 % and the best predictors were now sex, age, father's status and the place of residence. As we can see the proportions of age and sex are great in the explained variance of most dependent variables, so the percentages of explanation would have remained

much smaller without these variables.¹ When we take this into account and compare the proportions of explained variance of this example with those of our study (see Table 8), we can say that one can explain by background variables better the variance of component factors than that of act factors. Of course, part of the differences in percentages of explanation is due to the fact that the share of interaction effects is included in those from AID-analyses, but not in those from regression analyses. From the presented comparison data we could observe that persons' party identification did predict significantly the act factor named as "traditional Finnish way of life". In Sänkiaho's report (see pp. 87-92) the effect of this independent variable on normative evaluations was analyzed further by means of discriminant function analysis. The first two discriminant functions account for most of the total information extracted by the analysis. The correlations of the first discriminant function are high with the following act variables: disparagement of one's country, pornographic literature, children show disrespect to their parents, criticism of legal authorities, blasphemy, **wearing of miniskirt**, and political appointment of civil servants. The extreme groups on this dimension are the supporters of SKDL (the Finnish People's Democratic League - a leftist party) on the one hand, and the supporters of LKP (the Liberal Party), on the other hand. The supporters of the latter are more prone to condemn blasphemy, pornographic literature, disparagement of one's country and political appointment of civil servants than the supporters of other parties, but more inclined to accept the criticism of the legal authorities, the wearing of miniskirt, and children's disrespect to their parents than the supporters of other parties. Sänkiaho interprets this discriminant function as reflecting some kind of a mixture of "traditional Finnish way of life, modernity, and anti-establishment". The essential acts from the point of the interpretation of the second discriminant function are the following: blasphemy, divorce, criticism of the legal authorities, and abortion. Strong disapproval of these acts is especially typical of the supporters of Keskustapuolue (the Centre Party), and at the opposite pole of this dimension are the supporters of SKDL. Although the differences between the **groups of supporters of** different parties are smaller in normative evaluations than in attitudes, the presented results show that also party identification influences personal norms, as was earlier assumed. This effect is, however, rather specific, it

1) Without the share of these independent variables the percentages of explanation would have been as follows: in the first factor 7 %, in the second factor 3 %, in the third factor 2 %, in the fourth factor 7 %, and in the fifth factor 4 %.

comes into sight in norms concerning certain acts. Therefore it is unclear how strong its effect would have been in the total scores as in our study, measuring norms in the direction of component factors. It is, however, probable that its effect would be greatest within the cognitive component. Unfortunately we could not include person's party identification in our independent variables, since that type of question was not seen as desirable in an army setting.

The proportions of the explained variance of norm variables were not very high in this study, either, but it may be partly due to the fact that in addition to the factors measuring certain traits of the socialization environment, personal norms are to a great extent also explained by situational and/or personality trait factors. Views emphasizing the role of situational factors have been presented in research literature. Berkowitz (1964, pp. 56-57) considers that conscience (cf. the affective component) is not a uniform, constantly functioning entity of mind. Hartshorne and May (1928) concluded, based on their experimental research, that moral reactions (cf. the behavioral component) are unstable, determined by situational conditions. Dean (1961) regards alienation to be situational and thinks that the prediction of it is therefore difficult. It is evident that situational factors have a crucial role in explaining both normative evaluations and reactions, but their significance may vary from one group to another. Therefore, it is not very reasonable to argue whether the phenomena in question are situation-specific or not, but to study which conditions determine the degree of situation specificity vs. stability of normative evaluations and reactions.

In the light of results of Section I, the multidimensional approach seems to be useful in studying norm socialization. In the first place, it opens some new theoretical viewpoints in examining learning processes (the formation of norm components) and their disturbances (norm alienation) included in socialization. In the second place, by differentiated, conceptually clarified measures one can do the mapping of empirical relationships more accurately than previously. The norm uncertainty scale developed by the author on the basis of the definition of uncertainty type of norm alienation and Allardt's (op.cit.) alienation theory seems to be at least as practicable as the widely used alienation scales of Srole and Nettler. This scale has significant relationships with actual norm behavior, on the one hand, and with certain background variables, on the other hand. In Section I we have obtained an over-all picture of the relationships between our research variables, but in Section II we will examine some of them in more detail.

2. ELABORATIVE SECTION

2.1. Introduction to the Research Problem of Section II

In Section I (i) the usefulness and validity of the conceptual system developed to describe the basic outcomes of norm socialization at the individual level was tested, (ii) the interrelationships of these dimensions of personal norms and norm alienation were studied, and (iii) the significance of different factors assumed to be central in norm socialization and to influence the formation of personal norms was analyzed. In the last mentioned analyses, attention was however, not, paid to the relations between independent variables and to the position of each independent variable in norm socialization e.g., with reference to the time dimension. Taking this into account as well as the results of Section I, the number of independent variables is made smaller and an attempt to define their positions in certain assumed causal chains will be made for the purposes of elaborative analyses. Certain views from sociological literature concerning the socialization process cited below serve as theoretical foundations for outlining the research problem and basic design of Section II.

LeVine (1969) thinks that the relations between culture and personality can be analyzed by means of the social-darwinistic model of evolution. According to him it can be shown that there are certain points in the socialization process in which the mechanisms of variation and selection operate, affecting the following processes in particular:

1. The adaptation of the processes of child socialization to ecological pressures
2. The basic adjustment of individuals with varying genotypes to normative pressures created in socializing by the selective, differential reinforcement of different forms of behavior by parents (the role of external sanctions)
3. Individuals' secondary adaptation to normative environments through selective social behavior. At this point, the differentiation of genotype and phenotype occurs; the socially formed ego ideal controls and selects the impulses produced by genotype (the role of internal control)
4. The adaptation of the composition of population's personality traits to normative environments through the selective pressure of social sanctions:
 - the shaping of the distribution of phenotype in accordance with the normative role performance ideals of the community
 - the deviations of the genotype traits from those appreciated in the

community cause basic variation in the ability to perform competently in social roles, to acquire social rewards and to avoid punishments. For the frame of reference of social evolution to be relevant, it should fulfil the following conditions (LeVine op.cit., p. 512):

- the prevailing of unplanned variation
- the consistent criterion of selection
- the maintenance and duplication of positively selected variants.

LeVine believes that the differences in personality traits are the manifestation of unplanned variation due to the interaction between genetic and environmental factors. The normative elements of the socio-cultural system, in turn, function as selection criteria, including standards of behavior, the comparative system of social evaluation and the differential distribution of rewards and punishments. The cognitive activeness of socializing agents maintains the positively selected variants, and the planned socialization techniques duplicate them to the following generations.

Similar ideas have been presented by Inkeles (1968). According to him, the community influences socialization both directly and indirectly. Indirectly, it affects through the degree of satisfaction of physical needs, population density, the regularity of care, and through the presence or absence of the father, and more directly through the standards of socialization and social development. The expectations of community channel the parents' child rearing practices and their awareness of how the individual should be socialized. The criterion of the success of socialization is, according to Inkeles (1969, p. 615), in the individual's ability to perform adult roles. So success is defined on the basis of the needs of a social system which is bound to a given time and place. Inkeles thinks that sociology is interested in the regular and recurrent social inputs caused by the network of socially structured relations. However, the socialization output depends on all of the following factors:

- a) the individual's genetic potentials (cf. factors concerning the individual himself)
- b) early experiences (cf. conditions concerning the nearest socialization environment)
- c) the structural aspects of the social relations network in the living surroundings (cf. the socialization conditions connected with a larger community), of which the most important are ecological, economic and political.

The effects of the ecological conditions on the socialization of children have not been much studied, there are, for instance, very few systematic comparative studies of the child-rearing practices of urban vs. rural families. According to Inkeles (1965, pp. 267-276), it is sociologically relevant to study whether there are differences between populations in the distribution of the discrete traits of personality. If such differences are found, and if rearing practices are shown to play a significant role in it, the sociological question is: Why do parents bring up their children in this particular way? The psychological aspect of socialization is described by the question: How do certain rearing practices produce given personalities? In a study of about the effect of a community and its social structure on individuals, and about the relations between culture and personality, both problems are included in a research design in which socialization techniques act as intervening variables. LeVine's and Inkeles' ideas imply the following process: the ecological conditions exert certain kinds of pressures on the community constituting the functional prerequisites for the community's social system. A network of certain kinds of roles is formed in the community for an adequate performance of the basic functions. Socialization must produce persons capable of performing these roles competently, and therefore the basic needs of the social system also form the imperatives of socialization. Of different methods, those that, in the long run, appear to produce role-competent individuals are established, and the standards regulating socialization become part of the normative structure of culture. According to this view, it can be expected that different types of communities and different levels of socio-economic structure differ from each other with regard to socialization methods, and as a consequence differences in individuals' personalities should also be found. Several empirical studies have shown that such differences really exist between social classes and between urban and rural communities. However, it is interesting to study how these differences come into sight in our componential measures of personal norms. The channels of influence we are interested in Section II are presented in Figure 6. Thus the research problem of this part is to analyze the connections indicated by capital letters in the figure. The total scores representing the components of personal norms and norm uncertainty used as the main dependent variables describe the outcomes of norm socialization at personality level in different phases of the individual's life cycle (symbolized by the horizontal line in Figure 6).

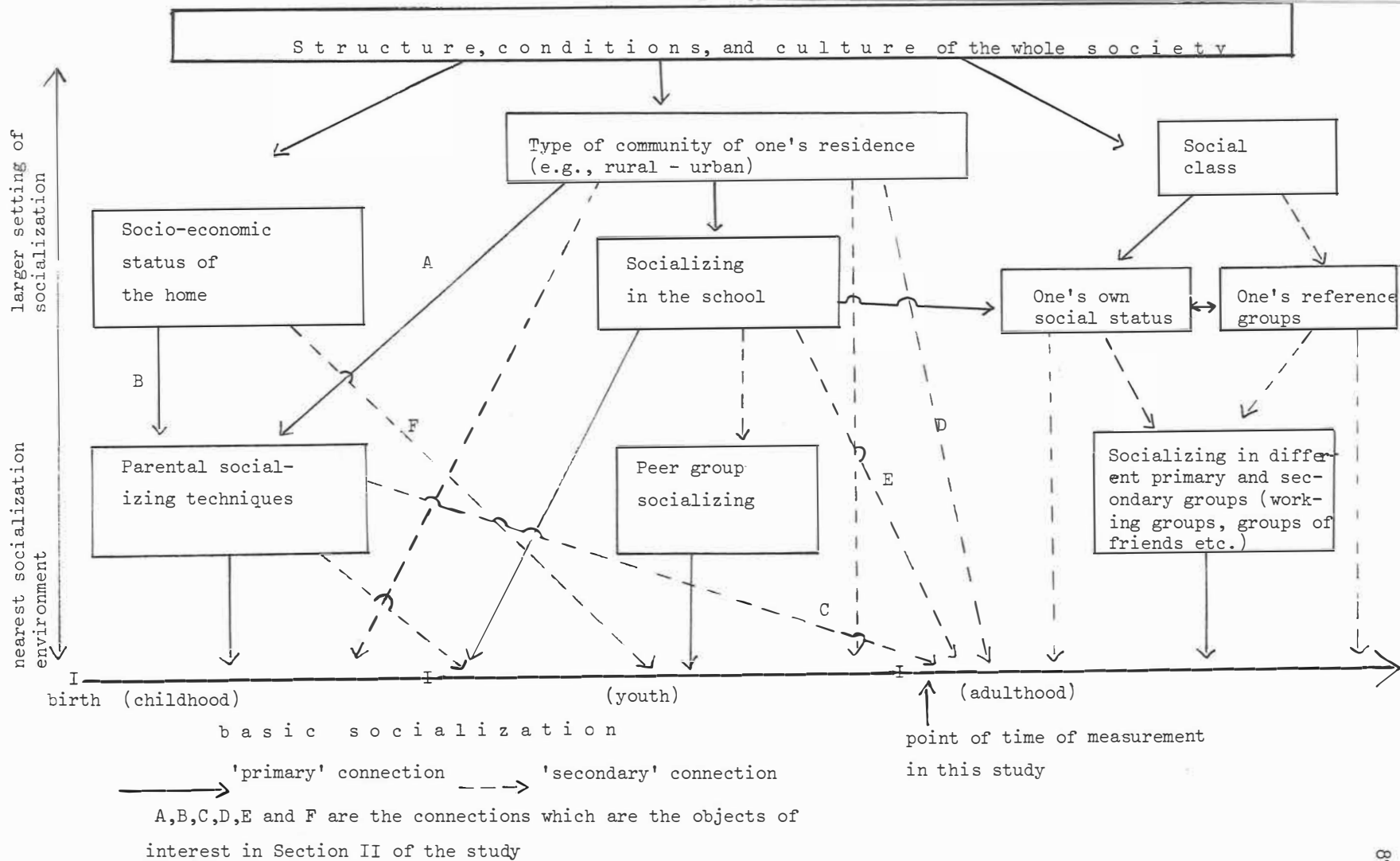


FIGURE 6. Research objects of Section II in the framework of lifelong process of socialization

The independent variables of our study operationalize the socializing institutions and agents regarded as most important during basic socialization (see 'the boxes' in the figure). The structure of Section II and, in a way its underlying research design, is as follows: First the effects of the type of one's residence community (according to the degree of urbanization) and the socio-economic status of the childhood home on parental socializing methods (connections A and B) will be analyzed. In theoretical analyses an attempt is made to outline which are 'the real causal factors' linked with the type of community and social stratum causing differences in parental techniques of child-rearing. In empirical analyses we cannot examine the effects of each of these specific factors on parental socializing. It is possible, however, to analyze in an undifferentiated way their consequences for parental sanctioning by comparing in this respect the subgroups formed on the basis of the type of community and socio-economic status of the home. Thus, in this phase, the sanction variables are used as dependent variables. In the following phase they are treated as independent variables, when the effects of parental socializing techniques on variables of personal norms are analyzed. In the empirical part of these analyses the influence channel represented by connection C in the figure is examined, i.e., how well the effects of parental sanctions can still be seen in the personal norms of young adults. After this stepwise demonstration of the extent to which the type of community and socio-economic status of the home exert indirect influence on the personal norms mediated through parental methods of socializing, we will study directly the effects of the former independent variables on personal norms. Their influence now includes both indirect and direct effects (indirect effects through connections $A \rightarrow C$, $B \rightarrow C$, direct effects are symbolized by D and F). In this phase we will add a third independent variable, the level of education, through which the effects of socializing at different levels and parts of the school system (see connection E)¹⁾ can be partly studied. The level of education is also the most central dimension of one's social status before one has created one's vocational (or professional) career, thus determining, to a great extent, one's capability for social exchange. The three listed independent variables of the last phase of analyses proved to have a good explanatory power in the empirical analyses of Section I. In this

1) It is clear from the definitional point of view that this variable represents a trait describing the individual himself, but we can think that besides that it tells us in which kind of socialization environment and how long time this individual has been living.

part of the study we do not test hypotheses in the sense it was done in Section I, but on the basis of theoretical views and earlier studies we formulate certain expectations for guiding the survey and interpretation of empirical results, i.e., to obtain a picture of which points they are in agreement with the findings of earlier studies, on which points they disagree with them or are not comparable at all because of the absence of earlier studies concerning some aspects of the present study. This comparison of results obtained with expectations helps us to see what kind if any, of new information we can receive by using as dependent variables the componential measures of personal norms not used before in this field. However, in a summarizing conclusions we try to answer to the following questions about the results as a whole: (i) What is the role and significance of certain community level factors (in this case the role of social class subcultures, and the role of rural-urban regional differences) in norm socialization? (ii) Is a considerable proportion of their effects mediated through parental sanctions on personal norms?

2.2. Effects of Socio-economic Stratum and Type of Community on Parental Methods of Socializing

The effects of the socio-economic status of one's childhood home and the degree of urbanization of one's place of residence on parental sanctioning as a part of home socializing will be first analyzed at the theoretical level and after that at the empirical level, using the sanction variables as dependent variables.

2.2.1. Theoretical Expectations

A. Effect of the socio-economic status of the home

In several studies it has been found that there are differences in the child-rearing practices between social strata. The quality and size of differences found in different investigations have varied owing to the differences in the definition and measurement of the socio-economic class and in sampling methods. The parents in the upper social classes more frequently use the so-called love-oriented, psychological discipline, i.e., symbolic technique rather than concrete punishments; for instance, the threat of the withdrawal of love, the appeal to guilt and reason, the expressions of disappointment, etc. (cf. Bronfenbrenner 1958).

The lower social classes in turn use more direct, concrete sanctions, which are not verbally explained, (for instance, physical punishments). The mere observation and description of differences does not satisfy a sociologically orientated researcher, who wants to analyze the components of social structure that account for the birth mechanism of observed differences. The following classification attempts to map the most essential of these 'real reasons':

1. The role of occupational structure: According to Kohn (1969) differences between the subcultures of social classes are reflected in child-rearing techniques. He wanted to find out why social class affects the educational values, and came to the conclusion that a central explanatory component of social class is the father's occupation, particularly the degree of self-determination it permits. Kohn (op.cit.151) states that men who are working in conditions which promote self-determination are likely to appreciate this feature also in their children, whereas the men working under strict controls permitting very little self-determination, are likely to appreciate conformity. Studies of both American and Italian parents followed the same pattern. Several other correlates of social class, such as the parents' level of aspiration, the size of the family, race, religion, nationality etc., were not equally relevant explanatory factors. Neither the family income nor subjective class identification were significantly related to the parental values when the effect of occupational factors was controlled.

Miller and Swanson (1960, p. 69-70) found that the organization of the father's work environment is linked to the child-rearing practices he uses at home. Researchers divided the working organizations into two categories: 1. 'Bureaucratic', large production and distribution organizations 2. 'Entrepreneurial', small organizations of the family company type. Fathers working in the latter organizations emphasized, in their educational practices, the importance of achievements and advancement, being less permissive than fathers working in bureaucratic organizations, who emphasized social flexibility, adaptability and permissiveness.

Also McKinley (1964, pp. 116-120) in his analysis based on Parsons' conceptual system stresses the importance of the father's occupation in the formation of the internal relations within the family. He thinks that occupational roles are central in modern industrial communities, which concentrate on the resolution of adaptive problems. Furthermore, he considers that the working conditions, the degree of autonomy, the strictness of control and the type of work influence job satisfaction and this, in turn, the type

of disciplinary techniques used in the home.

According to Inkeles (1968, pp. 109-111), **research** leaves no doubts concerning the close relationship between the father's working experiences and the socializing methods he applies to his son, in particular. However, it appears that the results can be generalized to concern mainly urban communities with an industrialized occupational structure.

2. Parents' educational level: Kohn (op.cit., pp. 130-133) observed in his study that the educational level was significantly related to the parents' child-rearing attitudes. The effects of occupational status and educational level appeared to be additive, independent of each other. Kohn considers these variables the most important status dimensions in present-day America. Education greatly affects intellectual flexibility and the scope of perspective and through them, child-rearing practices (Kohn op. cit., p. 188). Education is important also in the sense that the more educated people read more and understand better the advice on educational matters provided by experts.

3. Economic circumstances: Because the families of the lower social classes are often large, live in smaller apartments and possess relatively few material commodities, the consequences of their children's aggressive and wild behavior are particularly undesirable to them. Apparently partly for this reason, working class mothers react more often to the consequences of behavior, and middle class mothers to its motives. This factor may also contribute to the fact that the lower social classes educate their children in the direction of conformity more often than is true with other social strata. Therefore, the authoritarianism of socializing may partly be due to the fact that the child must be adapted to the existing requirements, whereas the upper strata "can afford" a more democratic home education, paying greater attention to the child's needs.

4. Factors influencing the diffusion of educational innovations may also cause differences between social classes, which was briefly mentioned in connection with the educational level. According to Valkonen (1969, p. 5), the following factors affect the diffusion and adoption of innovations: (1) differences in becoming aware of innovations (2) differences in the willingness to assimilate them, after they have been perceived (3) differences in opportunities to make use of them among those willing to do so. Differences in education and dissimilar reading habits cause variation between social strata in the perception of expert recommendations and new trends in home education. Some traditional values, included in the subcultures of some classes, may, in turn, create unwillingness to adopt new socialization

techniques. Moreover, economic conditions restrict opportunities to make use of new methods, even if there were a willingness to do so. Bronfenbrenner's (1958) longitudinal analysis of the child-rearing practices of different social classes showed that the factors influencing the adoption of educational innovations have an empirically observed effect. He concludes that child-rearing methods change faster in those population strata that have the best contacts and communications with 'the agents of change' in the community (for instance with clinics, doctors, guidance and counseling offices etc.). He noted that middle class mothers not only read and listened to more information about proper education of children, but were more inclined to accept it than working class mothers, and therefore changed their child-rearing methods more often and faster.

Also rural areas showed a clear time lag in the change of socialization techniques in comparison with urban areas. Takala (1960, p. 87) points out that studies carried out at different stages of the general change of child-rearing practices may yield dissimilar results. She thinks that the change in an 'enlightened direction' is faster in urban districts and in upper social classes than in rural areas or in the lower social strata. At the final stage of the change process the differences may have disappeared.

We should keep in mind that factors causing variation in socialization between the social classes receive dissimilar emphasis in countries at different stages of industrialization and urbanization. Therefore, their size and even direction may vary. American studies have stressed the father's role in home education, but a Finnish study (Marin 1966 a) indicated that if the educational task is differentiated within the family, it is performed by the mother, with the exception of disciplinary measures. The following expectations concerning dissimilarities in the sanctioning of social classes are mainly based on Finnish studies (Takala 1960 and Marin 1966 b):

1. Sanctioning is more consistent and planned in the upper social classes.
2. The strength and type of punishments: aggressive and strict disciplinary methods are more common in the lower classes.
3. The ratio of rewards and punishments: the upper social classes use both rewards and punishments more consistently as the means of social reinforcement, which better satisfies the child's affectional needs than the use of mere punishments. Since the lower classes use mainly prohibitions, restrictions and punishments in the regulation of behavior, they cannot make an effective use of the withdrawal of love as a method of discipline.

4. The rational explanation of sanctions is more common in the upper than in the lower classes.

B. Effect of the degree of urbanization of the community:

The distinction between the concepts rural vs. urban belongs to the category of 'contrast theories' as well as other classical pairs of concepts in sociology, like Durkheim's mechanic vs. organic social solidarity or Tönnies' types Gemeinschaft vs. Gesellschaft (Pahl 1968 b, pp. 263-265). In many studies, the starting point has been the assumption that rural areas are characterized by the features of a Gemeinschaft-type of community and an expressive organization, whereas urban areas by the features of a Gesellschaft-type community and an instrumental organization (e.g., Eskola 1963, 14). In our study the defining criteria of the degree of urbanization are the size and density of population (cf. Sjoberg 1965, p. 341). According to Pahl (1968 b), the advantage of these global variables is the fact that they can be quantified and used as universal referents of the rural-urban continuum, and the cultural differences connected with it can be seen as consequence of these basic ecological conditions (cf. Pahl 1968 a, p. 30). Pahl thinks, however, that a classification based merely on the size and density of population in the area is not sufficient, but that the level of technical development should also be considered. It appears, however, that in Finland urbanization and industrialization are so closely tied to each other that the classification of the types of community and the size and density of population differentiates communities also with regard to the level of technology. Many cities have sprung up around factories and on the other hand, industry has concentrated in population centers. The cumulative process of urbanization, industrialization and selective migration has created many differences between rural and urban areas, probably reflected in socialization methods.

1. Cultural factors:

It is assumed that in the country the values, norms, role expectations and situational definitions form a more uniform system than in big cities creating in rural areas a stronger pressure toward conformity. In Allardt's opinion (1964, pp. 4 and 84-86), the goal of the system of expectations emphasizing similarity and uniformity is order. So the pressure toward conformity can be regarded as a means aiming at this goal of order. It has been found that the pressure toward conformity is lower in cities (see Allard-Littunen 1961, pp. 288-289, Eskola 1963, pp. 61-65 and Littunen 1962, pp. 61-64). Allardt

(op.cit., p. 4) considers efficiency the goal of expectations allowing dissimilarity. Differences in basic values, and in the underlying systems of expectations supporting them, are thought to have an impact on the aims (the personality ideals prevailing in the culture) and on the means of socialization. The differences Eskola (op.cit., pp. 64-70) found in the evaluation of certain character traits between town residents and people from the country, give empirical evidence of the existence of the differences in socialization aims, and Takala's (1960, pp. 126-134) study about the differences in the means of socializing.

2. The strictness and scope of social control:

The pressure toward conformity is not only dependent on the content and consistency of norms, but also on the strictness of social control maintaining them. The social control within the family is probably more pervasive in the country than in towns. For instance, farmers' children are likely to work more at home, thus being under the control of their parents daily a longer time than children of workers or civil servants in town. Also, the informal social control outside the home is probably stronger in the country where most people know each other (cf. Littunen 1962, p.62).

Because of the small size of population, the ecological conditions for a strong informal social control are better in the country than in cities, where a larger part of control is exercised by formal institutions, specialized in sanctioning (e.g., the police). Formal control is applied only to deviations from legal norms whereas informal control allows less individual variation of behavior. Socialization is more authoritarian in communities in which there exists a strong pressure toward uniformity, stressing order and stability. This accounts for the research finding that rural parents explain their educational practices to their children to a lesser extent than city parents do (see Takala, op.cit., p.139). Allardt (op.cit., pp.63-64) states that the emphasis on equality increases as the division of labor becomes more differentiated, in other words with growing urbanization and industrialization.

3. The opportunities for social exchange:

The differentiated division of labor has brought about an industrial occupational structure in cities, and this has resulted in the status distribution there being much broader and more differentiated than in the country, where the differences between levels of socio-economic status are smaller. The majority of material and human resources has become concentrated in cities offering better opportunities for social exchange. Especially

great is the difference in the rate of instrumental exchange but there may also exist some differences in the scope of expressive exchange. The stricter control and stronger traditions restrict the alternatives of expressive activities more in rural areas than do the pluralistic and more permissive norm systems of urban communities (Allardt, op.cit., pp.43-38 and 170-173). When social exchange is limited, it is mainly expressive, which in rural areas is still reinforced by the fact that most people know one another. For this reason, the whole 'normative climate' there can be described by Littunen's (1962, pp.68-69) term, emotional social commitment, whereas the more instrumental orientation in the town leads, to actional (organic) commitment. Differences in the normative atmosphere may bring it about that in rural areas the affective, conditioning techniques of socializing are more frequent than in urban socialization.

4. The conditions of formal socialization:

The accumulation of resources into cities has produced great differences in the quality and quantity of educational services (see Lehtinen 1972). In cities where educational opportunities are better, a greater part of the age group, irrespective of individual abilities (cf. Jäppinen 1968), pursue further studies, and formal socialization can begin earlier with town children who attend day nurseries, kindergartens and play schools. Moreover, urban schools are not only larger but also the teachers are more qualified, judged by formal criteria (see Lappalainen 1971).

5. The supply of role models:

With growing division of labor, the role network expands, which means that there is a greater and much more diversified supply of role models in urban than in rural areas, where there are fewer roles and they are more diffuse (cf. Pahl 1968 a, p.34). Inkeles (1968, pp.119-121) stresses the possibly different effect of few, clear-cut models compared to that of a great variety of models. According to him, richness of models may help the individual to adopt alternative modes of behavior thus fostering flexibility. On the other hand, it creates difficulties in the integration of received stimuli. Apparently, a great variety of models accelerates social development in favorable circumstances, increasing the amount of relevant social stimulation received, but in unfavorable circumstances it may create uncertainty. This is why the differences in uncertainty alienation between social classes may become particularly considerable within urban areas.

6. The diffusion of educational innovations:

New educational trends and expert recommendations reach the urban areas earlier than the rural areas (see Bronfenbrenner 1958). This is due to the same factors causing differences in the diffusion of innovations between socio-economic strata.

The differences between rural and urban areas have been described in oversimplified terms, since both include features typical of 'Gemeinschaft' and 'Gesellschaft' communities. We have to consider further that the modernization and urbanization of the entire society also affects the countryside decreasing the cultural differences between urban and rural areas. Mass media have spread everywhere, the countryside has entered the automobile age, agriculture has become mechanized, industry has spread to rural areas, many rural children go to schools in cities, etc. On the other hand, a radical change of occupational structure and selective migration connected with the general processes of urbanization and industrialization has accentuated certain differences; for instance, the concentration of services in urban areas and their decrease in rural districts. The general structural change causes polarization also within the communities; rapid migration may create unstable, socially disorganized newcomers' housing areas in towns. Thus the pattern of development in Finland during the last decades seem to have followed the lines outlined in the well-known theory of G. Myrdahl (1957, pp.23-26), i.e. cumulative growth of regional differences concerning societal resources and services. On the whole we can say, however, that from the point of view of social development, the best socialization conditions are probably concentrated in urban areas, but so are also the most unfavorable conditions thought to produce normlessness. In rural areas, the differences may remain relatively smaller, due to a more homogeneous population and a more uniform culture (see Berkowitz 1964, p.69). Both geographical and social distance from the resources of exchange appear to have partially similar effects, and, therefore, socialization methods in rural areas, in some respects, may to a greater extent resemble the methods of the lower social classes than those of the upper ones in urban communities.

On the basis of what has been said above it is expected that the differences between the urban and rural areas in parental socialization methods are manifested in the sanction variables as follows:

1. Sanctioning is expected to be more consistent and purposive in urban upper social classes than in rural areas, where the methods of sanctioning resemble in some respects those of lower social classes in towns

and cities.

2. Strength and type of punishments: there are probably no essential average differences in the use of physical sanctions, because the upper social classes use them less, but lower classes in urban areas use them more than is the case in the country.

3. The ratio of rewards and punishments: in rural areas, rewards are used less in the regulation of behavior, owing to more authoritarian educational attitudes, particularly in comparison with urban upper social classes.

4. Because of more authoritarian educational attitudes, rural parents are expected to justify punishments less often than do urban parents.

Besides these qualitative aspects of socialization, the amount of daily interaction between parents and the child has a very important role from the viewpoint of socialization outcomes. We assume that parents in rural areas spend more time per day with their children than do parents in towns (especially parents of lower social strata). So in this respect the conditions for socialization may be better in the country.

2.2.2. Empirical Analyses

In empirical analyses we cannot study whether the observed differences between homes from different social strata or between homes of rural vs. urban areas in parental sanctions are due to the factors outlined above theoretically. We can, however, examine how well the observed differences are congruent with our expectations. Because of the quality of our sanction variables all of the theoretical expectations cannot be empirically tested in this connection. The effects of the type of community and the home's social stratum on parental sanctions in our research data can be examined in the light of the results in Table 10. The latter variable is represented by the social classification system employed by The Statistical Bureau of Helsinki, which is based on the social prestige of the father's (or other guardian's) occupation (a four-step scale)¹. For tabulation, the scale was dichotomized so that the categories 1 and 2 were combined to represent 'high' occupational status, and categories 3 and 4 (and those who had no occupation or did not report it) 'low' occupational status. This index was selected because:

- the otherwise used three-point index of the socio-economic status of the home (a combined classification based on the father's occupational prestige and estimated income) could not be meaningfully dichotomized, so

1) Farmers were placed in category 2 and small farmers in category 3 using estimated income as criterion.

that the number of observations would have been evenly distributed in two groups. It was considered that the use of three categories would cause the cell frequencies to be too small.

- in several American studies (cf. chapter 2.1.2), it has been found that from various status dimensions it is the father's occupation that is the most closely connected with the selection of socialization methods.

The original variable, representing the degree of urbanization of the place of residence, formed the basis for a four-step index:

1. Large cities (50 000 inhabitants or more)
2. Smaller cities and towns (less than 50 000 inhabitants)
3. Rural centers (hamlet or village)
4. Sparsely populated rural areas

When examining Table 9, the following points should be taken into consideration:

- questions dealing with sanctions were not answered by the parents, but the subjects were asked how they had been sanctioned at home, when they were young. This kind of measurement is not very exact and may not be very reliable.

- the results may also be slightly biased due to the fact that some of the subjects had moved to a different type of community after the point of time covered by the questions about sanctioning.

All in all, it appears that there are fewer differences in the father's sanctioning between various groups¹⁾ than in the mother's sanctions and in explanation of sanctions. The fact that consistent differences can be discovered more in the sanctions of the mother is probably due to the trend (Marin 1966 a) that in Finnish families it is usually the mother who is responsible for educational duties. The results concerning the mother's sanctions and the use of explanations give rise to the following observations and interpretations:

a) The sanctions used by the mother are more severe in the lower than in the upper social classes. As expected, the difference, however, is clearly larger in urban than in rural areas where the mother's sanctions are, on the average, more severe than in urban areas. In this respect, the results

1) The clearest differences concerning the father's sanctions can be found in indifferent reaction toward a son's misbehavior. It is more common in lower social strata and the difference between strata in this respect is greater in rural areas.

TABLE 10. Distributions of different types of parental sanctions in groups formed by crosstabulating the degree of urbanization of residence community and social background

Sanctions by the mother

Socio-economic status of the home (occupational status of the father):	Degree of urbanization of the place of residence:							
	Big cities		Small towns		Rural centers		Sparsely populated countryside	
	fr	%	fr	%	fr	%	fr	%
<u>HIGH:</u> Physical punishment	8	10,1	1	1,4	12	14,5	17	15,6
Severe yelling	24	30,4	21	30,4	22	26,5	26	23,9
Indifference	1	1,3	2	2,9	2	2,4	7	6,4
Kind scolding or friendly advice	46	58,2	45	65,2	47	56,6	59	54,1
Numerus	<u>79</u>		<u>69</u>		<u>83</u>		<u>109</u>	
<u>LOW:</u> Physical punishment	10	22,2	11	13,9	15	20,3	13	20,6
Severe yelling	13	28,9	21	26,6	15	20,3	12	19,0
Indifference	1	2,2	2	2,5	4	5,4	4	6,3
Kind scolding or friendly advice	21	46,7	45	57,0	40	54,1	34	54,0
Numerus	<u>45</u>		<u>79</u>		<u>74</u>		<u>63</u>	

Sanctions by the father

<u>HIGH:</u> Physical punishment	25	31,6	19	27,5	22	26,5	31	28,4
Severe yelling	17	21,5	18	26,1	22	26,5	26	23,9
Indifference	6	7,6	5	7,2	4	4,8	6	5,5
Kind scolding or friendly advice	31	39,2	27	39,1	35	42,2	46	42,2
<u>LOW:</u> Physical punishment	13	28,9	26	32,9	17	23,0	15	23,9
Severe yelling	10	22,2	19	24,1	20	27,0	14	22,2
Indifference	5	11,1	8	10,1	12	16,2	7	11,1
Kind scolding or friendly advice	17	37,8	26	32,9	25	33,8	27	42,9

Arguments for sanctions:

<u>HIGH:</u> no arguments	25	31,6	23	33,3	32	38,6	47	43,1
arguments given	54	68,4	46	66,7	51	61,4	62	56,9
<u>LOW:</u> no arguments	19	42,2	32	40,5	30	40,5	27	42,9
arguments given	26	57,8	47	59,5	44	59,5	36	57,1

differ from Takala's (op.cit.) findings, according to which physical punishment is not more common in the countryside than in the towns. The difference in results may be due to time distance (Takala's study was done about ten years earlier and during this period the selective movement to towns may have changed the difference between urban and rural socialization) and/or research technique (e.g., sampling and the technique of measuring discipline methods). In the country the mother's indifferent attitude toward the behavior of her child seems to be, on the average, slightly more frequent than in urban areas indicating more educational apathy. The result that physical punishment is used least in small towns is interesting. A partial explanation for this would be that in small towns the discipline task is more often assumed by the father than in other types of community (see the percentage concerning the use of physical punishment by the father in low urban stratum.)

Another possibility is that the stability and life-style of the community has something to do with the finding. One can think in the first place that people recently settled (down) in big cities have some difficulties in adapting and integrating themselves in to new environment, and this is reflected in the manner they behave at home. In the second place, a strong instrumental emphasis in the life-style of cities (causing constant haste, strong competition etc.) may produce stress and frustrations in a certain part of city population affecting the degree of aggressiveness of its socializing techniques. Small towns are probably more stable and the number of 'marginal people' is thus smaller than in large cities. Their social climate may satisfy better expressive needs diminishing pressures toward aggressive reactions. Furthermore, large cities are not internally as uniform areas as are small towns, e.g., some suburbs represent more the Gemeinschaft- than Gesellschaft-type of community. We could presumably find similar variation of socializing methods among sub- areas of a city as we can find between communities representing different degrees of urbanization.

b) In the use of explanations for sanctions, the same consistent trend appears as in the mother's sanctions. In urban areas, arguments for sanctions are clearly used more frequently in upper than in lower social classes, but the corresponding difference is not observed in rural areas. The explanation of sanctions decreases consistently within the 'high' socio-economic status when we move from urban to rural areas, but a similar tendency is not observed in the 'low' status groups.

c) The results, on the whole, agree rather well with earlier Finnish studies dealing with the differences in socializing between social classes or between urban and rural areas (Takala 1960, Marin 1966 b), and thus are in line with the expectations. In upper social classes in urban areas, sanctioning appears to be less severe, and more rational than in lower urban strata, or in rural areas. As was expected the methods of sanctioning in the countryside resemble, on the average, more those of lower urban strata than the sanctioning of upper urban (classes). This shows that horizontal, geographical distance from the resources of society has in some respects similar effects on socialization as vertical, social distance from them. Unfortunately, the present study does not contain variables measuring the consistency of sanctioning, the ratio of punishments vs. rewards, and the amount of interaction between parents and their children. For this reason, it is not possible to compare in greater detail the differences between the aggregates in question with regard to the conditions for social learning.

Summarizing, we can state that the factors linked with social stratification and the degree of urbanization of a community influence the forms of socialization, and, thereby, the general conditions of learning. The contribution of these factors is generally not sufficiently considered in psychologically oriented studies on social learning.

2.3. Effect of Parental Socializing on Personal Norms

2.3.1. Theoretical Considerations

In the previous chapter, it was observed that the socio-economic structure and regional factors influence home socialization. Before we begin to outline the effects of these factors on personal norms, we should have a picture of how different techniques of parental socializing influence social learning. In this connection we limit our analysis only to the effect of parental sanctions, though it is remembered that they form only part, albeit probably the most essential part, of socializing input in the home environment. According to Berkowitz (1964, pp.52,84) the parents have an active role in the child's moral and social development:

1. By satisfying the child's needs (particularly the need for love and security, which forms a positive ground for identification).
2. By teaching explicitly behavioral standards (cf. utilization of cognitive learning).

3. By reinforcing desirable and by attempting to extinguish undesirable behavioral responses (cf. 'the conditioning of conscience' based on sanctions and the utilization of social reinforcement in shaping behavioral patterns).

4. By offering models through their own behavior (cf. utilization of observational learning). Kohlberg (1969, ch.6) believes that the basic determinant of social development is the amount of relevant social and cognitive stimulation, i.e., the opportunities for role learning. He thinks that these are determined by the centrality of the individual's position in the communication and decision-making structure of an institution or a group. From this viewpoint, he considers the following aspects of interaction within the family important:

- a) The amount of communication and interaction in the family.
- b) The distribution of trust: the opportunities given children for assuming responsibility (the emphasizing of the consequences of one's actions and responsibility).
- c) The nature of decision-making within the family (are the children permitted to participate as equals in decision-making).

We can think that the fundamental attitudes and behavior dispositions, which affect the entire home socialization, are also reflected in sanctioning.

1. The influence of the consistency and purposiveness of sanctioning:

The possibilities for relevant learning of norms depend on the consistency in rewarding and/or punishing. The degree of consistency may be an equally important aspect, from the point of view of effect, as the content of educational methods (Berkowitz op.cit., p.85).

a) Sanctions which are consistent and clearly linked with actions are likely to bring about a relatively quick, strong and flexible internalization of norms. Grounded on learning theories, it can be assumed that an irregular use of punishments and rewards leads to the development of a conscience which is strongly change-resistant and inflexible. Irregularity is harmful for the development of the ability to discriminate norm situations, creating generalized feelings of guilt through stimulus generalization (McCloskey & Schaar 1965, p.31, found a positive correlation between the degree of anomic and generalized feelings of guilt).

b) The same mechanism causes easily uncontrolled behavior contrary to norms, and generally reduces the predictability of norm conduct. Consistency facilitates the development of behavioral readiness, which conforms with norms but takes into account situational factors. Weakly controlled behavior

increases the probability of imbalanced norm structures and high uncertainty about norms.

c) A consistent educational method increases the significance of cognitive control as a factor guiding norm behavior.

2. The effect of the type and strength of punishments:

a) Several studies have shown that mild, verbal sanctions bring about the internalization of norms more effectively than severe, physical punishments (see McKinley 1964, p.152-153, Miller & Swanson 1960, p.160-164, Bronfenbrenner 1958).

b) Less strict, psychological punishments are more likely to bring about an effective inhibition of undesirable behavior. An aggressive, physical disciplinary technique often creates rebelliousness, and offers a negative behavior model. Thus it may, paradoxically enough, increase the probability of such response patterns which it was supposed to extinguish (cf. Miller & Swanson 1960, p.76).

c) Severe punishments, combined with an irregular and not rationally explained use of sanctions, cause uncertainty about norms, and increase the role of external sanctions (i.e., perceived social control) as a factor guiding norm behavior.

3. The effect of the ratio of rewards and punishments:

If rewards are also used, in addition to punishments, it makes possible the use of psychological discipline, the threat of love withdrawal.¹⁾ A disciplinary method, based mainly on punishments, easily leads to a vicious circle: the more punishments are used and the more severe they are, the more they may be needed, and the weaker becomes their behavior-regulating and socializing effect. The ratio of punishments and rewards is assumed to affect the motivation for social learning through identification willingness. According to Bandura (1969), studies have shown that parents who have a warm relationship with the child, and who are taking care of the child's needs, arouse considerably more imitation responses (in children) than parents who do not have these rewarding qualities. Kohn (1969, pp. 125-126) and McKinley (1964, p.159) found in their surveys that the sons whose fathers used aggressive discipline technique had difficulties in identifying themselves with their fathers. It appears that this factor is significant from the point of view of normlessness. If poor motivation for identification (severe punishments and the absence of rewards) is combined with inadequate conditions of norm learning (inconsistent, unexplained

1) Hoffman and Saltzstein (1967) argue that it is not love orientation, but induction (i.e., parents are stressing the consequences of the child's action for others, cf., Aronfreed 1969, pp. 310-312), which produces the positive moral development. We disagree with them concerning their interpretation about the total insignificance of psychological discipline for moral development. We think that it creates a good foundation for the positive effect of induction.

sanctioning), it may result in the inhibition of socialization, i.e., normlessness.

4. The impact of argumentation for sanctions:

The explanation of a given educational measure to the child is considered to form the basic condition for the rationality and democracy of socialization.

If sanctioning is consistent and explained, we regard it as rational, appealing to reason (inductive method of discipline, cf. Aronfreed 1969, pp. 309-312). If the punishments are relatively mild, verbal and argued and are used with rewards, we speak of a democratic educational attitude, and of an authoritarian educational attitude, when they are unexplained and severe (cf. Takala 1960, pp.120 125 and 1965). People having a democratic attitude stress the right of the child to know the grounds of sanctions, and select those methods they think best promote the attaining of socialization goals. The rationality of socializing forms the essential part of the conditions for norm learning, and its democracy forms good conditions for learning motivation. If conditions for norm learning and learning motivation are good, the probability of achieving the highest stages of social development, i.e., the independence, rationality, flexibility and altruism of individuals, is increased (cf. Kohlberg 1969, Gouldner 1970, pp. 211-220, Peck & Havighurst 1960, and Kay 1968).

The degree of the rationality of sanctioning is assumed to have the following impact on personal norms:

a) It influences the internalization of norms so that the more rational the sanctioning is, the more easy the norm internalization becomes. In addition to this, rational sanctions diminish the resistance to change of the affective component.

b) It particularly affects the cognitive component, and through it, the quality of the internal control. The ability to make exact cognitive discriminations produces an 'organized conscience', i.e., internal sanctions pertaining to certain actions are strong, but the level of generalized guilt feelings is low (such feelings are typical of people who have been socialized by irrational techniques and who are uncertain about norms). A conscience linked with a well-developed cognitive structure, prevents effectively undesirable behavior (cf. Aronfreed 1969, p.278), while a conscience composed of generalized feelings of guilt, linked with poor cognitive control, does it ineffectively. In studies with Freudian orientation, low correlations have been found between the level of guilt feelings and the 'tolerance of

temptation' partly because of the undifferentiated way of measuring conscience (Kohlberg 1969). It is probable that the scales based on projective tests measure for the most part unorganized, generalized feelings of guilt, which explains the low correlation cited above.

c) Rational sanctioning increases the probability of behavior consistent with internalized norms since it facilitates the development of an adequate behavioral control.

b) By producing behavior which is in line with internal control, rational methods of discipline foster the positive correlations among various components, i.e., the balance of norm structures and certainty about norms.

e) The rationality of sanctioning increases the degree of predictability of normative behavioral tendencies (i.e., behavioral readiness and actual norm behavior), since it strengthens the predictive power of cognitive evaluations of acts (i.e., the share of cognitive control).

The rationality of sanctioning is thought to produce structurally balanced personal norms. So we agree with Kohlberg's (op.cit.) view that the affections, cognitions and actions develop from a common basis (although they are formed partly by different learning processes), and that the higher stages of social development represent a more balanced psychological state than any of the preceding stages.

Since the democracy of sanctioning also facilitates norm learning, it is expected to have a similar impact on personal norms as rationality.

2.3.2. Empirical Analyses

It is not possible to test all the expectations concerning the effects of parental sanctioning on personal norms because of the limited scope of sanction measurement. However, a general picture of those effects can be obtained by a design based on crosstabulation of sanction variables. For this 2x2x2 factorial design the types of sanctions included in item 1.25 and 1.26 (see Appendix 1) are divided into two categories, 'mild versus severe' sanctions. The former category is formed from the original answers "scolded me seriously but kindly" and "gave me friendly advice", the latter category from the answers "smacked me", "yelled at me", "did not pay any attention".¹ The design and the distribution of the research group to its cells is illustrated in Table 11:

1) This kind of severe sanctions are thought to produce a weaker motivation for the internalization and learning of norms than so-called mild sanctions. Furthermore, they are thought, if not explained to a child, to reflect an authoritarian attitude in child-rearing, whereas mild sanctions are believed to reflect more democratic attitude.

TABLE 11. Research design for analyzing the effects of parental sanctions, and the number of cases in each cell of the design

Father's sanctions:		SEVERE		MILD	
		SEVERE	MILD	SEVERE	MILD
Arguments for sanctions:	Mother's sanctions:				
NOT GIVEN		N= 92	N= 74	N= 31	N= 38
GIVEN		N= 112	N= 97	N= 33	N= 124

The effect of sanction variables on norm variables will be first examined by three-way analysis of variance, since this statistical method of analysis is practicable in designs like the above. The results of these analysis of variance, where the principal component scores computed from total scores are used as dependent norm variables, are graphically described in Figure 7 (containing 5 subfigures). Each analysis of variance was carried out in two different ways based on two different computer programs, one representing an additive model and the other an interaction model. If the test for additivity included in the former program demonstrated that the assumptions of additivity seemed to be valid, the values of F-tests from the former program were regarded as criteria for significance of the main effects of sanction variables, but when the assumptions of additivity seemed to be unrealistic the values of F-tests from the interaction model were used in estimating the significance of both main and interaction effects. After examining the effects of sanction variables on personal norms in the light of results from analyses of variance, we will study them on the basis of regression analyses performed separately in each of the subgroups representing the eight cells of the design of this phase. In these analyses the principal component scores representing the affective component, the cognitive component, perceived informal social control, and norm uncertainty are used as predictors by which the variance of behavioral readiness, on the one hand, and that of the actual norm behavior, on the other hand, is predicted.¹ Thus by means of regression analysis we study the effect of sanction variables on the predictability of normative reactions. In the light of beta-coefficients of the listed predictors we will also make conclusions about whether there are differences between the subgroups with

1) By these predictors we have tried to operationalize those factors thought to be essential determinants of normative behavior (see Figure 1, p. 10) and assumed to be affected by socializing input

regard to the best predictors of normative behavior.

2.3.2.1. Analyses of Variance

When we study the results of analyses of variance it may be reasonable to take into account that the following factors may cause the effects of sanction variables not to come strongly into sight in empirical analyses or to be underestimated:

- according to our basic design we are trying to predict normative reactions of young adults partially by factors of the nearest socialization environment of their childhood. The intensity of the effects of these kind of factors on a person's normative evaluations and reactions decreases as a function of time after childhood. We expect that the influence of parental sanctions can still be seen in personal norms of young adults, but that it is not very strong any more.

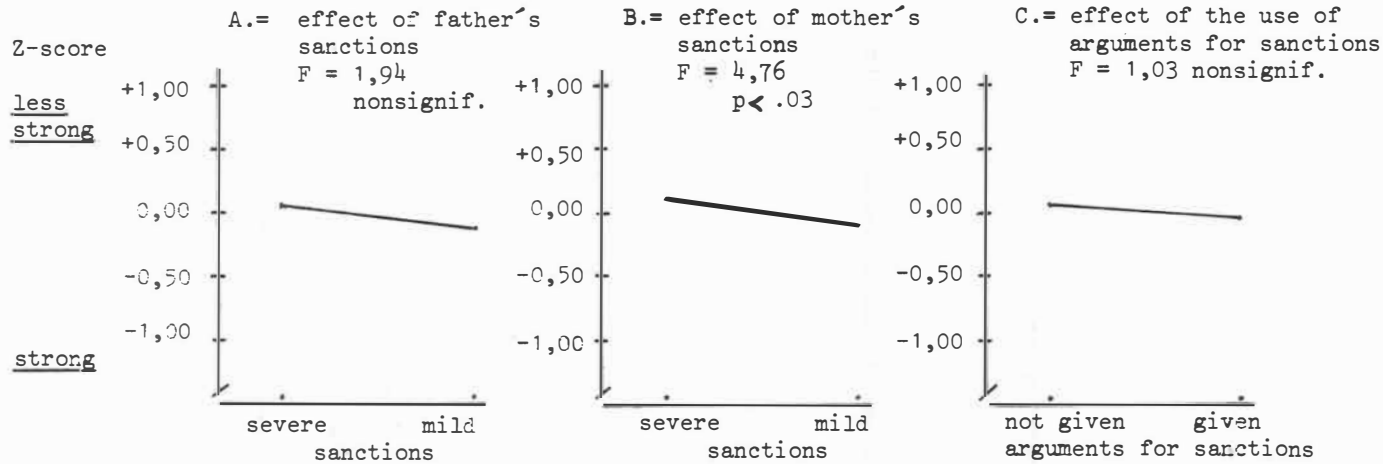
- this retrospective way of measurement of parental sanctions in this study may have a low reliability, thus preventing, in some cases, the real, though small, effects from being detected.

- in order to keep the number of cells of our design for empirical analyses moderate we had to dichotomize the original five-point classifications of the mother's and father's sanctions. Since on the basis of AID-analyses of Section I, we know that in some cases another kind of dichotomization would produce greater differences between subgroups in variables measuring personal norms, we can conclude that because of this methodical reason it is difficult to obtain very significant effects in analysis of variance.

Altogether, because of reasons listed above, we should not pay too much attention to the level of significance in F-tests. That is why we base our conclusions about the effects of sanction variables (i) more on the consistency of the observable effects with respect to their direction than on single tests of significance (ii) partly on the results of AID-analyses in addition to those of the analysis of variance, since the former technique is, in this case, more sensitive to the effects of sanction variables, and in it the influence of other independent variables is better controlled.

The main effects of sanction variables on the affective component of personal norms (see Figure 7.1) are consistently in the expected direction, although only the effect of the mother's sanction is significant. Also the first order interaction effects are in accordance with expectations. The

1. AFFECTIVE COMPONENT



INTERACTION EFFECTS:

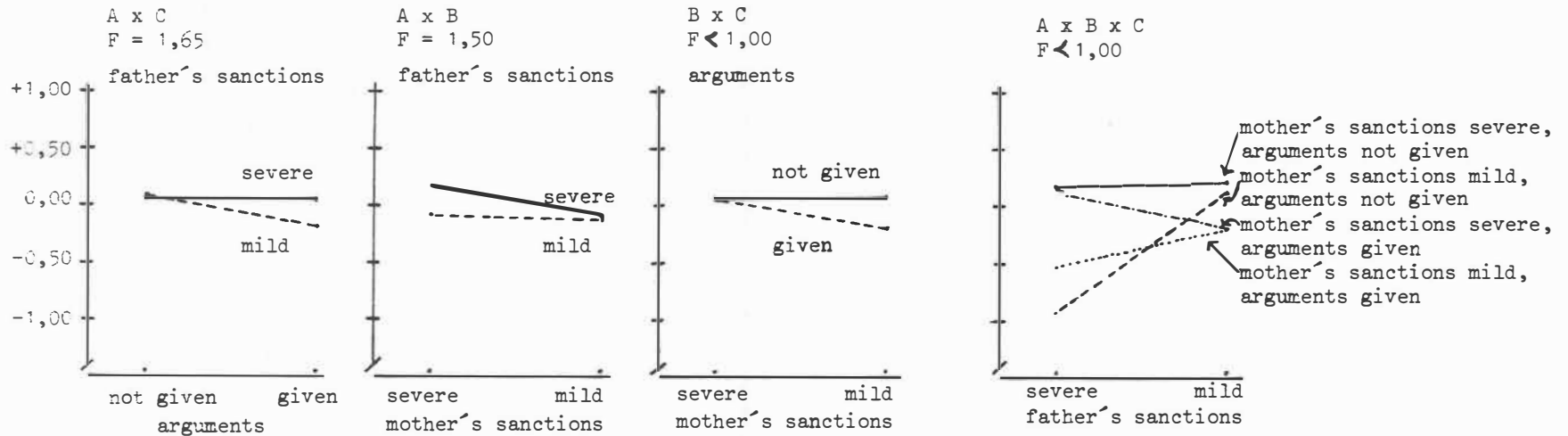


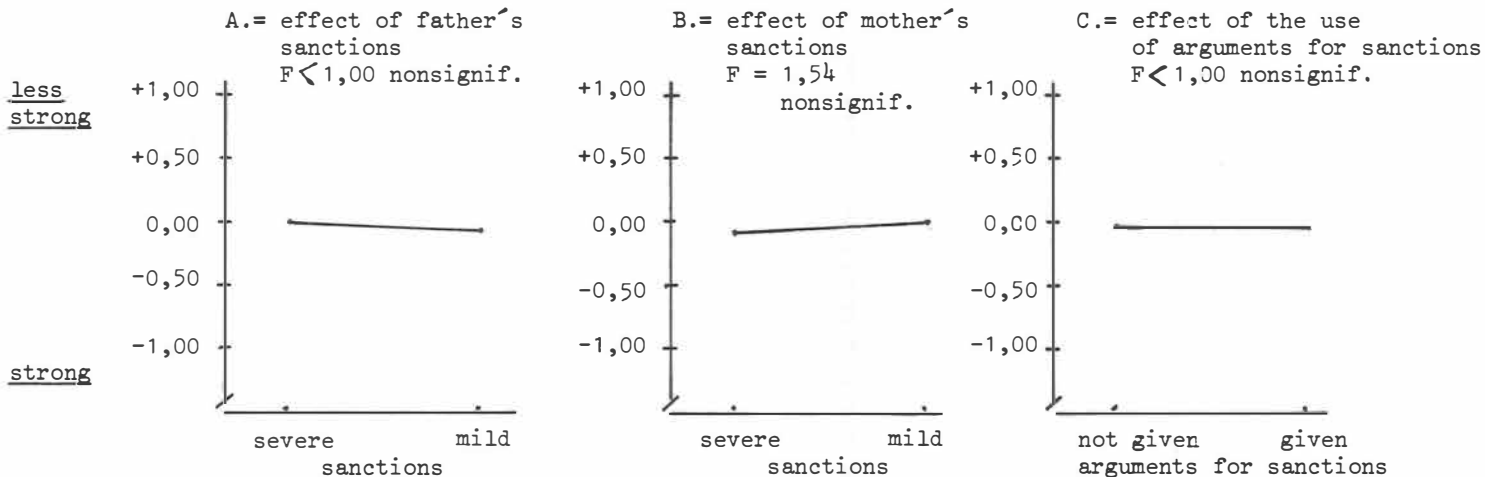
FIGURE 7. The main and interaction effects of parental sanctions on norm variables

general trend of results is as follows: rational sanctioning reflecting a democratic attitude of child-rearing (mild and explained sanctions) is effective from the point of view of internalization of norms, whereas sanctioning reflecting an authoritarian attitude (severe and unexplained sanctions) is ineffective in this respect. On the basis of the consistency of the results of analysis of variance and the fact that in AID-analyses the effects of sanctions came into sight as more significant although the influence of other independent variables was controlled, we conclude that the parental sanctions have so strong and long-lasting an effect on norm internalization that it can still be seen in the affective component of personal norms of young adults. The fact that the effects of parental sanctions are still visible in the intensity of inner, affective sanctions of young adults is logically in agreement with the earlier conclusions that the basic level of norm internalization is mainly determined during early childhood and remains rather constant because of the strong resistance to change of the affective component.

None of the main or interaction effects of sanction variables on the cognitive component (see Figure 7.2) were significant. However, in the AID-analysis of the cognitive component the effect of father's sanctions was significant in certain subgroups of the whole research group, but otherwise also AID-results indicate that parental sanctions explain better the variance of the affective component than that of the cognitive component among young adults. It is not impossible that the effects of parental sanctions on the cognitive component of personal norms have been such as described in our theoretical expectations, but possibly because of the weak change resistance of cognitive norm evaluations they are not visible any more at adult age.

Also in both of the operational scales of the behavioral component the effects of sanction variables seem to be slight (see Figures 7.3 and 7.4). In the actual norm behavior no significant effect can be observed, but in the behavioral readiness some of the main and first-order interaction effects are suggestive and in the expected direction, and the second-order interaction effect is nearly significant ($p < .05$). Since in the AID-analyses of the scales of the behavioral component the share of parental sanctions in explaining the variance of these scales was nonsignificant, we can conclude that the behavioral patterns of adult persons cannot, to a great extent, be predicted from the parental sanctions, the objects of which they have been during basic socialization. It is apparent that when one

2. COGNITIVE COMPONENT



INTERACTION EFFECTS:

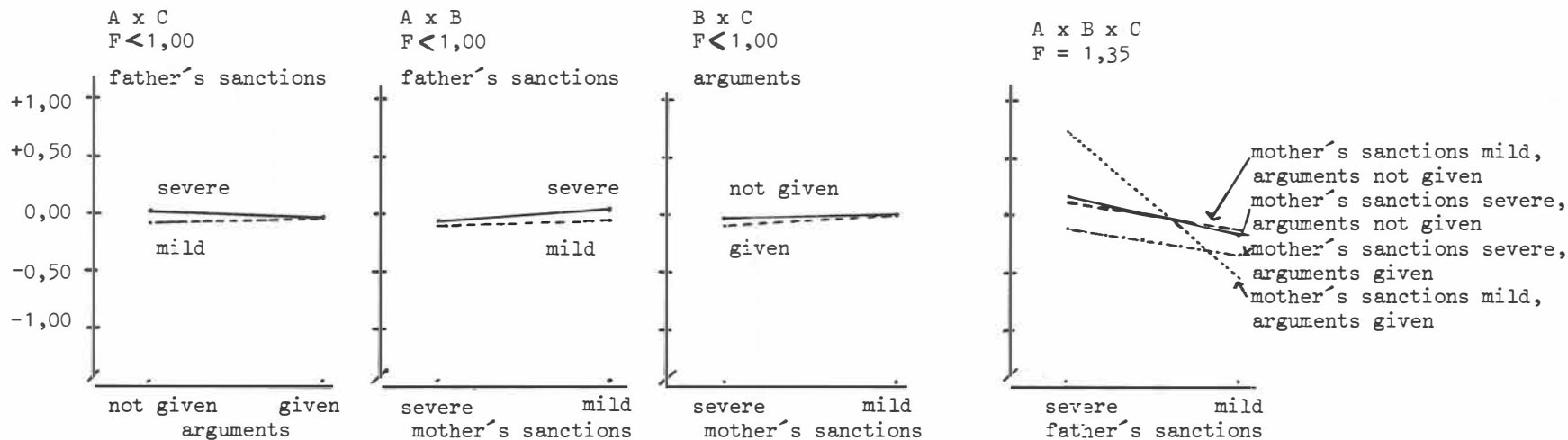
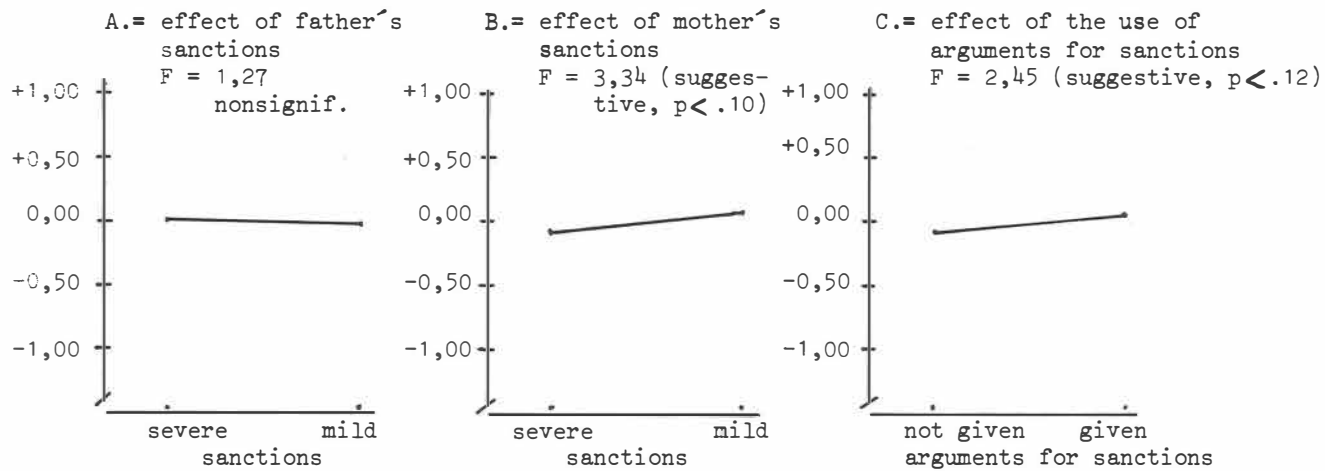


FIGURE 7. (continued)



INTERACTION EFFECTS:

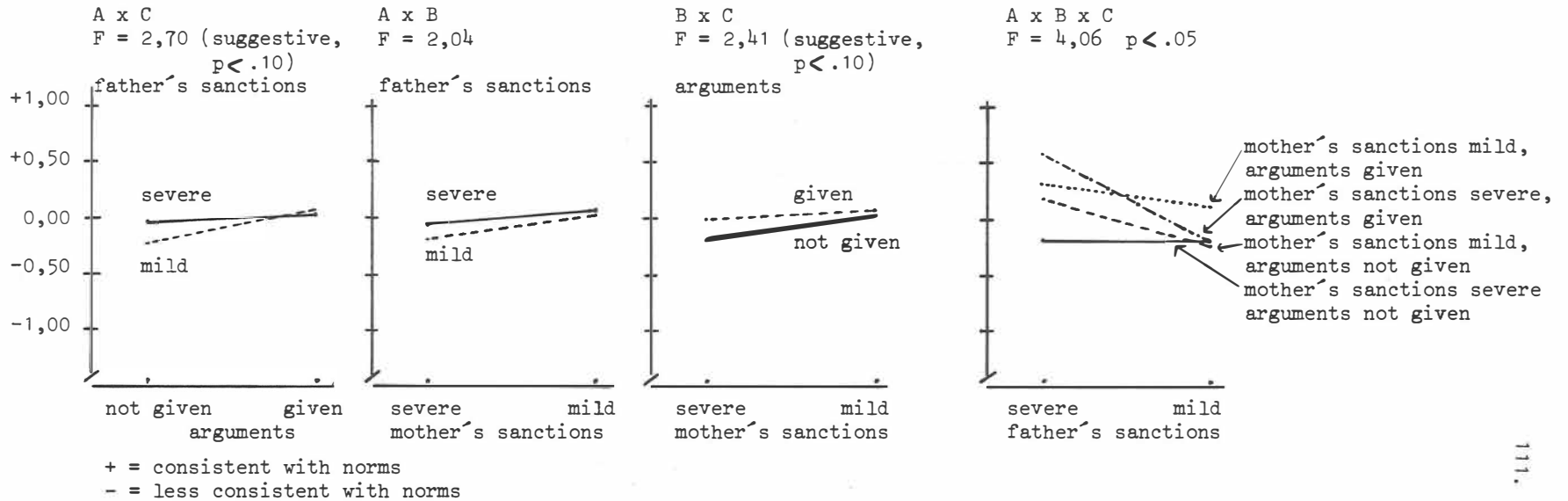
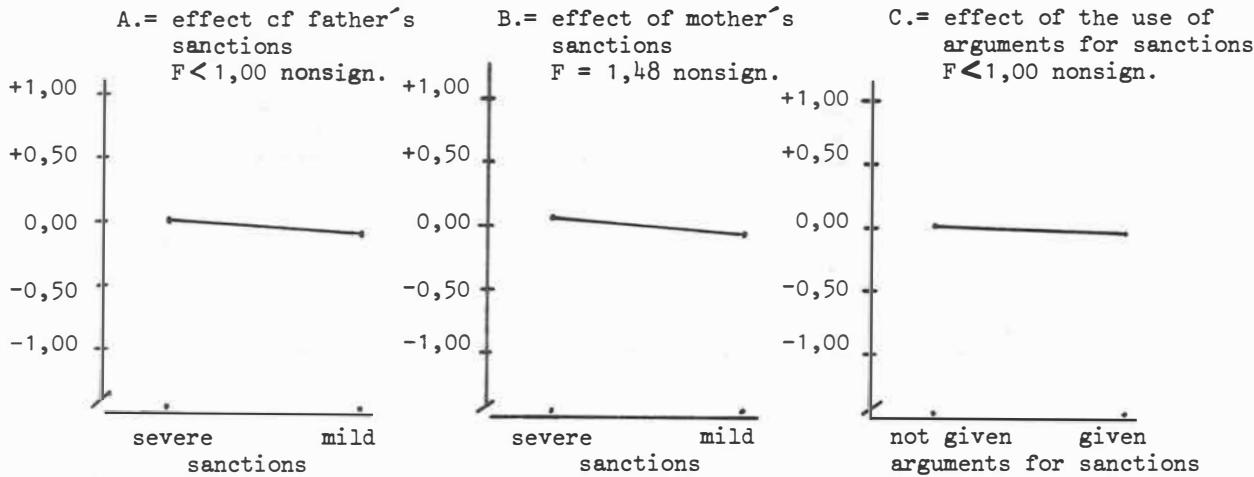
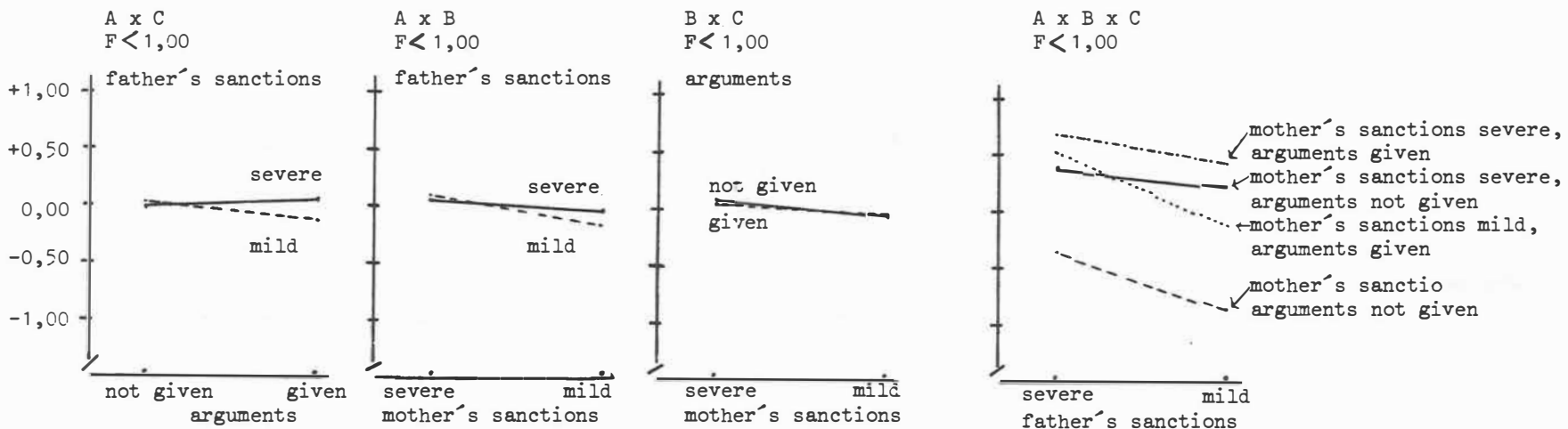


FIGURE 7. (continued)

4. ACTUAL NORM BEHAVIOR



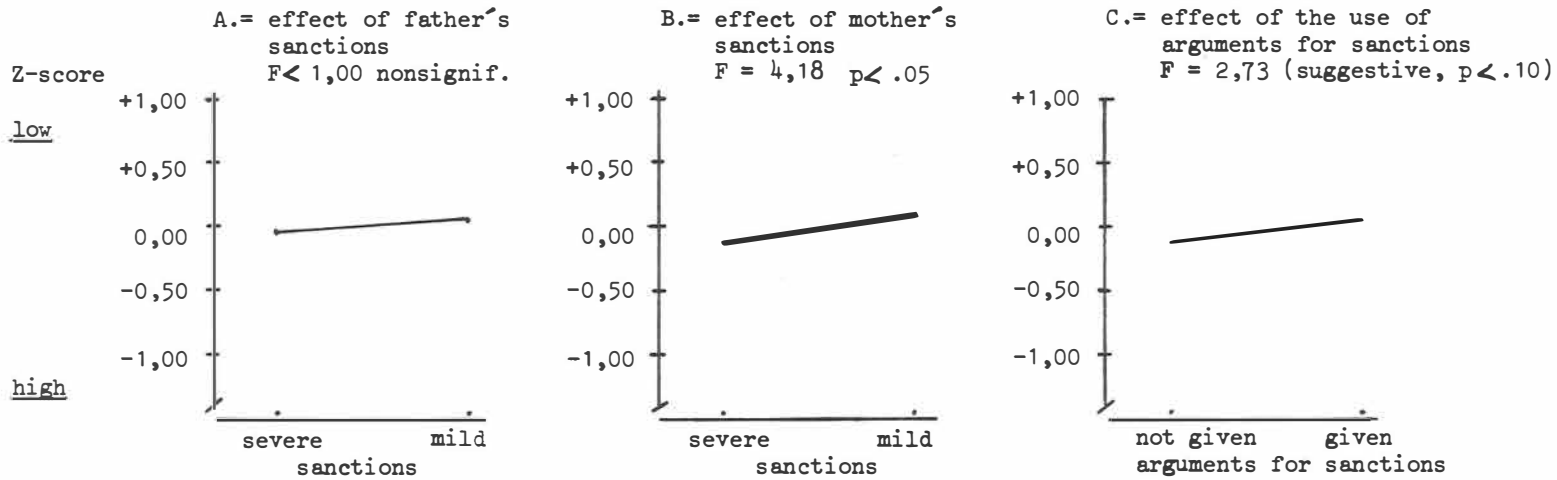
INTERACTION EFFECTS:



+ = relatively many 'norm violations'
- = less 'norm violations'

FIGURE 7. (continued)

5. UNCERTAINTY ABOUT NORMS



INTERACTION EFFECTS:

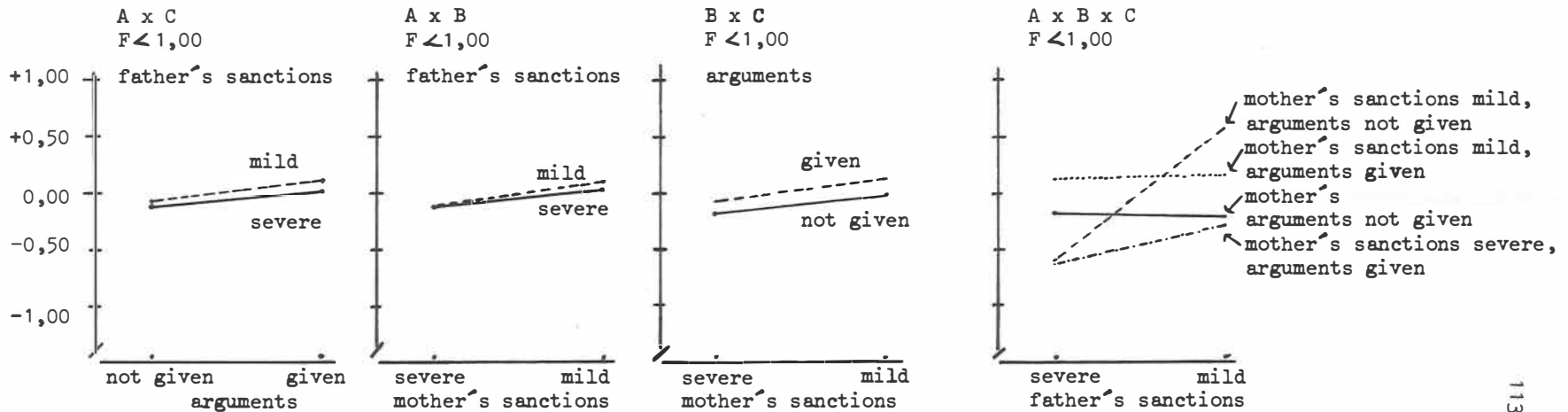


FIGURE 7. (continued)

enters into new age roles, the expectations of new groups and norm authorities begin to influence one's behavior and therefore the sanctions of norm authorities who have been important determinants of behavior in earlier age roles, may not be of much significance at adult age.

All of the main effects of sanction variables on the level of uncertainty about norms are in the expected direction, although they are small. The most significant is the effect of mother's sanctions (p .05), and that of the use of arguments for sanctions is suggestive (p .10). The interaction effects do not have an essential role in this respect. The results from analyses of variance and from AID-analyses may be interpreted so that, because of sex roles, sons are identifying themselves with their fathers and make conclusions about proper male behavior on the basis of the sanctioning behavior of their fathers. That is why the father's sanctions seem to have a greater effect on boys' cognitive evaluations of norms than the mother's sanctions have. On the other hand, the mother is the main educator in a Finnish family (cf. Marin 1966 a) and the way she rears her children (boys or girls) forms an essential part of the stimulus environment affecting the conditions for relevant social learning. Therefore, the mother's sanctions seem to be more important from the viewpoint of norm uncertainty and structural balance of personal norms.

In the light of examined analyses it seems that the effects of parental sanctions can be seen in the affective component of personal norms of young adults, and, to a lesser degree, in their behavioral readiness and their level of uncertainty about norms. These effects are not statistically strong, but their consistency in the expected direction bears witness that they are real, not spurious random effects. However, all of the detailed expectations presented in the preceding subchapter could not be adequately tested by our empirical data.

2.3.2.2. Regression Analyses

In connection with analyses of variance we analyzed the effects of parental sanctions on the means of norm variables in the subgroups formed by cross-tabulating the sanction variables and studied the differences of these means between subgroups. In connection with regression analyses will examine the effects of sanction variables on the predictability of normative behavior. Since we use as predictors other norm scales (cf. Figure

1, p. 11.) and compare the results of regression analyses of the above-mentioned subgroups with each other, we are, in fact, analyzing the effects of sanction variables on the interrelationships of certain norm variables. The results of the regression analyses are presented in Table 12 and the effect of sanction variables on multiple correlation are graphically described in Appendix 10 (in Point A. on multiple correlations concerning behavioral readiness, and in Point B. on multiple correlations concerning the actual norm behavior). When we speak about predictability of normative behavior, we may mean, in principle, two different kinds of predictability which we should not confuse with one another. Firstly, we may mean statistical predictability, as an index of which we can use multiple correlations from regression analysis. Secondly, we may speak about sociological predictability, i.e., whether one conforms with or deviates from the normative expectations of other people in a group, society etc. The number of actual norm violations could be seen as a kind of index of sociological predictability of one's behavior. It is possible that within a certain group, the normative behavior of individuals can be relatively well statistically predicted; however, from a sociological point of view it would be of a deviant nature (it would be possible, for instance, to predict criminal behavior well using scales of normlessness and uncertainty about norms as predictors). On the other hand, the high uncertainty about norms might decrease the predictability of normative behavior both statistically and sociologically (i.e., in the subgroups of persons having high level of norm uncertainty, the multiple correlation might be low, if we predicted normative behavior by affective and cognitive components and external sanctions, whereas the average number of norm violations might be high in this group). Thus we will first analyze in the light of multiple correlations the effects of parental sanctions on the predictability of normative behavior. After that we will also examine whether there are consistent differences between subgroups in the size of beta-coefficients of certain predictors. From Table 12 and Appendix 10 (Point A) concerning the predictability of behavioral readiness we observe that mild sanctions of the father and the mother and the use of arguments for sanctions have a decreasing effect on multiple correlations. It was just this kind of sanctions that were thought to promote relevant social learning. One possible interpretation of the mentioned effects is that the sanctions which facilitate relevant social learning at the same time promote the adaptation of flexible behavioral patterns. It is further possible that it is difficult to predict flexible behavior statistically (which takes into

TABLE 12. Regression analyses in groups formed by crosstabulating the sanction variables

A. Behavioral readiness as criterion variable:		Father's sanctions:			
		SEVERE		MILD	
Arguments for sanctions:	Mother's sanctions: Predictors:	SEVERE Beta	MILD Beta	SEVERE Beta	MILD Beta
NOT GIVEN	uncertainty about norms	-.351	-.475	-.085	-.349
	cognitive component	.168	.141	.020	-.019
	normative expectations	.138	.112	.470	-.095
	affective component	.235	.281	-.008	.273
	<u>multiple correlation</u>	.520	.601	.484	.494
GIVEN	uncertainty about norms	-.517	-.218	-.037	-.332
	cognitive component	.205	.238	.060	.181
	normative expectations	-.090	.098	.099	.071
	affective component	.122	.241	.537	.073
	<u>multiple correlation</u>	.537	.435	.548	.394
=====					
B. Actual norm behavior as criterion variable:					
NOT GIVEN	uncertainty about norms	<u>-.263</u>	<u>-.333</u>	<u>-.295</u>	<u>-.501</u>
	cognitive component	.130	.242	.238	.027
	normative expectations	.043	.028	.301	.066
	affective component	.094	.095	.044	-.032
	<u>multiple correlation</u>	.339	.452	.531	.512
GIVEN	uncertainty about norms	<u>-.159</u>	<u>-.061</u>	<u>.107</u>	<u>-.116</u>
	cognitive component	.071	.172	.111	.183
	normative expectations	-.063	-.016	.164	.046
	affective component	.056	.183	.382	.019
	<u>multiple correlation</u>	.172	.255	.421	.229

Note: The cognitive and affective components and normative expectations are represented as predictors by standardized scores of the analysis of principal components (and because the scale of norm uncertainty does not have significant correlations with them, the predictors are uncorrelated, orthogonalized in the whole research group).

account situational factors) by scales measuring general motives of normative behavior. This explanation may be too simplistic or only partial, since we see that the sanction variables also have interaction effects on the multiple correlations of behavioral readiness: for instance, if arguments for sanctions are given, then mildness of the mother's sanctions decreases the size of multiple correlations, but if arguments for sanctions are not given, then mild sanctions of the mother increases the size of multiple correlations. From Points B of Table 12 and Appendix 10 we see that the effects of sanction variables on the predictability of actual norm behavior are partly different from their effects on the predictability of behavioral readiness. The effect of the use of arguments for sanctions is in the same direction as was its effect in the case of behavioral readiness, but the effect of the father's sanctions is now in the opposite direction. The mother's sanctions do not have a visible main effect, but the interactions show that also they have an effect, which depends, however, on the effects of other sanction variables. We will not try to interpret these effects in this connection. We will, however, return to them after we have also obtained an overall picture about the effects of other variables (of the degree of urbanization of one's place of residence, socio-economic background, and the level of education) in this respect.

We have directed our attention thus far only to the multiple correlations, but now we shall take a look at the beta-coefficients of the predictors in Table 12. As predictors we have used standardized scores from the analysis of principal components, which means that the predictors do not correlate with each other within the whole research group. This makes the interpretation about the share of each predictor in explaining the variance of the criterion variable more simple and reliable (cf. Konttinen 1970, pp. 7-8). A consistent trend in the differences between subgroups can be seen in the beta-coefficients of uncertainty about norms concerning the actual norm behavior (see underlined coefficients in point B of Table 12). The use of arguments for sanctions seems to clearly decrease the importance of the uncertainty about norms as a predictor of actual norm behavior. If the mother's sanctions are mild, but sanctions are used without explanations, then the share of the norm uncertainty is great in the prediction of actual norm behavior or behavioral readiness. The fact that the use of explanations for sanctions seems to increase the share of the cognitive component in the multiple correlations of the behavioral readiness partially supports our expectation that rational sanctioning promotes

cognitive control of normative behavior. However, this kind of evidence cannot be found in the beta-coefficients of the cognitive component concerning the actual norm behavior. It was expected that authoritarian sanctioning (severe and unexplained sanctions) would make one rather dependent in one's normative behavior on external sanctions (normative expectations of others). The trends in beta-coefficients do not fully support this expectation. It seems that when the father's sanctions are mild, the mother's sanctions severe, and arguments for sanctions are not given, the share of normative expectations in predicting normative behavior becomes great (this can be seen in both criterion variables). If the father's sanctions are mild, and the mother's sanctions severe as was the case above, but the arguments for sanctions are given, the inner, affective sanctions gain a more important role in determining normative behavior. These findings seem to reflect some interesting underlying mechanism, if they are not random effects (which, according to our opinion, is not probable), but they are difficult to interpret.

2.4. Effects of Type of Community, Social Background, and Level of Education on Personal Norms

2.4.1. Theoretical Expectations

In the preceding chapters we have analyzed both theoretically and empirically the effects of the degree of urbanization of a community and the socio-economic stratum of the home on parental socializing and the effects of certain aspects of parental socializing (their methods of sanctioning) on personal norms. Now it is time to make a synthesis about the expected effects of the type of community and one's social background on personal norms in their totality including both the indirect influence mediated through parental child-rearing behavior and more direct contextual effects. In addition to this the impact of the level of education on personal norms will also be considered. If we use our categorization of factors influencing norm socialization presented in Section I, we can say that the level of education belongs to the category of factors linked with the individual himself, the socio-economic status of the childhood home to the category of factors linked with one's nearest socialization environment, and the degree of urbanization of one's place of residence to the category of community level factors. Since the empirical analyses of Section I indicated that they are, in addition to membership of a boys' gang, the most significant of the independent variables included in our study, their effects are worthy of a closer look.

According to traditional sociological views the following kind of cultural differences are thought to exist between urban and rural communities (cf., e.g. Allardt & Littunen 1972, pp. 320-322)¹:

- the values prevailing in a rural community form a more uniform normative structure than the more pluralistic values prevailing in an urban community due, for instance, to mass migration to cities, more differentiated social structure of cities etc.
- the characteristics of an expressive organization are more typical of a rural than of an urban community, where the characteristics of an instrumental organization are more prevalent

1) As we have mentioned earlier, these kind of differences expressed above in an exaggerated, stereotypic form may be decreasing nowadays in industrialized, 'modern' societies because of the urbanization of the whole society, when also people in rural areas are adopting urban, western mass culture

- due to the differences in the degree of division of labor, the role expectations are more specialized in an urban community and more diffuse in a rural community
- the values of rural community in Finland are more traditional and religion-based than the more secular values of an urban community (see e.g. Seppänen 1972, pp. 164-165)
- due to the more uniform culture and wider and stricter informal social control in a rural community, the pressure toward conformity is relatively stronger there than in an urban community

These general differences and the more specific differences in social and ecological conditions (see ch. 2.2.1., point B.) were assumed to cause differences also in the contents and forms of rural versus urban socialization. The empirical analysis of our research data concerning parental sanctions as well as other studies (e.g., Takala 1960) give support to this assumption. In a summarizing and stereotypic way we can say that the home socialization in rural areas can be regarded as more affective and authoritarian than that in urban areas. This kind of socialization may be functional from the point of view of certain implicit, underlying basic values. According to Allardt (1964, pp. 84-86) the goal of the system of expectations emphasizing similarity and uniformity, expressing itself in a strong pressure toward conformity, is stability and order. On the other hand, he considers that the goal of a system of expectations allowing dissimilarity is efficiency. The kind of socializing which aims at transmitting the prevailing culture as unchanged as possible from one generation to another may be regarded as conservative. Socializing which encourages independence, creativity, originality, a critical mind etc., can be seen to aim, in addition to the mere transmission of culture, also at its renewing. The former kind of socialization serves stability and order, whereas the latter kind of socialization serves social change and dynamic development. If efficiency in instrumental action brings about new technology, new modes of production and thereby changes in culture and social life, then socializing individuals into the changed roles of the future instead of the prevailing roles of the present is more functional both from the point of the individual himself and of the further maintaining of efficiency. We can conclude that the relatively rigid, affective and authoritarian socializing of rural parents better serves the conservative function of socialization and prepares individuals to become competent role performers in stable social conditions, whereas the more rational and flexible socializing of urban parents prepares individuals to

better adapt themselves also to changed social conditions and roles and thus serves the dynamic function of cultural renewal of socialization, too. Because of certain prevailing social and ecological conditions and the above described emphasis in socialization, conformity to expectations is more based on emotional solidarity in rural communities, whereas in urban communities the solidarity is more of an organic nature founded on common utilitarian aims. By using Parsonsian terminology (see Parsons et al. 1953, pp. 18-46, McKinley 1964, pp. 8-11, and Rex 1961, pp. 107-110) we can say that in communities where conformity is based on emotional solidarity, the problems of intergration and pattern-maintenance are experienced as important, and the institutionalized role expectations stress affective attitude and particularistic orientation toward people and acts. On the other hand, in communities where problems of adaptation are experienced as important, instrumental roles and organic solidarity gain primacy being reflected in role expectations emphasizing an affectively neutral attitude and universalistic orientation toward persons and acts. The prevailing role expectations influence as direct contextual effects the orientations and reactions of actors, i.e. their personal norms, aside from the effects of earlier socialization. Based on all that has been said above, we can conclude that because of role expectations which, on the average, lay greater emphasis on affective attitude and particularistic orientation in rural areas than in urban areas, the personal norms of persons living in the country are more affectively loaded than the personal norms of persons living in cities. Empirical evidence about such differences in the affectivity of general orientation can be seen in the results of a survey made by Allardt et al. (1962). It is said in their report that the most conspicuous differences between the aggregates of country versus city residents in attitudes toward alcohol are due to the differing shares of the affective and cognitive components in attitude formation in these groups. The attitudes of the urban group were more determined by the cognitive factors than the attitudes of the rural group. We can further think that because of rigid socializing and of the relatively strong and change-resistant affective component, the change of culture and social conditions causes norm uncertainty especially in rural areas, whereas the accumulation of certain kind of socialization conditions into the lower urban social strata and more general instrumental orientation emphasizing utility in urban communities may cause

normlessness to be a more typical form of norm alienation there¹⁾. The basic points of our above considerations can be illustrated in a highly simplified form by the following cross-section:

TABLE 13. The relations of personal norms and the types of norm alienation to the function of socialization and to the type of solidarity

The basis of integration of and solidarity to the social system: The function of socialization:	EMOTIONAL	ORGANIC (ACTIONAL)
CONSERVATIVE	<u>Rural</u> community, <u>expressive</u> organization Personal norms: <u>affectively</u> loaded General type of norm alienation: <u>uncertainty</u> about norms Typical feature: inflexibility	Bureaucratic organization <u>cognitively</u> loaded <u>normlessness</u>
RENEWING, PROMOTING SOCIAL CHANGE	Personal norms: <u>affectively</u> loaded General type of norm alienation: <u>uncertainty</u> about norms	<u>Urban</u> community, <u>instrumental</u> organization <u>normlessness</u> Typical feature: flexibility

The affective loading of personal norms is expected to be also seen in that the share of the affective component in the statistical prediction of normative behavior is higher in the rural group than in the urban group in addition to the fact that the average degree of norm internalization is expected to be higher in the former group. Also the role of perceived informal social control is assumed to be a more important predictor of normative

1) Kämäräinen (1970) found positive ecological correlations between the size and density of the population of a community and the frequencies of deviant behavior classified as criminal. This is interpreted to indicate that normlessness is most general in big cities. These ecological correlations do not justify the conclusion that, at individual level the average level of normlessness is higher among city residents than among persons living in the country.

behavior among country people than among urban group, in the latter group the cognitive component is thought to be a good predictor of normative behavior. Because of the relatively stronger pressure toward conformity in rural areas, the behavior there is expected to be more conforming and, therefore, the average number of norm violations is expected to remain lower than among persons from urban areas.

Due to the more heterogeneous population and a higher degree of differentiation of labor, the differences between social strata in home socialization and in personal norms are thought to be greater in urban areas than in the country. McKinley (op. cit., pp. 116-120) thinks that occupational roles form the most fundamental basis of social stratification in modern industrial societies concentrating on the resolution of adaptive problems. He further assumes that the father's occupation, the kind of work he is doing, influences the internal relations in the family and, through that, patterns of home socializing. The social rewards and material goods, on the one hand, and the amount of experienced frustrations in life, on the other hand, become rather unevenly distributed among the different levels of social structure. Because of the accumulation of aggression-arousing frustrations among the lower social strata and for other reasons analyzed earlier in Section I (in ch. 2.2.1., point A) the socializing in the homes of lower urban strata is more aggressive-authoritarian than in upper strata, in which the home socializing is more rational and democratic. We have assumed that the social and geographical distance from the central parts of society may cause in some respects similar consequences on home socialization. Therefore, the differences in personal norms between rural groups and the groups of urban lower strata are smaller than the differences between the rural groups and groups of upper urban strata. It is, however, expected that the conditions and patterns of home socializing of lower urban social strata produce more the normlessness type of norm alienation than the conditions and socializing methods of rural groups. The social strata do not differ from one another only in techniques of home socialization, but also in the amount of relevant linguistic stimulation offered for children. The role of language is important from the point of view of norm socialization, since social learning is a process grounded much on cognitive processes and on concept formation. According to Bandura (1969) mediating cognitive processes, i.e. the coding of model stimuli into images and words, have a significant role in observational learning, explaining its speed and storage

in the long-term memory. Takala's study (1970) revealed clear differences in the linguistic development between groups of children from different social strata. The writings of upper and middle class children represented a higher level of concept formation and linguistic structure than those of lower class children. Taking into account this and the differences of home socializing, the following differences in personal norms between persons coming from homes of upper social strata and persons coming from homes of lower social strata are expected:

- a) the degree of internalization of norms is, on the average, higher among persons from upper strata than among persons from lower strata. It is also expected that the affective component predicts the normative behavior better in upper social classes than in lower ones.
- b) the more rational and flexible socializing of upper classes promotes the development of relevant cognitive control of behavior; therefore, the cognitive component is expected to be a better predictor of the normative behavior in upper than in lower classes.
- c) because of the more authoritarian socializing of the lower strata, the share of normative expectations of others (perceived social control) in explaining the variance of normative behavior is expected to be greater in lower than in upper strata.
- d) because of aggressive socializing and other reasons, both types of norm alienation, normlessness and uncertainty about norms are more common in lower than in upper strata.
- e) partly because of the poorer inner control of normative behavior in lower strata, the average number of norm violations is expected to be higher at these levels of social structure than in upper classes, in which the intentions to perform 'forbidden acts' are more rare than in lower classes.

Before turning to the empirical analyses we will still shortly analyze the expected effects of schooling on personal norms. The level of formal education has probably many connections with personal norms, both direct and indirect. Firstly, by influencing the amount of relevant cognitive and social stimulation, the input of formal socializing may have strong and rather direct effects on an individual's social learning and development. Nowadays increased attention is paid in curricula and planning of educational processes to the arrangements of the learning environment from the viewpoint of promoting the social development of students. Secondly, the opinion is generally accepted among sociologists that education is one of the main criteria for

role allocation in modern societies. Thus education serves as a channel for upward social mobility. According to Parsons (1965, pp. 26-28) extensive education preparing individuals for high status positions in society promotes affectively neutral and universalistic orientation. Thus we can expect that the personal norms of those having a high level of education are more cognitively loaded than the personal norms of persons having less education. There has not been much research done about the effects of education on affective and social development. The findings of Waisanen and Kumata (1972, see also Waisanen 1971) can be regarded, however, as partial support for the assumptions presented above about the effects of education on value orientations. When analyzing the relationship between formal education and modernity with a comparative strategy that involved large national probability samples, they found a positive, but curvilinear, relationship between the number of years of education and every attitudinal or behavioral indicator of modernity in each national sample. Thirdly, the information itself one receives during educational processes may help one (depending, of course, on the degree of its relevance) to better grasp the complex social reality of modern society and to form an integrated system of personal values and norms. A wide knowledge about societal affairs may concretely increase an individual's possibilities to influence his own destiny. For instance, Finnish studies demonstrate that the more educated people know much more about economic affairs, about the bases of taxation, about laws and statutes, about political affairs etc. than less educated people. This kind of knowledge enlarges one's chances for participation in individually and socially important activities. Thus the level of education may have a rather strong, positive relationship with a sense of control, which in turn has a logical relation to uncertainty. In fact, uncertainty about norms reflects a poor sense of control concerning the cognitive grasping of societal processes. An individual, highly uncertain about norms, may experience social life as chaos, as an irrational happening, since he does not figure out the rules and regularities behind the social interaction. Therefore it is difficult for him to find rules and adequate control for his own behavior, too. On the other hand, one may understand well 'the rules of the game', but feel that one cannot, however, much influence one's own destiny (possibly just because of those rules). This kind of lack of sense of control is likely to produce feelings of powerlessness.

Altogether, the main effects of the level of education on personal norms are expected to be the following:

- the share of the cognitive component in the predicted variance of normative behavior is greater among persons having much education than among persons having a low level of formal education
- the share of perceived informal control in the predicted variance of normative behavior is smaller in the group of highly educated persons than in the group of persons having less formal schooling
- the average level of norm uncertainty is lower among persons having a high level of education than among persons having a low level of education.

In this chapter we have formulated expectations concerning 'the main effects' of the type of community, social background, and the level of education on personal norms. The AID-analyses of Section I indicated that a great proportion of the influence of the independent variables of this kind may be composed of interaction effects. We saw, however, that we do not have enough theoretical and empirical knowledge to formulate detailed expectations concerning the interaction effects of the mentioned independent variables on personal norms.

2.4.2. Empirical Analyses

2.4.2.1. Analyses of Variance

For the analyses of variance the following 2x2x3 factorial design was formed by crosstabulating the degree of urbanization of the place of residence, the level of education (both in dichotomized form), and the three-point index of the socio-economic status of the home¹:

1) The socio-economic status of the childhood home and the degree of urbanization of the place of residence are so-called unit data describing the kind of environment in which individuals live. Unit data are used to characterize individuals in the unit (see Davis et al. 1961, p. 215)

TABLE 14. Research design for analyzing the effects of the type of community, the socio-economic status of the home and the level of education, and the number of cases in each cell of the design

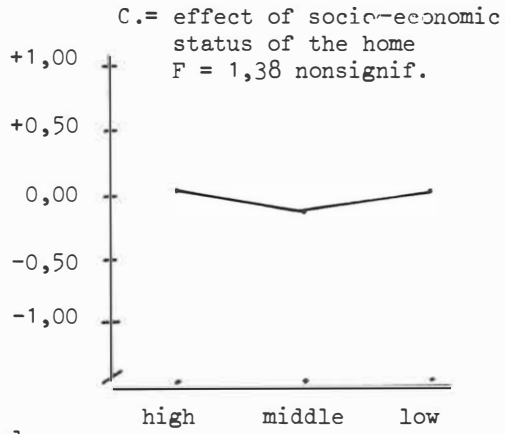
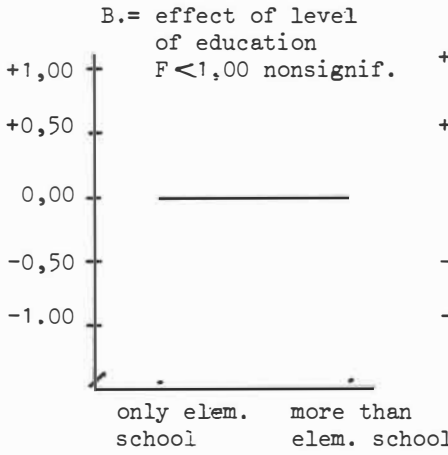
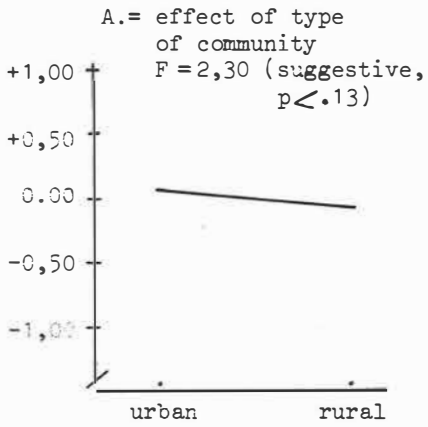
Type of community: Level of education:		URBAN		RURAL	
		ONLY ELEM. SCHOOL	MORE THAN ELEM. S.	ONLY ELEM. SCHOOL	MORE THAN ELEM. S.
Socio-economic status of the home:					
HIGH		N= 18	N= 106	N= 33	N= 55
MIDDLE		N= 21	N= 38	N= 86	N= 45
LOW		N= 43	N= 46	N= 71	N= 38

The degree of urbanization is dichotomized so that the category urban is formed from the categories of 1-6 of the original classification (see pp. 37-38) including towns and cities, the category rural is formed from the original categories of 7-8 including rural centers and sparsely populated countryside. The uneven distribution of the cases of our research group to the cells of the above design indicates that the axes of the design correlate with one another. Tannenbaum and Bachman (1964) have demonstrated that a dichotomy may not be sufficient for controlling the effect of a certain variable, since as they say ... "The larger the number of categories, of course, the greater the accuracy in matching; however, the point of 'diminishing returns' is soon reached as the matching becomes more precise and as the number of cases falling within each category is reduced". We had to be satisfied with the dichotomous level of matching in order to obtain a sufficient number of cases in each cell. The fairly crude matching based on dichotomization is, however, much better than no matching at all, but it may produce some spurious effects. In our case the danger of spurious effects particularly concerns the comparisons of subgroups within the columns "more than elementary school education", since the average level of education of the subgroups of these columns may vary. Within the columns of "only elementary school education" this kind of problem does not exist, since the level of education is constant. The results of the three-way analyses of variance concerning each dependent variable are presented in graphically illustrated form in Figures 8.1 - 8.5. When examining these results attention is paid mainly to the points which seem to deviate from our expectations or otherwise need interpretative comments.

The analysis of variance of the standardized scores representing the affective component (see Figure 8.1) indicates that the main effect of the degree of urbanization is in the expected direction, but not significant in this analysis because of technical reasons, since the analysis of AID (see Table 7.1) indicated that the difference in the means is clearly greater and more significant if the group of persons from cities is compared with the group of persons from smaller towns and countryside. Thus our expectation concerning the effect of the type of community on the degree of norm internalization is supported with the specification that 'the border line' between urban vs. rural subcultures seems to be located in Finland between city conditions and other communities. Interesting is the finding that the level of education does not have a considerable main effect on the affective component, but it influences the degree of norm internalization, however, in interaction with the degree of urbanization. This seems to indicate that subcultural background and earlier socialization at childhood age has significance from the point of view of the influence of the later socialization at school age. The expectation that the average degree of norm internalization would be higher in upper social strata than in lower strata is not supported by the results.

The results concerning the cognitive component also support our expectations about the effect of the type of community. The direction of the difference of the means of the urban and rural group indicates that 'forbidden acts' are regarded as more useful among town residents than within the rural group. This may perhaps reflect the instrumentalistic orientation assumed to be characteristic of urban culture. However, the effect of education is in this respect more significant. The continuation of school attendance after elementary school seems to promote 'urban instrumentalistic orientation', as was expected. The expected effect of the socio-economic status of the home did not appear. The effects of the type of community on behavioral readiness and on actual norm behavior are nonsignificant (see Figures 8.3 and 8.4), contrary to our expectations, since we assumed the behavior in the rural group to be, on the average, more consistent with norms than in the urban group. The very significant effects of the level of education and socio-economic background on behavioral readiness are congruent with our expectations. The effect of the level of education on actual norm behavior remained nonsignificant. This result is biased, since in connection with AID- analyses, when

Z-score
less
strong



strong

INTERACTION EFFECTS:

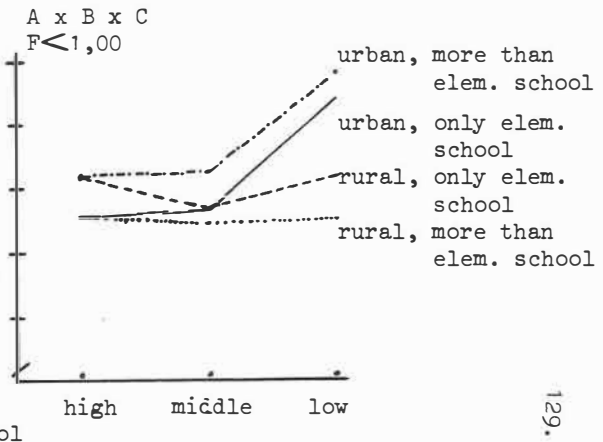
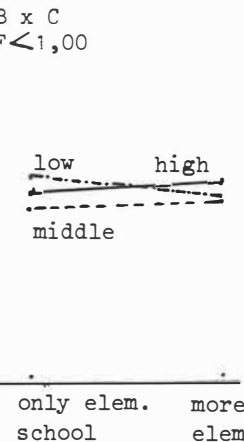
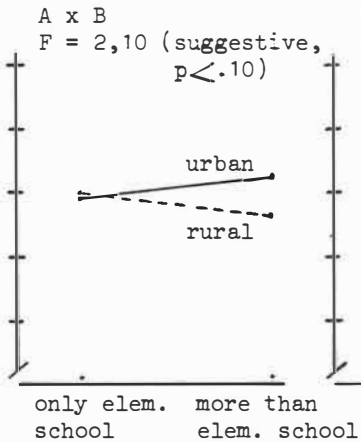
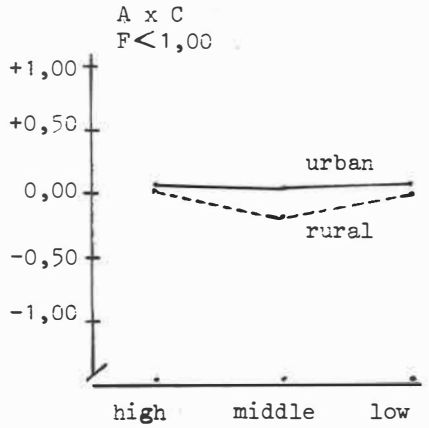
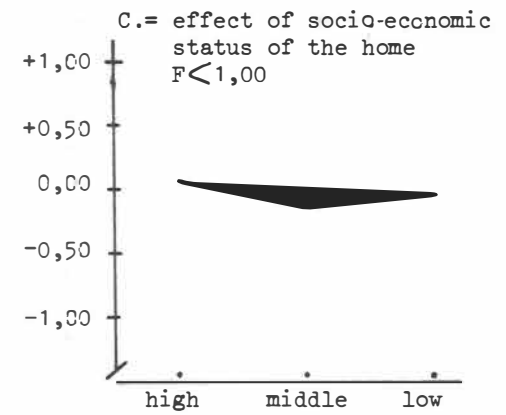
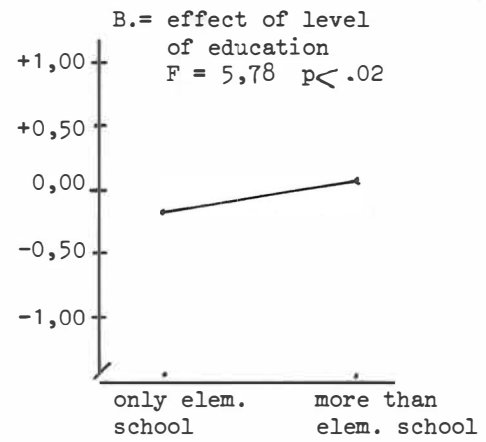
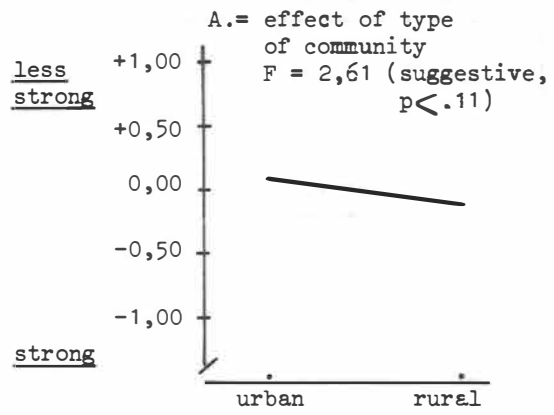


FIGURE 8. The main and interaction effects of the type of community, the socio-economic status of the home, and the level of education on norm variables

2. COGNITIVE COMPONENT



INTERACTION EFFECTS:

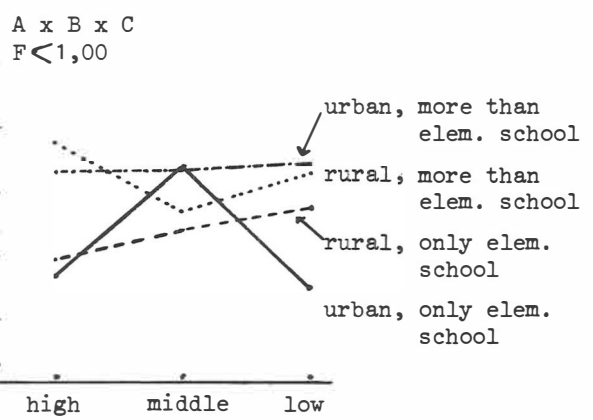
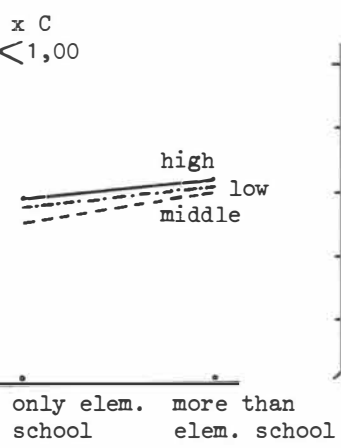
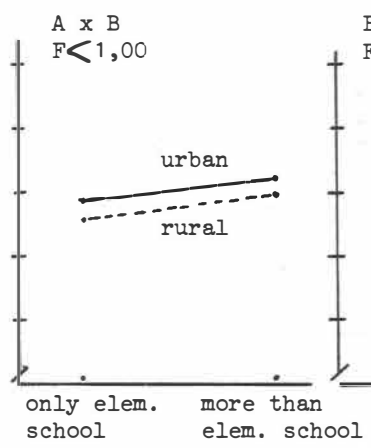
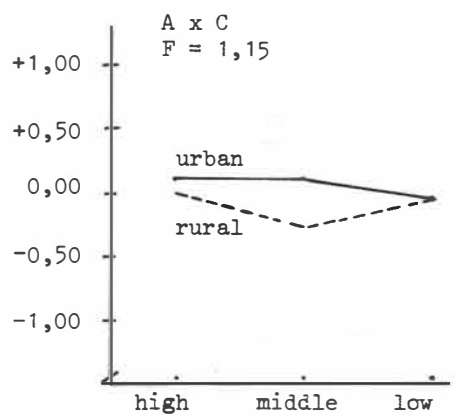
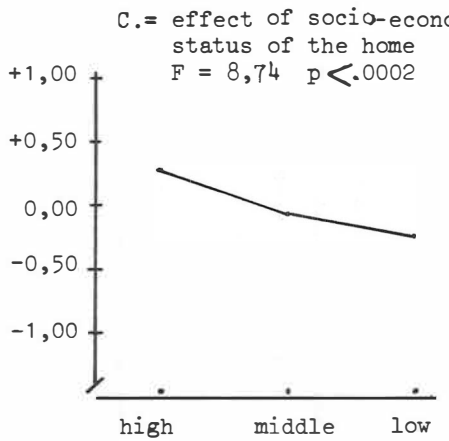
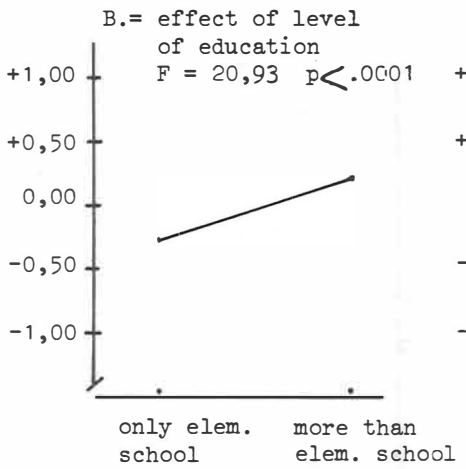
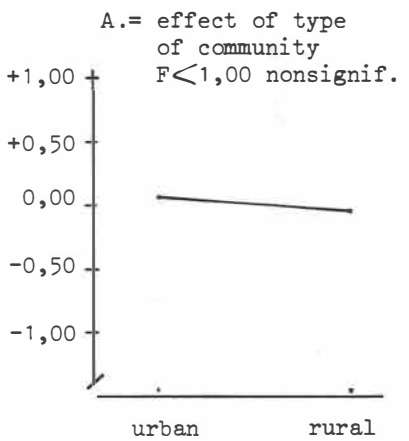


FIGURE 8. (continued)

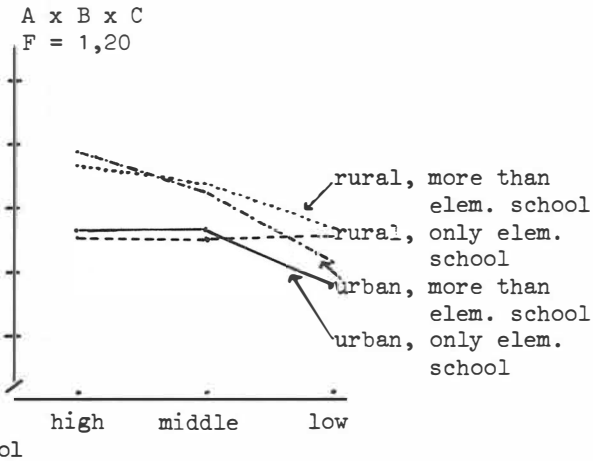
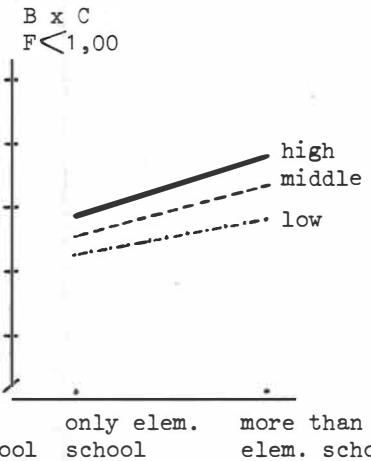
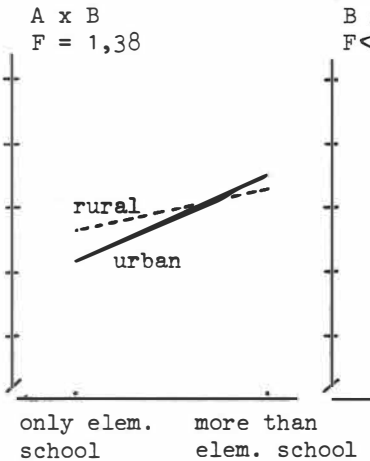
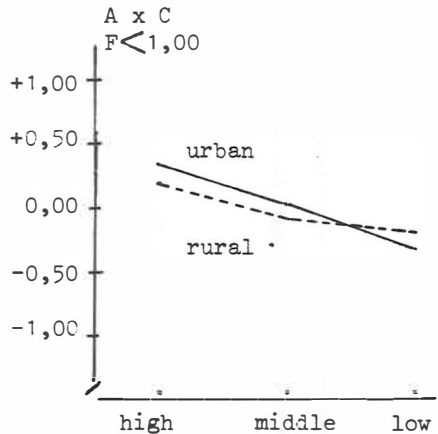
the level of education was classified into four categories, it was found that the relationship between the level of education and actual norm behavior is significant but curvilinear. According to expectations, the differences between social strata are greater within the urban group. Also the effect of the level of education seems to be stronger in the urban group. As expected, the average number of norm violations is the greatest among persons coming from homes of low socio-economic background. In addition to this main effect, the social background seems to influence the effect of more than elementary education on actual norm behavior (see interaction effect B x C in Figure 8.4). Because of the stronger average internalization of norms in a rural community, it was expected that uncertainty about norms would be more common there than in urban areas. The difference of the means of norm uncertainty between the urban and the rural group is in the expected direction, but is, however, nonsignificant (see Figure 8.5). The results of AID concerning norm uncertainty (see Table 7.5) lend some support to the idea that this difference would be more significant, if the group of residents is compared with the group of persons from smaller towns and countryside. As we have stated earlier, the birth of 'urban subculture' seems to be connected with the conditions of large cities. The very significant effects of the level of education and the socio-economic status of the home were expected. The fact that the differences in norm uncertainty seem to be, to a some extent, greater within the urban group is also congruent with our expectations. The trends in the figure illustrating the interaction effect of the level of education and socio-economic background (B x C) give rise to the interpretation that the differences between groups from different social strata increase as a function of the length of formal education. This may be due to the fact that those coming from beneficial conditions from the point of view of early socialization are more able to utilize the social and cognitive stimulation offered in a school setting. This finding is in agreement with the research findings in the cognitive domain, according to which the present school system seems to strengthen, and not to diminish, the differences in cognitive development the pupils have when they come to schools. It is worth noting, however, that within each stratum the average level of norm uncertainty is lower among those having more than elementary school education.

All in all, the results of the analyses of variance lend support to most of our expectations, but results deviating from those expectations were

3. BEHAVIORAL READINESS



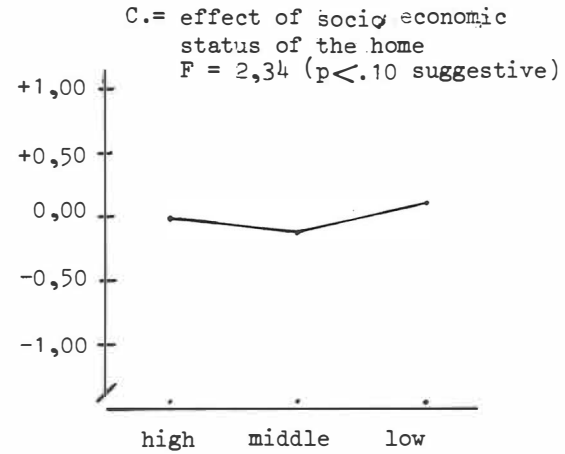
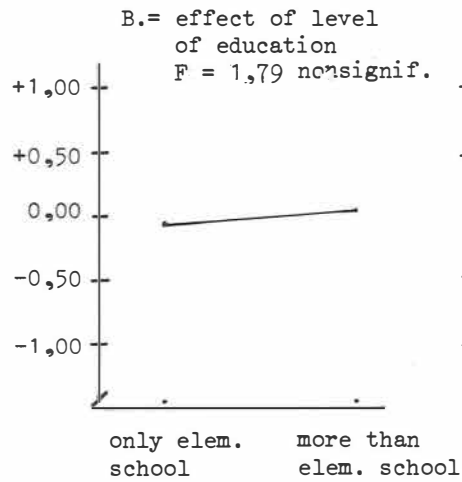
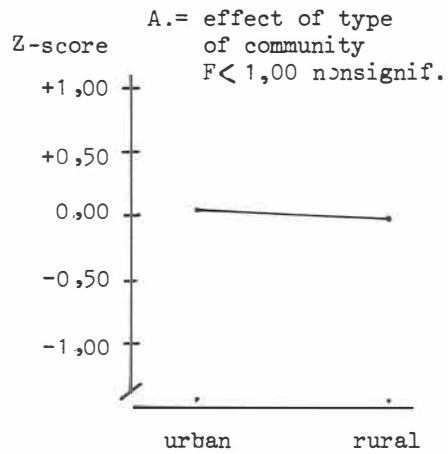
INTERACTION EFFECTS:



+ = consistent with norms
 - = less consistent with norms

FIGURE 8. (continued)

4. ACTUAL NORM BEHAVIOR



INTERACTION EFFECTS:

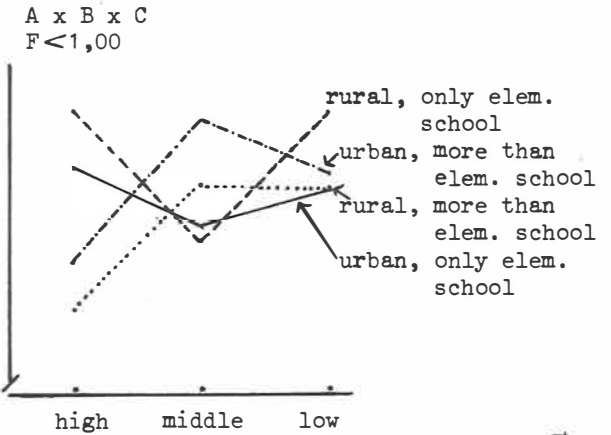
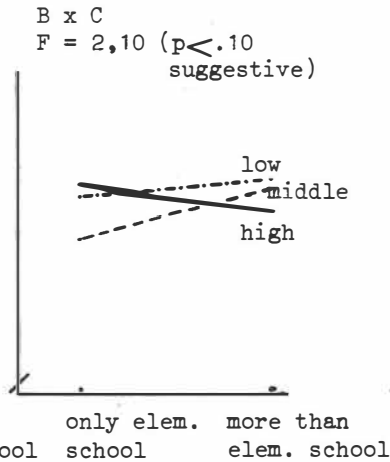
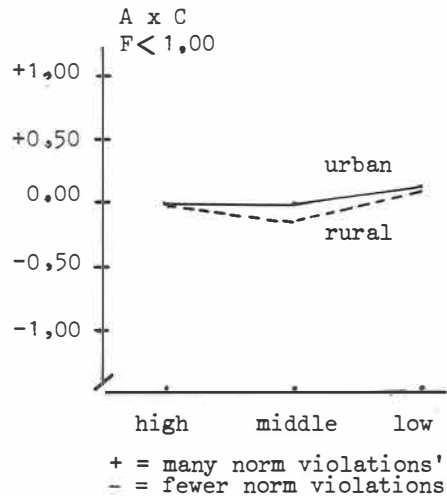
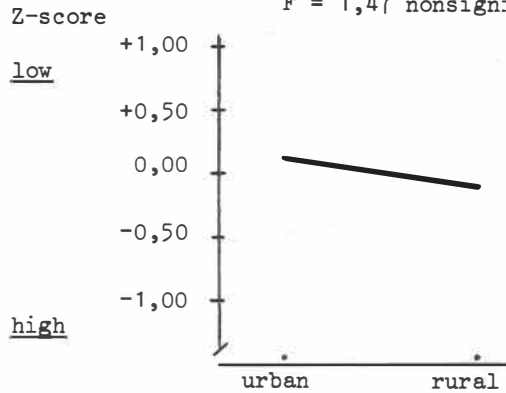


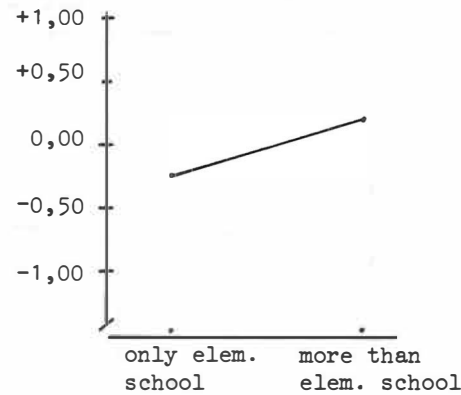
FIGURE 8. (continued)

5. UNCERTAINTY ABOUT NORMS

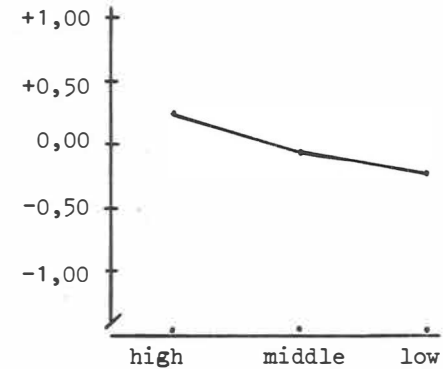
A.= effect of type of community
 $F = 1,47$ nonsignif.



B.= effect of level of education
 $F = 13,91$ $p < .0003$



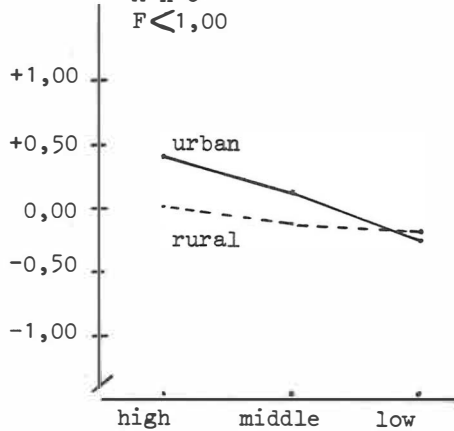
C.= effect of socio-economic status of the home
 $F = 5,69$ $p < .004$



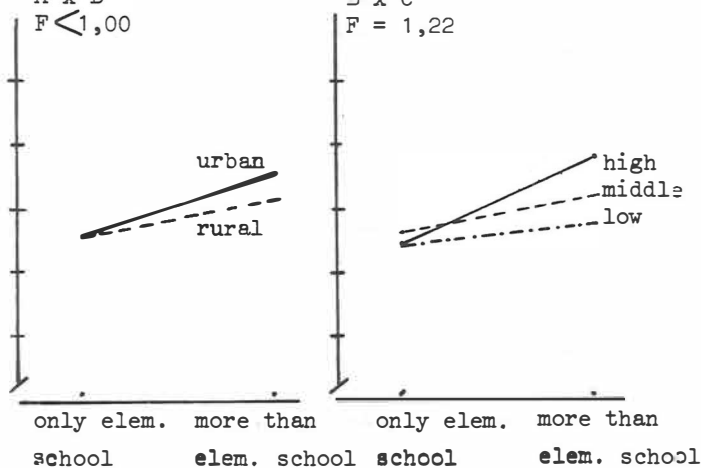
134.

INTERACTION EFFECTS:

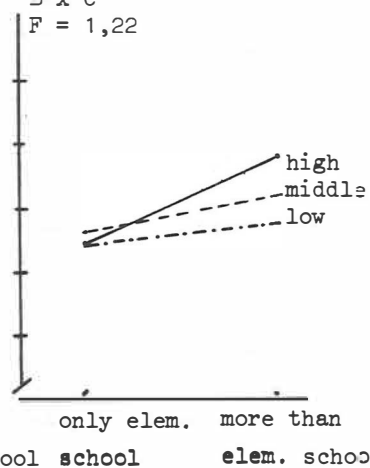
A x C
 $F < 1,00$



A x B
 $F < 1,00$



B x C
 $F = 1,22$



A x B x C
 $F < 1,00$

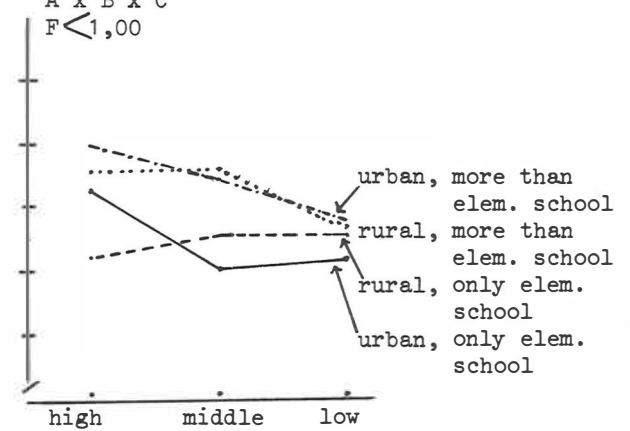


FIGURE 8. (continued)

also found. Many of the results interpreted to support our assumptions were not statistically significant, but the consistency of trends and the comparisons of them with the results of the AID-analyses in some points support our confidence as to their validity.

2.4.2.2. Regression Analyses

A part of our expectations are such that they can be tested only by regression analyses. The subgroups for regression analyses were formed on the basis of the same kind of design as was constructed for the analyses of variance with the exception that now the level of education and the degree of urbanization (again in dichotomized form) are crosstabulated with the dichotomized occupational status of the father. This index is used as a variable representing one's social background instead of the three-point scale of the socio-economic status of the home in order to increase the number of cases in certain cells. The results of regression analyses grounded on the described design are presented in Table 15. In order to obtain a clear picture of the effects of the above independent variables on the predictability of normative behavior, three-way analyses of the multiple correlations concerning both behavioral readiness and actual norm behavior were carried out and the results are presented in graphic form in Appendix 11 (Points A and B). In addition to the above analyses, regression analyses were still performed based on other groupings of our data. The results of these analyses concerning multiple correlations are presented in Table 16. We will first examine the beta-coefficients in the light of our expectations. We expect that the affective component and perceived social control¹⁾ would be better predictors of normative behavior in the rural than in the urban group, whereas in the latter the cognitive component would be a better predictor than in the former group. The differences between the groups in question in beta-coefficients of the affective component and normative expectations concerning behavioral readiness are in the expected direction. The same is true with respect to the beta-coefficients of the cognitive component concerning actual norm behavior. These trends lend partial support to our

1) The perceived social control is represented by the predictor named normative expectations. It is a principal component, on which the perceived social control and the sanction readiness received high loadings.

TABLE 15. Regression analyses in groups formed by crosstabulating the degree of urbanization, occupational status and level of education

A. Behavioral readiness as criterion variable:

Level of education: Predictors:		Degree of urbanization of the place of residence:			
		URBAN AREAS		RURAL AREAS	
		ELEM. SCHOOL Beta	MORE THAN ELEM. S. Beta	ELEM. SCHOOL Beta	MORE THAN ELEM. SCHOOL Beta
Occupational status of the father: HIGH:	uncertainty about norms	-.427	-.417	-.294	-.258
	cognitive component	.274	.083	.255	.164
	normative expectations	-.033	.106	.076	.153
	affective component	-.088	.183	.083	.375
	<u>multiple correlation</u>	.582	.504	.456	.503
LOW:	uncertainty about norms	-.296	-.127	-.238	-.375
	cognitive component	.155	.147	.204	.157
	normative expectations	-.060	.055	.332	.136
	affective component	.159	.094	.248	.304
	<u>multiple correlation</u>	.333	.229	.529	.570

B. Actual norm behavior as criterion variable:

HIGH:	uncertainty about norms	.068	-.257	.300	-.088
	cognitive component	.429	-.030	.035	.155
	normative expectations	.404	.008	.087	-.050
	affective component	-.013	.119	.074	.190
	<u>multiple correlation</u>	.507	.278	.354	.281
LOW:	uncertainty about norms	-.087	-.184	-.103	-.307
	cognitive component	.345	.224	.097	.004
	normative expectations	-.032	-.143	.178	.049
	affective component	.151	.181	-.025	.118
	<u>multiple correlation</u>	.365	.346	.221	.327

The directions of predictor scales are identical, with the exception of the uncertainty scale, the direction of which is opposite to that of other scales.

speculations about the differences in behavioral control between townspeople and country people. Riesman's well-known hypothesis about other-directed man in modern, urban, industrialized society and inner-directed man in less urbanized society seems to be oversimplified, since we argue that there are two types of inner control: the normative behavior may be regulated by mainly affective, inner control, or by cognitive, inner control. To 'an outsider observer' the flexible behavior directed by inner, cognitive control, which takes into account situational factors, but is basically directed by internalized value objectives, may also seem to be other-directed. With respect to the dominating determinants of normative behavior in different social strata we expect that the affective and cognitive components are better predictors of normative behavior among persons from upper social strata than in lower strata, whereas in the latter groups the normative expectations of other people are thought to determine one's behavior to a greater extent. The results do not lend support to these expectations, since the differences of beta-coefficients of the predictors in question between the groups of "high" versus "low" occupational status of the father do not form any consistent trend. We are also expecting that the cognitive component is a better predictor of the normative behavior among persons having received much formal education than among persons having only elementary education, whereas in the latter group the normative expectations of others is a good predictor. The beta-coefficients of the cognitive component do not bear out the above expectations, on the contrary, in many cases the value of the beta-coefficients are higher in the groups of only elementary school education. It may well be the case that the evaluations of the usefulness of needfulness of different acts are mostly based on egoistic values, since it was not specified whether the usefulness should be evaluated from the viewpoint of selfish utility or from the point of view of general utility. If this is the case, the above results are not surprising. With respect to the assumption concerning the greater dependence of the less educated persons on the expectations of others, the beta-coefficients of normative expectations in the actual norm behavior lend some support. Altogether, the results of the beta-coefficients bear out rather clearly the expectations concerning the effects of the type of community to a lesser degree the expectations concerning the effects of the level of education, and nearly not at all the expectations with respect to the effects of the social background. We will now turn to an examination of the effects of the

TABLE 16. Prediction of behavioral readiness and actual norm behavior using different grouping criteria

A. Multiple correlations in groups formed according to a cross section of degree of urbanization and level of education:

Type of community:	Criterion variable:	Behavioral readiness		Actual norm behavior	
	Level of education:	ELEMENTARY SCHOOL	MORE THAN ELEM. S.CH	ELEMENTARY SCHOOL	MORE THAN ELEM S.CH
LARGE CITIES		.558	.319	.613	.241
SMALLER CITIES AND TOWNS		.465	.546	.310	.419
RURAL CENTERS		.588	.586	.307	.377
SPARSELY POPULATED COUNTRYSIDE		.394	.515	.303	.317

B. Multiple correlations in groups formed according to cross section of degree of urbanization and uncertainty about norms:

norm uncertainty:	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW
	LARGE CITIES	.276	.231	.145
SMALLER CITIES AND TOWNS	.214	.436	.279	.459
RURAL CENTERS	.482	.559	.126	.368
SPARSELY POPULATED COUNTRYSIDE	.234	.417	.076	.256

The predictors in A and C are: uncertainty of norms, normative expectations, affective and cognitive components (the last three mentioned are represented by z-scores of a principal component analysis), in point B, other predictors are the same except uncertainty of norms, which constitutes the other axis in cross section

C. Multiple correlations in groups formed according to a cross section of socio-economic status and level of education:

Socio-economic status of the home:	Level of education:	ELEMENTARY SCHOOL	MORE THAN ELEM. S.	ELEMENTARY SCHOOL	MORE THAN ELEM. S.
	HIGH		.599	.520	.575
MIDDLE		.490	.462	.394	.254
LOW		.421	.345	.262	.221

above factors, and of some other independent variables, on the predictability of behavioral readiness and on actual norm behavior in the light of multiple correlations (see Tables 15 and 16, and Appendix 11). The differences between subgroups in the multiple correlations seem to form consistent and interesting trends, indicating that certain conditions and factors seem to increase the degree of the predictability of normative behavior, whereas certain other conditions and factors seem to diminish it. At first sight, the interpretation of these trends seems to be difficult, but after a careful inspection they appear to be meaningfully interpreted in the framework of theories of social and moral development (cf. especially Kohlberg, *op. cit.*, and Peck & Havighurst 1960). According to these theories there is a hierarchy or set of developmental stages, the lowest of which can be characterized by egoistic orientation and by absence of internalized norms and values. Rather inflexible conformity grounded on the fear of external sanctions, or on strong internal sanctions is typical of a level in the middle of the hierarchy. The highest stages of development are characterized by altruistic values, rationality, individual autonomy, and flexibility. One can therefore conclude that the relationship between social development and the predictability of norm behavior is likely to be curvilinear, as illustrated in Figure 9:

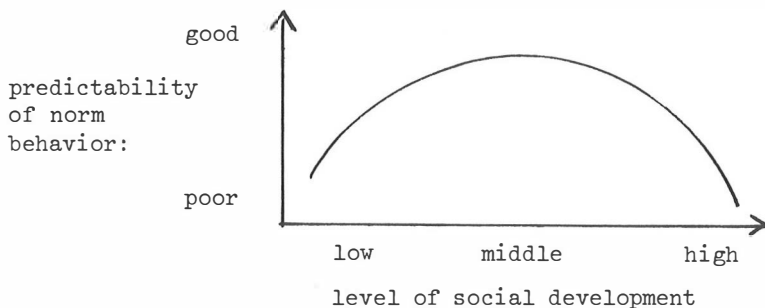


FIGURE 9. Relationship between the predictability of norm behavior and individuals' social development

At low levels of development, behavioral control is poor, and therefore, impulses tending to direct the satisfaction of needs are easily manifested in overt action. This diminishes the predictability of norm behavior. Thus all the factors that produce disturbances in relevant social learning and cause, for instance, norm alienation may diminish the predictability of normative behavior. On the contrary the factors promoting transformation from low levels to middle ones (for instance, good conditions for relevant social learning during childhood socialization) may increase the predictability, since inflexible, conforming behavior guided by a strong affective

control (the fear of internal and/or external sanctions) can probably be well predicted by such general motives as measured by the total scores of predictors. The following results bear out the above reasoning:

- the values of multiple correlations of both behavioral readiness and actual norm behavior grow as a function of socio-economic status of the home, when the level of education is constant i.e., within the columns of "only elementary school" (see Point C in Table 16)

- within the rural group the value of multiple correlation grows as a function of the level of education, whereas in the urban group it decreases as a function of the level of education (see interaction effects B x A in points A and B of Appendix 11). From the results of Figure 8 (interaction A x B) we could observe that the strength of the affective component grows as a function of the level of education within the rural group, but decreases within the urban group

- with only the exception of the group of persons from large cities, high uncertainty about norms seems to decrease the predictability of both behavioral readiness and actual norm behavior (see point B in Table 16)

According to our basic idea of interpretation we further think that the conditions and factors which promote transformation from middle to highest levels (especially the accumulation of beneficial socialization conditions) again decrease the predictability of normative behavior, since flexible behavior guided by cognitive control taking into account situation specific conditions (e.g. the meaning of the situation to the actor) may be difficult to predict by the nonspecific motivational sources used as predictors. The following points from the results are regarded as lending support to the above speculation:

- within the group of persons from large cities the multiple correlation of the subgroup of low uncertainty about norms is about as low as that of the subgroup of high uncertainty about norms within sparsely populated countryside (see point B in Table 16). If we think that the level of uncertainty about norms reflects something about the adequacy of received socialization, so the above finding bears out our assumption of the curvilinear relationship between the predictability of norm behavior and social development. This is further supported by the finding that the multiple correlations are low in the group of persons from large cities having received much formal education, on the one hand, and in the group of persons from sparsely populated countryside having only elementary school

education, on the other hand (see point A in Table 16). Both the urban culture prevailing in big cities and high level of education are thought to foster flexibility and cognitive control of normative behavior, whereas low level of education and living in sparsely populated countryside are linked with conditions which easily produce uncertainty about norms.

- a high level of education decreases the predictability of normative behavior within the urban groups and within the groups of high socio-economic status of the home (see interaction effects B x A in points A and B of Appendix 11, and B x C in point B). In these groups the conditions fostering flexibility and proper cognitive control have become cumulated. From the point of view of the accumulation of 'good' conditions for socialization and gaining a high level in social development, the role of the level of education may be important. Before school age and partly during it, beneficial conditions for socialization promote transformation from lower levels to middle ones, and the possibly relevant social and cognitive stimulation received during a long process of formal education may then, after there has been sufficient time for positive accumulation, foster the attainment of a still higher level. This is why 'good' conditions for socialization during childhood seem to make the multiple correlations higher, whereas the accumulation of good conditions in both childhood age and later years make them lower.

According to our opinion the findings described above are interesting and include new information demonstrating the usefulness of the multidimensional approach in this field of research. Without multidimensional measuring of personal norms, the kind of elaboration made by means of regression analyses would not have been possible.

3. DISCUSSION

The reported study can be regarded as partly explorative because of an experimentation with a multidimensional approach to personal norms, not applied to them before, and because of the restricted generalizability of the empirical results, due to the nature of our sample of persons, on the one hand, and the sample of acts included in the norm questionnaire, on the other hand. In this phase of experimentation, the kind of samples used were, however, seen to be adequate. The validity of the tentative results and conclusions can be further tested by more representative data, if they are seen worthy of it. Our sample of persons (recruits at the very beginning of their military service) represents only a certain age cohort of the male population. From the point of view of generalizing the results to the whole population it is, of course, a drawback, but from the point of view of testing the theoretical ideas it may be a benefit, too. In surveys concerning norms (see e.g., Sänkiaho 1974) it has been found that age and sex often explain statistically more the interindividual variation in personal norms than other factors. By making age and sex constant in our example we could get more clearly into focus the effects of those factors we were theoretically interested in. Naturally, also financial and practical reasons determined our selection of the sample. For our sample of acts we took acts demonstrated by earlier investigations to be more or less disapproved of in the Finnish society, i.e. acts controlled by prohibition norms, since with respect to them we can be fairly sure about their empirical existence, which means that they are supported by social sanctions. This was thought to make the study more clear-cut, and thus the interpretations more reliable. It is, however, important and desirable to test in further studies whether our componential approach and measurement can also be relevantly applied to for instance, permission norms defining what one should do, what one is hoped to do, what one is allowed to do, what is exceptionally admirable to do, etc. The basic design of the empirical parts of the study represents the 'ex post facto-type', which is so typical of sociological research, at least thus far, and makes causal inferences difficult. The most proper method for this kind of research concerning norm socialization would be a longitudinal one grounded on a follow-up design. By means of it one could possibly obtain the most unbiased picture of the causal chains and the relationships between input- and output elements included in socialization.

However, in spite of the restrictions of the reported study described above, it has demonstrated, according to our opinion, the usefulness of the multidimensional approach to personal norms (i) in making possible new theoretical views and empirical designs, thus promoting the attainment of new information, and (ii) in making possible more exact empirical mapping of certain relationships and their interpretation than is the case when personal norms are measured by undifferentiated scales.

In developing further the measurement of personal norms by the kind of 'norm differential' introduced in this study, the following points could be taken into account:

a) In order to make the questionnaire more practicable and that a wider sample of acts could be included in it, the number of the scales should be reduced so that each component is measured by only one scale. If we do not measure only prohibition norms by evaluations of 'forbidden acts', the scales should be clearly bipolar having a certain zero-point, as in the following scale:

+3 +2 +1 0 -1 -2 -3

PLEASANT: ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:UNPLEASANT (affective
component)

b) the way of measuring the cognitive component should be developed further to better represent the intentional aspects of the inner control of normative behavior, for instance, grounded on the logic of so-called practical syllogisms (handled in the writings of G. vonWright). This means, among other things, that we should be able to measure the values and objectives one is striving for, and in addition to that, the positions of different acts as perceived means or obstacles from the point of view of the attainment of one's aims. When using the scales, like "useful-useless" without specifying the values from which point the usefulness of an act is evaluated, we do not know whether the judgments have been commonly based on egoistic or altruistic values. The information about one's value objectives is necessary from the viewpoint of the interpretation of the results concerning the cognitive component. Possibly the most difficult in measuring relevantly the cognitive component is the measurement of the situation specific factors influencing the evaluations of instrumentality of various acts.

c) the measurement of perceived informal social control would perhaps be more effective than it is in its present form, if we could measure individuals' expectations about probable sanctions of all those groups, to

which they belong as members, or which are their reference groups. The net effect of these probable sanctions might be an effective predictor of behavioral intentions and reactions.

d) by testing empirically a greater number of items of norm uncertainty than was the case in the present study, we could perhaps be able to develop an acceptable Guttman scale, which is more clear to interpret than the Likert-type scale used now as a measure of norm uncertainty.

e) the scale of normlessness as distinct from the scales of the affective component should be developed

f) since the scale of actual norm behavior can be seldom used, because of its delicate nature, the scale of behavioral readiness seems to be a practicable measure of the behavioral component in most cases. The problem with the latter, too, is the exact formulation of the norm situation with its specific conditions.

In this study we used as dependent variables the total scores formed by summing up the values of the same original scales over acts, therefore they describe the structural features of the systems of personal norms. In further studies the original scales linked with specific acts could be used as dependent variables, thus more attention would be paid to the contents of norms, and to the differences between groups in certain norms. The componential measurement of personal norms could be applied, for instance, in the following kind of studies: we could examine how one becomes socialized into more specific norm systems of subcultures, groups and organizations, instead of the general prohibition norms of the society. In this connection we would also analyze how the lack of the internalization of norms indicated by normlessness, on the one hand, and the unclear picture of the norms reflecting itself in norm uncertainty, on the other hand, influences the functioning of an organization at its different levels. It would be interesting to compare the orientations and motivational sources of participation in action of persons working in various types of organizations. If we relate Etzioni's (1966) theory about different types of organizations and subordination to our component model of personal norms, we can assume that alienated involvement in coercive organizations can be seen in personal norms as a lack of internalization of the official norms of the organization and as normative behavior regulated by the fear of external, official sanctions and by the perceived informal social control of the peer group. The calculative type of involvement in utilitarian

organization should be seen in personal norms as normative behavior determined by cognitive control based on egoistic values. The moral type of involvement, thought to be predominant in normative organizations, should be seen in personal norms as normative behavior directed mainly by strong affective, inner control and by perceived informal social control within the organization. By means of regression analysis we demonstrated in our study that there are certain differences, on the average, between groups in the inner control of normative behavior (for instance, between city residents and persons living in the country), but it is certainly possible that there are differences in normative orientations and in behavioral control within the same persons, when they are acting in different organizational environments, in different roles, or in different situations. We could obtain some empirical evidence about this from our data, when we examined the predictability of normative behavior concerning 'norms of civil life' (i.e. normative behavior of recruits outside the army environment), on the one hand, and the predictability of normative behavior in army environment, on the other hand. Within both of the two following groups -those just beginning military service and those having been in service about three months -the affective component was in the light of beta-coefficients the best predictor of normative behavior 'in civil life', whereas the cognitive component was clearly the best predictor of normative behavior in an army setting, thus indicating the prevailing of a stronger instrumental, utility-oriented attitude in the latter conditions.

It would also be interesting to examine in more detail in which way the strong internalization and adoption of new values and norms of a certain subculture influences one's evaluation of the in some respects possibly, even antagonistic norms of the larger social system of the society. If one internalizes strongly the norms and values of a certain subsystem, he may become alienated from the norms of another system. Different political ideologies and parties have differing views and concepts about the nature of a society and about its legitimate norms. Thus the adoption of, e.g. radical political views, may cause normative cross-pressures due to the conflict between norms an individual has adopted earlier and the recently adopted norms. This may lead to uncertainty about norms, i.e., to unintentional norm alienation. On the other hand, it may lead to intentional

cognitive alienation¹⁾ from older norms (one begins to doubt the legitimacy of them, violates them intentionally and wants to change them). Thus in addition to the unintentional norm alienation that we examined within the frame of reference of norm socialization, it would be useful to study also the intentional norm alienation occurring mostly at adult age or during puberty. However, the change-resistant affective component (if one has strongly internalized the older norms earlier) may produce certain inner conflicts also in this case. Thus a teenager may be cognitively alienated from his parents and their views, but the rebellious behavior may indicate affective dependency on home and parental authority. On the other hand, if one has been socialized so that the affective component becomes flexible, not strongly change-resistant, (e.g., rational methods of socializing have been applied, one's independence has been encouraged, much freedom allowed etc.) the above kind of problems do not arise.

1) In this meaning alienation is a relative concept, since one can be seen as alienated from the point of view of the larger social system, but adequately socialized from the point of view of the subsystem.

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APPENDIX 1. Measurement with the norm questionnaire

An example of the componential measurement of personal norms:

The act evaluated: Lying

1. Rate this act along the following scales:

GOOD:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:BAD (affective component)

USEFUL:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:USELESS (cognitive component)

NEEDFUL:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:NEEDLESS (- " -)

2. To what extent do you expect your conscience to trouble you if you lie?

NOT AT ALL:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:VERY MUCH (affective comp.)

3. Imagine a situation in which you have something to hide, but hiding means that you have to lie. How likely would you be to lie in such a situation?

HIGHLY LIKELY:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:HIGHLY UNLIKELY (behav. comp.:
behav. readiness)

4. Have you lied during the last week? 1. ___ Yes, I have (behav. comp.:
actual behavior)
2. ___ No, I have not

5. How likely would you be to blame an acquaintance if you heard him lying?

HIGHLY LIKELY:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:HIGHLY UNLIKELY (normative expect.:
sanction readiness)

6. How strongly would you expect your acquaintances to express their dis-approval if they discovered you had lied to them?

NOT AT ALL:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:VERY STRONGLY (normative expect.:
perceived social control)

Besides lying, the following acts were evaluated in the same way: swearing, stealing, infidelity, fighting, maligning others, and excessive drinking.

The scale of norm uncertainty (alternatives in each item were the following:

1. strongly agree 2. agree 3. cannot say 4. disagree 5. strongly disagree):

Item:

1.38 Sometimes I don't know how I should behave.

1.39 In many situations I feel that I don't know what's right and what's wrong.

1.40 I do not have a clear picture of my position in society.

1.41 It frequently happens that I do not know which kind of behavior people expect from me.

APPENDIX 1.(continued)

- 1.42 I have a clear idea of which acts are right and which are wrong.
- 1.43 I feel it does not matter how one lives one's life.
- 1.44 I often feel that there are no values or objectives to trust.
- 1.45 It is more difficult to find a view of life in which to place my trust now than in the past.

The measurement of independent variables:

- 1.12 Amount of education received: 1. ___ elementary school or part of it
 2. ___ elementary school and vocational school
 3. ___ lower secondary school
 4. ___ lower secondary and part of upper secondary
 5. ___ matriculation examination or a school that requires a lower secondary diploma
 6. ___ matricul.examination and at least one year's study in a college or university
 7. ___ academic degree
- 1.13 Father's occupation and employer (if no father, mother's occupation)
-
- 1.14 Average income of your father (or guardian) per month:
 1. ___ less than 500,- Finnmarks 6. ___ from 1300 to less than 1500
 2. ___ from 500 to less than 700 7. ___ from 1500 to less than 1700
 3. ___ from 700 to less than 900 8. ___ from 1700 to less than 1900
 4. ___ from 900 to less than 1100 9. ___ 1900 or more
 5. ___ from 1100 to less than 1300
- 1.16 Place where you live (where you are registered) _____
- 1.17 (If you live in the country), do you live in 1. ___ rural center
 2. ___ village
 3. ___ sparsely populated countryside
- 1.18 How long have you been living in your present place of residence?
1. ___ less than one year 5. ___ 4 years - less than 5 years
 2. ___ one year - less than 2 years 6. ___ 5 years - less than 10 years
 3. ___ 2 years - less than 3 years 7. ___ 10 years - less than 20 years
 4. ___ 3 years - less than 4 years 8. ___ 20 years or more

APPENDIX 1.(continued)

4. ___ scolded me seriously, but kindly
 5. ___ gave me friendly advice
 0. ___ I have not grown up in a family
- 1.26 When as a child I did something wrong or played some tricks my mother usually
 1. ___ smacked me
 2. ___ yelled at me
 3. ___ did not pay much attention
 4. ___ scolded me seriously, but kindly
 5. ___ gave me friendly advice
 0. ___ I have not grown up in a family
- 1.27 As a child, in order to be taught what acts were forbidden
 1. ___ I was usually told what behavior was forbidden without being given any reasons
 2. ___ I was usually told why certain acts were forbidden
- 1.28 My home was characterized by
 1. ___ a very religious atmosphere
 2. ___ a rather religious atmosphere
 3. ___ a non-religious atmosphere, or cannot say
 4. ___ an antireligious atmosphere
- 1.29 When you were young, were you a member of a gang that behaved mischievously
 1. ___ Yes, more than one year
 2. ___ Yes, less than a year
 3. ___ No, I was not

APPENDIX 2. Correlations among the original scales

Act:	scale:	component:	No.	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.
Lying:	good-bad	affective	1.																
"	useful-useless	cognitive	2.	.58															
"	needful-needless	"	3.	.51	.66														
"	pangs of conscience	affective	4.	.31	.27	.30													
"	behavioral readiness	behavioral	5.	.21	.20	.25	.19												
"	sanctioning readiness	normat. exp.	6.	.16	.07	.07	.14	.07											
"	perceived soc. control	"	7.	.19	.17	.16	.17	.06	.27										
Swearing	good-bad	affective	8.	.37	.18	.30	.20	.10	.06	.14									
"	useful-useless	cognitive	9.	.29	.35	.28	.17	.10	.05	.10	.41								
"	needful-needless	"	10.	.32	.40	.36	.21	.11	.08	.14	.43	.59							
"	pangs of conscience	affective	11.	.17	.19	.19	.31	.16	.13	.15	.38	.16	.22						
"	behavioral readiness	behavioral	12.	.21	.11	.20	.19	.33	.03	.01	.24	.16	.20	.40					
"	sanctioning readiness	normat. exp.	13.	.10	.10	.17	.11	.12	.17	.14	.20	.08	.13	.34	.14	.26			
"	perceived soc. control	"	14.	.08	.11	.13	.13	.06	.10	.20	.17	.08	.13	.34	.14	.34			
Stealing	good-bad	affective	15.	.31	.23	.24	.17	.09	.11	.08	.25	.23	.20	.11	.08	.07	.03		
"	useful-useless	cognitive	16.	.31	.38	.40	.15	.12	.08	.09	.14	.15	.23	.07	.08	.06	.12	.24	
"	needful-needless	"	17.	.29	.39	.45	.11	.10	.04	.12	.18	.21	.24	.09	.09	.02	.06	.27	.62
"	pangs of conscience	affective	18.	.26	.18	.16	.40	.12	.06	.07	.22	.14	.15	.26	.12	.07	.15	.36	.18
"	behavioral readiness	behavioral	19.	.15	.15	.17	.19	.17	.06	.01	.11	.10	.13	.09	.16	.00	-.03	.24	.17
"	sanctioning readiness	normat. exp.	20.	.15	.12	.14	.14	.11	.28	.28	.16	.10	.10	.11	.05	.19	.17	.21	.13
"	perceived soc. control	"	21.	.13	.15	.13	.14	.07	.17	.33	.15	.11	.13	.14	.04	.15	.29	.18	.17
Infidelity	good-bad	affective	22.	.21	.07	.19	.04	.03	-.06	.07	.19	.10	.13	.09	.12	.01	.02	.12	.07
"	useful-useless	cognitive	23.	.17	.15	.22	.03	.03	-.09	.04	.09	.12	.19	.07	.14	-.01	.04	.04	.21
"	needful-needless	"	24.	.18	.17	.26	.05	.04	-.09	.05	.16	.14	.18	.14	.18	.05	.07	.08	.16
"	pangs of conscience	affective	25.	.13	.06	.13	.20	.04	-.02	.12	.15	.08	.11	.24	.15	.11	.14	.05	.06
"	behavioral readiness	behavioral	26.	.13	.06	.08	.21	.24	-.03	-.00	.07	.00	.06	.16	.28	.05	.18	.06	.07
"	sanctioning readiness	norm. exp.	27.	.09	.08	.09	.15	.10	.20	.25	.20	.12	.12	.28	.16	.26	.30	.04	.07
"	perceived soc. control	"	28.	.07	.07	.05	.12	.02	.11	.24	.11	.07	.10	.27	.13	.22	.39	.04	.09
Fighting	good-bad	affective	29.	.27	.11	.17	.13	.04	.07	.08	.32	.13	.21	.15	.08	.07	.11	.19	.12
"	useful-useless	cognitive	30.	.16	.16	.14	.10	.06	.03	.01	.16	.17	.20	.02	.04	-.01	.07	.11	.13
"	needful-needless	"	31.	.17	.17	.17	.04	.09	-.01	-.01	.15	.18	.25	.01	.10	.03	.04	.15	.17
"	pangs of conscience	affective	32.	.16	.14	.10	.30	.13	.07	.17	.16	.05	.13	.32	.20	.20	.21	.14	.15
"	behavioral readiness	behavioral	33.	.07	-.11	-.08	.08	.18	.00	-.01	.03	-.02	-.03	.00	.20	.04	.09	.06	.04
"	sanctioning readiness	norm. exp.	34.	.08	.08	.06	.16	.16	.10	.17	.11	.06	.06	.20	.18	.26	.21	.02	.07
"	perceived soc. control	"	35.	.10	.16	.11	.13	.14	.08	.25	.19	.10	.11	.32	.21	.27	.28	.09	.06
Maligning others	good-bad	affective	36.	.22	.02	.03	.06	.04	.03	.03	.15	.13	.12	.04	.03	-.01	-.00	.13	.04
"	useful-useless	cognitive	37.	.22	.20	.29	.07	.03	-.07	.03	.17	.14	.19	.03	.05	.01	-.02	.09	.28
"	needful-needless	"	38.	.28	.21	.28	.10	.05	-.01	.02	.18	.18	.24	.03	.09	-.01	-.01	.12	.26
"	pangs of conscience	affective	39.	.20	.08	.07	.25	.18	.02	.13	.16	.07	.10	.19	.13	.15	.14	.03	.12
"	behavioral readiness	behavioral	40.	.07	.12	.09	.02	.14	-.02	.01	.05	.10	.07	-.03	.11	-.03	-.05	.03	.10
"	sanctioning readiness	norm. exp.	41.	.03	-.03	.01	.14	.04	.13	.17	.01	-.01	-.01	.15	.01	.19	.15	-.05	.03
"	perceived soc. control	"	42.	.05	.05	.03	.12	.13	.05	.20	.06	.05	.02	.17	.10	.18	.21	-.02	.05
Excessive drinking	good-bad	affective	43.	.31	.23	.26	.17	.13	.07	.12	.38	.28	.30	.29	.23	.17	.19	.23	.14
"	useful-useless	cognitive	44.	.25	.29	.29	.17	.11	.02	.07	.25	.32	.36	.16	.18	.04	.15	.20	.23
"	needful-needless	"	45.	.27	.30	.30	.17	.12	.04	.13	.25	.32	.35	.21	.19	.09	.18	.18	.26
"	pangs of conscience	affective	46.	.12	.12	.12	.21	.14	.11	.15	.21	.12	.17	.40	.21	.22	.30	.12	.14
"	behavioral readiness	behavioral	47.	.17	.06	.11	.18	.30	.02	.07	.13	.11	.13	.17	.34	.09	.17	.12	.14
"	sanctioning readiness	norm. exp.	48.	.04	.08	.09	.08	.11	.11	.20	.15	.08	.15	.28	.19	.32	.32	.08	.06
"	perceived soc. control	"	49.	.09	.15	.13	.15	.10	.11	.16	.16	.10	.15	.26	.17	.24	.42	.10	.13

APPENDIX 3. Correlations among the same scales from different acts.

A. SCALES OF THE AFFECTIVE COMPONENT:

1) Intercorrelation matrix of the pangs of conscience' scale:

from acts:	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
1. Lying							
2. Swearing	.305						
3. Stealing	.399	.259					
4. Infidelity	.203	.236	.259				
5. Fighting	.299	.324	.290	.250			
6. Maligning others	.248	.194	.296	.246	.181		
7. Excessive drinking	.213	.397	.136	.191	.309	.134	

2) Intercorrelation matrix of the "good-bad" scale:

1.							
2.	.373						
3.	.314	.251					
4.	.213	.193	.116				
5.	.267	.320	.188	.114			
6.	.215	.145	.126	.121	.119		
7.	.308	.378	.232	.170	.215	.114	

B. SCALES OF THE COGNITIVE COMPONENT:

3) Intercorrelation matrix of the "useful-useless" scale:

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
1.							
2.	.349						
3.	.376	.148					
4.	.149	.124	.209				
5.	.150	.174	.133	.093			
6.	.199	.135	.280	.196	.215		
7.	.287	.321	.230	.229	.161	.170	

4) Intercorrelation matrix of the "needful-needless" scale:

2.	.361						
3.	.446	.236					
4.	.259	.184	.239				
5.	.169	.254	.241	.098			
6.	.278	.238	.386	.250	.250		
7.	.303	.348	.214	.243	.190	.216	

APPENDIX 3. (continued)

C. SCALES OF THE BEHAVIORAL COMPONENT:

5) <u>Intercorrelation matrix of the scale of behavioral readiness:</u>	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
1.							
2.	.333						
3.	.169	.156					
4.	.236	.280	.140				
5.	.181	.197	.070	.203			
6.	.136	.108	.085	.081	.097		
7.	.297	.342	.166	.290	.258	.089	
6) <u>Intercorrelations matrix of the scale of actual norm behavior (tetrachoric correlations)</u>	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
1.							
2.	.281						
3.	.541	.025					
4.	.275	.453	.347				
5.	.258	.295	.347	.396			
6.	.326	.487	.296	.252	.037		
7.	.298	.469	.331	.504	.552	.145	

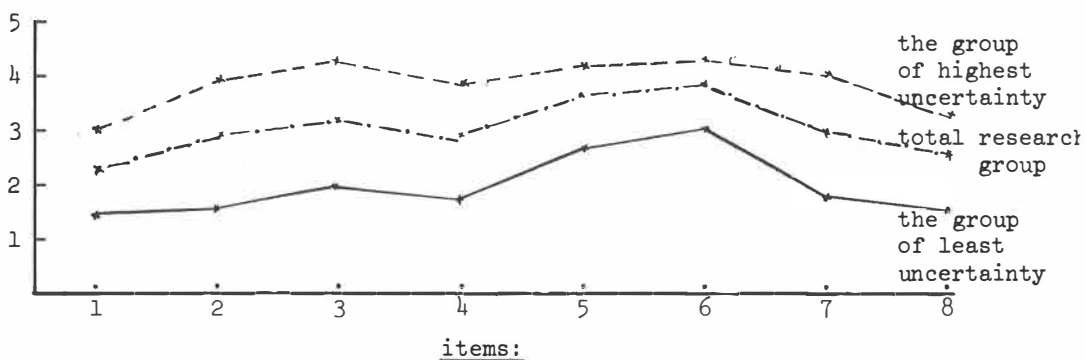
D. SCALES OF NORMATIVE EXPECTATIONS:

7) <u>Intercorrelation matrix of the scale of sanction readiness:</u>	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
1.							
2.	.173						
3.	.281	.194					
4.	.198	.255	.220				
5.	.104	.261	.229	.282			
6.	.131	.191	.207	.198	.157		
7.	.114	.316	.163	.256	.198	.160	
8) <u>Intercorrelation matrix of the scale of perceived social control:</u>	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
1.							
2.	.199						
3.	.325	.288					
4.	.243	.393	.265				
5.	.245	.282	.285	.379			
6.	.173	.210	.231	.241	.272		
7.	.164	.419	.253	.313	.317	.167	

APPENDIX 4.

Item analyses of the norm uncertainty scale

A. Comparison of item means between quartile groups

mean:

The discriminative power of the item is regarded as acceptable if the difference of means of the quartile groups (the most uncertain vs. the most certain) is greater than, or equal to, 1.0.

B. Intercorrelations of items and correlations between items and total score:

<u>items:</u>	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
1.								
2.	.432							
3.	.226	.273						
4.	.350	.411	.389					
5.	.263	.371	.254	.259				
6.	-.005	.065	.064	.097	.070			
7.	.230	.227	.337	.229	.121	.245		
8.	.194	.184	.289	.238	.086	.074	.282	
<hr/>								
9. total score	.572	.653	.630	.654	.515	.369	.612	.519

APPENDIX 4. (continued)

C. Guttman's scale analysis:

<u>Item:</u>	<u>Number of plus-answers</u> ¹⁾	<u>Per cent of plus-answers (%)</u>
6. (see item 1.43, appendix 1)	165	27,45
5. (see item 1.42)	188	31,28
3. (see item 1.40)	316	52,58
7. (see item 1.44)	325	54,08
4. (see item 1.41)	358	59,57
2. (see item 1.39)	363	60,40
8. (see item 1.45)	443	73,71
1. (see item 1.38)	494	82,20

1) Plus-answers indicate those responses showing uncertainty about norms (alternatives 1,2, and 3. in the original five-point classification)

	Items:						
	6	5	3	7	4	2	8
'right' plus-answers	51	157	288	292	329	363	443
'wrong' plus-answers	<u>114</u>	31	28	33	29	0	0
'right' minus-answers	<u>436</u>	413	254	191	164	155	78
'wrong' minus-answers	0	0	31	85	79	83	<u>80</u>

Frequencies of the cumulative scale: 78 77 38 31 58 162 106 51
Items to be dropped: 6 and 8 because the number of wrong answers in these items is bigger than that of right answers (see underlined frequencies), item 1 was dropped because the per cent of plus-answers exceeds 80,00.

The final cumulative scale:

	Items:				
	5	3	7	4	2
'right' plus-answers	153	293	277	358	363
'wrong' plus-answers	35	23	48	0	0
'right' minus-answers	413	258	194	179	122
'wrong' minus-answers	0	27	82	64	116

frequencies of the final cumulative scale: 122 57 63 39 167 153
 (including wrong answers) certain of norms uncertain of norms

Number of 'wrong' answers: 395

Reproduction coefficient: .868

Random reproduction coefficient: .830

APPENDIX 5.

DISTRIBUTIONS

<u>Age</u> (in years):	Groups:							
	1)group of high un- certainty		2)group of low un- certainty		3)total research group		4)group of insufficient data	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
1. 17	4	2,8	2	1,2	14	2,3	4	3,6
2. 18	7	4,9	10	5,9	32	5,3	4	3,6
3. 19	55	38,5	42	24,6	184	30,6	34	30,4
4. 20	67	46,9	79	46,2	293	48,7	62	55,4
5. 21	7	4,9	15	8,8	39	6,5	3	2,7
6. 22	2	1,4	8	4,7	15	2,5	3	2,7
7. 23	0	0,0	2	1,2	6	1,0	1	0,9
8. 24	0	0,0	2	1,2	3	0,5	0	0,0
9. 25 or more	0	0,0	11	6,4	12	2,0	1	0,9
no answer	1	0,7	0	0,0	3	0,7	0	0,0

The level of education:

1. only elementary school	84	58,7	52	30,4	272	45,2	86	76,8
2. elem. school and vocational school	29	20,3	34	19,9	123	20,4	15	13,4
3. lower secondary school	12	8,4	16	9,4	58	9,6	1	0,9
4. lower secondary and part of upper second.	1	0,7	3	1,8	8	1,3	0	0,0
5. matriculation examination or a school that requires a lower secondary diploma	14	9,8	50	29,2	115	19,1	6	5,4
6. matricul examination and at least one year's study in a college	3	2,1	8	4,7	15	2,5	1	0,9
7. academic degree	0	0,0	8	4,7	10	1,7	1	0,9
no answer	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	2	1,8

The sosio-economic status of the home:

1. high	33	23,1	84	49,1	212	35,3	24	21,6
2. middle	47	32,9	49	28,7	189	31,5	39	35,1
3. low	63	44,1	37	21,6	199	33,1	47	42,3
no answer	0	0,0	1	0,6	1	0,2	1	0,9

- 1) most uncertain about norms, a quartile group based on the distribution of the total scores of uncertainty scale (N = 143)
- 2) most certain about norms, a quartile group (N = 171)
- 3) those who filled out the questionnaire completely enough (N = 601)
- 4) those who had so many incomplete answers that they had to be dropped from the final research group (N = 112)

APPENDIX 5. (continued)

The degree of urbanization
of the place of residence:

	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
1. Helsinki (population over 200.000)	5	3,5	29	17,0	59	9,8	6	5,4
2. Tampere, Turku (population 100.000 - under 200.000)	0	0,0	4	2,3	6	1,0	0	0,0
3. Cities with population of 50.000 - under 100.000	10	7,0	25	14,6	60	10,0	8	7,1
4. Towns with popul. of 20.000 - under 50.000	33	23,1	32	18,7	122	20,3	14	12,5
5. Towns with popul. of 10.000 - under 20.000	11	7,7	4	2,3	22	3,7	1	0,9
6. Towns with popul. of under 10.000	0	0,0	1	0,6	3	0,5	0	0,0
7. Rural centers	35	24,5	36	21,1	158	26,2	38	33,9
8. Sparsely populated countryside	46	32,2	39	22,8	165	27,4	40	35,7
no answer	3	2,1	1	0,6	6	1,0	5	4,5

Civil status:

1. single	129	90,2	148	86,6	520	86,5	98	87,5
2. engaged	8	5,6	9	5,3	35	5,8	8	7,1
3. married	6	4,2	13	7,6	41	6,8	6	5,4
4. divorced or separated	0	0,0	0	0,0	1	0,2	0	0,0
5. widowed	0	0,0	1	0,6	1	0,2	0	0,0
no answer	0	0,0	0	0,0	3	0,5	0	0,0

Number of siblings:

1. one	19	13,3	48	28,1	132	21,9	21	18,8
2. two	32	22,4	43	25,2	147	24,4	28	25,0
3. three	23	16,1	20	11,7	83	13,8	15	13,4
4. four	22	15,4	21	12,3	78	13,0	14	12,5
5. five	13	9,1	11	6,4	44	7,3	9	8,0
6. 6 - 7	11	7,7	6	3,5	31	5,2	8	7,1
7. 8 - 9	8	5,6	5	2,9	18	3,0	0	0,0
8. 10 or more	1	0,7	2	1,2	7	1,2	1	0,9
0. no siblings	13	9,1	13	7,6	57	9,5	15	13,4

Item 1.22 "During the majority of my life I have lived in"

1. my own home with both parents	124	86,7	151	88,3	531	88,2	100	89,3
2. my own home with my mother	13	9,1	13	7,6	45	7,5	8	7,1
3. my own home with my father	1	0,7	1	0,6	4	0,7	1	0,9

APPENDIX 5. (continued)

4. a home where one of my parents was either a stepfather or a stepmother	1	0,7	4	2,3	9	1,5	2	1,8
5. with adoptive parents	2	1,4	0	0,0	3	0,5	1	0,9
6. with foster parents	2	1,4	0	0,0	6	1,0	0	0,0
7. children's home	0	0,0	1	0,6	3	0,5	0	0,0
8. reformatory school	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0
no answer	0	0,0	1	0,6	1	0,2	0	0,0

The mental and physical health of parents:

1. parents both physically and mentally well	92	64,3	147	86,0	458	76,1	84	75,0
2. father was either physically or mentally ill	25	17,5	14	8,2	68	11,3	9	8,0
3. mother was either physically or ment. ill	7	4,9	5	2,9	29	4,8	3	2,7
4. both parents were either physically or mentally ill	19	13,3	3	1,8	39	6,5	14	12,5
5. was not raised in a family situation	0	0,0	2	1,2	7	1,2	1	0,9

'The integration of the nuclear family' (quarrelling of parents):

1. did not quarrel with each other	57	39,9	93	54,4	297	49,3	51	45,5
2. quarrelled occasionally	72	50,4	66	38,6	253	42,0	44	39,3
3. quarrelled often	7	4,9	4	2,3	23	3,8	10	8,9
4. did not live together	6	4,2	5	2,9	17	2,8	4	3,6
5. was not raised in a family situation	1	0,7	3	1,8	12	2,0	2	1,8
no answer	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	1	0,9

Sanctions of the father:

1. smacked me	45	31,5	46	26,9	162	26,9	40	35,7
2. yelled at me	32	22,4	39	22,8	140	23,3	18	16,1
3. did not pay any attention	13	9,1	10	5,9	46	7,6	8	7,1
4. scolded me seriously, but kindly	41	28,7	53	31,0	187	31,1	29	25,9
5. gave me friendly advice	7	4,9	15	8,8	38	6,3	11	9,8
was not raised in a family situation or didn't answer	5	3,5	8	4,7	29	4,8	6	5,4

APPENDIX 5. (continued)

<u>Sanctions of the mother:</u>	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
1. smacked me	26	18,2	19	11,1	85	14,1	24	21,4
2. bawled at me	45	31,5	37	21,6	152	25,3	22	19,7
3. didn't pay any attention	3	2,1	9	5,3	22	3,7	8	7,1
4. scolded me seriously but kindly	51	35,7	83	48,5	263	43,7	40	35,7
5. gave me friendly advice	16	11,2	23	13,5	71	11,8	11	9,8
was not raised in a family situation or didn't answer	2	1,4	0	0,0	8	1,3	7	6,3

The religious climate of the home:

1. very religious	4	2,8	10	5,9	24	4,0	4	3,6
2. rather religious	61	42,7	73	42,7	254	42,2	53	47,3
3. not at all religious	74	51,8	84	49,1	311	51,7	47	42,0
4. atheistic	4	2,8	4	2,3	13	2,2	3	2,7
no answer	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	5	4,5

The use of arguments for sanctions:

1. was not used	57	39,9	55	32,2	234	38,9	43	39,1
2. was used	86	60,1	116	67,8	368	61,1	63	57,3
no answer	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	4	3,6

Membership of a male youth gang:

1. about one year or more	27	18,9	16	9,4	88	14,6	17	15,2
2. under one year	53	37,1	57	33,3	191	31,8	40	35,7
3. has not been a member of a gang	63	44,1	98	57,3	322	53,4	51	45,5
no answer	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	4	3,6

THE SCALE OF NORM UNCERTAINTY:

Item one: (see item 1.38 in appendix 1)

1. strongly agree (uncertain)	94	65,7	19	11,1	217	36,1	34	30,4
2. agree	42	29,4	45	26,3	204	33,9	39	34,8
3. cannot say	4	2,8	28	16,4	72	12,0	21	18,8
4. disagree	3	2,1	60	35,1	79	13,1	11	9,8
5. strongly disagree (certain about norms)	0	0,0	19	11,1	30	5,0	7	6,3

APPENDIX 5. (continued)

<u>Item two</u> (see item 1.39)	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
1. strongly agree (uncertain)	84	58,7	9	5,3	155	25,8	28	25,0
2. agree	47	32,3	13	7,6	149	24,8	27	24,1
3. cannot say	4	2,8	15	8,8	60	10,0	22	19,7
4. disagree	7	4,9	76	44,4	156	25,9	24	21,4
5. strongly disagree (certain)	1	0,7	58	33,9	82	13,6	11	9,8

Item three (see item 1.40)

1. strongly agree (uncertain)	57	39,9	1	0,6	90	15,0	21	18,8
2. agree	45	31,5	11	6,4	119	19,8	18	16,1
3. cannot say	23	16,1	15	8,8	108	17,9	21	18,8
4. disagree	13	9,1	54	31,6	144	23,9	26	23,2
5. strongly disagree (certain)	5	3,5	90	52,6	141	23,4	26	23,2

Item four (see item 1.41)

1. strongly agree (uncertain)	68	47,6	6	3,5	121	20,1	25	22,3
2. agree	56	39,2	8	4,7	145	24,1	28	25,0
3. cannot say	13	9,1	27	15,6	94	15,6	30	26,8
4. disagree	6	4,2	69	40,4	159	26,4	20	17,9
5. strongly disagree (certain)	0	0,0	61	35,7	83	13,8	9	8,0

Item five (see item 1.42)

1. strongly agree (certain)	13	29,1	86	50,3	172	28,6	34	30,4
2. agree	43	30,1	69	40,4	241	40,0	44	39,3
3. cannot say	18	12,6	9	5,3	59	9,8	19	17,0
4. disagree	40	28,0	4	2,3	88	14,6	10	8,9
5. strongly disagree (uncertain)	29	20,3	3	1,8	42	7,0	4	3,6

Item six (see item 1.43)

1. strongly agree (uncertain)	35	24,5	3	1,8	68	11,3	19	17,0
2. agree	27	18,9	9	5,3	67	11,1	7	6,3
3. cannot say	6	4,2	6	3,5	29	4,8	7	6,3
4. disagree	34	23,8	41	24,0	151	25,1	19	20,0
5. strongly disagree (certain)	41	28,7	112	65,5	287	47,7	60	53,6

APPENDIX 5. (continued)

<u>Item seven</u> (see item 1.44)	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
1. strongly agree (uncertain)	77	53,9	6	3,5	149	24,8	33	29,5
2. agree	31	21,7	12	7,0	109	18,1	24	21,4
3. cannot say	15	10,5	8	4,7	68	11,3	13	11,6
4. disagree	12	8,4	62	36,3	143	23,8	18	16,1
5. strongly disagree (certain)	8	5,6	83	48,5	133	22,1	24	21,4

Item eight (see item 1.45)

1. strongly agree (uncertain)	71	49,7	14	8,2	156	25,9	30	26,8
2. agree	46	32,2	39	22,8	185	30,7	29	25,9
3. cannot say	20	14,0	20	11,7	102	16,9	32	28,6
4. disagree	2	1,4	46	26,9	84	14,0	8	7,1
5. strongly disagree (certain)	4	2,8	52	30,4	75	12,5	12	10,7

ACTUAL NORM BEHAVIOR:

x)

Lying

1. has told lies	59	41,3	48	28,2	196	32,6
2. has not told lies	84	58,7	122	71,7	405	67,4

Swearing

1. has been swearing	137	96,5	152	88,9	558	92,9
2. has not been swearing	5	3,5	19	11,1	43	7,1

Stealing

1. has stolen	46	32,2	27	15,9	151	25,1
2. has not stolen	97	67,8	143	84,1	450	74,9

Infidelity (to one's
wife, or if unmarried, to
a girlfriend)

1. has been unfaithful	94	65,7	83	48,5	334	55,6
2. has not been unfaithful	48	33,6	88	51,5	266	44,3
no answer	1	0,7	0	0,0	1	0,2

Fighting

1. has been fighting	58	41,1	40	23,4	181	30,2
2. has not been fighting	83	58,9	131	76,6	420	69,9

Maligning others

1. has spoken ill of some- one	58	40,6	53	31,0	233	38,9
2. has not spoken ill of anyone	85	59,4	118	68,0	366	61,1
no answer	0	0,0	0	0,0	2	0,3

x) distributions are not calculated in this group, because answers of this group were especially incomplete in norm scales

APPENDIX 5. (continued)

<u>Excessive drinking</u>	f	%	f	%	f	%
1. has become intoxicated	125	87,4	136	79,5	494	82,1
2. has not become intoxicated	18	12,6	35	20,5	107	17,9

THE NUMBER OF BALANCED NORM
STRUCTURES:

none	5	3,5	1	0,5	11	1,8
one	14	9,8	13	7,6	49	8,1
two	33	23,1	21	12,3	98	16,3
three	35	24,5	37	21,6	131	21,8
four	26	18,2	35	20,5	136	22,6
five	19	13,3	32	18,7	106	17,6
six	9	6,3	25	14,6	62	10,3
seven	2	1,4	7	4,1	9	1,5

THE NUMBER OF SUCH IMBALANCED
STRUCTURES IN WHICH A STRONG
AFFECTIVE COMPONENT IS IN
IMBALANCE WITH COGNITIVE OR
BEHAVIORAL COMPONENT OR BOTH:The number of structures in which
affective and cognitive components
are in imbalance with each other:

none	116	81,1	139	81,3	476	79,1
one	22	15,4	26	15,2	105	17,4
two	5	3,5	4	2,3	16	2,7
three	0	0,0	2	1,2	4	0,7
four	0	0,0	0	0,0	1	0,2

The number of structures in which
affective and behavioral components
are in imbalance with each other:1)

none	42	29,4	80	46,8	216	35,9
one	45	31,5	48	28,1	194	32,2
two	32	22,4	23	13,5	120	19,9
three	12	8,4	12	7,0	46	7,6
four	8	5,6	6	3,5	20	3,3
five	4	2,8	2	1,2	6	1,0

The number of structures in which
the affective component is in
imbalance with both cognitive and
behavioral components:2)

none	108	75,5	154	90,1	501	83,2
one	25	17,5	14	8,2	81	13,5
two	10	7,0	2	1,2	18	3,0
three	0	0,0	1	0,6	1	0,2

1) On the basis of chi-squared test the distributions of the extreme groups of norm uncertainty differ from each other in this point at the level of significance of .05.

2) The distributions of extreme groups differ from one another in this point at the level of significance of .01.

APPENDIX 6. Factor analyses of norm variables (total scores)

A. Analysis of principal components, 'varimax' rotated matrix:

theoretical comp./ scales (total scores)		principal components:				
		I	II	III	IV	V
aff.	good-bad	.730	.105	.006	.171	<u>.401</u>
"	pangs of conscience	.223	.359	.127	.182	<u>.837</u>
cogn.	useful - useless	<u>.927</u>	.086	.114	.061	.034
"	needful - needless	<u>.912</u>	.103	.125	.103	.072
behav.	behavioral readiness	.178	.119	<u>.272</u>	<u>.906</u>	.165
"	actual norm behavior	.152	.041	<u>.941</u>	<u>.239</u>	.101
normat.	sanction readiness	.094	<u>.893</u>	.039	.205	.082
expect.	perceived social control	.144	<u>.824</u>	.142	-.049	.286
per cent of total variance		29,47	20,64	12,82	12,48	12,41

two highest loadings in each principal component are underlined

B. Factor matrix based on analytic cosine rotation:

		I	II	III	IV
aff.	good-bad	.676	.173	.105	-.029
"	pangs of conscience	.285	.444	.375	-.124
cogn.	useful - useless	.900	.000	.000	.000
"	needful - needless	.896	.015	.059	-.023
behav.	behavioral readiness ¹⁾	.196	.014	.505	.334
"	actual norm behavior	-.208	.071	-.336	-.353
normat.	sanction readiness	.000	.769	.000	.000
expect.	perceived social control	<u>.074</u>	<u>.763</u>	-.013	-.016
	norm uncertainty ²⁾	.000	.000	.000	.574
	amount of balanced norm structures	.000	.000	.682	.000

1) and 2) the directions of these scales are opposite to those of other scales

Correlations among the factors:

	1.	2.	3.	4.
"the factor of the cognitive component"	1.			
"the factor of normative expectations"	2.	.228		
"the factor of the balance of norm structures"	3.	.073	.365	
"the factor of norm uncertainty"	4.	.238	.207	<u>.363</u>

APPENDIX 7. Comparison of the factor structures of the extreme groups by
symmetric transformation analysis

Rotated matrices of the principal component
analysis:

comp./variable	the group of the highest uncertainty (matrix A1)	the group of the lowest uncertainty (matrix A2)
aff. good-bad	.82 .12 .02 .21 .17	.50 .16 .07 .25 .69
" pangs of consc.	.27 .20 .01 .85 .30	.17 .39 <u>-.28</u> .04 <u>.78</u>
cogn. usefulness	<u>.93</u> .05 -.11 .09 -.01	<u>.94</u> .11 <u>-.07</u> .07 .14
" needfulness	<u>.92</u> .08 -.15 .11 .11	<u>.90</u> .14 <u>-.11</u> .08 .25
behav. behav.readiness	.15 .09 <u>-.37</u> .17 .85	.12 .16 <u>-.25</u> <u>.93</u> .13 ^x
" actual norm beh.	-.15 <u>-.02</u> <u>.92</u> <u>-.04</u> <u>-.28</u>	-.13 <u>-.02</u> <u>.93</u> <u>-.25</u> <u>-.11</u> ^x
normat. sanction readin.	.10 <u>.95</u> .03 .17 <u>.13</u>	.09 <u>.88</u> .07 <u>.14</u> .17
expect. perceived soc.	.17 <u>.59</u> <u>-.27</u> <u>.62</u> <u>-.24</u>	.19 <u>.87</u> <u>-.13</u> .08 .17
control	-----	
% of total variance	31.7 16.5 13.6 15.4 12.5	25.4 21.9 13.0 12.7 15.7

x) the direction of the scale of actual norm behavior is opposite to that of other scales

transformation matrix L12					matrix of congruence coefficients (congruence between matr. A1L12 and A2)					
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
1.	.96	-.01	.06	.06	.26	.98	.29	-.23	.30	.58
2.	.04	.93	.19	.20	-.23	.30	.99	-.19	.24	.53
3.	-.12	-.10	.95	-.12	.26	-.23	-.19	.96	-.54	-.25
4.	-.20	.32	-.26	-.22	.86	.30	.24	-.53	.93	.40
5.	-.13	-.14	.01	.94	.27	.60	.52	-.25	.40	.91

matrix A1L12

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
1.	.73	.15	.04	.18	<u>.41</u>
2.	.06	.41	-.15	.15	<u>.84</u>
3.	<u>.89</u>	.08	-.06	.05	.27
4.	<u>.87</u>	.10	-.09	.17	.30
5.	.05	.05	<u>-.36</u>	<u>.83</u>	.29
6.	-.21	-.08	<u>.86</u>	<u>-.37</u>	.10
7.	.09	<u>.92</u>	.18	.28	-.01
8.	.13	<u>.80</u>	-.30	-.21	.31

matrix of residuals (A1L12 - A2)

sums of squares	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
1. good-bad	<u>.13</u>	<u>.23</u>	-.01	-.03	-.07
2. pangs of conscience	.05	-.11	.02	<u>.13</u>	.11
3. usefulness	.02	-.04	-.03	.01	-.02
4. needfulness	.01	-.02	-.04	.02	.08
5. behav. readiness	.06	-.07	-.10	-.11	-.09
6. actual norm beh.	.07	-.08	-.06	-.06	-.12
7. sanction readiness	.07	.00	.04	.11	<u>.15</u>
8. perceived soc.cont.	<u>.13</u>	-.05	-.06	<u>-.17</u>	<u>-.28</u>
total sums of squares	.54	.08	.02	.08	<u>.15</u>
				<u>.15</u>	<u>.22</u>

<u>Independent variables:</u>	<u>Criterion variables:</u>					
	1. Affect.comp.	2. Cogn.comp.	3. Behavioral readiness	4. Actual norm behavior (number of norm violations)	5. Number of norm structures in balance	6. Norm uncertainty
A. <u>Main effects:</u>						
Education		n.s.	<u>xxx</u>	<u>xxx</u>	xx	<u>xxx</u>
Socio-economic status of the home			<u>xxx</u>	xxx	xxx	<u>xxx</u>
Degree of urbanization of the place of residence	<u>xxx</u>	<u>xxx</u>	<u>xxx</u>	<u>xxx</u>	<u>xxx</u>	<u>xxx</u>
Integration of the 'nuclear family' (quarrelling)				xx	xx	x
Physical and mental health of parents						<u>xxx</u>
Sanctions by the father	xxx	xx				
Sanctions by the mother	xxx			x	x	x
Arguments for sanctions	x	n.s.				n.s.
Membership of youth gangs	xx	<u>xxx</u>	<u>xxx</u>	<u>xxx</u>	n.s.	x
B. <u>Interaction effects:</u>						
Education x socio-economic status of the home					n.s.	<u>xxx</u>
Socio-economic status x degree of urban ization					n.s.	
Education x degree of urbanization	xx	n.s.			<u>xxx</u>	
Sanctions by the father x by the mother						
Sanctions by the mother x arguments for sanctions						
Sanctions by the father x arguments for sanctions	xx					
Education x socio-economic status x degree of urbanization						n.s.
<u>Multiple correlation and % of explanation</u>	<u>.301 9,06%</u>	<u>.295 8,70%</u>	<u>.437 19,09%</u>	<u>.383 14,66%</u>	<u>.312 9,73%</u>	<u>.412 16,97%</u>

The level of significance in Cohen's F-test: xxx = .001 xx = .01 x = .05 n.s. = .10

If underlined, the independent variable has increased the per cent of explanation by more than one per cent.

APPENDIX 9. Guttman's scale analysis of the items of actual norm behavior

<u>Item (act):</u> ¹⁾	<u>Number of</u> ²⁾ <u>plus-answers</u>	<u>Per cent of</u> <u>plus-answers</u>
3. Stealing	149	24,79
5. Fighting	181	30,12
1. Lying	196	32,61
6. Speaking ill of a friend	233	38,77
4. Infidelity	334	55,57
7. Intoxication	493	82,03
2. Swearing	557	92,68

1) Each item is a dichotomy: 1. has done the act 2. has not done the act

2) Plus-answer means response category 1., has done the act

<u>Item:</u>	3	5	1	6	4	7	2
'right' plus-answers (freq.)	56	87	133	181	334	493	557
'wrong' plus-answers	<u>93</u>	<u>94</u>	63	52	0	0	0
'right' minus-answers	452	420	390	335	234	77	16
'wrong' minus-answers	0	0	15	33	33	31	<u>28</u>

Items to be dropped are 3,5, and 2

The final scale:

<u>Item:</u>	1	6	4	7
'right' plus-answers (freq.)	104	181	334	493
'wrong' plus-answers	92	52	0	0
'right' minus-answers	405	368	238	73
'wrong' minus-answers	0	0	29	35

Frequencies of the final scale:

	0	1	2	3	4	
f		73	165	182	77	104

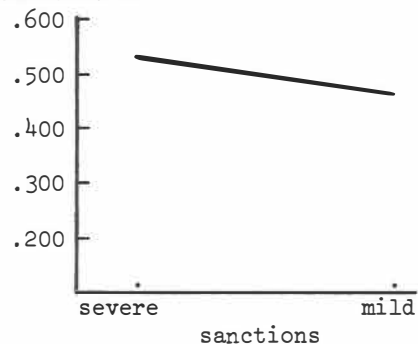
The number of 'wrong' answers 208

Reproduction coefficient: .913

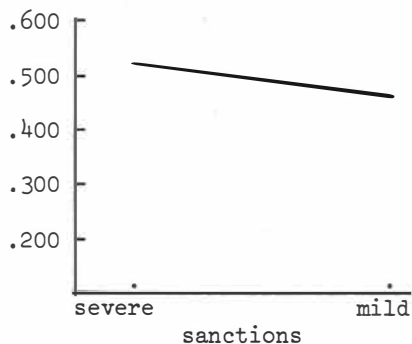
Random reproduction coefficient: .77

APPENDIX 10. A. EFFECTS OF SANCTION VARIABLES ON PREDICTABILITY OF BEHAVIORAL READINESS
 (three-way analysis of variance of the multiple correlations)

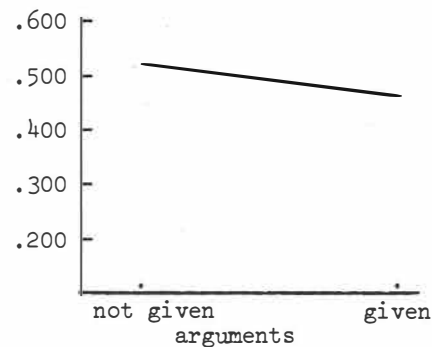
A. = effect of father's sanctions
 multiple correlation



B. = effect of mother's sanctions

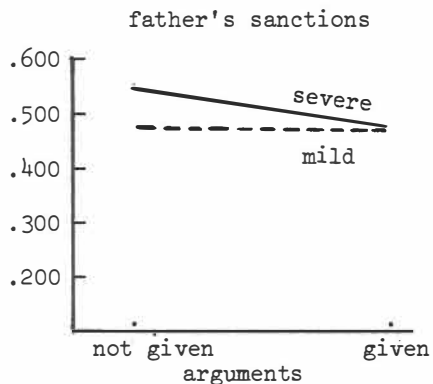


C. = effect of arguments for sanctions

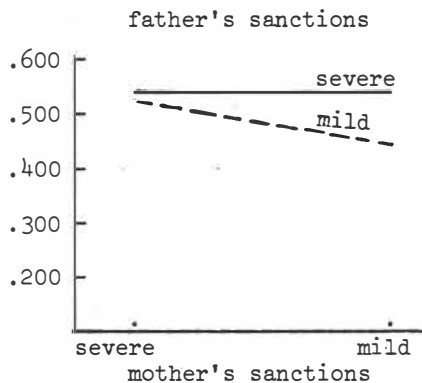


INTERACTION EFFECTS

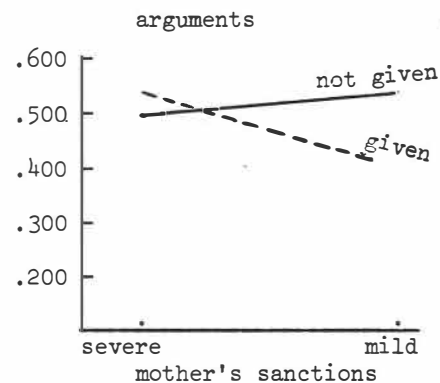
C x A



B x A

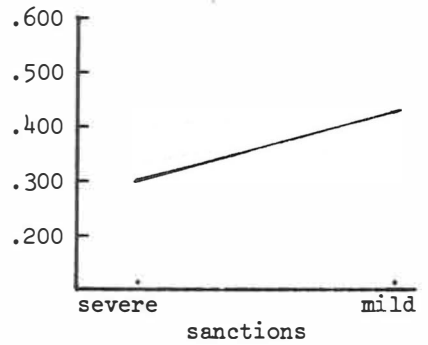


B x C

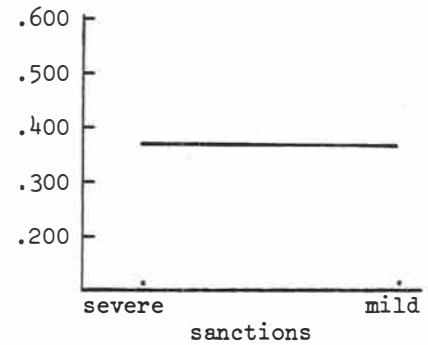


APPENDIX 10. B. EFFECTS OF SANCTION VARIABLES ON PREDICTABILITY OF ACTUAL NORM BEHAVIOR

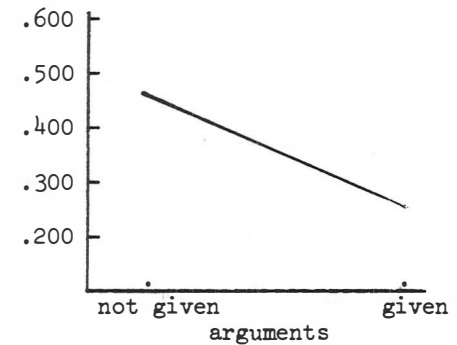
A. = effect of father's sanctions



B. = effect of mother's sanctions

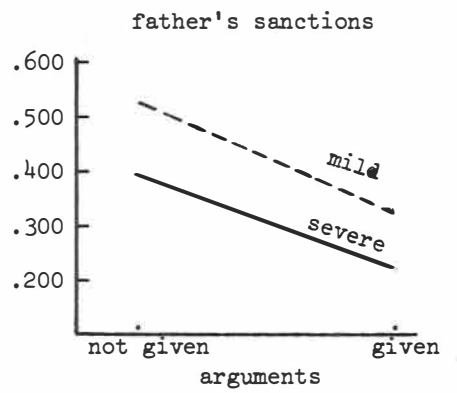


C. = effect of arguments for sanctions

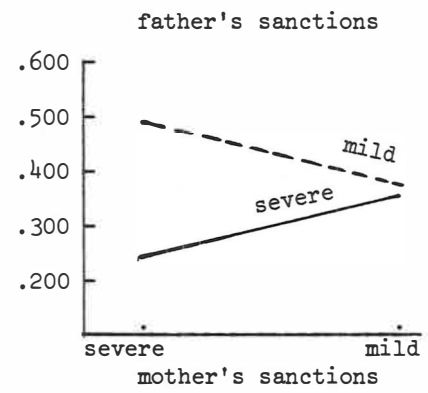


INTERACTION EFFECTS

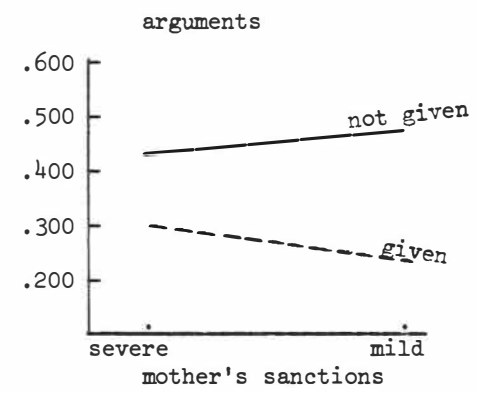
C x A



B x A



B x C

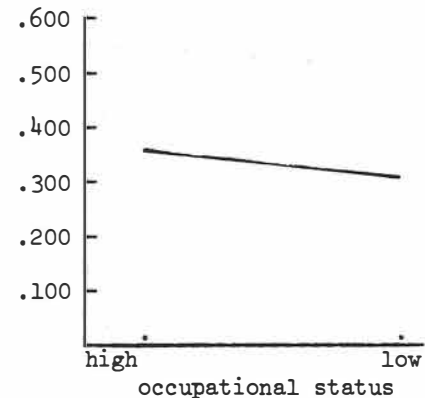
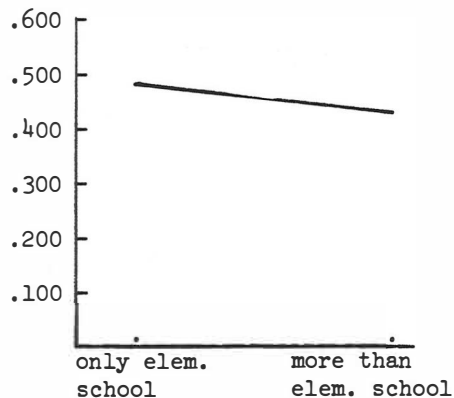
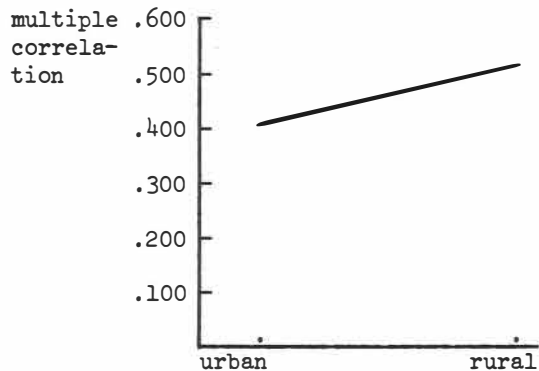


Appendix 11. A. EFFECTS OF THE DEGREE OF URBANIZATION, THE OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF THE FATHER, AND THE LEVEL OF EDUCATION ON PREDICTABILITY OF BEHAVIORAL READINESS

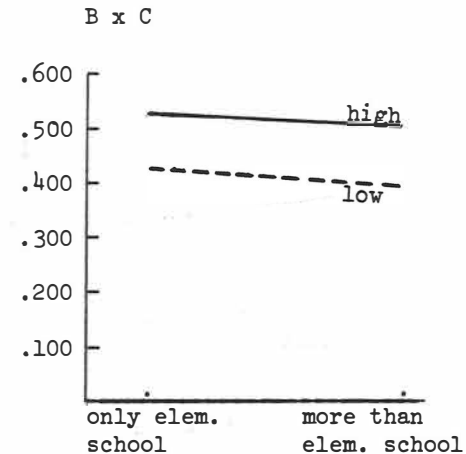
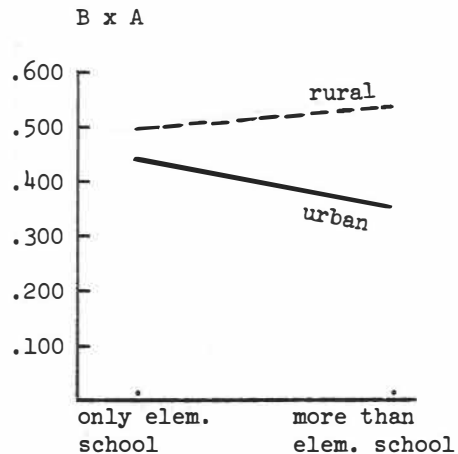
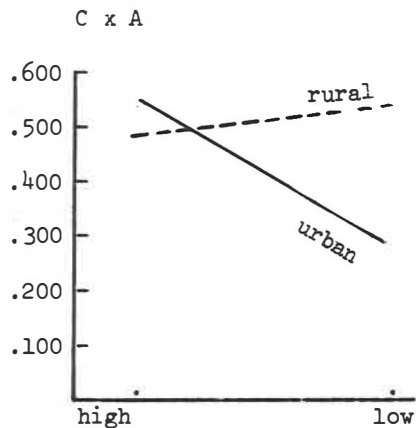
A. = effect of the degree of urbanization

B. = effect of the level of education

C. = effect of the occupational status of the father

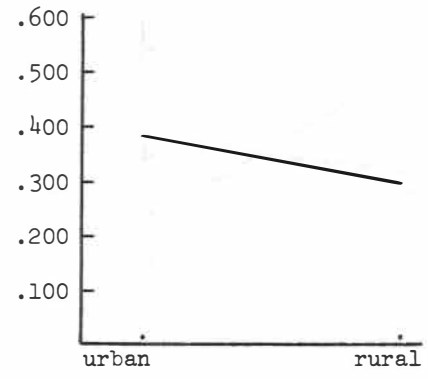


INTERACTION EFFECTS:

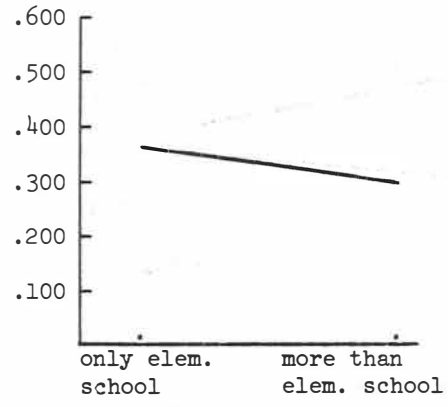


Appendix 11. B. EFFECTS OF THE DEGREE OF URBANIZATION, THE OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF THE FATHER, AND THE LEVEL OF EDUCATION ON PREDICTABILITY OF ACTUAL NORM BEHAVIOR

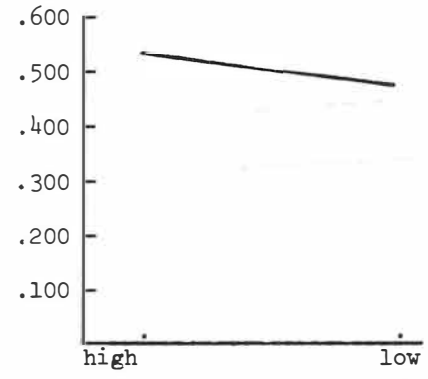
A. = effect of the degree of urbanization



B. = effect of the level of education

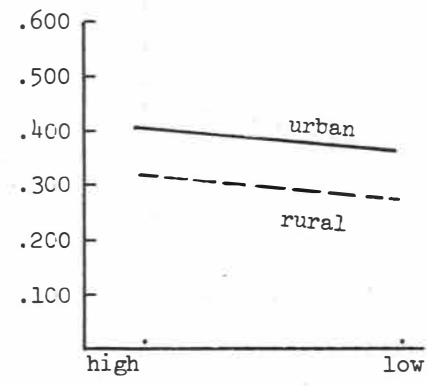


C. = effect of the occupational status of the father

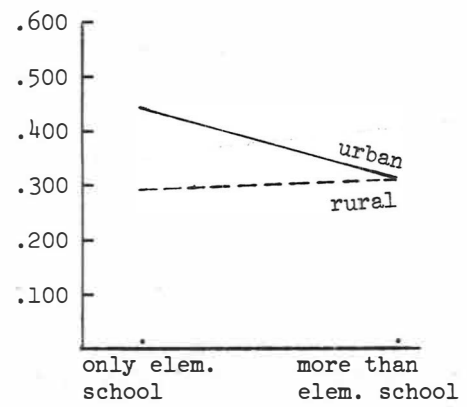


INTERACTION EFFECTS:

C x A



B x A



B x C

