

SIRKKA HIRSJÄRVI

ASPECTS OF CONSCIOUSNESS IN CHILD REARING



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## ABSTRACT

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Diss.

Child rearing was examined from the viewpoint of human consciousness. The humanistic conception of man served as the underlying basis of the study. The study was divided into two parts. The first part gave a theoretical clarification of parents' child rearing by explaining child rearing as social and intentional activity. In this part several central concepts were analysed and a characterization of the nature of human consciousness was made by approaching the theme from different viewpoints (the model of practical syllogism, world view, values, conception of man). The phenomenon of self-consciousness was seen as a fundamental concept. In the second part of the study the content and structure of consciousness was examined empirically. The subjects of the study were Finnish mothers with a child in the first grade of comprehensive school. The semi-structured interview was used as the method of data collection. The results showed the qualitative differences in the mothers' thinking. On the basis of these differences it was possible to carry out the constructions of various levels of consciousness. At the most developed level the subjects were able to produce reason-type arguments, their conceptions of child rearing were of the counselling-type, they had clear conceptions of child development and they possessed coherent views of values, of man and of the deeper meaning of human life.

Educational consciousness, self-consciousness, conception of man, world view, values in child rearing, arguments in child rearing.

## PREFACE

This study is an attempt to examine child rearing from the viewpoint of human consciousness. The initial interest in looking into this phenomenon derived from my long-term studies in human values and the other foundational questions of educational philosophy. It gradually appeared to me that the research task was so demanding that the present study would represent only one step in this field. The problem was that an adequate account of educational consciousness elicited several questions, and setting limits to the discussion seemed to be the most difficult task. However, the conviction that consciousness is one of the most important assets of an educator determined me to persist in the theme.

I have known for a long time that it is part of academic practice to express gratitude to all those who, directly or indirectly, have helped in the research work. But it is only after going through the process of writing a dissertation that I understand why this tradition exists. In fact, the feeling of gratitude to certain persons is so personal that its public expression is difficult. Nevertheless, I shall try.

My deepest gratitude goes to Professor Lea Pulkkinen for her generous support and encouragement in my research work. I have had the privilege and very good fortune to receive ideas and detailed advice from her. Stimulating discussions with her helped to clarify some of the more basic problems involved in scientific work. Her patience and understanding were admirable: sometimes I interrupted her own intensive research work with my requests for help, or I presented ideas which, on my own admission, were not always very clear. In the final stage of this work she read my manuscript and made numerous critical comments and useful suggestions which I have tried to take into account. Naturally, the responsibility for any remaining faults is mine, and they may well be partly due to my own stubborn insistence. My only regret

is that I have not been able to express my gratitude to Professor Lea Pulkkinen in the form of a better report.

My study was carried out in the Department of Education at the University of Jyväskylä under the direction of Professor Veikko Heinonen. I would like to thank him for his support and friendly supervision. Among the many other colleagues at the Department who have given constructive advice, I would particularly like to mention Professor Erkki Olkinuora. At the outset during the first two years I had many interesting and enthusiastic discussions with him. His open, searching mind strongly stimulated me.

I also feel that I am indebted to those persons who, through their writings and lectures, originally gave me the idea, and later strengthened my conviction, that educational consciousness was an area worthy of study: Professor Martti Takala, Professor Reijo Wilenius and Docent Lauri Rauhala. I also wish to thank Professor Jussi Tenkku for his comments as one of the official preliminary examiners of this work and Phil.lic. Juhani Aaltola, who read the theoretical part in an earlier draft of my report. Special thanks go to Dr. Helena Hurme for sharing the task of writing a book on our research method. It was a source of pleasure and joy to discuss and work with her. In her role as editor of the publication series, she also read my final manuscript and suggested many improvements.

I wish to express my thanks to those who performed the various tasks involved in the analysis of the interview data. Ulla Hirsjärvi and Ulla Siltala carried out the heavy task of making verbatim transcriptions of the respondents' answers. Markku Tapper helped me by performing the computer runs. I am indebted to Sauli Takala, who translated into English some sections of an earlier version of the theoretical part and to Marja Lampi, who translated the excerpts from the interviews. I would also like to thank Graham Dulwich and Glyn Hughes for their work in checking the language of this report. Terttu Pylvänäinen typed the many versions of the manuscript. I know I have tried her patience over the years. My warmest thanks to her.

This study would not have been possible without financial support. I was given the opportunity to work as a research assistant for the Finnish Academy in 1977-1979, which made it possible for me to concentrate on this work. I also thank the Niilo Helander Foundation for

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I am deeply grateful to Phil.lic. Ulla-Maija Pasanen, who has followed the progress of my research work over the longest period of time. My task would have been considerably harder without her unfailing optimism and keen sense of humour. Besides taking a sincere interest in my scholarly efforts, she has, together with my other friends, arranged for welcome diversion. In the final stages of my work she has acted as my linguistic adviser by repeatedly correcting my English and eventually by proofreading the report.

Finally, I am grateful to those one hundred and fifteen mothers who opened up their homes for the intensive interviews and devoted a lot of their time to explaining their views and feelings on child rearing as well as on the other aspects of life. I think that through them my knowledge of educational science and of behavioural science theory has been deepened in a way which would have been impossible through the library methods I had previously favoured. These mothers provided me with a wealth of seemingly inexhaustible data.

Jyväskylä, September 1981

Sirkka Hirsjärvi

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## INTRODUCTION

This study concerns the foundations of child rearing. The study has two purposes. First, an effort is made to discover what is the essence of foundational questions. This leads us to outline the main characteristics of child rearing and to consider the relationships between rearing practices and educational consciousness. Secondly, an attempt is made to analyse empirically the variations in individuals' educational consciousness.

The concept 'foundations of child rearing' is similar to others in that it includes a problem of definition. The term 'foundation' is obscure and there is constant disagreement as to what should and should not count as its proper meaning (cf. Shields 1968, 1969; Conrad & al. 1973; Miranda 1974). It is the present author's intention to analyse the concept in the theoretical part of this study and define the essential categories of the foundations of child rearing at the general level so that the presentation goes beyond personal convictions, often justified by the expression 'it is my philosophy of education'.

Perdew (1969) considers the criteria for labelling some issues 'foundational questions' and states the following five criteria: (1) they are abstract or theoretical, (2) they have a broad application to many specific or practical situations, (3) they draw upon data in more than one field for their solution, (4) they have the potential of generating new data, (5) they are problems in education, not in philosophy, sociology, psychology, or any other discipline, although they may generate data which will be useful to other disciplines. Some of these questions are 'How important is education?', 'How educable is man?' and 'Is human growth continuous or sporadic?' Answers to them provide the basis of parents' child rearing activity as well as the basis of all other educational activity.

The popular definition of the concept 'foundation' is somewhat vague. According to one dictionary (Nykysuomen sanakirja III - IV,

1973) 'foundation' ('peruste') refers to a concrete basis more rarely than to an abstract area. In fact, the definition is so broad that it provides very little help in the planning of this study. In connection with educational activity it has been usual for values and goals to be regarded as such fundamental matters. A much more complicated phenomenon is found here, however, and the present study will therefore inevitably contain numerous topics (eg. many theoretical concepts and several points of view). The study can be characterized as multidisciplinary, where educational activity directs and co-ordinates the discussion and where educational, psychological, philosophical and sociological knowledge together are needed in the analysis. In spite of the fact that the literature on child rearing is wide in scope, it is relatively easy to indicate some gaps in this area of research. Some main aspects of the contents and methodological topics will be discussed below.

According to Wolfenstein (1956) child rearing literature reflects the moral climate of the time and place in which it is written equally as much as the state of scientific knowledge about children. The scientific findings on the effects of parents on children are of three kinds. There is information from (1) clinical studies, (2) studies of child development itself, and (3) studies made in such social sciences as sociology and social psychology. Each of these three kinds of scientific information has some recognized defects which have not yet been completely corrected: the information from the clinical material is not generally applicable, and families in these studies have rarely been free from emotional disturbance. The descriptive and experimental child development studies have suffered from the fact that the child is viewed almost as if it had no parents, which is to say that parents are rarely included in these studies. In the 1950's, however, a new interest was awakened in developmental processes (Yarrow, Campbell & Burton 1968) and thereafter parents have received more attention in studies. The information from sociology and social psychology seldom describes the behaviour of the adults as parents. According to Brim (1959), these sociological studies deal very little with children or with the effects of parents on children.

According to Stolz (1967), studies of child development during the past twenty years have become less interested in describing children's behaviour and more interested in identifying the causes underlying

their behaviour. The assumption of early effects is common to most of the theories of child development. Their focus is the impact of child rearing experiences on child behaviour. Very much developmental theory centres specifically on the influence of maternal care on child behaviour, and empirical studies of child rearing are numerous. As Yarrow, Campbell and Burton (1968) stated, however, events of child rearing are extremely difficult to measure, and the possible consequences of these events on child behaviour are equally difficult to determine. It should be noted that many researchers have concentrated on the mother-to-child direction of influence (Fein & Clarke-Stewart 1973). LeMasters (1970) maintains that in the literature on parents it seems that the vast majority of the material was concerned with children rather than parents, and Brim (1959) also argues that most family writers seem to think that parents operate in a social and cultural vacuum because so little is said about the social situations confronting mothers and fathers.

Despite the above remarks it must be admitted today that perhaps the most productive approach to the study of parents and children is that of mother-child interaction. Early studies of child rearing practices concerned themselves with traditional socialization issues: feeding, weaning, and toilet training (eg. Sears & al. 1957; White 1957). The most frequent phrase was 'The mothers varied widely' (Sears & al. 1957, 467). For approximately four decades, the parent-child literature has identified two variables of parental behaviour as critical in accounting for parental influence on the growth of children. Rollins and Thomas (1975) term these variables 'parental power' and 'parental nurturance'. Many researchers mention the dimensions of parental behaviour. Yarrow, Campbell and Burton (1968), for example, view the dimensions as concerning mainly the kinds of rewarding or punishing attention from the parent, and the warmth or hostility of parental interactions with the child.

The parental power variable, mentioned above, refers to parental control and there are many empirical studies of parental discipline, dominance, restriction or coercion. The variable of parental nurturance has been given many labels in the literature, eg. acceptance, support, and love, but the connotations and denotations attached to the different labels have been very similar (Rollins & Thomas 1975). This area of research is also known as parent attitude study. The two dimensions were identified early by Symonds (1939) as a dominance-

submission continuum of behaviour and an acceptance-rejection continuum of behaviour. A great number of dimensions have been employed to describe the psychological atmosphere of the home. According to Ausubel and Sullivan (1970), early attempts at a more precise categorization of parent attitudes tended to oversimplify matters by using uni-dimensional (acceptance) or bi-dimensional (acceptance-domination) scales. This two-variable or dimensional approach has also been emphasized by Schaefer (1959), Maccoby (1961), Becker (1964), Straus (1964), and Thomas, Gecas, Weigert and Rooney (1974).

A variety of techniques have been used to put these variables into operation. With the development of computers larger samples and more complex statistical procedures have been increasingly utilized in an attempt to distinguish between the many influences that parent attitudes have on a child's development. Attempts have been made to identify a few basic dimensions. Medinnus (1967), Ausubel and Sullivan (1970) as well as Rollins and Thomas (1975) have listed major parent-child dimensions, which are described in, for example, the well-known studies by Baldwin, Kalhorn and Breese (1945, 1949), Roff (1949), Sears, Maccoby and Levin (1957), Peck and Havighurst (1960), Becker (1964), Schaefer (1965), Baumrind (1967), Hoffman and Saltzstein (1967), and Coopersmith (1967). In Finland the study of parent attitudes began in the 1950's (Takala 1960; Nummenmaa 1963; Nummenmaa & Takala 1965).

It was the function of the above to orient the reader to the viewpoints from which typical child rearing research has stemmed. The period between 1960 and 1980 revealed significant changes in parent-child studies. The changes can be seen to correspond to those main trends and various points of view which appeared in the psychological literature during this period (for a description of these trends, see, for example, Takala 1981; von Wright 1981). Because the research has been so extensive, the effort to summarize the typical aspects of child rearing studies is a difficult and, obviously, a risky task. Therefore, the present review will simply mention some of the major events and topics which at least seem to be essential.

Firstly, cognitive development has been an especially active area of scientific research since about 1960. The studies have indicated a strong link between the cognitive development of the child and the quality of stimulation available in the early home environment and parental child rearing practices (Yarrow, Rubenstein & Pedersen 1975; Bradley &

Caldwell 1980). Secondly, in the last ten years there has tended to be an increase in the analysis of interaction and child rearing in a broad social context (eg. Takala 1979). Thirdly, emphasis has been laid on the positive aspects of the development as well as longitudinal studies (eg. Pulkkinen, in press). Fourthly, the studies have concentrated on working mothers and their child rearing (eg. Hoffman & Nye 1975). Fifthly, there was little intense research on fathering until ten years ago. In the past decade there has been an increase in the discovery of the contributions of fathering to child development (see, for example, the bibliography of Price-Bonham 1976).

In short, very little emphasis has been laid on the aspects which stem from a theoretical outlook with existential and phenomenological roots. The study of the foundations of child rearing means here the explanation of parents' educational activity. So the fundamental question is 'What induces a parent to act in the way he or she does?' However, the term 'explanation' does not refer to causal explanation. An attempt is made to explain child rearing practices by discovering the reasons parents have for following them and by clarifying the aims and values of parents. The term 'reason' refers here to the frame of mind, ie. the justifications and intentions of educational activities. The general term 'consciousness' can be seen as a useful, all-embracing concept and it is closely related to many mental concepts, eg. reason, which brings about human activities.

This study contains two parts, both of which will concentrate on the same phenomenon. In Part I an attempt is made to outline theoretically child rearing as human conscious activity. The aim of the analysis is to discover the basis and structure of educational consciousness. Part II can be seen as an attempt to verify some theoretical ideas in the light of empirical data.

Part I concerns three major areas:

1. An analysis of child rearing as social, intentional activity.
2. A characterization of the general nature of human consciousness.
3. A characterization of the nature and elements of an individual's educational consciousness.

These areas constitute a complex relationship and the categorization made in the present study is not without problems. In dealing with the first two areas an attempt is made to provide a background against which the third area can be analysed.

The discussion in this study begins with an analysis of some central concepts to be introduced. These are 'parenthood', 'child rearing', 'education', 'educational activity and action', 'reason' and 'cause'. In the consideration of the concept of 'parenthood' emphasis will be laid on the fact that child rearing is role behaviour, so that it should always be understood as a social activity. The concept of child rearing will then be related to the concept 'education'. In this analysis emphasis is laid on the intentional and practical nature of both these activities. The essential idea is that human activities do not spring from nowhere, but have a rational origin with causes and reasons. They must be understood as attempts to achieve goals, to realize intentions. In this way it can be stated that people act intentionally.

The so-called model of practical syllogism (von Wright 1971a) can be seen as an attempt to describe the general structure of conscious, intentional human activity. An attempt is made to apply the syllogism in clarifying the nature of child rearing. Tuomela's (1977) new causalistic theory will also be studied, especially from the point of view of what Tuomela includes in the foundations of intentions.

The syllogisms help to characterize the general structure of human activity. However, they are only formal models and they do not clarify satisfactorily, for instance, how goals and other human decisions can develop and change and how an individual can be free to choose between alternatives. It is assumed that an investigation of the concepts of consciousness and world view will extend this discussion. It will be seen in the study that the phenomenon of self-consciousness plays a central role in the development of an individual's deliberative activity. When an educator is asked for the reasons for his or her educational actions, it is assumed that he or she is capable of self-conscious activity. The self-consciousness of individuals will be assumed to vary significantly.

The phenomenon of world view will then be analysed in an attempt to discover what is involved in constructing general consciousness. The world view is an individual's conception of the world as whole. It is the system on which an educator's decisions are based. The results of this analysis will show that our conception of man and human values constitute the most central elements of the world view. These areas, therefore, will be investigated in greater depth.

The central purpose of this study is to discover what constitutes the essence of an individual's educational consciousness. The results of the preceding discussion will be used as the basis for this consideration. It will be seen that there are three main areas of educational consciousness, which can be outlined as follows: (1) conceptions of aims and values in child rearing, (2) conceptions of the self as an educator and of the significance of the quality of educational interaction (adult-child interaction), (3) conceptions of general trends of human growth and the nature of man.

The purpose of the second part of this study is to examine the content and structure of educational consciousness empirically. The subjects of the study were 115 Finnish mothers who had a child in the first class of the comprehensive school (age approx. 7 yrs.). The semi-structured interview was used as the method of data collection.

The objectives of Part II are as follow:

1. To describe the content and the level of an individual's educational consciousness in the three main areas which were considered in the first part of the study.
2. To clarify the relations between various content areas of an individual's educational consciousness and to verify the correspondence between the theoretical, formal model and an individual's educational thoughts and conceptions.
3. To study the relations between an individual's educational consciousness and various components of living conditions.

The present author is well aware that educational consciousness is one of the most central and at the same time most difficult objects of educational investigation. Hence, the effort undertaken here is quite limited. This study, however, has been carried out in the conviction that the task is useful although it may only provide the possibility of making a small advance towards a deeper understanding of the foundations of child rearing.

This study can be seen as a partly philosophical investigation, and in this sense it is the study of the conceptual foundations of child rearing. The empirical section demonstrates how child rearing as a practical matter reflects the ideas that are presented theoretically. It can then be seen whether child rearing is purposeful, responsible activity and whether an educator himself is conscious of the foundations of his activity.

PART I THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF FOUNDATIONS IN CHILD REARING:  
A FORMAL AND ANALYTICAL VIEW

1. Child rearing as human, intentional activity

1.1. Concept of parenthood

"All the world's a stage,  
And all the men and women merely players:  
They have their exits and their entrances;  
And one man in his time plays many parts..."

This well-known metaphor by Shakespeare (As You Like It: Act II, Scene VII) is a good illustration of how the individual is bound by roles: the world is a stage on which the individual enters and from which he exits several times. In Shakespeare's train of thought he appears first as a school-boy and then reappears as a lover. Continuing the line of thought he can also be seen on the stage as a parent. In this role the individual has several demands placed upon him, eg. patterns of behaviour defined by society which he embraces and accepts, although at times he may rebel against them. In contrast to actors an ordinary individual cannot simply take off his mask and free himself of his shackles (cf. Dahrendorf 1969).

Parenthood is a universal phenomenon. It is one of the most common - and at the same time one of the most significant - of the roles imposed on an individual. When the greatest responsibility for the formation of a child's personality is so often placed on the shoulders of parents (eg. Peterson & al. 1967; Ausubel & Sullivan 1970; Fein & Clarke-Stewart 1973; Liegle 1975) it means that parents are seen as the focal point of mankind (see, however, Skolnick 1978). It might be

thought that special care should be taken to prepare people for such an exacting task.

It is, of course, essential to know what the concept of 'parenthood' means. Here it is proposed to examine the concept as a specific task in the light of roles, skills and goals. Downie et al. (1974) have used these categories in their analysis of the concept of 'teacher'. Parenthood understood as 'role-jobs' means the statement of rights and obligations. It can then be said, for instance, that parenthood means that the mother or the father sees to it that the child receives adequate nutrition, accommodation, clothing and education. 'Task' can be divided roughly into child care and socialization (Gecas 1976). 'Parenthood' understood as 'skill-job' means stating what is considered essential for successful educative activity. Thus, it is a question of the adults' skills and abilities. It may be stated, for instance, that parents should be able to provide their children with opportunities for educative activities, to protect the child from harmful influences and to use methods suitable for children. This aspect is covered when it is said, for example, that 'individual A is a skilful educator'. Parenthood can also be termed as a goal-oriented activity when acting as a parent is defined at the most general level as being synonymous with an attempt to bring up 'a good individual'.

According to Downie et al. (1974) several occupations can best be described by one of these categories. Similar to the concept of 'teacher', parenthood is, however, a phenomenon the adequate definition of which should probably include all three aspects. At the same time it should be noted that such classifications are always theoretical abstractions, and often too simplistic as constructs. It should also be pointed out that parenthood understood from the point of view of ordinary role-thinking, as in the above, means the naming of rights and obligations from outside, from authority. In practical educational activities parenthood should quite emphatically be seen as an inner-directed activity. This means that individuals slowly grow into parenthood so that they themselves can contribute to the definition of rights and obligations of this role (cf. Turner 1970). As an individual-focused and subjective phenomenon the concept of parenthood is therefore dynamic, ever-changing and continuously revised. As a general definition parenthood can now be taken as a central phenomenon related to an individual's progress through life and implying the holding of a

certain social position. The main task in this position is creating optimal conditions of growth for the children entrusted to an individual's care.

## 1.2. Child rearing, educational activity and actions

Some common features are included in the concepts of 'child rearing' and 'education'. The term 'education' was originally used to mark out any process of rearing, bringing up, instructing, etc. Bereiter (1972, 6), for example, describes 'education' as follows:

Education is a matter of purpose and focus. To educate a child is to act with the purpose of influencing the child's development as a whole person. What you do may vary. You may teach him, you may play with him, you may structure his environment, you may censor his television viewing, or you may pass laws to keep him out of bars.

Nowadays it has become common to distinguish between 'education' and 'child rearing'. Peters (1972, 8-9) states the following:

With the coming of industrialism, however, and the increasing demand for knowledge and skill consequent on it, 'education' became increasingly associated with 'schooling' and with the sort of training and instruction that went on in special institutions. This large-scale change, culminating in the development of compulsory schooling for all, may have brought about such a radical conceptual tightening up that we now tend to use the word only in connexion with the development of knowledge and understanding.

In Finnish the term 'kasvatus' has been employed in a very general sense and it has been used of the rearing of children in the home ('kotikasvatus') and of the schooling of children ('koulukasvatus'). It may well happen, however, as Peters (1972) points out, that also in English many people still use the word 'education' to cover not only any process of instruction, training, etc. that goes on in schools but also less formalized child rearing practices such as toilet training, and getting children to be clean and tidy and to speak with a good accent. The older usage also survives in certain phrases like 'Spartan education'.

In considering characteristics in common it is useful to analyse some definitions of 'education'. On the level of scientific or academic life definitions abound. From Plato onwards, authors have tried to penetrate the 'true nature' of education or - more usually - to advance

some particular educational ideas of their own, often connected with some more general philosophical position or 'doctrine of man' (Wilson 1975). In general, 'education' is understood to be bound to other forms of culture and human activity and its characteristics are determined by the social structure and level of development. Education has two basic functions in society: on the one hand, it is an institution that integrates and maintains society, and on the other hand, it helps to transform it. The latter function is realized when education helps to promote individuality and the growth of unique traits in individuals (cf. Hirsjärvi 1977, 1978). Peters (1973 b, 1) points out "... that education is a concept which is not very close to the ground". By this he means that it is not a concept like 'red' which picks out a simple quality, like 'horse' which picks out an object, or like 'running' or 'smiling' which pick out observable occurrences. Several descriptions of the concept of education (eg. Peters 1968, 1973a, 1973b; Hirst & Peters 1970; Dearden, Hirst & Peters 1972; Schoefield 1972; Frankena 1973; Langford 1973a; Röhrs 1973; McClellan 1976; Brezinka 1978) have characteristics in common: Education is seen as practical activity and is considered to be purposeful activity. Langford (1973b) especially emphasizes that education is a practical, social activity.

These characteristics, the practical and the purposeful nature of activity, are also essential features of child rearing. Some writers take the term 'child rearing' as referring generally to all interactions between parents and their children. "These interactions include the parents' expressions of attitudes, values, interests, and beliefs as well as their caretaking and training behavior" (Sears & al. 1957, 457). The term 'child rearing' is here used as a covering concept which includes the terms 'educational activities' and 'actions'. In this study the concept of child rearing refers to parents' goal-oriented activities the purpose of which is to create conditions for the all-round development and growth of human beings. The creation of conditions for growth and development means many kinds of activities on the part of parents, for example, providing and regulating stimuli for growth and teaching and transmitting knowledge, skills and the cultural heritage.

No distinction has usually been made between the concepts of 'activity' and 'action' in educational literature. Thus, it is possible that

the terms 'parents' educational activity' or their 'educational actions' are used almost interchangeably. In the present study it is, however, important to make a distinction between them. Langford (1973b, 117) also considers the distinction important:

I think it is important, however, to make a distinction between actions and activities. Actions are undertaken with the intention of achieving a more or less immediate end; and may or may not form part of some more temporally extended, complex pattern of activity in which the person is engaged. Activities themselves have an overall purpose which provides the principle of their identity and to which the individual actions which are their parts contribute.

Educational activity can therefore be used in a broad sense. When a mother is asked if she has found the upbringing of children difficult the whole period of time since the child's birth is being referred to. It is difficult to pick out any single action as an indicator of the whole chain of activities. Such general activities consist, however, of sequences of real specific actions. Typical of these actions is that they are goal-oriented, they always have an object which can be termed the need object that prompted the activity and furthermore, a 'style' can be discerned in the activity. In the present study this is termed the parents' educational style, eg. the way they talk to the child, the content of their talk and gestures (cf. Lazarus 1971).

Educational actions are components of educational activities. Human educational activity therefore exists only in the form of chains of an action or actions. For instance, the parents' educational activity may be in obtaining a musical education for their children. They can achieve this in practice by means of several kinds of actions, for instance, the mother or father can teach their children how to play, the child can be sent to a music school or private instruction can be arranged in the home.

### 1.3. Reasons and causes in educational activity and parents' educational responsibility

The analysis of the foundations of parents' educational activity brings out such central concepts as 'responsibility', 'freedom of will', 'reasons', 'causes' and 'justification'. The terms 'causes' and 'reasons' will here be briefly considered.

Suppose that parent A performs an educational action of the kind x. Several appropriate questions can be asked relevant to an explanation of this single action. According to Tuomela (1977, 210) it can be stated by means of the following list:

- (1) Why did A do x ?
- (2) What was the purpose (intention, aim, end, goal) of A's action?
- (3) What was A's motive for his doing x ?
- (4) What was A's reason for his doing x ?
- (5) Which of A's wants (or other conative attitudes) brought about his doing x ?
- (6) Which of A's beliefs (or other doxastic attitudes) brought about his doing x ?

The first question is very general. Tuomela (1977) states that acceptable answers might include the citing of both causes and reasons for actions, whereas (4) seems to accept only the latter.<sup>1</sup> The first question which can be seen as a kind of initial question in this study and which includes all the questions mentioned above, has caused much debate among researchers. Rescher (1969, 21) has divided the explanations of human actions into two distinct types:

- (1) Explanations in terms of causes
- (2) Explanations in terms of reasons or motives

Rescher (1969) points out that explanations of the latter sort proceed in terms of consciously espoused aims, goals, and purposes; those of the former type deal with accounts that proceed in terms of 'forces' rather than 'reasons'. Explanations in terms of reasons involve an explicit reference to specific (goal-oriented) considerations that the parent 'has in mind' in connection with his actions.

When the parents' educational responsibility (eg. Olafson 1973) is emphasized, this includes the idea that they are to some extent free to choose between alternatives. Consequently when parents are asked about the grounds for their educational activity it is not thought that people live in a deterministic world but that they have an opportunity

<sup>1</sup> Tuomela (1977) states that question (2) can take a large class of answers, all of which can be paraphrased in the form: A did x in order to do y. The in-order-to-relation is a kind of prototype of a teleological relation. He further points out that questions (5) and (6) are contained in (4).

of influencing events. When people are responsible for what they do, it is not the causes of their actions which should be mentioned but their reasons for acting (Griffiths 1972, see also Winch's view of explanations, 1958 and MacIntyre's considerations, 1976). It can be concluded that when parents give reasons for what they do, these are reasons which to some extent justify what they do.

When the educator's responsibility is emphasized in the search for the foundations of activity, it should also be asked on what grounds are based the demands that parents should be aware of the premises of their activity or give reasons for their actions. Reasons for such demands can be sought from many sources. One recent viewpoint is that society and social life have become so complex that parents cannot cope with the education of their children simply by following traditional ways. More and more frequently they have to make choices and they have to be able to anticipate the consequences of those choices. The second viewpoint is the broad and general principle of human rights and children's rights which can be stated briefly as having the following normative guideline: a growing individual should not be treated arbitrarily and never as a means of obtaining other objectives. It is felt that education should be based on something which is universal, if possible on something that does not mean one thing for one person and something else for another, which is not opinion or a matter of taste and which is not based on the subjective experiences of the educator or on the incidental opinions of politicians.

#### 1.4. Child rearing as intentional activity

When parents' daily educational activities and their foundations are examined it should be noted that this is such a complex area that far-reaching conclusions should be drawn with caution. A further explication of the theory of complex actions is needed in human sciences. Educational actions seem to the author to be typically complex actions.

It is a general problem of human sciences that so-called theoretical concepts that are both necessary and desirable in the study of human activity cannot be grasped by operational definitions that are left undefined in an important sense (eg. Tuomela 1977; Rauhala 1978). Tuomela

(1977), however, emphasizes that such concepts as 'intention', 'belief' etc. which explain human behaviour are theoretical-reporthive. In spite of the fact that their use is originally learnt without theoretical training, they are no less theoretical than the concepts of natural science. This section throws light on the theories which are known as explanatory models of human activity.

#### 1.4.1. Models of practical syllogism

Pettit (1978) assumes that (1) the general common sense theory of the human agent depicts man as rational, and (2) such a theory should also be included in a social science explanation of action. In his study Pettit examines the nature and function of the rational man theory and its application in social science. Beliefs, desires and principles of decision are central to this theory and these dispositions lead us to make successful predictions about behaviour. The concept of rationality therefore presupposes certain dispositions (cf. Stegmüller 1976). Man's rationality means that he generally attempts to behave rationally or meaningfully in different situations. If an individual's conceptions, relevant conditions and goals are understood, the reason for him behaving in a certain way can also be understood, eg. why parents punish their child. It should be pointed out that the assumption of rationality is implicit in the explanatory models of von Wright (1976) and Tuomela (1977).

Many scholars would agree that human activity cannot be understood without reference to intentions. Beyond this common point of agreement there are sources of disagreement. The problem seems to be how to understand relationship between intentions and actions that realize them. Practical syllogism, which originates with Aristotle and has been presented by Anscombe (1972), is the basis of models of explanation. In discussing the nature of intention and intentional activity Anscombe (1972, 9-11) asks what distinguishes actions which are intentional from those which are not. Her preliminary answer is that "Intentional actions are ones to which a certain sense of the question 'why?' has application" (p. 11). Anscombe both explains this sense and describes cases where the question does not have application.

When the basic strategy of this study is to ask parents the motives of their educational actions (retrospective approach) the aim can be understood as discovering the premises that have led to certain educational actions. Some models of explanation which have been developed by philosophers (eg. von Wright 1971a, 1971b, 1977) are of some help in clarifying the origins of educational actions, but they are not so sophisticated that they are sufficient for the explanation of activities. Von Wright himself says (1976, 117) that "the laws of behavior are not so 'strict' as, for example, the laws of classical physics but are rather probabilistic than 'strictly' causal in nature".

The most common model of explanation, which von Wright (1976) calls the model of intentional explanation, is, in its most simple form, as follows:

A intends to bring about p

A thinks that if he does not do q, he does not achieve p

Therefore he does q

Von Wright points out (1976, 118) that this "... inference remains valid if 'intends' is replaced by the term 'has decided' or 'has made the decision' or by the expression 'has decided to achieve' or may be even by the expression 'is willing'". In the place of the term 'thinks' in the second premise the terms 'considers', 'observes', 'knows' or 'believes' can be used. In the present study this model of explanation means that when the reason why the parent did a certain educational action (eg. hit the child) is sought, it is a sufficient answer according to this model of explanation to show that he intended to bring about p and thought doing q necessary to achieve p. Consequently the individual's activity was determined by his intentions. The question of determinism will be taken up later. In section 2.3. it will be stated that the individual can to some extent control those determining factors and in this case the individual's world of consciousness occupies a central position. With regard to the relationship between intentions and actions it should be noted that according to von Wright (1976) intention and an idea about what its achievement requires constitute a sufficient reason for subsequent activity.

As was observed above, such an inference model is both too simple and inadequate in view of daily educational situations and for understanding educational actions carried out in connection with them. The

model has been supplemented and it has been modified in a more complex direction. Von Wright (1976) has presented a so-called supplementary model, which he calls the model of institutionalized actions. It is constructed on the same pattern but it also takes into account how external normative pressures affect the activity of individuals. It would seem that customary talk about child rearing practices or tradition-oriented parents' educational activity can be included in a relevant way. A central idea in the model is that external determinants determine our actions to different degrees. They can be understood as stimuli which elicit response.

One type of determinant in the model is verbal challenges. In educational situations within the family this is a common originator of activity. A child asks his mother for something or asks her a question which calls for some form of response. When the mother answers the child's question, we do not usually say that she intended to answer but simply that she answered. The child's question or request, therefore, determines the mother's action and is, according to the model, also the reason for the action performed. Another set of determinants consists of so-called good manners or traditional rules. Responses to such determinants have to be learnt. Research in cultural anthropology has produced ample evidence of how many taboos and ritualized ways of life prevail in a given society and how in such societies external determinants may direct an individual's actions down to tiny details (eg. Mead 1963; Benedict 1966). It should therefore be noted that the proportion of our internally and externally determined actions is not constant. Variety exists between different societies and also between individuals.

Volanen (1977) analysed the practical syllogism and reconstructed it. This new formulation takes the following form: (S1) A constructs alternative purposes p, q and r, (S2) A chooses p, (S3) A intends to bring about p, (S4) A considers that if he does a, b, or c, p is brought about, (S5) A chooses to do a, (S6) Therefore A does a. He sees that in everyday life there can be more than one goal or telos for human actions. Volanen's model is closer to complex educational situations since stage (S4) contains alternatives which can be understood as methods of child rearing - in real situations there is usually more than one method available. The model is an extension of

the original model also in that stages S1 and S2 are additions. When it is considered that stage S3 corresponds to what was called intention in the above this model has proceeded to what may be termed the determinants of determinants, ie. progress has been made beyond intentions.

#### 1.4.2. Conduct plan

The aim of Tuomela's new causalistic theory (1977) is to bring a much-needed clarification into the conceptual framework of cognitive and motivation psychology. According to Tuomela, actions can be primarily characterized either in terms of their antecedents or in terms of their consequences. In the first type of characterizing action, reference can be made to such things as the agent's intentions, acts of will, purposes, reasons, wants, desires, beliefs, emotions and feelings. A central concept in Tuomela's action theory is a conduct plan which includes intentions and beliefs that guide behaviour. A singular purposeful, goal-oriented action can be explained in his view by referring to a person's relatively stable conduct plan and to changing external factors which bring about his activity.

Tuomela's theory is causalistic, and, contrary to von Wright (1976), he thinks that a causalistic relationship exists between proposed behaviour and intentions and beliefs. Of interest in this connection is what Tuomela includes in the foundation of intentions. In Tuomela's opinion an individual's intentions are based on wants and beliefs. The general view of the relationships between wanting, intending, and acting is approximately as follows: an individual forms his intentions on the basis of either intrinsic wants (eg. 'primary' biological needs and drives as well as 'secondary' psychological and social needs) or extrinsic wants (based on duties, obligations, norms, challenges etc.) together with some relevant beliefs. He mentions that most of the problems involved in want-intention generation are indeed factual and psychological rather than philosophical. Tuomela's criticism of the psychological motivation theory can be briefly expressed as follows: psychologists have mostly neglected the conceptual investigation of mental concepts as well as that of the varieties of action. As an example Tuomela cites the motivation theory of Atkinson & Birch (1970), which he

calls elegant, and states that they have not paid sufficient attention to the classification of behaviour. "They do not even really distinguish action from non-action, not to speak of such finer distinctions as intentional versus nonintentional or voluntary versus nonvoluntary action" (p. 129). Another deficiency is that they do not explicitly make clear distinctions between wants, intentions, hopes, wishes, etc. At this point, however, it seems appropriate to note that Tuomela's criticism tends to concentrate on rather a limited branch of psychological motivation theories.

Von Wright (1976) also discusses the foundation of intentions. The determinants of a given action are internal or external. When, for instance, the question of why the mother or the father acted in the way she or he did is answered by stating that she or he had (1) one intention or another or (2) she or he acted in accordance with a symbolic challenge (the child's request), it is possible to analyse the former reply in more detail. The reply is a so-called short-term explanation which gives rise to a further question: why does the person have such an intention? According to von Wright the reply to this question leads ultimately to one of the main types of intention-determinant, which he calls wants and obligations.

#### 1.4.3. Spontaneous and deliberate educational activity

In general, educational activity in the family is regarded as proceeding in a routine manner and intuitively (eg. Takala 1979). It can be stated that the activity occurs spontaneously. Spontaneous activity is not necessarily the opposite of rational activity. On the other hand, deliberate activity, which is here regarded as the opposite of spontaneous activity, is always at the same time rational activity as well, in spite of the fact that external observers may regard the individual's activity as irrational.

When educational activity is spontaneous, the parents do not decide what they wish to accomplish before they act. It is said that they act naturally. Spontaneous activity occurs according to the demands of the situation and the development of the situation. Typical of spontaneous educational activity is that it is largely guided by habits

or tradition (Shotter 1975). When it is stated that an essential characteristic of habits is the fact that people obey their habits blindly (eg. Allardt 1971), it is meant that man's rational activities and especially deliberation of alternatives play a very unimportant role.

It can be stated that the educator's act is conscious if he can conceptualize the states of affairs that exist as alternative consequences of the action. It is also characteristic of spontaneous activity that if an individual is asked why he acted the way he did, he may answer 'Oh, I did it out of habit'. Kazepides (1970) states such responses as 'I did it out of habit' or 'I did it from force of habit' are (1) stoppers which terminate rational explanation because they prevent a further inquiry into the reasons that motivated the agent's action, and consequently (2) mark the end of normative discourse. Amstine (1967) concludes that common to all habitual acts are (1) their probability of occurrence, given the conditions that allowed them to occur, and (2) their relative automaticity; that is, the agent performed the acts on a situational cue, rather than first deliberating about whether he should or should not perform the acts.

When a distinction is made here between spontaneous and deliberate educational activity, it has been the intention to distinguish between behaviour which simply takes place from behaviour that is purposeful (cf. Shotter 1975). Spontaneous educational activity may become voluntary activity. This takes place when the extent of the educator's self-awareness increases. As a result of this process parent can act more consciously and learn to realize how the responsibility for personal behaviour can be enlarged. The emphasis on deliberate activity, however, does not mean a demand for strict formal plans; deliberate activity means, first and foremost, self-cognizing activity. Deliberation can occur even during activity. According to Shotter (1975) deliberating individuals know, to a certain degree at least, what they are attempting to achieve and often why they are attempting to achieve it as well.

## 2. Human consciousness and the world view of the individual

The foundations of educational activity have also to be sought from sources other than syllogisms. There are at least three reasons for this: (1) although syllogisms help to conceptualize the structure of intentional behaviour, they are devoid of content as the explainers of activity, (2) they are not adequate for the explanation of complex human activities and (3) it is necessary to go even deeper beyond intentions and this comprehensive background should be clarified. The concepts of self-consciousness, world view and world picture are such broad starting-points. Since these are discussed in a separate study (Hirsjärvi 1980), only a brief review of the concepts is presented here. As an introduction, however, a general characterization of consciousness is in order.

### 2.1. General features of consciousness

Educational activity is interaction between a parent and a child, and cannot always be clearly distinguished from the parent's other simultaneous activity. While carrying out daily domestic chores the mother is at the same time teaching the child necessary basic skills of life. The acceptance of the idea of intentionality leads to the conclusion that the daily educational situations of the family are not regulated from the outside, but the individuals participating in the interaction (parent and child) themselves control this activity. This is the case even when it is said that the parents' educational activity is directed according to (1) the child's initiatives, (2) personal experiences, and (3) traditional practice (eg. Rutter 1978 stresses the latter two factors). The degree of 'routine' in child rearing varies according to the individual and the situation. The originators and controllers of

activity merge into a whole in the educational event; for instance, a child's crying causes the mother to act and her response is what 'has been found good before'. It is a basic assumption in the present study that there is no conflict between emphasizing the parent's educational responsibility and deliberate activity and seeing educational activity as creative activity characterized by the immediate experiencing of reality, even if at first glance it might appear that there is a contradiction between them. The concept of educational consciousness helps to illustrate this point.

The study of the foundations of child rearing as an individual-level, conscious phenomenon is basically a study of human consciousness. When a parent is studied as an individual who is not only aware of his activity but also the foundations of that activity, the primary object of investigation is therefore an individual's reflective activity. The characteristics of the parent's so-called common sense thinking and theoretical thinking have been covered in another context (Hirsjärvi 1980). An exhaustive analysis of the concept of educational consciousness presupposes an analysis of thinking. When the parent is conscious of educational phenomena, he can do this through so-called reflective analysis (cf. James 1973; Polanyi 1973; Scheffler 1973; Steiner 1973). A clear-cut definition of the concept of consciousness cannot be provided. What can be done is to illustrate it from a variety of perspectives. Human consciousness is one of the most central and at the same time most difficult objects of psychological and philosophical investigation.

In philosophy the concept of consciousness is connected with the historically inherited belief in what is usually called 'soul' or 'inner mental ego'. After the middle of the 17th century with Cartesian philosophy the concept became central in epistemological research. The relationship between consciousness and intentionality is a continual problem (Taylor 1964; Dennett 1969; Bohman 1977). Bohman (1977) states that some scholars have assumed that the terms denote something similar and definite in phenomena usually known as 'psychic'. Others refers to 'inner life' or 'inner sensations' or 'ego'. It is not unusual, according to Bohman (1977), to speak of 'consciousness' as 'mental act'.

James described human consciousness in 1880 and provided a list of four characteristics which he felt captured the nature of all human

consciousness: (1) Every thought (or conscious state) is always part of some person, (2) For each person, conscious experience is constantly changing, (3) For each person, personal consciousness is sensibly continuous, and (4) Personal consciousness always seems to deal with objects, events and/or experiences outside itself (James 1880, 152). In order to combine all of these characteristics into a single representation, James introduced the idea of the stream of personal consciousness. By this image he meant to suggest that each person's subjective life is continuous and overlapping.

For a time, the advances in behaviour theory and behaviour control techniques under the influence of Pavlov, Watson and Skinner seemed to remove most of the mystery of consciousness. So-called humanistic psychology insisted that responsible psychology must be concerned with human values and the deeper meaning of life, and contributed to a growing interest in the theme. Some 'subjective behaviourists' began to talk about plans and self-direction (Miller, Galanter & Pribram 1960) and some years later, once self-reinforcement came to the fore, the social learning theorists showed an interest in the planning function (eg. Mischel 1973). Some social psychologists ( Bem 1972; Jones & Goethals 1972; Kelley 1972) focused their attention upon attribution theory, which refers to the question of whether the person sees his behaviour as self-initiated or responsive to external pressures. In Soviet psychology the concept of consciousness occupies a central position. The development of language and along with it the formation of the natural psychical phenomena in consciousness are considered to be closely related to an individual's social existence and his way of life (Vygotsky 1970; Rubinstein 1971; Leontjev 1977).

Many theorists have suggested that there are two primary modes of consciousness and that many of our conscious experiences, creative and otherwise, involve a blending of the two. For example, much of the interest in Ornstein's studies focuses on alternative states of consciousness (see also Moncrieff 1978). Many researchers (Ornstein 1972; Bogen 1973; Deikman 1973) describe these two modes of consciousness as follows: "One mode, the articulate or verbal-intellectual, involves reason, language, analysis, and sequence. The 'other' mode is tacit, 'sensuous', and spatial, and operates in a holistic, relational manner" (Ornstein 1973, 63). Pollio (1979, 33) has summarized a number of different

opinions about this issue. This concept of consciousness seems to be committed to dualism (the old mind-body problem).

In the recent literature on human consciousness (eg. Hilgard 1977; Underwood & Stevens 1979) researchers have attempted to consider numerous aspects of conscious experience. For example, Lunzer (1979) has identified three successive levels of consciousness, Apter (1979) has developed a so-called 'reversal theory', which might be characterized as a form of cybernetic phenomenology, and Carr (1979) has described consciousness in models of human information processing.

It seems to the present author that the lack of clarity associated with the concept of consciousness will only gradually disappear with the development of research. The more psychology, and related disciplines, can show how an individual's conscious functioning consists of conceptualizing and practical activity, the more practical the concept will become. At this stage the only possibility is a rather loose characterization of the concept. The concept of consciousness is here used to refer to specifically human, higher forms of awareness which are characterized, for example, by the ability to extract general laws from observed phenomena, voluntary control and recognition of the activity of awareness itself.

## 2.2. Temporal dimensions of consciousness

A parent's normal consciousness consists of objects and people, who can only exist in time. He lives his daily life in a realm of causality, with a past and a future. His experiences follow each other linearly. A mother notices her child growing up and growing old 'in time'. Ornstein (1972) comments that this mode of temporal experience forms a basis of our personal and cultural life. In his view (1972, 76-77), "this linear concept of time allows us to plan for the future, to co-ordinate our individual and social lives with those of others".

There are many possible approaches to the study of time and consciousness (see, for example, Block 1979). Wallace and Rabin (1960) trace the first detailed presentation of the role of time in behaviour to Frank (1939). He mentions 'time perspective'. The term is also

closely associated with Lewin's 'field theory' (1951). Kluckhohn's term 'time orientation' refers to three groups: (1) 'timeless, traditionless, future ignoring present', (2) 'realisable future' and (3) a past 'as something to be maintained or something to be recaptured'. In considering time as a dimension of consciousness Ornstein (1972) distinguishes general dimensions of linear time: the present, duration, simultaneity and the concept of causality. Marriott (1970) points out the imprecise use of terms. In his view it is not always clear whether the question is being considered as one of cognition or one of motivation, and he considers that the term 'perspectives' is probably best associated with a cognitive approach; the emphasis is on the ability of different individuals or groups to consider, anticipate and order temporally remote possibilities. Wallace's (1956) 'future time perspective' comes under this kind of cognitive treatment. He suggests two operational definitions: (1) extension - the length of the future span which is conceptualised and (2) coherence - the degree of organisation of the events in the future time span. These elements can also be found in Blinnikka's (1977) account. She distinguishes between the 'content of time-perspective' and the 'formal aspect of time-perspective'.

The importance of time to child rearing is obvious. The concept is usually associated with studies of parents that emphasize motivation and values. Many studies (Kahl 1953; Rosen 1956; Dahlke 1958) show that members of the middle class tend to follow a pattern of long-term goal seeking and impulse renunciation, whereas lower-class life is dominated by 'short-term hedonism'.

### 2.3. Self-consciousness

The category of self-consciousness can be regarded as the category of humanity. The fact that man is considered a being who can observe not only the phenomena and events of the external world but also his own consciousness is specifically a human characteristic. According to Dobzhansky (1969, 55):

Self-awareness, or conscious awareness, or mind, is by far the most important of the characteristics which make man human, and yet it also

is by far the most difficult one to study scientifically... Man is a self-reflecting animal in that he alone has the ability to objectify himself, to stand apart from himself, as it were, and to consider the kind of being he is and what it is that he wants to do and to become. Other animals may be conscious of their affects and the objects perceived; man alone is capable of reflection of self-consciousness, of thinking of himself as an object.

Pribram (1976) has also stated that self-consciousness is said to occur when an observer is able to describe both the observed and observing. This self-observing aspect of consciousness is also called 'the mental' (eg. Kaila 1939; Rauhala 1974). 'The mental' makes it possible for a parent to evaluate, criticize, accept or disapprove of his or her own educational activities and ideas. When a mother is asked for the reasons for her educational actions, whether she had planned her decisions with regard to the child or what she thinks of being a parent, it is assumed that she is capable of conscious, searching and evaluating activity.<sup>1</sup> It should also be noted what Shotter has stated about the phenomenon of consciousness. In his view (1975, 14):

To an external observer many beings seem just as aware of their circumstances as man, just as conscious in that sense, we might say. So it must not just simply be by mere possession, but by the quality of the consciousness that he possesses that man distinguishes himself from all else that there is. And to the extent that he can modify or transform the quality of his own consciousness he can modify or transform himself.

Self-consciousness is closely related to the concepts 'self-esteem' and 'self-evaluation' (Rosenberg 1965; Coopersmith 1967; Wells & Marwell 1976). According to Whittaker (1976) self-esteem is the evaluative aspect of the self-concept. Self-esteem is dependent to a great

<sup>1</sup> Bohman (1977) also refers to this in his analysis, although he does not use the concept 'mental'. In his view (Bohman 1977, 1) "It is necessary to distinguish ontologically and clearly between two phenomena that sometimes one and the same person can be said to have simultaneously and both of which are called 'consciousness' but one can be regarded as primary and the other as secondary: (1) A person (P) is conscious of something (O), eg. he is said to 'see', 'think of', or 'feel' O, and (2) P is aware that he is conscious of O. According to (1) P is primarily conscious of O, whereas (2) says that contemporarily he has two different states of consciousness, one which is primary and the other which appears as secondary. In the latter case P cannot be said to be 'immediately' conscious of O, but is so 'secondarily'".

extent upon an individual's interactions with others. It is, however, obvious that the concept 'self-esteem' cannot be used synonymously with the concept 'self-consciousness', since the former - as it is used in research - is more static and restricted in nature than the latter. It could be said that an aspiration for self-consciousness also means an aspiration for understanding. In the final instance this is related to the concepts of mental health and maturity.

The development of self-consciousness is related to the phenomenological theory (eg. Rogers 1951, 1961; Maslow 1954) according to which most of human behaviour is concerned with the preservation and improvement of the so-called phenomenal ego. This phenomenal ego is expressed in a language of subjective experience (for instance, the mother says what she wants, how she thinks and feels). Through the phenomenal ego one mother can see herself as the guide of her child, while another sees herself mainly as the source of control.

Cognitively oriented phenomenology (eg. Lewin 1935; Kelly 1955) analyzes human activity in terms of hypothetical constructs (eg. life space). According to Fransella (1978), Kelly's man is active. The fundamental postulate is that a person's processes are psychologically channelized by the ways in which he anticipates events (Bannister & Fransella 1974). Kelly's model man is 'man-the scientist' in that he tries to understand his world in much the same way as the scientist does. According to this view parents, for instance, can be understood by listening to what they have to say, listening to what the person is trying to convey. The parent's self-consciousness can develop, as the present author understands Kellyian man, when an individual is looking at himself and at the life around him through his own unique set of theories or constructs and adapting his construct system to deal with certain vital aspects of life.

#### 2.4. World view and world picture of the individual

In this study the broadening of the perspective concerning the foundations of child rearing will be carried out in the light of the system which is called a world view. Before entering into this discussion some remarks must be made on the relationship between the world view

and consciousness.

It was argued above that the study of the foundations of child rearing is basically a study of human consciousness. Here, however, a suggestion can also be made that the essential starting-point in this study is the world view of an individual. The question then arises whether the concepts are mutually replaceable. It is easy to see that this conclusion is very simple and partly misleading. But it can be said that the phenomena are somehow bound to each other. In short: a world view is a relatively static, passive part of human consciousness. It is made up of the most general conceptions of consciousness. So, by analysing the content and structure of a world view, the deepest part of general human consciousness can be penetrated.

#### 2.4.1. Ultimate questions

Our conceptions of man are not separate constructs in our system of thought, but essential elements of this system. The totality of our thoughts, therefore, constitutes a kind of 'system' which is called 'world view' and sometimes a more restricted term 'world picture' is used. People explain their lives and give reasons for their expectations of future events in their views of the world as a whole, a world picture (Manninen 1976). If there were not such a system, in von Wright's view (1975, 18), there would neither be knowledge and doubt, value formation and understanding, error and truth, ie. an individual would not have these concepts and would not use them the way he does. In his treatise on certainty, Wittgenstein (1975) has also commented upon the meaning of a system:

All testing, all confirmation and disconfirmation of a hypothesis takes place already within a system. And this system is not a more or less arbitrary and doubtful point of departure for all our arguments: no, it belongs to the essence of what we call an argument. The system is not so much the point of departure, as the element in which arguments have their life.

The centrality of the total view, the world view, has traditionally been emphasized within cultural anthropology. The world view means the fact that in each culture it is possible to find a set of common values, norms and views within the framework of which people solve the

broad questions concerning the world and man. This totality, which has a hypothetical structure, has been given different names, such as cultural gestalt, central idea, ethos, culture-integrating principle or maze-way. According to Alho (1976, 231) there have existed distinct tendencies in recent years to get away from such a totally unified conception of world view. Alho's argument is that a variety of behaviour can be found within any single culture and it would seem impossible to assume any largely uniform system. The old view has been replaced by the concept of a modal orientation characteristic of a given society, ie. a way of orienting towards the external world.

Although the concept of the world view might prove less fruitful in macro-level analysis, the use of the concept is fully justified in analyzing the behaviour of individuals. It can be regarded as a species-specific characteristic of man that he has a need to create a kind of world view for himself. This is so in spite of the fact that the construction and critical evaluation of the world view has traditionally belonged to the field of philosophy. The models offered by professional philosophers have not often been satisfactory, and each individual therefore attempts to form a personal world view or, as it is often called, a philosophy of life or view of life. Among others Dobzhansky (1971) has referred to a human need to seek answers to questions concerning the world view.

Views of the world are based on the fact that they attempt to give definite, final and indubitably 'correct' answers to ultimate questions. This has been considered to dominate their doctrinal structure. Through its value hierarchy a world view offers people a yardstick for measuring the values of truth, morality and beauty. Reference to so-called ultimate questions is typical of the discussion of matters related to world view (eg. Radnitzky 1970; Dobzhansky 1971).

Ultimate questions are sometimes called metaphysical questions or questions related to the 'essence' and 'nature' of phenomena. A more detailed and formal analysis of their position and nature will be given below (see p. 42). The attempt to discover what is meant by ultimate questions is approximately the same as if it were asked to what kind of questions world views attempt to find answers. Such questions have been classified in many different ways. For instance Niitemaa (1976, 20) has divided them into three different levels according to their

aim: (1) questions about material reality in general, (2) questions about life in particular and (3) questions about man specifically. He has described their nature in the following way:

They contain the visible forms of manifestation of material reality. It is characteristic of ultimate questions that they cannot be proved by existing facts. They are beyond the realms of reason and science. But, on the other hand, they are so obvious that their existence as such is denied by no-one. Their acceptance or rejection is a matter of belief. They belong, then, to the realm of faith but in such a way, that they are based on a more extensive system and arguments for their existence are derived from it in a rational manner.

#### 2.4.2. Content and structure

In the discussion above the distinction between world view and world picture has been by-passed. The need for systematic analysis cannot, however, be overlooked. Boundary definition is meaningful in this instance because at the same time a contribution is made to the theoretical foundation for empirical research into the grounds of child rearing. An analysis of the two concepts is meaningful in the light of two studies published recently in Finnish. One is Ahmavaara's study 'Yhteiskunta-kybernetiikka' (Cybernetics of society) (1976) and the other is Manninen's report 'Maailmankuvan käsitteestä monitieteisen tutkimuksen työvälineenä' (On the concept of world view as the tool of multidisciplinary research) (1976). Ahmavaara's treatise is formal and uses the symbols of logic, whereas Manninen's study outlines research approaches while being analytical at the same time. It would be a waste of time to attempt to find a similar or even a more modest analysis of these concepts within the educational sciences, although logically this would appear to be the most relevant area: it is well-known that the educational system has inherited from the church the task of transmitting the dominant world picture and one of the functions of all education is the development of an individual's world view.

A conceptual distinction between world view and world picture can be made on the basis of how dominant are the evaluational, cognitive and normative elements contained within them. From this point of view Ahmavaara's presentation is much clearer than Manninen's, in whose characterization of the world picture no mention is made of such elements as values, norms etc. It might be suggested that in this respect

Manninen's world picture remains inadequate. The contents of the world picture are described but its structure is neglected. In Ahmavaara's study the structural conception is more solid than the description of contents. It is conceivable that a relatively comprehensive picture could be obtained by selecting the acceptable and at the same time mutually complementary aspects of the two descriptions. For Ahmavaara the world view is a combination of the systems of beliefs, values and norms. The world picture is dominated by prioristic beliefs and the empirical knowledge held by the individual. The ideological elements (values, norms) can apparently be interpreted as the core element of subjectivism in the terminology of Manninen. The element of subjectivism can be seen, for example, in the following statement by Manninen (1976, 9):

The world view presupposes from its creator or creators as well as from its recipients exceptional mental activity, an aspiration to the systematization of the view of reality. In the concept of world picture such activism is not necessary. We can assume that each individual has a certain world picture, a conception of nature, of society and of man, irrespective of whether he has a conscious aspiration or need to deliberate on matters related to world view or not.

Central to the world picture and world view is their content. Ahmavaara divides the contents roughly into two categories: those related to nature and those related to society. The choices related to contents are therefore focused more on society than on the individual. Beliefs concerning man are implicitly included in the two categories. On this point it would be possible to make Ahmavaara's presentation more specific. It is also worth mentioning that in Ahmavaara's description the content aspect of the world picture is connected only with cognitive beliefs and not with values and norms. It is an open question on what grounds such a decision can be made.

After these considerations the structure on the world view can be described as follows:

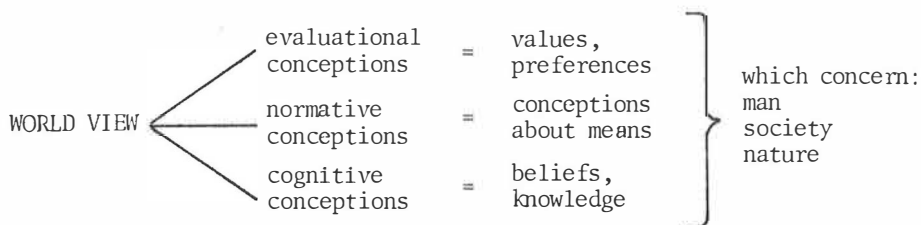


Figure 1. Conceptions as the components of world view

Restricting the world picture to a set of cognitive conceptions only is a decision which cannot be accepted without qualification. Uses of the concept are not limited to such a framework. When reference is made to a world picture of a certain period in, for example, discussion on the history of ideas, this includes not only cognitive conceptions but also individuals' wishes and thought about the importance of various states of affairs.

### Centrality of conceptions

The relationship between different conceptions of the nature of phenomena should be examined, ie. the nature of the three sentence categories presented in Figure 1. The term 'nature' is used here to refer only to the potential order of priority among the three categories. Neither is it without interest to education how this question is answered. Since all education is a process that continuously moulds the world view of individuals, knowledge of the core of this process is naturally important - just as it is important for every teacher to know what is central and important in what he is teaching. It can at least be maintained that statements about man, ie. conceptions of man, are special in the sense that their creation and critical examination presupposes an ability to place oneself in the position of an external observer. In referring to human wisdom or human awareness it has often been stressed that man can stand outside himself and see himself as an object among other objects. The special nature of concepts of man is obvious from this aspect.

Conceptions of man, in the context of education as well, can vary in meaning: some conceptions form the nucleus of the conception of the nature of man; others belong to the periphery. A number of studies (eg. Ahlman 1967; Karvonen 1967; Pietilä 1973) indicate that evaluative conceptions are higher in or more central to the hierarchy than cognitive conceptions. Based on this premise it is possible to state that the acquisition of cognitive conceptions is dependent on the evaluative conceptions acquired by an individual.

In this connection the dimension of the centrality of conceptions means that more central conceptions are more stable than peripheral conceptions and that changes in more central conceptions will precipitate changes in more peripheral conceptions but not vice versa.

However, the strong conceptions described as having deep horizontal and vertical structures (described in more detail in Hirsjärvi 1980) are not inevitably the significant conceptions in the individual's system of conceptions. Bem (1970, 12) puts it this way:

Highly differentiated and broadly based beliefs are not necessarily central; the opposite is also true. For example, primitive beliefs are, by definition, completely undifferentiated; they have neither vertical nor horizontal support. And yet many of our primitive beliefs are very central in our belief systems.

Accordingly, conceptions expressing something about the 'goodness of man' or 'the nature of man' in general are more central than conceptions describing more concrete factors (for example, daily descriptions of the moods, health and nutriment of a child). It is the most central conceptions that stabilize the individual's system of conceptions, but they are not, however, themselves changeless.

#### 2.4.3. Value basis and ideological foundations of child rearing

##### Nature of educational ideologies

The concept of 'world view' is close to the concept of 'ideology'. The two concepts are often used synonymously. 'Ideology' can be defined as the world view expressing a particular idea. An idea here means some lofty thought, aspiration or goal. The different meanings of the concept of 'ideology' and its history will not be discussed in detail here; it will only be noted that even today the concept carries negative overtones and not only in Marxist thought. It is not out of modesty that the term 'educational ideology' is not used to refer to educational principles and views expressed in this study. It is easier to refer to ideologies in historical analyses. People often give the term 'ideology' to views that are opposite to their own views (cf. Wilenius 1972, 35, 39). One explanation may be that it is well-known that ideology has often functioned as a shield behind which people and humanity have been destroyed.

Ideologies may also change and develop, they can become fossilized and reflect false consciousness or they may be fresh and vital, even self-corrective. Educational ideologies may also be quite different

in this respect. Inevitably they contain views on so-called ultimate questions, particularly questions about man and the goals of development. This study will attempt to keep the concepts of world view and ideology apart, even if ideology can be said to be based on some world picture or world view - as, for example, Manninen (1976, 23) has suggested - and the views incorporated in the world view can be expressed under the rubric of some ideology. When education is considered, it seems odd to refer to educational world views, but, on the other hand, it appears natural to use the term educational ideology. This cannot be taken to imply that the great educators had no significant world views.

The common characteristic of world views and ideologies is that they direct practical activity. The clearest distinction between them lies in the fact that ideology is always a mental construct which is common to many individuals. The concept of world view, on the other hand, always has a subjective label. It can be said that the concept of ideology belongs, in the first instance, to the social sciences and not to psychology, whereas the concept of world view belongs to the area of individual psychology. Thus, the synonymity of the two concepts is limited:

The romantic view of the fact-challenging, personal 'world view' of a solitary thinker cannot easily be reconciled with ideologies, which are traditionally thought to be non-individual, non-psychological mental constructs characteristic of social classes or other social groups. (Manninen 1976, 7-8)

According to this view educational ideologies are always the thought constructions of a group or large masses and it is only meaningful to refer to an individual's educational ideology when he is regarded as a representative of a group and not as an individual. The world view of a single individual only partly includes the generality of an educational ideology. When educators' concepts of man are analyzed empirically, the findings can be interpreted as forming a part of some educational ideologies or being like them. Therefore, it can be said that one central subarea of an individual's world view is being studied, which may simultaneously reflect some known educational ideology.

### Nature of values

Values occupy a central position in the concept of world view. Rescher (1969) sees that an individual's espousal of values is inextricably bound up with the two aspects of man as a 'rational man', his having needs and desires and his capacity for reason. Values are intangible. They enter the educational situation as previous and determining concepts (eg. Berson 1975). Values are, in the final analysis, things of the mind that have to do with the vision parents have of 'the good life' for themselves and their children.

The value concepts have been used in two distinctively different ways (Rokeach 1973; Feather 1975). Some researchers see that a person 'has a value' (eg. Perry 1954; Katz & Stotland 1959; Lewis 1962; Campbell 1963; Handy 1970) or that an object 'has value' (eg. Kluckhohn 1951; Morris 1956; Allport & al. 1960; Maslow 1964; Smith 1969). According to Feather (1975), this distinction may be too sharply drawn. He maintains (1975, 3) that "... values do not exist independently of persons; nor do they exist independently of objects". Rokeach (1973) has remarked that there are compelling theoretical reasons for assuming that the study of an individual's values is likely to be much more useful for social analysis than a study of the values that objects are said to have. In this study the interactionist character of the valuing process (Feather 1975) is recognized, but the research interest here will put greater emphasis on how an individual assigns values to a standard. Here, the definition of value is a synthesis of some central definitions (those of Kluckhohn 1951; Rescher 1969, and Rokeach 1973). A value refers to a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence which is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence. A value influences the selection from available modes, means and ends of action and is capable of providing for the rationalization of action. Since the nature of values has been discussed more fully elsewhere by the author (Hirsjärvi 1975), the present study will confine itself to some central remarks on the classification and function of values.

### Value types and functions of values

A value system is an enduring organization of conceptions. The theoretical and experimental value literature supports the idea that there is a relatively limited and distinct group of value systems that can be identified (Rieke & Sillars 1975). According to Rokeach (1973), the number of potential values is large, but the number will be limited because of the social factors involved.

There are many important aspects concerning the types, dimensions and classifications of values. Rescher (1969) points out that classifications embody needed distinctions, and that confusion is the price of a failure to heed such distinctions. He also states (1969, 13) that: "Owing to the inherent complexity of the concept of a value - the numerous and varied facets involved - value classification can be approached from many sides."

One important distinction is the division into dominant and less dominant values. Williams (1970, 448) states four factors that can be used in order to identify the dominant values: (1) the extensiveness of the value - the proportion of the population adhering to it, (2) the duration of the value - the length of time it lasts in the population, (3) the intensity of the value - the strength with which it is held, and (4) the prestige of the individuals or organizations who support it, i.e. source credibility. Rokeach (1973) refers to two kinds of values that he terms instrumental and terminal values. This is a distinction between means and ends values. Instrumental values that are of two kinds, moral values (interpersonal focus) and competence values (personal focus) refer to modes of conduct. Terminal values that are also of two kinds, personal and social, refer to end-states of existence (eg. the values 'freedom', 'equality', 'a world at peace').

The best-known classifications of values are content classifications (see eg. Rescher 1969). These classifications (religious, political, aesthetic, economic, etc.) are culture bound (Rokeach 1973). Several classifications can be found that seem to have many common elements, for instance the classifications of Ahlman (1939, 1967), Dodd (1951), Kluckhohn (1951), Dahlke (1958), Allport, Vernon & Lindzey (1960), Rescher (1969). Many scales have been constructed to measure value orientations empirically, and their basic dimensions have been analyzed by using factor-analytic procedures (eg. Inkeless 1960; Feather 1975;

Rokeach 1973).

This study is concerned with the role of values in understanding and explaining parents' educational actions and activities. According to Rescher (1969, 20-21):

In the reasoned analysis of the springs of human action, one expects to find an appeal to values primarily in two contexts: in deliberation and decision-making on the one hand, and in the explanation of human behavior upon the other. These two facets of values are, of course, closely connected.

Rokeach (1973) has given a similar account. In his view values are standards that guide ongoing activities (p. 12). This guiding role of values is manifested in a variety of ways when applied to child rearing. Values lead parents:

- (1) to choose the goals and principles of child rearing. However, it is important to realize that the connection between values and goals is not straightforward (for a more detailed explanation see eg. Rescher 1969, 23),
- (2) to evaluate and judge, to heap praise and fix blame on themselves and their children (cf. Rokeach 1973, 13),
- (3) to employ them as standards to ascertain whether they are as competent in the role of parents as others,
- (4) to employ them as standards to persuade and influence others, for instance, when the wife is trying to change her husband's mind concerning some educational issue. This means, for example, that an individual tells us which actions are worth pursuing.
- (5) to employ them as standards that explain how to rationalize educational beliefs and activities. Values are related to self-esteem and the defence mechanism.

In the models of intentional explanations (cf. those discussed above, in Section 1.4.) values are obviously included in the foundation of intentions. When von Wright (1976) states that the determinants of intentions are (1) wants and (2) obligations, and when he further states that there are things that are the natural objects of wants (eg. health and happiness) he is referring to values, although he does not use this term.

#### 2.4.4. The conceptions of man as the basis of child rearing

The conception of man, the term to be used in this study, contains assumptions about man: these are so-called fundamental suppositions and underlying notions, sometimes verbalized and explicit, sometimes not. It is usual to think - especially among social psychologists - that our assumptions about human nature can be studied, ie. conceptualized and measured. Many researchers have found or constructed basic dimensions of human nature (eg. Wrightsman 1964, 1973; Berkowitz 1975), while some others (eg. Hitt 1969) have assumed that we can speak of two different models of man which are opposing views of man. Versions of these models can be seen in the contrasting views of Locke and Leibnitz, Marx and Kierkegaard, Wittgenstein and Sartre, and, currently, Skinner and Rogers.

Conceptions about the nature of man and society need not necessarily be expressed in statements and suppositions in scientific theories; instead, they are very often hidden and can be discovered only through a thorough examination of theoretical statements.

Conceptions can be expressed at different levels of abstraction. For example, theories about the nature of man can be formulated very generally, comprising statements about 'man', the abilities and features typical of him, features showing the difference between man and other animals and forces directing his motives (eg. Rogers 1957; Chein 1962; Doniger 1962; Nash 1968; Platt 1970; Roussève 1973; Skidmore 1975). On a more concrete level statements about the nature of man can deal with, for example, the structure of motives in a more restricted situation.

The way in which the various conceptions of man developed in the Western world can be characterized roughly by using the words of Severin (1973, 103):

The philosophical image of man in the ancient world centered on virtue and reason: man apprehending virtue through the use of reason and following its demands. The Christian image added sin and love. The political image of the Renaissance introduced power and will, and the economic image of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries rationalized man's interest in property, things, money. The psychoanalytic image of the early twentieth century, currently so fashionable, dealt with ego and instinct, with the unconscious and the libido. The behavioral science image may be the latest contribution of this great stream of thought about human nature; it certainly is not the last.

Conceptions of man are manifold. According to Wilenius (1976), the differences are due to the following factors:

- (1) Different emphasis of human sciences. For instance, stress may be laid on the biological side of man or his creative, mental side. \*
- (2) Different emphasis on various ontological levels of human existence. This is the philosophical starting-point of conceptions of man.
- (3) Different emphasis on various activities of human consciousness. This is concerned with how man's intelligence, feelings and will are emphasized.

### Ontological premises

Ontological questions deal with conceptions of the quality of reality. Ontology is the theory of being qua being. What is essential is the manner and quality of existence (Seinwesen). Ontology is expected to elucidate what is specifically human in man and how he potentially differs from the rest of existence. Rauhala (1975) observes that many philosophers consider the most important thing here is to show what are basic and universal human characteristics, ie. what is the essence (Wesen, essentia) of the phenomenon. Analysis should also make it understood how man is a unique, self-responsible individual (Existenz).

Two opposite views can always be discerned in connection with the ontological conception of man. One of the monistic views of man may be called materialistic (eg. the Marxist view of man), according to which man is fundamentally a material being. In addition, this view also holds that mind and human consciousness are only a matter or its reflection. The opposite view is the spiritualistic view of man, according to which the basic quality of reality is mental.

The Christian view of man is the best-known of the spiritualistic conceptions of man. The traditional view of man in Europe and in America was basically Christian. This view of man is very individualistic, although man's ties with society and his dependence on its norms are not denied. The basic tenets of the Christian view of man are given in the Christian faith. Its premises are to be found in the Bible, but its interpretation and application is related to the traditions of churches (eg. Kirkon kasvatustoiminnan kokonaisohjelma/General Educational Programme of the Church, 1976). The Christian view of man stresses that in the eyes of God (coram Deo) the individual is person-

ally responsible for his life and that he has to decide his own relation to God personally. Significant from the point of view of education are those views according to which (1) the Fall has corrupted man's innermost essence, and (2) man cannot - according to the Bible - be made entirely good or, as it were, purified through education. According to the Christian view of man education means keeping evil under control and developing and strengthening the good inclinations and talents residing in man.

Marxist and existential views of man diverge from the Christian view and are in many respects contradictory. Whereas according to Sartre (Naess 1969) man is completely free and independent of his social environment, according to Marx man is in all respects dependent on society and finds his worth and purpose within it. Man is a 'product of society' and 'a totality of social relations' (Engels 1955). The Marxist view of man is described by Beztšervnyh (1973, 28) as follows:

Man's essence can, therefore, only be found by studying people's activity, their societal conditions in their historical development.

According to the existentialist (Sartrean) view of man freedom is a purely individual matter. There are no universally valid moral laws or goals derived from God or society but man is on his own. Man is what he makes of himself, and he also bears responsibility for what he does. Self-development and social responsibility are central concepts in all so-called humanistic views of man (eg. self-theories).

Common to all these views is optimism concerning the perfectability of man. The existentialist believes in the almost limitless possibilities of man in that man himself can change as he wishes. In the Marxist view optimism means that man is seen as 'good'. Man can, therefore, be developed and changed insofar as we manage to change society.

So-called philosophies of mental growth (eg. Steiner, Snellman), which are also sometimes called 'understanding philosophy' (cf. Palonen 1975), have emphasized the importance of self-consciousness. Wilenius, the leading current Finnish representative of this line of thought, holds that a view of an individual's self-consciousness and its consequences presupposes that man is not regarded as a mechanism only but as a being that embodies regulatory purposiveness. Of primary importance in a person's activity is consciousness of intentions as the

following quotation shows (Wilenius 1972, 93-94):

Self-consciousness, which is significant from the point of view of an individual's behaviour, is directed to the motives, intentions and (physiological, psychological and sociological) regularities of one's own activity. This view of the object of self-consciousness does not presuppose any 'theory of the sub-conscious' but starts from the obvious fact that in everyday life I realize intentions and regularities which are more or less clear to me. To the extent I am clearly conscious of the grounds and reasons of my activity the nature of my activity changes.

The teleology manifested in Wilenius' view of man is connected with the Aristotelian concept of knowledge of goals. Applied to education this means that the cornerstone of the educator's self-consciousness is realization of the goals of growth. The concept 'realization' shows that intuitive elements are allowed. It should also be noted that in Wilenius' view finding 'the essence of human existence' also leads to finding the goals of growth (Wilenius 1975, 29).

### Common Presuppositions

According to Rauhala (1975), conceptions of the nature of man expressed in different terms have more in common ideally than can be superficially assessed on the basis of linguistic formulation. The nucleus of everybody's conception of man is composed of presuppositions.

Scientists have given many different terms to these presuppositions. They refer to presuppositions, initial agreements or conceptual contracts (eg. Collingwood, according to Rynin 1964; Israel 1971). Philosophers usually refer to a priori beliefs (for example Ayer 1971). Von Wright (1963) uses the term ideal rules, which he thinks are very similar to the rules of a game, because they are used for defining concepts, for example, in defining what is meant by 'man' or 'the nature of man'. In Ahmavaara's (1976, 73) terminology, presuppositions are called nuclear suppositions.

Because presuppositions come within the scope of education (and all the social sciences, according to Israel 1971) and because they appear in every educator's argument, their characteristics should be discussed briefly. So-called absolute presuppositions are the most basic by nature. They differ from so-called relative presuppositions in the fact that they do not in themselves constitute answers to any other more basic questions. The following are the main characteristics of abso-

lute presuppositions as described by Collingwood (Rynin 1964, 308-309):

- (1) They lie at the base of systematic thought in the sense that by virtue of their logical efficacy they and only they enable its questions to rise.
- (2) They are not themselves answers to questions.
- (3) They are expressed in the form of declarative sentences, thus giving rise to the feeling or belief that they are genuine propositions, true or false.
- (4) They are not verifiable or falsifiable.
- (5) They cannot be undermined by experience, being the yardsticks (in some societies) by which experience is judged.
- (6) They are not true or false.
- (7) In a given system of thought they occur in clusters, no single absolute presupposition suffices to do the job.
- (8) To the extent that the presuppositions are not consupponible, ie. cannot be conjointly held without giving rise to inconsistencies and confusions of thought, they generate strains which if sufficiently great eventually lead to the collapse or alteration of that system.
- (9) Some clusters of absolute presuppositions exhibit fewer strains than others and are consequently better able to do their job of underpinning systematic thought.

Accordingly, absolute presuppositions are neither true nor untrue. Consequently, it will be useless to discuss whose conceptions of man or society are fundamentally true and whose are not, although individuals themselves may be thoroughly convinced about the veracity of their conceptions. This also applies to educational presuppositions, which could be exemplified by 'A child is fundamentally good (by nature)' or 'Forces directing a child's activities are irrational by character'. A careful study of the thoughts of the outstanding individuals in the history of education reveals many such presuppositions.

The ontological analysis of the problem of man (eg. Rauhala 1975) has arrived at what appear to be the most fundamental features characterizing man. These can be regarded as common presuppositions. These presuppositions show the uniqueness of man: (1) Man is a searching and interpreting being (creature). Man differs clearly from anything in existence in investigating, interpreting and utilizing nature. (2) Man is bound to ethical decisions. When deciding on the world around him (for example interfering with the balance of nature) man cannot avoid responsibility for his decisions. (3) The existence of man is relational. The most important relations are a) relations with other people, b) relations with nature and c) relations with work. (4) Man is a self-conscious being. This is why the existence of man expands

enormously beyond the here and now. It seems to the present author that the setting of the goals of education could be based on these pre-suppositions. Decisions on educational goals 'need' not be made at random, but can be based on the results of an ontological analysis. The goal of education will then be to educate man towards the forms of existence mentioned above. Following this line of thought man becomes the 'more human', the more thoroughly he realizes the surrounding ethical matters and takes responsibility.

In two later sections (3.2.1.; 3.2.3.) these features will be returned to in an effort to analyze aims of child rearing and to describe assumptions about the basic nature of the child.

### 3. Educational consciousness

The preceding chapters presented an analysis of the general nature of child rearing and human consciousness. The results of this discussion will now be used as the basis of an effort to find out what is involved in educational consciousness. In the following section, the formation and the structure of educational consciousness will be studied.

#### 3.1. Formation of educational consciousness and conceptions

In this section of the study the purpose is first to describe some general features of the formation of consciousness, and then to analyze the phenomenological orientation towards the theme.

##### 3.1.1. Cognitive, emotional and behavioural foundations of conceptions

The formation of conceptions is cognitively, emotionally and behaviourally based (eg. Bem 1970). The cognitive area consists of conceptions

which differ from one another in the degree to which they are differentiated (vertical structure) and in the extent to which they are broadly based (horizontal structure). Irrespective of which of the three components is emphasized at any time, it can be said that conceptions are to a great extent learned. Consequently, for example, parents' emotional reactions and their possible causes are not inherent but learned. This learning partly takes the form of classical conditioning.

As regards human behaviour, it is important that words, and even thoughts, can function as conditioned stimuli and can elicit internal emotional reactions in an individual. This linguistic generalization through symbols is called semantic generalization. This is how, for example, prejudiced and stereotyped attitudes are learned towards deviant groups. An individual who has not been in touch with such a group but has received emotional comments about it would form his conceptions based on the comments and connotations used and on the authority using them. Accordingly, other people constitute the most important factor influencing the formation of our conceptions. It is to be assumed that parents' educational conceptions are to a great extent formed through these mechanisms. Their acquaintances, their own parents, educational advice or public figures function as authorities.

It is often stated that the western assumptions about the nature of man and the creation are based on the thoughts of the philosophers of antiquity, eg. Plato and Aristotle. It can be proved, however, that assumptions about the nature of man and the creation are being formed and renewed continually. Although the formation of conceptions is difficult to identify experimentally and explicitly, it does not mean that such conceptions are not empirically based. Sarmela (1976, 23) emphasizes that, in fact, thinking is at least as closely linked to the economic or ecological development of the community/culture and to readjustment to the environment, world view or existence required by new technology as to the characters, philosophers, authors or thinkers of elite history.

Thus, conceptions are formed in interaction with the reality which they characterize. In this sense conceptions are behaviourally based. A Marxist would state that consciousness, including conceptions, and activity are closely connected. The conceptions parents have about children that are concrete and practical by nature are least open to

error. Upon an examination of the relationships between thinking and reality Voutilainen (1970, 5) notes that thoughts connected with immediate action are closely related to reality: errors in evaluation or reasoning often result in a failure to accomplish the task. When conceptions about individuals and events lie beyond immediate action, errors cannot be identified so rapidly and they are not revealed by an immediate failure to accomplish the task. Nevertheless, these conceptions also relate to activity: after a period of time their actuality must be considered in some way.

### 3.1.2. Phenomenological account of parents' conceptions and consciousness formation

Following Rauhala (1974), the content aspect of consciousness can be termed 'life-world' ('koettu maailma', 'Lebenswelt').<sup>1</sup> When it is stated that the life-world of every parent is an individually structured and composed conscious entity, this statement also implies that the content and clarity of the set of conceptions about the child varies from individual to individual. The life-world is composed of everything involved in the individual's understanding of reality, including his own existence. There are different degrees of clarity about the life-world and it is subject to continuous reorganization. Understanding is here used as a general term for every conscious, meaningful relationship with the world irrespective of its level and quality.

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<sup>1</sup> This emphasis on the world as lived by the individual is repeatedly discussed and applied by the existential-phenomenologists. According to Husserl (1970), phenomenology is a method which allows us to contact phenomena as we actually live them out and experience them. 'Lebenswelt' is one of many words that one will encounter in existential-phenomenological writings which express the total interrelatedness or mutual dependence of a phenomenon's distinguishable aspects. As there are no comparable words in English which express this implied unity, contrived terms are, therefore, used as the only possible translation. The usual form these English equivalents assume is a relatively literal translation of the meaning of each word, the words then being connected with a hyphen (as in 'life-world').

The life-world consists of elements which in philosophical literature are termed 'meaning relations' ('merkityssuhteet'). The child exists in the parent's life-world, for instance, through the following meaning relations: the child is adorable, the child is a selfish creature, the child is helpless at birth. Therefore, in a meaning relation the child or situation is conceived of as somebody or something. Every life-world has a large number of meaning relations.

When parents' conceptions of the child are referred to, the same idea can be expressed by referring to meaning relations in parents' consciousness which are related to a given object, ie. the child. The following corollary can be drawn from this conclusion: the more vague, unrealistic, distorted or poorly structured the meaning relations or conceptions are, the more disturbed is the life-world. In educational situations the parents' disturbance manifests itself as, for example, anxiety, uncertainty, lack of regard or aggression.

Only some meaning relations or conceptions occur as conscious recognitions at any given time. As an individual, however, has an ability to retain images of objects in his consciousness, some meaning relations can be recalled to consciousness in a given situation, ie. be understood again. Some meaning relations are lost forever.

#### On the structure of meaning relations or conceptions

The following discussion of how meaning relations or conceptions are structured is an analysis of the structure of consciousness. The aim is to show under what structural conditions consciousness can be empirically observed and psychologically described. To be more exact, it can be said that as a result of such an analysis it is possible to state under what structural conditions conceptions of education can be empirically observed and described. The aim of this structural analysis is to arrive at a general structural description of conscious processes without specifying the content of such processes. On the theoretical level, a distinction between content and structure is necessary to create a method of observation in which a great number of empirical phenomena have been eliminated in order to clarify the foundations. In reality, content and structure are indivisible.

Meaning relations have three components: object or event, the sense it expresses, and consciousness for whom the sense exists. Sense,

expressed in sensation, is something through which the matter or object is insightfully understood (Føllesdal 1970). "When there occurs in consciousness some sense, which is related to some object or event so that the object or event is understood as something by means of the sense, there exists a meaning relation" (Rauhala 1974, 50-51). In this categorization the concepts object, sensation, sense and meaning relation are central.

It is possible to distinguish different meaning relations, ie. conceptions, because each has a specific quality of impression which expresses the sense. An individual has sensory impressions, emotional impressions, intuitive impressions, etc. All adults have many sensory impressions of children during their lives, and these impressions have formed the basis of certain kinds of conceptions.

#### Existing conceptions as the basis of new conceptions

In the discussion above it was emphasized that the determination of sense occurs gradually, which means that conceptions are also structured and filled out gradually. The discussion so far has not made it possible to explain why an identical presentation of sense does not always lead to an identical final conception and how conceptions exist and are expressed individually.

Individual differences are due to the fact that every individual already has many kinds of meaning relations and conceptual systems based on them ('horizons' in phenomenological terminology), ie. conceptions and conceptual systems. These existing conceptions contribute to the determination of sense in new situations; in fact, they are indispensable for sense to occur at all. The parents' limitations in understanding the child are essentially an indication of the fact that they do not possess meaning relations and conceptual systems required for deep conceptualization. When it is said in everyday speech 'I did not understand what he was saying', 'He was difficult to follow', 'I did not understand the whole situation', such expressions are commonly used to indicate that sense was not expressed adequately, since the conceptions and conceptual systems, within which what was seen or heard would have been understandable, were not actualized or did not yet exist. This has to be taken into consideration in planning empirical studies of conceptions; for instance, when reliable research results

are sought subjects are not asked about such matters or situations which they consider not to make sense. On the contrary, there should be a meaning relation based on sense (cf. arousal of attitudes in attitude theories).

The actualization of conceptions and conceptual systems is never, however, arbitrary, but "as an actualization based on people's life situations it is primarily meaningful, although it cannot always be easily observed" (Rauhala 1974, 65). An individual's physical and psychic characteristics and structures do not entirely determine his conceptions, which are also influenced by the conditions in which he lives. By conditions are meant both concrete and ideal reality (values, for instance, belong here). From the multiplicity of conditions, those components to which the individual is related are meaningful for the formation of conceptions. An individual is related to others (eg. he is the father of his children), he is related to different communities and society and culture.

Conceptions are understood as meaning relations existing in consciousness. All meaning relations are not, however, conceptions, as, for instance, diffuse emotions, which do not express sense in spite of the fact that they are available at the level of consciousness. Conceptions exist at different levels of structure and they are filled out gradually. Some conscious conceptions reach the level of linguistic expression. Conceptions are formed via impressions. The sense based on impression and how this sense is related to existing conceptions and forms the basis of a new conception is dependent on three main categories: 1) conceptions that already exist in consciousness, 2) modes of human existence, and 3) the components of the living conditions to which the person is related. This process of the formation of conceptions is illustrated by Figure 2.

### 3.2. The content of educational consciousness

An effort can now be made to forge some links between the preceding discussion and the analysis of educational consciousness. Related to parents' educational activity the above definition of consciousness (p. 24 ) means that two central aspects can be discerned in educational

consciousness. These ideas will be criticized later in this section.

- (1) On the one hand educational consciousness is connected with how far the parents' educational thinking has developed. Then some criteria of development and some knowledge of the central content-areas of this consciousness are naturally needed.
- (2) On the other hand educational consciousness is connected with the parents' awareness of themselves as thinking and acting beings, ie. so-called self-consciousness.

The first point will be covered below. It combines the questions of the contents and levels of educational consciousness. According to Takala (1979) the level of consciousness is connected with the extent to which education is conscious with regard to its goals, means and feedback. The content of educational consciousness is concerned with the primary goals set, with the conceptions held by the educator of child development, with factors determining development and with the effect of individual activity and that of others, as well as with the methods that the educator applies in his activity.

The concept 'level of educational consciousness' is somewhat ambiguous. It has often been used to denote two different things. Firstly, to refer to the extent to which the educator can be conscious of real phenomena, ie. how deeply or how correctly the mother is able to be conscious of the consequences of her own actions. Secondly, the term 'levels of consciousness' has been used to refer to the role which general principles, eg. values or philosophy of life, have in educational activities. Thus, in a given situation it can be stated that an individual has not internalized any general principles and in an educational situation acts spontaneously guided by his desires, or it can be stated that an individual has internalized principles which apply across specific situations and give direction to his activity.

In the former case consciousness as a process is referred to. Nevertheless, the problems in such a categorization should be recognized. It is obvious that the two viewpoints merge in many cases when attempts are made to apply such ideas to everyday situations. The so-called high-level consciousness or state of consciousness always involves not only a clear perception of situations and phenomena but also clear thinking and internalization of what is stable and essential in the world, whether it is called 'truth' or 'ethical life'. One possible

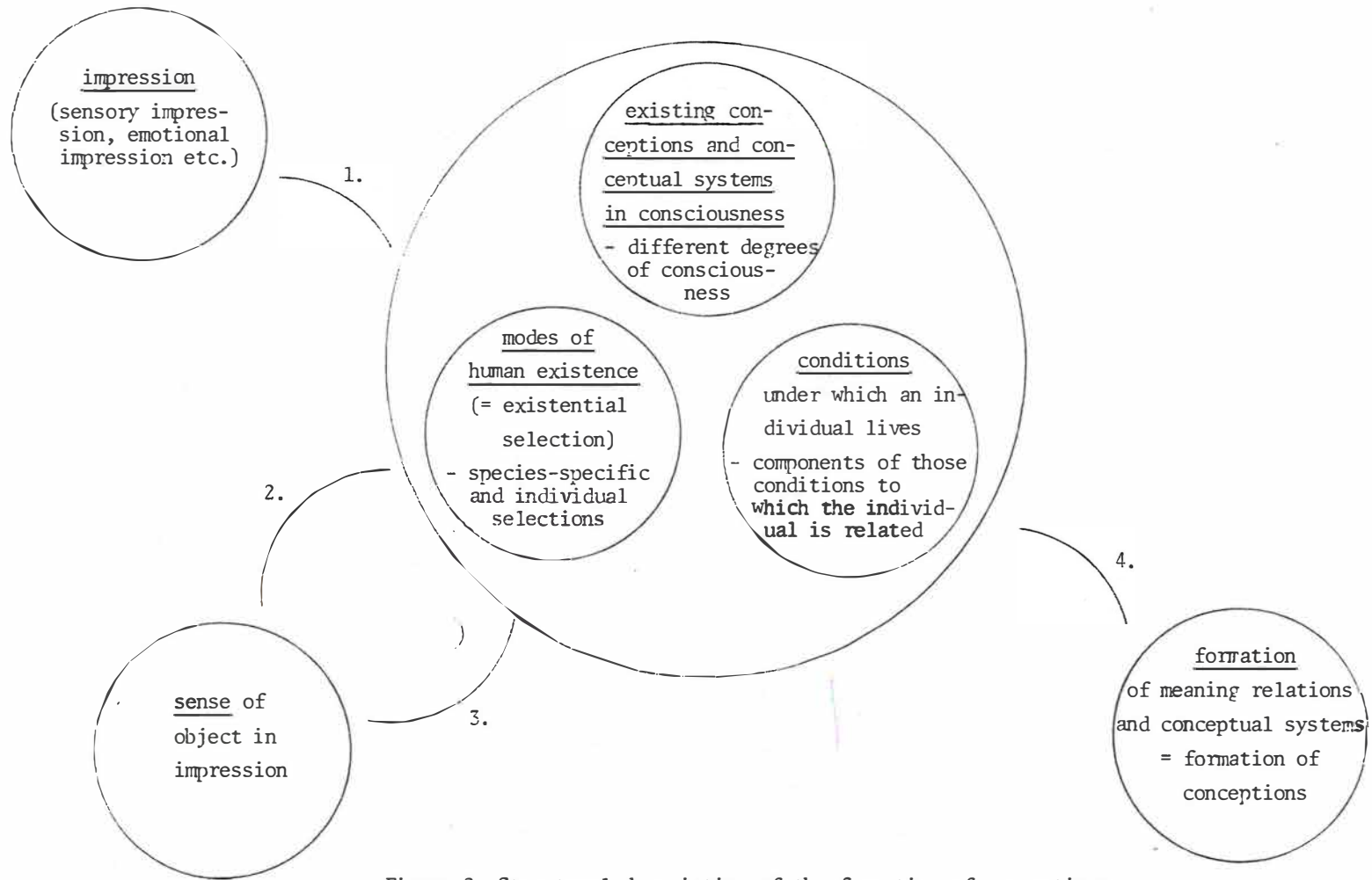


Figure 2. Structural description of the formation of conceptions

perspective on the level of consciousness is offered by the explanations developed within so-called philosophies of mental growth.

The discussion in the preceding chapters (ch. 1 and 2) gives an idea of those main topics which must be taken into consideration in the effort to name the basic content of the parent's educational consciousness. In short, models of intentional explanation turn the attention towards aims of activity and beliefs that can be understood as means. The analysis of the concept of the individual's world view gives more profound insight into the determinants of goals and beliefs by emphasizing the centrality of values and conception of man. Finally, the discussion of the phenomena of human consciousness focuses our attention upon the self-consciousness of an educator, which means that what a parent thinks about himself as an educator (how he perceives his own thoughts and feelings) must also be taken into account.

On the basis of these concluding remarks an effort can be made to outline the structure of educational consciousness as follows:

(1) Conceptions of aims and values in child rearing

This area of consciousness is closely related to the third category below.

(2) Conceptions of the self as an educator and of the significance of the quality of educational interaction (adult-child interaction).

Various aspects of consciousness are included in this category. It is of course possible to interpret 'adult-child interaction' in terms of earlier studies and use concepts like child rearing methods or techniques, child rearing practices, strategies of parenting, etc. In this study the two aspects have been roughly separated:

- an educator's general conceptions of his own role in child rearing where his views about the general nature of child rearing and difficulties in it, the basis of his educational decisions and the possibilities and ways of improving as an educator are emphasized,
- an educator's conceptions of the importance and the ways of guidance in a child's development; hence, this area consists of such common themes as parental control, the importance of educational stimuli, and influences of educator's activities and ways of guidance.

The former focuses on the core of the self-consciousness of an educator. As stated repeatedly above, it is probably the most diffi-

cult object among the topics of consciousness here. It might so be stated that it is a phenomenologically emphasized area. Very few empirical studies have dealt with this aspect.

(3) Conceptions of general trends of human growth and the nature of man

The area is divided into three subcategories:

- an educator's conceptions of that real individual who is the participant in adult-child interaction; this means that an educator is conscious of the child's growth trend and the actual situation of the child,
- an educator's conceptions of general features of human growth and the laws of developmental psychology,
- an educator's conceptions of the nature of man; especially the views on the basic nature of a child must be understood as central from the point of view of this study.

The first aspect is the most concrete object of consciousness, the second deals with the results of the empirical behavioural sciences, and the third is philosophical by nature and concerns so-called ontological questions and presuppositions held by people.

These three main areas will be studied more closely in the following sections. Because some topics have been discussed earlier, it is not necessary to cover these areas in greater depth; the nature of values and the conception of man has been discussed at a general level quite extensively in the preceding sections.

### 3.2.1. The consciousness of aims and values of child rearing

The concepts of 'aim' and 'objective' belong to the same family of concepts as 'purpose', 'intention' and 'motive'. As Peters (1966) points out, they are all conceptually connected with actions and activities. Here the term 'aim' will be used to refer to distant goals of child rearing. Aims give the direction for child rearing and function as the starting-point against which the results of educational activity can be evaluated. This central and important role of aims has already been emphasized above (Section 1.4.1.) in analyzing so-called models of practical syllogisms. On the basis of these analyses there are strong reasons for arguing that some kind of conscious thinking about aims is

included in parents' educational activities.

It is important to connect the discussion about aims to the frame of time (cf. Section 2.2.). The distinction is here made between aims of child rearing and more specifically, temporally restricted and situation-bound objectives of child rearing. It is problematic how parents are able to form and to be conscious of those more temporally extended aims. The objectives which are situation-bound usually concern the behaviour and the characteristics of a child, while the term 'aims' tends to refer to the behaviour and the characteristics of an adult. Therefore a parent typically has expectations as to what the child's conduct should be like, or to what standards his behaviour should conform. Attributes like friendliness, politeness, being neat and clean, obeying of rules, being sex-typed, self-controlled or curious have usually appeared in the studies of parents' goals for their children (eg. Bronfenbrenner 1958; Kohn 1959; Hess & Shipman 1966; Kamii & Radin 1967; Fein & Clarke-Stewart 1973).

It seems to be typical of many studies that the objectives of child rearing are considered quite separately from an educator's own intrinsic life. It might be important, firstly, to pay attention to the connection between aims and world view, and, secondly, to illustrate some central and extensive statements of aims which are regarded as essential in the literature of philosophy of education.

#### Aims and world view of an educator

From the point of view of an individual's world view, prevailing values and presuppositions determine her educational aims - as many other matters as well. Presuppositions are primarily concerned with assumptions about man, society and nature. Many educationalists, as O'Connor (1968) has noted, have insisted on a link between education and values. For instance, Peters' (1966, 25) well-known criterion for the concept of education includes this connection: education "implies that something worthwhile is being or has been intentionally transmitted in a morally acceptable manner". Daveney (1973) points out that Marxists, Platonists, Christians, and Humanists would no doubt all claim that education must be based on a certain set of values, ie. their own particular set.

It may be asked what are the relationships between educational aims,

values and the basic conceptions of an educator. A reply can be made to this by stating one of the theses of the present study: in the mind of an educator an ideal of a person to which the upbringing is leading is presupposed to exist. Therefore, lying behind child rearing is a conception of man. Those aspects of the conception of man which can be called normative and which include the ideals and convictions of an educator are expressions of her values. In addition, an educator has some kind of ideal picture of society. An important conclusion follows from these remarks: remote aims of child rearing have always been connected with ideals, which can be understood as the intrinsic values of the educator.

#### Philosophy of life and child rearing

The view above (p. 37) regarding functions of values is somewhat restricted and narrow. In a broader sense the values are central elements in our philosophy of life. They constitute the deepest structure of human consciousness and are reflected in all human activity. Maslow (1962, 198) has stated that "the human being needs a framework of values, a philosophy of life, a religion or religion-surrogate to live by and understand by, in about the same sense that he needs sunlight, calcium, or love". According to Valett (1977, 65) there exist three areas that deal with the many things that people find of value in their lives: (1) Skills for social living (manners): courtesy, kindness, friendliness, honesty, cheerfulness, cooperativeness, respect, tolerance, personal conscience, (2) Personal and social commitment: love, wealth, power, knowledge, religion, service, aesthetics, and (3) Cultural values: liberty, independence, work, justice, democracy, thanksgiving, freedom. All these human values are both 'caught and taught' (Valett 1977). It is characteristic of the Zeitgeist, however, that many people live in a state of valuelessness (eg. Taylor 1973) and questions like "Who am I?" and "Where am I going?" expressing self-doubt, fear, and uncertainty about goals and direction, are no longer limited to adolescence but also pursue people far into adulthood. This chronic uncertainty about beliefs and values and about oneself makes the modern adult feel like a lonely adolescent. According to many studies (eg. Böhler & Allen 1972), this phenomenon is called lack of identity or loss of identity and has been specifically labelled a characteristic of the present time

and society. Rich (1968, 78-79), for example, illustrates this:

A number of studies have shown that among the major problems of our time are the rise of a 'herd' consciousness, loss of identity, dehumanization, exploitation of others, 'other-directedness', insecurity and defensiveness, and lack of direction and meaning in life. In various and diverse forms the theme has been reiterated that contemporary man derives his values from the group, that he has few independent beliefs or convictions, and that the average or 'normal' person has little idea of who he is or where he is going.

Frankl (1963) emphasizes the concept of life's meaningfulness and refers to similar problems. Meaningfulness refers to a special kind of content of life experience which makes life seem richer, fuller, more worthwhile. There are several obstacles to an individual discovering what is meaningful in his life. As Bühler and Allen (1972) have stated, many people are not ready to consider such a question as meaningfulness because they are totally preoccupied with emotional conflicts and unsatisfied needs.

To return to child rearing, it should be noted that a number of problems may be encountered in handling educational aims and moral education. If it is true that modern parents live without ideals and without a philosophy of life, it means that a crucial component, including the foundations of child rearing, is tottering. Parents have to prepare their children for a world they do not understand themselves. The importance of the model provided by the parent cannot be overlooked. When an educator is able to enlarge and to enrich his consciousness of life's meaningfulness, he can also help his children to become aware of human values.

In his final study Maslow (1977) summarizes his research on the critical aspects of social and personal maturity. He concludes that education could help to create a good and mature individual by facilitating the development of a positive consciousness through focusing on the enhancement of intrinsic values, excellence, joy, and peak experiences. In his theory of metamotivation he describes these intrinsic values and terms them as so-called B-values. These values (eg. truth, goodness, beauty, justice, playfulness) are as necessary as vitamins and love. It is interesting to note that Maslow (1977) also maintains that value-starvation and value-hunger lead to metapathologies (alienation, anomie, boredom, philosophical crisis, hopelessness, joylessness etc.). In general, the matters in question are very often associated

with personal maturity, or self-actualization, and also with so-called affective education.

Personality, happiness, growth, or the autonomous individual as educational aims

In the process of seeking a description for educational aims some central themes emerge. These themes can be stated as follows:

- (1) the personality as an aim of child rearing
- (2) happiness as an aim of child rearing
- (3) human growth as an aim of child rearing
- (4) the autonomous person as an aim of child rearing

The idea that these views contain some common elements would seem to be clear but in order to further illuminate what is meant here some characterizations of the terms can be given.

The personality as an aim of child rearing. To become educated is to learn to be a person. As Peters (1972) points out, however, this well-known statement says little about what has to be learnt before an individual becomes a person. People often say 'He is a real person', but they are obviously not using this phrase to stress the fact that he is a person in the sense in which any normal human being is. Rather, they are drawing attention to the impact which he makes on us in respect of some quality of mind or his strength of character. Langford (1973b) considers the concept of a person and refers especially to two things: firstly, that persons are conscious and capable of thought, and, secondly, that persons are agents and capable of rational choice. According to Peters (1972), 'being a person' is connected with evaluation, decision and choice, and with being, to a certain extent, an individual who determines his own destiny by his choices.

To state that the personality is an aim of child rearing might be the language of educationalists rather than that of ordinary parents. However, it is important to consider what is really the core of the concept of personality. In short, the basic point seems to be that moral principles and intrinsic values form the central part of an individual personality. The ideal person is a man who has basic convictions, life plans, ideals, and purposes. These are attributes which 'define the person' or provide him with his own sense of 'identity' (Feinberg 1973).

Happiness as an aim of child rearing is obviously a much more common statement by parents than the idea of personality discussed above. Parents often say that all they want is that their child should be happy. What is meant by 'happiness' may, of course, vary greatly. Obviously it does not refer to a very specific object or state of affairs nor to a mood which is known as 'feeling happy'. There is yet a third sense in which an individual can be spoken of as 'being happy in life'. According to Dearden (1972), this kind of happiness is an end: something which can be pursued, promoted, achieved, protected or lost. Dearden (1972, 98) states: "Evidently it is this that people have in mind when they mention happiness in connexion with education and crucial choices in life." In attempting to evaluate happiness in the sense of 'being happy' two points should be mentioned. Firstly, it refers to a state of mind: it has an object and the period for which it lasts may be very variable. Secondly, happiness is a hedonistic concept. People are not happy unless they like their life as it is, or find it on the whole agreeable (cf. Allardt 1976; Wilson 1979).

It has often been suggested that human growth is a process in which the individual's 'real self' emerges, develops and becomes established. Parents may say, for instance, that 'children need to be themselves' or 'the child should be given the opportunity to be himself'. Dearden (1972) speaks about growth theories of education and argues that a characteristic doctrine of growth theorists generally has been that children are by nature good. Rousseau, Froebel, Dewey and Piaget to a certain extent are the traditional 'great educators' who saw education as a process of growth.

What practical differences, in actual child rearing, does it make to think of education as the supporting of the growth process? The answer to this will of course depend on the growth theory that the researcher has in mind. However, as a consequence of the above, there will be a conception of the parent as first and foremost an observer, watching for signs of readiness, looking for spontaneous interests and activities, seeking to read the signs of the inner ripening that will give them their cue (cf. Wilenius 1975). What the parents must do will depend very much on the lead which the growing child gives them to follow.

There are many difficulties in regarding child rearing as a process

of growth and in discussing aims of child rearing in this connection. Whether it is openly admitted or not, parents must themselves select from among the possible experiences in which their children will be encouraged to share. Child rearing does not mean that the parent must simply watch and observe. They should be active interventionists and leaders in the educational process. Thus, again, the importance of personal values must be emphasized. It is difficult to see how parents can choose the direction and find the methods if they do not have their own intrinsic criteria.

The autonomous person can be seen as a new aim of child rearing. In contemporary education there are many terms circling round this central idea. Prominent among them are 'self-direction', 'self-activity', 'independence' and 'being a chooser'. In educational practice these terms include different emphases.

The term 'autonomous' has in recent years received a good deal of attention, eg. in discussion about moral education (Piaget 1948, 1964; Kohlberg 1971). According to this view, the aim of moral education must be to turn all children into morally autonomous adults. According to Baier (1973), the theory that moral education should aim at turning children into morally autonomous adults implies three radical theses which are - as Baier puts it - often denied. The first is that it must sharply distinguish between a given coercive social order (including its law and custom) and a moral order. The second implies that every human being is capable of achieving moral autonomy, that moral autonomy is not dependent on exceptional natural gifts or powers, such as a special moral sense or exceptional intelligence. The third thesis implies that those who are morally autonomous, who know what is good and therefore what is right, will pursue the good and therefore do what is right without having to be coerced into doing it. Therefore, there is, at least in moral matters, no need and no justification for authority and the use of force.

However, it seems that some difficult questions are raised as to the relation of autonomy to the other aims of child rearing, especially to that bearing on moral goodness. Researchers have emphasized that the aims of education should be complex, aiming at more than the fostering of a single, simply specifiable kind of disposition. The difficulty arises from the fact that autonomy seems to mean deciding on or

choosing one's own standards for oneself, while moral goodness requires that one conform to objective standards whose contents are independent of one's own decisions or choices. According to Gewirth (1973, 38):

To be autonomous is, in a basic sense, to be free of external constraints while to be morally good is to be subject to certain external constraints.

It is obvious that parents' interpretation of 'autonomous' concerns relatively concrete objectives. It means that they emphasize, for instance, the importance of getting a job or of coping with daily problems. Some studies (Kohn 1959; Kamii & Radin 1967) have shown that these kinds of objectives are typical of parents of the lower class, whereas middle class parents want their children to be considerate, self-controlled, internally guided, and dependable.

In this section some main directions of general educational aims have been considered. From this lengthy discussion a short conclusion can be drawn.

First, the meaning of general concepts like personality, happiness etc. may vary greatly. Although this remark can be understood as a criticism against abstract, vague formulations of aims it does not mean that it is not necessary to penetrate any further into this educationally deeply problematic phenomenon. The fact that parents seem to use such terms is one argument for discussing them. Second, it is remarkable that there is so little empirical information describing what parents seek to achieve through child rearing. Clearly more empirical work is needed here. Third, parents obviously have extremely poor conceptual resources to formulate their intentions and values. This fact is closely connected with parents' self-consciousness about their values, as Brim (1959, 65) has pointed out: "It is very important to stress the lack of awareness which the parent will have of his own values." This is not to say that parents are not puzzled about what the aims of child rearing should be.

### 3.2.2. The consciousness of self as an educator and the significance of the quality of educational interaction

In the preceding section the aims and values of child rearing were characterized as one important topic of parents' educational consciousness. The second main type of educational consciousness concerns the means (child rearing practices). The basic question which leads the researcher into this area is "What do children need to grow and develop into normal, healthy adults?" Before making an effort to consider this question from the point of view of consciousness, it is very important to notice the limitations caused by the state of scientific knowledge. Kagan (1976) has emphasized that there is no recipe for successful parenting behaviour as today's strategies of child rearing propose. In his view there is no formula for the proper amount of punishment, positive reinforcement, nurturance of children, etc. to produce the ideal adult. Kagan brings forth a reminder that children have definite psychological needs, but that there is no known prerequisite set of parental behaviour that adequately fulfills these needs.

However, the significance of the quality of interaction between parents and child has been understood here as a central object of the discussion. From the point of view of this study the discussion focuses on the problem of how the parent is conscious of his own role as an educator, his strategies of guiding the child and the effects of his activities and everyday solutions upon the child's behaviour and personality.

At this point some specifications must be made. In the light of the empirical studies it is possible to characterize the main directions of parents' educational attitudes and methods. Earlier, in the introductory section of this study a short summary of typical child rearing research was undertaken. Two functions of parental behaviour have been traditionally identified in the parent-child literature: These functions are parental nurturance and parental power. The term 'nurturance' may be defined in both narrow and broad terms. According to Bigner (1979, 44):

A narrow interpretation of this function refers to the daily maintenance aspects of child care, such as feeding, bathing, and dressing children. Defined more broadly, nurturance is seen as the psychological

process of emotional gratification and meeting emotional needs through words, actions, and physical touch. In other words, the emotional tone of interactions associated with nurturance, whether performed by a mother or a father, is warmth.

Here the view is adopted that, operationally, parental nurturance is a summation of the frequencies of such parental behaviours toward a child as praising, approving, encouraging, helping, cooperating, expressing terms of endearment, and physical affection.

Parental power is a much more problematic concept. According to Rollins and Thomas (1975), many writers have used power to mean the latent potential of parents to induce compliance from their children. Others have used power as the active process by which parents attempt to control the behaviour of their children. Still others have used the term to mean the actual process of attempting to control children (eg. Hoffman 1960; Hoffman & Salzstein 1967). Such active power can be conceptualized as parental control attempt. According to Straus and Tallman (1971), this term is a summation of the frequencies of such indicators of parental behaviours as giving directions, instructions, commands, and suggestions to a child, as well as making requests and imposing rules and restrictions. However, it should be noted that the two types of control attempts have often been differentiated in the literature. Baumrind (1971), for example, has made qualitative distinctions between authoritarian and authoritative control attempts. These are similar to the terms of Hoffman (1960), who refers to parental power assertion and parental induction, and to the terms of Aronfreed (1968), who has identified so-called induction and sensitization methods of parents. The concepts of Baumrind's authoritarian control, Hoffman's power assertion and Aronfreed's sensitization can be roughly characterized as follows: the parent places value on obtaining immediate obedience from the child. Obedience is obtained in numerous ways, often through physical punishment and other forceful means (Bigner 1979). In general, the method manifests itself in such parental behaviour as physical punishment, deprivation of material objects or privileges, the direct application of force, or the threat of any of these in situations where parents are attempting to govern or control their children (Hoffman 1970). Little time or effort is used to explain rules and regulations. The parent's word is law for the child. Parental induction or an authoritative attitude is defined as an attempt by a parent to obtain volun-

tary compliance to parental desires by avoiding a direct conflict of wills with a child. The inductive method emphasizes the development of autonomy in children within reasonable limits. A parent who predominantly uses such a method gives explanations or reasons for desired behaviour (Baumrind 1966; Hoffman 1970; Rollins & Thomas 1975; Bigner 1979).

Studies of the child socialization consequences of parental nurturance and control attempts have produced some consistent results. It seems (eg. Becker 1964; Baumrind 1967; Coopersmith 1967) that high parental nurturance together with high parental induction maximize parental effectiveness and the most effective socialization results (high self-esteem in school age children or the social competence of preschool children). However, it should be noted that many contradictions have been found in the results (Rollins & Thomas 1975); the variable of parental control attempts is especially problematic.

There are other ingredients, however, in the parental behaviour antecedents of child socialization, not only nurturance or power. Conscientious parents are aware of their role in socializing their child and their guiding role in maintaining the general atmosphere in the family. They are aware of their responsibility to counsel their child and their role as motivators and teachers of their child as well as that of being providers and mediators of stimuli. The parent's role in adult-child interaction therefore includes many various educational acts, eg. encouraging, demonstrating, explaining and providing stimuli in a proper way. A parent's role is not simple, because it changes as the child grows older. The general climate of child rearing is a broad concept which includes these various aspects of child rearing. It has turned out to be a useful concept in describing the events in everyday child rearing situations. By dividing the family atmosphere into a guiding and a selfish atmosphere Pitkänen-Pulkkinen (1977) showed that the upbringing of so-called constructive and aggressive children differed from one another. Aggressive children had typically lived in a selfish atmosphere while constructive ones had lived in a guiding atmosphere. Parents in the former had either ignored the child or treated him punitively. The constructive children had received their parent's guiding and encouragement in school work and leisure time activities (Pulkkinen, in press). It is easy to see that in a guiding atmosphere the features which were typical of Aronfreed's induction methods and

Baumrind's authoritative attitude are emphasized.

During the preceding discussion roughly alternative attitudes and methods in child rearing have been described. The discussion raises several questions. From the point of view of this study the essential question is how conscious the parents really are of these alternative methods. Are they conscious, for instance, of the fact that a child needs the parents' guidance or that they themselves serve as a model of general behaviour patterns for a child? A thorough review of the research literature on child rearing gives the impression that this aspect has received little attention. Difficulties in this area of research are to a great extent methodological in nature. On the one hand, a linguistic expression as an indicator of a parent's consciousness is always problematic because of many kinds of interpretations. On the other hand, a parent's behaviour is not always an accurate reflection of his consciousness. For instance, it is not easy to tell whether a parent is conscious about the needs of his child by noting how often he displays a particular behavioural pattern towards the child.

The studies which have discussed parental competence (eg. Lopata 1971; Heath 1977) or the feelings of working mothers and housewives (eg. Feld 1963; Nye 1963; Michel 1971; Yarrow & al 1973) have somewhat increased our scientific information on the thoughts parents actually have. Obviously, modern parents are more unsure of how to function effectively as parents. "The consequent breakdown in tradition forces the modern parent into a greater consciousness of her child rearing practices and demands that she develop many aspects of her roles as a parent de novo, either from her own resources or with the assistance of individuals outside the family group" (Brim 1959, 18).

### 3.2.3. The consciousness of general trends of human growth and the basic nature of the child

The aim of this section is to analyse the third component of educational consciousness. It concerns the assumptions about the basic nature of the child. In doing this, the above discussion (Section 2.4.4.), which was focused on more general views of the same topic, will therefore be extended. The aspects concerning general trends of human

growth are included in this consideration.

Children are among the 'everyday objects' that parents observe. It is of the utmost importance what parents think about children in general. Today, there is a scientific recognition of man as a decision-making organism and not merely a victim of forces from within and without. This new conception of man has far-reaching consequences for parents' perception and treatment of children.

Observers of children, whether they be parents, teachers, artists or psychologists, have often adopted a loose theoretical framework which plays a role very similar to that of models in the physical sciences (Cleverly & Phillips 1976) - models in physics channel attention in certain directions and are sources of hypotheses for investigation. It is probably true, however, that most parents know very little about real theories of human nature, although these may strongly influence their child rearing practices. LeMasters (1970), for instance, has attempted to analyze the contributions made by Freudian theory to American parents. In his view, six positive points of impact can be found: (1) a more realistic view of the child, (2) a more realistic view of the parents, (3) insight into sibling relationships, (4) insight into childhood sexuality, (5) insight into the key function of emotion in rearing the child and (6) insight into the nonrational aspects of human behaviour. He describes the first point as follows (LeMasters 1970, 40):

No one has done more than Freud and his followers to end the romantic view of children held by some of the previous generations of parents. Freud saw the child as self-centered, aggressive, impulsive, and ruthless. It was up to the parents to make a human being of the infant. This put a great responsibility on parents, but it also gave a more realistic understanding of the job to be done. Freudian theory also made it easier to understand why parents were not always successful in child rearing by showing how complicated personality development is.

It is worth noting that LeMasters also described negative contributions of Freudian theory. The writings of Locke, Rousseau, Freud, Watson, Skinner, and others, focused attention on facets of childhood that had previously been relatively neglected; children were seen in new ways and, as a result, new modes of treatment evolved.

The description of various aspects and assumptions is now in order. The essential features can be summarized as follows (eg. Kohlberg 1968; Fein & Clarke-Stewart 1973; Spodek 1973; De Vries 1974):

Intrinsic valuation. It is important how parents see the attributes of the child. They can decide whether to foster or discourage the behavioural expressions of these attributes. According to Neill (1960), the child is a good, not an evil being. He sees the child as innately wise and realistic. Another extreme view of the child is negative: the natural inclination of the child is downward (eg. Pestalozzi's view). There are no empirical studies concerning the thoughts of modern parents. It is obvious, however, that no extreme views of the child exist. Theoretically, it can be considered that a positive evaluation tends to lead parents to permit the child to exercise, express, or satisfy inherent tendencies. A negative evaluation can lead to authoritarian, rigidly controlling, and even punitive actions, or totally permissive attitudes and neglect of the child.

Child as miniature adult or as qualitatively different from adult. The various views on the attributes of the child can be generally grouped into two aspects. According to De Vries (1974) the adultmorphic, egocentric belief that the child's psychological make-up, like his appearance, is parallel to the adult's attempts to impose adult standards of behaviour on the child. This belief can also lead to educational efforts which attempt to foster a child's learning by the same methods used with adults. One representative of this orientation is Freud who, for example, saw that the instinctive infantile sexual energy of the infant continued into adulthood qualitatively unchanged. Another representative is Skinner whose operant conditioning model is based on postulates of external control. In contrast to the adult-miniature theory is a belief in qualitative differences between the child and the adult (eg. Piaget 1964).

Child as active versus passive. Beliefs differ radically depending upon whether it is thought that man spontaneously initiates his own actions or simply responds to environmental stimulation. The model of man as passive or reactive is based on the assumption that man is activated by the occurrence of an event or a change of stage, eg. deprivation of food or of social contacts. The reactive model underlines, for example, the Freudian theory of instincts and the cognitive-social or observational learning model (Bandura & Walters 1963; Bandura 1969; Mischel 1973) and the functional-analysis approach of the Skinnerians in which no mediating variables are assumed (Skinner 1953; Lundin 1969).

More recent formulations in psychoanalysis assume, however, that man is intrinsically active and postulate independent ego motives in psychological development (White 1963; Loevinger 1966, 1969). The belief that the child is an active initiator starts from a holistic assumption. According to Rosen (1976), this orientation assumes the existence of a psychological structure or disposition that becomes manifest, ie. it is observable as behaviour or a response when some conditions in the environment are realized. According to this active model a parent functions more as a resource individual, as a facilitator of the child's pursuit of his own objectives, and as a challenger and expander of those objectives. An assumption that the child is intrinsically active is found in the cognitive-developmental approach of Piaget (1948, 1964) and of Mead (1932, 1934), as well as in self-actualization theories (eg. Rogers 1951 and Maslow 1954). Rosen (1976) points out that the term 'intrinsically active' must be distinguished from active as a descriptive term for behaviour, as, for example, in the socio-behaviouristic approach. "The latter use of the term applies to being active in a sense that is trivial as far as the model of man as intrinsically active is concerned" (Rosen 1976, 18). Beliefs about a child's activity versus passivity are closely related to beliefs about the source and cause of developmental change. These perspectives can be generally characterized as internal and external to the child. The greater the belief in the efficacy of external factors, the more likely the parents will take an active role in directing the child's growth.

Child's potential for change. According to De Vries (1974), the degree to which a child's basic equipment is viewed as complete determines the degree of optimism the educator feels regarding his effect upon the child. If parents have such a pessimistic view that they can foster only slight improvements in what the child is destined to be, they may avoid much responsibility for the outcome of their child rearing: the cause of both failure and success rests with the child. Regardless of how parents conceptualize the child's innate capacity for change, evaluation of this capacity as more or less limited will probably determine the parents' expectations and demands. Two well-known schools of thought constitute the background to this question, namely: 'the hereditarians' (eg. Eysenck, Jensen) and 'the environmentalists' (eg. Husen, Luria, Leontjev).

Universality of human nature. If parents view human psychological characteristics as universal (all children being alike in some way), they tend to treat children similarly, to demand conformity, to expect similar behaviour and educational results. If parents see that characteristics are not identical among children, they tend to treat children individually, to permit diversity, and to expect educational results to depend upon the individual's own capacities. Psychological theories, eg. those of Piaget (1952), can afford the educator more differentiated and detailed notions (eg. how children are different in the constructing of knowledge and in the organization of their experiences).

The above discussion has illustrated some basic assumptions about the child. The prevailing paradigms of a society influence what is seen in children, and fresh constructs occasionally emerge which help draw attention to aspects of childhood which have been underrated or previously ignored. In this study it has been argued that each parent gradually builds his conception of the child and this conception enters into many parental activities, either explicitly or implicitly. However, it is difficult to state 'the level' or parents' beliefs, ie. how concrete or abstract these conceptions are. There are indications (Stolz 1967) that even though parents talk about what they believe children are like, they are really talking about their perceptions of their own children, or are at least basing their beliefs about all children on their experiences with their own.

#### 4. Summary

Part I of this study had a philosophical emphasis, although in the last two sections more psychological issues also emerged. The analysis focused on the characterization of the foundations of child rearing. At the very beginning of the study it was argued that no single theory or model exists which would alone suffice as an adequate starting-point. In this summary the basic viewpoints and the major outlines are drawn together.

Three separate areas were included in the study. The discussion began by studying the character of child rearing as human, intentional activity. An effort was then made to clarify the concepts of consciousness and world view at a general and an individual level. The results of the preceding discussion were then used in the third chapter in analyzing what is involved in educational consciousness. These topics were introduced into the discussion because of the assumption adopted in the study: the starting-point was the assumption that by revealing what constitutes the essential content of educational consciousness the discussion leads to the sources of so-called foundational questions.

Child rearing was understood as the concept which refers to parents' activities. It means goal-oriented activity the purpose of which is to create conditions for the all-round development and growth of human beings. Because child rearing was understood as social, practical, human activity, it was considered that the same models which have been developed to describe human activity generally would throw light upon child rearing. Hence, an effort was made to apply the models of practical syllogism in the analysis of child rearing. The most important result of this analysis was based on the phenomenon 'intention'. An idea included in this term is that parents' activities do not come from nowhere. They have a rational origin with causes and reasons. Child rearing must be understood as attempts to achieve aims, to realize intentions. Therefore, one important argument of this study now emerges: it is necessary to analyze the aims of child rearing in order to clarify the content of the foundational matters. It was also discovered that the parent's child rearing may for the most part be an activity which simply takes place. Hence the activity occurs spontaneously and consciously, intentional views play a negligible role. Child rearing is then largely guided by habits or tradition and external determinants, eg. verbal challenges elicit an action. In this case it seems appropriate to refer to the causes for action. It is of course possible, however, that an educator has reasons for acting. This means that he can to some extent justify what he does. He knows what he is attempting to achieve and often why he is attempting to achieve it. It is clear that the proportion of our causes and reasons or, in other words, the proportion of our internally and externally determined actions is not constant. The analysis of the arguments can be seen as a method which

uncovers the causes and reasons and enables us to acquire knowledge as to the basis on which educational decisions in child rearing are made.

An emphasis on the centrality of the concept of reason in the study of foundations and in the context of child rearing is closely related to an educator's responsibility and self-consciousness. It can be noted that individuals do not live in a deterministic world but they have an opportunity of influencing events. They are also regarded as being to some extent free to choose between alternatives. It has been argued in the present study that when people show responsibility for what they do, they can give reasons for their activity. Hence they must think about what they are doing. In order to act responsibly or morally parents must act for a reason, and not be at the mercy of causes. It therefore seems necessary that, during the search for the foundations of child rearing, a parent's arguments produced for the actions should be studied and analyzed in the light of causes and reasons.

In considering the general content of human consciousness it was seen as fruitful to introduce a new concept, which was called 'world view'. The concept refers to the totality of an individual's thoughts. The starting-point was the idea that individuals explain their lives and give reasons for their expectations and activities according to their views of the world as a whole, a world view. It was shown that the most central content of an individual's world view consists of values and conceptions of man. These are related to each other in such a way that human values include that aspect of the conceptions of man which deals with views of the ideal man. Hence, on the basis of these considerations, it seems justified to argue that both the values and conceptions of man ought to be included in an effort to outline the foundations of child rearing.

Conceptions of the nature of man, as well as human values, were seen as systems of conceptions, as mentioned above. The structure of an individual's conception must have something in common with the structures of other individuals' conceptions so that they can understand each other's activities and conceptions and can reach some kind of mutual understanding in their judgments, for example in the setting of educational aims. It was also indicated that each individual's conceptions also contain a core. This is composed of so-called presuppositions, which are seen as the most basic in nature. These are also termed

ontological conceptions. On the basis of the discussion the structure of the conceptions of man can be illustrated as follows:

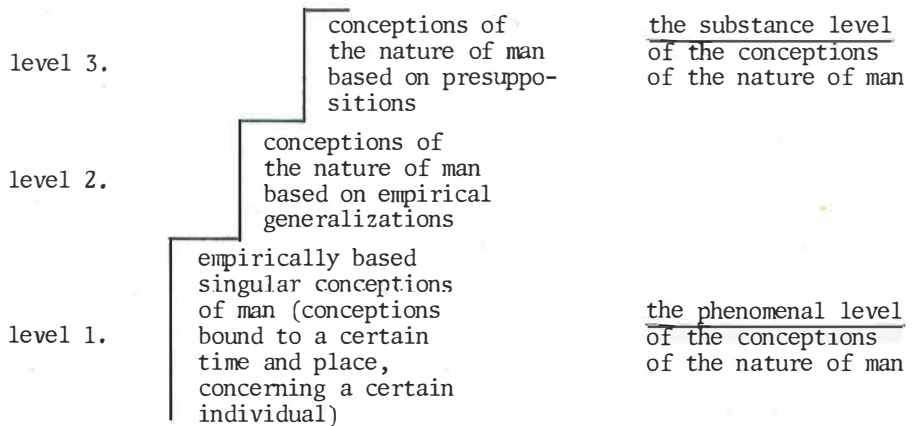


Figure 3. Hierarchical description of conceptions of man

As presented in Figure 3 the total view of the nature of man is formed by different levels of conceptions. The conception of man can be examined at all these levels or the examination can be restricted to one of them. When an overall picture of, for example, an educator's conception of man is wanted, none of these levels should be excluded from the analysis. All of them can be objects of empirical study. This argument is based on the basic humanistic starting-point of the present study which includes, for example, a conviction that an educator is capable of conscious, searching and evaluating activity. Furthermore, because an educator is considered a being who can observe not only the events of the external world but also his own consciousness (this is a real activity of so-called self-consciousness) it means that he can consider, for example, his own conceptions of man from various aspects. In a similar way, the values that an educator possesses can be possible objects of an individual's conscious activity.

Much of the first part of the present study was devoted to elucidating the notion of consciousness and its meaning in child rearing. Any serious concern with the foundations of child rearing must surely take this phenomenon into account. The main arguments regarding the structure of educational consciousness in the preceding study are

briefly summarized below.

Firstly, a distinction must be made between an individual's general consciousness and the specific areas of his consciousness. Educational consciousness is one important part of those specific areas possessed by every parent. General consciousness consists of conceptions of two areas. The first, which is termed the ontological area, is the deepest and the most central part of human consciousness. The conceptions in this area cannot be proved by existing facts. Their acceptance or rejection is a matter of belief. Each individual's attempts to form a philosophy of life and a basic view of human nature are based on these conceptions, ie. presuppositions. The second area is composed of conceptions shown by the empirical sciences as being joined to the generalizations based on personal long-term experiences. In the context of child rearing the psychological findings concerning the laws and trends of human development, for instance, are important elements of this area.

Secondly, an attempt was made to discover what is particularly involved in the specific content of educational consciousness. It is of great importance to note here that when the totality of educational consciousness is being described or dealt with one must see that the conceptions of higher levels which were considered above, are the essential constituents of educational consciousness, too. It was assumed that individual differences exist in the conceptual system that determines a parent's child rearing activity and which constitutes the specific content of an individual's educational consciousness. The system might be poorly structured and different degrees of clarity possibly exist in the conceptions concerning matters of child rearing. In brief, parent's conceptions may constitute a quite integrated system or they may exist for the most part as singular conceptions which are not grouped into any logical entirety. The term singular conceptions here refers to two kinds of conception: a parent may have some singular educational principles, eg. he may emphasize the importance of using rewards in child rearing, or always using corporal punishment when a child is disobedient, or the consistency of decisions between father and mother or in the behaviour of a single parent, while at the same time he may be unable to associate these principles with any broader context within his mind. On the other hand, the singular

conceptions are also termed educational thoughts, which are very concrete, situation-bound verbal expressions of an educator. On the basis of these considerations the author has constructed an overall description of the formal structure of educational consciousness, which is presented in Figure 4.

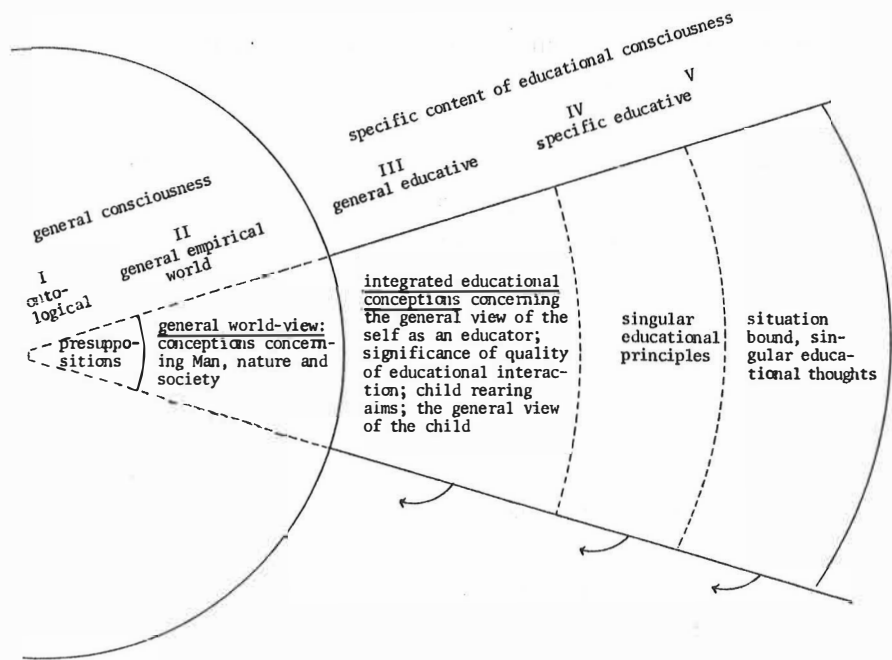


Figure 4. Formal structure of educational consciousness

The basic contents of primarily educational consciousness are grouped into the following topics ('general educative' in Fig. 4): the general view of self as an educator, the significance of the quality of educational interaction, child rearing aims and the general view of the child.

At this point some additional remarks should be made. One argument of the present study is that the structure of educational consciousness as shown in Figure 4 can be understood as the general description of the consciousness of each individual who plays the role of an ordinary parent. It therefore means, for example, that although it can be shown that a parent possesses a well integrated, coherent system of educa-

tional conceptions, this does not, however, change the fact that a parent also possesses some singular educational principles and thoughts which do not necessarily go together with his main system of conceptions. This is simply a logical implication of the preceding discussion (Section 3.1.) where it was emphasized that a formation of consciousness occurs gradually and the emergence of new conceptions is a continuous process. Furthermore, there exists a tendency toward consistency of conceptions (indicated by the arrows in the present description, Fig. 4).

Finally it is worth noting that the formation of educational consciousness is never arbitrary, but based on those life situations of the parent which are most significant.

## PART II THE EDUCATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS OF FINNISH MOTHERS

### 1. Introduction and research problems

The purpose of the second part of this study was to examine the foundations of child rearing empirically. The results of the discussion in Part I were used as the starting-point in the following way.

Firstly, the theoretical analysis illustrated the essence of the phenomena, ie. the essential categories on which attention should be focused in the effort to clarify the foundations of child rearing. Therefore the choice of viewpoints in the empirical study did not need to be made at random but on the basis of considered arguments. The concept of educational consciousness turned out to be useful in analysing the basic matters in the context of child rearing. Three main areas were found in the characterization of the educational consciousness of an individual, and it was the first objective of the empirical section of the study to describe these areas.

In summary, then, the first purpose was to describe the content and the level of the individual's educational consciousness in the three main areas which were considered in the first part of this study.

Secondly, the totality of an individual's conceptions were emphasized in the discussion in the theoretical part. It was argued (p. 28) that individuals explain their acts and give reasons for their activity in their views of the world as a whole, in a world picture. It was argued (p. 32) that especially the centrality of an individual's values and conception of man were central factors in educational decisions.

Figure 4 (p. 72), which illustrated the hypothetical, formal structure of educational consciousness, gave the idea that various states of consciousness can be found (eg. poorly structured or integrated systems of consciousness). One objective of the present study dealt with this idea of totality. The relations between values and the conception of man and their relations to an individual's educational conceptions constituted the central problems here.

The second purpose then, was to clarify the relations between various content areas of an individual's educational consciousness and to verify the correspondence between the theoretical, formal model and an individual's educational thoughts and conceptions.

Although an educator's conceptions can be seen as the primary object of the present study, ie. an individual's reflective activity, it must also be seen as an important task to place special emphasis on these persons' concrete living conditions. As mentioned in the first part of the study (p. 48), the components of living conditions to which the person is related form the basis of an individual's conceptions. The factors that make up the core of the individual's living conditions and that have been assumed to influence child rearing practices and conceptions can be categorized into environmental factors, factors of education, work and profession and the financial factors of the family.

The third purpose was to study the relations between an individual's educational consciousness and various components of his living conditions.

The specific research problems concerning each of the research objectives mentioned above are presented below. Before presenting a list of the problems, however, it is necessary to consider a specification of the areas of consciousness which are termed 'conceptions about the self as an educator and the significance of the quality of educational interaction'. As analysed in the theoretical part of the study (p. 51), it consists of two aspects, and there are striking differences between them in their primary orientation. The theme 'the self as an educator' is focused on an educator's general conceptions about her own role in

child rearing and her subjective feelings concerning child rearing. It is therefore concerned with the general question 'what is it to be a mother?'. The discussion of parental competence, difficulties in child rearing and worry over one's own behaviour belongs to this area. The statement 'significance of the quality of educational interaction' was clarified earlier (p. 60). The examination of this area was very limited in this study. It was no easy task to select the most useful, meaningful or important aspects when considering the wide variety of child rearing practices among the mothers.

It is important to point out here that the primary purpose of this study was not to describe the actual child rearing practices of Finnish mothers (eg. the various methods they use, the amount of the time they spend with their children, the scope of maternal warmth and emotional expressions etc.). Instead, the intention was to obtain a picture of the typical arguments that mothers have in their minds and to clarify the relationships between their actions and arguments. The arguments that are produced spontaneously are obviously among the best indicators of consciousness at the verbal level. It is realistic to expect that the arguments contain many types of conceptions (knowledge, beliefs, values, normative conceptions etc.). Hence, the selection of topics can be understood as an attempt to obtain an adequate sample related to child rearing actions and arguments.

Although it was considered essential to choose topics that would represent different aspects of child rearing, it was necessary to be content with a few topics only. The selection of the topics was guided by the principles below. They were to be important and central in the light of (1) previous child rearing studies and (2) the latest scientific knowledge about the factors that have an important influence on the development of a child. In addition, (3) the topics were to be communicable. It was thought that an analysis would be facilitated if the topics concerned the most usual and concrete daily routines and incidents in child rearing. On the basis of these assumptions it was decided to focus on the control behaviour of the mothers and on that aspect of the parent-child interaction which concentrates on the parent's contribution to the enrichment of the intellectual and imaginative development of the child.

The problems of the empirical study were grouped according to the

research tasks mentioned above and were specified in the following way:  
 A. Research problems concerning the content and level of an individual's educational consciousness. Here the analyses were focused on the clarification of two questions which constituted the main problems of this area: (1) What kind of interindividual differences in child rearing values and educational conceptions can be found?, and (2) Do the conceptions differ from each other in a way that makes it possible to define differences in terms of 'levels' arranged on an ascending scale of educational consciousness?

These main problems concerned the following sub-areas and subject matter, which corresponded to the content areas of consciousness considered essential in the theoretical part of the study (p. 51).

- A.1. Problems concerning general conceptions of child rearing and the mother as educator: (a) View of the concept of child rearing, (b) Conceptions of the general basis of decisions in child rearing, (c) Subjective feelings and difficulties in child rearing, (d) Possibility and ways of improving as an educator.
- A.2. Problems concerning conceptions of the significance of the quality of educational interaction: (a) Typical arguments which are put forward for various acts in child rearing - acts that concern control behaviour and the parent's contribution to the enrichment of the intellectual and imaginative development of the child, (b) Typical chains of arguments to be found, (c) Appearance of and emphasis on reason-type and cause-type explanations in the arguments expressed.
- A.3. Problems concerning aims and values of child rearing: (a) General aims of child rearing and projections about society, (b) Values and ideological basis of child rearing as seen through the educator's own value-system.
- A.4. Problems concerning the conception of man from different viewpoints (emphasizing so-called ontological questions): (a) Conceptions of the purpose of life and existence, (b) General conceptions of man, (c) Conceptions of the basic nature of the child, (d) Conceptions of susceptibility to upbringing.

The second category of problems focused on the clarification of the relationships between the main content areas.

B. Research problems concerning the relations between the content areas of an individual's educational consciousness. Two questions were considered essential here: (1) What are the relationships between the components of an individual's educational consciousness?, and (2) Is it possible to outline various types of structure of educational consciousness on the basis of qualitative descriptions of the main components? More specific problems that concentrated on these questions were:

- B.1. How are general conceptions of child rearing and conceptions of the self as an educator, educational arguments and child rearing aims related to each other?
- B.2. How are various value-systems and conceptions of man related to child rearing aims and educational arguments?, in other words: is it possible to find empirical evidence for the idea of integrated systems of an individual's educational consciousness as defined in the theoretical part of the study?

The third research task and the corresponding problems focused on the factors making up an individual's living conditions and their effects on the contents of an educator's values and thoughts on upbringing.

C. Research problems concerning the relations between an individual's educational consciousness and the various components of living conditions.

- C.1. How are the various components of an individual's living conditions related to the separate content areas of educational consciousness?
- C.2. What are the mutual dependences between components of living conditions, educational arguments, values and ontological conceptions?

Assumptions underlying the empirical study and its restrictions

Before proceeding to the examination of these problems, it is relevant to consider some basic methodological orientations, the assumptions underlying and the restrictions operating on the present study.

Firstly, the study was based on a conception of man where the central emphasis was laid on 'the humanistic orientation'. This concept may need some clarification in this context. In spite of the great diversity which there is in the meaning of humanistic orientation, some common features can be outlined in the form of the following phrases:

Humanistic thinkers, who are interested in the development potential inherent in every person, see man as self-directing and free. Man can in many circumstances freely choose to do one thing rather than another. Man is also the being who can be conscious of and therefore responsible for his existence as well as the meaning of his life. It is this capacity to become conscious of his own being which distinguishes the human being from the other forms of animal life. Every man, however much like other men he might be, is yet unique. In addition, the humanistic orientation lays emphasis on such distinctively human qualities as creativity, valuation, and self-realization, as opposed to thinking about human beings in mechanistic and reductionistic terms. This view focuses on experience as the primary phenomenon in the study of man. Central to this view is the person as he discovers his own being and relates to other persons and to social groups.

The choice of the research method (thematic interview) followed this orientation. An attempt was made to take into account the fact that there is a difference between what the parents themselves say they are doing and thinking and what educational researchers say they are doing. The background to all this is formed by the theoretical standpoint called the aristotelian tradition (see, for example, von Wright 1970).

Secondly, the study was restricted to a clarification of human consciousness from quite a narrow viewpoint. In making her interpretations and conclusions the researcher had to rely on the respondents' verbalization. Giving priority to the verbally expressed phenomena (language) in the study is derived from the basic orientation described above. In addition, the study was concerned with quite limited variations in individuals' living conditions and broader social settings.

Thirdly, the study was basically explorative and descriptive in its orientation. It may be argued that the research in its initial stage, a stage obviously represented by the present study, needs to be predominantly qualitative. So, the findings of the present study must be seen as one possible source of hypothesis-formulation for further studies.

## 2. Execution of the empirical study

### 2.1. Research communities and informants

The subjects of the present study were 115 Finnish mothers who had a child in the first class of the comprehensive school. It should perhaps be pointed out that, as far as the research problems were concerned, there were no particular reasons for selecting mothers rather than fathers except for the purely practical factor of a mother's greater availability (cf. Hill 1970, 21). Mothers arguably take a greater share of the burden of rearing children, but clearly it will be necessary to extend the studies to fathers as well.

There were three reasons for selecting mothers who had a child in the first class (the children being 7 - 8 years of age): (1) The purpose was to guarantee that all the respondents had a certain minimum of experience in child rearing. However, it was not possible to escape the fact that the mothers with older or several children had even more experience. (2) It was easy to find the mothers since their names were in the relatively small and precise official register (the municipal register). (3) It was assumed that the mothers would be more willing to participate in the study if they could see that they belonged to a certain group.

The selection of research communities can be understood as an attempt to find differences between rural and urban mothers and between mothers from different geographical areas.

The selection process for the research communities and the respondents was as follows:

- (1) First, the geographical areas were selected. Central and Southern Finland were known to have different migration flows and, consequently, a variation of many other conditions relevant to the research problems of the present study (see eg. Hakaniemi 1978).
- (2) Secondly, the communities were selected in both regions on the dimension urban - rural. The intention was to select the extreme communities, ie., on the one hand the big towns and, on the other hand, the communities where there was a considerable number of farmers (Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1978).

- (3) In the rural areas the schools and the respondents were selected from the register of the school offices according to the principle that the schools on the outskirts of the communities should be included in the study. As there were only a few pupils in the first classes in these schools, it was necessary to select many small schools (see Appendix 1).
- (4) In the towns the mothers were also found by resorting to the register of the school offices. The sample was obtained by using systematic random sampling. In all areas - both in rural and urban communities - the purpose was to interview thirty mothers.

The research communities and the numbers of the respondents were as follows:

Central Finland	<u>urban</u> : Jyväskylä, 30 mothers
	<u>rural</u> : Pihtipudas, 29 mothers
Southern Finland	<u>urban</u> : Greater Helsinki (Vantaa and Espoo), 30 mothers
	<u>rural</u> : Mäntsälä, 26 mothers

Table 1 presents some details about the research communities. Espoo and Vantaa are separate communities, but they belong to the large Metropolitan region of Finland called Greater Helsinki. Espoo and Vantaa are communities where the population has grown very rapidly during the last two decades. Jyväskylä is the regional capital of Central Finland and is the tenth largest town in Finland with c. 60.000 inhabitants. Mäntsälä and Pihtipudas are rural areas where the degree of urbanization is low (Table 1) and where part of the population earns its living from agriculture and forestry.

Table 1 shows that movement into urban areas is more frequent than movement into rural communities; it is especially high in the communities of Vantaa and Espoo.

The demographic data concerning the respondents are presented later (Section 3.1.; see also Appendix 2).

Table 1. Statistical information about the research communities

	Population of the com- munities <sup>1</sup>	Degree of ur- banization <sup>2</sup>	Industrial structure <sup>3</sup>	Number of pupils <sup>4</sup>	Intercom- munal migration <sup>5</sup>
Jyväskylä	62926	9	036	5297	2891 (1571)
Pihtipudas	6230	2	413	633	113 ( 192)
Espoo	126735	9	027	2205	9593 (3869)
Vantaa	125516	9	036	18270	9673 (4126)
Mäntsälä	10860	3	234	1122	461 ( 401)

- 1) Population in the communities 31.12.1977 (Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1978)
- 2) Indicates portion of urban population to ten per cent accuracy; eg. 0 means 0.0 - 9.9 %, 9 means 90.0 - 100 %. Data are based on the 1970 Population Census. (Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1978)
- 3) The first number indicates the percentages of the economically active population making a living from agriculture and forestry, the second that from industry and the third that from services. Services include commerce and transport. The figures given for the percentage are rounded off with an error margin of ten per cent; eg. 0 means 0.0 - 9.9 %, 1 means 10.0 - 19.9 %, 2 means 20.0 - 29.9 %, etc. (Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1978)
- 4) The numbers indicate pupils at the primary level of the comprehensive school. (Official statistics of Finland, General education, School year 1977/78)
- 5) The first number indicates movement into communities and the second number in the parenthesis movement away from them. (Official statistics of Finland, Population, Vol. II, 1977)

## 2.2. Research methods and collection of data

A number of strategies are open to the researcher in the choice of methods of data collection. Interviews, tests, questionnaires, diaries, recording and projectives have all been suggested. In making a choice the present author was guided by her conception of man and her conviction based on that conception. The purpose was to look at some aspects of child rearing through the eyes of ordinary mothers, and then to attempt to put their thoughts into a broader theoretical context. The main method chosen was a semi-structured interviewing procedure,

called 'thematic interview'. No illusions are held about the limitations of data gathering through interviews. The many problems and restrictions have been described in a study of this method (Hirsjärvi & Hurme 1980). Nevertheless, the technique of interview is, obviously, the best way at the present time to gather relevant material concerning the consciousness of the individual. Moreover, it should be noted that the emphasis was on the kind of interview which allowed the natural and open behaviour of the respondent.

The interviews were conducted in spring 1978 by the author. The mothers were interviewed in their own homes and the interviews lasted about two hours. An initial contact with the mothers, which was either by phone or at the home, was made in order to inform the mothers of the purpose and importance of the study and to guarantee that the interviews would be confidential. During this first contact the specific time for the later meeting was agreed upon. The mothers were told the estimated interview time. Only five refusals were encountered. The interviews were tape-recorded and afterwards coded according to the procedure presented in the next section (2.4.).

As the term 'thematic interview' implies, the interview was carried out as a conversation on chosen themes. The interviewer was to probe for additional clarification when the respondent gave uselessly general or vague answers or when she heard something that she did not understand. At the beginning of the interview questions were asked about matters like the number of children, the type of residence, the work of the family members, child care arrangements and the mother's living conditions and experiences of her own childhood. The conversation then focused on themes which required more reflective answers. In other words, there were many questions, especially in relation to the problems of the present study, which could not be answered without a great deal of thought. In the light of these facts, it was a relief and a pleasure for the author to discover that most of the mothers really liked to talk, especially about their child rearing and their own life and feelings.

One serious problem was concerned with the measurement of values. It was decided to approach the analysis of an educator's value system in three major ways. Two of these were included in the themes of the interview (see next section), while the third was based on an existing

value-survey and was carried out subsequent to the conversation in the interview situation. This 'hard' method based on an existing value survey by Rokeach (1973) is described below (see also p. 36).

The Value Survey presents respondents with two lists of values, one a list of terminal values and the other a list of instrumental values. Rokeach sees the beliefs defining values as referring either to modes of conduct or to end-states of existence - to means or to ends. The values referring to modes of conduct are termed instrumental values and they encompass such concepts as honesty, love, responsibility, and courage. The values referring to end-states of existence are called terminal values and they include such concepts as freedom, equality, a world at peace, and inner harmony. The two lists were designed to a reasonably comprehensive sample of terminal and instrumental values but they were kept as short as possible. The form in which this task is usually carried out requires each list to be ranked in order of importance from the most important value to the least important value. Hence the procedure provides two hierarchies of value importance, ie. value systems, for each respondent. Each list consists of 18 values, each value accompanied by a short descriptive phrase or definition in parentheses. The values in each list are arranged in alphabetical order.

#### Procedure

The usual instruction to the respondent in the Value Survey is to arrange the values "... in order of importance to YOU, as guiding principles in YOUR life". The respondent then provides a rank order of values, from the most important to the least important. In the present study the mode of presentation of the values was somewhat easier: each value was written on a card (each value was accompanied by a short descriptive phrase or definition in parentheses). Respondents were instructed to study the cards carefully and then to arrange the cards into three groups, first choosing six cards which they deemed to be the most important for them. They were then asked to choose the six cards which they deemed to be less important than the other values on the cards. The mothers were told that a particular value which they ranked low did not mean that it was unimportant to the individual. It was evident that the procedure was ipsative, ie., the importance of each value was

expressed, not in absolute terms, but in relation to the importance of the other values on the cards. The respondents were encouraged to think carefully and they were also told that they were free to change their answers by simply moving the cards. This ranking procedure was easier than the usual method where respondents have to put all the values (2 x 18 values) in order of importance for them. This solution was made on the assumption that respondents would have less difficulty deciding between the values to be ranked in the high or low ranges of importance than between the values to be ranked in the intermediate range. Some evidence for this assumption has been found by Feather (1975), and Rokeach (1973) also argues that respondents rank values at the high and low ends of the scale with considerably more confidence than those ranked in the middle. Feather has pointed out that most respondents find the task of ranking each set of values in order of importance a very difficult one. Therefore, the procedure of the present study was planned in such a way that respondents had to make only rough rankings and the values which did not elicit strong opinions remained unchosen and thus formed the middle group of values. This card procedure has something of a game-like quality to it and it is obviously suitable for investigating values with children, elderly people, and respondents who have had limited education.

### 2.3. Themes of the interview

The concept 'theme' or 'theme-area' refers to the subject matter of the interview. The themes (Figure 5) were used as the starting points for the discussion and can be characterized briefly as follows:

- (1) They are a kind of operational definitions, ie. they link the theoretical phenomena to a concrete, measurable reality.
- (2) They are usually more detailed than the problems of the study. In this respect, however, there may be significant differences between the studies.
- (3) They form a relatively simple list of phrases or statements which can be seen as catchwords.
- (4) They are the subjects which the questions concentrate on in the interview.

Theoretical concepts → Empirical content

Basic starting-point	Elements of educational consciousness	Themes of the interview
		<p>A.1. General conceptions of child rearing</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. View of concept of child rearing</li> <li>2. View of basis of educational activities</li> <li>3. Child rearing traditions               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- significance of the traditions of child rearing</li> <li>- positive and negative aspects of traditions</li> </ul> </li> </ol> <p>A.2. Mother self as an educator</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Subjective feelings about child rearing and difficulties experienced</li> <li>2. Possibility and ways of improving as an educator</li> </ol> <p>A.3. Educational acts and arguments for them</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Significance of the mother's staying at home/going to work for the child's development</li> <li>2. Conceptions of the significance of control in the child rearing               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Punishment and arguments for it                   <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- quality of punishment</li> <li>- arguments for punishment</li> <li>- arguments against corporal punishment</li> </ul> </li> <li>Watching of TV and arguments for its restrictions                   <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- selective watching of TV</li> <li>- restrictions on watching TV</li> <li>- arguments for restrictions</li> </ul> </li> <li>Rules                   <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- rules concerning children</li> </ul> </li> </ul> </li> <li>3. Conceptions of the significance of some intellectual stimuli for the child's development               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Reading to the child and arguments for it                   <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- conceptions of importance of reading</li> <li>- arguments for the significance of reading</li> </ul> </li> <li>Telling fairy tales to the child and arguments for it                   <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- conceptions of importance of fairy tales</li> </ul> </li> </ul> </li> </ol>
	<p>A</p> <p>CONSCIOUSNESS OF SELF AS AN EDUCATOR AND SIGNIFICANCE OF QUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL INTERACTION</p>	

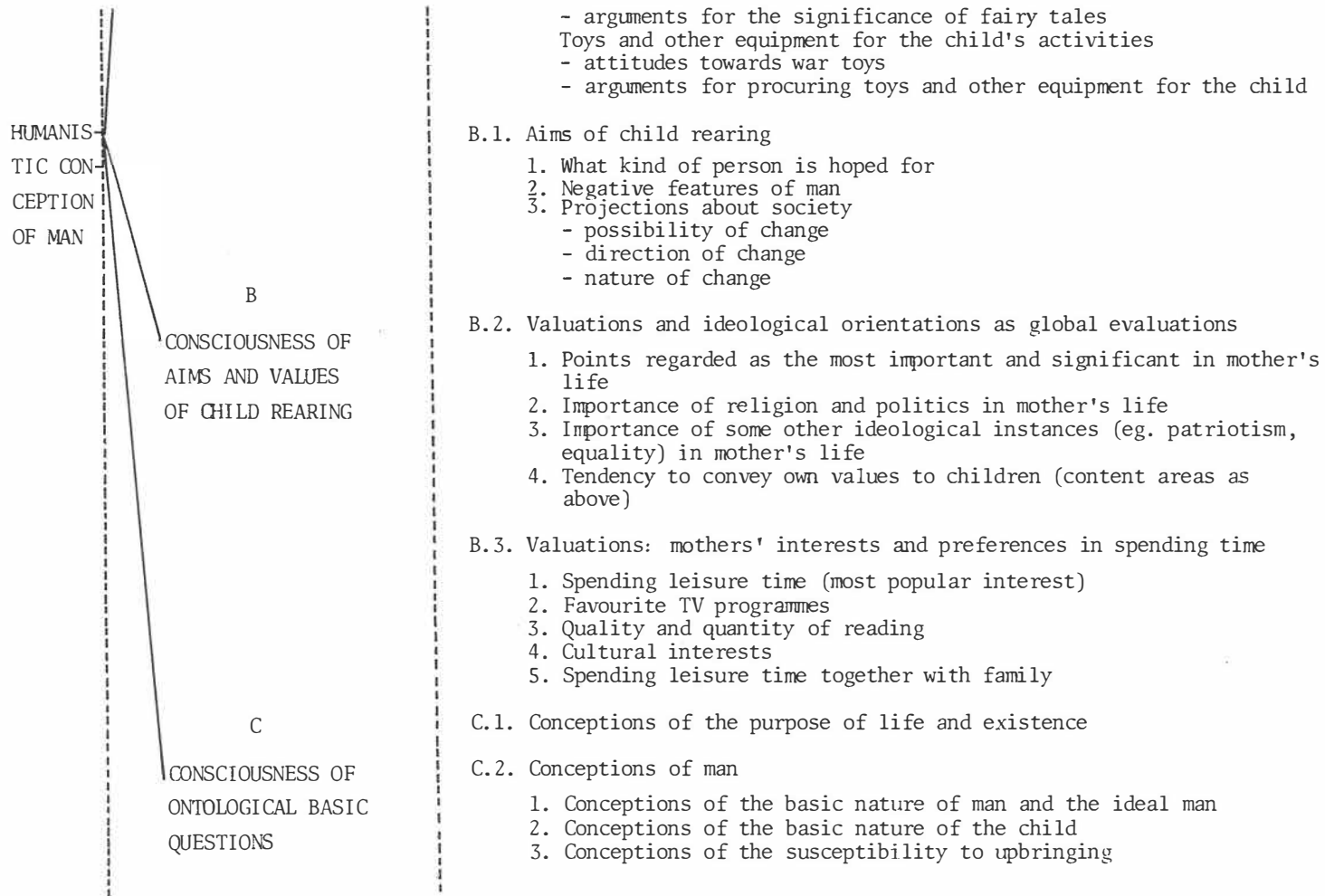


Figure 5. Themes of the interview

The choice of the themes for the interview was closely related to the research problems presented above. Through the choice of themes it was tried to focus attention upon three main areas of educational consciousness, as follows:

- (A) Consciousness of the self as an educator and the significance of the quality of educational (adult-child) interaction.
- (B) Consciousness of aims and values of child rearing.
- (C) Consciousness of ontological basic questions.

Figure 5 presents the interview themes which were anticipated as corresponding to these main categories. In considering the nomenclature for the themes of the present study it can be seen that there were close parallels between many of the themes and the sub-problems of the study. However, the operationalizing of two areas turned out to be complicated, this being reflected in the number of sub-themes in these areas. Another problem was concerned with the choice of those actions (practices) of an educator for which she should give her arguments. It was decided to limit the discussion to the most usual actions of everyday child rearing and to those themes which were most easily communicable. Suggestions for such themes could be obtained by familiarizing oneself with some earlier studies of child rearing (eg. those of Yarrow & al. 1968; Sears & al. 1957; Stolz 1967). These considerations led the present author to include themes like punishment, watching TV, rules for children, reading to the child, telling fairy tales to the child and procuring toys for the child. In addition, arguments for the significance of the mother's staying at home vs. going to work as related to the child's development were considered important as regards the interview.

The themes concerned with values were grouped into two categories. Firstly, it was decided to begin quite directly by asking what a respondent regarded as the most important and significant matter in her life. In this way, values were supposed to be founded upon a vision of how life ought to be lived. The aim was to supplement these data by exploring the emphasis respondents placed on various kinds of value orientations, for instance religious and political orientations.

Secondly, because of the possible objection that it is difficult for many people to talk consciously about their values, it was decided to study such points by analysing the educator's interests and prefer-

ences in spending time. This decision was supported by an idea that values manifest themselves concretely in the pattern of people's activities (eg. Rescher 1969).

A preliminary study, consisting of ten interviews, was carried out in order to verify that the themes would be communicable, and to indicate missed cues and well executed sections.

#### 2.4. Reactions of respondents

After each interview had been carried out notes were made on the place of the interview, and the respondent, in the sense of how interested she was in the conversation themes. On the basis of the analysis of these notes, the respondents were 'typed' into four groups. The attitude of the person interviewed towards the interviewer was also noted. These attitudes were categorized into three groups. The groupings for both these analyses are presented in Table 2.

The respondents were relatively kind and cordial and many of them welcomed the interview as a release from the loneliness of housekeeping and as a chance to talk about the rearing of their children. This generally positive attitude was shown by their relatively intensive involvement in the interview themes. As Table 2 shows some respondents were, however, completely inhibited or otherwise uninterested. In such circumstances the interview possessed a sense of strain and it turned out to be difficult for the interviewer to obtain useful data. The well-known rule that states that the interviewer should not express her own opinions but simply continue asking was quite difficult to follow with these respondents.

When an examination was made of the correlations (Appendix 3) between the respondent's basic attitude and reactions, considered above, and the scales concerning the looks and appearance of the respondent (scale of good taste) and the respondent's attitude towards the children during the interview (scale from severity to tenderness), it was found that the correlation coefficients varied from .11 to .63. The highest correlation indicated that the interest of the mothers in the themes of the interview was strongly connected with their open attitude towards the interviewer.

Table 2. Respondents' reactions to the questions and attitudes towards the interviewer

TYPE		f	%	ATTITUDE		f	%
Scale of involvement ↓	A: the cannot-say-type, either completely inhibited, reserved, or otherwise uninterested	9	8	Scale from reserved to open ↓	A: reserved, cool, stiff	23	20
	B: answered in a formal, correct manner, no particular apparent interest in the matter, no initiative	31	27		B: kind and polite in the usual way	51	44
	C: showed moderate interest, but her answers were typically average, her argument took the usual course	47	41		C: cordial, warm, open, genuine	41	36
	D: very interested, involved, arguing, took a stand and showed initiative	28	24				
N = 115		100		N = 115		100	

## 2.5. Procedure of data analysis

After collecting the data there were more than two hundred and fifty hours of tape-recorded interviews. The procedural steps, which were formulated flexibly and freely during the analysis, can be sketched as follows:

- (1) The tapes were transcribed onto theme cards by assistants. Some parts of the respondents' conversation were done as verbatim transcripts which showed how the respondents received and interpreted the interviewer's questions and what they actually said in response to wording that was expressly designed to provoke extended conversation or to elicit self-conscious activity. More than 3000 theme

cards were collected in this way.

- (2) All the cards were read theme by theme by the present author in order to make sense of the respondents' conversation. An effort was made to extract from the interviews words, phrases and sentences that directly pertained to the investigated phenomenon. Such a procedure may be termed extracting significant statements.
- (3) An effort was also made to spell out the meaning of statements. At this stage in particular the researcher was engaged in something which cannot be precisely delineated, for here she was involved in what can only be called creative insight. This means that she had to make a leap from what the respondents said to what they meant. It was the task of the researcher to achieve a formulation that revealed and illuminated the meanings hidden in the various contexts of the investigated phenomenon.
- (4) It was important to organize the total of formulated meanings into clusters of topics. This meant searching for variations in the meanings and making an effort to outline what the mothers typically said. This in turn led to quantitative evidence concerning the proportions of respondents whose answers fell into meaningfully different categories.
- (5) The categories were then constructed into scales. An effort was made as often as possible to form more 'developed' scales than just a nominal one. In brief, the typical criteria in forming the ascending scales were as follows: to what extent the views held by the mothers were child-centered and how the aspects of child development were emphasized in the mothers' conversation, how humanistic principles like altruism, self-development and humane mental activity were emphasized in the statements, and how counselling and guiding child rearing methods were emphasized in the reports of the mothers.
- (6) The final coding was made by using the categories and the scales formed according to the method described above. Colleagues helped the researcher at this stage by trial coding some of the most central themes of the study (concerning, for example, aims, main values and general conception of child rearing) or considering the order of the steps in the scales. After these considerations

the codings were made and as regards the interview section, altogether 167 variables were included in the study (Appendix 2).

## 2.6. Reliability of classifications

The reliability of the classifications was estimated by calculating the percentage of agreement between two raters. The reliability in this primary classification was satisfactory. The agreement of two raters' independent coding varied between 70.2 - 96.3 %, the average being 88.2 %. In this estimation the variables which consisted of three classes at least were included. If the dichotomous variables were included in the calculation, the degree of agreement was higher. The most difficult variable as regards agreement turned out to be the variable concerning the mother's aims of child rearing. Here, however, the greatest differences between the raters existed at a distance of one class; or, to be more exact, between the two middle classes in the variable. Because disagreement occurred in this central area of the study, one more person was invited to score the statements of aims. The percentage of agreement between one original rater and the new one was somewhat higher (73.0 %) than earlier (70.2 %). All the theme cards and the points which caused disagreement in this area, as well as in other areas, were then analysed and coded again by discussing through on the best solutions.

In the present study the scales and the interpreted steps of the scales were constructed as 'levels'. When 'the levels' or 'the stages' are referred to it is, of course, questionable whether it is justified to consider the levels as 'true' scales.

It turned out that traditional analyses which focus on the qualities of scales (eg. Guttman scale criteria) were not appropriate for the present data. In this study an effort was made to apply another scaling procedure, termed 'a scale for development processes' (Leik & Matthews 1968). It is a procedure which allows individuals to drop traits on one side of the scale pattern as they acquire traits on the other side. There is also an assumption that the acquisition of traits and the dropping of traits occurs in the same ordered sequence. It was difficult to use these terms in the present study. Accordingly the verb

'endorse' was used although the respondents had produced 'the items', ie. produced the answers, spontaneously themselves. In addition, the various 'levels' in the present study can be understood as items in the general terminology of scales.

An attempt was made to develop criteria for assessing the extent to which data are (1) not distributed by chance, and (2) accurately predicted by the perfect scale pattern. Leik & Matthews (1968, 65) have stated that "it should be noted that, contrary to the Guttman type of scale, the number of items endorsed, ie. the number of traits in a given stage, will not indicate which items have been endorsed, even in a perfect scale". The calculation of the scalability according to the scaling procedure mentioned above is presented in Appendix 4. It should be noticed, however, that this procedure, although it shows a certain favourable outcome here - a high scalability as well as statistical significance - best functions as an interesting forerunner of future studies.

As to the reliability of the value survey of Rokeach, the test-retest reliability, both at the level of the value system and in regard to single values, was analysed in several earlier value studies (eg. Rokeach 1973; Feather 1975). In the first case the test-retest reliability coefficient showed how stable the value system tends to be over time. Feather (1975) reported that for a five-week interval the median reliability was .74 for the terminal and .70 for the instrumental values. Rokeach (1973) has reported similar results. The reliability coefficients were lower when the time interval was increased to 2,5 years. The median reliability was .60 for the terminal value systems and .51 for the instrumental value systems. The test-retest reliability coefficients for single values showed that for the five-week interval the reliabilities ranged from .40 (for wisdom) to .87 (for salvation) with regard to the terminal values, with a median of .63. For the instrumental values the reliability coefficients ranged from .37 (for capable and responsible) to .76 (for imaginative), with a median of .56. Therefore, reliabilities for terminal values and for terminal value systems were generally slightly higher than those for instrumental values and for the instrumental value system. One possible reason for this, as Rokeach (1973, 34) suggests, is that terminal values may be learned earlier than instrumental values and thus become stabilized at an earlier age.

### 3. Results

#### 3.1. Roots and living conditions

##### 3.1.1. Present and childhood place of residence

The main emphasis of the present study is on the analysis of the individual's set of conceptions and consciousness. Such an analysis cannot be divorced from the concrete circumstances in which the subjects of the study lived. The interview contained a section which dealt with the mother's own childhood, home background and places of residence. This survey of the past was a search for 'roots'. Most of the interviewees (81 %) had spent their childhood in the countryside. The results concerning place of residence are presented in Table 3. Childhood place of residence refers here to the principal place of residence during school age.

Table 3. Present and childhood place of residence (%)

place of residence		same municipality	same province	different province	
Jyväskylä		25	43	32	100
Pihtipudas		73	17	10	100
Greater Helsinki	Vantaa	21	00	79	100
	Espoo	33	7	60	100
Mäntsälä		8	13	79	100

The subjects living in the Province of Central Finland (Jyväskylä and Pihtipudas) came largely from the same municipality or from that same province. Most of the mothers interviewed at Pihtipudas (75 %) had lived all their lives in the same area. On the other hand, the results from southern Finland followed the general trend, according to which most migration is from the country into towns or other population centres, a phenomenon often called "flight from the country" (Hakamäki 1978). Figure 6 illustrates this trend.

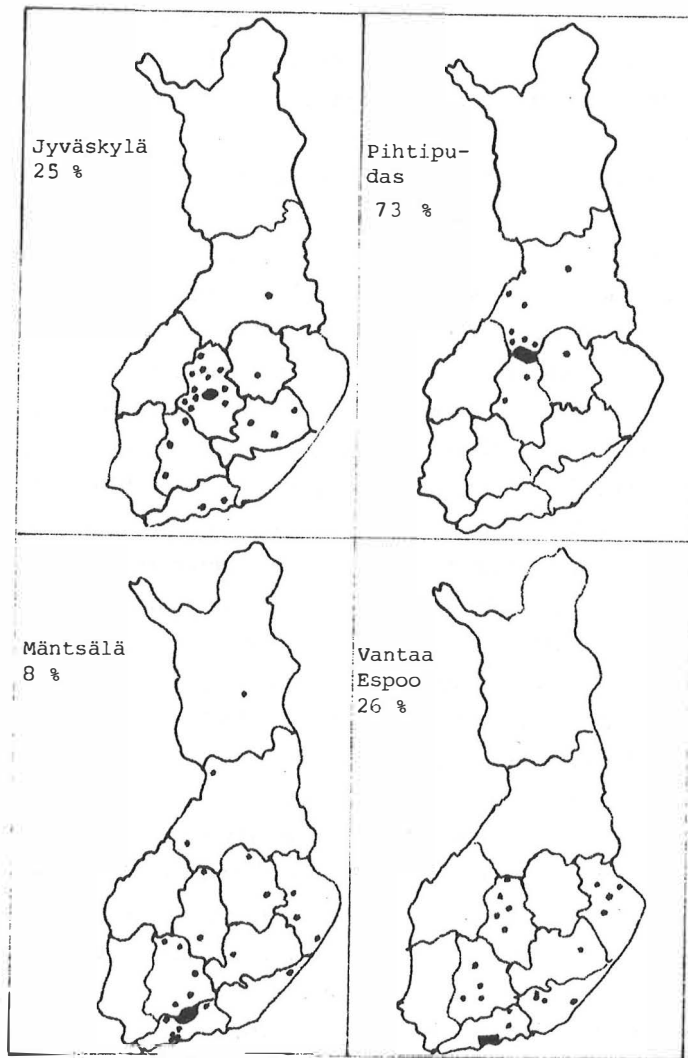


Figure 6. Sampled municipalities and the places of origin of interviewees. The proportions of the sampled municipalities as places of origin are indicated in terms of percentages. One dot denotes one interviewee.

The subjects in Mäntsälä had been relatively most often uprooted from their childhood environment. Housing and employment are necessities of life and they often lie behind migration. In the present data migration to southern Finland had usually taken place when the subject

was young (below 20). The reason for migration was the search for a job, and marriage had relatively quickly tied the person to the new area. There were, however, many short distance moves (within the same province).

Changes due to movement can be described with objective criteria but also as subjective experiences. A change of domicile causes changes in the individual's living standard and quality of life. A change in living standard and its components may enhance happiness when the individual feels pleasure and satisfaction on account of the improvement in external and material conditions. On the other hand, some negative consequences are possible. A powerful structural change in society, and especially migration, disrupts human relations and bonds. An individual who has moved from the country to an apartment block in town may find it difficult to establish contact with neighbours. Dialect alone can be a factor contributing to isolation. From the point of view of child rearing it is important to recognize that different values and life-styles and customs may separate a family from the rest of the population in a new housing area. A newcomer may feel alienation and uncertainty about her values and the values to be transmitted to her children. If attention is paid only to the amount and distance of migration (Table 3, Figure 6), it can be seen that, in the present study, such negative factors affect the mothers living in southern Finland.

The interviewee's living conditions were assessed by means of observation and by asking for some factual information (eg. ownership of house/flat, employment, education, children's day care arrangements). The main results are presented in Appendix 2.

The average number of children was 2.6. One-child families constituted 14 % of all families and 20 % of the families had 4 or more children. Two interviewees had 8 children, which was the largest number in the present study. There were 11 (10 %) sole supporters (divorcees and widows).

With regard to education the results were as follows: 70 % of the mothers had completed compulsory basic education (9 years) only and 17 % had taken the matriculation examination. Only 7 % of the respondents had a university degree.

At the time of the interview 83 % of the mothers were working (including work carried out at home but excluding housework). 49 % of the

mothers worked outside the home and 21 % worked on the farm (mainly cattlefarming). Some mothers worked at home as child minders or in various types of secretarial work.

The amount of cultivated land and cattle owned by the farming families are presented in Appendix 2 (variables 22 and 23). There were 10 large-scale farmers (cultivated land > 20 hectares or large herd of beef cattle or > 14 milk cows).

### 3.1.2. Intercorrelations and the factor structure of living conditions

One of the main problem areas of the present study dealt with the relations between an individual's educational consciousness and her living conditions. In order to facilitate this later analysis the factorization of the variables of living conditions was considered useful. The purpose was to reduce the number of these variables. Prior to the factor analysis an inspection of the intercorrelations was necessary for the selection of the variables to be rotated. On the basis of this inspection a quick summary of the most important connections can be presented here. This illustration widens the picture of the families included in the present study.

The intercorrelations between the variables of living conditions are presented in Appendix 6. The correlations indicated certain facts which may be considered obvious, such as the mother's age correlating significantly with the number of children (.45,  $p < .001$ ), and that the number of children in a family is larger in the country than in town. The number of siblings in the mother's home correlated significantly with the number of her own children ( $p < .01$ ). It also appeared that, especially in the country, the household also included relatives, usually grandparents. The children's day care arrangements were related to rural living and 'extended families'. In the country, the children's day care and minding were arranged on a more stable basis than in town.

The variables that described the mother's education and her and her husband's occupation (occupational prestige) correlated significantly (.49 - .67). A short education and low occupational status were related to an individual's childhood place of residence (roots and rural living) and significantly related to present housing conditions in that the

smallness and poor condition of the living quarters were related to a short education and low occupational status. The correlations between the husband's occupation and the size of flat/house, the condition of flat/house and the general appearance of the interior were highest (.48, .39, .55 respectively).

The factor analysis was performed by the principal axis method and the rotation by the varimax-method. Some single variables were excluded from the factor analysis because of their weak discrimination ability or because the variable did not include all the mothers (eg. that concerning the acreage of cultivated land or the number of cattle). The interpretations were based on a four-factor solution. The rotated factors together explained 50.6 % of the total variance. The contents of the factors are presented in Appendix 7.

The factors obtained in the four-factor rotations were interpreted as follows. Factor I was called the 'socio-economic' factor. The factor explained 18.9 % of the total variance and 37.4 % of the common variance. It was built on two aspects, on the quality of residence and on the parents' occupation and education. In the factor high status included the high-valued occupation of the husband, long education of the mother, the luxurious features and excellent condition of the residence and the rich cultural features of the home. In low socio-economic families, the mother's education was shorter, the occupation of the husband was less valued, and many features of the residence were poorer than in high socio-economic families.

The second factor was interpreted as 'type of domicile'. It represented differences between rural and urban mothers. In rural areas the mothers were on an average older than in urban areas and they had more children than urban mothers. The factor included also the view that in rural areas the families more frequently lived in one-family houses which they owned and which were larger than the residences of urban families. Furthermore, rural families were more often able to provide the child with steady arrangements for day care than urban families. Factor II explained 14.1 % of the total variance and 27.9 % of the common variance.

Factor III was termed 'education of mother'. This factor explained 10.1 % of the total variance and 20.0 % of the common variance. It indicated that urban mothers had longer education than rural mothers.

Many of these urban mothers told the interviewer that they had also spent their childhood in urban areas and they had a few or no siblings. On the other hand, many of the rural mothers had spent their childhood in the countryside and they had many siblings. Educated urban mothers lived relatively often in a residence of their own and the cultural features of their homes were richer than in homes of the less educated rural mothers.

Factor IV had quite a narrow scope. It represented the older mothers (37 - 49 yrs.) who had moved to southern Finland vs. the young mothers (25 - 30 yrs.) of central Finland who had lived in the same community all their lives. The factor was called 'roots of mother'. It explained 7.4 % of the total variance and 14.7 % of the common variance.

### 3.2. Contents and levels of main areas of educational consciousness

#### 3.2.1. The views of self as an educator and the significance of the quality of educational interaction

Undoubtedly the most problematic areas of educational consciousness are faced when mothers are supposed to analyze their own thoughts and feelings. The conception of man adopted for this study led to a consideration of these phenomena.

##### 3.2.1.1. The conceptions of child rearing

As the purpose was to clarify the foundations of child-rearing, it was logical to start by analyzing what the mothers meant by 'child rearing' (Problem A.1.a.). In the course of an interview it turned out to be a wise strategy to wait for the moment when the mother herself first used the term 'child rearing'. It was then possible for the researcher to behave 'naturally', to seize upon the word and to ask 'What does the word child rearing really mean?' or 'What exactly comes to your mind when you hear the word child rearing?' This very difficult question produced a momentary silence. It was sometimes appropriate to give the mother more time by continuing with, for example, 'It is very usual in

this day and age to talk about child rearing, it is a common Finnish word, isn't it - but could you tell me in your own words what it brings to your mind?' By trying to adopt the manner of a sympathetic listener the interviewer seemed to be successful in the main. However, it must be noted here that many mothers hesitated to use this term spontaneously.

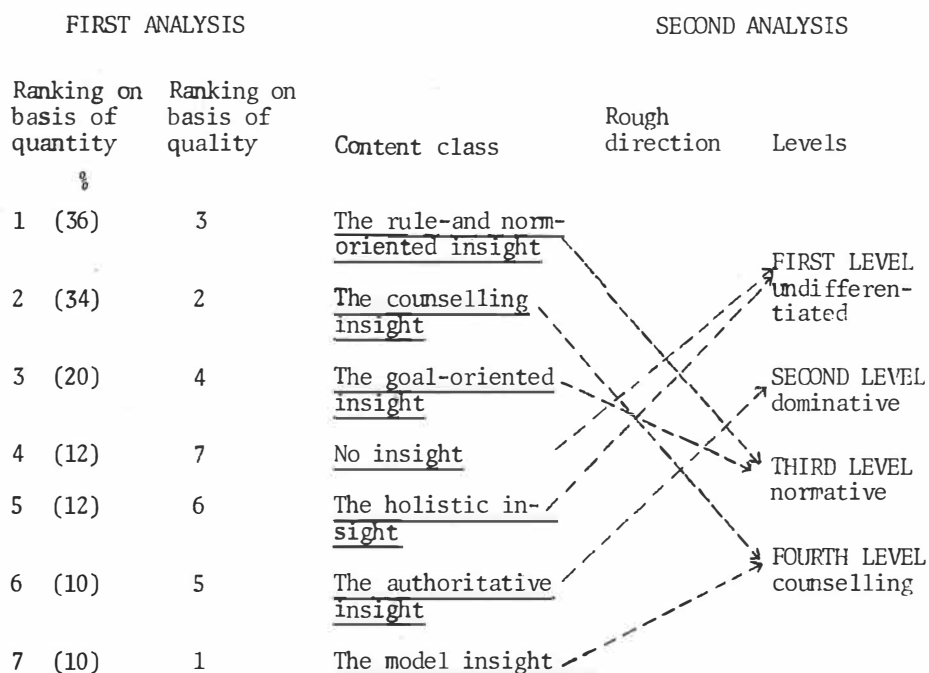
It turned out that there were only a few mothers who could say nothing. Although the purpose of the study was to discover some kind of general picture of what the respondents thought, it nevertheless proved useful to pay attention to the repetition of some single words or groups of words. Such words were 'every-day life', 'to obey', 'to discipline', 'to teach', 'to guide', 'the model', 'manners', 'example'. It was also obvious that there was a tendency that some concepts turned up together. This led to the idea that by analyzing the word chains it would be possible to construct a rough description of the views held by the mothers on child rearing.

The results indicated that many mothers tended to have some idea of what they ought to be doing. This means that most mothers thought of value-judgements (what ought to go on in upbringing) and the results child rearing should produce. Educationalists have called this kind of conception normative (eg. Frankena 1973; Peters 1973b). Frankena has divided the definitions of education into the descriptive-analytical (also called the social science concept of education) and the normative definition. 'Education' has sometimes been defined (eg. McClellan 1976) as a process or as a product, and both of these aspects were also found in the mothers' answers. In fact, this is a similar distinction to that stated by Frankena.

Figure 7 represents the essential categories which emerged in the analysis of the interview answers. 'Ranking on the basis of quantity' means the frequency of the respondents who mentioned the class and 'Ranking on basis of quality' corresponds to the classification made by the researcher. The criteria which were used were presented earlier (in Section 2.4.).

A large proportion of the mothers expressed the conception that the teaching of manners or rules is an essential part of child rearing. Not all the mothers, however, viewed the term positively. Some said that child rearing was a very frightening matter and others saw the term as commonly referring to the dictates of parents or to a strict

pattern. A few mothers also began to tell the interviewer about their feelings of failure as educators.



Definitions for the content classes can be seen in Appendix 2 (variables 39 - 45).

Note: The numbers of persons included in the levels cannot be obtained by calculating simply on the basis of the figure, because respondents often mentioned two or three primary content classes. The arrows in the figure show only the 'highest' level in which the content class can be located.

Figure 7. The formation and elements of levels in the conception of child rearing

The mothers' answers were grouped into four levels as shown in Figure 8. It is important to bear in mind that the upper level may also contain some elements from the lower level(s).

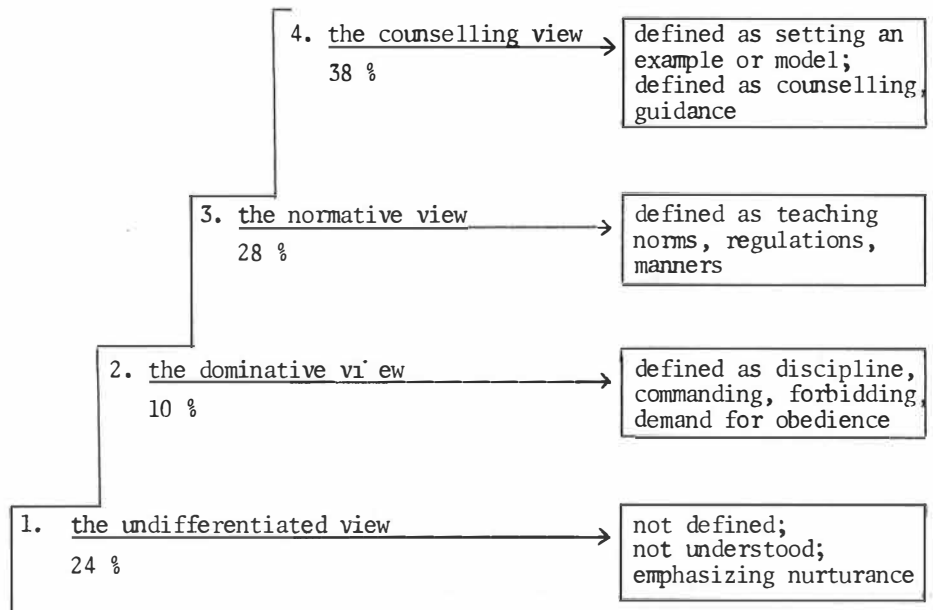


Figure 8. The levels in the conception of child rearing

One fourth (24 %) of the respondents were located at the first level, which was termed 'the undifferentiated view'. As can be seen from the figure there were mothers who were not conscious of this term. The mothers who expressed only some vague or diffuse statements were also included in this category. The emphasis on nurturance, of course, is a very different aspect, but nevertheless also located at this level. Statements referring to the mother's responsibility for providing nurturance for children included such matters as feeding the child, watching over his health, seeing that he received adequate clothes and nursing him when he was sick. The following excerpts<sup>1</sup> illustrate some of the conceptions held by the mothers at this level:

<sup>1</sup> The original Finnish very often contains elements of colloquialism or slang usage. It has not always been possible to render this adequately in the English translation.

Perhaps it is this everyday life, really, all sorts of situations... sorting things out. Just everyday life, nothing more than that. (Age 34, town, 3 children, pharmacist)  
(Ehkä se on lähinnä tätä jokapäiväistä elämää, niitä kyseisiä tilanteita aina...selvittäminen. Ihan arkipäivää, ei sen kummempaa.)

Doesn't it include just about everything: a home and food and that a child has a home and food? (Age 30, town, 3 children, housewife)  
(Eikö siihen kuulu kaikki mitä voi olla, koti ja ruoka ja se, että lapsella on koti ja ruoka.)

Well, isn't it all things a young child requires. That's it, isn't it? You dress them in the morning, make food for them in the morning, make clothes for them, look after the one going to school, see what they are wearing and see if they have done their homework. Got to ask that. Isn't that all it is, that you try to take part in their life. (Age 29, country, 2 children, housewife)  
(No, ihan kaikkea mitä nyt pieneen lapseen kuuluu. Eikö se oo sitä? Laitat niitten päälle aamulla, keität niille ruuan aamulla, tiet vaatteita ja katot sitä, joka kouluun lähtee, että mitä sillä on päällä ja onko läksyt tehty. Kysyä pitää vaikka ei niitten kanssa ookaan enää. Eikö se tämä kaikki oo sitä, että koittas olla niitten mukana siinä.)

It is not so simple at all. Well, you hope they are going to make decent citizens at any rate, not layabouts. (Age 46, city, 3 children, housewife)

(Ei se ookaan niin yksinkertainen. Ni sitä toivoo, että tulee kunnon kansalaisia ainakii, ettei tuu ihan hulttioita.)

The only thing it makes me think of is failure. I feel that any mother, if she looks inside herself, deep down she's uncertain. Because they talk about it so much these days, they talk from so many view points and in so many ways that in the end you get the idea that you can't bring children up anymore. (Age 34, country, 1 child, housewife)  
(Must tuntuu, että se ei tuo mitään muuta mieleen kuin epäonnistumista. Must tuntuu, että jos meni kuka tahansa äiti omaan itteen, se on pohjimiltaan epävarma. Koska siitä puhutaan nykyään niin hirveän paljon, siit puhutaan niin monelt kantilta ja monella eri lailla, et siitä saa pakostakin sen sävyn, että ei enää osaa kasvattaa.)

The second level was termed 'the dominative level'. Here all kinds of authoritative views were emphasized. These mothers (10 %) associated 'child rearing' with statements that referred to discipline, commanding behaviour of the parent and demands for obedience. Relatively strict criteria were used in the ratings. This means that the separate words (eg. discipline, obey) which could be interpreted as authoritative determined the ratings. Typical conceptions were:

I should think that you need enough discipline for the child to know what's right and what's wrong. And they must be polite, and not treat their friends badly. It's a different problem, then, that some children learn it and others don't. Naturally, it's a matter of character. But everybody should be able to bring their children up so that they know what is good and what is bad. (Age 31, country, 2 children, shopkeeper)

(Minä ajattelisin, että kuria pittää olla sen verran, että tietää mikä on oikein ja mikä on väärin. Ja kohtelias täytyy olla, eikä kohtele kaveria väärin. Tietysti se on sitte eri ongelma, että toiset lapset oppii sen ja toiset ei. Se on luonnekysymys tietenkin. Sen verran täytyy jokkaisen osata kasvattaa, että ne tietäs mikä on hyvä ja paha.)

What it brings to my mind is that a child must know the meaning of the word 'no'. I think this is a part of upbringing, when a child knows that when you say 'no' it really means 'no'. (Age 30, country, 3 children, farmer's wife)

(Mulle tulee mieleen, että lapsen täytyy tietää, mitä tarkoittaa ei. Mun mielestä se on osa kasvatusta, kun tosiaan on, että lapsi tietää silloin kun sanotaan ei, että se kanssa tehoaa.)

Some sort of discipline, I suppose, so they grow up to be decent citizens. (Age 31, country, 2 children, shop assistant)

(Kai se on jonkunlaista kurinpitoo, että miten niist saatas sitte tomosia kunnan kansalaisia kasvamaan.)

Your skill to bring up the child. So that it's good for you and the child, so you don't have problems, so there would be no need to tell them off and they'd take notice, and there'd be no need to lose your temper. (Age 33, country, 1 child, housewife)

(Että miten ossaa kasvattaa lapsen. Että sekä lapselle ja itelle ois hyvä, ei mitenkää olis vaikeuksia, ei joutuis komentamaan ja uskos aina kaikki ja ei joutus hermostummaa kovin.)

Let them grow. I don't think of it so consciously all the time. That's what I mean, "let them grow", so I don't bother myself all the time thinking: is this free upbringing or what? I just do it impulsively, if I don't like something left lying around they have to take it away. We have talked about this. Well, it just comes impulsively. (Age 40, town, 2 children, domestic science teacher)

(Antaa kasvaa. Mut en mä sitä niin tietosesti koko ajan. Sitä mä tarkoitan "antaa kasvaa", etten mä koko ajan vaivaa itseäni, että onks tää vapaata kasvatusta. Että mä ihan impulsiivisesti, jos mä tykkään, ettei tota rojua pidetä tossa, niin sä viet sen pois. Ja me ollaan puhuttu nää. Joo ne tulee ihan impulsiivisesti.)

Most of the mothers who discussed obedience or discipline seemed to have some kind of moral starting-point in their minds. A statement like 'The child must learn what is right and wrong' reflects a belief in absolute right. An attempt will be made to consider this assumption in more detail in a later chapter, where punishments and the arguments about them will be covered.

The third level, termed 'the normative view', was relatively clear and understandable. Mothers (28 %) who emphasized the view that child rearing refers to the teaching of manners and rules were included in this group. The manners mentioned by these mothers were table manners, acceptable public behaviour, and manners which help in interpersonal relations. However, it was the most usual to refer globally to manners

or behaviour rules. Mothers said for instance:

For me the word child rearing mainly brings manners and behaviour to mind.  
(Age 31, town, 3 children, occupational therapist)

(Mulle tuo sana kasvatus tuo lähinnä mieleen käytöstapoja ja käyttäytymistä.)

Well, you must have some fixed rules which you live and act by. (Age 32, country, 3 children, waitress)

(Jotakin se on sellasta, että pitää olla jotkut määrättyt säännöt, että niiden puitteissa elää ja on.)

Well, adjustment maybe, learning the manners and rules when you are young. If you live by free upbringing, with no rules, it doesn't work.

(Age 28, town, 2 children, housewife)

(Niin, no, ehkä sopeutumista, pienenä oppimista, tavoille ja sääntöihin. Jos elää sillai niinku vapaa kasvatus, ettei ole mitään sääntöjä, niin ei se sillai.)

I read somewhere that you are not to bring a child up, but create a good environment for growth, or what was the fancy way they said it. I have always thought that you should create as good an environment as possible so they would understand why they can't do this and they must do that. Nice manners, that sort of thing. It's the job of the home. You don't go to school until you are 7. (Age 35, town, 2 children, housewife)

(Mä jostain luin, että lasta ei saa kasvattaa, vaan pitää luoda hyvät kasvuedellytykset vai miten se oli hienosti sanottu. Mä oon aina ajatellu, että antaa mahdollisimman hyvät edellytykset niin että ne ymmärtäs että miks ei saa tehdä noin ja miks pitää tehdä noin. Semmosta että pitää opettaa kauniit tavat. Se on kodin tehtävä. Kouluunhan mennään vasta 7-vuotiaana.)

Well, as far as my own children are concerned I consider it upbringing that I teach them certain manners, table-manners, behaviour, and generally. I also try to make them independent, so they will some day manage in the world without me. And of course manners can also include honesty, respect for others, and getting on with other children as well as possible. (Age 34, town, 3 children, student)

(No, mä ainakin omien lasteni kohdalla kasvatuksena pidän sitä, että mä opetan heille tietyt tavat, pöytätavat, käyttäytymistavat ja yleensäkin. Ja toiseksi yritän tehdä heistä itsenäisiä, että he joku päivä selviävät maailmassa ilman mua. Ja sitten tietysti tapoihin voidaan tavallaan lukea rehellisyys, toisten kunnioittaminen, ja se, että mahdollisimman hyvin sopeutuisivat toisten lasten kanssa.)

At the fourth level, characterized as 'the counselling level', two kinds of statements were associated: (1) statements in which the adult's directive and counselling activity was emphasized, and where the nature of child rearing as interaction emerged, (2) statements which expressed model thinking. This means that the mother considered acting as a model or an example to the child to be the most important feature of child rearing. Only 10 % of the mothers, however, mentioned this last conception. Altogether 38 % of the mothers were included in the fourth level.

The following conceptions illustrate this level:

So you advise and guide them, but mustn't be too strict. You must be diplomatic, so you get where you want by negotiating, not be awfully strict. (Age 27, town, 1 child, railway official)  
(Että sillee ohjaa ja neuvovasti, mutta ei missään tapauksessa kauheen jyrkästi. Täytyy niinku luovia sillee, että neuvottelemalla päästä tavotteeseen, ettei sillee kauhean jyrkästi.)

All sorts of teaching and advice and guidance. (Age 30, country, 3 children, farmer's wife)  
(Kaikennäköstä opettamista ja neuvomista ja ohjaamista.)

Perhaps upbringing is trying to teach your children certain things. So he'd have some sort of basic upbringing, you try to point out to him which things are important in the world, and, with the family, which things are important, and what sort of attitude you must have to other people. You try to advise and guide the child. So he doesn't - I think myself that a child mustn't grow without any control. For the child cannot know things himself before they are explained to him. (Age 30, town, 2 children, nursery worker)

(Ehkä se kasvatusta on sitä, että koittaa opettaa lapselle määrättyjä asioita. Että hän sais jonkinlaisen semmosen peruskasvatuksen elikkä hänelle tuodaan esille se, mitkä asiat ovat maailmassa tärkeitä ja perheen suhteen, mitkä ovat tärkeet asiat ja mitenkä pitää suhtautua toisiin ihmisiin. Tää on nyt jotain semmosta, että koittaa opastaa ja ohjata lasta. Että hän ei ihan - mä oon sitä mieltä, että laps ei ihan vapaasti saa kasvaa. Sillä lapsihan ei itse voi asioita tietää ennenkuin hänelle selitetään ne.)

Isn't it giving advice and... really, they learn the most by example in the end. The parents' example, what you all are at home, the child is outside home, too. You get the first influences at home. (Age 32, town, 2 children, cook)

(Eiköhän se olis vähän ohjeiden antamista ja... ne oikeestaan oppii esimerkeistä kaikkein eniten loppujen lopuks. Vanhempien esimerkit, et kyl-lähän se lapsi on, mitä kotona ollaan, niin sitä se on ulkopuolellakin. Kuitenkin ne kotoa lähtee ne ensimmäiset vaikutteet.)

I think about that a lot. You have to think of that word deep in yourself. Well, to me it means quite simply the channel that exists between me and my children. It goes through by my example to my children. The example always gets there, whatever it is. Example must be essential, since I am the most intimate person to my children, it is the essential thing in the upbringing of our sons. (Age 32, town, 2 children, artist)  
(Läheinen asia. Se täytyy käsittää sisäisesti se sana. No, mulle se merkitsee ihan yksinkertaisesti sitä tietä, mikä on mun ja mun lasten välillä. Se kulkee niinkun mun esimerkin kautta mun lapsiin. Esimerkki menee aina perille, olkoon se minkälainen tahansa. Esimerkin täytyy olla ihan oleellinen, kun mä oon kaikkein läheisin henkilö mun lapsilleni, se on ihan oleellinen asia meidän poikien kasvatuksessa.)

Well, perhaps it is some sort of guidance, helping the child onwards. Advice about ways of life. And of course you ought to give some sort of example yourself. (Age 30, town, 2 children, housewife)  
(No, ehkä se on semmosta ohjaamista, lasta eteenpäin viemällä. Ja neuvoo elämän rytmiin ja tyyliin. Ja itte tietysti pitäis antaa pientä esimerkkiä.)

On the whole, it turned out that authoritative and normative conceptions tended to be associated with each other more frequently than, for example, authoritative and counselling conceptions. The normative level indicated a conforming orientation in child rearing. The mothers defined 'right' behaviour as acting according to the rules and customs and saw their educational activity as an instrument for this purpose. It is a fact that consciousness of acting as a model indicates a somewhat deeper insight into child rearing than many other views and it often has an important influence on the degree to which the parent can be modified or re-educated in his or her role as parent.

Negative rather than positive views seem to reflect a form of confusion. They derive from a confusion of 'is' and 'ought' and actual activity. A mother who feels anxiety in her role tends to connect negative thoughts with the term 'child rearing'.

### 3.2.1.2. The conceptions of the general basis of educational decisions and the importance of tradition in child rearing

It was problematic whether it would be possible to obtain information about the sources of mothers' educational solutions (Problem A.1.b.) by using a relatively direct approach. The question was not 'What are your educational principles?' or 'What are the foundations of your educational activity?' but 'You have managed to bring up many children. Could you tell me now where you have got the advice from - how have you known what the mother must do?' This is an example of a typical question. Some variations existed in the introductory part. It must be admitted that this question was probably one of the most difficult in the present study, but it had to be asked, considering the problem area of the study. It was also a question which made the mother think. Giving the answer demanded self-conscious activity and it could be expected that not all the mothers could answer with sufficient accuracy. Four mothers said that it was too difficult a question for them to answer. In addition, some quite trivial answers were given which indicated that the question was too difficult for the mothers concerned or that they really had no idea about the matter. The main directions of the results obtained are shown in the following scale: (1) the instinctive and emo-

tional basis (38 %), (2) the traditional basis (21 %), (3) hesitant consideration (20 %), (4) some clear principles (12 %), (5) tendency towards interaction (9 %).

Approximately one third of the mothers said how they happened to feel at the moment was decisive or what was 'right' was known instinctively. The mothers' answers are well illustrated by the following:

It sort of depends a lot on the sort of things that I like. The sort of things I think are right. That's how I allow and forbid. I don't think about it beforehand, they just come and go.  
(Kyllä ne ihan niinku pohjautuu, miten mä tykkään. Että mä tykkään, että se on oikein. Että sillä tavalla mä kiellän ja annan. En mä etukäteen tse, ne tulee ihan ja menee.)

You just sort of feel it should be like this, I suppose. It's just a feeling.  
(Kai sitä ite tuntee, että tää asia nyt pitäis olla näin. No, se on tunne.)

It has been an instinctive upbringing, no very clear ideas about how you should bring them up.  
(Se on ollut vaistonvarainen kasvatus, ei ole oikein selvää kantaa, miten pitäisi kasvattaa.)

Some mothers thought of their own childhood. They had found themselves repeating the same mistakes that had occurred in their homes. Mothers saw that their child rearing was based on how they had been brought up themselves. Some said: "I remember what my mother said and advised." These mothers (21 %) were conscious of the traditional basis of their activity. The contents of traditions will be analysed later (pp. 109-115 ).

The cognitive element emerged when some respondents (20 %) said that they tried to consider or think over the best way to act in a certain situation. A few mothers who had the occasional tendency to read books and magazines dealing with education were also included in the same category. In addition, some mothers said that they had learned by experience. These were rather loose expressions. Reference was made to the method of 'trial and error'.

One group (12 %) was found which emphasized certain distinct principles as the starting-point in child rearing. The most typical principles were: (1) consistency in child rearing, (2) like-mindedness of parents, (3) giving reasons for prohibitions as a guiding principle, (4) honesty as a principle, (5) the independence of the child as a guiding principle, (6) considering the future of the child as a guiding

principle, (7) religion as a guiding principle, (8) reward method as a guiding principle. Only three respondents mentioned the religious basis. One emphasized the Bible as a guiding principle and one said she received 'help from above'.

A few mothers stated that their child rearing was based on attempts to solve the problem at hand in the best possible way together with the child. This has been termed a 'tendency towards interaction'. These mothers emphasized discussion or negotiation with the child.

It is probable that the attempt to construct a kind of scale of the above categories was too ambitious. However, the intercorrelations between other scales turned out to be logically 'right'.

#### The importance of tradition in child rearing

Socializing techniques can be divided into two classes: folk techniques are those which are popularly known and communicated and authoritative techniques are those communicated from persons recognized in society as having some special competence in the area of socialization (Turner 1970, 348). The former class is being referred to when 'traditional forces' in Finnish child rearing are analysed. It was stated in the theoretical part of the study that parents' educational activity generally takes place in a routine manner or intuitively (p. 19). It was also argued (p. 19) that such activity is largely guided by habits or tradition. The findings above indicated that some of the mothers were also conscious of the effects of traditions.

It is well known that folk techniques are usually transmitted partly from the parent to the child in the family's life and partly through the advice and help of more experienced adult relatives and friends. Folk techniques are not necessarily completely effective in a traditional setting, although they must have been moderately successful order to persist. They contain a long history:

Several generations are required for the establishment and diffusion of a rather uniform body of folk techniques, so that a young parent receives similar advice from different relatives and friends, and boys and girls from different families see them in use in their families of orientation. (Turner 1970, 348)

But traditions in child rearing do not only mean mere techniques - or the term 'techniques' must be viewed very broadly. They also refer to

the whole atmosphere of the home, the totality of the parent-child interaction, which could continue from one generation to another.

When the respondents were asked how their own mothers' child rearing had affected their views and actions, following results were found. It was typical that the mothers were very sure about their experiences and feelings. One of the main results in this theme area was that the same things aroused positive associations in some mothers and negative ones in others. In practice this means that mothers in their child rearing tried to avoid some manners or procedures that others wanted to maintain.

At least when I was young, it was terribly important to have everything just so at home, and we were taught to do everything properly, so you could show your work to others, too. And I feel that I am trying to teach the same thing to my daughters. I say and try to emphasize to them the same things as my mother. And I sometimes notice that I sort of copy her words, what has been said to me at some time.

(Ainakin siihen aikaan, kun mä olin pieni, oli hirveän tärkeätä, että kaikki oli kunnossa kotona ja opetettiin kaikki tekemään kunnolla, että työ voitiin näyttää muillekin. Ja musta tuntuu, että mä yritän omille tyttärille samalla tavalla. Sanon ja yritän terottaa niille, niin kun mun äiti on minulle itselle sanonut. Ja joskus huomaan, että minä oon ihan niinku kopioimassa hänen sanojaan, mitä minulle on joskus aikoinaan sanottu.)

I have sometimes thought what my mother did in this situation. I do remember being told, by my mother, that is, when I'd ask about something, why it had to be done that way, so she'd say "because I say so, then you'll do it like this". I sometimes get quite scared when I have caught myself saying the same thing. Only goes to show how you remember the bad things better than the good ones.

(Mä oon joskus miettiny, mitä äiti teki tässä asiassa. Sen muistan, että mulle on joskus sanottu, äiti nimenomaan, kun mä oon kysynyt, että mitä varten joku pitää tehdä näin, niin hän sano mulle hyvin usein, että 'kun minä sanon, niin tehdään näin'. Mä oon joskus ihan pelästynyt, kun mä oon huomannu, että mä oon sanonu ihan samalla lailla. Tässä taas nähdään, että huonot asiat muistaa paremmin kuin hyvät.)

In discussing how the experiences in the family in which they grew up affected their own child rearing practices, mothers sometimes referred to the influence of their mothers and sometimes to the influence of their fathers, but often they used general terms such as 'parents' and 'the family'.

As stated above, mothers indicated in their discussions whether experiences during childhood with their own parents had affected them positively or negatively, ie., whether they saw good or bad in those experiences with their own parents, and how far they tried to repeat them or were determined to change them. Although most of the mothers

(85 %) believed in the influence of traditions (experiences in their own family) not all of them could specify the quality and the content of this influence. Over a third (38 %) of the mothers could recognize nothing positive in their childhood which they might transfer to their own child rearing. Moreover, a third (34 %) could not mention any negative aspect. The remaining third showed a tendency toward emphasizing both positive and negative influences.

#### Negative experiences

The distributions of answers which contained negative and positive influences of the respondents' own parents are shown in Appendix 2 (variables 49-50). As regards negative points, the most outstanding experience was concerned with authoritarian control and strictness used by their parents. Almost one half of the mothers talked about the very severe discipline and the strictness of their parents. Corporal punishment had been typical and it had been used in a way which allowed no discussion or questions. Many respondents had been compelled to live under very strict rules, as illustrated by the following statements:

- If you laughed at the table, you had to go in the corner with your hands behind your back.
- When guests came, the children had to be quiet and they were not allowed to go to the table.
- On religious festivals and during the church service you had to be at home (and listen to the church service).
- When the house had been cleaned, you were not allowed to romp.
- You were not allowed to play with other children.
- You were not allowed to go to a dance before confirmation.
- You had to dress exactly as your parents said and make-up was forbidden.

- A girl/eldest child had to take the blame, even if it was undeserved. It is worth noting, however, that the effects of these experiences, especially of corporal punishment, are manifold. As can be seen in Appendix 8 the mothers tended to preserve the continuity of child rearing practices. Therefore, a difference existed between the consciousness of previous experiences and the real practices of mothers, ie. how they brought up their children. Two-thirds of the mothers who had experience of severe corporal punishment used severe or light corporal punishment themselves, whereas about one third of the mothers who were not punished

themselves in such a way mentioned that they used it ( $p < .01$ , Appendix 8). Half of the respondents said that they had sometimes used it (once or more frequently) during their motherhood (Appendix 9; see also Appendix 2, variables 57-59).

The other negative experiences that mothers reported are grouped under the heading emotional coolness. Mothers were conscious of such negative experiences as a lack of love and affection, a lack of supporting and encouraging the child, no intimacy between parents and children, and nothing ever being discussed at home. This is well exemplified by the reply of one mother:

You would always be wondering which things you would dare tell them. Father always remained sort of distant. You would have liked to go sit on his knee, even when you were a bit older, but you did not dare. I have tried in my own family to have that sort of closeness. In my home, not enough attention was paid to saying something nice when something went well.

(Sitä aina ajatteli, että mitä niille uskalsi kertoa. Isä jäi sellaseks kaukaiseks. Sen polvelle ois halunnu mennä istumaan vähän isompainaki, mutta ei uskaltanu. Mä oon yrittäny ite omassa perheessä sitä, että olis läheisyyttä. Kotona ei tarpeeksi kiinnitetty huomiota kiittämiseen, kun jokin meni hyvin.)

This is an example of an experience which had modified a mother's child rearing practices. Mothers did not want their children to suffer as they had in childhood.

Relatively few mothers emphasized other negative experiences. Some mothers talked about the hard work which the child had to do in the home and a few mothers complained that their parents never had time to be with the children.

#### Positive experiences

Positive experiences during childhood also modified the rearing of children by the mothers in this study. These experiences motivated the mothers to try to provide similar experiences for their own children. The experiences of which the mothers were conscious and which they mentioned most often were regularity, norms and certain principles held by their parents. About a third (30 %) of the respondents appreciated these childhood experiences. A typical statement was as follows:

Well, I have been quite grateful that my parents were sort of strict and firm about some things. But, then again, you feel that you have received love. I think there's got to be both, and a sense of security.

I reckon there's got to be rules, or things that must be so and must be done that way.

(No, mä oon ollut ihan kiitolline siitäki, että mun vanhemmat on ollu sellasia ankaria ja täsmällisiä joissaki asioissa. Mutta sitte oon taas saanu semmosta, että tuntee, että sitä on rakkautta saanu. Minä katon sen niin, että molempia pitää olla ja sitte turvallisuuden tunnetta. Minun mielestä pitää olla sellaisia sääntöjä tai asioita, mitkä pitää olla niin ja pitää tehdä niin.)

One mother said:

In looking after young children I take after my mother, in that I try to be firm; the sort of thing like not allowing them to stay up late; I try to build up a regular way of life.

(Pienten lasten hoidossa mä oon siinä tullu äitiini, että mä yritän täsmällisesti elikä just tommonen, että mä en anna lasten valvoo illalla, että mä yritän mahdollisimman säännölliseen elämänrytmiin.)

This category contains the answers which emphasized honesty (eight mothers), religion (five mothers) or social manners (ten mothers). The manners which were mentioned concerned the child's behaviour towards parents (eg. the child should be polite, respect the parents or older persons and she should not interrupt a conversation), behaviour at meal times, and some other restrictions.

Some of the mothers (12 %) regarded discipline and punishment they had experienced as good for them and they wanted to continue the tradition.

A number of mothers talked about the experiences that are grouped under the heading being together, good relations. This category refers to a warm and close relationship between the children and parent. Taking into account the former description of negative experiences (emotional coolness) the links in the chain of the mothers' thinking in this area can now be summarized as follows:

When there had been a lack of expressing affection for a child and of assuring her of love and acceptance, a mother tried to be a better mother in this respect (11 %). When there had been very warm and close relationships between the parents and the child, a mother tried to provide the same kind of experiences for her children (13 %). The emphasis that some mothers placed on these experiences can be illustrated by the following excerpts:

I at any rate had a terrific relationship with my parents. They often cuddled me and caressed me, so that has remained.

(Mulla oli ainaki kauheen hyvät välit omien vanhempien kanssa. Ne usein halas mua ja ne piti hyvänä, ett' tämmönen on jääny.)

Sort of confidential relations, so you can talk. We had this habit of sitting in a circle in the evening, and chatting about all sorts of things to each other. This happened every evening. I'd like that, and, at least so far, we've had it.

(Semmoset luottamukselliset välit, että pystytään puhumaan. Me aina istuttiin iltasella ringissä ja kaikki asiat toimitettiin keskenään. Se oli jokailtane toimitus ihan. Mä toivon sitä kanssa, ja ainaki tähän saakka on syntynyt.)

At home the family spent a lot of time together. The family was a safe place, and it was nice to talk there. I try to do the same now.

(Kotona perhe oli paljon yhdessä. Perhe oli turvallinen paikka, jossa oli mukava puhella. Yritän toteuttaa samaa nykyään.)

... mother might stay up until we came home, and then we'd sit and talk a couple of hours. About everything that had happened. So this has been one of my principles, to have a sort of matey relationship with my own children. To have good contact. Our kids are still so young, of course...

(... äiti saattoi valvotaki siihen asti kun tultiin kotiin ja sen jälkeen istuttiin ja rupateltiin pari tuntia. Näin kaikista asioista, mitä oli tapahtunut. Että siis tän mä oon ottanut yhtenä sellasena kantana, että pääsis niinku omien lastensa kanssa semmisiin kaverillisiin suhteisiin. Että saisi sellasen kivan yhteyden. Tietysti meillä lapset on niin pieniä vielä...)

Sometimes what a mother remembered turned out to be something very concrete:

I have kept some traditions, like this sort of thing for instance: when we still used to go to school on Saturdays, mother did her baking. I do that every Friday now, so that when they come from school, I always have fresh scones.

(Tällaisia traditioita, sellasia mulle on tullu jotain, esimerkiksi tästä. Silloin ku käytiin lauantaina koulua, ni äiti oli aina leiponut. Nyt mä teen joka perjantaina sen, ett' kun pääsee koulusta, ni mulla on aina pullaa.)

To summarize, the results obtained here can be understood as the reflection of an individual's consciousness. In this study it is argued that all parents act under the influence of traditions but some parents are more conscious of the effects than others. The way a mother rears her child has roots in the previous life experiences of the mother, and especially childhood experiences, some of which she can identify and recall. The majority of the mothers in this study believed in the influence of tradition, ie. their childhood experiences, and about two-thirds of the mothers were conscious of some positive or negative or both positive and negative influences of their own parents. The mothers also indicated in their discussions that they remembered bad experiences and consciously strove never to treat their children in a similar way.

The mothers who were conscious of positive experiences also emphasized their conscious wish to emulate their parents in bringing up their own children.

In the light of the results it is now justified to argue that although the child rearing activity of ordinary mothers is largely guided by habit or tradition (cf. p. 19), the fact is that mothers do not obey their habits blindly and that many of them are conscious at least of some part of this tradition.

A fourth of the mothers raised the point about intimacy and the expression of sentiments. Intimacy refers to the invasion of the usual boundaries set in interaction and an exposure of the self in ways which are normally concealed. From the sociological point of view the expression of sentiments can be regarded as a cultural pattern. According to Turner (1970), any cultural pattern is learned in a system of social relationships, with full internalization, so that the pattern becomes a spontaneous and complete form of behaviour, depending on a favorable set of social relationships. In the present study the parents of the respondents had brought about social relationships where the expression of sentiment had been learned. The role of a mother is always a way of coping with some other roles. A mother's role is therefore never learned in isolation, but always in larger systems. The role of the 'relevant other' must be learned in order to learn the role being played. The child learns the parent role in the process of working out his own role. He learns a repertoire of social techniques (eg. child rearing techniques) for dealing with major and minor crises of interpersonal relations.

#### 3.2.1.3. Subjective feelings and difficulties experienced by mothers in child rearing

There are several reasons why a discussion of an educator's feelings and experiences (Problem A.1.c.) is an appropriate way of searching for parents' intentions in child rearing. One important reason is included in the effort to examine an educator's activity from the point of view of understanding. How a mother experiences her educator's role generally, what her ability is to be conscious of her competence in this

role, and finally, how she becomes an object to herself, were seen as important questions in the present study. However, even if it is decided to pay special attention to the difficulties that parents have in child rearing, it is hardly justified to separate particular difficulties from the individual's total life space. In connection with educational difficulties there is ample reason to talk about multicausality. A thorough explication of difficulties would presuppose an analysis of the individual as a whole and the gathering of all the relevant information into an exhaustive account.

#### Subjective feelings concerning child rearing

The fact that a Finnish mother enters a mother's role without having a real competence to carry out its duties was reflected in responses. Preparation for the role of educator is very inadequate by most standards. Almost one half of the mothers (47 %) said that they had experienced child rearing as a generally difficult job. They saw that rearing children is hard work, involving tremendous responsibility and often turning out to be nerve-racking. In addition, almost one fourth of the mothers (24 %) said that rearing children was both difficult and easy, ie. sometimes they felt child rearing to be difficult and sometimes it tended to be easy.

There are, of course, several meanings and aspects in a discussion of difficulties in child rearing. This can clearly be seen in the reports of mothers. Some mothers did not recognize any difficulties. Their discussion indicated that most of them anticipated that they would confront many difficulties only as the child grew older. Obviously these mothers put a very strong interpretation on the word 'difficult'; for instance, for some of them difficulties connotated that children would have serious criminality or drug problems or that the parent would have to seek help in child rearing from individuals outside her family group. It might be supposed that the statement 'there are no difficulties' is a psychologically healthy one, but it is obvious that this definition not only defeats idealism but is also restrictive in reality. As Lopata (1971) has noted, it takes the confidence of at least partial competence and a breadth of perspective for an individual to admit having problems in fulfilling the obligations of a whole complex of changing social relations and social roles.

### Difficulties experienced by mothers

The sources of difficulties which the mothers reported can be classified under four main categories:

- (1) Difficulties due to other educators
- (2) Difficulties due to the child and the results obtained
- (3) Difficulties due to circumstances
- (4) Difficulties due to the educator (mother) herself

With regard to difficulties due to other educators, it was found that mothers emphasized anxiety because relatives had made remarks on upbringing or on the child's behaviour. Some mothers were worried because they believed that other socializing agents negatively affected the behaviour of their children. These other agents included the peer group, grandparents, and school. On the whole, however, relatively few mothers mentioned the effects of other socializing agents. Only a few mothers discussed the influence of the mass media. They had experienced child rearing as difficult because so many kinds of advice are given in the mass media.

Many of the difficulties experienced by mothers were related to daily life and to child behaviour. Problems frequently concerned eating, sleeping, fighting with other children or more generally occasions 'when the children do not obey' or 'when the children do not behave themselves'. 'What to do' is what mothers want to know. It has been found (Nummenmaa 1976) that such problems particularly arise when a child is active, curious, acting on the environment and seeking social contacts. The mothers also worried because the child had his own, strong opinions. Some difficulties were experienced 'because children are so different'.

A number of mothers felt that they did not have the necessary means or favourable conditions in order to act in the way they would like to in matters concerning child rearing. Reference was made relatively often to economic conditions, or lack of time was cited as a cause of difficulty. There are, of course, disadvantages as well as advantages involved in having children. Liljeström (1974) notes that the greatest responsibility in child rearing falls at a period of time when economic resources and experience are at their lowest. Economics point to the financial costs of children being twofold: direct costs and indirect costs. Direct costs are obvious: food, clothing, shelter, medical care, toys and recreation, vacation trips, education, and much else. The

indirect costs of having children may not appear so obviously. According to Scanzoni and Scanzoni (1976), they include 'opportunity loss'. This refers to alternatives which have to be passed by or given up for the sake of the children, eg. the loss of potential family income which often results from the fact that a mother can no longer work.

The lack of time may, of course, just as any of the problems mentioned, be a real problem or merely empty phraseology. It seemed difficult in the interview to follow the advice that vague references in general should be avoided and the matter should be made more specific. The mothers, especially working mothers, worried about their busy lives. They saw child rearing on the whole as difficult because they had a job. Obviously some of these mothers had an overidealized image of the non-working situation and the child rearing of nonworking mothers. Many earlier studies (eg. Hoffman 1963, 1975) have indicated that when the working mother tries to compensate for her employment, she often makes certain implicit judgments about the nonworking situation, and these judgments may be quite inaccurate.

Other sources of difficulties were the mothers' own sentimental responses and feelings of inadequacy as mothers. Almost one third of mothers (28 %) reported such feelings. Many mothers found it difficult to be always patient. Behind this problem there often lies a picture of ideal parents who know how to control their own emotions. Feelings of guilt may arise when the mothers notice that the children 'are getting on their nerves'. Some mothers worried about their incompetence in establishing good relations with the child. It has been discovered in several earlier studies that this problem can be expressed in many ways but the word 'patience' often occurs in problem descriptions. Heath (1977), for instance, has noted that with increasing education more women feel inadequate as mothers, firstly because they are impatient and intolerant and, secondly, because they do not give enough time or care to their children. Heath has termed this the pattern of inadequacies. Feld (1963), however, found that the parents who spend relatively little time with their children (fathers and working mothers) worry about lack of contact or closeness with the children, whereas the parents who are with their children for relatively longer periods worry about their reactions to such constant interaction and feel guilty about their anger or impatience with the child. When the research findings

are compared with some earlier studies (Lopata 1971; Heath 1977; Bigner 1979), and they are summarized, the main sources of an educator's difficulties can be described as in Figure 9.

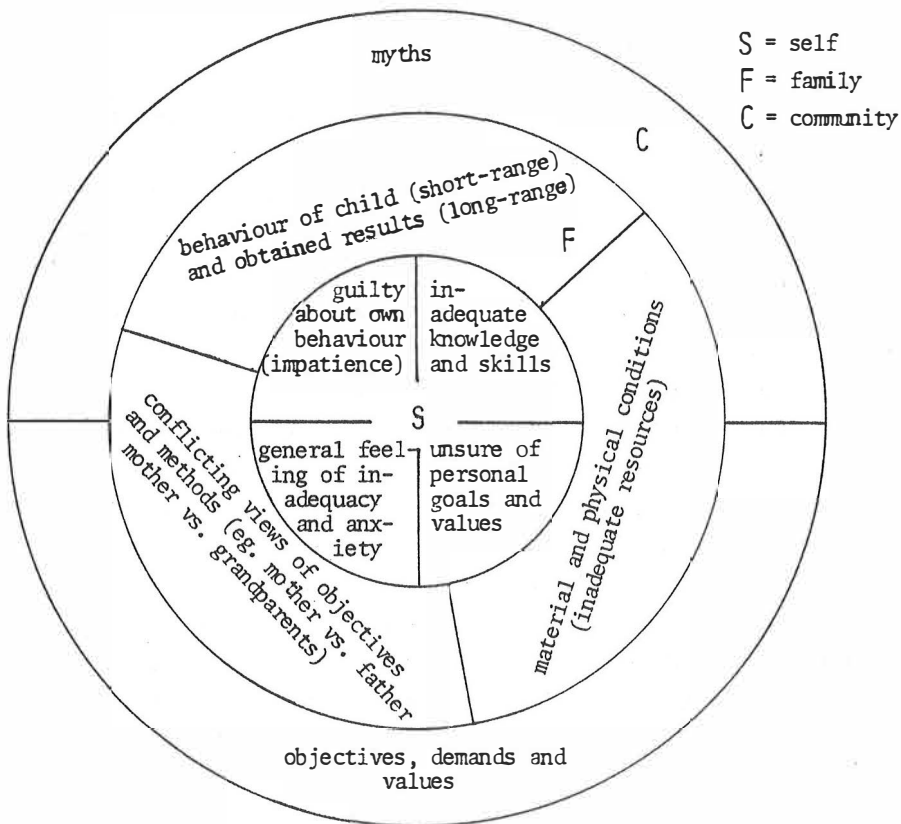


Figure 9. Main sources of a mother's difficulties

In Figure 9 the sources of difficulties are divided into three categories, namely: S: difficulties which primarily tie the mother to herself (eg. her personality, educational knowledge and skills, personal goals and her philosophy of life, feelings and reactions in the child rearing situation), F: difficulties in family life and conditions (eg. living conditions, financial and status level; behaviour, expectations and values of members of the family) and C: difficulties which stem

from the level of the community. Every culture has ideas of the characteristics and functions that are ideal in the social roles of the culture (Veevers 1973; Bigner 1979). These ideas, some of which can be called myths, are often exaggerated notions that act to shape the thoughts, reactions, and behaviour of the individuals who assume these roles. For example, cultural pressure or the myths may cause women to say that they are dissatisfied with domestic jobs rather than being dissatisfied with being a mother (the myths in child rearing and in education have been described by LeMasters 1970 and Combs 1979).

In the present study relatively few mothers saw society's demands, cultural myths or breakdown in traditions as a source of difficulties. Only those mothers who discussed the effects of the mass media can be seen as conscious of these factors. However, child rearing experts frequently pay attention to these factors and emphasize their importance as one source of child rearing difficulties. The causes of the parent's feelings of uncertainty, anxiety and inadequacy are usually sought in the large-scale processes of change in society as a whole - urbanization, industrialization, immigration, migration, social mobility, expert opinion, and mass communication (eg. Brim 1959; LeMasters 1970; Skolnick & Skolnick 1971; Fein & Clarke-Stewart 1973; Allman & Jaffe 1977). On the other hand, it should be noted that when the mothers reported difficulties which concerned their childrens' behaviour or their own behaviour, they also had some beliefs, whether explicit or not, about a desirable situation. And these beliefs may be associated with myths and demands in a society.

#### 3.2.1.4. Views of self-education

As the above results indicated, many of the mothers were conscious of the complexity and difficulties of the various tasks of being a mother. The mother's child rearing may change and her self-consciousness be transformed when she also looks at herself from the point of view of self-education. The present study focused on the problem (Problem A.1.d.) of how a mother is conscious of learning to be 'a good educator'. As there is no formal parent training in Finland every parent must himself or herself find help in parenting skills.

The answers showed that the views about possibilities of improving as an educator can be divided into three categories as follows: (1) Negative attitudes and indifference towards the matter (11 %). This category also included some respondents who could not take a stand on any matter. (2) Conditional positive view (35 %), and (3) Definite positive view (54 %). It is obvious that it is relatively easy for a mother to express the deep conviction that she can educate herself in parenting skills. Notably more conscious activity is demanded, however, when a mother is asked to discuss the ways or methods used in order to raise children in a competent manner.

The main sources of the respondents' self-education, as they saw it themselves, are presented below. The answers were grouped along a scale, according to how 'child-centered orientation' was emphasized in the discussion.

- (1) No clear conception (33 %)
- (2) Experiences and communication (66 %)
- (3) Child-centered orientation (21 %)

A large proportion of the mothers reported that they were helped by experiences and communication. These experiences, however, were described in a relatively global manner. The wide content of the second category above can be further described under three headings: learning by mistakes made; learning by discussions with other parents; and learning from the mass media. It should be noted, however, that very few mothers discussed the influence of literature on their child rearing behaviour. Some mothers were very conscious of books for parents, but they appeared to be somewhat critical of this material or to reject it, or to be uncertain of its usefulness. The materials provided by school were considered as a source of help.

Child-centered orientation included the answers where the emphasis was laid on viewing the world from the child's point of view. These mothers believed that it would be possible to learn by listening to the child, by being with the child and by familiarizing themselves with the child's world. It appeared, however, to be difficult to make a sharp distinction between these views and the answers of the former category, which emphasized learning by mistakes made or through trial and error.

### 3.2.1.5. Interrelation of views and relationship of views to living conditions

The relationships between various content areas constituted a research task (B. p. 78) and the results of this analysis constituted one part of the basis for validating the formal structure of educational consciousness (p. 72). The relations between the phenomena described above were analysed correlatively (Appendix 4 ). Correlation analysis was also used in clarifying the relations between variables describing the respondents' views of themselves as educators and their living conditions (Appendix 10). In interpreting the findings, it should be borne in mind that some variables, because of skewed distributions, did not fulfil all the requirements for parametric methods, but nevertheless, the general trends can be outlined on the basis of these analyses.

The most impressive finding concerned the relation between the conception of child rearing and difficulties experienced in child rearing (.41,  $p < .001$ ). The mothers who possessed the counselling view of child rearing saw the difficulties as mainly due to the educator herself. Difficulties experienced in child rearing correlated significantly with almost all the variables describing general views of child rearing and the mother as an educator. Thus, for instance, a mother who related difficulties to herself also very often saw that the best way of improving an educator's role was to adopt a child-centered orientation. On the other hand, the correlation of the conception of child rearing with the view of ways of improvement was low.

The relations between the various views of the self as an educator and the living conditions of the respondents were generally not very strong. Because the conception of child rearing was related significantly to some variables of living conditions, these connections were analysed in more detail. Some notable differences were found between groups from different research areas (Figure 10). These differences can be briefly summarized as follows: (1) the respondents in Jyväskylä seemed to have the most 'developed' insight (see criteria p. 91) into child rearing, (2) the normative aspects were emphasized strongly by the respondents in Helsinki, and (3) the view of child rearing primarily as nurturance or vague and diffuse conceptions were typical of many (38 %) respondents of Mäntsälä.

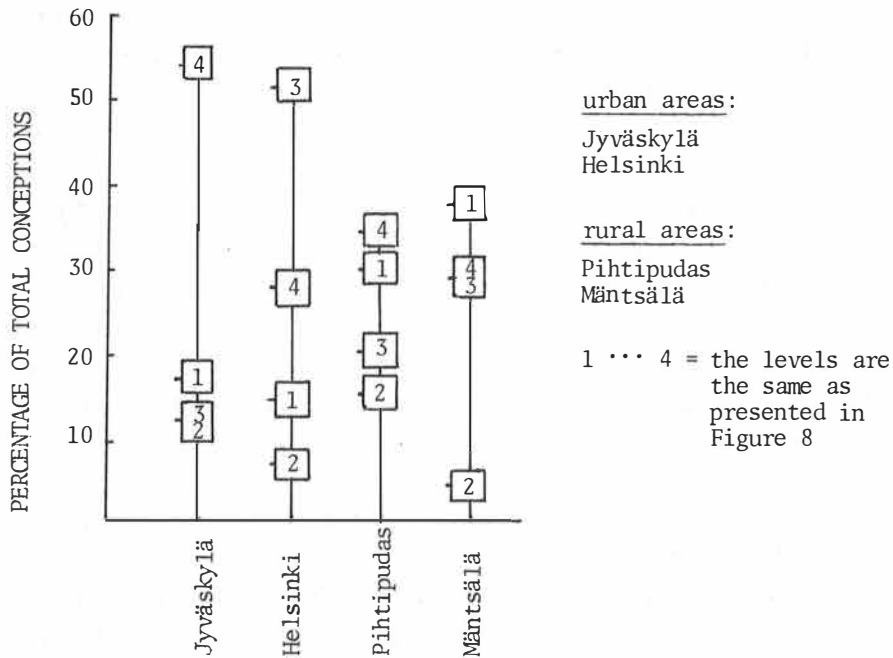


Figure 10. Conception of child rearing in different areas

The results obtained deserve comment. If they are interpreted superficially it could be stated that the findings above (points 1 and 2) did not support the general assumptions and state of knowledge with regard to the values and norms in urban communities. According to sociologists (eg. Allardt 1964), the pressure toward conformity should be relatively stronger in rural than in urban communities. In addition, it has been mentioned (eg. Olkinuora 1974) that relatively rigid, affective and authoritarian attitudes exist towards many human actions in rural areas. However, it might be more appropriate to regard the findings here as more complex. Strictly speaking, the question now is not what a parent really wanted to achieve by her child rearing activity but how she understood the given term in a certain situation. In many cases these aspects were connected, as has been shown. It should be seen that a kind of 'language game' is under consideration here, with a situation similar to one expressed in a sentence of Wittgenstein: 'We talk, we utter words, and only later get a picture of their life.'

It was assumed that the mother's level of education should have a strong positive relationship with many areas of educational consciousness, especially with cognitive conceptions. The assumption received slight support. The highest correlation was found between the conception of child rearing and the mother's basic education, where it was positive and significant ( $p < .01$ ). The mother's age correlated negatively ( $p < .05$ ) with this conception, meaning that older respondents had what might be termed a profound insight into the phenomenon.

In order to see more accurately the relationships between the phenomena and some assumedly important background factors they were depicted graphically (Figure 11). One conclusion was evident: a high level of education seemed to be connected with higher levels of the conception of child rearing. Differences found between the rural and urban communities might now be supposed to be due to the differences in the level of education of the respondents. When the effects of the mothers' education were controlled (by excluding the two higher levels of education in the analysis) this assumption received support. On the basis of Figure 12 some results are nevertheless worthy of mention. In the case of young mothers (age 25-30 years) interesting differences were found. One third of these young mothers were 'high' in the present classification and one third 'low'. Almost one half of working mothers and of the mothers who had only one child talked about child rearing as counselling activity.

### 3.2.2. Quality of parent-child interaction: child rearing actions and arguments for them

An attempt has hitherto been made in the present study to elucidate one content area of educational consciousness which concerned relatively general aspects of child rearing. The second basic type of information which was assumed to be valuable (Problem group A.2., p. 77) to the clarification of an educator's consciousness and which was seen as an essential part of the structure of this phenomenon (p. 51) concerned the everyday child rearing practices which mothers used to reach their ends, and especially the arguments they were able to produce for adopting such practices. In this sense it would be possible to refer to the

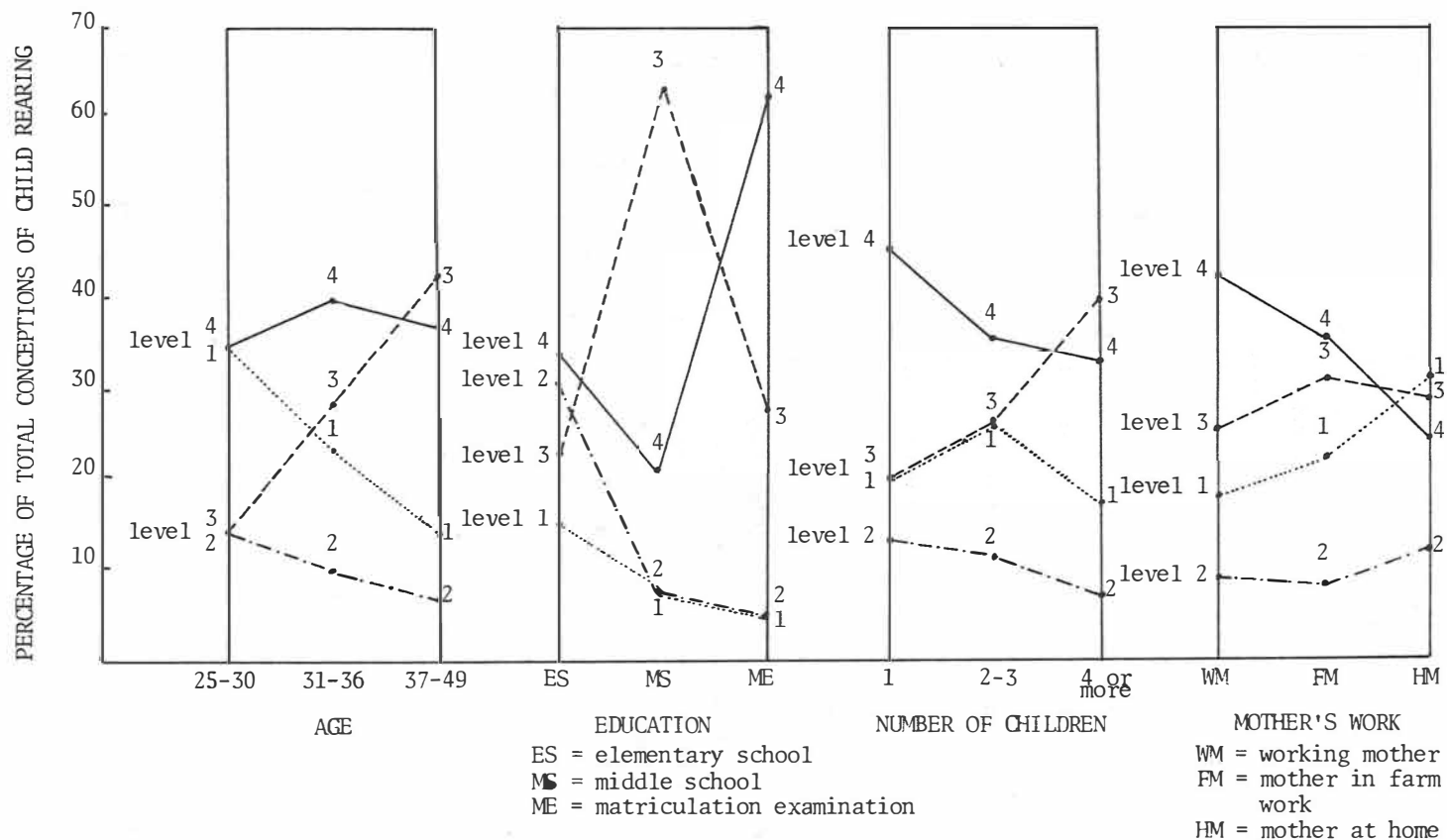


Figure 11. Conception of child rearing in different group  
(according to mother's age, the number of children, education and work)

study of child rearing methods or techniques used by mothers and their conscious recognition of the reasons for using them. In this study, however, it was considered appropriate to use the terms actions and activities (p. 12) instead of using the somewhat vague term 'method'.

The fundamental question in studying consciousness in child rearing is, as was stated in the introductory chapter of this study (p. 5), 'what induces a parent to act in the way she does'? Moreover, it was pointed out that when formulating this question the purpose was not to approach the matter in a causal sense but to discover or to become familiar with the principles, plans, intentions, reasons etc. of those acting as agents.

Before presenting the results of the analysis of mothers' arguments for their various child rearing actions it is necessary to refer to some ideas basic to this section which were presented earlier (pp. 12-13, 68-69). It is likely that 'Why?' questions are central, whether one is seeking for causal connections or asking for justifications for actions and activities. In the former case 'Why?' means simply 'As a result of what cause?' and in the latter case 'Why' means something like 'For what purpose?' or 'With what aim or intention?' (cf. pp. 12-13). Thus, when a parent is asked why she carried out some educational act, the argument may be, for instance, 'Well, parents in this area always act in such a way' or 'My husband/wife told me to do that'. It might be stated that in such cases (in this first sense of 'Why?') a parent is treating herself not as a human being with intentions, but as a sort of psychological case, almost as a physical object. In the second meaning, 'Why?' questions lead to the arguments which are called 'reasons'. Behaviour which is usually named responsible or moral is tied to arguments of a reasoning kind. The action must be carried out for a reason, and not merely carried out unconsciously.

#### 3.2.2.1. Typical arguments concerning control activity

The study of an educator's arguments (Problems A.2.) consisted of some activities and situations in parent-child interaction. The control activity of mothers was chosen as one object area of the present study. Attention was focused on three themes: rules concerning children,

punishment used by mothers and restrictions on watching TV.

The results of this study indicated that the meaning of the word 'rule' as ordinarily used was very unclear. Because it was not the purpose here to investigate the mothers' conceptual understanding, an effort was made to approach the area by using some other terms such as 'obligations' and 'restrictions'. Obviously many manners, duties and behaviour rules are so self-evident in everyday life and such common events that mothers had difficulties to focus on them and be conscious of them. It was also obvious that the actual 'rules' of a family are never very precise, always include exceptions, and may conflict with one another. By referring to some customary practices, such as meal times or housework, a mother could be made to grasp the point of the discussion - and the intention of the researcher. It should be noted, however, that a risk was involved in this conduct for obtaining valid information.

No rules or only one customary practice, usually bedtime, was mentioned by 28 % of the mothers, 2-3 requirements were mentioned by 45 % and upwards of 4 rules by 27 % of the mothers. In this last category were included various rules grouped as follows: (1) rules concerning time (bedtime, mealtimes etc.), (2) manners, (3) duties, and (4) other rules eg. 'sweet-day' (cf. Luolaja 1978, Takala 1979). It was striking how few of the mothers expected a child to participate in tasks in the home. Missing in this study is a serious analysis of the specific restrictive techniques and various obligations mothers use, the occasions that bring them about, the emotional components of such situations, and the clarity and consistency of the rules by which restrictions are imposed and permission is granted. It is obvious that to the degree that analyses of this kind are lacking, phenomena such as 'rules' or 'restrictions' will be too varied and will be difficult to interpret with great accuracy.

The purpose of the study in this connection, however, was to deal with the arguments the mothers had for their child rearing actions. Rules were excluded from this task because of a low degree of consciousness of the respondents in this area. Moreover, it might have been somewhat strange to ask, for instance, 'why is it so important that a child has a certain bedtime?'

TV viewing figured largely in the respondents' families. Nearly one

half of the mothers (44 %) reported that the TV was practically always on. A similar result has been found concerning Finnish families in a study of Pulkkinen (1977, 255). Only 23 % stated that the few programmes watched were selected carefully, for example children's programmes, the news and documentaries. 30 % of the families watched TV occasionally without selection and five families owned no TV set (due to religious conviction). Watching TV was not restricted by 35 % of the families. Thus, a child was free to decide what he wanted to watch. Restrictions were typically of two kinds: (1) Restrictions due to the programmes and (2) Restrictions owing to something other than the programmes (most usually, in order to ensure sufficient sleep or the preparation of homework).

In order to take the discussion of the theme to a deeper level (and to penetrate arguments) the mothers were asked why they restricted the child's watching of TV. About one half of the mothers were included in the category where no arguments were given because of no restrictions or because of external factors, eg. bedtime. The remainder were classified according to arguments as follows:

<u>Type of argument</u>	<u>Examples of typical arguments</u>
BAD INFLUENCE (33 %)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- the child will have nightmares</li> <li>- the child gets excited</li> <li>- the child gets frightened</li> <li>- the child will learn bad things</li> <li>- the child will follow examples</li> </ul>
DEFICIENCY OF THE CHILD'S UNDERSTANDING OR STIMULI FOR THE CHILD'S ACTIVITIES (14 %)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- there are better stimuli than TV</li> <li>- the child does not always perceive correctly what he/she sees</li> <li>- the child's world is different</li> <li>- it is difficult to explain the use of violence to the child</li> </ul>

In the light of these examples a general outline can be obtained of the consciousness of the respondents in a relatively specific area of child rearing. Those mothers who especially emphasized 'bad influences' had a perspective similar to that which has guided major research into the impact of TV, particularly over the past 15 years, namely, the role of different types of TV content in children's social development, and

more recently in their cognitive growth. The respondents whose arguments contained the view that there are better stimuli than TV represented another perspective. From this alternative viewpoint TV was conceptualized not merely as a communicator of content but as a major physical environmental event that potentially alters and reorganizes the allocation of time, the choice of activities, and the social interaction patterns among family members (cf. Pulkkinen 1977, 256; Parke 1978). It might be that this latter view reflects a more mature pedagogical consciousness. One point of interest was that the mothers did not make mention of such effects as TV causing a background noise in the home. A noisy environment has been found to be negatively related to the child's cognitive development (Wachs & al. 1971; Wachs 1976).

The most evident control activity which parents employ is punishment. In the theoretical part of the study this socialization technique was considered as a crucial part of the concept of 'parental power' (Section 3.2.2., Part I). Few topics in the field have generated so much debate in recent years as the impact of punishment on child behaviour. The term 'punishment' refers to a wide range of procedures and tactics available to the socializing agent. In the present study different disciplinary tactics were investigated. The results concerning various forms of punishment have been considered earlier in the context of child rearing traditions (pp. 111-112 and Appendix 8; see also Appendix 2, variables 57-66). It appeared that 62 % of the mothers used corporal punishment to some extent at the time of interview. Altogether 76 % of the mothers had (during their motherhood) used corporal punishment sometimes. Only seven mothers reported that they made no use of the common punishments (severe or light corporal punishment, shouting, loss of privilege) but solved disagreements and problematic situations by discussing them together with the child and by explaining things. Generally it can be argued that corporal punishment is unjustified and alternative techniques are both more humane and more effective.

The arguments stated for corporal punishment by the mothers are presented in Table 4. Several interesting facts emerged from the analysis of the arguments given by the mothers who used corporal punishment. The horizontal structure of arguments (cf. Bem 1970, 11) refers to the chains of arguments (Problem A.2.b.) which were found in the mothers' conception systems. The findings led to the conclusion that arguments

Table 4. Arguments for corporal punishment (number of mentions)

Arguments for punishment:	TYPE OF ARGUMENT				
	Irreso- lution %	Positive aspects %	Egoism & authority %	Impulsi- veness %	Moral reason %
	60 <sup>1</sup>	57	44	40	13
	(38) <sup>2</sup>	(36)	(28)	(25)	( 8)
Horizontal structure of arguments <sup>3</sup> :	Ambivalent structure %	Weak structure %	Relatively strong structure %	Strong structure %	
	26 <sup>1</sup>	26	33	15	
	(16)	(16)	(21)	( 9)	

<sup>1</sup> N = 68 (used corporal punishment)

<sup>2</sup> N = 110

<sup>3</sup> see variable 65 (Appendix 2)

may come in any combination and most frequently there will be multiple arguments tied together. When a mother, for example, is said to have a strong horizontal structure this means that she holds three or more various arguments for corporal punishment (see more details in Appendix 2, variable 65). Thus, this mother derives her belief that 'it is justified to use corporal punishment' from several lines of reasoning. Her belief will only be partially weakened if one of the arguments turns out to be false.

As Table 4 shows, the most common argument was irresolution of the mother, meaning that the mother was at a loss. She used smacking because everything else had failed.

"I think it's the last extreme. I try everything else before that, talking and talking. And I regret it afterwards."

"It's the only way sometimes. I don't see any other way out. I tell him over and over again and it doesn't seem to have any great effect on him."

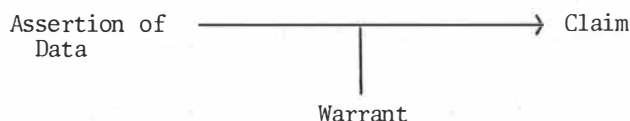
At the beginning these mothers had tried to use 'love-oriented' methods that failed. Thus, punishment was an example of frustration (or even hostility) on the part of the mother in response to the child's

behaviour. It seems relevant to emphasize that these mothers generally disapproved of corporal punishment.

Closely resembling this type of argument was another group of answers labelled impulsiveness. Various nuances were included in this category. A few mothers mentioned that they felt nothing particular, but smacking was like routine. Some stated that smacking was a way of relieving their own temper, not of helping the child. Some mothers were mood-dependent, ie. they said that they were sometimes tired and their nerves were on edge quite frequently. These mothers, for example, relatively often added "It is not good, I know", "I despair sometimes, really I do.", "Well, I don't know. Probably I ought to have tried a good telling-off." It must be noticed, however, that although for many mothers corporal punishment was an impulsive response to conflict or to the child's defiance, given in the heat of the moment, it was also regarded as an acceptable act of child rearing.

The type categorized as egoism and authority was more common than impulsiveness. At this point it is illustrative to present various types of arguments in a summarized form. In this description the basic form of an argument and its modification have been used (Rieke & Sillars 1975, 77):

#### The Basic Form of Argument



The terms can be defined as follows:

**Claim:** The conclusion to the argument. The statement that is advanced for the adherence of others. It may be actually stated or it may be implied. It may be a universal statement or it may be qualified, as seen below.

**Assertion of Data:** Any assertion that an arguer makes about persons, conditions or events, which asserts that data are available to support a claim.

**Warrant:** A statement of general principle that establishes the validity of the claim on the basis of its relationship to the Assertion of Data.

This basic form has been modified in the present study in such a way that instead of a real warrant an unstated warrant is used, ie.

principles which have been left unsaid but which can be logically inferred. The term 'support' means an unstated warrant which makes the Assertion of Data or Warrant more believable.

From the argument categories presented in Table 4 those three which contained several sub-arguments were now analysed. They were: (A) Egoism and authority, (B) Positive aspects and (C) Moral reasons. Figures 12-14 illustrate the various sub-arguments which constituted these categories.

From these illustrations it can be seen how the mothers justified their child rearing actions through arguments. Punishment is a thing which everybody has undergone and about which most mothers hold strong views of their own. It is possible to present some concluding statements which connect these illustrations to the phenomenon of educational consciousness. First, it is obvious that the mothers were able to produce reasons for their child rearing actions. They were to some extent conscious of why they did as they reported although their reasons might be evaluated by other people as 'wrong' or inappropriate. Secondly, many variations existed in the content of consciousness in this specific area of child rearing. Some mothers emphasized the parents' authority, while others reported that they were irresolute in child rearing situations. Thirdly, the important aspect of child rearing actions which has been emphasized repeatedly in this study (pp. 12-13, 68-69, 126) is that actions can be carried out for a reason or as a result of a cause.

It is possible to consider this distinction in the light of the arguments presented above. In a sense it should be noted that the corporal punishment which the respondents of this study said they used always appeared to have as a source some reactions on the part of the child. None of the respondents said that they used corporal punishment without cause or 'for an emergency'. Suspicion fell only on those respondents who used arguments C.4. (The child needs it, Figure 14). Hence, this theme-area was obviously not the best for really indicating the intentions of child rearing actions which would emerge merely on an educator's initiative. When differences, however, existed between the sorts of punishment (corporal or something else), some voluntary elements must be included in the mothers' actions. Thus it can be argued that mothers acted in these situations to some extent freely or intentionally. For

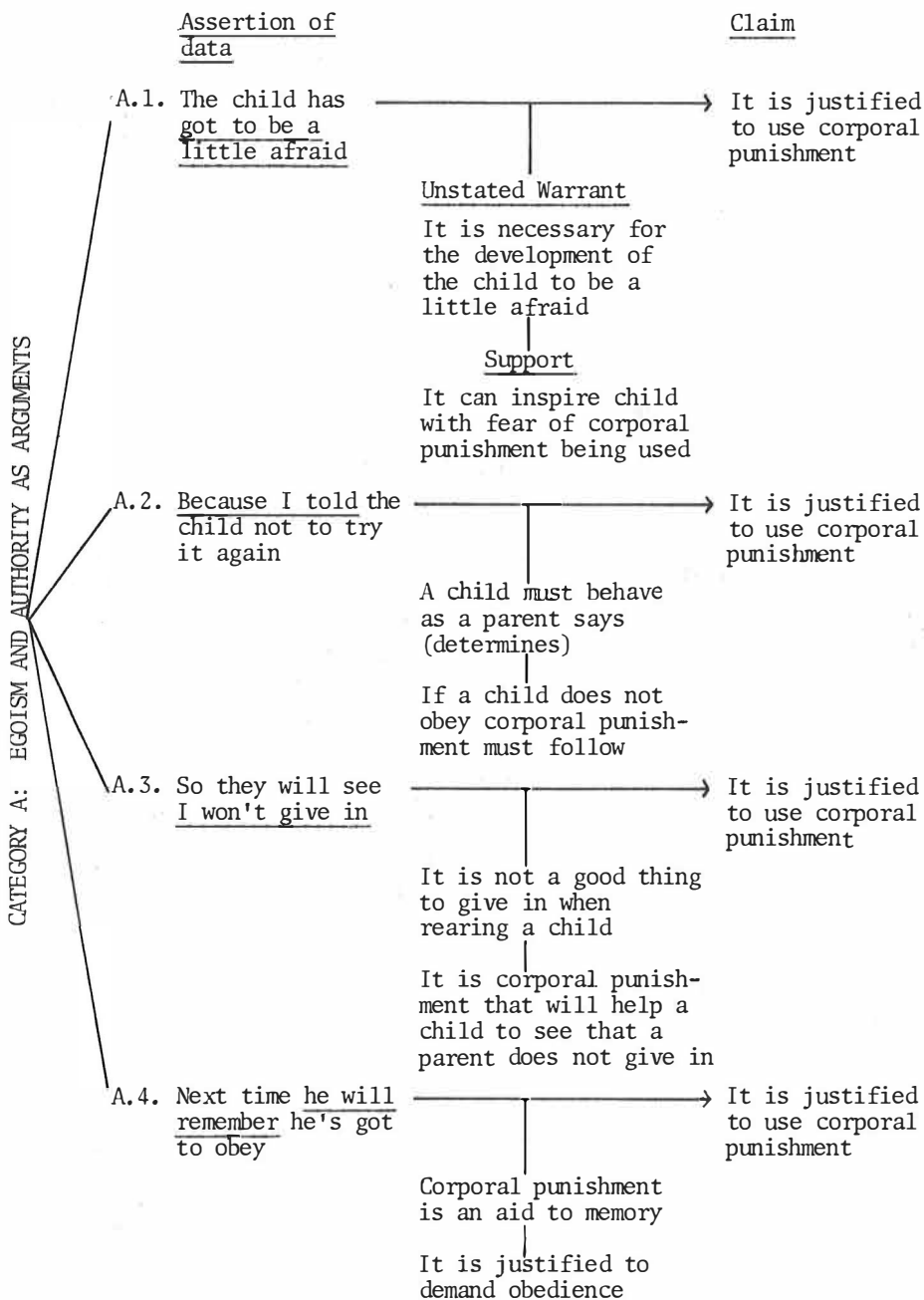


Figure 12. Arguments for corporal punishment (egoism and authority)

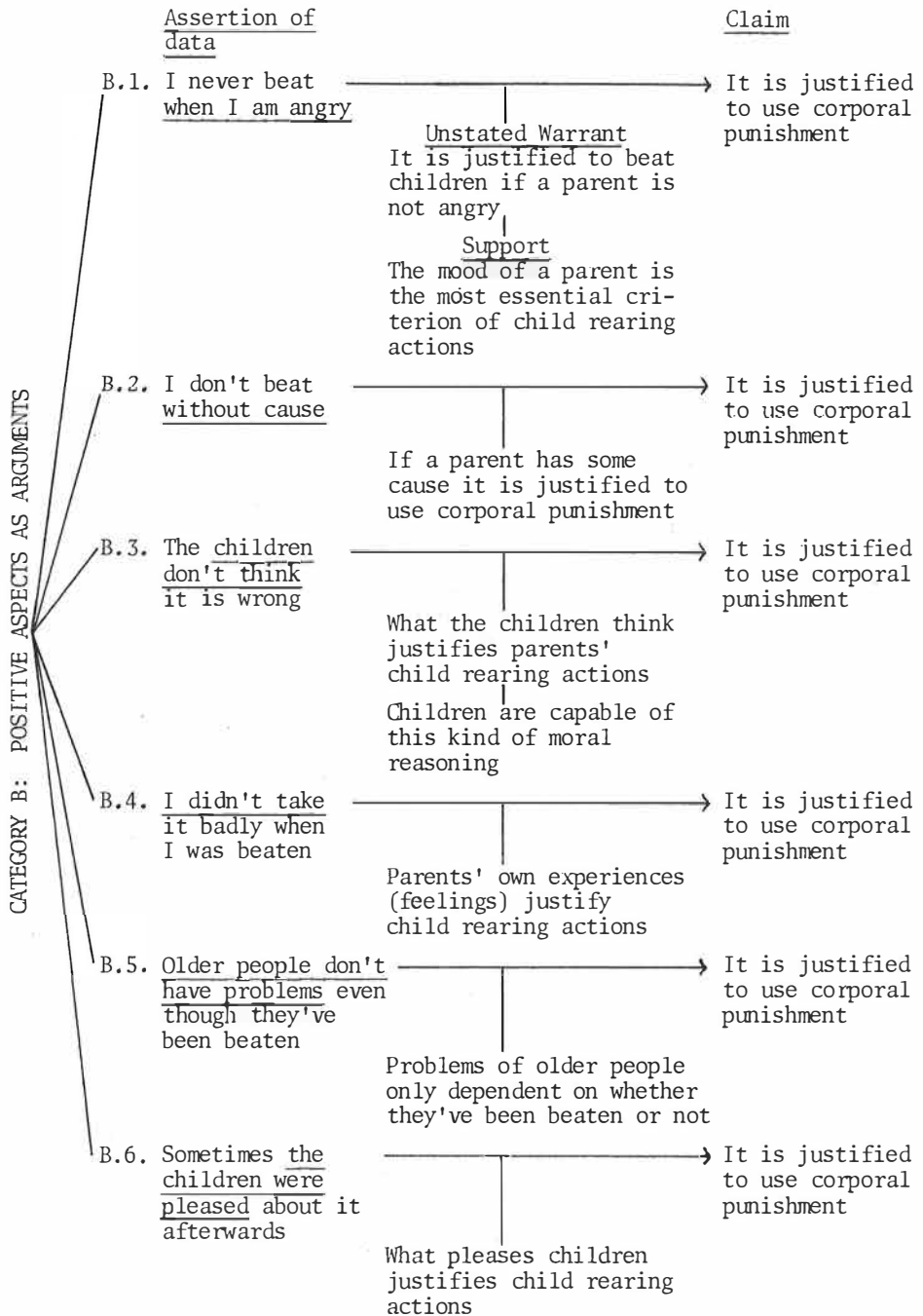


Figure 13. Arguments for corporal punishment (positive aspects)

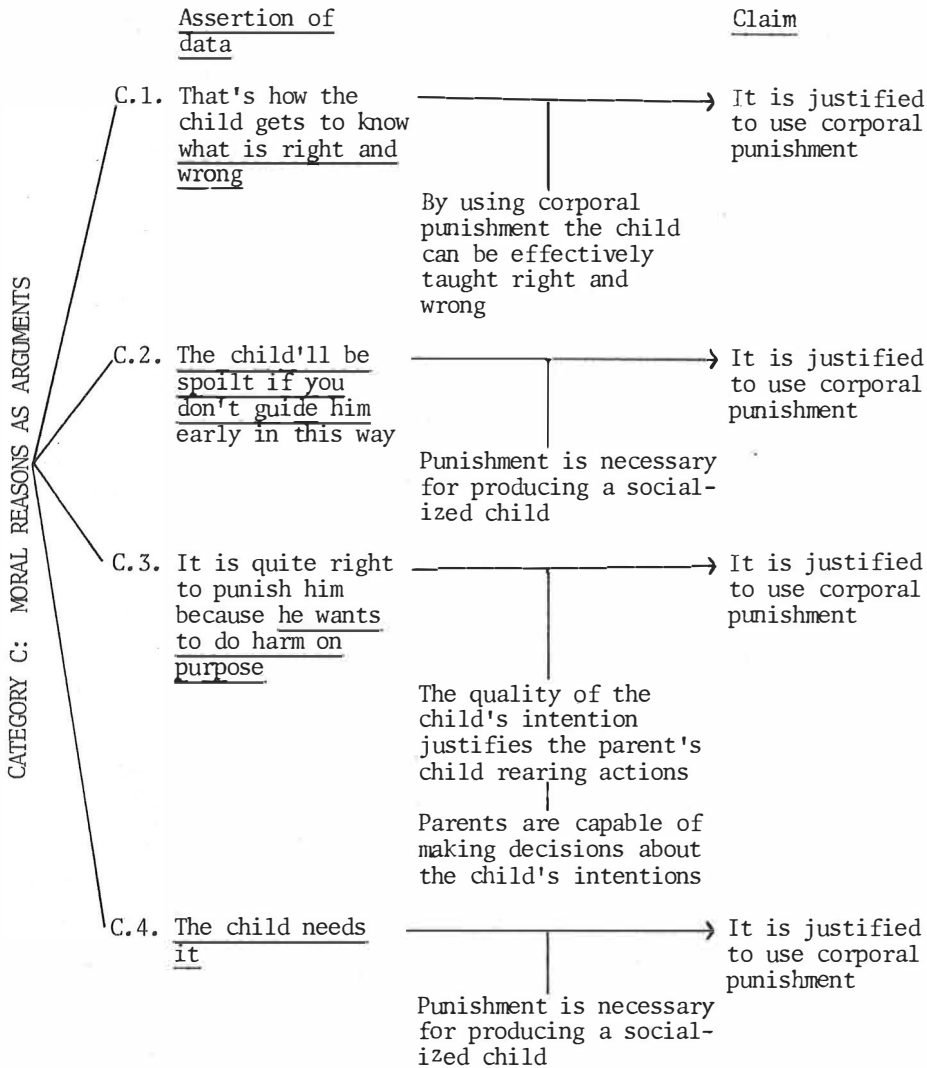


Figure 14. Arguments for corporal punishment (moral reasons)

such reasons it is possible to see the arguments which were termed 'impulsiveness' (Table 4) as an expression of 'raw' feelings of the mothers.

In brief, it can be argued that a moral action in child rearing demands more than a set of feelings. These 'raw' feelings and impulses may motivate actions but they seem to be causes rather than reasons for actions. Hence, the mothers do not 'behave morally', according to the view adopted in this study. It is significant that to feel guilt, as many mothers reported, is in itself no indication of responsibility or morality. Morality begins only when a mother thinks that she ought or ought not to punish a child. Using another terminology, it could be stated that the emergence of an individual's self-control is a necessary condition for moral activity. Similarly, the concept 'constructive activity', which has turned out to be successful in the studies of Pulkkinen (Pulkkinen 1977; Pulkkinen, in press) and which means that an individual has a capacity to evaluate the consequences of her behaviour consciously and to regulate it on this basis while still being able to express needs without causing harm to other people, is parallel to the basic idea of the present study, which emphasizes parents' conscious and responsible activity. 'Constructive activity' would surely be a very useful concept in the further analysis of parents' consciousness and child rearing activity.

The arguments provide an illustration of the content of educational consciousness in as far as an educator's activity is concerned. It is tempting to state that the mothers who were located in the category of impulsiveness show 'low' consciousness in their reports. The interpretation must, however, be much more complicated. If an individual is able to say that she behaves according to her impulses this surely entails a conscious element. It is even likely that in some cases such individuals might be 'more mature' in their consciousness than those respondents who rationalize their actions later. On the basis of the data of the present study there are no reliable means to indicate arguments which were merely rationalizations of the respondents or justifications in a moral sense. It can only be stated that category B especially, 'positive arguments', above probably contains such arguments. For instance arguments B.1. - B.6. (Figure 13) are not in a strict sense reasons for activity but some kind of defences on the part of the mothers.

As to the category 'authority and egoism' the arguments showed (Figure 12) various intentions of the mothers. Many mothers believed in

the authoritarian principle. The intention of the mother may have been to emphasize the power relationship when it appeared to be threatened by sustained resistance or refusal. The mother who conveys the message 'Next time you will remember' or 'I am making sure you pay for what you have done' absolves the child from responsibility for his actions as Newson & Newson (1976, 305) have pointed out: "... the punishing parent thus accepts responsibility for settling the account, and thus the child's conscience is bypassed."

It is worth noting that many mothers certainly had long-term intentions although their discipline may be effective in the short term. The arguments in the moral and authoritative categories above reflect the thought 'What will he be like later if I let him get away with things now?'. Therefore, it is obvious that most mothers in fact shared the aim that the punishment they imposed should result in a socialized child.

#### Arguments against corporal punishment

The study of the arguments against corporal punishment by the respondents (n = 51) who had never used any sort of corporal punishment or had used it only once or twice when the child was younger indicated some significant differences in the content of educational consciousness. From the perspective of causes and reasons (Problem A.2.c.) it was possible to divide the mothers and the answers roughly into two groups. (1) Those who used arguments of the cause type (25 %). They in fact had no objection in principle to the use of corporal punishment. In a more detailed analysis it was shown that they (a) reported practical difficulties as their causes, such as 'you'd have to fetch the cane from outside' or (b) reported external factors such as 'I don't want to beat him with people listening next door', 'my husband doesn't allow it - I could use it myself' or (c) were indifferent about the matter, for example, 'I just don't happen to use it' and (2) Those who used arguments of the reason type (75 %). These mothers reported (a) effects of punishment as arguments against corporal punishment, such as 'corporal punishment makes the child bitter', 'it harms his soul', 'it just causes defiance in him' or (b) general principles as arguments, for example, 'I don't accept violence in principle', 'corporal punishment is not the right way to get over difficulties' or (c) mother's self-examination and the position of the child as arguments. These answers included statements such as 'the

child is weaker than an adult', 'I think that I myself am to blame for difficulties'.

From this analysis it can be seen that the mothers emphasized different reasons for why they did not use corporal punishment. A variety of arguments for disapproving of corporal punishment indicated that it is possible to 'type' the respondents according to a scale where the lowest level of educational consciousness included the arguments which reflected cause-type explanations and where a high consciousness was attributed to those individuals who indicated themselves as capable of taking a broad child-centered insight. The result of this construction (Appendix 2, variable 66) is used in a later analysis in the present study.

#### 3.2.2.2. Typical arguments concerning the enrichment of the intellectual and imaginative development of the child

Based on a conviction that children are highly malleable and that growth and development can be modified extensively through environmental intervention, the parents' supporting, protecting and stimulating roles were seen as constituting a central topic in the present study (Problems A.2.). Parents serve as mediators of the child's environment, for instance, through the organization of physical space and through the selection of the stimuli. How conscious the parents in fact are of the importance of environmental factors and their roles as mediators is very much an open question. The present study focused on three quite specific themes: the mothers' consciousness concerning (1) the quality of toys and arguments for obtaining them, (2) reading to the child and arguments for it, and (3) fairy tales and arguments for them. Some notable findings concerning consciousness in child rearing emerged from these conversations and considerations.

Firstly, the data suggested that if a parent was capable of considering some child rearing practices as important for the development of the child, she could also analyse more accurately the effects of her actions. However, there is no reason to suppose that this conclusion concerned every individual who emphasized the importance of some action. A single example serves as a good illustration of the relationship

between the conception of importance and of the content of importance: while 61 % of the mothers indicated a definite positive view about the importance of an adult's reading to the child, 53 % were able to state some specified developmental influence of this action. It is notable that eight mothers doubted the significance of reading, saying, for instance, 'It's just a waste of time'. One third of the mothers adopted an uncertain positive view: 'maybe it has some bearing' or 'it may have some bearing'.

Secondly, when comparing the arguments concerning reading books, telling fairy tales and the characteristics of toys it was found that it was more difficult for the mothers to analyse the developmental effects of fairy tales than to evaluate the meaning of reading or the properties of the toys. In brief, the developmental aspect was found in the answers given by 42 % of the mothers when discussing the meaning of fairy tales, 53 % when considering the significance of reading books and 68 % when discussing the characteristics of toys and their impact on the child's development. Here again it should be noted that the scope of the mothers' consciousness concerning all such activities was relatively narrow. It seemed that a mother was able to consider one aspect or, in some cases, two different aspects of the developmental effects of such activities. On the basis of these findings it is justified to infer that these activities play an important but underestimated role in mothers' thinking. This underestimated role may simply be the outcome of failing to think abstractly.

Thirdly, the study of arguments indicated that it was highly typical of one group of respondents to mention the child as making them act in the way they do. Thus, the question 'why do you read or tell fairy tales to the child, do you think that it has some significance for the child?' elicited the following answers, typical of this group: 'the child wants to listen to them', 'I read because they ask for it', 'the child looks forward to it', 'I do what the child wants' etc. The proportion of mothers who expressed such arguments varied from 21 % to 35 % depending on the theme. How are these data to be interpreted? In the first place, the data referred to the conviction that adults are socialized into their roles as parents through interaction with children, and children are socialized into adulthood by parents. To some extent, however, the results here emphasized the child's behaviour as a stimulus

that produced some particular response in the mother. Stated simply, this impression of a unidirectional model implies that a child is the initiator of a parent's child rearing actions. Although it is important and, of course, natural and necessary in everyday situations that a parent responds to the needs, challenges and demands produced by the child - ie. shows sensitivity - it is misleading to see such parental behaviour as sufficient for the development of the child. Many parents are passive-reactive rather than active responsible persons who consciously provide the 'right' kinds of experiences for their children.

On the whole, it is plain from these examples that 'Why'-questions about child rearing actions produced two quite different kinds of answers, ie. some explanation or justification in terms of the parent's intentions, aims, purposes and reasons or explanations where emphasis was laid on external factors, here termed causes, and which showed that what a parent does is not done freely, 'in full consciousness'. In other words, it was possible to distinguish between what the mother intended and what merely happened. Many arguments found in this study did not indicate the right sort of disposition, a desirable state of mind on the part of the adult. Many mothers were not disposed in the right way towards child rearing. This means that many actions are carried out spontaneously as circumstances require without any perspective to long-range goals.

### 3.2.2.3. Relationship of arguments to views of self as an educator and to living conditions

The relations of the arguments to the conceptions which described the general views of a mother as an educator can be seen in Table 5. The correlations indicated that educational consciousness does not form a consistent and uniform totality in these content-areas (cf. Takala 1979, 88). The most notable findings can be summarized as follows: (1) The respondents who tended to mention 'irresolution' as an argument for their use of corporal punishment adopted the counselling view of child rearing. (2) The respondents who emphasized moral reasons as arguments recognized difficulties in child rearing and emphasized difficulties due to the educator (mother) herself. (3) The respondents who used

Table 5. Intercorrelations between the arguments and the views of self as an educator

	The views of self as an educator			
	Conception of child rearing (undifferentiated → counselling)	Difficulties in child rearing (no conception → difficulties in relation to self)	Possibility of improving (could not answer → definite positive view)	Ways of improving (no conception → child-centered orientation)
Child rearing arguments				
<u>Punishment:</u>				
- irresolution	.25**			-.21**
- positive aspects			.26**	-.31**
- egoism & authority				
- impulsiveness				
- moral reason		.33***		.22*
- sum of arguments (horizontal structure)			.26**	
- arguments against			.26**	
<u>Restrictions on watching TV</u> (external factors → developmental aspects)	.27**			
<u>Significance of reading</u> (pleasing the child → developmental influence)				
<u>Significance of fairy tales</u> (no conception, → developmental influence) negative view				
<u>Characteristics of toys</u> (child's wishes → developmental aspects)	.35***	.19*		

\*\*\* =  $p < .001$ \*\* =  $p < .01$ \* =  $p < .05$

positive aspects as arguments for corporal punishment had no clear conception of how they could educate themselves in parenting skills. It might be stated that these mothers adopted a very defensive orientation in discussing these matters.

As can easily be seen in Appendix 10 the education of the mother correlated significantly with several arguments which the mothers produced. A longer period of education was related to reason-type arguments and to arguments which contained developmental aspects. The strongest correlation ( $.45, p < .001$ ) was found between the arguments put forward in favour of reading and the basic education of the mother. On the whole, the results indicated that many characteristics of the respondents, eg. the age of the mother, the number of children, were not connected with the actions and the arguments. Experiences of child rearing, with the age of the eldest child functioning as an indicator, were not related to the quality of child rearing actions and the arguments.

### 3.2.3. Aims and values in child rearing

#### 3.2.3.1. Aims of child rearing and projections on society

One central purpose of the present study was to analyse the aims of the mothers (Problem A.3.a.). It is remarkable that there is almost no research describing what Finnish parents seek to achieve through child rearing. Instead, some data can be found on what parents actually do in child rearing, as mentioned in the first part of the study. Parents' questions which do occur, such as 'how can I make the child eat better?', concern means rather than aims and it would obviously be a mistake to interpret such information as if it pertained to the aims of child rearing. Brim (1959) has noted that the tendency to infer parents' aims from data describing their actual child rearing behaviour is a hazardous practice. It is highly probable that different groups have different beliefs about how to reach the same aims, so that inferring from differences in behaviour would be erroneous.

The aims of child rearing can be roughly considered from two aspects, as mentioned above (p. 53). Child rearing is a practice with the function of producing children competent in their role as children, and

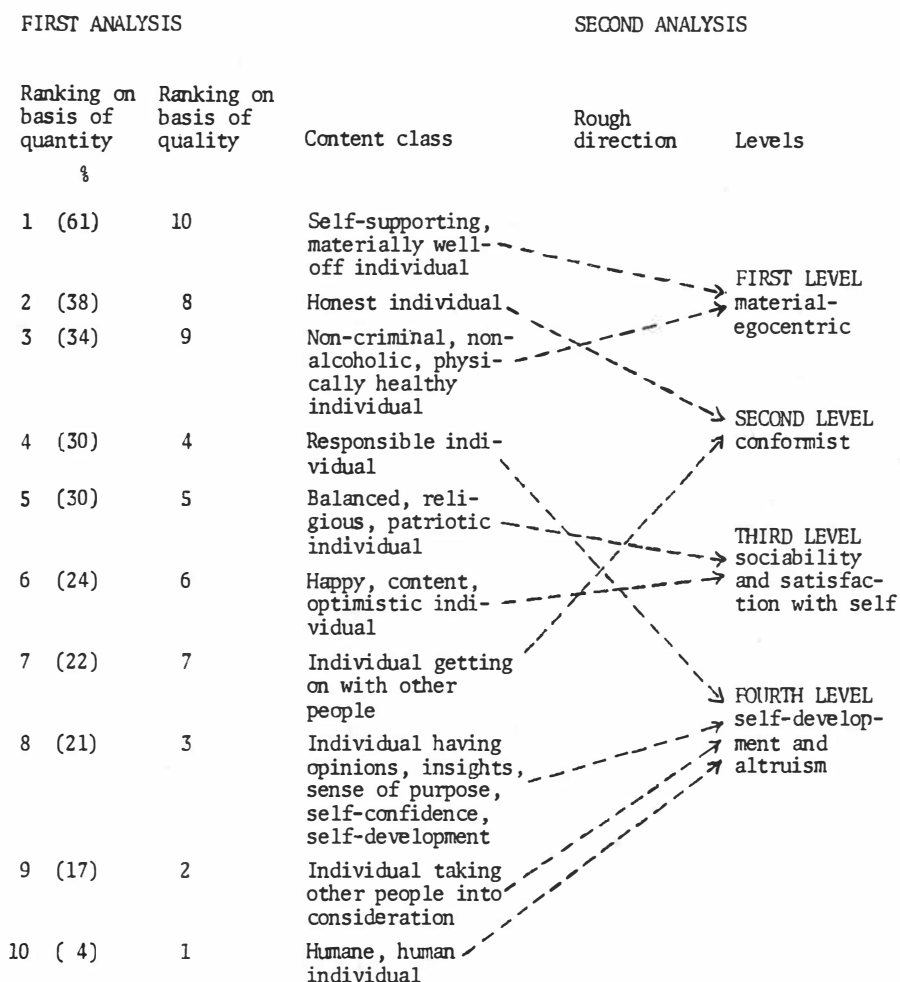
competent in their adult role later. It is this latter aspect with which the following analysis is concerned.

It should be noted that in the preliminary interviews such questions on the part of the interviewer as 'Do you have some aims in your upbringing?' were not successful. The mothers were quite cautious and critical of talking about objectives. They obviously tended to think that by stating the objectives they were placing heavy demands on their children. Moreover, discussion about aims by using relatively abstract terms presupposes a theoretical and conceptual capability obviously possessed by few ordinary parents (cf. Takala 1979, 35). Therefore, the more modest question 'What kind of person do you hope your child to be as an adult?' was chosen. This question did not seem to give rise to the feelings mentioned above.

Figure 15 represents the main categories which emerged in an analysis of the interview answers. In organizing these categories much help was gained from the literature concerning the various 'stages' of intellectual, moral, and emotional development, as well as those more philosophical considerations entered into above (Section 3.2.1., Part I) in respect of the concepts 'being a person', 'happiness' and 'a morally autonomous adult'.

It was found that there seem to be numerous virtues which were grasped as aims. Before describing them, important differences between them should first be distinguished. Partly due to these differences, the concept of 'level' can here be regarded only as a descriptive convenience, not as a concept of great theoretical depth or significance. The more apparent the differences that can be shown, the vaguer and more arbitrary the 'levels' will become.

One obvious difference should be noted at this point: some statements existed which were motives and some which were character traits. In some critical commentaries concerned with the well-known theories of moral development (eg. Kohlberg 1971) this same difference and associated problems have been emphasized in developing 'stages'. To put it briefly, the mothers' aims in child rearing consisted of distinct classes of virtues as follows: (1) highly specific virtues, such as physical health, non-criminality and honesty, which are connected with specific types of acts, and which are not motives, (2) virtues, such as 'individual taking other people into consideration', which are



See Figure 7 for an explanation of the method of counting

Figure 15. The formation and elements of levels in child rearing aims

also motives for action, and (3) virtues of a higher order, such as self-confidence, sense of purpose, courage, self-control, and the like, which are exercised in the face of counter inclinations. Traits of the third class are content-free, and they prescribe no particular rules or purposes, as does honesty. In ordinary language this group of traits is intimately connected with what is called 'the will'. Altogether, it is understandable that it was quite a difficult enterprise to construct some kind of unity in the area of aims.

In describing the current state of aim-consciousness amongst Finnish mothers it may be illustrative to refer to a very typical answer found in the interviews. A thirty-year-old housewife with three children said:

I hope they'll be good citizens, at any rate. We have not set our hopes that high. The sort of person that works hard and is honest, and happy and well balanced. So they can lead a sort of calm life, so they don't go to extremes.

This phenomenon, laying emphasis on the 'ordinary individual' as an aim of child rearing, appeared in several answers. There was some kind of fear that a child would grow in a very individual direction. This might be called a relatively conformist attitude and some paradoxes were evident when considering some other virtues also emphasized in the discussion (eg. child's free choice in the area of education, spending leisure time).

As Figure 15 shows, over half the mothers emphasized the desire to bring up a self-supporting, materially well-off or working individual as an aim of child rearing. This does not mean, however, that money or property per se was emphasized. Many respondents talked about the importance of obtaining an occupation and work. This emphasis on work is not surprising, since unemployment was a serious problem in many Finnish families at the time of the interviews - as it still is today. A thirty-nine-year-old farmer's wife with three children was very conscious of this:

Hard workers, and able to manage. That's the most important thing at the moment, with so much unemployment, and that sort of thing. That's the main thing, and with that you get other things.

With a single exception the answers did not refer to a definite occupation. Only a few mothers talked spontaneously about education for their children by using this term, but when their attitude was sought regarding the importance of education almost all of them wanted their children to have a basic education and some kind of vocational education. 'I would like our children to go up to the limit of their capacity', 'We'd like to give them education, of course, if they want' were typical statements given by the respondents. This seemed to be an almost obligatory phrase in the conversations.

An effort was made to organize the various statements of aim (shown in Figure 15) into a more meaningful and condensed form. The result of this classification is shown in Figure 16. The function of this presen-

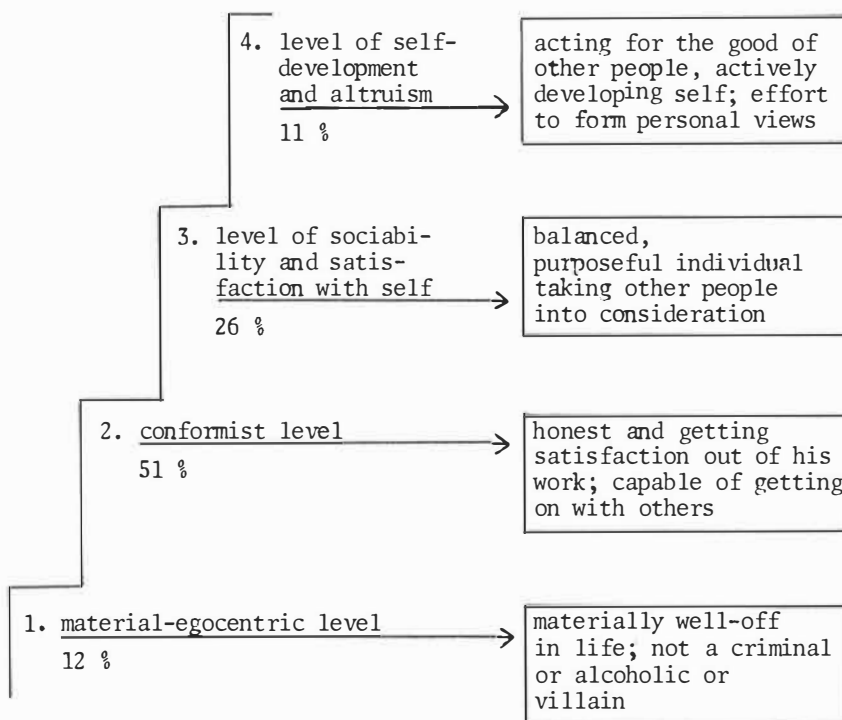


Figure 16. The levels of aim-consciousness

tation is to characterize the main lines of aim-consciousness amongst the respondents.

It is important to note here that the upper levels (very often) contained elements from the lower levels. Therefore, for instance, the importance of work or of being an industrious individual was mentioned by a relatively large number of mothers located at levels 3 and 4.

The whole construction presented here is of course normative in nature, ie. 'value-loaded'. The construction of the levels is something to be regarded as desirable. In this sense this effort is similar to any classification of psychological 'stages' which present an ethical ideal of human development - a conception of mental growth and cultivation. In addition, in the background there is an ethical opinion about the 'true nature' of Man. Evidently, this procedure is acceptable only if the solutions are made as openly as possible and in such a way that

the research results can be communicated to and understood by other people. The aim-consciousness of the mothers can be clarified by using interview excerpts again.

The mothers (11 %) who were located at the first level, which was termed the 'material-egocentric level', said for instance:

A good person, of course. Off the streets, and doesn't smoke or drink. (Age 32, town, 2 children, janitor)

(Tietysti hyvä ihminen. Ne ois pois kadulta eikä tupakoi eikä juo.)

Ordinary people, really, so they'd manage somehow. They would not need to be so rich, but so that they'd have work and manage. So they'd have a trade, then they'd get work. They would not need to be special in any way. Just ordinary. It would be easier to say what you don't want. So they would not be hard drinkers or anything like that. (Age 32, country, 3 children, waitress)

(Oikeestaan nyt sellasia tavallisia ihmisiä, että menestys nyt jotenkin. Ei niitten hirveen rikkaita tarviis olla, mutta että olis töitä ja tulis toimeen. Jonkunlaisen ammatin saisivat, sitte olis töitä. Ei missään suhteessa niinku erikoisia tarttis olla. Tavallinen. Paremmiin vois sanoa, että mitä ei toivois. Että ei tulis alkoholikäyttäjiä eikä mitään tollasta.)

Well, of course you think, decent people. So they wouldn't be reckless, unable to look after themselves. (Age 31, country, 2 children, taxi driver)

(Kyllähä sitä ajattelee tietysti, että semmosia kunnan ihmisiä. Että ei tule ihan semmosia holtittomia, että ei pystys huolehtimaan itsestää.)

Perhaps the use of the term 'materialistic-egocentric' requires some justification. The aims were seen as materialistic because the most important aims contained an overwhelmingly individualistic attitude toward work or material comfort and because moral virtues, even though seldom mentioned, were very specific. An emphasis on individual virtues and a neglect of social virtues led to the use of the term 'egocentric'.

The discussion about the working individual in the present study included various aspects, one of which was mentioned just above. It appeared that the views can be roughly divided into two categories: Reference to work can be made from a very materialistic aspect, when the value of work is seen only in the sense of earnings. Another individual can emphasize the 'love of work' aspect. This means emphasis on working where it corresponds to a person's inclinations and skills, gives him satisfaction and where it also has a social value.

The second level, termed 'conformist level', was the most common in the present study. Altogether one half of the respondents were included in this category. These respondents emphasized both the moral virtues

of an individual such as 'honest person' and 'good behaviour', and social virtues. The common phrase 'decent person' was included in many answers at this level. As regards social virtues, a difference between two statements should be noted at this point: the statements 'gets on well with others' and 'taking other people into consideration' contain obviously different meanings. The former contains some nuances of an egocentric attitude, whereas the latter refers to a more altruistic aspect. The 'gets on well with others' view well reflects the basic attitude of conformist individuals who behave as they believe others expect them to. The following excerpts illustrate these views and this level:

Just ordinary decent citizens. Well, who live just a normal life and get on well with others and themselves. I don't set any great hopes, just hope that they'll grow up to be decent citizens. (Age 29, town, 2 children, cafe waitress)

(Ihan tavallisia kunnan kansalaisia. No, joka elää ihan normaalia elämää ja tulee hyvin toimeen toisten kanssa ja itensä kanssa. No, en mä mitään suuria tavoitteita aseta, toivon, että niistä kasvais kunnan kansalaisia.)

I'm not fussy about their trade or anything, they can make up their own minds. Honesty is one thing, of course, and, generally, that they should get along with other people. (Age 27, country, 2 children, farmer's wife)

(Ei mulla sanotaan nyt ammatin suhteen oo mitään tämmöstä, ne saa itse sitte päättää. Tietysti rehellisyys on yks semmonen ja yleensä, että täytyy ihmisten kans sopeutua olemaan.)

A decent person, a Finnish citizen, who does the right thing. Who behaves so that there aren't any crimes be honest. (Age 33, country, 1 child, housewife)

(Semmonen oikee ihminen, Suomen kansalainen, käytös oikee. Sillä lailla käyttäytys, ettei tulis mitään rikoksia, olis rehellinen.)

Well, so they'll work hard at least. If they start a family they'd look after it, take care of the children and ... Honest, above all.

You must have honesty. (Age 30, town, 2 children, housewife)

(No ainaki sellasia että työ maittaa. Jos perheen perustaa, niin huolehtii perheestä, hoitaa lapset ja ... Ennenkaikkea rehellinen. Rehellisyyttä pitää olla.)

Well, real honest, decent citizens, that'd be it. And patriotic. And what you could call moral. I mean the sort of thing that you are honest, working for other people, too, be honest, do your work so that it is always properly done. Must be conscientious in your work. (Age 48, country, 8 children, housewife)

(No, oikeen sellasia rehellisiä, kunnan kansalaisia jos sais. Ois kaikki isänmaallisia. Ja tuommosia siveellisiä ihmisiä. Tarkoitin ihan, että ois sellane rehellinen, toisen työssäki esimerkiksi ku on ni olla rehellinen, tehä se työ sillai, että se aina tulee oikein tehtyä. Pitäs olla tunnollinen työssään.)

Decent citizens, hardworking, so they'd not be afraid of work if there was any going, and honesty, that I would emphasize. Even if you are lazy, you still get on in life if you are honest. That is absolute, in everything. I set such high value on this that if my kids learned it, well, that'd be plenty. If I can teach that to them, what is mine and what is somebody else's so I reckon I have done quite a bit, for my part. (Age 38, country, 5 children, shopkeeper)  
(Kunnon kansalaisia, työtä tekeviä, etteivät työtä pelkäis, mikäli on saatavissa ja rehellisyys, sen mä painostaisin. Olkoon vielä laiska, jos rehellisyyttä piisaa, niin silti pärjää elämässä. Se on ehdoton, kaikessa. Mä lasken sille niin paljon suuren arvon, että sen kun saan opetettua niille, että mikä on toisen omaa ja mikä on minun omaa, niin silloin mä oon osaltani jo aika paljon saanu.)

Virtues such as 'honesty' are relatively easily understood by everybody, whereas the statement which expresses a desire to raise a child to be a 'decent' person remains somewhat distant and vague. An attempt is made later (p. 151) to clarify the meaning of the term.

At the third level, termed sociability and satisfaction with the self, where 26 % of the mothers were located, emphasis was laid on a well-balanced individual and an individual possessing good relationships with others.

A balanced person, so they get on with themselves, so there'd be no inner conflicts, that sort of thing. Taking other people into consideration. That would really be a marvellous thing, taking other people into consideration. (Age 27, town, 1 child, railway official)  
(Että hän nyt ois tasapainoinen ihminen. Sillee, että olis tasapainossa itensä kanssa, että ei olis mitää sellasia sisäisiä ahdistuksia. Osais ottaa toiset ihmiset huomioon ja pystyis tulemaan hyvin toimeen muiden ihmisten kanssa. Tuo nyt olis kauheen hyvä juttu, että osais ottaa toiset huomioon.)

In the first place, that they'd get on with others, take other people into consideration in what they do. And their relationships with other people, so they'd be able to keep their relationships with other people on an open basis. To be able to trust other people, and be trusted themselves. (Age 33, town, 3 children, social worker)  
(Ensinnäki, että ne tulis toimee toisten ihmisten kanssa, ottasivat huomioon toisetki omissa toiminnoissaan. Ja että ihmissuhteet, ihmissuhteitten hoidossa, pystyisivät omat ihmissuhteensa pitämään luottamuksellisella pohjalla. Luottamaa ite toisiinsa ja että heihinki luotetaan.)

Well-balanced, and sort of, should have determination as well, so they're not pushed around. The sort of people somehow - how shall I explain - so they dare be themselves and say what they want to say, so they are not easily led. They don't need to get on in the world, they should do the work they like, since that is how you spend most of your life. So you would not need to do the sort of work you don't like. (Age 46, town, 2 children, quality controller)  
(Tasapainoisia ja semmosia niinkun, että pitää olla määrätietonenkin, että ei oo toisten liikuteltavina. No semmonen jollakin tavalla että. Kuinkas sen nyt selittäisin. Että uskaltaa niinkun toteuttaa itsensä

ja sanoa sanottavansa, ettei ole niinkun kädestä talutettava. Eikä sitä tarvii niinkun pyrkiä ylöspäinkään; että amnattikin pitäis olla semmonen, missä sitä viihtyy, koska siinä joutuu suurimman osan elämästään olemaan. Että ei joutus tekemään semmosta työtä, mistä ei pidä.)

Well I suppose that's the most - honest and decent citizens who **think** with their own brain, so they manage by themselves and can sort out the problems that everybody faces, a lot of them. (Age 33, town, 3 children, head-waiter)

(Se on kai kaikkein, että rehellisiä ja kunnon kansalaisia ja omilla aivoillaan ajattelevia, että ne tulisivat itse toimeen ja pystyisivät itse ratkaisemaan ongelmat, joita tulee paljon aina jokaisen tielle.)

The fourth level was termed 'self-development and altruism'. 11 % of the respondents were located at this level. Two aspects were emphasized in the answers of these mothers. On the one hand, they talked, for example, about the virtue of acting for the good of other people, while, on the other hand, they emphasized an individual's efforts to form personal views. The following excerpts illustrate the views of these respondents.

Honest, hard working, human, that sort of thing. Their attitude to themselves and other people, so they'd be tolerant and understanding. So they'd know that other people are human beings, too. And of course I hope that they will have an optimistic outlook. That would be very good. (Age 35, country, 5 children, farmer's wife)

(Että ne olisivat rehellisiä, työtäpelkäämättömiä, ois inhimillisiä. Suhtautuminen itseensäkin ja kanssaihmissiin, että oltas suvaitsevaisia ja ymmärtäväisiä. Huomattais että se toinenkin ihminen on ihminen. Kylä mää tietysti toivosin, että ne ois semmosia, että ne katsois valoisasti tulevaisuuteen. Se ois hirveen hyvä.)

The sort of person who tries to help other people, more than anything. Seems to me there are always people around who need help and have anxieties. So they'd learn to understand other people. That's no way to live, to just think of yourself and to be indifferent to others. It is by far the most important thing in life, to understand others and help where you can, that sort of kind attitude. And then of course I also hope that this sort of religious principle somehow comes out in the children's life. So they'd accept religion in some way and not forget all about it. (Age 41, country, 4 children, farmer's wife)

(Ennenkaikkea semmonen, että se yrittäis auttaa toisia. Ku täällä näyttää aina olevan avun tarpeessa olevia ja ahdistuneita ihmisiä. Jotenkin oppis ymmärtämään toista ihmistä. Se ei oo mielekästä se ihan itseensä suuntaava elämäntapa ja välinpitämättömyys toisista ihmisistä. Se ois ihan tärkeimpiä elämäntapomuksia, että ymmärrettäs vähän toista ja yritettäis auttaa missä pystyy; sellanen ystävällinen suhtautuminen. Sitten mää toivon tietenkin, että tää uskonnollinen periaate tulis jotenkin ilmi lastenki elämässä. Että ne jollain tavalla hyväksys sen uskonnon, ettei se jäis ihan unholaan.)

I hope they'll become the sort of people who get on with other people, so they'd appreciate other people, too, and consider others in general, because nowadays, that's what I've found, in any case, that the world

is a cruel place and nobody considers other people. And honest, and that they'd respect their own work. The humane things like that would be the main thing ... (Age 36, country, 3 children, teacher)

Mä toivosin, että heistä tulis sellasia, että he tulisivat toimeen muiden ihmisten kanssa, antasivat arvoa muillekin ihmisille, ottasivat yleensäkin toiset ihmiset huomioon, koska nykyään, mä oon ainakin kokenu, että maailma on julma eikä oteta huomioon toista ihmistä. Ja sellasia rehellisiä ja että arvostasivat omaa työtään. Ehkä tällainen inhimillisuus olis niin ku pää ...)

I would like the children to live an honest life, and have consideration for others. More than anything I want them to grow up to be well-balanced, and this is why I always emphasize that sort of intimacy in contacts, mental health, because the more hectic the pace of life becomes, the more you need solid mental health. Balance is the most important thing. Because you always get difficulties in your life, so you can get over them without breaking down. People who think, who are not out for themselves. One thing I want is that they don't go in for this status competition, where money is the most important thing. I stress that humane things are the most important. (Age 36, town, 3 children, nurse)

(Kyllä mä haluaisin, että lapset osais elää rehellisesti ja; täytyy ottaa toisetki ihmiset huomioon. Kaikkein eniten mä haluan, että niistä tulis tasapainosia ja tällantakia mä korostan sellasta kontaktien läheisyyttä, mielenterveyttä, koska mitä kiihkeemmäks tää elämänrytmi menee, sitä enemmän tarvitaan lujaa mielenterveyttä. Se tasapainosuus on tärkeintä. Että kun ihmiselämässähän aina tulee vastoinkäymisiä, ni pystyy ohittamaan ne vastoinkäymiset sillä tavalla, että ei järky. Toimmosia ajattelevia, semmosia ihmisiä jotka ei oo oman edun tavoittelijoita. Yks mitä mä en halua on se, ettei ne rupee elämään sillee, että ne menee mukaan tällaseen elintasokilpaan, että raha on kaikkein tärkeintä. Mä korostan sitä että inhimillinen elämä on kaikkein tärkeintä.)

A person with firm self-confidence and a clear sense of purpose, humane. (Age 32, town, 2 children, artist)

(Vahvaa itsetuntoa ja selvää suuntausta omaava ihminen, humaani.)

### Conceptual analysis of phraseology

Much of the difficulty of studying child rearing aims is caused by the simple fact that parents say things without knowing exactly how they intend them. In the study of aims much of the work is necessarily conceptual: that is, it is a matter of making clearer what people mean by 'good person', 'decent person' and so on. One may be tempted to say that people use these terms quite blindly, ie. they use the phrase which first happens to come into their minds. It is also possible to think that if there is any deeper idea behind such phrases, this idea might be the same in all cases. Such thoughts led to the study of phrases in more detail. In the present study every time a mother mentioned the following phrases 'decent citizen', 'balanced person', 'good person' or

'human person' - which were the most typical expressions - the question 'what is it then to be a decent citizen' (or 'a good person' and so on) was asked by the investigator. After analysing 14 answers dealing with the concept 'balanced person', nine answers characterizing 'decent citizen', two answers concerning definitions of 'good person' and two answers including the definitions of 'humane person' (the Finnish-speaking reader can find all these definitions in Appendix 13) the following brief summary can be made:

- (1) First, it was found that various contents exist for these phrases in the minds of the respondents. Thus, it is obviously not an arbitrary choice when a mother uses these terms.
- (2) Comparing the phrase 'good person' with the other phrases mentioned above, it was found that this concept was the most vague and unclear. The mothers stated very separate and specific characteristics of a 'good person'. What is worth noting is that these characteristics described very concrete human behaviour, for example: 'A good person, off the streets, who doesn't smoke or drink'.
- (3) 'Decent citizen' seemed to refer especially to two essential features of the individual. The first emphasized work. The view that a 'decent citizen' is an individual who does his job well was mentioned by the majority of the respondents. The second characteristic of a 'decent citizen' was honesty.
- (4) 'Balanced person' can be characterized by stating - as the respondents said - that he is a satisfied person and he is free from inner anxieties. A balanced person is able to bear troubles. It may be said that in the light of the definitions the view of a 'balanced person' included a somewhat passive and egocentric emphasis.
- (5) 'Humane person' was seen as a tolerant person and one who considers and appreciates other people.

How parents use the phrase is not wholly a matter of decision, much less of arbitrary decision. However, parents may say that they mean something by a word and then be wrong. In fact they do not normally use the word in this way and then they do not mean what they say they mean by it. Words and concepts are governed by rules of which people are often unaware. Because they are governed by rules, it is possible to refer to an 'adequate' interpretation of the phrases considered above.

Words and phrases can be used in different senses, but for them to have any sense at all they must be used in accordance with a set of rules governing use, and not just arbitrarily. Meaning depends on following these rules. Of course it is relatively easy to produce a clear definition: a parent could say, for instance, that a 'good person' is simply one who does not commit crimes, but a more precise and adequate definition of this word could call for much hard work. Obviously such an effort would demand some philosophizing because the question of what we mean by a 'decent person' (or 'good person' etc.) are not questions of fact, but conceptual questions. There is no way of reaching an adequate definition except by examining the use and meaning of words, and the ways in which those uses and meanings are interconnected. In a sense it is true that people usually employ the words sufficiently correctly when they are talking. But in another sense it is false, because people are not conscious of the rules governing their use (eg. Winch 1970). This may sometimes influence individuals in such a way that they make mistakes. Such mistakes can be very unfortunate for a researcher unless he is himself conscious of these difficulties.

#### Negative features of man and projections about society

For many individuals it may be easier to mention a bad state of affairs or undesirable things than to express ideals or the best alternative (Allardt 1976). As has commonly been noticed people are, in normal circumstances, very ready to talk to others about the features of other people which are especially irritating to them. The findings of the present study indicated, however, that some mothers (9 %) were not willing or able to discuss matters from this negative aspect. From an ethical perspective this attitude is undoubtedly correct. Indeed, people should strive to see the positive in others and praise it at least as often as they notice things requiring correction.

On the whole the answers of the mothers reflected the increasing dissatisfaction with our present way of life, its passivity and boredom and its depersonalization. In short, the first important result was that almost one half of the mothers talked about egoism and materialism as the most negative features of modern man. In their view, most people only look after their own interests and strive for material things. These features, clichéd though they may be, seemed to occupy the minds

of the mothers greatly, as the following excerpts illustrate:

Hurry is the worst thing. Children tend to be overlooked. What we are after is a higher and higher standard of living.

Striving for property, wealth and money is awfully common. Because of that many things suffer. It's the desire for money.

The second negative phenomenon which the mothers had in mind can be termed the passiveness and coldness of modern man. One fourth of the mothers discussed these characteristics. It is possible to interpret the discussion here from various theoretical standpoints, for example, by explaining phenomena from an alienation standpoint or focusing attention on human needs. Therefore, in the light of the answers it seems, for example, that in the interview the mothers expressed their own need for acceptance and liking by other individuals. The idea that modern men are pessimistic about endeavour and indifferent about matters, as some mothers emphasized, reflects a common quality of alienated man. What is negative in Finnish society is that people are not more deeply concerned about one another. Many mothers thought that people seem to be really incapable of talking to one another. The mothers wanted people to be more open, more trusting, and more sensitive and understanding in their dealings with one another.

The third category which it was possible to constitute was concerned with quite separate and partly concrete features of man. This category, termed criminality and envy, was based on the answers of one fourth (24 %) of the respondents. According to these answers, the worst characteristic of Finns is their envy, alcoholism, violence, and dishonesty or tendency to talk behind people's backs.

In conclusion, if it is considered in the light of the interviews, what has happened to people as Finnish society has grown economically less simple and culturally more sophisticated and diverse, seems to be that there has been an increase both in isolation and in intimacy. Intimacy has already appeared in earlier contexts (pp. 115, 117-118) when the mothers spoke of their experiences during their childhood. The respondents of the present study still remembered a society where the individual was less isolated from his or her neighbours, and where the sense of 'isolation' did not afflict the individual so often. A closer examination would perhaps show that intimacy has 'two faces'. On the one hand, it is on the increase if the small family of our day is con-

sidered. On the other hand, intimacy is decreasing because an individual's ties with his closest relatives (eg. with his grandparents) are loosening.

From the point of view of child rearing aims it is adequate to present a brief description of the general conceptions held by the respondents about the society where it is presumed their children will live as adults. The data on the responses to this are presented in Figure 17 and provide the backdrop for the present discussion. A striking feature of the responses was the large degree of consensus about the view that society will have changed in twenty years. Only nine percent of the respondents thought that society would be quite similar to what it is today.

A second striking feature of the responses was their pessimism as to the direction of society's change: when a change was anticipated over half the respondents regarded it as negative. There was, however, one group of mothers (21 %) who thought the direction of change mainly positive. It is to be noted that these opinions were put forward with great hesitation: it was usually some kind of wishful thinking which was presented.

Again, it is striking that the respondents were able to mention definite features of the nature of negative change. Relatively many (28 %) of the mothers stressed the problems connected with the basic conditions of life. They saw that many negative things would increase: unemployment would increase, prices would rise continuously, and an economic depression would exist. Briefly, these respondents worried mainly about financial aspects - or their standard of living. Some mothers (15 %) talked about Man's psyche: in the future people would be lazier, rougher and more violent.

Other changes anticipated by the mothers were an increase in technology and mechanization, a decrease in individuality, a decrease in natural resources and an increase in pollution, an increase in people's materialistic attitudes and general uncertainty about the state of the world. With regard to individuality it was seen that in a complex urbanized society fewer and fewer people would be capable of functioning independently. It would become harder and harder for an individual to go his own way and the traditional value of personal independence would be increasingly threatened. It was also anticipated that technological

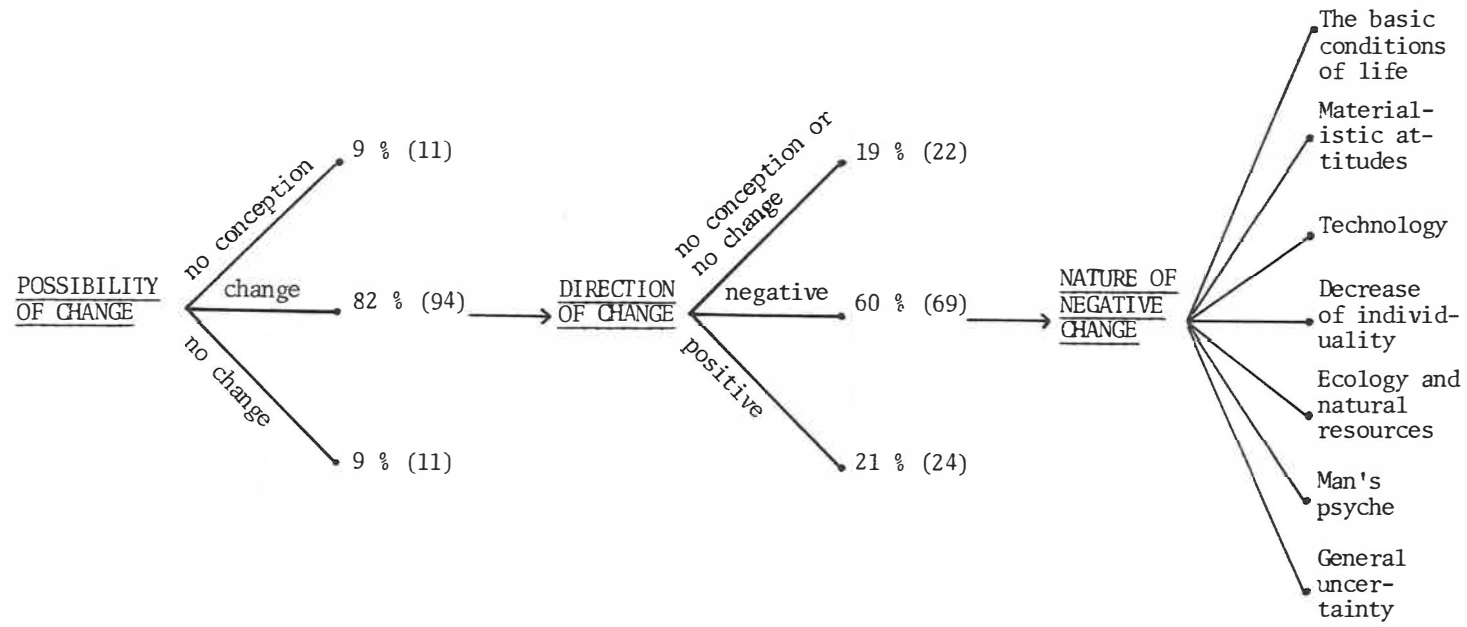


Figure 17. Projections about society

and economic growth would continue at the highest possible rate and the need for specialists would increase.

### Relations of aims and conceptions of society to living conditions

The negative features of man reported by the respondents and conceptions of the direction of society's change were constructed in the scales shown in Appendix 2 (variables 90 and 92).

Again, the most outstanding finding (Appendix 11) was that the basic education of the mother correlated quite highly (.49,  $p < .001$ ) with the mother's child rearing aims and also moderately (.30,  $p < .01$ ) with her conceptions of the negative features of man. Age of mother, number of children and ownership of residence did not correlate significantly with the aims and other conceptions considered above. When the relations between aims and the central background variables were examined separately (Figures 18 and 19) some notable differences between aims in different groups were found.

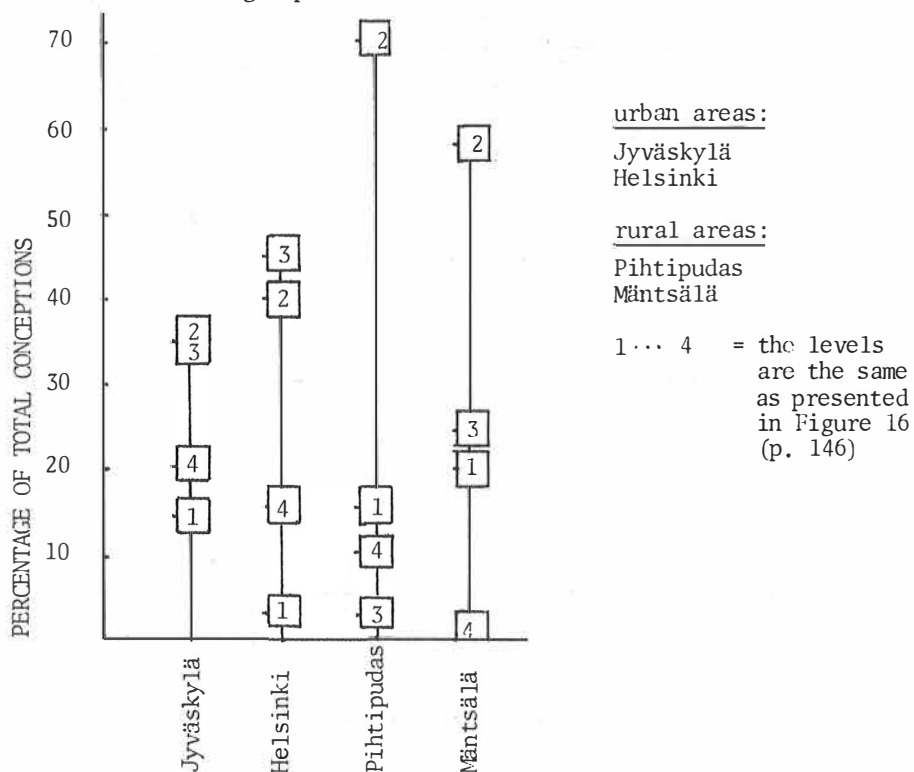


Figure 18. Aims of child rearing in different areas

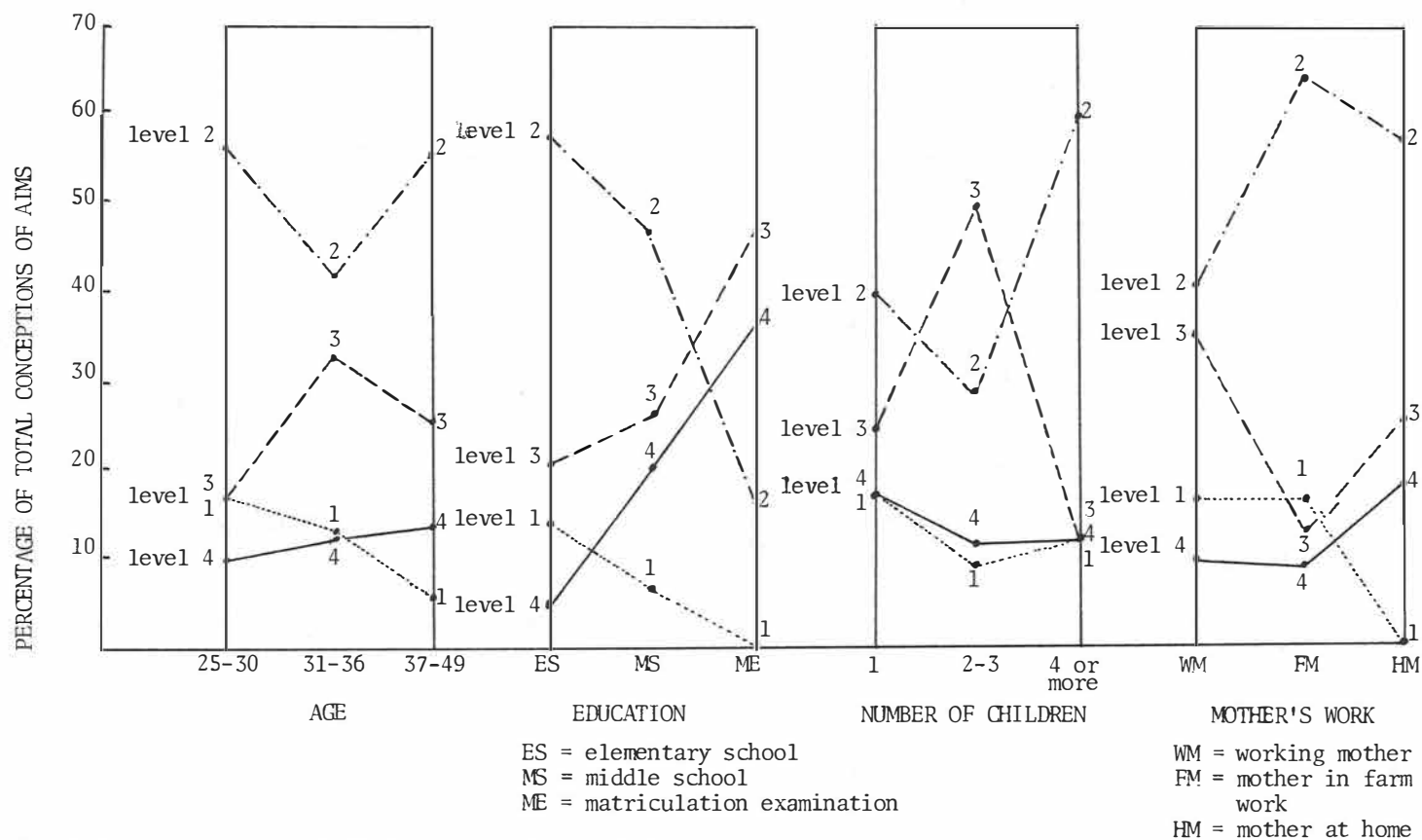


Figure 19. Conceptions of child rearing aims in different groups  
(according to mother's age, number of children, education and work)

With regard to the urban and rural areas of the present study it can be seen (Figure 18) that the respondents from rural areas, and especially the respondents from Pihtipudas, emphasized strongly conformist aims in child rearing. About half the respondents who lived in Greater Helsinki talked about sociability and an individual's satisfaction with himself and they laid emphasis on a well-balanced individual. The fourth level of aims which was termed (p. 146) 'self-development and altruism' appeared most frequently in the answers of Jyväskylä mothers, but the differences between three geographical groups (Jyväskylä, Pihtipudas, Greater Helsinki) were not very noticeable at this level. None of the respondents from Mäntsälä were located on the fourth level.

Figure 19 compares the levels of aim-consciousness in various groups. The most remarkable findings to do with aims can be briefly stated as follows: the mothers who had had a short education, the mothers who had four children (or more) and the mothers in farm work had adopted much more conformist views on aims than the other groups in the study. This means that they laid emphasis on a 'decent person'. The figure also indicates that the majority (58 %) of the young mothers (age 25-30 years) and, in addition, of the oldest mothers (56 %, age 37-49 years) were located on the second level.

### 3.2.3.2. Values of the mothers and their communication to the child

It was argued in the theoretical section of the present study (p. 35) that values enter child rearing situations as previous and determining elements. Values are, in the final analysis, things of the mind that are concerned with the vision held by parents of a 'good life' for themselves and their children. It was decided to approach the analysis of an educator's value system (Problem A.3.b.) in various ways.

#### First approach: The most important and significant matter

In the interviews the researcher began quite directly by asking what a mother regarded as the most important and significant matter in her life. In this way, values were supposed to be based upon a vision of how life ought to be lived. The results concerning this theme are presented in Figures 20 and 21.

FIRST ANALYSIS			SECOND ANALYSIS		
Ranking on basis of quantity %	Ranking on basis of quality	Content class	Rough direction	Levels	
1 (35)	2	Upbringing of children	→	FIRST LEVEL financial and vital content	
2 (33)	3	Financially secure life			
3 (21)	3	Health			
4 (20)	2	Friendship, good human relations, happy family	→	SECOND LEVEL family- centered content	
5 (13)	2	Taking care of close relations			
6 (10)	1	Mental balance, contentment	→	THIRD LEVEL values of personal development	
7 ( 7)	1	Stimulating life, development			
8 ( 5)	1	Salvation of the soul			

See Figure 7 for an explanation of the method of counting

Figure 20. The formation and elements of value orientations

Some quite trivial answers were given by nine mothers, which indicated that these mothers had a lack of awareness of their own values:

Nothing in particular. (Age 31, town, 2 children, shop assistant)  
(Ei ole mitään erikoista.)

What would be important? Everything is a little important. (Age 31, town, 2 children, cashier)  
(Mikähän tässä tärkeätä olis? Kaikki on vähän tärkeätä.)

Well, I don't know. It gets sort of depressing at times. (Age 29, town, 2 children, cleaner)  
(No en osaa sanoa. Kyllä se on semmosta masentavaa välillä.)

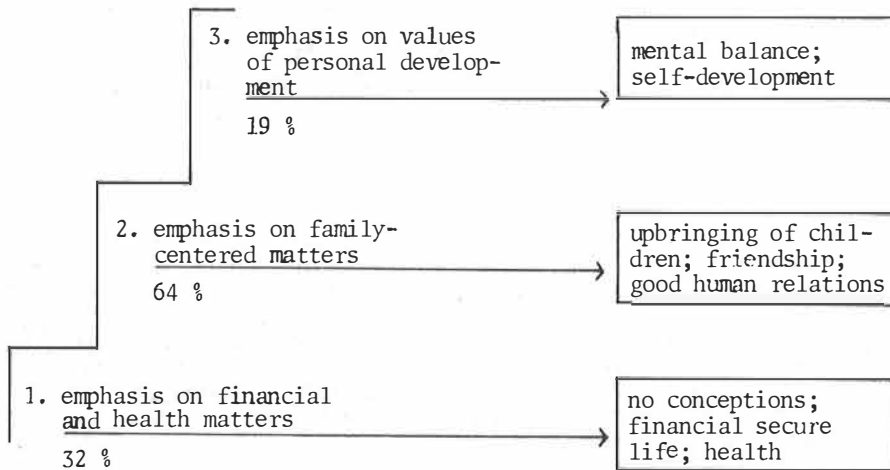


Figure 21. The categories of value orientations

The emphasis that many mothers (33 %) placed on living and on a financially secure life can be illustrated by the following excerpts:

So things would be all right, and work well, and there'd be no great difficulties. If we could get the money sorted out, so we could straighten out our household as it should be, and things would not be overdue. (Age 30, country, 3 children, farmer's wife)  
(Että kaikki rullais ja pyyhkis hyvin, ettei olis mitään isompia hankaluuksia. Raha-asiat sais järjestetty; että kerkeis järjestää huushollit niinku pitäis, että ei jäis paljo rästiin.)

Just to get from day to day. In the evening I say to the children that tomorrow is another day. (Age 31, town, 3 children, cleaner)  
(Kuha tulis toimeen päivästä toiseen. Illalla sanon lapsille, että huomenna on uusi päivä.)

There were also answers which emphasized health. Mothers said for instance:

It is important to be healthy, of course. And then you must have work, to manage somehow. (Age 45, country, 3 children, farmer's wife)  
(Tärkeätä tietysti, että ois terve ihminen. Ja onha se just, että täytyyhä sitä olla työtäki, että se toimeentulo ois sitte jonkinlaene.)

Well, just to be healthy, to be able to work. That is the main thing. (Age 47, country, 6 children, farmer's wife)  
(Ni saisi olla terveenä vain, jaksas tehdä työtä. Se on pääasia.)

The study indicated that the most common response was that upbringing was the core of the mother's life. It is worth noting that many

mothers spoke of a 'happy family' and 'taking care of close relations'. Family relationships were selected as an important source of life satisfaction. These three views were organized into one category termed the family-centered orientation. The following excerpts illustrate this value orientation:

The family is important. I have often said to my husband that I can't imagine anymore what it would be like to live on my own. It would certainly be hard to know what to do, how to spend your time, doing what, what hobbies. Now there aren't hassles like that, and to everyone, children at any rate, I have a different sort of attitude really, since they are different ages, so you get different things from them, you get something for yourself. (Age 38, town, 3 children, teacher)  
(Perhe on tärkeä. Mä oon monta kertaa miehelle sanonu, että mä en niinku enää tällä hetkellä tajuaisi, että minkälaista se olisi se yksineläminen. Siinä tulis varmaan se probleema, että mitä nyt tehdä, miten aikaa kuluttaa, mihin, mitä harrastaa. Nyt ei oo kyllä niitä ongelmia yhtään ja jokainen, laps kuitenkin, niihin kai suhtautuu loppujen lopuksi erilailla, koska ne on eri ikäisiä, et niistä saa eri lailla, niistä saa itselleen jotain.)

For the home to stay whole, and to manage in this society. To be able to bring up the children properly. It's economical, sort of. (Age 27, country, 2 children, farmer's wife)

(Koti pysyis ehjänä ja ett niinku pärjäis täällä yhteiskunnassa. Että lapset sais kasvatettua kunnolla. Se on niinku taloudellista.)

Good home and family. And to be generally satisfied, too, and with things going well. You must be pleased with that. Happy to have things as they are. (Age 33, country, 2 children, telephone engineer)  
(Hyvä koti ja perhe. Ja muutenkin on tyytyväinen ja kaikki on hyvin tavallaan. Täytyy olla aina hyvillään siitä, että on. Että hyvä on näin.)

Only some mothers (5 %) emphasized religious content. Religion was seen as a major source of life satisfaction.

It's eternal life that's most important. (Age 32, country, 5 children, farmer's wife)

(Se on iankaikkinen elämä kaikista tärkein.)

That I have a good relationship with the Lord, and that I should deserve eternal life here on earth, in different conditions. (Age 31, town, 2 children, office employee)

(Että mulla ois hyvä suhde Luojaan. Ja se, että mä saisin ikuisen elämän täällä maan päällä toisenlaisissa olosuhteissa.)

Well I would say that for me religion is the sort of thing you should hold onto. And I at any rate feel it is sort of mental health care.

(Age 31, country, 2 children, taxi driver)

(Kyllä mä sanoisin, että uskonto on minun mielestä semmonen, johon pitää ihmisen takertua. Ja minä ainakin koen sen, että se on niinku mielenterveyden hoito.)

Some mothers (19 %) talked about a stimulating life, self-development and mental balance:

For a person to get his own satisfaction out of life as well. I have never had any great hankering after money, which makes you want to have lots of property and stuff. To make a reasonable living, and time left for yourself so that you don't have too much stress, and have interests. (Age 34, country, 3 children, farmer)

(Että ihminen saa siitä elämisestään sen oman tyydytyksen ja. Mulla ei oo koskaan ollut mitään hirveätä himoa rahan perään, että pitäis saada omaisuudet ja mammonat. Se on suht. kohtalainen elämäntulo, että jää sopivasti omaa aikaa, ettei stressaantuisi liikaa, että ois harrastuksia.)

The most important thing is to get on with yourself. There are situations sometimes where you don't accept yourself, and you are not satisfied with yourself. Then it's no use having money or anything, money or love or anything. It is important then that you are really in harmony with yourself, no matter what the circumstances. Then you find meaning in things, big and small. (Age 44, town, 3 children, teacher)  
(Kaikkein tärkeintä on tulla toimeen oman itsensä kanssa. Joskus on semmoisia tilanteita, ettei hyväksy itseään eikä ole tyytyväinen oman itsensä kanssa. Silloin ei auta raha eikä mikään, raha eikä rakkaus eikä mikään. Sillon on tärkeätä, että ihminen on todella, on olotila mikä hyvänsä, sopusoinnussa itsensä kanssa. Silloin löytää pienistä asioista sisältöä ja suurista asioista.)

If I think just of myself, so it's being a good person, and from the point of view of the children, it is my being able to give them the key to success in their lives, so they become people who are respected, and that sort of thing, it's hard to explain. But that's what bringing up children means, in any case. (Age 28, town, 2 children, housewife)  
(Jos mä ihan itteeni ajattelen, niin se, että mä oisin hyvä ihminen, ja lasten kannalta se, että mä voisin antaa niille sen siemenen, että ne onnistuis elämässään, että niistä tulis sellasia ihmisiä, että kunnioitettas ja semmosia, hankala selittää. Mulla kuitenkin lasten kasvatusta on sellanen.)

The excerpts described the specific contents of the answers and gave information on how the mothers were able to discuss their basic orientation in life. For the most part, the mothers tried to think about the problem and they were able to produce some answers. Interpreting the answers, however, was somewhat problematic and they may interpret and may suggest that the measurement of values is a much more complicated task than was anticipated. As Figures 20 and 21 showed, the most typical contents concerned family relationships and children. Mothers wanted to provide emotional security for their children and they stressed their desire for unity and closeness among the family members.

Of course, not all the mothers felt the significance of the role of mother for the same reasons. Obviously, some stressed it because of the traditional cultural emphasis, others used it to justify all their

decisions. They were conscious of the increasing responsibility placed upon the mother. Generally, the mothers were tradition-directed.

Riesman (1961, 17) describes the tradition-directed person as one who

hardly thinks of himself as an individual. Still less does it occur to him that he might shape his own destiny in terms of personal, life-long goals or that the destiny of his children might be separate from that of family group. He is not sufficiently separated psychologically from himself (or, therefore, sufficiently close to himself), his family or group to think in these terms.

In other words he is primary-group oriented, passive rather than active, externally controlled by custom and tradition. It is necessary, however, to observe that, where the upbringing of the children is concerned, mothers remain more vulnerable to social criticism than fathers. The modern Finnish woman is more sensitive to social pressure, and criticism concerning the upbringing of a child is still aimed at the mother.

#### Second approach: Mothers' interests, preferences in spending time

Values, as stated earlier in this study (Section 2.4.3.), can be expected to be manifested in two directions: that of discourse and that of overt action. In the present study attention was focused only on the verbal level, but it was decided to make an effort to clarify also the real activity of the mothers as they reported it themselves. From the point of view of child rearing it is important what parents themselves do, what their interests are and what their habits in using free time are. The everyday activities of parents constitute the general atmosphere of the family and these activities also serve as a model for a child of how to live his life. Hence, it was assumed in the study that values are conveyed in this way and parents are preparing their children - consciously or less consciously - for life in the future. This frame of orientation is necessary for the development of a child, although it is also necessary that the individual should have a greater degree of choice than merely that between a total acceptance of or reaction against his parents.

Having a certain value is obviously different from having a certain preference, as Rescher (1969, 23) has pointed out, but of course, the preferences held by an individual are reflections of his values. In attempting to identify the values of the Finnish mothers it was decided

to obtain an overall notion of the mothers' (1) ideological (mainly political and religious) views, (2) preferences in spending leisure time (manifested in interests), (3) favourite TV programmes, (4) quality and quantity of reading, and (5) cultural interests. Two central themes are considered briefly in the light of the findings in the present discussion. The descriptive data illustrating all these themes can be found in Appendix 2 (variables 110-131) and in Appendix 11.

#### Ideological views

As a part of Europe Finland has been washed by the ideological tides of the intellectual and ideational world through the ages. And each tide has left its residue in the consciousness and conceptions of some sectors of the population. Ideationally it is complex, with a diversity of interests, values, beliefs and knowledge. It is therefore hazardous to speak of the value and belief systems of Finland. The values, however, can be characterized with some precision if the characterization is confined to a carefully delimited group of the people.

Finland has a state religion, Lutheranism. The Finnish mothers had had continuous systematic religious instruction since they started elementary school at seven years of age and all through their school-time. One would expect this training to have an important effect and that therefore Finns would be relatively religious persons. It is, of course, a problematic question what 'religiousness' is. If one is to judge by the universal occurrence of 'religious' activity, man seems to be the kind of creature who has the need to believe in some ordering power or idea greater than and outside of himself. Religious belief systems seem to have as an essential aspect recognition of a superhuman power. In the present study religiousness has been defined within a conceptual framework which specifies two facets of 'religiousness': (1) feeling of a need for religious faith, and (2) belief in a superhuman, supernatural Deity, a 'Divine God'. It was found that the mothers of the present study expressed three kinds of convictions: (1) negative view or indifference (26 %) when the mothers denied interest in faith and in the superhuman, (2) faith of the average Finn (43 %) where the mothers reported that they had faith in some greater power than man. This faith did not seem to lead the mothers to concrete religious action, (3) firm religiousness (31 %) when the mothers empha-

sized the importance and significance of religion in their life. From the point of view of child rearing it is remarkable that nearly one fourth of the mothers (22%) had a strong desire to pass on their religious views; ie. they laid emphasis on the importance of the child's acquisition of a firm religious conviction. In addition 36 % of the mothers had a wish to convey 'the average Finn's faith' to their children.

With regard to political views it was found that only a few mothers (9 %) took great interest in politics. Over half the mothers (68 %) reported that political doctrines did not number among their interests.

#### Spending leisure time

Values manifest themselves concretely in the ways in which people talk and act, and especially in the pattern of their expenditure of time and effort and in their choices of interests. It can be assumed that it is primarily through these concrete manifestations that values secure their importance and relevance.

The most striking feature of the interests of the Finnish mothers was the central position of traditional female handicrafts, such as knitting and sewing (Table 6). Almost half the mothers (43 %) reported that handicraft was their most important interest. In addition, respondents emphasized reading and outdoor activities as their most

Table 6. Spending leisure time and preferences in interests

Interest	No		Occurs		The most important		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Handicraft	43	37	22	19	50	43	115	100
Reading	67	58	26	23	22	19	115	100
Associations and societies	91	79	20	17	4	4	115	100
Outdoor activities	83	72	19	17	13	11	115	100
Watching TV, inactivity, resting	103	90	6	5	6	5	115	100
Cooking, baking	107	93	6	5	2	2	115	100
Meeting friends, dancing	86	75	28	24	1	1	115	100
Some special interest (dogs, riding, trotting)	94	82	9	8	12	10	115	100

significant interests.

An interest may be quite absorbing to a parent, and become in a sense part of her feeling of selfhood. On the whole these mothers did not seem to engage in activities where intensive and active participation was necessary. In the light of the previous findings (p.162) the results seem to strengthen the idea that the mothers are family-centered in their orientations and valuations. It is important to notice that the values that parents hold depend in some measure upon the circumstances of their lives.

### Third approach: Instrumental and terminal value priorities

Tables 7 and 8 present the rankings of instrumental and terminal values (see the procedures on pp. 84-85).

Table 7. Importance of Instrumental Values. Percentage of respondents ranking the values (N = 115)

Instrumental Values	Rank orders			mean	s
	high	medium	low		
Honest	86	13	1	1.14	.38
Responsible	75	23	2	1.27	.50
Loving	59	32	9	1.49	.65
Forgiving	43	36	21	1.78	.76
Logical	37	40	23	1.85	.76
Helpful	32	51	17	1.84	.68
Independent	32	37	31	1.98	.79
Polite	31	52	17	1.86	.68
Broadminded	31	24	45	2.13	.86
Intellectual	27	39	34	2.06	.78
Self-controlled	26	20	54	2.27	.85
Ambitious	22	36	42	2.20	.77
Clean	21	38	41	2.20	.76
Imaginative	21	33	46	2.25	.78
Cheerful	20	35	45	2.25	.77
Capable	17	26	57	2.40	.75
Courageous	12	28	60	2.47	.70
Obedient	9	35	56	2.47	.65

Table 7 shows that among the instrumental values being honest, responsible and loving were ranked highest and being capable, courageous and obedient were ranked lowest.

Table 8. Importance of Terminal Values. Percentage of respondents ranking the values (N = 115)

Terminal Values	Rank orders			mean	s
	high	medium	low		
Happiness	63	29	8	1.44	.63
Inner harmony	62	29	9	1.46	.65
Family security	59	34	7	1.47	.62
A world at peace	54	29	17	1.63	.76
True friendship	47	49	4	1.57	.57
A comfortable life	40	25	35	1.94	.86
Mature love	38	42	20	1.81	.74
Freedom	38	33	29	1.90	.81
Wisdom	37	48	15	1.77	.68
Self-respect	36	32	32	1.96	.82
Equality	28	39	33	2.05	.78
A sense of accomplishment	28	37	35	2.06	.79
Pleasure	19	36	45	2.26	.76
Salvation	17	17	66	2.49	.76
A world of beauty	14	37	49	2.34	.71
National security	11	48	41	2.29	.66
An exciting life	4	20	76	2.71	.54
Social recognition	3	17	80	2.76	.50

With regard to the terminal values the mothers attached the greatest importance to happiness, inner harmony and family security. The mothers ranked values such as national security, an exciting life and social recognition low in importance.

When one compares the value systems of urban and rural mothers (Table 9) certain differences are apparent. The urban mothers assigned much higher importance to true friendship than the rural mothers. The rural mothers assigned much higher importance to a world at peace than

Table 9. Highest and lowest values for urban and rural groups (medians)

Group		Terminal values
<u>Urban</u>		
Most important:		Family security, happiness, inner harmony, true friendship
Least important:		An exciting life, salvation, social recognition
<u>Rural</u>		
Most important:		Family security, happiness, inner harmony, a world at peace
Least important:		An exciting life, salvation, social recognition, a world of beauty, pleasure
		Instrumental values
<u>Urban</u>		
Most important:		Honest, loving, responsible
Least important:		Self-controlled, courageous, capable, ambitious, obedient
<u>Rural</u>		
Most important:		Honest, loving, responsible
Least important:		Self-controlled, courageous, capable, broad-minded, imaginative

the urban mothers. As far as the most important instrumental values were concerned no differences existed between the groups.

The distinction between terminal and instrumental values requires in the author's opinion, further theoretical analysis and justification. Distinctions involving means versus ends are always somewhat arbitrary because means become ends in themselves and ends may be seen as means to other ends. What is needed are theoretical considerations that explicitly make use of the distinction between terminal and instrumental values.

In sum, the sub-studies presented in this section suggest the following conclusions. The evaluation of the results from the point of

view of conscious activity will be made in the final discussion (in chapter 4). (1) The results produced by all the types of approaches to the mothers' values (ie. the main alternative assessment procedures) corresponded to each other. The most striking result was that the great majority of the mothers emphasized or assigned a high ranking to things which were related to family life. This means that they emphasized on good family relationships, happiness, family security and the upbringing of children. In their free time they were engaged in activities which were limited to the family circle and promoted the common good of the family (for example, handicrafts: preparing clothes for the children). (2) The education and the age of the mother were the most notable variables which related significantly to values. There was a strong connection between a long education and cultural and reading interests as well as with interest in and discussion of politics. The oldest mothers tended to have a desire to convey religious faith to their children.

#### 3.2.4. Conceptions of man

The problems (Problem A.4.) concerning so-called ontological questions were divided into four sub-categories: (a) Conceptions of the purpose of life and existence, (b) General conceptions of man, (c) Conceptions of the basic nature of the child, and (d) Conceptions of susceptibility to upbringing. The results which describe the respondents' views on these obviously most difficult and least conscious phenomena will be briefly outlined in this section. An attempt is made to analyse and to interpret the discussions based on a humanistic-psychological point of view. It was by no means easy to deal with these themes in the interview and to report the mothers' thoughts clearly. The themes were discussed at the end of the interview situation. It may be that such ideas (themes) appeal mostly to intellectuals. However, an assumption that each individual attempts to form a personal world view and pose questions and search for answers when they may be obscure and ambiguous led to the choice of these themes (cf. pp. 28-31). After the interviews with the mothers were studied closely it became apparent that there were more exciting and more profound answers than might have been anticipated.

### 3.2.4.1. The purpose of human life and existence

Some individuals - especially from the younger groups - often debate whether anything makes sense at all in this life, when so many things are wrong with their world. The question of the purpose of human life and existence is closely connected with questions of meaningfulness of life and an individual's identity (see above pp. 54-55). This is the difficulty encountered by people when they seek objectives and values in which they can believe, given the modern world.

The results of the present study concerning such questions showed that the respondents had different insights. The main lines of the mothers' thoughts are presented in the following figure (Figure 22).

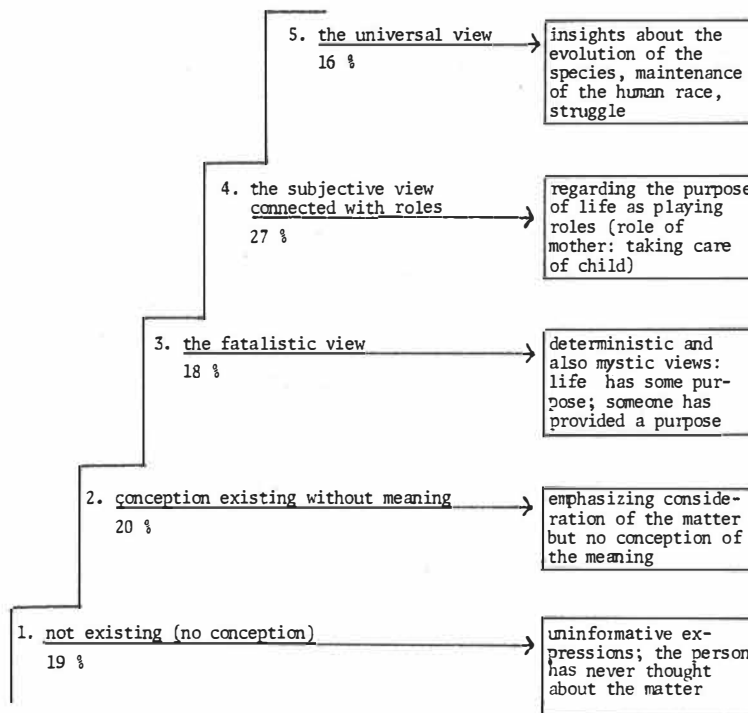


Figure 22. The levels of the conceptions of the purpose of human life and existence

As Figure 22 shows there were respondents who had serious difficulties in discussing these questions. These mothers (19 %) usually said that they never thought about such things very deeply. They gave only a short answer and it turned out to be difficult for the interviewer to continue the discussion with these respondents.

Typical answers of the mothers are exemplified by the following excerpts:

The mothers who had no conceptions about the matter said:

Never thought about it, really. (Age 31, town, 1 child, typographer)  
(No en mä oo koskaan ajatellu.)

Never thought about that sort of thing very deep. You think about that sort of thing a lot, and you start to think there's no sense in anything. Just take it as it comes. (Age 32, country, 3 children, waitress)  
(En mä oo koskaan sitä hirveen silleen syvällisemmin ajatellu. Jos niitä asioita rupee oikeen ajattelemaan, ni tuntuu, ettei missään oo mitään mieltä. Ottaa vain päivän kerrallaan.)

Some of the mothers (20 %) said that they had sometimes or even very often thought about the meaning of their life but they had found no answers to these problems. This can be seen in the light of the following answers:

I've thought about it, but haven't found anything much in the way of answers. (Age 30, town, 3 children, nursery maid)  
(Kyllä oon miettiny, enmä oikeen oo löytäny vastausta.)

You think about that sort of thing quite a lot, really, quite a lot. That you are born here, and then you've got to get on with living. You sometimes feel there's no sense to it. Just living from one day to the next. (Age 34, country, 1 child, housewife)  
(Aika usein pohtii, aika usein. Että eletävä se on, kun on tänne syntynyt. Väliin tuntuu, ettei siinä oo mitään mieltä. Se, kunhan mennä möllöttelee päivästä toiseen.)

The mothers who had a fatalistic view of the purpose of human life talked about the meaning of life, but they could not provide specific examples of things that would give content to the purpose of their life. They only believed very firmly that human life must have some kind of purpose:

Well, sometimes. I suppose everybody does. Don't know what it is, though. You do your thing here and ... everybody does their thing and I suppose it should ... I think everybody has been given their job to do. There is some sort of power. (Age 37, town, 2 children, housewife)  
(No kyllä minä sitä joskus. Varmasti jokainen on sitä. En mä oikeen tiiä mikä se on. Täällä touhutaan ja kai sen pitäs niinku. Jokainen

touhuu omalla. Mä luulen, että jokaiselle on annettu se oma tehtävänsä. Kyllä se joku voima on.)

Well, it gets like that sometimes. Everybody has their time to live and a purpose and a task to do. It won't do to fight it. (Age 40, country, 8 children, housewife)

(Nii kyllä se on sitä joskus. No, se on se, että jokaisella on se määrittänyt elämän päivät ja tarkoitus ja tehtävä. Eihä sitä passaa niskuroida vastaa.)

Some of the mothers (27 %) had a subjective view connected with roles (mainly the role of mother):

For me at any rate that is the purpose of existence, for me it's the be all and end all, the child. Because I feel that I would not have anything if I did not have the child. (Age 33, town, 1 child, secretary)  
(No mulle se on ainaki olemisen tarkoitus, että mulle on kaikki kaikessa ninku lapsi. Koska musta tuntuu, että mulla ei olis mitään, ellei mulla ois lasta.)

Of course you sometimes think what it is that you're living for. Well, you've got to live for the kids, at any rate. (Age 26, country, 1 child, farmer's wife)

(Tietysti sitä joskus, että minkä takia sitä ellää. No, ainaki lasten vuoks pittää ellää.)

I have thought about it, what is the purpose of all this, and for me in particular. I can't say what the purpose of my life is. That's when you see the purpose of your life, when you see your children grown up, standing on their own two feet and getting on in the world. Then you think you have not lived in vain. (Age 30, town, 2 children, housewife)  
(Olen mä pohtinut, että mitä tarkoitusta täällä yleensä on ja nimenomaan itteeni ajatellen. En mä osaa sanoo, mikä tarkoitus mun elämällä on. Sittehä sen tietysti tämän elämän tarkoituksesa huomaa, ku näkkee lapsesa isona ja omilla jaloilla ja pärjää täsä maailmassa. Sitte sitä ei oo sitte elänykkää ihan turhaa.)

There were also answers where more universal insights were emphasized. They talked about the evolution of the human species or the maintenance of the human race. Some religious views were also included in this group:

You do sometimes, I suppose it is that we all try to further humankind, in our own way. (Age 35, country, 2 children, farmer's wife)  
(Kyllä sitä toisinaa. Se on kai se, että me yritettää jokkaine viiiä tätä ihmiskuntaa etteenpäin.)

So the human race survives on this earth, that sort of thing. Happiness. That you're happy while you live. (Age 39, town, 2 children, nurse)

(Ehkä jotain sellasta, että ihmissuku säilyy maan päällä. Onnellisuus. Sen ajan kun elää, voi elää onnellisena.)

It's awfully hard to express in words, but I think myself that every person's growth certainly has a purpose. As for me, I'd say my personal

concept of human life at the moment is that I think that the purpose of a person's development is to become the image of our Lord. And we have that image in the Bible. For me it's quite obvious. It's a hard thing to discuss. (Age 33, town, 2 children, artist)

(Sitä on hirveen vaikeaa puhumalla ilmasta, mutta itse mä uskon, että jokaisen ihmisen kasvamisella on varmasti päämäärä. Mä itse sanosin siihen niin, että mun henkilökohtainen ihmiskäsitys on tällä hetkellä muodostunu tämmöseks, että ihmisen kehityksen tarkoitus on tulla Luojaansa malliksi. Ja siitä meillä on malli Raamatussa. Mulle se on ihan selvä asia. Vaikeaa siitä on puhua siitäkään asiasta.)

#### 3.2.4.2. Conceptions of the basic nature of man

It was argued in the theoretical section of the study (p. 32) that statements about man, ie. conceptions of man, are special in the sense that their creation and critical examination presupposes an ability to place oneself in the position of an external observer. In referring to human wisdom or human awareness it has often been stressed that man can stand outside himself and see himself as an object among other objects. That the nature of man is special is obvious from this aspect. It is obvious that conceptions of man are quite difficult to express in statements; instead they are very often hidden and can only be discovered imperfectly.

The purpose of this study was to clarify the conceptions that the mothers possessed at a very general level. It was then a question of statements about 'man' in as far as his abilities and typical features are concerned, features showing the difference between man and other animals and forces directing his motives. The main results in this area of consciousness are presented in Table 10.

The results indicated that about a third of the respondents could not discuss the matter. The interviewer's question elicited no reaction or the answers were diffuse, eg. 'it's been somehow determined what man is', or irrelevant, eg. 'man's never satisfied'. Over a third of the mothers mentioned a rational aspect of man, eg. 'man is capable of thinking and taking others into consideration'. Man as a self-conscious, self-developing human being was mentioned by 20 % of the respondents. Some mothers (18 %) saw man as a moral being or an ethical being living in interaction with other people. Five mothers had an insight that laid special emphasis on man as a religious being created by God. One group (13 %) consisted of answers in which man was

Table 10. The views of the basic nature of man (number of mentions)

THE BASIC NATURE OF MAN			
	%		%
Man as a <u>rational, thinking</u> being	38	Man as a being <u>dominating</u> nature and creation	13
Man as a <u>self-conscious, self-developing, human</u> being	20	Man as a <u>religious</u> being created by God	5
Man as a <u>working, building</u> being <u>creating culture</u>	17	<u>Other specific features</u> eg. man as similar to animals	18
Man as a <u>moral, ethical</u> being living in <u>interaction with</u> other people	18	No insight	36

seen as a being dominating nature and creation.

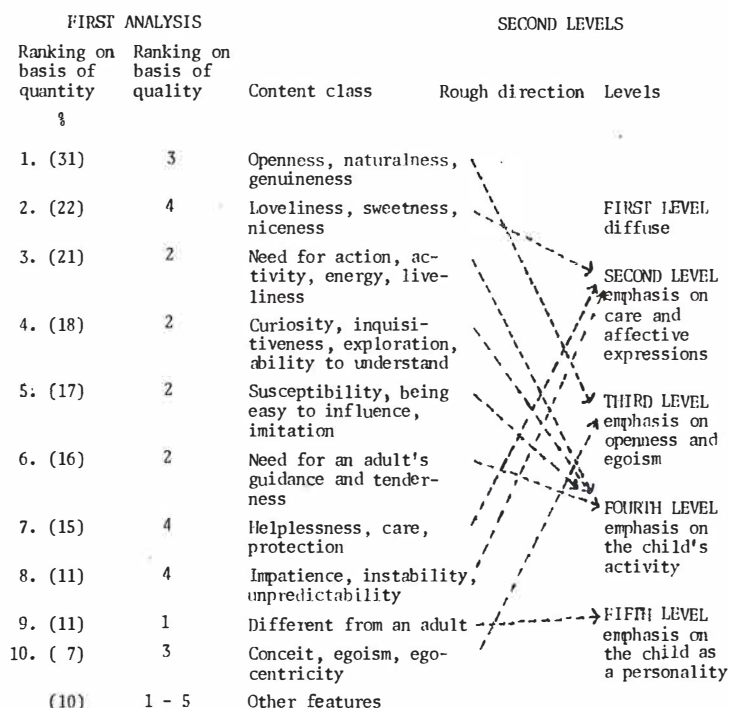
It should be noted that many respondents mentioned not only one feature described above but two or three (and even more) features. In all, over a third of the mothers (38 %) mentioned one of the features while three or more features were mentioned by seven mothers (Appendix 2, variable 140).

#### 3.2.4.3. Conceptions of the basic nature of the child

One aspect of the conception of man is the view of the basic nature of the child. In the theoretical section of the study (Section 3.2.3.) various views were considered. It was argued that what parents think about children in general is of the utmost importance (p. 64). It was also assumed that most parents know very little about actual theories of human nature, although these may strongly influence their child rearing practices (p. 64).

At the end of the interview the researcher said, 'We have talked at length about child rearing and other things but not really about the child. Could you tell me how you see the child - I don't mean just your own son/daughter but more generally. What, if anything, can we find in common with all children?' Some of the mothers reacted very quickly, while others were very quiet and thoughtful.

It appeared that 11 % of the mothers had no insight into the matter. Answers classified as 'quantitatively abundant' were produced by 16 % of the mothers. The features which emerged in an analysis of the discussions are presented in Figure 23.



See Figure 7 for an explanation of the method of counting

Figure 23. The formation of levels in the conception of the child and their elements

These features were organized into a new form as shown in Figure 24. Two aspects were used as the criteria in forming this description: how emphasis on the child's activity was manifested and, secondly, how an emphasis on respect for the child emerged.

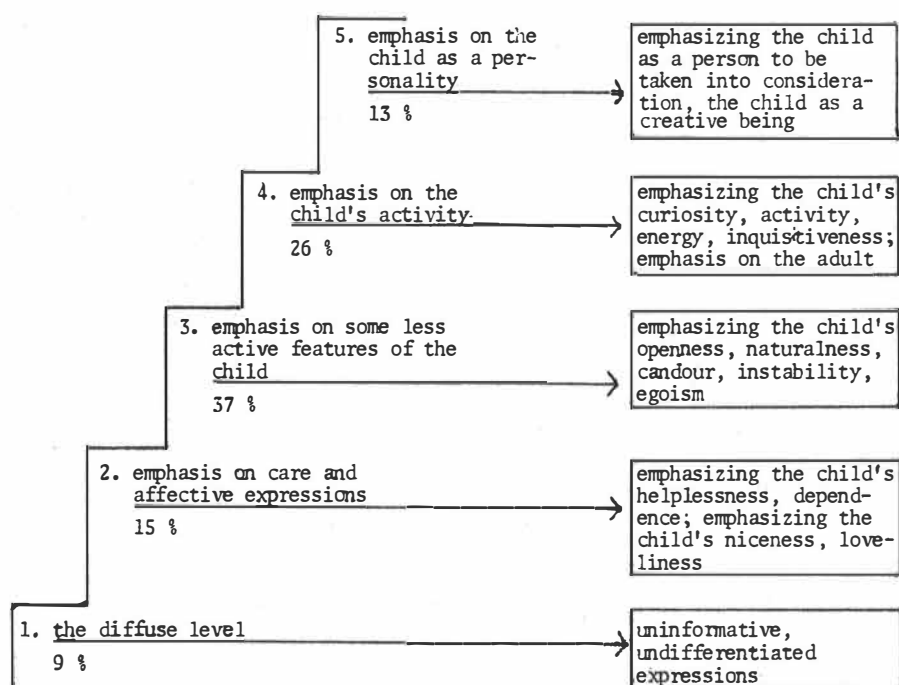


Figure 24. The conceptions of the child (scale: emphasis on respect for the child)

Figure 24 shows how children were seen and understood by the mothers.

Some of the answers (9 %) showed diffuse views (level 1.):

It's a bit of a hard question. (Age 30, country, 3 children, housewife)  
(Se on vähä vaikee kysymys.)

That's a mystery, really. You've no way of knowing, till they learn to talk, at least, what they have on their mind. (Age 30, town, 2 children, housewife)

(Se on semmonen arvotus oikeestaan. Sitä ei tiiä siihe asti, ku se op-pii puhumaan, että mikä hätä sillä on millonki.)

Most of the mothers focused their attention on some general features of the children. It can be seen that the mothers who were located at the 'emphasis on care and affective expressions' level held an idea which was confused with affection for children. But this view, of course, reflects the particular image which distinguishes the child from the adult. The following excerpts illustrate these conceptions:

Well, it's nice to have a child, I am interested in children and like them, they're nice. They are quite fun to talk with, too, kids of 5-6 for instance... (Age 39, town, 2 children, housewife)  
(Kyllähä se mukava on olemassa, kyllä mä oon kiinnostunu lapsista ja tykkään niistä, et kylhän ne hyviä on. Niitten kanssa on aika jännä jutellaki just tommosten 5-6 -vuotiaiden kanssa...)

A child is a child. They don't have any worries yet, they are satisfied with what you give them, and don't have any demands yet. They are satisfied if everything is going OK. More satisfied than adults. (Age 31, country, 2 children, shop assistant)

(No laps on laps. No se on semmonen, ei oo mitään huolia vielä, tyytyväinen siihen, mitä sille annetaan ja se ei osaa vielä vaatia mitään. Se on tyytyväinen jos kaikki on hyvin. Tyytyväisempi kuin aikuinen.)

Awfully nice. They're a lot of worry and work, too. (Age 29, country, 2 children, housewife)

(Kauheen mukava. Siinä on paljon huolta ja työtä.)

These mothers emphasized their nurturance role. The statements which referred to the parent's responsibility for providing nurturance for children appeared to be at a very global level. It can only be speculated that they see the child as a being who needs food, adequate sleep, nursing when he is sick etc. Fein & Clarke-Stewart (1973) suggest that certain factors in a parent's life may make him or her more conscious of the importance of the nurturing role. These include the feeling that he or she was deprived of nurturance during childhood.

It was typical of one group of mothers to emphasize the child's openness and genuine nature - and also his egoism (level 3.):

Genuine, they don't pretend. They are open to things, ask everything. They don't have any prejudices about anything. (Age 37, town, 2 children, housewife)

(Aito, ei teeskentele. Suhtautuu avoimesti, kysyy kaikkia asioita. Ei ennakoluuloja mihinkään asiaan.)

Quite open, if they haven't had any great upsets. Happy. Quite unpredictable, they are not as good as you'd think if you haven't had a lot to do with children. (Age 31, town, 3 children, occupational therapist)

(Aika avoin, jos ei nyt mitään suuria kolhuja oo joutunut kokemaan.

Ilmainen. Aika arvaamattomia, eivät ole niin kilttejä, kuin sellanen luulis, joka ei oo lasten kanssa ollu.)

Quite volatile, perhaps. They express their feelings from one extreme to the other. They act on their own impulse, on their own terms, they don't think much of others, up to a certain age. (Age 33, town, 3 children, social worker)

(Ehkä se on aika lyhytjännitteinen. Purkaa tunteensa laiaista laitaan. Toimii tavallaa niinku omista lähtökohdistaan, että ei ota paljon huomioon toisia, tiettyyn ikään asti.)

Over a third of the mothers discussed the active nature of the child (level 4.). They held the assumption that the child was an active ini-

tiator and intrinsically active. Many mothers thought that the child was an inquisitive being who wanted to know everything and who had an awful lot of energy:

They are a bit timid, in any case, and need security and looking after. And they are awfully inquisitive, of course, and want to know things about everything because they don't know a lot of things yet. And then they are rather lovely (laughter) compared with grown-ups, because of that childishness. (Age 42, country, 4 children, secretary)

(No se on ainaki, että se on vähä pelokas ja vaatii tuota turvaa ja holhousta. Ja sitten se on kauhean utelias tietysti ja tiedonhaluinen kaiken suhteen, koska se tietämys on vielä aika vähästä. Ja sitten se on aika ihana (naurua) verrattuna isoon, justiin sen lapsellisuuden takia.)

I think curiosity is typical, a wish to know, they want to know everything and ask the strangest things. (Age 33, country, 3 children, housewife)

(Eiköhä se tyypillistä se uteliaisuus, se tiedonhalu, että ku kaikkea pitäs tietää ja ihan ihmeellisiä kysytään.)

They are explorers, inquisitive, or - to put it in a nicer way - they want to learn things. All children, they want to try out everything. They are sincere. That's a very old phrase, I suppose, but they really are like that. (Age 35, town, 2 children, nurse)

(Ne on tutkijoita, uteliaita, vai pitäskö sanoo kauniisti tiedonhaluisia. Laps kuin laps, niin pitää kokeilla kaikki. Ne on vilpittömiä. Se on kai moneen kertaan sanottu fraasi, mutta ne on todella sitä.)

A child sees the world in a different way from an adult. You could even say that they get a lot more out of it. They notice more things, although adults think that they don't even know how to, they remember things... then they ask 'why' all the time. It gets on your nerves sometimes, especially when you don't know the answer. (Age 34, town, 2 children, nursery worker)

(Lapsi näkee maailman toisenlaisena kuin aikuinen. Sanotaanpa niinkin, et lapsi saa siitä paljon enemmän irti. Huomaa enemmän, vaikka ne aikuiset luulee, et lapsi ei osaa edes, tota, etkö sä näe, et sillon tossa... Sit kun laps kysyy miks koko ajan. Kyllä se on hermostuttavaa ja sit kun ei itse osaa vastata.)

They have an awful lot of energy at any rate, looking for a way to get out. And a lot of creative potential, I suppose, that hasn't been suppressed at school yet. I don't really know what else to say. (Age 36, town, 2 children, teacher)

(Ni siinä on ainaki valtava määrä energiaa, joka odottaa, miten sen pääsis purkautumaan. Kai siinä on aika paljon vielä tommosta luovaa mahdollisuutta, mitä ei oo vielä tukahdutettu koulussa. En mä oikein muuta osaa sanoa.)

The view (level 5.) which laid emphasis on the child as a person was produced by 13 % of the mothers. These mothers were deeply 'child-centered'. They stated that the child was an individual who must be taken into consideration in every situation and they emphasized the child as an equal being - a being who educated the adult. Some mothers

described the child as a creative being, a being with many different capacities. The following conceptions illustrate this group:

They are, you should always consider a child, try to, by asking questions and listening, what sort of attitude you should have at different times and... A small child should never be, or any child for that matter, a nuisance, somebody not to be considered. (Age 41, town, 3 children, managing director)

(Se on, lapsi pitää aina ottaa huomioon, yrittää vähän kyselemällä ja kuuntelemalla, minkälainen suhtautumistapa siihen pitäis aina kussakin tapauksessa ottaa ja... Eikä se ikinä saisi olla pieni laps tai mikään laps, semmoinen häiritsevä tekijä ja semmoinen, jota ei otettaisi huomioon.)

Children are very creative, and they have a tremendous need for activity. You'd think that they'd wear themselves out by all the activity, but they just renew their energies. That always amazes me and maybe all people do who deal with children. (Age 32, town, 2 children, artist)

(Lapsi on niin luova itsessään ja toiminnantarve on valtava. Ja luulis, että ne siinä toiminnassaan väsyis, mutta ne vaan uusiutuu. Se on jatkuva ihmetyksen aihe. Varmaan jokaiselle, joka katselee, kun lapset touhuu.)

A child is a small person, who should always be considered. And they have their own ideas and their own outlook at a very early age, you should always consider a child's opinion and, in my opinion, you should discuss things with them an awful lot. And when they are about to start school you should start teaching them things. Of course not by forcing them, but by discussion. You should always consider a child an equal and not look down on them. (Age 27, town, 1 child, railway official)

(Semmone pieni ihminen, joka täytyy ottaa huomioon ehdottomasti. Ja hänellä on nyt omat ajatuksensa ja omat näkemyksensä sen ikäisenä jo, että pitäis ottaa lapsen mielipide yleensä huomioon ja mun mielestä pitäis keskustella hirmusen paljon. Ja sitte ku koulu alkaa jo olla lähellä jo niin siinä vaiheessa pitäis jo opetella lapsen kanssa jotakin. Ei tietenkään tyrkyttämällä jotain ohjeita, mutta sillee keskustelemalla. Lapsi pitäisi ottaa tasavertasena huomioon ettei katota sillee alaspäin.)

A child is, well, if you could make humanity concrete, that is a child. A child is all that we have in us in the first place, but because of environment and circumstances, because of all the obligations, it gets suppressed and changed, but a child is like a bud, a bud of humanity. They have all the good qualities in them, a human being. If you think - I picture a raspberry to myself, and each little blob represents something. It is all there. (Age 35, town, 1 child, secretary)

(Se on, jos vois esittää inhimillisyyden konkreettisena, niin se on inhimillisuus. Se on kaikki se mikä meissä on alunperin, mutta mikä olosuhteissa ja ympäristössä, kaikissa näistä paineista johtuen niin muuttuu ja painuu, mut se on niinku silmu, inhimillisyyden silmu. Siinä ne on kaikki hyvät ainekset se ihminen. Jos ajatellaan, että mulla on sellanen vadelman kuva mielessä, niin jokainen sellanen nyppeä edustaa jotakin asiaa. Siinä ne on kaikki valmiina.)

### 3.3. On the relations between the main content areas of educational consciousness and the individual's living conditions

#### 3.3.1. Preliminary factor analysis

In the theoretical part of the study (pp. 31 and 72) it was stated that various areas exist in the world view of an individual. Similarly, it was concluded that these areas constitute the basis in the effort to construct a structure of educational consciousness. Consciousness in child rearing was considered as including the following elements: (1) the area closely concerning the mother herself as an educator (eg. her feelings and general views of child rearing) and her practical decisions in child rearing manifested in the form of arguments, (2) aims of child rearing and the value area, and (3) the ontological area.

In order to discover empirical evidence for the structure of educational consciousness (Problem B.2.) as outlined theoretically, factor analysis was used. It should be noted that the research method (thematic interview) offered quite a good opportunity for obtaining detailed information. This had certain effects on the procedure; for example, the data did not include a great many variables describing the rich field of child rearing, but they offered a relatively deep insight into the research themes of the present study. As stated earlier, this many-sided information has not always taken the 'traditional' form of data. In this situation factor analysis may be regarded as somewhat questionable. There is at present no consensus among social scientists as to the most appropriate data-processing for such material. The writer of this study tends to adopt a view analogical with the discussion concerning the choice of research method (see Hirsjärvi & Hurme 1980, 37-38). This view or idea has been called 'triangulation' and it means that by using a variety of methods the best conclusion may often be produced.

The intercorrelations between all the content variables indicated some strong relationships as well as the complexity of the research phenomena. As can be seen in Table 11 the correlations between the main topics (arguments, conceptions of child rearing, aims, values, conceptions of man) were moderately high.

The preliminary factor analysis using various kinds of variable-

Table 11. Intercorrelations between the main areas (the variable numbers refer to Appendix 2)

Variables	46.	65.	66.	69.	74.	89.	108.	132.	141.	167.
46. Conception of child rearing (undifferentiated - <u>counselling</u> )										
65. Arguments for corporal punishment (ambivalent structure - <u>strong horizontal structure</u> )	.17									
66. Arguments against corporal punishment (external factors - <u>the position of the child</u> )	.18	--								
69. Arguments for restrictions on watching TV (external factors - <u>developmental aspect</u> )	.27	-.08	.24							
74. Arguments for the significance of fairy tales (no conception - <u>developmental influence</u> )	.18	-.25	.34	.19						
89. Aims of child rearing (material & egocentric - <u>self-development &amp; altruism</u> )	.39	-.11	.40	.37	.40					
108. Main values (no values - <u>personal development values</u> )	.13	-.09	.12	.18	.21	.48				
132. The purpose of human life (none - <u>universal view</u> )	.31	.13	.00	.37	.18	.51	.32			
141. The basic nature of man (none - <u>humanistic</u> )	.46	-.04	.36	.35	.32	.41	.27	.38		
167. The basic nature of the child (diffuse - <u>child as a personality</u> )	.50	.19	.09	.34	.25	.50	.29	.35	.47	
<hr/>										
$r > .19$ $p < .05$	$r > .25$	$p < .01$	$r > .30$	$p < .001$						

combinations revealed the 'power' of some single variables: some created constancy, while others produced changes in factor loadings. The result of the factor analysis based on the answers in various theme-areas is presented in Appendix 12. The variables included in the factor analysis were selected by taking the representative aspects and on the basis of the intercorrelations. The factorizing was performed by the principal-axis method and the rotation by the varimax-method. The three-factor solution (the criteria for selecting the number of factors to be rotated were eigenvalues and communality estimates) on which the interpretation was based explained 33.1 % of the total variance in all the variables. Factor I explained 16.0 % of the total variance and 48.4 % of the common variance.

The first factor had a very large scope, and two groups of variables especially emerged from the others. Firstly, the highest loadings were found in the variables for the ontological conceptions. A mother scoring high on this factor usually laid emphasis on humanistic thinking in conceptions describing the basic nature of man (Var. 147, loading .73). This included the views of man as a self-conscious, responsible being who takes other people into consideration. Correspondingly, a mother saw a child as a personality and a creative being who must be given consideration in every situation (Var. 167, .67). The second cluster of variables concerned child rearing and the mother herself as an educator. The factor indicated a mother who emphasized the adult's directive and counselling activity in child rearing (Var. 46, .61), and who was able to relate difficulties experienced in child rearing to an educator herself (Var. 59, .66). In addition, a mother wanted to raise a child who actively develops himself and who acts for the good of other people (level of self-development and altruism) (Var. 89, .52). This type of mother also was more interested in political views than a mother who had scored low on this factor (Var. 112, .42). On the basis of these views this factor has been termed 'humanistic view of man with counselling child rearing'.

Factor II, which explained 16.3 % of the total variance and 44.4 % of the common variance, was called 'individual cultural activities'. The factor characterized a person who was interested in cultural programs through television, who read quite a lot of books and who participated in traditional cultural activities taking place through institutions.

This mother also spent her leisure time together with her family. In child rearing she emphasized rules for children and showed disapproval of corporal punishment. In her own valuations she emphasized self-development and an interesting life.

Factor III was somewhat ambiguous with regard to its interpretation. The factor was interpreted as the dimension of common orientation vs. individual orientation in spending leisure time. The high negative loading (-.51) was on the variable describing handicraft, and the highest positive loading (.43) on that describing some special interest as the most popular interest of the mother. Since the variable called 'main values', which refers to things regarded as important and significant in the respondent's life, was also loaded positively (.42) on this factor, the interpretation was seen as justified. The explanatory power of this factor was lower than that of the two other factors, explaining 6.6 % of the total variance and 19.9 % of the common variance.

On the basis of this examination it can be inferred that the distinction between values (including both the real value-statements of the respondents and the researcher's interpretation of values on the basis of the respondents' preferences) and so-called cognitive and ontological conceptions is the most distinctive fact. This result supported expectations since this distinction was seen as an essential point in the structure of the individual's world view characterized in the theoretical section. Child rearing arguments can be interpreted as normative conceptions (ie. as means toward ends). Arguments and child rearing actions did not group into a factor of their own but were included in Factors I and II. The result well reflects the complex nature of human decisions. Arguments have their sources, on the one hand, in some basic beliefs in the human mind and, on the other hand, in human values. As considered in the first part of this study (Section 1.4.), these determinants act together to direct an individual's activity in a complicated way.

### 3.3.2. The factor structure of values and cognitive-ontological conceptions

In the analysis above it was observed that the communalities of so-called child rearing action variables (eg. punishment, rules, arguments for toys) were quite low. In order to obtain information concerning the factor structure without these variables all argument and action variables were eliminated and the factor analysis carried out with only a few variables. The decision was also made to include the specific variation of each of these variables in the factor scores. The factor analysis was performed by the same procedures as above and the interpretation was based on a two-factor solution. Together the rotated factors explained 36.8 % of the total variance (Table 12).

The factors obtained in two-factor rotation were interpreted as follows: Factor I described 'humanistic conception of man and child-centeredness'. The percentage of total variance was 20.5 and common variance 55.6. The highest loadings were found in the variables which all represent the deep and ultimate topics of human consciousness. This factor represents a mother who put a profound interpretation on humanity, who emphasized man as a being setting up aims and plans for his life, and who saw a child as a personality and as a being with all kinds of capacities. Her conceptions of child rearing included the counselling view, and she had clear conceptions that a child's self-confidence can be developed by encouraging and thanking him, trusting the child and appreciating the child's opinions. This factor also gave a picture of a mother who had insights into the purpose of human life where universal views (eg. the evolution of the species, maintenance of the human race and struggle for life) were emphasized.

This factor can also be termed otherwise. The variables above, depicted the mothers and reflected differences between them, represent cognitive and ontological conceptions. Therefore, this factor has been called the cognitive-ontological factor and the term has been used in the later analysis. The factor differs from the second factor, which included the valuations of the mothers.

Factor II described 'self-development and cultural interests'. The percentage of total variance was 16.3 and common variance 44.4. The factor illustrated a person who was interested in many kinds of cultural

Table 12. Rotated factor matrix of values and ontological conceptions

Variables	Factors		$h^2$
	I	II	
141. Conceptions concerning the basic nature of man (none or concrete - <u>humanistic</u> )	.67	.24	.51
46. The conception of child rearing (undifferentiated - <u>counselling</u> )	.65	.02	.42
167. Conceptions concerning the basic nature of the child (diffuse - <u>child as a personality</u> )	.60	.31	.46
152. Conceptions concerning the development of the child's self-confidence (no conception - <u>clear conceptions of development</u> )	.53	.03	.28
147. Conception concerning man as an ideal (diffuse - <u>mental scope &amp; altruism</u> )	.53	.22	.33
153. Conceptions concerning the origins of mental qualities (uncertain - <u>certain</u> )	.47	.15	.24
132. Conceptions concerning the purpose of human life (none - <u>universal view</u> )	.44	.32	.30
112. Political views and their significance in life (none or very little - <u>great interest</u> )	.43	.28	.26
129. Preferences concerning reading (nothing - <u>quite a lot of books</u> )	.27	.64	.48
130. Preferences concerning cultural interests (no interest - <u>quite a high interest</u> )	.27	.61	.45
89. Aims of child rearing (material & egocentric - <u>self-development &amp; altruism</u> )	.43	.59	.54
127. Preferences concerning TV programs (no cultural program - <u>plays, documentaries</u> )	-.06	.52	.28
108. Main values (no values - <u>personal development values</u> )	.29	.49	.33
131. Preferences concerning leisure time (nothing in particular together - <u>together with the family</u> )	.11	.44	.21
% of total variance	20.5	16.3	36.8
% of common variance	55.6	44.4	100.0

activities. The results obtained here reinforce those of previous cultural researchers (eg. Eskola 1976) in showing how interest in institutional art and culture appears to accumulate: people who go to libraries also go to the theatre, art exhibitions, etc. Preferences, however, do not indicate consciousness about values explicitly. This factor also included the variables which gave information about values more directly. Things which a mother regarded as important and significant in her life as well as her aims in child rearing were included in this factor. The factor gave a picture of a mother who appreciated self-development as an important thing and who wanted her child to be a person who actively develops himself and at the same time acts for the good of other people. On the basis of these variables which reflected differences between the valuations of the mothers, the factor has also been called otherwise: it has been termed value factor and this term has been used in the later analysis.

The attempts to investigate how various preferences and cognitive elements grow into structures are complicated tasks in many ways and the findings described above should be seen as approximations only. However, it is useful to obtain such information when an effort is made to clarify the deepest levels of human thinking (the conceptions concerning some aspects of the basic nature of reality). The most essential conclusions can be stated as follows: (1) The results reflected basic differences in the mothers' thinking and divided the mothers into various groups according to cognitive and value elements which constitute human consciousness. The findings correspond to the general theoretical views of the present study. (2) The educator's child rearing aims appeared to be the core area in the structure of educational consciousness. The variance of this variable was divided into two factors in the final analysis, and the same trend (the division of the variance into several factors with relatively high loadings in all of them) was found in various preliminary factorizations carried out with a variety of variables.

### 3.3.3. Mutual dependences between the research phenomena

The research problem B.2. focused on the dependences between the main areas of educational consciousness. It was assumed (see the formal structure of educational consciousness, p. 72) globally, although no exact hypotheses were constructed, that dependence between these main areas exists. Ontological conceptions and values were to be determinants of the more practical educational conceptions (arguments). Within the present study no reliable empirical information was obtained concerning factors that could be interpreted as primary determinants of parents' educational thoughts. One problem (Problem C.2.) associated with these relationships will appear in a consideration of the mutual effects of living condition variables and other kinds of determinants suggested above (p. 15). Furthermore, the relationships should be considered from the opposite point of view. The problem then focuses on the determinants of values on the one hand and on the determinants of the deepest conceptions about man and human life on the other hand.

The dependence of the variables on each other was examined by the method of linear regression analysis. The source file in the analyses consisted mainly of factor scores calculated from rotated factors (Table 12, p. 186 and Appendix 7). As there was no corresponding score for educational arguments a cumulative scale was constructed. This was termed 'the argument score'.

'The argument score' consisted of three variables which were assumed to indicate the most practical content of the mother's educational consciousness. The variables chosen to represent child rearing arguments were: (1) arguments for the significance of reading to the child, (2) arguments for restrictions on watching TV and (3) arguments for the significance of fairy tales. These variables were originally scales and at the formulation stage of the variables they were constructed on the basis of the same criteria (see p. 91). Intercorrelations between the variables were positive but not very strong. A scrutiny of the distributions supported the idea that it would be possible and sensible to develop a cumulative scale. At first the original scales were cut off by reducing the number of categories to two. The most appropriate cutting points were analyzed by using the following criteria: (1) The marginal frequency should vary between 20-80 %

and on the basis of this norm categories were combined, (2) The variables were cross-tabulated with each other and the cutting points were determined by using the criteria concerning the numbers of frequencies in the cells (see Eskola 1971, 232-233). For the scale a reproduction coefficient was calculated, which turned out to be .922. The coefficient value, .90, is regarded as a minimum for acceptability and sometimes a higher coefficient is demanded, especially when there are few items.

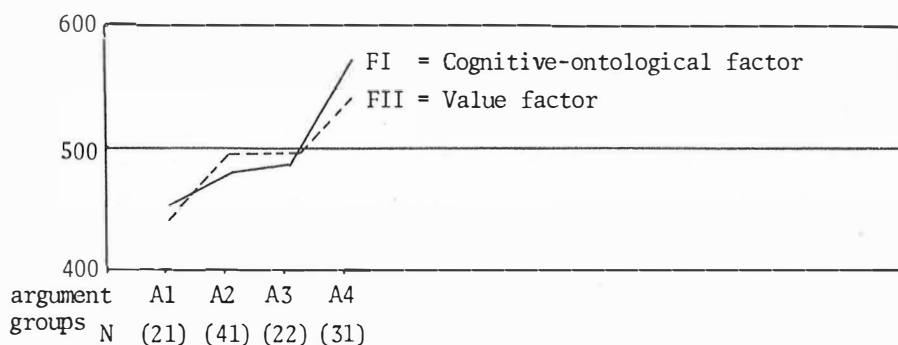
According to this construction, it might be stated that it was difficult for the mother to be conscious of the significance of fairy tales for the child's development, a little easier to 'understand' the meaning of the restrictions on watching TV and easiest to grasp the significance of reading to the child. The sum score of the new scale was termed argument score of the individual. On the basis of scores the subjects were divided into four groups as shown by Table 13.

Table 13. Argument groups

	A1	A2	A3	A4	Total
	Low conscious- ness	Relatively low consciousness	Relatively high consciousness	High conscious- ness	
f	21	41	22	31	115
%	18	36	19	27	100
determinant of child rearing actions:  <u>causes</u>				determinant of child rearing actions:  <u>reasons</u>	

The group means of factor scores for the values, ontological conceptions (Table 12, p. 186) and living condition variables (Appendix 7 and p. 97) are presented graphically in Figures 25 and 26.

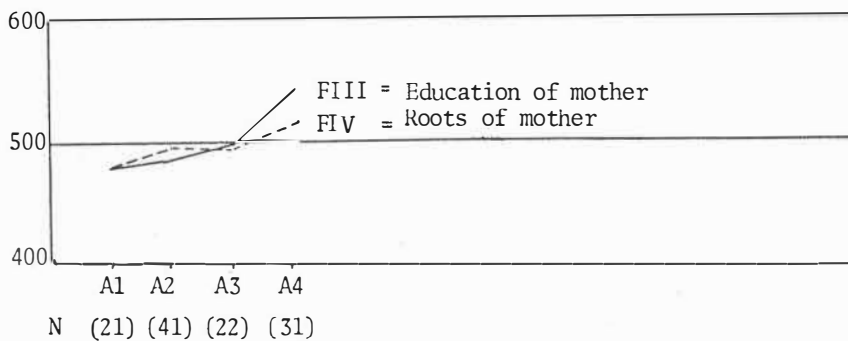
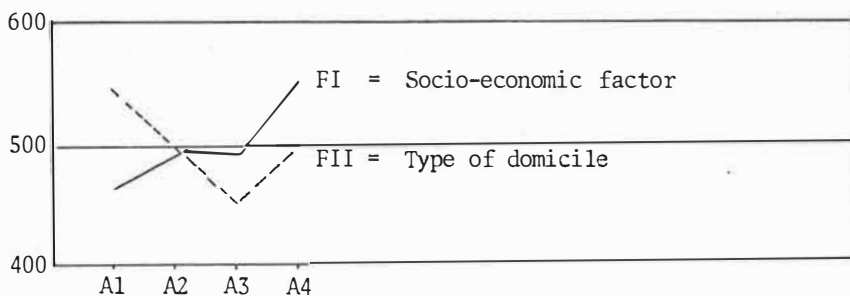
The differences between the groups were very distinct. In many cases the factor scores included in the analyses separated the groups in the same direction and in a significant way. The findings indicated the following: (1) There were significant differences between the group



The significance of the differences between the means of groups (t-test):

F I ; A4/A1, A2, A3  $p < .005$

F II; A1/A4  $p < .02$ , A1/A3  $p < .05$ , A1/A4  $p < .005$ , A2/A4  $p < .02$ , A3/A4  $p < .05$



The significance of the differences between the means of groups (t-test):

FI ; A4/A1, A2  $p < .01$ , A3/A4  $p < .05$

FII ; A1/A3  $p < .005$ , A2/A3  $p < .05$

FIII; A1/A4  $p < .02$ , A2/A4  $p < .05$

FIV ; (n.s.)

Figures 25-26. The means of factor scores for the argument groups

of 'high' arguments (A4) and the other groups (A1, A2, A3) in the factor scores for values and the ontological conceptions. The A4-group had strong preferences for choices which indicated intellectual and cultural (in the traditional, narrow sense) interests, an emphasis on humanistic-altruistic aims of child rearing and a deep consciousness of so-called ontological questions. (2) There were differences between the groups in the living condition scores. It is evident that living conditions have a crucial role in efforts to describe and to explain the reasons people have in their decisions. Especially in Figure 26 it can be seen that the factors which indicate the standard of living and living in rural areas are central in this sense.

In the regression analyses, values, ontological conceptions, child rearing arguments and living condition variables were each treated separately as dependent variables. In the first analyses the criterion variable to be explained was the argument score. The results obtained by three regression analyses are summarized in Table 14.

Table 14. Prediction of child rearing arguments as the results of regression analysis

Criterion variable	Combinations of prediction variables	Multiple correlation	p	Per cent of variance explained
ARGUMENT SCORE	1. Cognitive-ontological factor Value factor	.51	.001	27.0
	Factors:			
	2. Socio-economic factor Type of domicile Education of mother Roots of mother	.40	.001	16.8
	3. All prediction variables (six factors)	.57	.001	32.6

The prediction percentage of the variable combinations varied from 16.8 to 32.6 %. The predictions were statistically significant ( $p < .001$ ). The combination of the two main areas, the value factor and

the cognitive-ontological factor, clearly had a higher multiple correlation with the argument score than those of living condition predictors. Figure 27 presents the results of the analysis with all the factor-level predictions. The numbers in parentheses are intercorrelations between variables and the numbers without parentheses are beta-coefficients. The intercorrelations of .19 or higher are included in the figure. The arrows do not refer to causal relationships. When the beta-coefficients are examined it can be seen that the results support the basic theoretical view concerning the mutual relationships of elements in the consciousness of the individual. It was stated above (p. 32) that the so-called presuppositions which concern the conceptions of the purpose of human life and human nature are the most central elements in an individual's thinking system. The beta-coefficients of the cognitive-ontological factor containing those presuppositions seemed to be the best

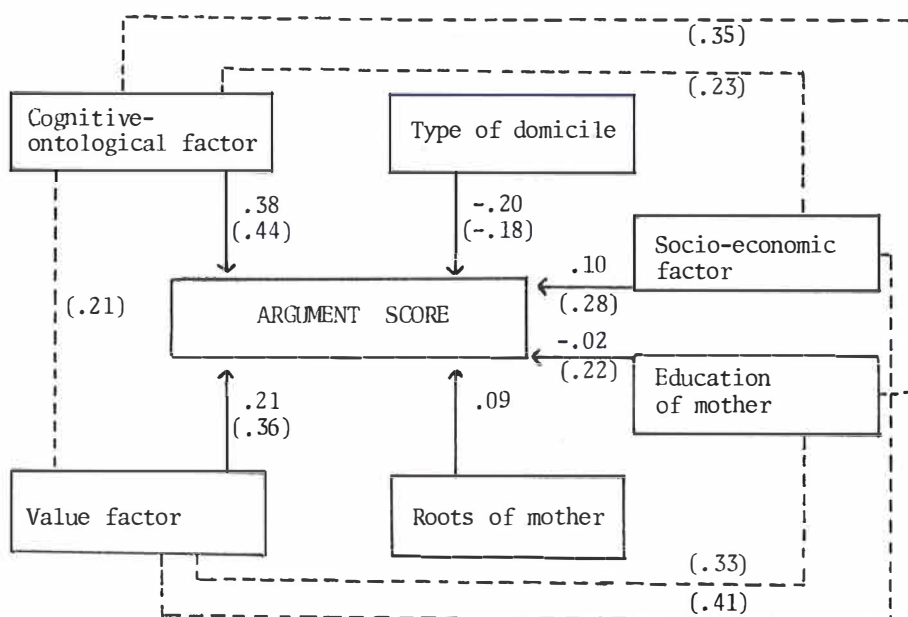


Figure 27. Dependence of arguments on values, cognitive-ontological conceptions and living condition variables (intercorrelations and  $\beta$ -coefficients)

predictor of child rearing arguments. The dependences between the value factor and the argument score proved to be somewhat stronger than dependences between the criterion variable and the living conditions factors. This analysis produced some interesting results, although care should be taken in making general inferences.

Regression analyses were also used in examining the extent to which (1) living condition factors combined and (2) living condition factors together with the argument score predicted the variance of the cognitive-ontological factor on the one hand and the variance of the value factor on the other (Table 15 and Figures 28-29).

All multiple correlations were significant, explaining 20-32 % of the variance in the criterion variables. The findings indicated that the combinations of the living condition variables (factors) predicted

Table 15. Prediction of cognitive-ontological conceptions and values as the results of regression analysis

Criterion variable	Combinations of prediction variables	Multiple correlation	p	Per cent of variance explained
THE COGNI- TIVE - ONTO- LOGICAL FACTOR	1. All living condition factors	.45	.01	20
	2. All living condition factors and argument score	.57	.001	32
	- two best variables: argument score and the factor of mother's education	.51	.001	26
THE VALUE FACTOR	1. All living condition factors	.53	.001	28
	2. All living condition factors and argument score	.55	.001	31
	- two best variables: the socio-economic factor and the factor of mother's education	.52	.001	27

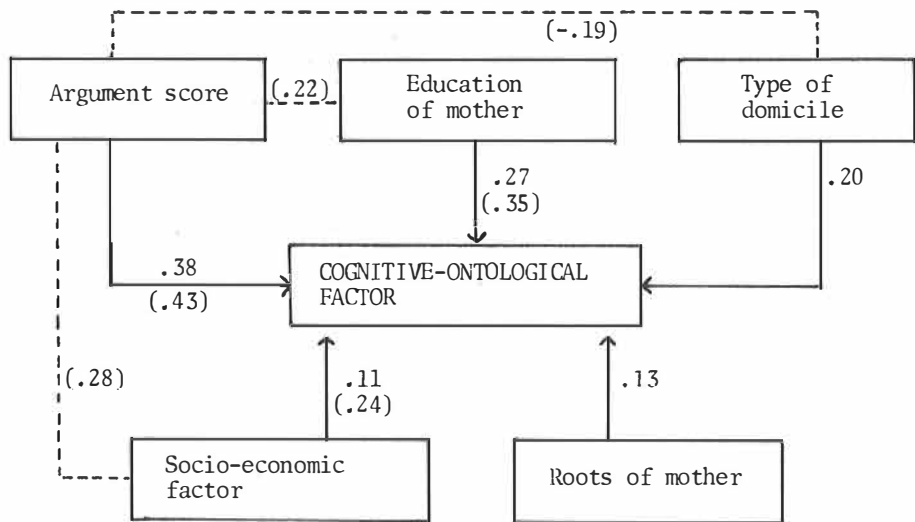


Figure 28. Dependence of the cognitive-ontological conceptions on the argument and living condition variables (intercorrelations and  $\beta$ -coefficients)

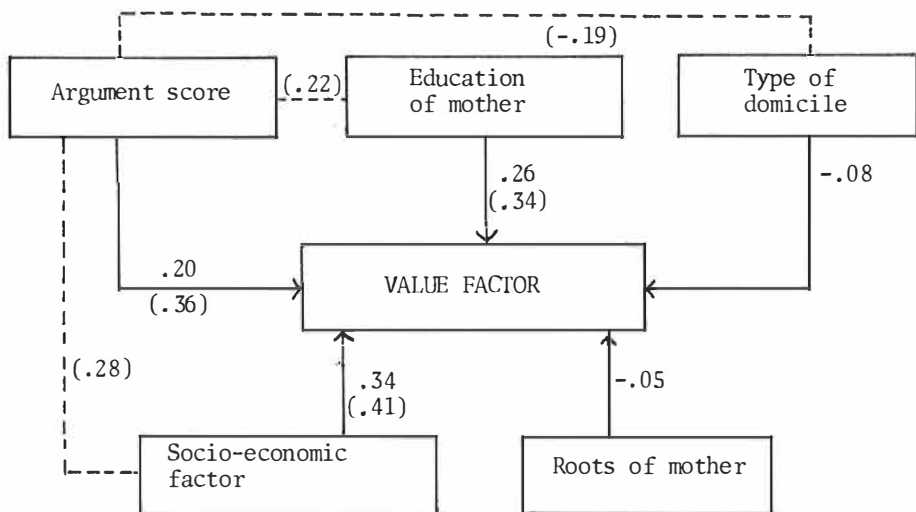


Figure 29. Dependence of the value factor on the argument and living condition variables (intercorrelations and  $\beta$ -coefficients)

the variance of the value-preferences somewhat better than the cognitive-ontological conceptions. The argument score combined with living condition variables resulted in producing a clearly better explanation for the first criterion variable than for the value factor. The nature of this value factor with its relatively narrow scope should, however, be remembered. The results from the regression analysis indicated (Figures 28 and 29) that the mothers' standard of living had a different explanatory power between these two main areas. It was the best predictor of the value factor. With regard to the arguments it might be concluded that the arguments the mothers used when explaining their child rearing actions were determined simultaneously by their deep conceptions concerning man, the child, and human life and by their general conception of child rearing.

#### 4. Implications and discussion

The main results of Part I are summarized in Chapter 4 of Part I. In this final chapter the most important results of Part II are drawn together, and the relation of the two parts of the study is examined. It is also the intention to apply the research findings to parent education as well as to consider some methodological problems which have emerged in the course of the study.

##### 4.1. Implications of the findings for a formal model of educational consciousness

'Consciousness' seemed to be a complex as well as interesting phenomenon in efforts to study child rearing. Even if it is accepted that the prime phenomenon is parents' activity, it can still be argued that reference to conscious processes is necessary in order to understand parents' activity fully. This argument is based on the view that an indi-

vidual is capable of self-conscious activity and a being who is to some extent free to choose between alternatives. Mechanistic approaches to man tend not only to be deterministic in the sense that free-will is discounted, but they also tend to disregard consciousness. It would seem relevant to emphasize that in order to understand a parent's behaviour, it is necessary to know what his or her intentions are, or what his or her goal is at a given time.

It is necessary to notice that the results presented above must be understood as a preliminary approach to the phenomenon of consciousness in child rearing and one must be constantly aware of the numerous problems involved. Thus, the findings may mainly function as the basis of any further research on this topic and offer ideas (hypotheses) for it. Furthermore, it should be remembered that the interpretations of consciousness in the present study were made on the basis of the verbal behaviour of the subjects. Thus, the real consciousness of the subjects may deviate from what has been described, due to numerous different factors. But one cannot deny, however, that verbal behaviour is one essential indicator of human consciousness (cf. Vygotsky 1962, 1978). In other words, the sphere of interest was deliberately narrowed down and the attention oriented to the data obtained in conversations with the subjects. As the results showed, the task of analysing one's own thoughts and subjective feelings went beyond the capabilities of a small proportion of the subjects. The well-known idea that important manifestations of human consciousness have been directly shaped by the basic practices of human activity and the actual forms of culture (for example, Luria 1976) should have received more serious attention in the present study.

In several preceding chapters an abundance of descriptive data have been presented and there have been many findings anticipated by the theoretical model of hypothesized interrelationships depicted in Figure 4 (p. 73). This figure, and many of the assumptions made in the context of the figure (pp. 68-73), has offered a scope of inquiry large enough to encompass these several findings. The framework of educational consciousness has tended to assume the existence of various levels of consciousness and of an integrated system of the individual's thoughts. In order to summarize how these assumptions can be proved attention is turned to some main areas. For this purpose Table 16 is presented.

The result indicated that qualitative differences can be found in the consciousness of the educators. These differences, which were extensively described in the empirical part of the study, were made up of numerous details, but some central recurring threads or themes can be outlined here. Low educational consciousness, as shown in the verbal reports, included relatively diffuse or undifferentiated views on the various topics of child rearing. Phrases like 'I do not accept free education' tended to appear in the responses. But these mothers cannot be criticized as educators, nor can it be said that they do not care about their children. Neither can it be assumed that the mothers with low consciousness are not interested in their children's upbringing. As has been pointed out (Bigner 1979) parents from every social stratum and every level of adequacy have in common the basic knowledge that, because they have produced this child, society requires them to see the job through, and judges them accordingly. "... almost without exception, parents accept this while the child is young, even if they also know that they themselves are poor practitioners of parenthood" (Newson & Newson 1976, 399). This was reflected in the state of low consciousness as parental activity which concentrated more on child care (keeping the child clean, fed and warm, as well as protected from physical dangers and frightening experiences) than on the socialization (developing the child into a competent, social and moral person).

A more developed level of educational consciousness was represented by the mothers whose thoughts were quite close to so-called 'common sense' -thinking. Thus, they seemed to have, for example, some reasons for their actions and they were able to discuss their child rearing aims but they held views which were not necessarily genuinely their own. One might be tempted to argue that they talked without really understanding what they were saying. They held very common and conformist views and they were attached to role-related principles.

At the highest level of educational consciousness the conceptions reflected an intensely self-conscious activity. In general, these mothers were able to deal with the questions by describing matters from the point of view of child development.

It is possible to broaden this discussion and to deal with the structure of educational consciousness by considering the contents of the mothers' thoughts more thoroughly. It was argued (p. 73) that a

Table 16. Summary of the contents and levels of educational consciousness

Contents	CONSCIOUSNESS		
	low	medium	high
1. Conceptions of the purpose of life and existence	<u>no conceptions or conceptions existing without meaning</u>	<u>the fatalistic view or the subjective view connected with roles (role of mother)</u>	<u>the universal view: insights about the evolution of the species, maintenance of the human race</u>
2. Conceptions of the basic nature of man	<u>concrete expressions: very little emphasis on man's mental capacity</u>	<u>emphasis on intellect and faculty of thought: brief mentions of man's intellect</u>	<u>humanistic thinking: man as self-conscious being, responsible being, a being making plans for his life</u>
3. Conceptions of the ideal man	<u>diffuse expressions and phrases</u>	<u>single moral principles and attitudes connected with roles: honesty, justice, friendliness, hardworking individual</u>	<u>mental scope and altruism: scope of thinking, mental activity, acting for the good of other people in society</u>
4. Conceptions of the basic nature of the child	<u>undifferentiated views or emphasis on care or affective expressions</u>	<u>emphasis on the child's openness, naturalness, candour etc., or emphasis on the child's activity</u>	<u>child regarded as a personality, emphasis on humanity</u>

5. Value-orientation	<u>financially</u> safe life, <u>health</u>	<u>family-centered values:</u> happy family, friend- ship, close and good human relations	<u>values or personal de-</u> <u>velopment:</u> stimulating life, mental balance
6. Aims of child rearing	<u>material-egocentric</u> view: gets on material- ly well in life, capa- ble of making enough money, not criminal or alcoholic or villain	<u>conformist view:</u> decent citizen, individual who works and <del>is honest</del> and capable of getting on with other people or em- phasis on <u>sociability</u> and <u>satisfaction with</u> self	<u>self-development and</u> <u>altruism:</u> individual acting for the good of other people, actively develops herself: tries to widen her horizons
7. Conceptions of child rearing	<u>the undifferentiated</u> view: emphasizing nur- ture or the domina- tive view: defined as discipline, commanding	<u>the normative view:</u> defined as teaching norms, regulations, manners	<u>the counselling view:</u> defined as setting an <del>example</del> or model; de- fined as counselling activity
8. Arguments for child rearing actions	<u>cause-type arguments:</u> practical and external factors: emphasis on the power of the parents	<u>the child as initiator</u> <u>of child rearing</u> <del>actions</del>	<u>reason-type arguments:</u> developmental aspects and guiding principles
9. Main sources of difficulties in child rearing	difficulties mainly due to <u>other persons</u>	difficulties mainly due to the child or to <u>circumstances</u>	difficulties mainly due to the educator <u>herself</u>
10. Main sources of self education	<u>no clear conception</u>	general experiences and communication	<u>child-centered orienta-</u> <u>tion</u>

parent can possess a well integrated, coherent system of educational conceptions. This argument seemed to have support in the sense that some of the mothers put forward their thoughts about child rearing as well as more general elements of the world view in a quite coherent way. This applies, for example, to the mothers who had a so-called humanistic conception of man and who were child-centered. These mothers emphasized man as a being endowed with all kinds of capacities. Their conceptions of child rearing included the counselling view, and they had clear conceptions of child development. These mothers had insights into the purpose of human life where universal views were to the forefront.

#### 4.2. Evaluation of the research methodology and the method

The present study included many value-laden solutions. This seemed to the author to be a useful and an intelligent way to proceed. Obviously this raises the well-known question of what sort of research is most desirable - or is acceptable. One of the peculiarities of behavioural sciences is the clash between the words and deeds. The sharp division between is and ought, between positive and normative pursuits, is widely accepted to-day. The position is more understandable when considered from a historical perspective. Educational science in Finland in its modern form developed as a conscious reaction to an earlier highly normative and teleological doctrine. The study of education is about what is and could or might be, seldom about what ought to be.

Yet, in spite of these declarations of the scientific, neutral character of educational science, virtually all educationalists have in fact given advice and made recommendations - and all this with the aid of arguments derived directly from the science of education. The difficulty that concerns the value-free character of educational sciences is connected with the whole conception of scientific analysis. The present author thinks that the belief that the distinction between 'is' and 'ought' is always obvious, clear-cut, and easy to draw is perhaps accepted too easily. The educationalist is part of the culture in which he lives, and he never succeeds in freeing himself entirely from dependence on the dominant preconceptions and biases of his environment.

It is obvious, too, that a researcher cannot stand outside all traditions. Radnitzky (1970, 8) has devoted some attention to these questions:

Besides creating order, a tradition provides us with something which we may process and improve. Although we cannot stand outside all traditions, we can emancipate ourselves from the bondage of certain traditions - one at a time - in a way that is rational: by playing out one tradition against another, by engaging in the dialectics between opposed traditions. The pluralistic society - whether scientific society or society at large - offers many opportunities for the distantiating and the problematizing of the traditions one stands in.

The researcher should be aware of the fact that he is apt to follow one of the traditions whether he admits it or not.

It was mentioned in the introductory section that the present study is more likely to belong to the Aristotelian tradition than to the Galilean tradition. The research method, termed 'thematic interview', was assumed to correspond to those conditions which are seen as essential requirements when the 'free-will' or 'self-determined' activities of the individual have been emphasized. The interview method turned out to be useful for the collection of the data, but it was also a very laborious method. It was a procedure which required tolerance and intellectual confidence in the legitimacy of survey research.

#### 4.3. Applying the research findings to parent education

The results of the present study indicated the complexity and difficulty of the various tasks of being a parent. For the purposes of this study the concept of 'parenthood' was broadly defined. It covered all responses, activities, and skills involved in child management, child rearing, parent-child communication, and general care of a child.

Although some few people are instinctive mothers or educators, others - by implication, most parents - must be educated for their task. This is where the expert comes in, not to supplant the parent, but to help the parent towards self-education (ie. self-conscious activity) and to rescue and re-educate the erring parent and the child whose education has gone amiss. The parent's self-education should be such that what is learned is completely assimilated and 'natural'. Then the parent need not think continuously what to do but can react readily and

totally to every situation.

From a practical point of view, the findings suggest that:

- (1) The Finnish mothers need information about child rearing as well as guidance in self-education. However, the impact of too many new ideas and suggestions for dealing with children and their upbringing may be too much for a parent to understand and accept. If too much is given, the parent may become confused and discouraged, feel inadequate, and make no effort to change at all.
- (2) A central concern of parent education is the emphasis on the parents' developing better communication skills and more accurate concepts. The results of the present study indicated that some of the mothers lack verbal means in order to manifest their thoughts and feelings.
- (3) Consequently, whenever parental education is being undertaken it is very important to limit discussion and to point out that all human beings make mistakes. In order to be 'a better parent', one has to take the more active role of a parent. Obviously parents need assurance that a child does not understand what is necessary for his or her optimal development.
- (4) Because the problems of child rearing stem primarily from interpersonal relationships within the family, the parent counselling activity should deal with several family members. The procedure for dealing with the whole family is based on the idea that in order to understand the parent, one must understand the dynamics of the interplay in the family. Improving the relationships between child and parents is the primary objective of parent education.
- (5) Parent self-education without a consciousness of the theoretical premises on which an activity is operating cannot be expected to show why the parent's efforts have been effective or ineffective.
- (6) Parent education should be based on the assumption that conscious activity, knowledge and specific skills are related to being 'a better parent'.

#### 4.4. Suggestions for further studies

There is a considerable need for more research. Research dealing with the whole family as well as with the fathers is urgently needed. In addition, one-parent families should be studied. Almost nothing is known about the effects of the parents' educational consciousness on children.

Since women with dependent children are entering the labour market in increasing numbers, this phenomenon seems to deserve more than incidental attention from researchers. In general, full-time employment, added to child rearing and housekeeping responsibilities, has often resulted in too much work for the mother. Moreover, the newly emerging patterns need to be investigated. As maternal employment becomes the norm, it will be interesting to consider the non-employed mother more carefully. What are her intentions, educational conceptions, values, and her interaction patterns with the children?

Longitudinal studies are needed to sort out the many questions of the child's development and the changes in educational consciousness; the questions such as 'What kind of changes occur in the parent's educational consciousness at various stages of the family cycle?'

Studies are further needed to clarify the effects of society's myths and demands on the parent's child rearing beliefs. Child rearing traditions should be studied more thoroughly.

Finally, a conceptual analysis of various central concepts, eg. 'consciousness', 'child rearing', 'parenthood', needs to be carried out.

One aim of this study has been to describe the phenomenon called 'educational consciousness'. An equally important goal has been to stimulate further research. Human consciousness seems to be a fascinating phenomenon, a phenomenon that will not, however, yield up all its secrets in a mere handful of studies.

## 5. Summary

The present study was divided into two parts, theoretical and empirical. In the theoretical part child rearing was considered philosophically. The purpose was to clarify theoretically parents' child rearing by emphasizing in the description human, conscious activity, eg. its central structural factors and the questions concerned with the levels of consciousness. The theoretical part was divided into three sub-areas:

1. An analysis of child rearing as social, intentional activity.
2. A characterization of the general nature of human consciousness.
3. A characterization of the nature and elements of an individual's educational consciousness.

It was concluded in the theoretical part that no single theory or model exists which alone would suffice as an adequate starting-point.

### 1. Child rearing as social, intentional activity

- (a) Firstly in the study the concepts of 'child rearing', 'educational activity' and 'educational actions' and their interrelationships were analysed. Child rearing was understood as practical, social activity. In practice it manifests itself as educational activities and actions. Actions were seen as the components of educational activities. Human activity therefore exists only in the form of an action or chains of actions.
- (b) In the following stage the model of general practical syllogism was applied to the analysis of child rearing. Because one central starting-point was the idea that human activity cannot be understood without reference to intentions, it meant that an attempt had to be made to clarify the determinants of the intentions and the relationship between intentions and actions that realize them. The most important conclusion was that it is necessary to analyse the aims of child rearing in order to clarify the foundations of an activity. The analysis also showed that intentions have their antecedents and these can be divided into two groups: internal and external factors. It was also emphasized that people do not live in a deterministic world but they have an opportunity of influencing events.

- (c) The analysis also produced the concepts 'reason' and 'cause'.

It was considered illuminating to examine an educator's own explanations from this point of view. An emphasis on the centrality of the concept of reason was seen to be closely related to an educator's responsibility and self-consciousness. It was argued in the present study that when people show responsibility for what they do, they can give reasons for their activity.

Hence they must think about what they are doing. In conclusion, it was suggested that a parent's arguments produced for the actions should be studied and analysed in the light of causes and reasons.

## 2. General consciousness and the world view

The foundations of educational activity were also studied from another point of view besides that of traditional syllogisms. There were several reasons for this: (1) although syllogisms help to conceptualize the structure of intentional activity, they are devoid of content as explainers of activity, (2) they are not adequate for the explanation of complex human activities and (3) it is necessary to go even deeper beyond intentions and this comprehensive background should be clarified. An effort was made in the present study to illustrate the conscious activity of an individual by including in the analysis the broad concepts 'consciousness' and 'world view'.

## 3. Educational consciousness

Three main areas were found in the characterization of educational consciousness:

- (1) Conceptions about aims and values in child rearing

This area of consciousness is closely related to the third category below.

- (2) Conceptions about the self as an educator and about the significance of the quality of educational interaction (adult - child interaction).

Various aspects of consciousness are included in this category. It is of course possible to interpret 'adult - child interaction' in terms of earlier studies and use concepts like child rearing methods

or techniques, child rearing practices, strategies of parenting, etc. In this study the two aspects have been roughly separated:

- an educator's general conceptions about her own role in child rearing where her views about the general nature of child rearing and difficulties in it, the basis of her educational decisions and the possibilities and ways of improving as an educator are emphasized,
- an educator's conceptions about the importance and the ways of guiding a child's development; hence, this area consists of such common themes as parental control, the importance of educational stimuli, and influences of an educator's activities and ways of guidance.

The former focuses on the core of the self-consciousness of an educator.

(3) Conceptions about general trends of human growth and the nature of man

The area is divided into three subcategories:

- an educator's conceptions about that real individual who is the participant in adult - child interaction; this means that an educator is conscious about the child's growth trend and the actual situation of the child,
- an educator's conceptions about general features of human growth and the laws of developmental psychology,
- an educator's conceptions about the nature of man; especially the views about the basic nature of a child must be understood as central from the point of view of this study.

The first aspect is the most concrete object of consciousness, the second deals with the results of the empirical behavioural sciences, and the third is philosophical by nature and concerns so-called ontological questions and presuppositions held by people.

The purpose of the second part of this study was to examine the content and structure of educational consciousness empirically. The subjects of the study were 115 Finnish mothers who had a child in the first class of the comprehensive school. The semi-structured interview was used as the method of data collection.

One of the main conclusions of the study of Finnish mothers was that modern women are becoming increasingly conscious of their role as

an educator and of the meaning of their child rearing practices. The more educated the woman, the more conscious she is of these things. The study of the question of how child rearing is understood by the mothers produced the result that mothers tend to have some idea of what they ought to be doing as mothers. This means that most mothers were concerned with value-judgements and the results child rearing was expected to produce. A large proportion of the respondents expressed the conception that the teaching of manners or rules is an essential part of child rearing. Only 10 % of the mothers considered acting as a model or an example for the child to be the most important feature of child rearing. On the whole, it turned out that authoritative and normative conceptions tended to be associated more frequently than, for example, authoritative and counselling conceptions.

The inquiry into the effects of the respondents' mothers' child rearing on their own activity produced the following results. Although most of the respondents believed in the influence of traditions, all of them could not specify the quality and content of this influence. Over a third of the mothers could not recognize anything positive in their childhood that they might transfer to their own child rearing. The most poignant experience was concerned with the authoritarian and strict control used by their parents. The other negative experiences were emotional coolness and the hard work which the child had to do in the home. The most outstanding positive experience emphasized by the respondents was the consistency (norms and certain child rearing principles) shown by their parents. To summarize, the results indicated that although the child rearing activity of ordinary mothers is largely guided by habit or tradition, the fact is that mothers do not obey their habits blindly and that many of them are conscious of at least some part of this tradition.

The role of mother seems not to give many women full confidence in their ability to perform it at the desired level. In fact, the more educated the Finnish urban woman, the more conscious she is of the difficulties involved in competent child rearing. The physical care of the children is no longer a major source of concern as it was for the antecedents of modern women.

It was found that there seemed to be numerous virtues which were conceived of as child rearing aims. The effort to describe the current

state of aim-consciousness of the Finnish mothers turned out to be a complicated task due to the various classes of virtues produced. Quite many of the mothers emphasized a self-supporting, materially well-off or working individual as the main aim of child rearing. The mothers were categorized into four levels of child rearing aims. The most common level was the so-called conformist level. Altogether one half of the respondents were included in this category. These mothers emphasized both moral virtues, such as an honest person and the good behaviour of an individual, and social virtues such as 'getting on well with others'. The use of the phrase 'a decent person' meant a mother was placed at this level. Only 11 % of the mothers were located at the level termed 'self-development and altruism'.

To summarize, some of the mothers put forward their thoughts about child rearing as well as more general elements of the world view in a quite coherent way. These mothers were child-centered and tended to have a humanistic view of man. Their conceptions of child rearing included the counselling view, and they had clear conceptions of child development. These mothers had insights into the purpose of human life where universal views were dominant.

## TIIVISTELMÄ: Tietoisuuden ongelma kotikasvatuksessa

Tutkimuksen tarkoituksena oli kuvata kasvatustietoisuuden käsitettä, sen rakennetta, sisältöä ja tasoja. Tutkimus on luonteeltaan kartoittava ja suuntaviivoja hahmottava. Tulokset voivat toimia uusien tutkimusten lähtökohtina siten, että niiden varassa on mahdollista kehittää jatkotutkimusten hypoteeseja. Sen sijaan yleistä on tehtävä varoen; koska tutkittava ilmiö on varsin monisäikeinen, tehdyt päätelmät saattavat olla paikoin liian suoraviivaisia eikä rajoituksia ole kenties tuotu esille tarpeeksi selkeästi.

Tutkimus jakaantui kahteen osaan, teoreettiseen ja empiiriseen. Teoreettisen, filosofisesti painottuneen osan tavoitteena oli selvittää vanhempien kasvatustoimintaa yksilöllisen tietoisuuden näkökulmasta. Teoreettinen osa käsitti kolme osatehtävää:

1. kasvatustoiminnan luonnehdinta sosiaalisena, intentionaalisenä (tavoitteisena) toimintana
2. yksilön yleisen tietoisuusjärjestelmän luonnehdinta ja maailmankuvan rakenteen kuvaus
3. kasvatustietoisuuden keskeisten sisältöalueiden kuvaus ja kasvatustietoisuuden yhteyden selvittäminen yksilön yleisen tietoisuusjärjestelmän eräisiin alueisiin.

Teoreettisessa osassa todettiin, ettei ole yhtä teoriaa tai teoriamallia, joka yksinään riittäisi ja voisi toimia tutkimuksen lähtökohtana.

1. Kasvatustoiminta sosiaalisena, intentionaalisenä toimintana
  - (a) Tutkimuksessa selvitettiin aluksi kotikasvatuksen (child rearing), kasvatustoiminnan (educational activity), vanhemmuuden (parenthood) ja kasvatusteon ja -toiminnan (educational action and activity) käsitteitä ja niiden keskinäisiä suhteita. Kasvatus määriteltiin tutkimuksessa käytännölliseksi ja päämääriin suuntautuvaksi, vanhempien ja lasten väliseksi vuorovaikutukseksi, joka

käytännössä ilmenee toimintoina ja tekoina. Kasvatustoiminnan todettiin olevan olemassa vain yksittäisinä tekoina tai teoista muodostuneena ketjuna.

- (b) Seuraavassa vaiheessa sovellettiin yleisen käytännöllisen päätte-  
lyn mallia kasvatustoiminnan analyysiin. Koska tutkimuksen kes-  
keisenä lähtökohtana oli ajatus, että inhimillistä toimintaa ei  
voida ymmärtää intentioihin viittaamatta, pyrittiin selvittämään  
tarkemmin intentioiden determinantteja sekä intentioiden ja niitä  
toteuttavien tekojen välistä yhteyttä.

Tämän analyysin keskeisiä tuloksia oli päätelmä, että inhi-  
millisen toiminnan päämäärät (tässä: kasvatustoiminnan päämäärät)  
ovat keskeisiä tarkastelun kohteita silloin kun kasvattajan tie-  
toisuuden ilmiötä pyritään analysoimaan.

- (c) Tutkimuksessa tähdennettiin väittämää, että ihmiset eivät elä  
deterministisessä maailmassa vaan heillä on mahdollisuus vaikut-  
taa tapahtumiin. Analyysissa tuotiin esiin käsitteet perusteet  
(reason) ja syyt (cause). Kasvattajan omasta toiminnastaan an-  
tamia selityksiä on valaisevaa tarkastella tästä näkökulmasta.  
Perusteet nähtiin läheisesti kasvattajan vastuuseen ja itsetie-  
dostukseen liittyviksi. Tutkimuksessa esitettiin se argumentti,  
että toimiessaan vastuuntuntoisesti ihmiset myös pystyvät erit-  
telemään toimintansa perusteita. Niinpä heidän täytyy ajatella,  
mitä he ovat tekemässä. Tutkimuksessa nähtiin keskeiseksi kas-  
vattajan argumenttien selvittely 'perusteiden ja syiden viiteke-  
hyksessä'.

## 2. Yleinen tietoisuus ja maailmankuva

Kasvatustoiminnan lähtökohtia pyrittiin tässä tutkimuksessa selvittä-  
mään muistakin kuin perinteisten intentionaalisten selitysmallien (syl-  
logismien) näkökulmasta. Tähän olivat syynä seuraavat seikat: (1) Pel-  
kät syllogismit, vaikka ne jonkin verran jäsentävätkin intentionaalisen  
käyttäytymisen struktuuria, jäävät sisällöllisesti ontoiksi toiminnan  
selittäjiksi. (2) Ne eivät tyydyttävästi riitä selittämään kompleksi-  
sia inhimillisiä toimintoja. (3) Intentioiden taustalla olevia tekijöi-  
tä olisi selviteltävä tarkemmin kuin on tehty.

Tutkimuksessa pyrittiin valottamaan yksilön tietoista toimintaa

täydentämällä analyysia laaja-alaisten käsitteiden tietoisuus ja maailmankuva avulla. Tietoisuuden analyysissa olennaisimmaksi seikaksi nähtiin itsetiedostuksen olemassaolo.

Maaailmankuvan rakenteen analyysi paljasti, mitkä ilmiöt ovat tietoisuuden toiminnassa keskeisiä. Analyysissa päädyttiin siihen, että kasvattajan ihmiskuva ja hänen arvostuksensa muodostavat maailmankuvan ja myös tietoisuuden ydinosan.

### 3. Kasvatustietoisuus

Kasvatustietoisuuden pääalueet jäsennettiin tutkimuksessa seuraavasti:

1. käsitykset kasvatuksen tavoitteista ja arvopäämääristä
2. käsitykset vanhempien ja lasten keskinäisen vuorovaikutuksen ja kasvuvuorikkeiden merkityksestä inhimilliselle kasvulle
3. käsitykset kasvu- ja kehitystapahtuman yleisistä lainmukaisuuksista ja ihmisen olemuksesta (ihmiskäsitys).

Tutkimuksen empiirisellä osalla oli kolme tavoitetta:

1. kuvata kasvatustietoisuuden keskeisiä sisältöalueita
2. selvittää kasvatustietoisuuden eri sisältöalueiden keskinäisiä suhteita
3. selvittää yksilön kasvatustietoisuuden yhteyttä hänen elinolosuhteisiinsa.

Empiirinen osa käsitti 115 äidin haastatteluvastaukset. Tiedonhankintametodina käytettiin puolistrukturoitua haastattelumenetelmää, ns. teema-haastattelua. Haastattelut tehtiin keväällä v. 1978.

Tulokset osoittivat, että kasvatustietoisuuden eri sisältöalueilla esiintyi yksilöiden välillä huomattavia kvalitatiivisia eroja. Kasvatustietoisuuden empiirinen tutkimus oli kuitenkin ongelmallista siksi, että haastateltavien tietoisuus saattaa olla syvempi ja rikkaampi kuin heidän kielellinen kykynsä riittää ilmaisemaan.

Tulosten pohjalta oli mahdollista kehittää karkeasti yksinkertaista kasvatustietoisuuden sisältöalueiden tasokuvauksia. Osoittautui, että tietoisuuden tasoilla oli merkitsevä yhteys äidin saamaan koulutukseen. Kasvattaja, joka kykeni erittelemään oman maailmankatsomuk-

sensa ydinsisältöjä (näkemyksiään ihmisestä yleensä, käsityksiään lapsen perusolemuksesta ja keskeisiä elämänarvojaan), painotti kasvatus-toiminnassaan ns. ohjaavan kasvatuksen periaatteita ja kykeni perustelemaan kasvatustoimintojaan lapsesta ja tämän kehitysedellytyksistä käsin.

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## Appendix 1. List of the schools

Research community	Schools	Number of respondents
Great Helsinki: Espoo	Laajalahti	16
	Vantaa Myyrmäki	14
Jyväskylä:	Cygnaeus	1
	Halssila	3
	Huhtasuo	7
	Jokivarsi	1
	Kangasvuori	2
	Kortepohja	3
	Kypärämäki	4
	Lohikoski	2
	Normaalikoulu	1
	Puistokoulu	4
	Pyssymies	2
Mäntsälä:	Kaanaa	3
	Lukko	2
	Saari	4
	Sulkava	5
	Sälinkää	4
	Sääksjärvi	8
Pihtipudas:	Elämänjärvi	11
	Kirkonkylä	9
	Muurasjärvi	9

## APPENDIX 2. VARIABLES (CONTENT OF THE INTERVIEW)

The formation of variables was made on the basis of the answers obtained by the thematic interview method. Thus, important aspects and alternative views were produced by the respondents themselves. The content of the present catalogue consists of four areas as follows: (A) Background and personal data, (B) Conceptions of self as an educator and of the significance of the quality of parent-child interaction, (C) Aims and values of child rearing and (D) Ontological conceptions.

## A. BACKGROUND AND PERSONAL DATA

1. Year of birth of the mother	1. 29-41 28(32) <sup>1</sup> 2. 42-47 45(52) 3. 48-53 27(31)
2. Marital status:	1. Divorced, widowed, co-habiting 10(11) 2. Married 90(10)
3. Number of children:	1. 1 child 15(17) 2. 2 children 40(46) 3. 3 children 25(29) 4. 4 children or more 20(23)
4. Sex of children:	1. Only girl/girls 23(26) 2. Only boy/boys 18(21) 3. Both sexes 59(68)
5. Sex of the child attending first grade:	1. Girl 49(56) 2. Boy 51(59)
6. Year of birth of the oldest child:	1. 50-65 25(29) 2. 66-69 27(31) 3. 70 48(55)
7. Ordinal number of the child attending the first grade in the family:	1. First or only child 48(55) 2. Second 27(29) 3. Third to eight 25(29)
8. Other individuals belonging to the household of the family or those living in the same building:	1. No others 80(92) 2. Relative in the same building but in a different household 7(8) 3. Relative in the same household 13(15)
9. Type of domicile:	1. Country 48(55) 2. Town 52(60)
10. Geographical area:	1. Central Finland 51(59) 2. Southern Finland 49(56)
11. Place of abode:	1. Jyväskylä 26(30) 2. Pihtipudas 25(29) 3. Great Helsinki 26(30) 4. Mäntsälä 23(26)
12. Type of domicile (during childhood and school years)	1. Predominantly country 81(93) 2. Predominantly urban 19(22)
13. Geographical situation of abode (during childhood and school years):	1. Same community as at the present time 35(38) 2. Nearby community or same county 19(21) 3. Other county 46(51)
14. Number of siblings:	1. Only child or one brother or sister 28(27) 2. 2-5 siblings 33(32) 3. 6-11 siblings 39(37)
15. Is mother doing work which provides income for the family?:	1. No 17(19) 2. Yes 83(96)
16. Nature of paid employment:	1. None (housewife) 16(19) 2. Child minding 9(10) 3. Management of domestic animals or farming 22(25) 4. Other paid employment in the home 4(5) 5. Paid employment outside the home 49(56)
17. For how long has the mother been in paid employment outside the during the past seven years?	1. Continuously at home 37(43) 2. 1-6 years in employment 39(44) 3. Continuously in employment 24(28)
18. Length of time spent in employment during the day (outside home):	1. No paid employment 51(59) 2. Part-time employment 11(12) 3. Full-time employment 38(44)

<sup>1</sup> The first number indicates the percentage and the second number in parenthesis the absolute frequencies

(continues)

19. Nature of arrangement for day-care: 1. Varying arrangements for day-care 28(39)  
2. Kindergarten or nursery 9(10)  
3. Permanent care with relative or at home 21(23)  
4. Mother 42(46)
20. Mother's profession (present employment or if not employment, earlier employment, Rauhala's classification): 1. Classes 1-3 31(23)  
2. Classes 4-5 52(59)  
3. Classes 6-7 17(20)
21. Whether a farmer: 1. Not a farmer 76(87)  
2. Farmer 24(28)
22. Area of cultivated land of those farming: 1. Not a farmer 76(87)  
2. Smallholder (area of cultivated land less than 7.5 hectares) 4(5)  
3. Average size farm (7.5 - 19.9 hectares) 15(17)  
4. Large farm (20 hectares or more) 5(6)
23. Number of cattle owned by those employed in cattle breeding: 1. Not a farmer 76(87)  
2. No cattle, crop-farming 2(3)  
3. Few cattle (less than 7 milking cows) 5(6)  
4. Average (8 - 14 milking cows) 9(10)  
5. Many (more than 14 milking cows, a large number of cows or pigs bred for slaughter) 8(9)
24. Profession of the spouse (Rauhala's classification): 1. Classes 1-3 13(15)  
2. Classes 4-5 54(61)  
3. Classes 6-8 33(39)
25. Basic education of mother: 1. Primary or secondary modern school 70(81)  
2. Grammar school (some of the sixth form) 13(15)  
3. Matriculation exam 17(19)
26. Professional training of mother: 1. No professional training 38(44)  
2. Trained at work, courses etc. 27(31)  
3. Vocational school 21(24)  
4. College 7(8)  
5. University level 7(8)
27. Type of dwelling: 1. Small cottage or equivalent 5(6)  
2. Flat 36(41)  
3. Terrace house 10(12)  
4. One-family house 49(56)
28. Ownership of residence: 1. Rented 13(15)  
2. Official residence 17(20)  
3. Owned 70(80)
29. Size of residence (including kitchen): 1. 1-2 rooms 10(11)  
2. 3-5 rooms 73(84)  
3. 6 or more 17(29)
30. Summer cottage: 1. No 93(95)  
2. Yes 17(20)
31. Private car: 1. No 19(22)  
2. Yes 81(93)

#### VARIABLES BASED ON OBSERVATIONS AND SUBJECTIVE RATINGS (Variables 32-38)

32. Condition of the abode: 1. Bad (no conveniences, in bad condition) 8(9)  
2. Satisfactory (in moderate condition, some conveniences) 14(16)  
3. Good (in good condition, the average standard) 65(75)  
4. High level, excellent, expensive 13(15)
33. General appearance of the rooms: 1. Very poor (very cramped, poor, decayed) 5(6)  
2. Poorer than average (the general appearance is mean and grey) 17(19)  
3. Usual, average, unexceptional (furniture of the average standard) 48(55)  
4. Better than average (expensive furniture, some carefully finished details) 25(29)  
5. Luxurious (soft carpets, paintings, chic furniture, antiques, in good taste) 5(6)
34. Cultural features of the home (paintings, books, musical instruments) (scale of cultural influence)  
1. Culturally poor (nothing, 2-3 for books) 33(33)  
2. Average (no paintings, books 1 - 1.5 metre of shelves, for example, one encyclopedia and something else) 58(38)  
3. Higher than average (some paintings of high standard, books for 2-3 metre of shelves) 21(21)  
4. Culturally rich (many books and paintings/instruments) 8(7)

(continues)

35. Mother's reaction to the questions (how the person interviewed reacted to the questions asked)  
(scale of involvement)
1. Type A: the cannot-say-type, either completely inhibited, reserved, or otherwise uninterested 8(9)
  2. Type B: answered in a formal, correct manner, no particular apparent interest in the matter, no initiative 27(31)
  3. Type C: showed moderate interest, but her answers were typically average, her argument took the usual course 41(47)
  4. Type D: very interested, involved, arguing, took a stand and initiative 24(28)
36. Mother's attitude towards the interviewer (what sort of attitude the person interviewed took towards the interviewer)  
(scale from reserved to open)
1. Reserved, cool, stiff 20(23)
  2. Kind and polite in the usual way 44(51)
  3. Cordial, warm, open, genuine 36(41)
37. Looks and appearance of the mother (of the person interviewed)  
(scale of good taste)
1. Careless appearance (for example, hair straggling, not properly dressed) 9(10)
  2. Usual, nothing striking 82(95)
  3. Elegant, neat appearance, original 9(10)
38. Mother's attitude towards children during the interview (the sort of attitude the person interviewed took towards children during the interview)  
(scale from severity to tenderness)
1. No children present 23(27)
  2. Commanding, snapping, attacking 12(14)
  3. Usual (warming, emphasizing norms) 37(42)
  4. Took a kind and warm attitude 28(32)

## B. CONCEPTIONS OF SELF AS AN EDUCATOR AND OF SIGNIFICANCE OF QUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL INTERACTION

### B.1. GENERAL CONCEPTIONS OF CHILD REARING (Variables 39-50)

#### CONCEPT OF CHILD REARING (Variables 39-46)

39. No conception:  
Child rearing not defined, child rearing in general was seen as problematic and difficult to explain, the word was not understood at all. The definition does not include any other category of the analysis. 12(13)
40. Holistic view:  
Child rearing defined as belonging to everyday life, but not analysed further; definitions emphasized nurture; definitions did not emphasize mental conduct (for example, teaching, guiding, disciplining, counselling) and there was no mention of aims. 12(13)
41. Authoritative view:  
Child rearing defined as disciplining, commanding, forbidding, demanding obedience. 10(11)
42. Goal-oriented view:  
Definition showed some sort of general aim: definitions often typically expressed that 'they would become decent people'. 20(21)
43. Rule- and norm-oriented view:  
Child rearing defined as teaching of norms, regulations, manners or behaviour. Definitions implying any sort of teaching are classified in this category. 37(39)
44. Model learning view:  
Child rearing defined as setting an example or model or serving as an example or model. 10(11)
45. Counselling view:  
Child rearing defined as counselling, guidance, interaction, responsibility, explanation, empathy, security. 34(36)
46. Main categories of the definitions of child rearing  
(scale of counselling child rearing)
1. Undifferentiated view:  
The same as categories 39 and 40 in the above analysis. Child rearing not defined, global statements, for example 'child rearing is every-day life'. 24(25)
  2. Dominative view:  
The same as category 41 in the above analysis. The definition is always placed here if 'discipline', 'punishment' or 'obedience' was mentioned. 10(11)
  3. Normative view:  
The same as category 43 in the above analysis. Undifferentiated goal-oriented definitions showing the idea of 'decent man' are also included here. 28(39)
  4. Counselling view:  
The same as categories 44 and 45 in the above analysis. The most developed goal-oriented definitions are also included here. 38(40)

<sup>1</sup> Variables 39-45: Since a respondent could designate more than one aspect the percentages do not total 100.

## 47. Bases of educational activities:

1. Instinctive and emotional basis:  
Child rearing seen as activity controlled by feelings of the moment; what is right known instinctively; child rearing 'takes its own course' and progress 'naturally'; trivial statements; could not answer. 38(42)
2. Traditional basis:  
Child rearing based on how the mother had been brought up herself; she had thought about her own childhood; repeated the same mistakes that had occurred in her own home. 21(24)
3. Fumbling consideration:  
Child rearing based on attempts to consider or think over the best ways to act in the situation; tendency to sometimes read material dealing with child rearing; things learned by experience. 20(22)
4. Some clear principles:  
Child rearing founded a number of principles, for example consistency in upbringing, like-mindedness of parents as a principle, giving reasons for prohibitions as a guiding principle, the Bible as a guiding principle, honesty as a principle, the independence of the child or considering the future of the child as a guiding principle. 12(14)
5. Tendency towards interaction:  
Child rearing based on attempts to solve the problem at hand in the best possible way together with the child; discussion or negotiation with the child emphasized. 9(10)

## CHILD REARING TRADITIONS (Variables 48-50)

## 48. Significance of tradition

1. No influence:  
Presumed to have no particular influence, 'I don't think it has any bearing'. 6(7)
2. No insight whatsoever:  
'Hard to tell whether or not', 'well, I don't know'. 9(19)
3. Some influence:  
Present child rearing activities were somehow presumed to reflect her own upbringing, 'maybe it has some bearing'. 72(81)
4. Definite influence:  
The mother was 'completely certain' that her own upbringing had influenced her own child rearing, 'quite clearly has bearing', 'definitely has bearing'. 13(14)

## 49. Positive aspect of tradition

1. Could not answer:  
No insight about the significance of tradition; could not mention positive aspects; trivial answers. 39(44)
2. Emphasis on discipline:  
Corporal punishment used; obedience demanded. 12(13)
3. Teaching to work:  
Child rearing aims at teaching the child to work; persuading the child to work regarded as good in principle. 6(7)
4. Decent life, norms and certain principles:  
Attempt to teach basic values, for example respect for parents, honesty and religiousness; an attempt was made to give the child a set or norms for life, a decent way of life was seen as important. 30(34)
5. Being together, good relations:  
Establishing and keeping up good relations with the child was considered important; inspiring confidence is important, warmth, affection and love are important; tendency to talk with the child. 13(14)

## 50. Negative aspect of tradition

1. Nothing negative in mind, no views:  
No conceptions; nothing negative remembered; trivial answers. 34(31)
2. Avoiding demands for too much work:  
Attempted to avoid demands for the child's extensive participation in work or that the child should work as hard as his/her mother had to in her childhood. 7(6)
3. Avoiding strictness and sharpness:  
Attempted to avoid all kinds of sharpness and strictness in upbringing; no corporal punishment used; no demand for the manners strictly enforced with the mother herself (for example, complete silence when there were visitors in the house); not such severe restrictions as in former time: (for example, being with friends, inviting friends home). 44(40)
4. Avoiding lack of time:  
Attempted to arrange time for being together. 4(4)
5. Avoiding emotional coolness:  
Attempted to set up close and warm relationship; attempted to avoid such points regarded as negative; the child is never thanked, no affection shown, no intimacy between parents and children, nothing ever discussed. 11(10)

(continues)

## B.2. MOTHER SELF AS AN EDUCATOR (Variables 51-54)

## 51. Subjective feelings over child rearing

1. Could not answer:  
~~No views~~; difficult to judge. 3(3)
2. Child rearing generally easy:  
~~The ease of education directly~~ mentioned; child rearing as not difficult emphasized; assessments based on concrete situations, for example, 'no problems or difficulties have turned up yet'. 26(30)
3. Child rearing both easy and difficult:  
~~Feelings varied daily and from~~ one situation to another; child rearing sometimes seen as easy, sometimes as difficult. 24(27)
4. Child rearing generally difficult:  
~~Child rearing rated~~ as difficult; child rearing as not easy was emphasized. 47(54)

## 52. What makes child rearing difficult:

(scale: difficulties in relation to self)

1. Child rearing not difficult:  
~~Child rearing~~ not seen as difficult; could not tell whether easy or difficult. 25(28)
2. No conception:  
~~Could not identify~~ reasons for difficulties; single concrete accounts; diffuse expressions, 12(13)
3. Difficulties due to other educators:  
~~Child rearing~~ seen as difficult because of the influence - sometimes even contrary - of other educators (for example, school, friends, grandparents); child rearing difficult because other people (usually relatives) made remarks on upbringing or on the child's behaviour; child rearing difficult because so many instructions are given in the mass media. 9(10)
4. Difficulties due to the child and the results obtained:  
~~Child rearing~~ seen as difficult because of no satisfactory results (for example, the child did not obey in spite of repeated forbidding or advice); difficult because the child had his/her own opinions; difficult because the child refused to obey or because of the obstinate age or puberty; difficult because children are so different. 18(20)
5. Difficulties due to circumstances:  
~~Child rearing~~ seen as difficult because of financial reasons; the mother was always busy and had no time for the children; ~~child rearing on the whole~~ was difficult because the mother had a job. 8(9)
6. Difficulties due to the educator (mother) herself:  
The mother felt inadequate and unqualified to educate; felt ignorant of educational matters or incompetent in educational skills (for example, incompetence in setting up good relations with the child. 28(31)

## 53. Possibility of improving as an educator

1. Could not answer:  
No conceptions; indifference towards the matter; took negative attitude, for example, 'well, I don't think I can do any better'. 11(10)
2. Conditional positive view:  
Conceptions reflected uncertainty, but basic attitudes seemed positively oriented, for example, 'perhaps I'll learn', 'I suppose I can get better'. 35(32)
3. Definite positive view:  
Conceptions showed positive reliance on the possibility of improvement, for example, 'positively, there's always something to learn', 'of course one can get better'. 54(49)

## 54. Ways of improvement

1. No clear conception:  
~~Could not say~~; concrete single case accounts. 13(11)
2. Experiences and communication:  
Learned by mistakes made, through trial and error, with time; learned from books, magazines, tv, schooling; ~~learned by discussions~~ with other parents. 66(56)
3. Child-centered orientation:  
Learned by familiarizing herself with the child's world; learned by listening to the child, by being with the child; ~~learned by viewing the world from the child's angle~~. 21(18)

## B.3. SIGNIFICANCE OF QUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL INTERACTION (ACTS AND ARGUMENTS FOR THEM)

## WORKING OUTSIDE HOME/STAYING AT HOME

## 55. Significance of the mother's staying at home for the child's development

(scale of features essential for the child's development)

1. Mother goes to work 51(56)
2. No conception with relation to the child:  
~~No ability to view matters from the child's angle~~; conceptions showing generally that it was convenient to stay at home; only her own preferences emerged, for example, 'I'd rather stay at home than go to work'. 6(7)
3. Conditional negative view:  
Not sure whether her staying at home was good for the child; thought about possible negative influence. 4(4)
4. Relative view:  
The mother's staying at home had advantages and disadvantages, for example, 'it's good for the child's development', but on the other hand, she can become too dependent', the child doesn't become as independent as hoped for'. 4(4)

(continues)

5. Practical view:  
Nurture and practical matters mentioned as arguments for the mother's staying at home, for example, 'needn't take the child to the nursery', 'better to feed the child myself', no pedagogical aspects mentioned. 14(15)
  6. Affective, global view  
Emphasized how convenient it was for the child to have his/her mother at home, but this idea was not analyzed further; thought about her own childhood, for example, 'it was so nice to come home from school and have mother there'; other affective expressions, for example, 'it's good that the mother's at home', 'children like to have their mother at home', 'straight away they'll be yelling for you if you go away'. 18(20)
  7. Emphasis on the child's development and interaction:  
The mother's staying at home was good for the balanced development of the child; it was good for the child's sense of security to stay at home; there was time to play with the child. 6(7)
56. Significance of the mother's going to work for the child's development
1. Mother stays at home: 53(59)
  2. Positive-neutral view:  
The mother's going to work had some positive rather than negative influence; the mother's going to work was seen to have no negative influence. 16(18)
  3. Relative view:  
The mother's going to work clearly had both positive and negative influence, for example, 'the children are so restless, but maybe they'll get courage'. 6(7)
  4. Negative, mother-centered view:  
The mother's going to work had clear disadvantages, but they concerned herself only, for example, felt nervous and irritated, had bad conscience. 14(16)
  5. Negative, child-centered view:  
The mother's going to work showed clear disadvantages which were often seen from the child's point of view, for example, the mother should have given the children more of her time, it was very important to stay together if there was enough time, the child seemed to be in need of security brought by the mother staying at home. 10(11)

#### PUNISHMENT (Variables 57-66)

57. How the mother was punished in her childhood
1. Severe corporal punishment:  
Beaten with a strap, whip or cane. 69(75)
  2. Light corporal punishment:  
Hair pulled, slapped, given flicks. 12(13)
  3. Other methods:  
No corporal punishment used, difficult situations solved in some other way, for example, the mother raised her voice, fierce looks from the father, things were talked over. 19(21)
58. Punishment used by the mother herself
1. Severe corporal punishment:  
Beat with a strap, whip or cane. 44(49)
  2. Light corporal punishment:  
Pulled hair, slapped, gave flicks, tweaked ear. 32(35)
  3. Shouting, brawling, raising voice, threatening:  
Shouted at children, commanded in a loud voice, threatened in various ways. 14(15)
  4. Loss of privilege  
Something pleasant withheld, for example no pocket money given, the child was not allowed to go out, the child was told to go to his/her own room to think the matter over, the child was not allowed to drive his tractor, the child was not taken to the swimming pool even though it was been the habit. 4(4)
  5. Discussing the matter:  
None of the above punishments used, but disagreements and problematic situations were solved by discussing them together, things were explained to the child. 5(7)
59. Use of corporal punishment at the present time
1. Corporal punishment used to some extent:  
Direct mention of corporal punishment and strong principles showing acceptance of corporal punishment. 62(68)
  2. Corporal punishment never used:  
References to having tried corporal punishment once or twice when the child was younger and similar statements, for example, 'he's big enough to understand without it - we manage by talking'; strong principles not accepting corporal punishment in any circumstances, had never used any sort of corporal punishment. 38(42)

(continues)

## ARGUMENTS FOR PUNISHMENT (Variables 60-66)

## 60. Egoism and authority as arguments

Demand for obedience and propping up the authority of the adults as arguments, for example, 'I use corporal punishment to threaten - the kid's got to be a bit afraid', 'because I told you not to try it again', 'so they'll see I won't give in', 'next time he'll remember he's got to obey'. 28(30)

## 61. Irresolution as argument

Means that the mother was at a loss, for example, '(because) nothing else works', 'that's the only way to solve the problem'. 38(41)

## 62. Positive aspects as arguments

Arguments for defence, for example, 'I never beat when I'm angry', 'always think before beating', 'I don't beat without a cause', 'just little slaps', 'the children don't think it's wrong', 'the children won't think ill of it', 'I didn't take it badly when I was beaten', 'older people don't have problems even though they've been beaten', 'sometimes the children were pleased at it afterwards'. 36(39)

## 63. Impulsiveness as argument

Used because 'I'm so angry myself that I can do nothing but', 'I can't control myself', 'because of my own problems', 'I'll regret it afterwards', 'it's no good'. 25(27)

## 64. Moral reasons as arguments

'That's how the child gets to know what's right and wrong', 'the child'll be spoilt if you don't advise him early in this way', 'it'll be quite right to punish him because he wants to do harm completely on purpose, he'll need it'. 8(9)

## 65. Horizontal structure of the arguments

(scale of intensity of arguments)

## 1. No corporal punishment used: 38(42)

## 2. Ambivalent structure of the arguments:

One or more of the above categories mentioned, one always showing either repentance or condemnation of corporal punishment. 16(17)

## 3. Weak horizontal structure of the arguments:

Only one of the above categories mentioned. 16(17)

## 4. Fairly strong horizontal structure of the arguments:

Two of the above categories mentioned. 21(22)

## 5. Strong horizontal structure of the arguments:

Three or more of the above categories mentioned. 9(10)

## 66. Arguments against corporal punishment

## 1. No argument against 53(58)

## 2. Practical difficulties, external factors, indifference

No objection in principle, but 'you'd have to fetch the cane from out of doors', 'don't want to beat with people listening next door', 'my husband doesn't allow it - I could use it myself', other external criteria: 'just don't happen to use it', 'the child obeys well enough'. 12(13)

## 3. Effects of punishment and empathy as arguments:

The mother presented the effects caused in the child as arguments or the mother entered into the child's 'feelings', for example, 'corporal punishment makes the child bitter', 'harms his soul', 'just causes defiance in him', 'the child'll counter with violence'; 'beating hurts him', 'I used to take offence at being beaten'. 14(15)

## 4. General principles as arguments:

Violence not accepted in principle; corporal punishment not regarded as the right way to get over difficulties. 15(16)

## 5. Mother's self-examination and the position of the child as arguments:

The mother thought that she was to blame for difficulties; regarded the child as weaker; obedience not required because of fear. 6(7)

## WATCHING OF TV AND ARGUMENTS FOR ITS RESTRICTION (Variables 67-69)

## 67. Selective watching of TV

## 1. TV practically always on:

TV on as long as there was broadcasting or till bedtime, irrespective of whether anyone watching it or not. 44(50)

## 2. Occasionally much watching without selection:

The watching of TV is sporadic, for example, 'sometimes we watch a lot but then there're days we won't turn it on', watching depended for example on the father's being at home. 30(34)

## 3. Selective watching:

Usually the few programme to be watched were selected carefully, for example children's programmes and the news, documentaries, no watching of TV on weekdays but during the weekends the whole family watches TV together, for example Finnish films. 23(26)

## 4. Nothing:

The family did not own a television set. 3(4)

(continues)

## 68. Restrictions on watching TV

1. No restrictions  
The child was free to decide what he wanted to watch. 35(40)
2. Restrictions due to something other than the programmes  
The watching of TV was restricted only in order to ensure sufficient sleep or the preparation of homework. 17(19)
3. Restrictions due to the programmes  
The watching of violent films and other programmes unsuitable for children was restricted, 43(49)
4. All watching of tv prohibited  
The family owned no tv set so that the child would not be under a bad influence. 5(5)

## 69. Arguments for restrictions on watching TV

1. No restrictions or external factors as arguments  
No arguments because of no restrictions; bedtime or homework as arguments. 53(58)
2. Bad influence as argument  
Mental effects or bad examples as arguments, for example, 'the child'll have nightmares', 'the child gets excited', 'children get frightened', 'he'll learn bad things', 'The child'll follow examples'. 33(36)
3. Deficiency of the child's understanding or stimuli for the child's activities as arguments  
The mother was aware of other stimuli, often better than the tv; the child did not always perceive correctly what he/she saw; the child's world was different; the mother could not explain the use of violence to the child. 14(16)

## RULES

## 70. Rules concerning children

(scale of amount of rules)

1. Very few regulations that could be regarded as rules  
No restrictions, demands or regulations that could be regarded as rules were mentioned or only one customary practice was mentioned, ~~for example, the child had to go to bed at given times.~~ 28(32)
2. Some rules  
2-3 requirements mentioned that could be regarded as rules; most often the child had to go to bed at a certain time and he/she was allowed to eat sweets on a certain day of the week or he/she got a certain sum of money every week. 45(51)
3. Quite a number of rules  
More regulations mentioned, for example concerning time (meal times, times for homework, bedtime), concerning manners (behaviour at table, agreements about visiting friends, use of language), concerning duties (homework, taking care of clothes, other tasks), other rules, for example sweets could be eaten on a certain day of the week, all dishes had to be eaten. 27(30)

## READING AND FAIRY TALES AND ARGUMENTS FOR THEM (Variables 71-74)

## 71. Importance and significance of reading

(scale for considered importance of reading)

1. Indifference or slightly negative view  
Such typical statements as 'I don't think it has any bearing', 'I doubt its significance - just a waste of time'. 7(8)
2. Uncertain positive view  
Such typical statements as 'maybe it has some bearing', 'it may have some bearing'. 32(35)
3. Definite positive view  
Such typical statements as 'yes, it's important', 'significant for the child's development', 'yes, that's very important', 'of course it's very important for the child's development'. 61(68)

## 72. Arguments for the significance of reading

(scale of developmental influence)

1. Mother's preference and pleasing the child  
The mother liked reading herself, the mother's parents read a lot to her in her childhood and she liked it; read at the child's request, ~~for example, 'I read because they ask for it', 'the children like to listen', 'pleasant pastime for the children', 'the child enjoys it', 'the child looks forward to it', 'it's nice to be together'.~~ 27(29)
2. Diffuse developmental influence  
Reading was somehow considered to influence the child's development, but the effects could not be further analysed in detail, for example, 'the child'll always learn something from it', 'of course reading speeds up the child's development'. 20(21)
3. Specified developmental influence  
Reading considered to have had a specified developmental influence, for example, the child learned to listen, the child learned to use his/her imagination, vocabulary increase, the child's world widened, the child gained useful knowledge, had examples for behaviour, learned to ask questions and to use books. 53(56)

(continues)

## 73. Importance and significance of fairy tales

(scale for considered importance of fairy tales)

1. Indifference or slightly negative view  
Fairy tales considered to have had no significance; only negative influence; could not say. 17(19)
2. General uncertainty of significance (ambivalent view)  
A typical statement was 'well, I don't know whether it has', associated with some positive insights. 24(27)
3. Uncertain positive view  
Typical statements, 'I think it has some bearing', 'yes, there's something in it'. 45(50)
4. Definite positive view  
Fairy tales considered quite or very important. 14(16)

## 74. Arguments for the significance of fairy tales

(scale of developmental influence)

1. Could not say, negative 12(13)
2. Mainly problematic  
No very clear arguments, but fairy tales were still told or read. 11(12)
3. Stress on affective aspects  
The mother read fairy tales because the children wanted to listen to them; children liked hearing fairy tales. 35(38)
4. Stress on moral aspects  
The child learned from fairy tales what was true and what was imagination; there was always a moral to the tale that was good for the child; the difference between good and evil. 8(9)
5. Stress on the cognitive skills of the child  
Fairy tales were good for the child's imagination. 34(38)

## 75. Toys and other equipment for the child's activities, arguments for obtaining them

(scale of views essential for the child's development)

1. Child's wishes as arguments  
No principles or insights in buying them; what the child wanted or wished for was obtained. 21(22)
2. Economy and durability as arguments  
Attention paid to the durability and price of the toys; no mention about good or developing toys. 11(11)
3. Development of the child as argument  
Conceptions about good and bad toys; the importance of lego, building bricks and material for hobby crafts and drawing emphasized; equipment activating the child and/or requiring reasoning regarded as good. 68(71)

## 76. Attitudes towards war toys

1. No mention 89(93)
2. No war toys 11(11)

## 77. Arguments for evening prayers

1. No evening prayers 45(49)
2. No special arguments  
Nice habit; good habit; because the mother was used to it in her childhood. 29(32)
3. Religious arguments  
Deeper significance in life; relationship to God. 26(28)

## C. AIMS AND VALUES OF CHILD REARING

## AIMS OF CHILD REARING (Variables 78-90)

78. Self-supporting, trained, materially well-off individual as aim. 61(70)<sup>1</sup>
79. Honest individual as aim. 37(43)
80. Non-criminal, non-alcoholic, physically healthy individual as aim. 34(39)
81. Individual getting on with other people as aim. 22(25)
82. Individual taking other people into consideration as aim. 17(20)
83. Happy, content, optimistic, good-humoured individual having good relationship with other people as aim. 24(28)
84. Balanced individual as aim. 27(31)
85. Individual having opinions, insight, sense of purpose, self-confidence as aim. 21(24)
86. Humane, human individual as aim. 4(5)
87. Religious, patriotic individual as aim. 3(4)
88. Responsible individual taking care of his/her family, good worker, individual appreciating work as aim. 30(34)

<sup>1</sup> Variables 78-88: Since a respondent could designate more than one aspect the percentages do not total 100.

## 89. Levels of aim-consciousness

(scale of breadth of views and altruism)

1. Material-egocentric levelIndividual earning his/her livings, capable of making enough money to live on; gets on materially well in life; individual capable of surviving and being free, not criminal or alcoholic or villain. 12(14)2. Conformist levelAn individual who works and finds satisfaction in it and at the same time honest or responsible, capable of getting on with other people, decent citizen. 51(58)3. Level of sociability and satisfaction with selfBalanced, self-contained, purposeful individual taking other people into consideration. 26(30)4. Level of self-development and altruismIndividual acting for the good of other people (humane, human), takes other people into consideration in his/her acts; actively develops himself/herself; tries to develop intellectually, widening his/her horizons; tries to form personal opinions and views. 11(13)

## 90. Negative features of man

1. No conceptionCould not say, uninformative statements. 9(10)2. Criminality and envyDishonesty, alcoholism, violence, envy, talking behind people's backs. 24(27)3. Passiveness, coldnessPessimistic about endeavour, inefficient, cold, incapable of discussion. 26(30)4. Egoism and materialismOnly looking after their own interests, striving for material things, shallow. 41(46)

## PROJECTIONS ABOUT SOCIETY (Variables 91-99)

## 91. Possibility of change

1. No conception 9(11)2. No changeThe world/society will remain more or less the same. 9(10)3. ChangeDevelopment or retrogression. 82(94)

## 92. Direction of change

1. No conception 12(14)2. Negative direction of change 60(69)3. No change 7(8)4. Positive direction of change 21(24)Nature of negative change

## 93. Concerning the basic quality of life

Problems were seen as increasing in this area; unemployment would increase, there would be no pension-contributors in the future; housing shortage; prices would go up; economic depression. 22(25)<sup>1</sup>

## 94. Concerning materialistic attitudes

Keeping up with the Joneses would continue/increase; people would become more hurried. 5(6)

## 95. Technology

The world was seen as becoming more and more technological, mechanization would continue, specialization. 15(17)

## 96. Decrease of individuality

Society would determine people's lives more and more; more and more would be required of people; man would remain in the background; people would longer be treated as individuals. 10(12)

## 97. Ecology and natural resources

Natural resources seen as running out, the world would become more and more polluted, natural food would decrease, there would be less naturalness in life. 9(10)

## 98. Man's psyche

There would be more laziness; more harshness; more violence. 15(17)

## 99. General uncertainty about the course of the world

General disorder in society would increase, restlessness, conflict, world peace would be endangered. 7(8)<sup>1</sup> Variables 93-99: Since a respondent could designate more than one aspect the percentages do not total 100.

## VALUES AND IDEOLOGICAL INFLUENCES

## GLOBAL APPROACH: THINGS REGARDED AS IMPORTANT AND SIGNIFICANT (Variables 100-110)

100. Financially secure life, work 33(35) <sup>1</sup>
101. Health 21(22)
102. Taking care of close relations (family, children from the nurtural point-of-view) 13(14)
103. Upbringing of children 35(37)
104. Friendship, good human relations, happy family 20(21)
105. Salvation of the soul 5(5)
106. Stimulating life, development 7(7)
107. Mental balance, contentment 10(11)
108. Appearance of traditional values  
(scale from the material to the personal development)
1. No values (apathy) 6(6)
  2. Financial values 14(15)
  3. Health values 8(9)
  4. Family-centered values 59(62)
  5. Religion values 5(5)
  6. Personal development values 7(8)
109. Classification of values in three categories
1. No values 6(6)
  2. Having
    - livelihood
    - health
    - accommodation 24(25)
  3. Loving
    - unity of family, children, upbringing of children
    - friendship, human relations 55(58)
  4. Being
    - self-development
    - interesting life 14(15)

## SPECIFIED APPROACH (Variables 110-115)

110. Religious content and its significance in life
1. Negative view or indifference  
Denied interest in faith and religion 26(29)
  2. Faith of the average Finn  
General religiousness; faith in some greater power than man, God, typical; inaccuracy in faith; an underlying faith not appearing in everyday life, not leading to concrete action. 43(48)
  3. Firm religiousness  
The importance and significance of religion in human life emphasized; sometimes went to church, listened to services on radio; mentioned prayers; cases where faith was the main purpose of life are included here; regular participation in the activities of the religious community; the guiding principle in everything is faith in God. 31(34)
111. What the mother wants to convey to her children about religion
1. Negative or neutral view  
Nothing of her own accord; nothing discussed. 42(47)
  2. Accepting view  
It appeared as a wish for a religious foundation to the child's life (the average Finn's faith); no constraints. 36(40)
  3. Strongly conveying view  
Emphasis on the importance of the child's acquisition of a firm (the same as that of the mother) religious conviction; attempts to influence. 22(24)
112. Political views and their significance in life
1. No or very little interest  
'Of no interest to me' and similar statements; 'of no particular interest to me' and similar statements, not actually interested, uncertain about interest. 68(79)
  2. Moderate interest  
'Yes, I'm a bit' interested. 23(26)
  3. Great interest  
'Yes, I'm very interested', 'I'm actively involved'. 9(10)

<sup>1</sup> Variables 100-107: Since a respondent could designate more than one aspect the percentages do not total 100.  
(continues)

113. Equality
1. No significance 64(58)
  2. A good thing 17(15)
  3. An important, significant thing 19(17)
114. Patriotism
1. No significance 83(75)
  2. A good thing 7(6)
  3. An important, significant thing 10(9)
115. Other values
1. None 80(82)
  2. Values for something else (for example, honesty) 20(20)

VALUES: INTERESTS, PREFERENCES IN SPENDING TIME (Variables 116-131)

Spending leisure time and preferences in interests

116. Handicraft
1. No 37(43)
  2. Occurs 19(22)
  3. The most central 43(50)
117. Reading
1. No 58(67)
  2. Occurs 23(26)
  3. The most central 19(22)
118. Associations and societies
1. No 79(91)
  2. Occurs 17(20)
  3. The most central 4(4)
119. Outdoor activities, keeping oneself fit physical exercise
1. No 72(83)
  2. Occurs 17(19)
  3. The most central 11(13)
120. Watching TV, inactivity, resting
1. No 90(103)
  2. Occurs 5(6)
  3. The most central 5(6)
121. Cooking, baking
1. No 93(107)
  2. Occurs 5(6)
  3. The most central 2(2)
122. Meeting friends, dancing
1. No 75(86)
  2. Occurs 24(28)
  3. The most central 1(1)
123. Some special interest (for example, dogs, riding, trotting)
1. No 82(94)
  2. Occurs 8(9)
  3. The most central 10(12)

Favourite TV programmes

124. Serials, Finnish films 51(52)
125. Sports programmes 17(17)
126. Saturday dance, entertainment 17(19)
127. Plays, documentaries, educational films 30(39)
128. Others: the news 15(15)
129. Quality and quantity of reading
1. Nothing 18(20)
  2. Only papers (newspapers and magazines) 36(41)
  3. Some books (2-3 per year) 27(31)
  4. Quite a lot of books 19(21)
130. Cultural interests
1. No 57(59)
  2. Occasionally, seldom 26(27)
  3. Quite often 17(17)

(continues)

## 131. Spending leisure time together with the family

1. Nothing in particular  
Every member with his/her own interests; being together passively. 37(40)
2. References to some common activity  
Sometimes the whole family visited acquaintances; occasional outdoor activities; sometimes the whole family picking berries or mushrooming; working in the fields. 35(39)
3. Being together actively  
The whole family cycling, skiing, camping; special interests; the whole family actively involved in sports; indoor games etc. 28(30)

## D. ONTOLOGICAL CONCEPTIONS

## PURPOSE OF LIFE AND EXISTENCE

## 132. Conceptions concerning the purpose of human life

1. Not existing (no conception)  
Uninformative answers; the person interviewed had never thought about the matter; don't know and similar answers. 19(17)
2. Conception existing without meaning  
Answers emphasizing consideration of the matter, the question may have occupied the mother's mind a lot ~~but she could say nothing more.~~ 20(18)
3. Fatalistic view  
Deterministic and mystic answers also included here; emphasis that life has some purpose or meaning or that someone has provided a purpose or meaning for man or that man should not fight against a given purpose; the purpose or meaning limited to the above. 18(16)
4. Subjective view connected with roles  
The purpose of life seen as playing roles; this role most often viewed as the role of the mother, ~~being the mother and taking care of~~ children emphasized in the answers. 27(24)
5. Universal view  
Insights about the evolution of the species, maintenance of the human race, struggle for life, etc. emphasized. 16(14)

## BASIC NATURE OF MAN (Variables 133-141)

133. Man as a rational, thinking being 39(31) <sup>1</sup>

## 134. Man as a self-conscious, self-developing, human being 21(17)

## 135. Man as a working, building being, creating culture 17(14)

## 136. Man as a moral, ethical being interacting with other people 19(15)

## 137. Man as a religious being created by God 5(4)

## 138. Man as a being dominating nature and creation 14(11)

## 139. Other single features, for example, man as an animal 19(15)

## 140. Quantitative scarcity/abundance of the insight describing the basic nature of Man

1. No view  
No feature mentioned, the question did not elicit any reaction or the answer was 'I don't know'; diffuse answers, for example, 'it's been somehow determined what Man is'; irrelevant answers, 'man's never satisfied'. 36(29)
2. Quantitatively scarce  
One of the above features mentioned, for example, 'it's Man that can work with his hands'. 38(31)
3. Quantitatively moderate  
Two of the above features mentioned, for example, 'Man is capable of thinking and taking others into consideration'. 17(14)
4. Quantitatively abundant  
Three or more of the above features mentioned. 9(7)

## 141. Emphasis on humanistic thinking in conceptions describing the basic nature of Man

1. No view  
Defined as above. 26(21)
2. Level of concrete expressions  
Answers showing very little emphasis on Man's mental capacity; Man as a natural being dominating nature emphasized in simple statements. 12(10)
3. Emphasis on intellect and faculty of thought  
Limited, brief mentions of Man's intellect, intelligence and faculty of thought. 40(32)
4. Humanistic thinking  
Answers showing features of Man as a self-conscious being, responsible being, as a being setting aims and plans for his life, as a being taking other people into consideration, as a human being; profound descriptions of humanity also included in this category. 22(18)

<sup>1</sup> Variables 133-139: Since a respondent could designate more than one aspect the percentages do not total 100.

## THE IDEAL MAN (Variables 142-147)

142. Views emphasizing sociality, consideration for other people, altruism 62(60) <sup>1</sup>
143. Views emphasizing thinking, intellect, will, views 20(19)
144. Views emphasizing work, efficiency, diligence, productivity 18(17)
145. Views emphasizing other good characteristics, features such as sense of humour, good humour, genuineness, religiousness, honesty, etc. included here. 56(53)
146. Quantitative scarcity/abundance of the view describing the ideal Man
1. No view 15(14)
  2. Quantitatively scarce 32(31)
  3. Quantitatively moderate 43(42)
  4. Quantitatively abundant 10(10)
147. Individuality vs. mental scope and altruism emphasized in the descriptions of the ideal Man
1. Level of diffuse expressions and phrases  
No views; single features and common phrases, for example, 'person who takes it easy'. 12(12)
  2. Single moral principles and takes connected with roles  
Commonly accepted single features such as honesty, justice, friendliness; hard-working individual taking care of his/her family and children. 64(62)
  3. Mental scope and altruism  
Scope of thinking, mental activity, acting for the good of other people in society. 24(23)

## SUSCEPTIBILITY TO UPBRINGING (Variables 148-153)

148. Do people differ in their talents and abilities at birth?
1. Could not say 7(8)
  2. Definite positive view  
Definitely believed to be the case. 61(68)
  3. Uncertain positive view  
Thought to be the case; certainly, probably the case. 25(28)
  4. Definite negative view  
Definitely believed not to be the case. 7(7)
149. Origins of honesty
1. Could not say 13(15)
  2. Mainly inborn.  
In man at birth. 10(11)
150. Origins of musicality
1. Could not say. 2(2)
  2. Mainly inborn.  
An 'innate gift'; 'it runs in someone's blood'; definitely inherent. 88(100)
  3. Both-and  
see above. 8(9)
  4. Mainly resulting from environment  
See above 2(3)
151. Origins of self-confidence
1. Could not say 16(18)
  2. Mainly inborn 6(7)
  3. Both-and 15(17)
  4. Mainly resulting from environment 63(70)
152. How the child's self-confidence can be developed
1. Could not say 15(16)
  2. Vagueness in conceptions 14(15)
  3. Clear conceptions of development  
Stimulating, encouraging, thanking, trusting the child, appreciating the child's opinion. 71(78)
153. Certainty of the conceptions of the origins of mental qualities
1. Uncertain in two areas 10(11)
  2. Uncertain in one area 18(20)
  3. No uncertainty 72(82)

<sup>1</sup> Variables 142-145: Since a respondent could designate more than one aspect the percentages do not total 100.  
(continues)

## BASIC NATURE OF THE CHILD (Variables 154-167)

154. View emphasizing the child's openness, naturalness, genuineness 31(33) <sup>1</sup>
155. View emphasizing the child's helplessness, care, protection 15(16)
156. View emphasizing the child's loveliness, sweetness, niceness (strong affective expressions) 22(24)
157. View emphasizing the child's curiosity, inquisitiveness, exploration, ability to understand 18(19)
158. View emphasizing the child's need for action, activity, energy, liveliness 21(22)
159. View emphasizing the child's susceptibility, being easy to influence, imitation 17(18)
160. View emphasizing the child's impatience, instability, unexpectedness 11(12)
161. Child needing the adult's guidance and tenderness (aspect of basic mental care) 16(17)
162. View emphasizing the child's self-centeredness, egoism, self-importance, obstinacy 7(8)
163. View emphasizing difference between the child and adults (nor as much knowledge, no experience of life, you cannot expect so much of the child, the child's world is so different) 11(12)
164. Other features not belonging to the above categories 10(11)
165. Quantitative scarcity/abundance of the view describing the basic nature of the child
  1. No insight 11(12)
  2. Quantitatively scarce 33(35)
  3. Quantitatively moderate 40(43)
  4. Quantitatively abundant 16(17)
166. Emphasis on the child's activity in descriptions of the child
  1. Not at all 52(56)
  2. Activity slightly emphasized  
Only one active feature mentioned, for example, inquisitive or always busy. 33(35)
  3. Strongly emphasized activity  
Two or more active features mentioned or the child's activity otherwise emphasized. 15(16)
167. Emphasis on respect for the child in the description of the theme
  1. Diffuse level  
Uninformative, undifferentiated answers. 9(10)
  2. Emphasis on care and affective expressions  
Answers emphasizing the child's helplessness, dependence.  
Answers emphasizing the child's niceness, loveliness. 15(16)
  3. Emphasis on some less active features of the child  
Answers emphasizing the child's openness, naturalness, candour, instability or egoism. 36(39)
  4. Emphasis on the child's activity and the adult's guidance  
Answers emphasizing the child's curiosity, activity, energy, inquisitiveness; child regarded as fundamentally good; emphasis on the adult's guidance. 26(28)
  5. Child regarded as a personality, emphasis on humanity  
Mentioned the child as a personality, an individual to be taken into consideration in every situation, as a creative being, a being with all kinds of capacities, as an equal being, as a being educating adults. 13(14)

<sup>1</sup> Variables 154-164: Since a respondent could designate more than one aspect the percentages do not total 100.

Appendix 3. Intercorrelations between behaviour and attributes of persons interviewed

Scale	1.	2.	3.
1. Scale of involvement			
2. Scale from reserved to open	.63 <sup>***</sup>		
3. Scale of good taste	.21 <sup>*</sup>	.11	
4. Scale from severity to tenderness	.23 <sup>*</sup>	.16	.15

Appendix 4. Intercorrelations between variables concerning the views as self as an educator

Variables	46.	47.	48.	51.	52.	53	54.	55.
46. Conception of child rearing								
47. Basis of educational decisions	.15							
48. Significance of tradition	.07	.24 <sup>*</sup>						
51. Subjective feelings concerning child rearing	.18	.07	-.00					
52. Difficulties experienced in child rearing	.41 <sup>***</sup>	.21 <sup>*</sup>	.25 <sup>**</sup>	.45 <sup>***</sup>				
53. Possibility of improving as an educator	.05	.09	-.07	.05	.03			
54. Ways of improving as an educator	.10	.14	.07	.29 <sup>**</sup>	.35 <sup>***</sup>	.26 <sup>**</sup>		
55. Significance of the mother's staying at home	.45 <sup>***</sup>	.25 <sup>**</sup>	.12	-.17	.11	.28 <sup>**</sup>	-.15	
56. Significance of the mother's going to work	.01	.06	.05	.38 <sup>***</sup>	.02	.04	.11	-

\* significant at .05 level, if  $r \geq .19$

\*\* significant at .01 level, if  $r \geq .25$

\*\*\* significant at .001 level, if  $r \geq .30$

## Appendix 5.

## Ordering scale items and calculating errors

For the construction of the scale 'conception of child rearing' the respondents were thought to develop through all the items (levels in the terminology of study) between the two most extreme items endorsed. According to Leik & Matthews (1968), endorsement is therefore not considered erroneous; only lack of endorsement can be considered an error. When the number of errors is calculated it means that a count is made only of the number of those items within the range of endorsement which have not been endorsed. In this case (the conception of child rearing) the sum of such omissions across all subjects can be seen in Table 1:

Table 1. The scale of the conception of child rearing

6	Level (items)					f	Errors per pattern	Total
	5	4	3	2	1			
x	x					1	0	0
	x	x	x			1	0	0
	x		x			3	1	3
	x	x				3	0	0
		x	x			8	0	0
		x	x	x		2	0	0
		x	x		x	1	1	1
			x	x		11	0	0
			x	x	x	2	0	0
			x		x	2	1	2
				x	x	6	0	0
N = 106								6

The numbers (1-6) refer to the point 'ranking on the basis of quality' in Figure 7 of the text (p. 101). Table 1 presents only the answers stating more than one level. Mean errors per respondent:  $\frac{6}{106} = 0.56$

The fact is that a simple counting of the number of errors is inadequate for assessing the utility of the scale. It may be asked what the expected error would be if the items did not form a scale. The expected value can be computed by using the formula:

$$E(Y) = \frac{1}{n_i} n_i E(Y_i)$$

where  $Y_i$  indicates the number of errors contained in a response pattern which has  $i$  endorsements, and  $n_i$  the number of respondents who have endorsed a total of  $i$  items out of the set of  $m$  items, regardless of which  $i$  items ( $m$  indicates the number of all items). By this formula,  $E(Y)$  for the data in Table 1 would be computed as shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Computation of  $E(Y)$  for data concerning the conception of child rearing

$i$	$n_i$	$E(Y_i)$	$n_i E(Y_i)$
1	66	0	0
2	34	1.667	56.678
3	6	2.000	12.000
4	0	0	0
5	0	0	0
6	0	0	0
7	0	0	0
	106		68.678

(All values of  $E(Y)$  for  $m$  from 2 to 10 are provided in the table of Leik & Matthews 1968.)

$$E(Y) = \frac{68.678}{106} = .648$$

The scalability can be now counted according to the formula:

$$\text{Scalability} = \frac{E(Y) - Y}{E(Y)} = \frac{.648 - .056}{.648} = .913$$

Because this is analogous to the computation of the scalability of Guttman scales it can be also interpreted in the same way. The conclusion is that in this example there is a high scalability as well as statistical significance.

## Appendix 6.

Table 1. Intercorrelations between background variables (the variable numbers refer to Appendix 2)

Variables	1.	3.	6.	8.	9.	10.	12.	13.	14.	16.	17.	18.	19.	20.	24.	25.	26.	27.	28.	29.	32.	33.	34.
1. Age of mother																							
3. Number of children	-45																						
6. Year of birth of the oldest child	78	-67																					
8. Individuals belonging to the household	22	-08	13																				
9. Type of domicile	09	-49	38	-25																			
10. Geographical area	-16	-08	00	01	03																		
12. Type of domicile (during mother's childhood)	02	-16	14	-10	42	06																	
13. Geographical situation of abode (during mother's childhood)	-08	-09	04	-21	15	46	-09																
14. Number of mother's siblings	-19	29	-26	-11	-25	-18	-27	11															
16. Nature of paid employment	01	-12	03	01	23	07	16	06	-10														
17. For how long has the mother been in paid employment	-01	-19	12	-09	38	04	25	11	-14	64													
18. Length of time spent in employment during the day	05	-16	14	-07	34	02	21	07	-10	84	78												
19. Nature of arrangement for day-care	-05	19	-15	21	-37	-12	-16	-16	21	-47	-71	-60											
20. Mother's profession	-31	06	-19	16	02	16	26	08	-05	12	07	01	04										
24. Profession of the spouse	-19	-02	00	-08	19	13	31	24	-03	-05	00	-07	-01	60									
25. Basic education of mother	-11	-14	10	-06	47	14	40	16	-36	12	28	14	-23	52	54								
26. Professional training of mother	-14	-14	10	-14	35	15	39	20	-27	17	36	21	-27	44	49	68							
27. Type of dwelling	-16	42	-38	24	-60	-16	-31	-16	09	-26	-28	-33	28	09	-02	-22	-16						
28. Ownership of residence	-34	18	-22	19	-10	28	11	-07	-20	00	-07	-11	15	47	29	21	17	28					
29. Size of residence	-34	28	-30	-11	-07	08	07	11	04	-07	-02	-08	05	40	48	30	21	34	39				
32. Condition of the abode	-11	-01	00	-20	21	-02	20	14	18	16	16	14	-02	33	35	24	18	-01	16	50			
33. General appearance of the rooms	24	-04	-04	-22	30	04	34	22	14	15	24	17	-15	45	56	44	37	-04	18	55	78		
34. Cultural features of the home	-13	-04	08	-23	40	07	30	17	-08	26	34	28	-30	29	40	48	51	-22	12	27	34	56	

$r \geq .19$      $p \leq .05$   
 $r \geq .25$      $p \leq .01$

## Appendix 7. Rotated factor matrix of living conditions

Variables	Factors				$h^2$
	I	II	III	IV	
33. General appearance of the rooms (very poor - <u>luxurious</u> )	.92	-.10	.02	-.01	.87
32. Condition of residence (poor - <u>excellent</u> )	.82	.01	-.13	-.02	.69
24. Occupational status of the spouse (low - <u>high</u> )	.59	.14	.30	.21	.50
29. Size of residence (small - <u>large</u> )	.59	.48	.08	.10	.60
34. Cultural features of the home (culturally poor - <u>culturally rich</u> )	.55	-.14	.29	.18	.44
27. Type of dwelling (small cottage, equivalent - <u>one-family house</u> )	-.02	.69	-.18	-.22	.56
2. Number of children (few - <u>many</u> )	.02	.62	-.20	.00	.43
9. Type of domicile (urban - <u>rural</u> )	-.29	.60	-.40	-.12	.62
1. Age of mother (young - <u>old</u> )	.05	.50	.08	.33	.38
28. Ownership of residence (rented - <u>own</u> )	.18	.50	.34	.12	.42
19. Nature of arrangement for day-care (varying arrangements - <u>steady</u> arrangements)	-.09	.36	-.20	-.20	.22
14. Number of mother's siblings (few - <u>many</u> )	.14	.12	-.60	.00	.40
25. Basic education of mother (low - <u>high</u> )	.44	-.09	.58	.18	.58
12. Type of domicile, during mother's childhood (urban - <u>rural</u> )	-.30	.20	-.49	.06	.38
10. Geographical area (Central Finland - <u>Southern Finland</u> )	-.02	.03	.16	.64	.44
13. Geographical situation of domicile, during mother's childhood (same community - <u>other province</u> )	.19	-.14	-.16	.64	.50
% of total variance	18.9	14.1	10.1	7.4	50.6
% of common variance	37.4	27.9	20.0	14.7	100.0

Appendix 8. Previous experiences and the use of corporal punishment  
at the present time

How the mother was punished in her childhood	Use of corporal punishment at the present time		
	Yes %	No %	Total
Severe corporal punishment	66	34	100
Light corporal punishment	85	15	100
Other methods	30	70	100
	62	38	100

$\chi^2 = 12.03 \quad p < .01$

Appendix 9. Previous experiences and the general use of corporal  
punishment

How the mother was punished in her childhood	What has been the severest punish- ment used by mother herself					Total
	Corporal		Shouting, brawling	Loss of privilege	Discussing the matter	
	severe	light				
	%	%	%	%	%	
Severe corpo- ral punishment	50	31	12	3	4	100
Light corpo- ral punishment	31	54	0	0	15	100
Other methods	25	25	30	10	10	100
	43	33	14	4	6	100

$\chi^2 = 16.07$ 
 $p < .05$

Appendix 10. Intercorrelations between views of self as an educator, child rearing actions, arguments and living condition variables (the variable numbers refer to Appendix 2)

Views, actions and arguments	Living condition variables							
	Age of mother	Number of children	Age of oldest child	Basic edu- cation	Arrangement for day-care	Type of domicile	Geograph- ical area	Ownership of residence
<u>The view of self as an educator</u>								
46. Conception of child rearing	-21	-02	-11	29	-15	20	-05	13
47. Bases of educational decisions	-15	09	-22	19	05	00	-08	09
48. Significance of tradition	-19	09	-06	15	-11	-07	-11	-00
52. Difficulties in child rearing	-13	14	-11	14	-06	-07	-03	12
53. Possibility of improving	10	-21	09	19	-12	17	10	-03
54. Ways of improvement	-07	-06	02	21	-00	01	-03	-01
-----								
<u>Child rearing actions and arguments for them</u>								
55. Significance of the mother staying at home	11	-14	08	21	-02	23	-15	-04
56. Significance of the mother mother going to work	-12	-05	-03	09	-04	01	33	11
57. How the mother was punished in her childhood	02	-11	04	-08	09	-02	-21	-08
58. Punishment used by mother herself	03	-07	03	15	-00	09	-10	06
59. Use of corporal punishment	-17	-04	-07	21	-05	10	-07	08
65. Horizontal structure of the arguments	-05	09	-19	-07	18	-04	-06	20
66. Arguments against corporal punishment	00	-11	07	32	-12	24	-05	04
67. Selective watching on TV	-10	05	01	25	03	22	-10	-07
68. Restrictions on watching TV	04	04	10	27	-19	24	-15	-01
69. Arguments for restrictions on watching TV	06	-02	08	29	09	29	-09	-04
70. Rules concerning children	-19	-09	01	34	12	31	-02	-01
71. Importance and significance of reading	-18	07	-01	34	04	18	08	08
72. Arguments for the significance of reading	-13	-09	05	45	02	29	08	04
73. Importance and significance of fairly tales	-06	-04	05	31	01	20	18	05
74. Arguments for the significance of fairly tales	-14	04	-07	34	-07	13	04	01
75. Arguments for obtaining equipment for the child's activities	-11	-04	10	20	-05	09	-11	14

$r > .19$   $p < .05$

$r > .25$   $p < .01$

$r > .30$   $p < .001$

Appendix 11. Intercorrelations between aims of child rearing, values and living condition variables (the variable numbers refer to Appendix 2)

Aims and values	Living condition variables							
	Age of mother	Number of children	Age of oldest child	Basic education	Arrangement for day-care	Type of domicile	Geographical area	Ownership of residence
<u>Aims and projection about society</u>								
89. Aims of child rearing	-11	-13	01	49	-13	33	01	05
90. Negative features of man	-06	-08	09	30	-08	30	03	19
92. Direction of society's change	-01	17	-09	-07	-01	-09	-16	-05
<u>Values</u>								
108. Main values	-24	15	-12	26	02	07	04	16
109. Classification: having, loving, being	-26	21	-17	20	06	03	-03	18
110. Religious content and its significance on life	-24	10	-17	04	04	-09	-08	00
111. Conveying religious to children	-36	21	-24	11	16	-12	03	18
112. Political views and their significance in life	-15	09	-12	42	08	13	-06	13
113. Importance of equality	-01	-01	06	36	-14	22	12	01
<u>Values: interests, preferences</u>								
116. Handicraft	03	06	-00	-12	02	-08	08	13
117. Reading	02	-06	09	19	14	-04	10	04
119. Outdoor activities	-11	-05	-09	16	-13	20	-26	01
122. Meeting friends, dancing	12	-12	-01	-10	13	-14	-14	-05
123. Some special interest	-06	-09	04	09	01	17	15	-04
124. Favourite TV programme: serials, Finnish films	14	-13	05	-28	12	-18	-08	-05
127. Favourite TV programme: plays, documentaries	-06	-03	06	21	-07	22	-24	-12
129. Quality and quantity of reading	-01	-15	17	43	-02	28	-19	03
130. Cultural interests	-13	-20	08	56	-07	41	05	09
131. Spending leisure time together with family	-19	-17	02	31	-22	33	-14	-01

$r \geq .19$   $p \leq .05$

$r \geq .25$   $p \leq .01$

$r \geq .30$   $p \leq .001$

Appendix 12. Rotated factor matrix of the content variables of the main areas (the variable numbers refer to Appendix 2)

Variables	Factors			$h^2$
	I	II	III	
141. Conceptions concerning the basic nature of man (none or noncrete - <u>humanistic</u> )	.73	.12	.13	.57
167. Conceptions concerning the basic nature of the child (diffuse - <u>child as a person-ality</u> )	.67	.30	-.05	.54
52. Difficulties experienced in child rearing (no conception - <u>difficulties in relation to self</u> )	.66	-.08	-.30	.32
46. Conception of child rearing (undifferentiated - <u>counseling</u> )	.61	-.00	.15	.40
89. Aims of child rearing (material & egocentric - <u>self-development &amp; altruism</u> )	.52	.44	.19	.50
132. Conceptions concerning the purpose of human life (none - <u>universal view</u> )	.47	.21	.22	.31
147. Conceptions concerning man as an ideal (diffuse - <u>mental scope &amp; altruism</u> )	.46	.18	.24	.31
152. Conceptions concerning development of the child's self-confidence (no conception - <u>clear conceptions of development</u> )	.45	-.03	.26	.27
69. Arguments for restrictions on watching TV (external factors - <u>developmental aspect</u> )	.44	.18	.09	.23
112. Political views and their significance in life (none or very little - <u>great interest</u> )	.42	.22	.21	.27
47. Bases of educational activities (instinctive - <u>tendency towards interaction</u> )	.41	.23	-.30	.32

(continues)

## Appendix 12. (continued)

Variables	Factors			$h^2$
	I	II	III	
75. Arguments for procuring toys (child's wishes - <u>developmental aspect</u> )	.30	.22	.22	.19
153. Conceptions concerning the origins of mental qualities (uncertain - <u>certain</u> )	.32	.11	.43	.30
127. Preferences concerning TV pro- grams (no cultural program - <u>plays, documentaries</u> )	.02	.61	-.10	.38
129. Preferences concerning rearing (nothing - <u>quite a lot of books</u> )	.34	.54	.17	.45
130. Preferences concerning cultur- al interests (no interest - <u>quite a high interest</u> )	.35	.54	.14	.44
131. Preferences concerning leisure time (nothing in particular - <u>together with family</u> )	.09	.48	.15	.27
72. Arguments for the significance of reading (pleasing the child - <u>developmental aspect</u> )	.18	.41	.31	.30
108. Main values (no values - <u>personal development values</u> )	.19	.39	.42	.37
59. Use of corporal punishment (used to some extent - <u>never used</u> )	-.06	.39	-.10	.17
70. Rules concerning children (few rules - <u>many rules</u> )	.19	.37	.09	.18
116. Preferences concerning leisure time, the most popular interest: handicraft (no - <u>the most central</u> )	-.07	-.00	-.51	.26
123. Preferences concerning leisure time, the most popular interest: some special interest, for exam- ple, riding (no - <u>the most central</u> )	.02	.06	.43	.19
119. Preferences concerning leisure time, the most popular interest: outdoor activities (no - <u>the most central</u> )	.06	.29	.21	.13
% of total variance	16.0	10.4	6.6	33.1
% of common variance	48.4	31.5	19.9	100.0

## Appendix 13. Conceptual analysis of phraseology

Theme: Aims of child rearing

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 CONCEPT: 'GOOD MAN' ('HYVÄ IHMINEN')
 

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 Mother    Definition
 

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- 25      Ne ois pois kadulta eikä tupakoi eikä juo.
- 195     Kohtelias ja, mä oon niin huono selittämään. Eihän sekään nyt oo hyvä, jos on kovin nuuka. Ja löytäis semmosen sopivan työn, ettei olis työttömyyttä.

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 CONCEPT: 'DECENT CITIZEN' ('KUNNOLLINEN', 'KUNNON KANSALAINEN')
 

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 Mother    Definition
 

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- 28      No, joka elää ihan normaalia elämää ja tulee hyvin toimeen toisten kanssa ja itensä kanssa.
- 29      No, sitte ku on työssäki ni tekee kunnolla sen työnsä ja on rehellinen ja mä ainaki haluaisin, että ois semmone isänmaallinen. Mä oon ainaki saanu semmosen kasvatuksen kotona.
- 36      Tarkotan ihan, että ois sellane rehelline, toisen työssäki esim. kun on ni olla rehellinen, tehä se työ sillai, että se aina tulee oikein tehtyä. Pitäs olla tunnollinen työssään.
- 39      Ainaki se on luotettava.
- 40      Nyt on mennyt nuo alkoholi- ja huume- ja nuo tuollaset ongelmat, että ne on niin, että kun niistä ennenkaikkea välttys pois ja pysys irti. Ja rehellisyysähä on yksi asia sitte kanssa.
- 88      Mites sen sanosi - ettei ainakaa tollane, että lintsaa työstä ja tämmösistä jokapäiväsistä töistä.
- 90      Ettei tekis mitään semmosia ilkeyksiä. Että tulis kunnon työ-mies, sais elantonsa.
- 98      Kai se menee lähinnä tuonne työtätekevään sitte.
- 55      Että ei tule ihan semmosia holtittomia, että ei pystys huolehtimaa itsestään. Semmosia, jotka työtä tekee. Työhän se on pääasia ja toimeentulo.

---

 CONCEPT: 'BALANCED MAN' ('TASAPAINOINEN IHMINEN')
 

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 Mother    Definition
 

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- 2      No, semmonen, että hyväksyy sen oman olotilansa ja ympäristönsä. Ei tietysti semmonen passiivinen tyyppi, joka vaan öllöttaa siinä paikallaan. Mutta semmonen, joka hyväksyy sen oman elämänsä ja elämisensä, ei ole tyytymätön.

(continues)

## Appendix 13. (continues)

- 20 Se ei järky. Että, kun ihmiselämässähän aina tulee vastoinkäymiä, ni pystyy ohittamaan ne vastoinkäymiset sillä tavalla, että ei järky.
- 21 Sillee, että olis semmonen sovinnossa ittensä kanssa, että ei olis mitää sellasia sisäisiä ahdistuksia.
- 23 Että olis itellää hyvä olla täällä elämässä, tietysti olis kiiva, että ne osais tehdä työtä ja oppis arvostamaa sen työn merkitystä.
- 32 En minä ossoo sannoo. Että siinä ei ois mittää semmosta. Että ois hyvä olla.
- 15 Ne ois semmosia tasapainoisia ihmisiä, ettei oo suurempia ongelmia, alkoholiongelmia.
- 60 Että on ittensä ja ympäristönsä kanss' sopusoinnussa. On tarpeeks niinku itseriittonen toisaalta ja suhtautuu myönteisesti niinku kanssaihmiisiinsä.
- 47 No sellane, joka on tyytyväine itteensä ja kaikkeen muuhunki.
- 63 Tasapainoinen tarkoittaa hyvin paljon sitä, että on tyytyväinen omaan itseensä. Ei kuitenkaan liian tyytyväinen. Jos ihminen ei oo sopivassa määrin tyytymätön, niin silloin ihminen ei kehitä itseään. On semmonen mielenrauha. Oikeastaan hirveen vaikee selittää sellasia asioita. Että hyväksyy oman ittensä.
- 69 Tasapainonen, ei turhan murehtija, sulkeutunut, hermostunut, just päinvastanen.
- 72 Semmonen, että se ei jännitä näin kauheasti ku minä. Mä oon kuitenkin ett' mä jännitän, ei sille maha mittään, ett' se on taas mun ongelma. Mutt' mä toivosin, ett' niie ei tarvis niin paljo jännittää.
- 75 Mä toivosin, että he tuntis itsensä onnelliseksi, tyytyväiseksi. Sillohan ne olis tasapainosii ihmisii. Ett' ei sillä oo väliä, mitä he tekee tai mitä heist' tulee,...
- 91 Jaa, miten mä nyt sanosin sen. Ymmärtäis niin ku toisiakin ihmisiä eikä näkis vaan niitä omia murheitaan. Että osais hoitaa yleensäkin taloudelliset asiansa ja itse ainakin yrittää. Tekeviä ja jumalaapelkääviä. Olis kiva, jos niistä tulis tasapainoisia henkisesti, ettei ne heti kun on ensimmäinen vastoinkäyminen niin pimaha.
- 108 En osaa selittää. Pystyy sellasta tasasta elämää viettämään ettei huoli äärimmäisyyksistä.

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CONCEPT: 'HUMANE, HUMAN MAN' ( 'INHIMILLINEN IHMINEN' )

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Mother    Definition

- 4       Sekin on vähän vaikee sanoa, mutta ehkä sellanen, ettei toista, ettei halua toiselle mitään pahaa ja sit sellanen, että ois',

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(continues)

## Appendix 13. (continues)

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että tulis' toimeen kaikkien kanssa, että pystys sopeutumaan yhteiskuntaan ilman minkäännäkösiä vaikeuksia. - En mä tarkoita inhimillisellä sellasta, että pitää jatkuvasti vaan kuunnella toisia, eikä siis semmosta, että. Semmonen, että uskaltaa sanoa oman mielipiteen, jos on erimieltä asioista, uskaltaa ilmasta sen, mutta kuitenkin mä oon yrittäny terottaa, sanotaan nyt, kunnioittaa elämää.

- 58 Suhtautuminen itseensäkin ja kanssaihmissiin. Että oltais suvaitsevaisia ja ymmärtäväisiä. Huomattais, että se toinenkin ihminen on ihminen. Kyllä mää tietysti toivosin, että ne ois semmosia, että ne katsois valoisasti tulevaisuuteen. Se ois hirveen hyvä.
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