

PARENTAL BEHAVIOR AND SOURCES
OF INFORMATION IN DIFFERENT
SOCIAL GROUPS

BY

TAPIO NUMMENMAA and MARTTI TAKALA

ASSISTED BY

OIVA YLINENTALO

JYVÄSKYLÄ 1965

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CONTENTS

I. Introduction	7
II. The experimental groups	10
Social status	10
Rural and urban environments	11
Population and sampling	11
Some properties of the experimental groups ..	13
III. The collection of data	18
The interview questionnaire	18
The interviewers	20
IV. The treatment of the data	21
V. The results	23
The variables	23
Factor analytical results	23
General knowledge and exposition to media of mass communication	36
Warmth of mother and candor of child	38
Religious behavior	42
Personal communication	43
Interest in schooling the child	44
Consulting professional vs. laymen's advice in children's illnesses	46
VI. Summary	48
References	53

I

Introduction

The present investigation is a sequel to some earlier efforts in which the present authors participated. In these studies attempts were made to develop methods of different kinds for the description and measurement of parental attitudes and child-rearing practices, to compare the results obtained by each method (M. Takala, Nummenmaa, & Kau-ranne, 1960), and to investigate what sort of differences can be found between different social groups, in particular, between socio-economic groups as well as between rural and urban groups (A. Takala, 1960).

The purpose of the present study was partially to replicate some of the earlier attempts. But the main purpose was different. It is conceivable that when parents make decisions on child care and rearing their behavior depends on what information is, and has earlier been, available. And in the present study an attempt is made to describe what sources of information are used by parents in various social groups in connection with different problems encountered in child-rearing and upbringing, and what procedures are eventually adopted.

Let us consider some examples that illustrate the point.

Assume that the child is ill. Something must be done. Information is required before any decision can be made. A physician could of course be consulted, but it is not always easy to obtain one, and this solution also means expenses. The parents' judgment of the severity of the illness is a factor here, and if the illness does not seem too severe the mother perhaps consults her own parents instead. Other possibilities are neighbors, acquaintances, and the public health nurse. The treatment given to the child would then depend upon who, if anybody, was consulted.

Another example: Assume that the mother wants to train her child to control bowel movement. She has to decide when the training should begin and what procedures should be followed. For the mother's purposes it would be valuable to know when various readinesses develop and what results and consequences can be expected from a severe or lenient toilet training. The mother can obtain her knowledge in several ways. She can make her decisions on the basis of experimentation through trial and error, she can ask her parents, other parents who are in a similar situation, or the public health nurse, etc. And again the procedure would probably to some extent depend upon who was being consulted.

Still a third example. The child is in the primary school. To a great degree the parents are the ones who decide whether the child should go on to secondary grammar school education or not, or, in general, what kind of schooling, if any, the child should receive after primary school. For this purpose the parents need information about the child's achievements in primary school, his probably future school success, the types of school available, the costs of different forms of schooling, etc. The judgment required here is a complex one, and the facts upon which a realistic decision could be based must be collected from various sources.

We may now re-state the purpose of the present study. Our purpose is to describe in general terms the sources of information and channels of communication the parents in different social groups use when they are shaping the policies to be followed in child rearing and upbringing.

A study of this type could be of some practical significance. In modern society a lot of information is presented by various sources to parents. Since the power of tradition has been weakened and since successive generations within the family have much less communication with each other than was the case in a more stable and rigid society, the influence of this external information can quite possibly be expected to increase, the more so as much of this information is presented by experts and specialists. But the information does not reach all social groups equally. It may be possible that the information given or available does not reach all those people who would be in need of or interested in it. In particular, it is possible that while the amount of expert information has been increased, not enough attention is being paid to all the various circumstances which determine the plans and decisions of parents in different social groups.

The case may well be that the content of this guidance is in the main determined by urban middle class ideals and standard of living in the same way as the ideals and norms presented or accepted at school are mainly those accentuated by middle or upper middle class parents. — Therefore it can be expected, or hoped, rather, that our way of posing the problem may have some practical consequences, modest as the scope of this first study along these lines necessarily is.

II

The experimental groups

Social status

The task of the present study is to make comparisons between different social statuses and between rural and urban environments. Since these two independent variables were systematically varied, »experimental groups» will be spoken of.

The first of our independent variables is socio-economic, or social, status. The social classes are fairly well balanced in Finland (we are making a judgment here, of course) and there are no clear 'limits' between them. Still, the social status of people varies. The classification of people into, say, four different statuses can be done in several ways, however. In the present investigation the occupation of the father was used as a basis for the classification. The procedure was very much the same as that described by A. Takala (1960), but to keep the monograph self-contained a short account of it is given.

There are several 'properties' of occupations that could conceivably be used as a basis for classification. The amount of schooling required is one. The power of position would be another, and financial considerations would be still another. Our classification takes all these into account, even if not in a well-controlled way. In the classification of occupations the amount of schooling was first considered and four groups were formed on this basis.¹ The first group consists of uni-

¹ A short account of the educational system in Finland may be called for. Compulsory education is eight years. It is given in primary schools which are tax-maintained and have no tuition or fees. A person who has finished the primary school may apply for some vocational schools. Those who opt for secondary grammar school education leave primary school as a rule after having finished the fourth form. The secondary grammar schools are in the

versity or college graduates. The second group consists of secondary school graduates and of people who have finished the five first forms of secondary school and have in addition received some occupational training for which this is a requirement. The third group consists of people who have received at most five forms of secondary schooling but nothing else, and of people who only have a primary school background and some vocational training based on this. And the fourth group consists of people who have received only primary education. But this classification as such would not be good; it would make groups II—IV very heterogeneous and group I very small. Therefore some changes were made. »Ownership»-occupations were classified irrespective of the amount of schooling. Thus, 'big' land owners were placed into group I, as were owners of 'big' businesses, etc. Also the 'prominence' of position was considered, people in positions like that of a top executive of a large company were placed into group I, etc. (For greater detail, the reader is referred to A. Takala's study (1960).

The system obtained in this way is not exactly objective. But we maintain that, when group means are considered, the amount of schooling and the standard of living are monotonic functions of our 'scale' of social status. We shall elaborate on this a little later (pp. 13—16).

Rural and urban environments

The second of our independent variables was rural vs. urban environment. In fact, for each social status interviewees were obtained from both rural and urban environments. This makes the number of groups eight. — Urban communes, whether towns or boroughs (in Finnish, *kauppala*), were considered as urban environments.

Population and sampling

This being a study of parental practices, the population of course consists, in the first place, of families with children. But it does not

main private, but they are state-supported. There is a tuition fee, but this covers only a minor part of the total expenses. The duration of secondary grammar education is eight years (in addition to the four years of the primary school). Five years of secondary grammar education is required for some occupational schools or institutions. A secondary grammar school graduate is eligible to enter universities and colleges.

consist of all of these. We wanted to ask some questions about a young child (3—4 years old), and some about an older child (10—11 years old), and the population consists of families having at least two children, the ages of these two being those specified above.

The sampling procedure was a multistage one. The whole country was first divided into three large areas on the basis of the degree of industrialization (see Palmgren, 1960). These areas are: Industrialized Finland, population 54 per cent of total, Rest of Finland I and II, populations 25 and 21 per cent of the total, respectively. The percentages of the industry of the whole country situated in these areas are about 75, 15, and 10, respectively. The quota for each of the three areas was proportional to the size of population in the area. The next step was the selection of communes, both urban and rural. Thirty communes were selected, but for practical reasons not at random. The interviewers were students of psychology who carried out the interviews mostly during the vacations in the communes they themselves came from, or in nearby ones. However, these thirty communes are scattered all over the country. For urban groups the quotas for towns were $\frac{4}{5}$, and for boroughs $\frac{1}{5}$ of the total; otherwise the quota for each commune was proportional to the number of residents in the commune. For the rural groups the quotas for small remote villages and church villages were the same for the lowest two statuses; because of the small number of upper status people living in the small remote villages two thirds of the subjects of the second status and all the subjects of the first status were from the church villages. The quotas for each social status group were always the same; they were not proportional to the number of representatives in each group. The individual interviewees were selected (mostly) at random from the files of primary schools. This could not always be done at random, since the task of finding families with the required properties was sometimes difficult, and the interviewers had to resort to more straightforward methods, i.e., to take families known to have two children of the required ages. Thus, the drawing of the interviewees from the specified population was not done completely at random, but the sample covers the whole country and (in our opinion) the deviations from the random process are hardly fatal.

The purpose was to get eight groups of interviewees (four statuses x two environments); one hundred persons in each. Table 1 gives the eventual number of cases in each group. For various reasons, the

Table 1

The Number of Interviewees in the Eight Experimental Groups

Environment	Social status				Total
	I	II	III	IV	
Urban	99	104	90	94	387
Rural	89	119	95	95	398
Total	188	223	185	189	785

fact that the final classification of the interviewees into the four status groups was made after the interviews had been done being the most important, the number of interviewees is not exactly one hundred in any of the eight groups.

Some properties of the experimental groups

We have (pp. 10—11) explained what was meant by the concepts of social status and environment. The experimental groups differ in regard to the distribution of occupations and to the environment they are living in. These are the »defining» properties of the groups. We may however inspect some additional variables that serve to show, in the first place, how the status variable works and, secondly, whether the status variable is confounded with the environmental one or not.

We first consider the following four variables: the education of the head of the family, the size of the dwelling of the family, the number of books owned by the family, and the amount of social participation of the mother. Conceivably, all these should show differences between the different social status groups, but not so much between the corresponding urban and rural groups.

The education of the head of the family, which was one of the variables on which the classification of people into the different status groups was based, has been indicated in Table 2. This variable clearly differentiates between the social status groups, with the exception that the third status groups are not very much different from the fourth ones. There are some differences between the urban and rural groups also, the urban groups, the first in particular, being more educated.

Table 2
*The Education of the Head of the Family:
 Per Cent Distributions*

Group	Primary school	Primary school and vocational training; five forms of secondary grammar school	Five forms of secondary grammar school and vocational training; secondary grammar school graduate	University or college graduate	No answer
Urban I		5	16	79	
» II	23	31	40	6	
» III	79	19	2		
» IV	85	15			
Rural I	7	13	25	55	
» II	58	24	17	1	
» III	85	15			
» IV	94	5			1

Table 3
*The Dwelling; Number of Rooms:
 Per Cent Distributions*

Group	Number of rooms					No answer
	1-2	3	4	5	6 and more	
Urban I		8	23	24	45	
» II	6	34	37	16	7	
» III	27	45	17	9	2	
» IV	44	40	14	1		1
Rural I		6	27	24	43	
» II	5	27	23	25	18	2
» III	19	46	21	11	3	
» IV	40	45	8	5	1	1

The size of dwelling can be regarded as one indicator of the standard of living of the family. Table 3 indicates this in terms of the number of rooms. We observe a clear relationship between the number of rooms and social status for both urban and rural groups. The corresponding urban and rural groups seem to be similar in this respect, with the exception of the second status.

Table 4
*The Amount of Books Owned by the Family:
 Per Cent Distributions*

Group	Amount of books				
	none	a few	1 meter	2-5 meters	5 meters or more
Urban I				15	85
" II		5	12	41	42
" III	3	17	23	47	10
" IV	5	31	20	41	3
Rural I		3		18	79
" II	1	17	13	51	18
" III	8	49	19	22	2
" IV	15	52	14	18	1

Table 5
*The Number of Organizations in Which the Mother Is a Member:
 Per Cent Distributions*

Group	Number of organizations				
	0	1	2	3 or more	No answer
Urban I	39	22	20	19	
" II	49	31	11	6	3
" III	61	31	6		2
" IV	84	13	1	1	1
Rural I	19	37	24	20	
" II	52	24	12	11	1
" III	72	22	3	3	
" IV	81	18	1		

The number of books can be assumed to have some relationship with interest in reading, even admitting that it is not necessary to own a book to read it. Table 4 gives the distribution of the amount of books owned. There are sizeable differences between the social status groups in favor of the upper ones, and small differences in favor of the urban groups.

And finally Table 5 indicates the amount of social participation of the mother in terms of the number of organizations, clubs, etc. in which she is a member. There are consistent and great differences

between the different social statuses, but very small differences, if any at all, between the urban and rural groups.

By means of Tables 2—5 we have illustrated the fact that there are sizeable and consistent differences between the different status groups with respect to the education of the head of the family, the standard of living measured by the number of rooms, the interest in reading measured by the amount of books owned, and the amount of social participation of the mother. These differences are clearly consistent with the general notion of 'social status'. Admittedly the urban and rural groups are not completely on equal terms with respect to these four variables. This might be taken to mean that 'social status' as an experimental variable is to some extent confounded with 'environment'. But the differences, when they exist, are rather small.

There is still one additional variable which may be interesting here, and this is the number of children in the family; presumably a relevant variable in many parental practices. The distributions on this variable have been tabulated for each group in Table 6. Even though »3—4» is the modal value for each group, there are differences, the number of children in our experimental groups being somewhat larger in the lower social statuses than in the higher ones,

Table 6
*The Number of Children:
Per Cent Distributions*

Group	Number of children				
	2	3—4	5—6	7—8	9 or more
Urban I	8	73	16	3	
" II	11	60	21	6	2
" III	12	55	21	9	3
" IV	5	48	26	15	6
Rural I	16	63	17	3	1
" II	7	41	31	13	8
" III	9	35	29	21	6
" IV	6	35	29	24	6

and somewhat larger in the rural groups than in the urban ones.¹ What the differences in these sizes mean from the point of view of parental practices cannot be said. One might assume that, from the standpoint of parental practices, to have one child is essentially different from having two. But the parental practices of parents having, say, four children could, other things being equal, be rather similar to the practices of parents having five. In other words, it seems reasonable to suppose that the change in parental practices caused by an »additional child» would be smaller the larger the number of children is. If this argument is true, the high modal value of the number of children in our experimental groups should make the differences between the means of the groups unimportant.

¹ The following statistics, taken from the Statistical Yearbook of Finland (1962) indicate the number of families having a specified number of children under 18 years of age. The figures are for the whole country.

Number of families having a specified number of children younger than 18 years							
Total	0	1	2	3	4	5	6 or more
930545	331216	234682	173092	95100	48444	24470	23541

Our data are not perfectly comparable with these because Table 6 counts all children whatever their ages are. But it seems safe to conclude that the mean number of children in the experimental groups is far in excess of the mean for the total group of families in Finland.

III

The collection of data

The interview questionnaire

The present study is based on interview data only. The interview consisted partly of questions from a previous open response questionnaire (147 items) of procedures in child care and rearing (M. Takala, Nummenmaa & Kauranne, 1960; A. Takala, 1960). In these studies (both studies mentioned above used the same batch of data) the wording of the questions was prescribed but the interviewers (who were four in number) were permitted to change their order if the mother spontaneously forwarded some information about matters that as a rule were to be asked later. Questions could also be omitted if the information that was wanted was given by the mother spontaneously. The answers were recorded verbatim. A modification of this questionnaire was developed later, though published slightly earlier, by Nummenmaa (1958). The procedure differed in several respects from that used earlier: (a) there were only 57 items, selected from among those 147, (b) the wording and the order of presentation of the items were both fixed, (c) the answers were not recorded verbatim but were classified and scored by the interviewer on the spot; this was possible because the earlier results had indicated the actual type and range of the answers, and (d) each of the thirteen interviewers interviewed only six mothers (total 77 interviewees) instead of four interviewers' interviewing about eighty mothers each (total 335 interviewees). Comparison of the two studies showed that, in the first place, the distributions of the answers to individual items were very nearly the same throughout and, secondly, the inter-correlations of sets of items correlating positively in the earlier study

were again positive. The lesson seems to be that a questionnaire of this type may be shortened without any marked change in reactions to individual items, i.e. there is no 'contextual' effect. And also, if the scoring system has been worked out on the basis of earlier experience, the answers need not be recorded verbatim, which of course saves time considerably. And finally, a device of this sort is not very sensitive to the amount of experience of the interviewers. (There is naturally the logical possibility of all these effects' cancelling each other out.)

The questionnaire used in the present study consisted of 140 items. Some of these items were picked from the earlier studies mentioned above. These questions covered the following areas of child care: health, physical development, toilet training, appetite, sleeping, cleanliness, sex education, school achievement, future plans for the education of the child, expressions of affection, the child's fears, openness-reticence of the child, punishments, and religious behavior. The questions that were readily available in the earlier studies were mainly concerned with procedures used by the parents and with the behavior of the child.

The questionnaire consisted partly of new items for which no previous results were available. The possible sources of information as well as the content of information received were investigated in various areas of child care and rearing.

This was done for instance in the following way.

- Do you consider it is advisable to tell the children about sex matters?
- Should this be done at home or in the school?
- Have you ever discussed these matters with your husband?
- Has Y ever inquired about how children are born?
- What was the answer given?
- Does Y still talk about these matters with the parents?
- How were these things in your own childhood, were you told about those matters?
- Do you know what some other parents, for instance those of Y:s playmates, do in this respect?
- Have you ever heard or read opinions about this kind of guidance?

In addition to this specific information the interview questionnaire included some questions about the use of mass media in general and interest in written information on child development and rearing in particular. Additional background data, some of which has been given in Tables 2—6 was also gathered. The bulk of other questions asked has been given in Table 7.

The interviewee was always the mother. Some questions were general, but many of them specified the particular child, younger or older, about whom it was asked.

The interviewers

The interviewers were students of psychology, twenty in number. Slightly more than a half of them were female. They had no former experience in interviewing. A ten days course of interview technique was arranged during which they were trained both in general technique and in the use of the present questionnaire. The fact that the number of interviewers was rather high, and the fact that each of them interviewed representatives of each social status probably safeguards against any systematic effects due to interviewers.

IV

The treatment of the data

The treatment of the data was determined according to the following considerations. We could have handled individual items throughout. This would have had the advantage that a conceptual structure would have been easier to impose upon the material. But this would have had severe drawbacks. The data (and conclusions, of course) would have been less reliable than if handled otherwise, and the exposition would have been rather clumsy and redundant. Therefore it was decided to search for more general variables. Admittedly one is then, so to speak, more at the mercy of one's material, the emerging general variables being what they are, and these dimensions not necessarily forming a systematic basis for conceptual analyses. But this has the advantage of greater reliability and it lessens redundancy. — The analysis of the data was carried out in the following steps.

1. The distributions of answers for individual items were obtained separately for each of the eight groups. These will occasionally be given in what follows to provide detailed information.
2. As the second step, intercorrelations of items were calculated. Some items had to be eliminated because of too skew distributions. We did not want to calculate the intercorrelations of all 140 or so items for each group; this would have meant the calculation of about 80 000 intercorrelations. Instead, intercorrelations were calculated inside small alleged clusters, many of them expected on the basis of earlier results. What was sought for was groups of items having their content from the same area (e.g., toilet training, school, religious behavior, etc.) and correlating positively for all eight groups of subjects. The point is, in the first place, that this gives us reliable variables, the result having

been obtained eight times, but also, secondly, this makes the comparison of the groups reasonable; in order to compare the groups it is necessary that the variables are essentially the 'same' variables for each group. The obtained variables are not claimed to be one-dimensional, internally consistent variables; they are more »pattern-like« things, combining methods used by parents with results obtained, etc. In general, an attempt was made to keep the »parental behavior« variables separate from the »communication« variables. — The means and standard deviations of the 25 variables obtained were calculated for the eight experimental groups.

3. These 25 variables were used in factor analyses that were carried out separately for the eight groups. The principal axes method was used with the highest correlations as estimates of communalities. The number of significant factors was determined by the rule that the trace of a matrix is equal to the sum of the characteristic roots; sufficient factors were taken for the sum of the (positive) characteristic roots to be about the same as the sum of the communality estimates. The number of factors was six for all groups. The factor matrices were rotated by the varimax method. These results will not be considered in the following. See footnote on page 35.

4. Eventually, the correlations of nineteen selected variables were calculated for the entire group of 785 subjects. This correlation matrix was factored and the factor matrix rotated in the manner described above. Thereafter the six factors obtained were estimated for each subject; the regression weights were obtained by Ledermann's short-cut procedure. Finally, the means and standard deviations of the estimated factors were calculated for each group separately.

V

The results

In this section the 25 variables will first be introduced. After this, the results of the factor analysis of 19 selected variables based on the data for the total group of subjects will be considered. The factors will be interpreted, the means of estimated factors for the different groups compared, and some additional light thrown on the subject by the inspection of the means of the variables and some individual items.

The variables

The variables, including the individual items in each, the scoring of the items, and the means of the variables for each group separately are given in Table 7. The standard deviations of the variables are given in Table 8. The intercorrelations of the items included in the variables are not given. The reader is invited to trust that they are, with few exceptions, positive for each group of subjects. The corresponding correlations for different groups are not however of the same size.

Factor analytical results

Nineteen of the variables described in Table 7 were selected for factor analytical treatment, the details of which have been given on pp. 21—22. To reduce the cost of this operation, six variables that in the separate analyses of the eight groups did not seem to correlate with

Table 7
The Variables and Their Means

		Status				
		I	II	III	IV	
<i>1. The health of the younger child (X)</i>						
12.	What was X like to take care of as a baby? 1 = easy ; 0 = average, difficult					
13.	What was X's health like during his first year of life? 1 = good; 0 = average, bad	Urban	1.41	1.26	1.37	1.26
		Rural	1.29	1.35	1.28	1.18
<i>2. The health of the older child (Y)</i>						
15.	And how would you describe Y's health during recent years? 1 = good; 0 = average, bad					
16.	Who, X or Y, would you say has in general been healthier? 1 = Y; 0 = X, cannot say	Urban	1.00	0.95	0.79	0.65
		Rural	0.94	0.78	0.79	0.71
<i>3. Consulting professional advice in children's illnesses</i>						
19.	What sort of drugs do you recollect having been used when the children have been ill? 1 = penicillin, sulpha, antibiotics; 0 = other					
20.	Who has suggested these drugs? 1 = physician, public health nurse, apothecary, child welfare center; 0 = other	Urban	0.95	1.05	1.04	0.99
		Rural	0.98	0.99	0.98	0.96
<i>4. Consulting laymen's advice in children's illnesses</i>						
20.	Who has suggested these drugs? 1 = relatives, neighbors, friends; 0 = other					
21.	Have you been using some special treatments, the sort you may have learned from your mother for instance? 1 = «natural healing»; 0 = other	Urban	0.24	0.20	0.24	0.23
		Rural	0.18	0.30	0.24	0.30

5. *Consulting the public health nurse*

22. Have you visited the child welfare center with the purpose of asking advice?
1 = yes; 0 = no
24. Has the public health nurse visited your home to examine a sick child?
1 = yes; 0 = no
- | | | | | |
|-------|------|------|------|------|
| Urban | 1.39 | 1.66 | 1.76 | 1.71 |
| Rural | 1.28 | 1.60 | 1.48 | 1.56 |

6. *The development of the younger child*

27. How old was X when he began to walk
1 = 8 - 13 mo; 0 = 14 mo or older
28. And how old was he when he began to speak?
1 = 8 - 23 mo; 0 = 2 years or older
- | | | | | |
|-------|------|------|------|------|
| Urban | 1.50 | 1.60 | 1.53 | 1.55 |
| Rural | 1.61 | 1.77 | 1.68 | 1.44 |

7. *Comparisons concerning the rate of development*

31. Is this estimate (concerning ages at which children usually learn to walk or to speak) based on knowledge of other children than your own? Who?
1 = children of friends, neighbors, &c; 0 = no
32. Have you made comparisons about X's or Y's rate of development with any other mothers?
1 = with relatives; 0 = other responses
33. Have you discussed these matters in the child welfare center or with the public health nurse?
1 = yes; 0 = no
- | | | | | |
|-------|------|------|------|------|
| Urban | 1.11 | 1.44 | 1.54 | 1.34 |
| Rural | 1.40 | 1.45 | 1.37 | 1.25 |

8. *Toilet training; time of beginning, and success*

36. At what age did X and Y cease to wet themselves?
1 = X at the age of 1 year or earlier
0 = X older than 1 year
37. At what age were they first placed to the toilet?
1 = X younger than 6 months;
0 = X at the age of 6 months or later

39. At what age should toilet training in your opinion begin?
 1 = before the age of 6 months;
 0 = at the age of 6 months or later, cannot say
40. Compared to some other children you know, how early have X and Y learned to be dry and clean all day?
 1 = earlier; 0 = similarly, later
41. At what age did X and Y ask to be taken to the toilet?
 1 = X before the age of 1 year;
 0 = X at the age of 1 year or later
42. Have there later been periods of X's or Y's wetting himself again; for instance when a baby was born?
 1 = X yes; X no
- | | | | | |
|-------|------|------|------|------|
| Urban | 1.99 | 1.87 | 2.29 | 2.28 |
| Rural | 1.96 | 2.13 | 2.13 | 1.71 |

9. Information about troubles in toilet training

43. Do you know parents who have had similar experiences?
 1 = yes; 0 = no, does not remember
44. Have you got any advice from them? What? (This was asked if the answer to question 43 was in the affirmative.)
 1 = restrictions about drinking or other advice; 0 = no
- | | | | | |
|-------|------|------|------|------|
| Urban | 0.71 | 0.73 | 0.74 | 0.69 |
| Rural | 0.69 | 0.71 | 0.52 | 0.57 |

10. Sex education

52. Do you consider it is advisable to tell the children about sex matters?
 1 = yes; 0 = no, cannot say
53. Should this be done at home or in the school?
 (This question was asked if the answer to question 52 was in the affirmative.)
 1 = at home; 0 = in the school, cannot say
54. Have you ever discussed these matters with your husband?
 1 = yes; 0 = no, does not remember
55. Has Y ever inquired about how children are born?
 1 = yes; 0 = no, does not remember

56. What was the answer given?
(This question was asked if the answer to question 55 was in the affirmative.)
1 = at least mother's role was explained;
0 = no explanation was given, fictitious explanations
57. Does Y still talk about these matters with the parents?
1 = yes; 0 = no, does not remember
- | | | | | |
|-------|------|------|------|------|
| Urban | 4.30 | 3.53 | 2.81 | 2.26 |
| Rural | 3.99 | 3.10 | 2.46 | 1.86 |
- 11. Satisfaction with the older child's achievement at school*
62. How interested is Y in doing his homework?
1 = interested; 0 = average, not interested
63. How do you supervise Y doing his homework?
1 = Y takes care of it himself;
0 = Y is asked about it.
64. What has been Y's success at school?
1 = successful; 0 = average, bad
65. Do you think Y's efforts have been satisfactory?
1 = yes; 0 = no, cannot say
- | | | | | |
|-------|------|------|------|------|
| Urban | 2.24 | 1.54 | 1.13 | 1.16 |
| Rural | 1.90 | 1.65 | 1.42 | 1.24 |
- 12. Contact of the parents with the school*
68. Have you ever discussed Y with his teacher?
1 = yes; 0 = no
69. Has the teacher ever visited your home?
1 = yes; 0 = no
70. Have you and your husband ever been to any school occasions?
1 = yes; 0 = no
71. Have you and your husband ever visited meetings of parents or similar occasions?
1 = yes; 0 = no
72. Have you discussed educational matters with other parents?
1 = yes; 0 = no
- | | | | | |
|-------|------|------|------|------|
| Urban | 2.95 | 2.72 | 2.18 | 2.03 |
| Rural | 3.33 | 2.71 | 2.72 | 2.24 |

13. *Plans for the education of the older child*

74. Have you made any plans for Y's education after primary school?

1 = secondary education;

0 = vocational school, no

76. Have you discussed this matter with the teacher?

1 = yes; 0 = no

Urban	1.32	1.20	0.88	0.56
Rural	1.30	0.98	0.60	0.47

14. *Physical expression of affection; the older child*

79. Do X or Y still come to sit in your or your husband's lap?

1 = Y comes; 0 = Y comes sometimes, does not come

80. Have X and Y been fond of caressing?

1 = Y very fond; 0 = Y has been, has not been

82. Has Y come (to your or your husband's bed in the morning)?

1 = still comes; 0 = came earlier, no

Urban	1.29	1.30	1.37	0.97
Rural	1.23	1.23	1.19	0.72

15. *Physical expression of affection; mother's own childhood*

83. How were these things in your own childhood? Were you caressed?

1 = yes; 0 = no, does not remember

85. How about your playmates, were they caressed by their parents?

1 = yes, much; 0 = not very much, no

Urban	1.32	1.23	1.18	1.03
Rural	1.32	1.36	1.25	1.23

16. *The candor of the older child*

92. Does Y tell you about things that happen at school?

1 = yes, usually; 0 = no, sometimes

93. Does Y come to confess if he has done something naughty; for instance if he has been punished at school?

1 = usually, sometimes; 0 = not easily

94. Does Y easily plead guilty if he is questioned?

1 = yes, difficult to say; 0 = not easily

95. If X and Y have been naughty, do they feel sorry about it?
1 = Y is very sorry; 0 = Y is somewhat sorry, is not sorry
96. Is Y candid or reticent?
1 = candid; 0 = reticent, normal
- | | | | | |
|-------|------|------|------|------|
| Urban | 3.73 | 3.31 | 3.39 | 3.04 |
| Rural | 3.44 | 3.26 | 3.39 | 2.75 |

17. *The obedience of the older child*

97. How obedient are X and Y in your opinion? (Is Y very obedient, obedient to some extent, disobedient to some extent, or very disobedient?)
1 = Y very obedient or to some extent
0 = Y very disobedient or to some extent
98. Have you ever caught X or Y lying?
1 = Y no; 0 = Y yes, sometimes, does not remember
99. If X and Y become angry with their parents, in which way do they behave?
1 = Y does not become angry;
0 = Y scolds, hits
- | | | | | |
|-------|------|------|------|------|
| Urban | 1.41 | 1.21 | 1.27 | 1.01 |
| Rural | 1.51 | 1.56 | 1.41 | 1.26 |

18. *Corporal punishment in mother's own childhood; knowledge of corporal punishment given elsewhere*

104. What sorts of punishment were used in your own childhood?
1 = corporal punishment; 0 = other
105. And how about the childhood of your husband, do you know about it?
1 = corporal punishment; 0 = other
110. What sort of punishment are X' and Y's playmates getting?
1 = corporal punishment; 0 = other
- | | | | | |
|-------|------|------|------|------|
| Urban | 1.87 | 1.99 | 2.02 | 1.83 |
| Rural | 2.00 | 2.03 | 1.91 | 2.06 |

19. *Attitude toward corporal punishment*

106. Do you accept the opinion »he who spares the rod hates the child«?
1 = yes; 0 = no, cannot say
109. Do you accept the saying »spare the rod and spoil the child«?
1 = yes; 0 = no, cannot say
- | | | | | |
|-------|------|------|------|------|
| Urban | 1.41 | 1.30 | 1.32 | 1.13 |
| Rural | 1.18 | 1.19 | 1.35 | 1.23 |

20. *Religious behavior at present*

114. Do you go to church? How often?
1 = regularly, often; 0 = other
117. When you go to church, do you take the children with you?
1 = yes; 0 = other responses
118. Do the children say an evening prayer?
1 = yes; 0 = sometimes, no
119. Do they say grace?
1 = yes; 0 = sometimes, no
122. Is some particular faith dear to you?
1 = yes; 0 = no
133. What of the following radio programs do you listen (a) regularly (b) sometimes (c) never? (A list was given.)
1 = religious programs regularly; Urban 2.09 1.90 1.77 1.47
0 = sometimes, never Rural 2.63 2.32 2.05 1.70

21. *Religious behavior in mother's and father's childhood*

115. When you were child, did your family go to church? How often?
1 = regularly; 0 = other responses
116. How about your husband's childhood home, did they go to church? How often?
1 = regularly; 0 = other responses
120. Did you say these prayers (evening prayer, grace) when you were child?
1 = yes; 0 = sometimes, no
121. How about your husband? Urban 2.11 2.10 1.54 1.44
1 = yes; 0 = sometimes, no Rural 2.27 2.22 1.72 1.52

22. *Amount of books in mother's and father's childhood homes*

125. How many books were there in your childhood home?
1 = one meter or more; 0 = less than about one meter
126. How about the home of your husband? How many books were in his home?
1 = about two metres or more; Urban 1.69 0.86 0.60 0.47
0 = less than about two metres Rural 1.54 0.66 0.35 0.22

23. *Reading newspapers and listening to the radio*

128. How much time do you usually spend reading newspapers?

1 = half an hour or more; 0 = less than half an hour, does not read regularly

132. How much time do you usually spend listening to the radio, assuming that nothing prevents you from doing it?

1 = at least one hour; 0 = less than one hour

Urban	1.50	1.55	1.29	1.20
Rural	1.54	1.35	1.17	1.06

24. *Reading articles about child rearing*

130. What newspapers or periodicals do you read regularly?

1 = a point was given if the list included some concerning child care, mental or physical health; 0 = none of those

131. How about your husband?

1 = as above; 0 = as above

135. Have you read from newspapers or other publications articles about child care and upbringing? What?

1 = often; 0 = sometimes, no

Urban	0.93	0.66	0.50	0.43
Rural	1.06	0.65	0.41	0.23

25. *Social participation of the mother*

137. Have you in your youth, say before the 15th year of your life, been a member in any organizations or clubs for young people? Which?

1 = has been a member in at least one organization; 0 = no

138. Are you at the moment a member in any organizations, clubs, or such?

1 = is a member in at least one organization; 0 = no

139. Has anybody encouraged you to join this (these) organization(s)?

1 = friends, teacher or some specified person; 0 = no

Urban	1.61	1.25	1.02	0.53
Rural	1.98	1.12	0.76	0.61

Table 8
The Standard Deviations of the Variables

Variable	Urban				Rural			
	Status				Status			
	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV
1	0.71	0.75	0.74	0.76	0.82	0.74	0.77	0.83
2	0.73	0.73	0.74	0.74	0.74	0.70	0.63	0.70
3	0.69	0.51	0.54	0.65	0.69	0.59	0.57	0.52
4	0.43	0.45	0.48	0.52	0.42	0.51	0.50	0.54
5	0.70	0.55	0.48	0.54	0.77	0.59	0.62	0.60
6	0.69	0.60	0.62	0.65	0.63	0.48	0.51	0.66
7	0.90	0.94	1.05	0.95	1.00	1.01	0.99	0.98
8	1.40	1.48	1.76	1.46	1.34	1.50	1.54	1.51
9	0.80	0.77	0.74	0.78	0.75	0.75	0.71	0.71
10	1.35	1.47	1.90	1.88	1.53	1.84	1.86	1.72
11	1.42	1.39	1.33	1.37	1.46	1.45	1.45	1.34
12	1.16	1.23	1.16	1.16	1.10	1.17	1.17	1.21
13	0.53	0.64	0.67	0.68	0.68	0.70	0.72	0.65
14	1.05	1.07	1.13	1.04	0.99	1.08	1.11	0.94
15	0.73	0.78	0.80	0.84	0.76	0.73	0.76	0.84
16	1.18	1.39	1.43	1.27	1.56	1.36	1.50	1.52
17	0.80	0.72	0.83	0.85	0.94	0.93	0.87	0.85
18	0.94	0.87	0.94	0.97	0.93	0.93	0.88	0.94
19	0.57	0.70	0.79	0.72	0.75	0.75	0.77	0.79
20	1.30	1.51	1.38	1.40	1.65	1.47	1.37	1.35
21	1.09	1.19	1.27	1.21	1.25	1.31	1.21	1.21
22	0.55	0.82	0.72	0.68	0.72	0.74	0.63	0.47
23	0.63	0.62	0.74	0.73	0.64	0.74	0.77	0.80
24	0.82	0.81	0.74	0.74	1.02	0.93	0.64	0.64
25	0.91	0.97	0.86	0.80	0.84	0.97	0.85	0.85

any others were omitted. The omitted variables were mainly health and toilet training ones.

The intercorrelations of the nineteen variables are given in Table 9 and the factor loadings in Table 10. We shall proceed factor by factor, not only interpreting them but also simultaneously making comparisons between the means of the eight groups on estimated factors. Additional information in terms of variables and items will also be given. This separates the interpretations of different factors. Therefore, to give the reader a general idea of what the factors are, a list of the interpretations as well as of the names that will be used for the six factors is given below (on page 35).

Table 9
Intercorrelations of 19 Selected Variables for the Total Group (N=785)

	3	4	7	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	
3. Consulting professional advice in children's illnesses																				
4. Consulting laymen's advice in children's illnesses	-.13																			
7. Comparisons concerning the rate of development	-.01	.11																		
10. Sex education	.02	.05	.04																	
11. Satisfaction with the older child's achievement at school	-.02	-.02	.01	.19																
12. The contact of the parents with school	.02	-.02	.12	.22	.20															
13. Plans for the education of the older child	.05	-.08	.04	.30	.37	.37														
14. Physical expression of affection; the older child	.03	.00	.06	.20	.12	.11	.19													
15. Physical expression of affection; mother's childhood	.09	.00	.10	.13	.07	.12	.12	.13												
16. The candor of the older child	.05	.00	-.01	.26	.22	.15	.16	.31	.12											
17. The obedience of the older child	-.02	-.01	.02	.13	.24	.07	.12	.18	.11	.33										
18. Corporal punishment in mother's own childhood & elsewhere	.03	.05	.12	.14	-.03	.11	.01	-.02	.04	.00	-.06									
19. Attitude toward corporal punishment	-.02	.06	.05	.01	-.03	.09	.02	.03	.01	-.02	-.01	.11								
20. Religious behavior at present	.07	.05	.05	.19	.13	.19	.15	.16	.07	.14	.15	.02	.07							
21. Religious behavior in mother's and father's childhood	.07	-.01	.05	.18	.14	.18	.17	.12	.14	.12	.12	.04	-.02	.40						
22. Amount of books in mother's and father's childhood homes	.00	-.02	.01	.36	.18	.23	.35	.11	.14	.20	.08	.03	-.03	.14	.26					
23. Reading newspapers and listening to the radio	.08	.02	.04	.13	.08	.10	.18	.06	.11	.09	.01	.03	-.05	.04	.12	.23				
24. Reading articles about child rearing	-.01	.04	.08	.27	.14	.21	.19	.15	.00	.11	.10	.03	.05	.13	.11	.22	.22			
25. Social participation of the mother	-.03	.05	.07	.26	.09	.25	.30	.06	.06	.07	.04	.07	.07	.10	.15	.36	.18	.28		

Table 10
Factor Loadings for the Total Group (N=785)

	Factor						h ²
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	
3. Consulting professional advice in children's illnesses	.00	-.01	.06	-.02	.01	.35	.13
4. Consulting laymen's advice in children's illnesses	.05	-.03	.04	.19	.14	-.24	.12
7. Comparisons concerning the rate of development	.05	-.04	.03	.31	.00	.00	.10
10. Sex education	.46	-.28	.11	.14	-.12	.03	.34
11. Satisfaction with the older child's achievement at school	.13	-.28	.09	-.11	-.48	-.06	.35
12. The contact of the parents with school	.26	-.07	.13	.31	-.42	.09	.37
13. Plans for the education of the older child	.38	-.14	.07	.04	-.50	.13	.44
14. Physical expression of affection; the older child	.11	-.48	.06	.10	-.03	.10	.27
15. Physical expression of affection; mother's childhood	.12	-.18	.07	.11	-.03	.27	.14
16. The candor of the older child	.14	-.57	.06	-.02	-.09	.08	.36
17. The obedience of the older child	.00	-.50	.12	-.08	-.14	-.08	.30
18. Corporal punishment in mother's own childhood & elsewhere	.08	.04	.00	.34	.02	.07	.13
19. Attitude towards corporal punishment	-.04	.01	.03	.31	-.04	-.09	.11
20. Religious behavior at present	.07	-.17	.60	.12	-.08	.02	.42
21. Religious behavior in mother's and father's childhood	.20	-.09	.58	.00	-.07	.15	.41
22. Amount of books in mother's and father's childhood homes	.57	-.10	.14	-.04	-.17	.09	.39
23. Reading newspapers and listening to the radio	.41	-.04	.02	-.03	.01	.15	.19
24. Reading articles about child rearing	.43	-.14	.07	.12	-.07	-.15	.25
25. Social participation of the mother	.55	.03	.08	.15	-.15	-.09	.36
Per cent of total variance	8	6	4	3	4	2	27
Per cent of common variance	29	21	15	11	15	8	

Factor ¹	Interpretation	Name
I	General knowledge and exposition to media of mass communication	General Information
II	Warmth of mother and candor of the child	Candor
III	Religious behavior at present and in the childhood of the parents	Religious Behavior
IV	Personal communication	Personal Communication
V	Interest in schooling the child	Schooling
VI	Consulting professional vs. laymen's advise in children's illnesses	Professional Advice

¹ We shall not produce here the results from the factor analyses for the different groups at all, mainly for the reason that, to be frank, they were extremely confusing. The general lesson from these analyses is the following. Of the six factors mentioned above, General Information, Personal Communication, and Professional Advice are not usually found in the separate analyses. In none of them was any of these factors clear, and in many of them, there was no trace of the factors. In each of the eight analyses, variables relating to school usually correlated positively with each other, as did the variables relating to candor and religious behavior respectively. But even these factors failed to appear in a regular fashion; they were often merged with each other. In other words, those variables which in the analysis for the total sample loaded on one of these three factors, usually loaded on the same factor in the separate analyses; however, in some group the religious factor could be the same as the school factor, or, a more common result, the religious factor would merge with the candor factor. In general the results of these analyses are very unclear. The main reason is without doubt the homogeneity of different groups and the small number of cases. Combining the groups brings more heterogeneity and, of course, more cases, and produces more reasonable results.

General knowledge and exposition to media of mass communication

Factor I received loadings for the following variables.

22. Amount of books in mother's and father's childhood homes	.57
25. Social participation of the mother	.55
24. Reading articles about child rearing	.43
23. Reading newspapers and listening to the radio	.41
<hr/>	
10. Sex education	.46
13. Plans for the education of the older child	.38
12. The contact of the parents with school	.26
21. Religious behavior in mother's and father's childhood	.20

The four variables listed first have to do with intellectual interest and social participation; variable 22 suggests that these are partially adopted in childhood. We observe that the general interest in reading is related to the reading of articles about child rearing. We shall call this simply General Information. — There are four additional variables having loadings on this factor. These additional four we did not consider at all when interpreting the factor. The presence of these four we regard as a »result» of another sort, i.e., we consider that variables 10, 13, 12, and 21 are related to General Information, but do not »define» this factor.

Of these additional four variables we may observe the following things. — Sex education is a complex variable in itself, combining attitudes towards sex education with actual practices. This variable loads on the second factor also, and we shall revert to the subject. — Of the three variables relating to school, the one concerned with the child's achievement is the only one that does not load on the first factor. — Of the two variables relating to religious behavior only the »past» one is related to General Information.

Thus: the factor of General Information comes out clear and strong, explaining 29 per cent of the common variance. This factor is related to at least two parental attitudes: giving sex education and making plans for the education of the child. Two variables relating to the childhood of the parents load on this factor: amount of books, and religious behavior. This factor can thus be partially at least traced to the childhood of the parents.

The means and standard deviations of the groups on estimated factor I are given in Table 11. There are, as can well be expected, large and consistent differences between the different statuses. There

are also small differences between the urban and rural groups, the urban ones, with the exception of status I, having higher means than the corresponding rural ones. There is thus a suggestion of interaction between social status and environment (see Figure 1).

Table 11
Means and Standard Deviations of the Groups on Estimated Factor I

Environment	Status							
	I		II		III		IV	
	M	s	M	s	M	s	M	s
Urban	.73	.49	.23	.61	-.15	.64	-.43	.62
Rural	.78	.56	-.04	.74	-.47	.62	-.66	.50

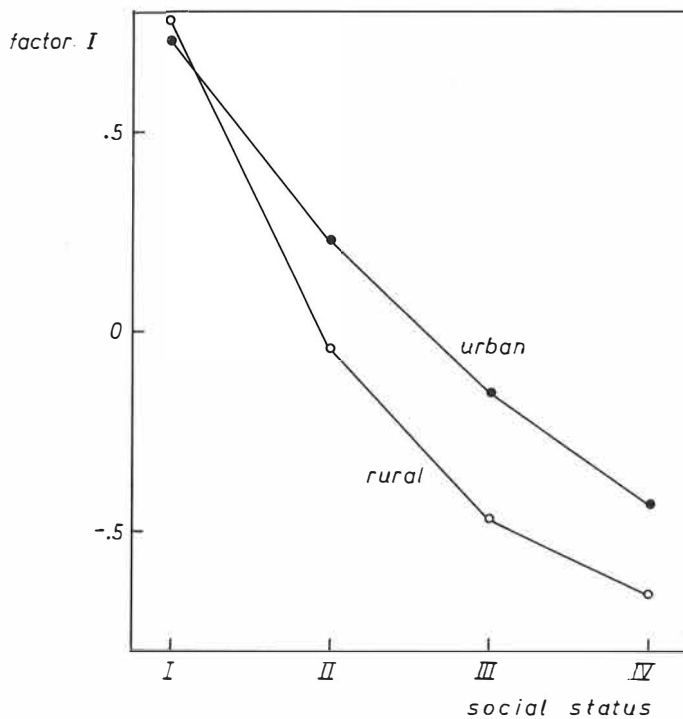


Figure 1

Warmth of mother and candor of child

The following variables have loadings on the second factor.

16. The candor of the older child	— .57
17. The obedience of the older child	— .50
14. Physical expression of affection; the older child	— .48
<hr/>	
10. Sex education	— .28
11. Satisfaction with the older child's achievement at school	— .28
15. Physical expression of affection; mother's childhood	— .18
20. Religious behavior at present	— .17

There are three high loadings, those of variables 16 (candor of the child), 17 (obedience), and 14 (expression of affection). This factor reflects both the attitudes of the mother and the behavior of the child. Acceptance of the child by the parents is related to the candor and obedience of the child. This variable, which we shall simply call Candor, is important because it relates to one important channel of communication, that between the parents and the child. Conceivably, if this channel is shut, the policies of the parents are adopting are, even if other things are constant (which is debatable), different from what they would be if the parents could easily communicate with the child, in obtaining information, say, about the child's intentions.

Four additional variables, i.e., variables 10, 11, 15, and 20 load on this factor. Again, we do not consider these four as »defining» Candor, but as »results». — Sex education loads on this factor as it did on General Information. It would be tempting to regard General Information of the parents and Candor (of both the children and the parents) as necessary conditions, even if not sufficient conditions, for giving sex education. — Of the three variables relating to school the satisfaction of the parents with the achievement of the child is the only one that loads on this factor. — Expressions of affection in mother's childhood and the present religious behavior, both of which load on this factor, could perhaps be considered as »causative» factors favoring open relations between the mother and the child.

The means and standard deviations of the groups on factor II are given in Table 12. There are practically no differences between environments. The differences between the different social statuses are also small, status IV having a slightly smaller mean than the others, which are very similar (see also Figure 2).¹

¹ Observe that a positive mean here means a small amount of candor.

Table 12
Means and Standard Deviations of the Groups on Estimated Factor II

Environment	Status							
	I		II		III		IV	
	M	s	M	s	M	s	M	s
Urban	-.20	.61	.02	.61	-.04	.76	.21	.70
Rural	-.06	.80	-.11	.74	-.08	.81	.27	.83

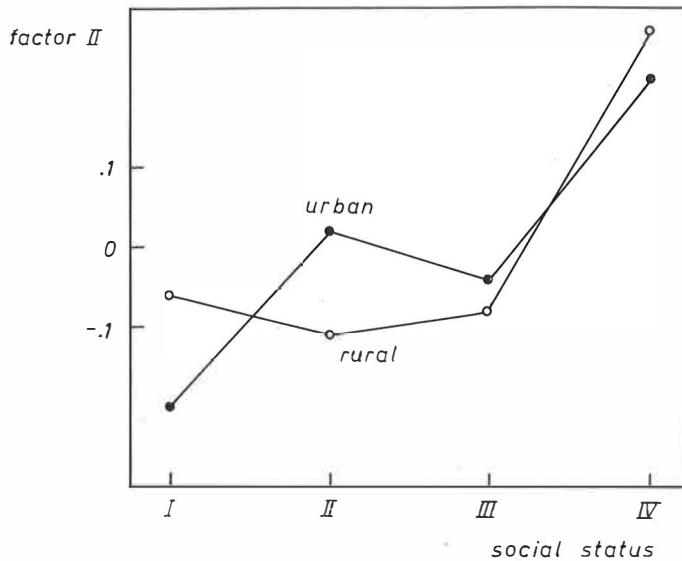


Figure 2

It may be of interest to consider matters of sex education a bit more closely. Tables 13—17 give some additional information on the item level. The following facts emerge: (a) the lower social statuses consider giving sex education less advisable than the upper ones (Table 13); (b) when the parents think it is advisable to give sex guidance, those in the upper social statuses prefer to do it at home, whereas a sizeable portion of mothers in the lower social statuses would rather see it given at school (Table 14); (c) there are more actual inquiries about child-birth in the upper social statuses than in the lower ones (Table 15); (d) the parents in upper social statuses answer the child's questions more often than do parents in the lower statuses (Table 16); (e) when

Table 13

*Per Cent Distributions of Answers to the Question:
»Do you think it is advisable to tell the children about sex matters?»*

Group	yes	difficult to say	no	no answer
Urban I	85	9	6	
" II	88	9	3	
" III	68	8	24	
" IV	61	18	21	
Rural I	83	10	7	
" II	67	18	13	2
" III	62	18	20	
" IV	52	20	28	

Table 14

*Per Cent Distributions of Answers to the Question:
»Should this (telling about sex) be done at home or in the school?»
(These are per cent of those who considered it advisable.)*

Group	at home	at school	cannot say
Urban I	86	13	1
" II	59	39	1
" III	57	43	
" IV	58	39	3
Rural I	79	20	1
" II	62	32	6
" III	54	38	8
" IV	51	41	8

Table 15

*Per Cent Distributions of Answers Given to the Question:
»Has Y ever inquired about how children are born?»*

Group	yes	no recollection	no	no answer
Urban I	85		14	1
" II	70	4	25	1
" III	57	1	41	1
" IV	48	2	47	3
Rural I	76	2	22	
" II	70	1	29	
" III	60	4	36	
" IV	44	1	55	

Table 16

Per Cent Distributions of Answers Given to the Question:
 »What was the answer given (if the child inquired about childbirth)?» (These are percentages of those who answered that Y had made inquiries.)

Group	has been told of mother's role at least	has not been told	has been cheated by fictitious explanations
Urban I	94	5	1
» II	82	10	8
» III	80	10	10
» IV	66	16	18
Rural I	92	3	5
» II	72	14	14
» III	56	14	30
» IV	43	19	38

Table 17

Per Cent Distributions of Answers Given to the Question:
 »How were these things in your own childhood, were you told about those matters (relating to childbirth)?

Group	yes	no	no recollection
Urban I	21	78	1
» II	9	87	4
» III	8	90	2
» IV	5	93	2
Rural I	13	85	2
» II	8	89	3
» III	9	89	2
» IV	6	87	6

answers are given, those in the upper social statuses are in the main realistic, whereas in the lower statuses fictitious explanations and cheating are as frequent as realistic explanations (Table 16); (f) these differences are not caused by what was done in this respect in the childhood of the mother; very few were told about childbirth, etc. (Table 17). We only can refer to the general information and candor hypothesis in this respect.

In short: Factor II is identified as the warmth of mother and candor of the child. This factor, together with General Information, affects

at least one parental practice, i.e. giving sex education. Even though there are very small differences between the groups on Candor, the fourth status being the only one that differs from the others, there are considerable differences between the groups on variable 10, sex education (see also Table 7), probably caused by differences in General Information.

Religious behavior

Factor III receives high loadings for two variables only.

20. Religious behavior at present60
21. Religious behavior in mother's and father's childhood58

This factor is a pure factor of religious behavior; it could be called »religious behavior in the childhood of the parents and at present», or briefly, Religious Behavior. This implies that religious behavior derives its origin, to some extent at least, from childhood. It is worth noticing that variable 20, religious behavior at present, includes also teaching religious behavior to children. The main result is thus: religious behavior is largely learned in childhood, and it is learned because it has been explicitly taught. This is in no way a surprising result of course. — We have earlier observed that »past» religious behavior tends to correlate with General Information, and »present» religious behavior with Candor.

Table 18 indicates the means and standard deviations of the groups on this factor. There are clear and systematic differences between the different social statuses, the upper ones the more religious ones, and between the different environments, the rural groups being the more religious. (See also Figure 3).

Table 18
Means and Standard Deviations of the Groups on Estimated Factor III

Environ- ment	Status							
	I		II		III		IV	
	M	s	M	s	M	s	M	s
Urban	.06	.65	.00	.69	-.19	.71	-.27	.71
Rural	.28	.81	.21	.72	-.01	.63	-.14	.67

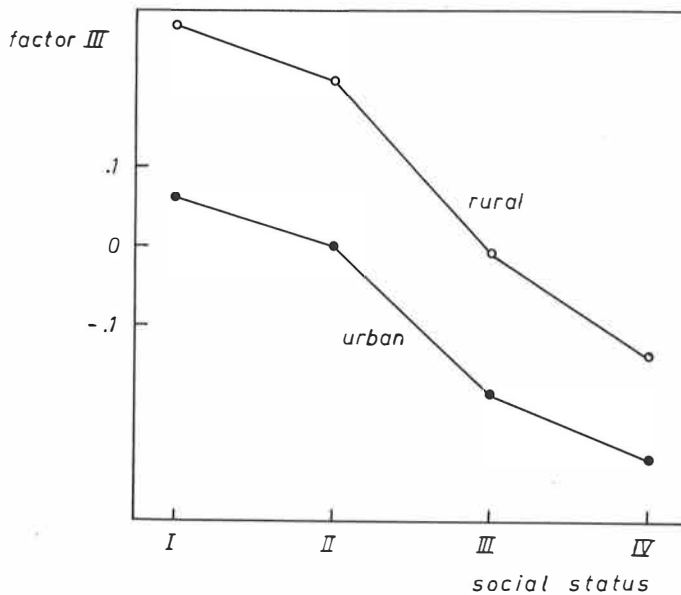


Figure 3

Personal communication

The following variables received high loadings on the fourth factor.

7. Comparisons concerning the rate of development31
12. The contact of the parents with school31
4. Consulting laymen's advice in children's illnesses19
25. Social participation of the mother15
18. Corporal punishment in mother's own childhood; know- ledge of corporal punishment given elsewhere34
19. Attitude towards corporal punishment31

Variables 7, 4, and 18 feature communication with other parents about rate of development, illness, and corporal punishment, respectively; variable 12 relates to contacts with school, while variable 25 relates to the general social participation of the mother. This factor could be called Personal Communication. It should be noticed that variable 18 relates partially to corporal punishment in the mother's childhood. Why these punishment variables should correlate with the personal communication variables we do not venture to say.

The means and standard deviations of the groups on this factor are given in Table 19. There are practically no differences between the groups. (See also Figure 4).

Table 19
Means and Standard Deviations of the Groups on Estimated Factor IV

Environment	Status							
	I		II		III		IV	
	M	s	M	s	M	s	M	s
Urban	-.09	.61	.05	.54	.04	.58	-.18	.59
Rural	.09	.61	.06	.65	.07	.64	-.04	.71

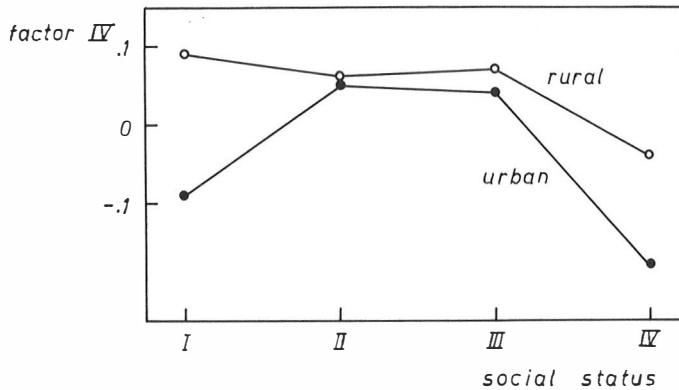


Figure 4

Interest in schooling the child

The following variables loaded on Factor V.

13. Plans for the education of the older child	-.50
11. Satisfaction with the older child's achievement at school	-.48
12. The contact of the parents with the school	-.42
<hr/>	
22. Amount of books in mother's and father's childhood homes	-.17
25. Social participation of the mother	-.15

This factor is clear and relatively pure; the three variables having high loadings being all related to school, and this factor can be called Schooling.

The means and standard deviations of the groups on this factor are given in Table 20. The differences between the different social statuses are considerable and systematic, the upper classes being, not surprisingly, more interested in the school than the lower ones (see also

Table 20
Means and Standard Deviations of the Groups on Estimated Factor V

Environment	Status							
	I		II		III		IV	
	M	s	M	s	M	s	M	s
Urban	-.35	.59	-.10	.66	.20	.63	.31	.63
Rural	-.34	.63	-.04	.66	.10	.67	.24	.64

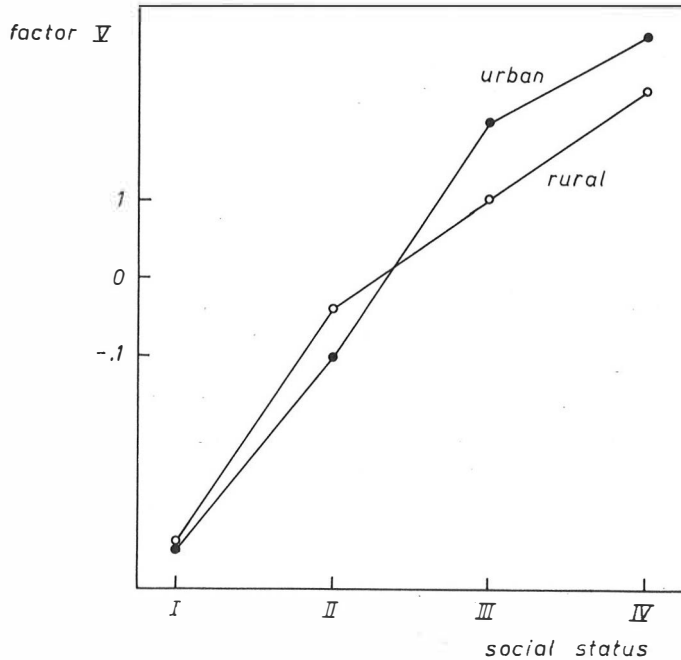


Figure 5

Figure 5).¹ There is a slight suggestion of an interaction between the social status and the environment: the differences between different social statuses being slightly greater for the urban than for the rural groups.

It may be of interest to take a closer look at the sort of plans the parents in different social groups are making for the child (Table 21). One should observe that the child about whom the question was asked was at the age at which the plans for secondary education are

¹ Observe that a negative mean here means a great amount of interest in the school.

Table 21

Per Cent Distributions of Answers to the Question:
 »Have you made any plans about the later schooling of Y?» (The basis of percentages is the total N in each group: some parents have considered several possibilities.)

Group	secondary grammar school	vocational training	other type of school	no plans at all
Urban I	98	1	7	1
” II	84	10	6	7
” III	69	18	6	14
” IV	46	29	3	25
Rural I	86	2	0	11
” II	72	13	4	12
” III	45	20	4	30
” IV	38	21	5	36

of current concern. The answers should thus predict the actual behavior of parents in this respect. The following facts emerge: (a) the answer »no plans at all» is much more common in the lower than in the higher social statuses, and slightly more common in the rural than in the urban groups; (b) when plans are made, in the higher statuses they are almost always for secondary grammar education; in the lower groups, plans for vocational training are frequent, secondary grammar education being, however, the preferred one in the lower groups also.

Consulting professional vs. laymen's advice in children's illnesses

The sixth factor received high loadings for the following variables.

3. Consulting professional advice in children's illnesses	.35
4. Consulting laymen's advice in children's illnesses	-.24
<hr/>	
15. Physical expression of affection; mother's childhood	.27
21. Religious behavior in mother's and father's childhood	.15
23. Reading newspapers and listening to the radio	.15
24. Reading articles about child rearing	-.15

We have tentatively called this factor, in short, Professional Advice. The loadings are, however, rather low, and the other variables loading on this factor are not interpretable. Therefore the factor could well be a residual one. Whatever it is, there are no differences between the means of the groups (see Table 22 and Figure 6).

Table 22
Means and Standard Deviations of the Groups on Estimated Factor VI

Environment	Status							
	I		II		III		IV	
	M	s	M	s	M	s	M	s
Urban	-.01	.51	.13	.57	.02	.52	-.03	.54
Rural	-.01	.66	.00	.55	-.03	.51	-.09	.64

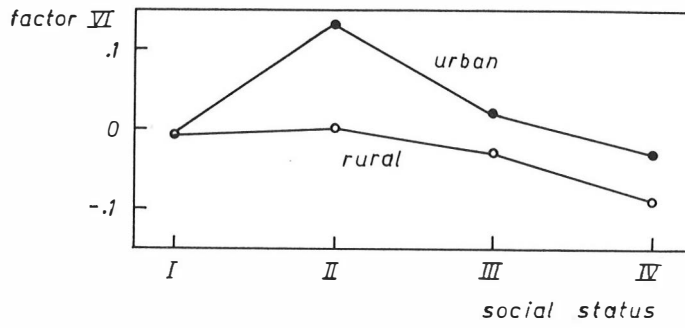


Figure 6

VI

Summary

The purpose of the present study was to investigate several aspects of parental behavior. Questions of the following kinds were posed. How could we describe in general terms the sources of information and channels of communication the parents are using to collect information relevant to child rearing? How are differences between parents in these respects related to parental practices? What kinds of difference are there between different social statuses and rural-urban environments? — The first two questions were largely intermingled in our analysis, but we shall try to separate them when summarizing our findings.

The data was collected by means of interviews. Variables were then built on the basis of item intercorrelations, the rule being that a set of items was combined if the item intercorrelations were positive for all eight groups of parents (four social statuses x two environments).

A factor analysis of nineteen variables revealed six factors that accounted for 27 per cent of the total variance. Two of these factors are perfectly general as to content, and reflect mainly differences in the amount of information the parents received. One of them, called General Information, consists of variables of different types, reading, listening to the radio, and social participation of the mother. Reading about child rearing in particular also loads on this factor. The second of these general factors was called Personal Communication; personal contacts with other parents, the school, neighbors and friends being involved. The mother's social participation loads slightly on this factor, too. — Three of the remaining four factors are clearly content specific. One of them was called Schooling, and it consisted of variables on

making plans for the education of the child, contacts with the school, and satisfaction with the child's achievement at school. It thus combines one communication variable with variables of other kinds. The second of these factors was a pure factor called Religious Behavior; this factor combines religious behavior in the childhood of the parents with present religious behavior. The third of these factors, which was very weak and possibly an artifact, was tentatively called Professional Advice (on illnesses). — In addition to the two general »amount of received communication» variables and the three »content specific» variables, or factors, there was a factor which, in our interpretation amounts to a specific channel: the child itself. This factor was called Candor.

These six factors were found in the analysis based on the total group of subjects (N=785). These factors failed to emerge in analyses carried out for the eight different groups, the number of subjects being around one hundred in each. In these analyses variables relating to school usually correlated positively with each other, as did the variables relating to candor and religious behavior. But even these factors failed to appear in a regular fashion; sometimes they merged with each other, sometimes with some other variables. The other three groups of variables, those relating to general information, personal communication, and professional vs. laymen's advice, did not correlate in a regular fashion. We recall here that the items included in the variables did correlate positively with each other in each group. Differences in the variables themselves do not explain or cause the result. Two other facts account for this general confusion. In the first place, the factor of General Information does not appear because the groups are very homogeneous in this respect. And secondly, where the variance explained by a factor is small, as in the case of Personal Communication, the number of cases is not sufficient to bring it out. These two facts also account for other irregular correlations in the analyses for the different groups.

A number of variables relating to the childhood of the parents were included in the analysis. The purpose of this was to try to find out if any of the factors could be explained on the basis of childhood experiences. According to the results of the analysis based on the total group of subjects, childhood experiences load at least on the following factors: General Information (amount of books in mother's and father's homes; religious behavior in mother's and father's homes); Candor (physical expression of affection in mother's childhood); Reli-

gious Behavior (religious behavior in mother's and father's childhood); Schooling (amount of books in mother's and father's homes). Irregular loadings are also found on the two remaining factors.

Our data does not allow very detailed descriptions about the influence of the »communication» variables on the parental practices. But some facts do emerge. In the first place, General Information seems to be related to at least two parental practices, viz., making plans for the education of the child and giving sex guidance. It would be tempting to generalize and to assume that General Information would be a relevant variable affecting the teaching of many other things as well. On the other hand, our data do not tell what sort of effects the factor of Personal Communication could have. The topics covered in personal communication are probably many and varied, but also quite specific. The effects or consequences of personal communication on parental decisions could likewise be rather specific, and therefore not found in a general treatment. — As to the specific factors, all these combine sources of information with parental practices. The case of Religious Behavior is almost self-evident. Making contacts with the school is related to making plans for the education of the child; the latter may well serve as a stimulus for the former. In the case of Professional vs. Laymen's Advice it is also evident that the information received from different sources is different; it also correlates with the type of treatment that is being given. In general: when the parents have to cope with an »institution», (of these the school, the church, and medical science were dealt in the present study, but the results could well apply to economic and governmental institutions), parental behavior would be affected by the opinions of experts, though not in the same way or by the same sort of experts in all cases. — The candor of the child was shown to be related to at least two things. It is related to the giving of sex education; it would seem that the necessary conditions for this are, in the first place, that the parents have acquired (through general information) the notion that this is a reasonable thing to do, and secondly, that the channel of communication between the parents and the child is open. Candor is also related to the parents' satisfaction with the child's achievement at school.

The variable of social status was constructed so as to reflect differences both in the education of the father and in the standard of living of the family. Therefore it is but natural that, when the means of the groups on estimated factors are inspected, the largest differences are

found in General Information (reflecting mainly educational differences) and Schooling (reflecting differences in educational background and in the standard of living). These differences are, it goes without saying, in favor of the upper statuses. Sizeable differences are also found in Religious Behavior, the upper statuses being more religious. On the other hand, differences between the groups are very small in Candor, only the lowest status being slightly different from the other three. On the factors of Personal Communication and Professional vs. Laymen's Advice the differences are also negligible. When some variables not included in the analysis are considered, it becomes apparent that also on such »basic« variables as health, toilet training, etc. the groups are on an equal footing.

The rural-urban differences are as a rule much smaller than those between the different statuses. There are some differences in General Information in favor of the urban groups, with a suggestion of interaction between environment and social status (there is no difference between the urban and rural groups for status I, but there are clear differences for the other statuses). The rural groups rate higher on Religious Behavior, the differences between the different status groups being constant here. On the other factors the urban and rural groups are on an even footing. However, one further observation is relevant: the rural groups as a rule make less plans for the education of children than the urban ones. The rural groups have more communication with the school and the teacher, though, and these two effects cancel each other out, making the means of the rural groups on the estimated Schooling factor similar to the means of the urban groups.

It may be of some interest to find that there are practically no differences among different social groups or between the parts of the country in some important aspect of child care. In general, the establishment of clinics for maternal and child care has succeeded in providing approximately equal opportunities for different social groups. There is only a small difference in the frequency of asking professional advice: The members of the upper social class seem to consult somewhat more frequently pediatricians. Superstitious and magical traditional child care procedures have disappeared almost totally in the most remote parts of the country among this generation of parents. About 50 per cent of the parents had used drugs prescribed by doctors in treating their children, irrespective of their social status. Most families had visited the clinics for child care.

On the other hand, there is much less professional advice asked in

child rearing. Information is mainly mediated by mass media, especially by magazines and books on child rearing. The immediate influence of this information is mainly restricted to upper classes. The difference between the status groups is still more striking in the country than in the cities.

Information concerning schooling and vocational training is also closely related to social class at the present. In the upper social classes the parents usually make some plans to the future of the child very early, while their number is very low in the other groups. It may be predicted that the school reforms as well as the organization of vocational guidance in all parts of the country will diminish these differences.

It has been shown by previous studies (Allardt & al., 1958) that the social participation of married women is very strongly restricted among the workers. The same result was found again in the present study. In addition, social participation was closely connected with the amount and availability of general information. It may be expected that the restriction of social participation has similar effects on child care and rearing as lack of general information. More detailed examination is, however, required to show these relationships more clearly.

One final word about the general applicability of the results. The results obtained in the present study describe the situation in Finland. It became apparent that the factor analyses for the separate homogeneous groups gave essentially different, more confused, results than the analysis based on the data for the whole group of subjects. Consequently, in countries where differences between social classes are either sharper, or less sharp, than in Finland, a similar analysis could, even if other factors such as the educational system, etc., were constant, which of course they are not, give results essentially different from ours. Generalizations in matters like this for situations in other countries would be hazardous. Intercultural comparisons would be to the point here.

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