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SOME CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF FAMILY LIFE IN ESTONIA AND FINLAND — A COMPARATIVE STUDY

We compare here family life, work, leisure and their interdependence in two societies which represent different social and economic systems: in the socialist republic of Estonia, a socialist planned economy, and in Finland, which is a capitalist market economy.

The study focuses on marriage and family life. Work and leisure are then examined against these factors. Even though the functions of the family in these systems are seen in different ways, the family is in both countries one of the major social institutions. Thus it is no wonder that irrespective of the social and economic system, many trends in the family turn out to be similar in the two countries studied.

1. Social development

The social development in Estonia has been greatly influenced by the fact that in the summer of 1940 Estonia became a socialist republic. This historical event changed the structure of the economic production. Estonians were now included into the social economic system of the whole Soviet Union, not only of their own republic. The reconstruction of the economy destroyed by the war took place in the framework of a planned economy. All peoples of the Soviet Union participated in this endeavour; it was experienced as a socialist duty. Large scale industry was established. Also in agriculture large scale production became predominant. The educational opportunities changed drastically.

In Finland no similar abrupt changes took place. The influence of the war years can, however, be seen in both population changes and in some changes in the industrial structure. A deeper breakthrough of a modern society in Finland took place first in the 1960s, when educational opportunities greatly increased, and Finland quickly urbanized and became a predominantly service society. These general development trends will next be described in more detail with the help of statistical data.

Estonia and Finland were in the 1930s rural countries. Only one-third of the Estonians and one-fifth of the Finns were living in towns or cities. By 1980 the percentages had grown into 70 and 60, respectively. The countries are thus nowadays quite urbanized.

The later industrialization of Finland compared with Estonia can be seen in the different development of the industrial structures of these societies. In Table 1 it is measured by the proportions of the economically active population in different industries.

At the beginning of the 1930s both countries were still agrarian societies. The majority of the economically active population got its living from agriculture and forestry, more so in Finland (65%) than in Estonia (54%). By 1980 both countries were on the same level: only 12–13% of the population was engaged in agriculture and forestry.

The earlier industrialization of Estonia can be seen from the proportion of the economically active population working in manufacturing, transport, and communications. By 1980 the percentages had grown into 53 in Estonia and 41 in Finland. Estonia is thus nowadays a predominantly

Table 1

Social structure by industry in 1930, 1960, and 1980, %

| Industry | 1930 | | 1960 | | 1980 | |
|--|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| | Estonia | Finland | Estonia | Finland | Estonia | Finland |
| Agriculture and forestry | 54 | 65 | 26 | 35 | 13 | 12 |
| Manufacturing and construction | } 30 | 15 | 39 | 30 | 43 | 33 |
| Transport and communication | | 3 | 9 | 6 | 10 | 8 |
| Commerce and catering * | 7 | } 5 | 6 | 12 | 9 | 14 |
| Financial institutions, insurance and real estate | } 10 | | 3 | 2 | 3 | 5 |
| Social and personal services, science, culture and education, health care, housing and municipal services etc. | | 13 | 16 | 15 | 21 | 28 |
| | 101 | 101 | 99 | 100 | 99 | 100 |

* Hotels, restaurants, public catering.

industrial country. Finland has been quicker in developing into a society with a predominant service sector of production (55%) compared with 44% in Estonia.

2. Employment of women and men and its consequences to family life

Paid employment of women is nowadays very common both in Estonia and in Finland. There are practically no homestaying housewives in Estonia. In Finland one in ten women in the working age (15–64 years) takes care of her own home without being engaged in paid work. Women's increasing employment can be seen as a consequence of 1) their improving individual educational resources, 2) need for labour in the society, and 3) ideologies supporting individual economic independence, which means equal participation of men and women in paid work. These factors have been influential in both countries.

The proportion of employed women having a university degree is about the same in Estonia (8.5% in 1979) and in Finland (8.2% in 1980). There are more women with a middle level of education in Estonia than in Finland.

It is an international phenomenon that women and men are located in different industries i. e. are horizontally segregated and have a different industrial status, i. e. are vertically or hierarchically segregated. Women mostly work in service industries and have a lower industrial status. Men are concentrated in material production industries and occupy higher status jobs.

Our results indicate that horizontal gender segregation by industry is more common in Finland than in Estonia.¹ There are more women in the traditionally male industries of forestry, transport, and construction in Estonia than in Finland. Manufacturing and wholesale trade are in Finland clearly male-dominated industries whereas in Estonia slightly more than half of the persons working in these industries are women.

¹ Haavio-Mannila, E., Rannik, E. Vertaileva tutkimus Eestin ja Suomen perheesta, työstä ja vapaa-ajasta. Helsinki, 1985.

Women's employment in traditionally men's areas of work is more common in the socialist than in the capitalist countries of Europe.² Estonia and Finland are examples of this general difference between countries with different political and economic systems.

The socialist ideology apparently has encouraged Estonian women to choose work in traditionally male-dominated industries related to material production. These industries still provide employment opportunities for the majority of the Estonian population. Thus both ideological and structural factors have contributed to the breaking down of some of the traditional division of labour between Estonian men and women.*

In Finland the increasing flow of women into the labour market during the last twenty years has become channeled into the growing service industries, which are traditionally female-dominated.

The continuing gender segregation of the labour market is in Finland perceived as a severe barrier against equality between men and women. As a consequence, some research and government projects have been started with a purpose to diminish the prevailing segmentation of the labour market by gender.

The influence of society on family life is somewhat stronger in Estonia than in Finland. This can be seen, for example, in the higher proportion of women in the labour force discussed above, and in the fact that the socialization of children starts earlier in public child care institutions. Also in Finland there is a tendency toward a greater state intervention in the care of children and young people.

* At the same time these phenomena are limited by the differences of men's and women's efforts and abilities in effecting the industrial production and cannot always be evaluated as positive.

3. Marriage

In the seventies in many developed countries of the world, age at marriage stabilized or started to increase. This was connected with the emancipation of women and the spreading of unmarried cohabitation before marriage.

These tendencies can be seen also in Estonia and Finland. Cohabitation before marriage is almost as common in both countries. 66% of young married couples interviewed in 1984 in Tallinn had lived together before marriage (72% of the Estonian couples). Of comparable couples in Helsinki 70% had done so.³ In the seventies in Estonia the age at the first marriage for men was 24 and for women 23 years, in Finland 25 and 24 years, respectively. In the eighties in Finland this age has grown to 27 for men and 25 for women. There was no comparable data available in Estonia.

In both countries marriages started at a very young age easily break up, the spouses get a divorce. As a matter of fact, divorce rate is considerably higher in Estonia than in Finland (Table 2). This may be related to the lower age at marriage, but also to the higher marriage rate in Estonia compared with Finland. As remarriages are very common in Estonia, the proportion of married persons in the population is higher in Estonia than in Finland. High divorce rate thus does not lead to a living without a marital partner.

Finding a "suitable" marriage partner has become complicated for those Estonian women who have received higher education. According to studies directed by Ene Tiit at Tartu State University, the marriage age of

² *Haavio-Mannila, E.* Yhteiskunnan rakennemuutokset ja sukupuolten asema. — *AVO-Ammattivalinta*, 1981, 26, N 6, 6—12.

³ Study on Young Family and Alcohol. Helsinki, 1984.

women with a university degree is 27.5 years, several years more than that of male university graduates.

The higher divorce rate in Estonia as compared with that in Finland may be related to the more wide spread cohabitation in the seventies and to the fact that religion and private property make it both mentally and materially more difficult to divorce in Finland than in Estonia.

Some demographic indicators of marital life

Table 2

| Year | Marriages | | Divorces | | Persons living in marriage, per cent of population aged 16/15 years and over | | | |
|------|--------------------------|---------|----------|---------|--|---------|---------|---------|
| | per thousand inhabitants | | | | Men | | Women | |
| | Estonia | Finland | Estonia | Finland | Estonia | Finland | Estonia | Finland |
| | | | | | | | | |
| 1940 | 9.6 | 8.3 | 1.1 | 0.4 | (1936—40) | | | |
| 1950 | 9.5 | 8.5 | 0.6 | 0.9 | | | | |
| 1960 | 10.0 | 7.4 | 2.1 | 0.8 | 64 | 62 | 59 | 55 |
| 1970 | 9.1 | 8.8 | 3.2 | 1.3 | 67 | 61 | 54 | 57 |
| 1980 | 8.8 | 6.1 | 4.1 | 2.0 | 68 | 58 | 55 | 53 |
| 1984 | 8.2 | 5.8 | 4.1 | 2.0 | | | | |
| 1985 | 8.4 | 5.3 | 3.9 | 1.8 | | | | |

Sources. Estonia: Eesti NSV Rahvamajandus. Tallinn, 1975, 30; 1985, 11.
Итоги Всесоюзной переписи населения 1959, 1970 и 1979 гг. М.
Finland: Tilastollinen Vuosikirja. Helsinki, 1940—1985.

Marriages in which the educational level of the wife is higher than that of the husband seem to be more common in Estonia than in Finland (Table 3). The increase in the number of "non-traditional" marriages, in which the wife has a higher educational status, has been perceived as a problem in Estonia. In Finland there is no public worry about this phenomenon.

Relative educational level of spouses, %

Table 3

| Relative educational level | Estonia* | Finland** |
|----------------------------|---------------|-------------|
| Husband has more education | 23*** | 15**** |
| Same level of education | 40 | 61 |
| Wife has more education | 37 | 23 |
| (N) | 100 (1150) | 99 (214) |

* Interviews of couples getting married. Tartu, 1972.

** Interviews of urban married and cohabiting couples. Helsinki, 1981.

*** More education: at least one step more on the fourstep ladder from primary school, middle school, and matriculation to university degree.

**** More education: at least two years more.

In Estonia it has been found that divorces are common in marriages in which the wife's educational level exceeds that of the husband.

One reason for the problems in "non-traditional" marriages may be that our societies have not yet acknowledged the fact that gender roles in getting education have changed. It may be stressful to live in a situation which does not correspond to conventional patriarchal norms about the "proper" relative status of the spouses.

4. Family life

A household consisting of two or more persons is often defined to be a family. After World War II, living in a family has increased in Estonia but diminished in Finland. In Estonia 13%, in Finland 17% of people lived alone in 1979/80. The higher proportion of people living alone in Finland is connected with the relatively late age at marriage, and the somewhat better housing situation, which makes it possible for young and old people to live independently.

Size of the family depends to a large extent on the number of children born. In the 1950s and 1960s Finland had a higher rate of birth than Estonia. From the 1970s onwards the Estonian birth rate has been higher (Table 4).

We could also compare family types in urban areas in Estonia in 1978 and in Finland in 1981. As Table 5 shows, and as was stated before on the basis of official statistics, Finns more often than Estonians live alone, in single-person households. There are also more childless couples in urban Finland than in urban Estonia. On the other hand, extended families consisting of more than two generations are more common (17%) in Estonia than in Finland (7%).

Table 4

| Live births per 1000 inhabitants in 1951—1985 | | |
|--|---------|---------|
| Year | Estonia | Finland |
| 1951—55 | 18.2 | 22.1 |
| 1956—60 | 16.6 | 19.4 |
| 1961—65 | 15.6 | 17.9 |
| 1966—70 | 14.9 | 15.7 |
| 1971—75 | 15.3 | 13.1 |
| 1976—80 | 15.0 | 13.6 |
| 1981 | 15.4 | 13.2 |
| 1982 | 15.4 | 13.7 |
| 1983 | 16.0 | 13.8 |
| 1984 | 15.9 | 13.3 |
| 1985 | 15.4 | 12.8 |

Sources. Eesti NSV Rahvamajandus. Statistika aastaraamat. Tallinn, 1982, 13; 1985, 12. Tilastollinen Vuosikirja. Helsinki, 1951—1985.

Table 5

| Type of urban households, % | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------|--------------|
| Type of household | Estonia | Finland |
| Single person | 8 | 15 |
| Couple and children | 57 | 53 |
| Childless couple | 10 | 20 |
| Single parent | 8 | 5 |
| Extended family* | 17 | 7 |
| (N) | 100 (1323) | 100 (577) |

Sources. Estonia: Interviews of population in the working age (18—55 (women) and 60 (men)). Tallinn, 1978.

Finland: Interviews of population aged 25—64 years. Helsinki, 1981.

* Includes the 1% of Estonian people who live together with nonrelatives.

The nuclear family has become the most important family form both in Estonia and Finland. Family life has democratized — members discuss and make decisions together in most family matters. However, the division of domestic work is still very uneven. The housewife carries the main responsibility and work load of the daily chores at home. Yet some tendencies toward an increasing equality can be observed.

For example, in Estonia the division of housework in both the parental and in the present family has been compared. There were more parental than present families in which only or mostly the wife had taken care of shopping, cooking, doing the laundry, and even reparations at home (Table 6). Washing the dishes, however, was in the parental generation less often than in the present one left to the wife alone, or mostly to her. In general, traditional division of labour at home seems to give way to a more shared division of domestic work.

Table 6

Proportion of families in which only or mostly the wife takes care of the task
in parental and own family, %

| Household task | Estonia* | | | Finland** | |
|--------------------|--------------------|------------------|-------|------------|-------|
| | Parental family | Own family | | Own family | |
| | | Replies given by | | | |
| | | Husband | Wife | Husband | Wife |
| Shopping | 67 | 50 | 68 | 50 | 56 |
| Preparing meals | 91 | 73 | 83 | 67 | 77 |
| Washing the dishes | 59 | 61 | 71 | 60 | 70 |
| Home reparations | 37 | 7 | 26 | 4 | 8 |
| (N) | (1330) | (670) | (670) | (205) | (214) |

* Interviews of population aged 18—55/60. Tallinn, 1978.

** Interviews of population aged 15 years and over. Finnish Gallup, 1977.

Traditional division of housework is nowadays a little more common in Estonia than in Finland. Inter-country differences are smaller than differences in the perceptions of men and women. Men seem to belittle, women to overestimate the role of the wife in taking care of daily household tasks.

Together with an increase in education, traditional conceptions of the responsibilities of men and women at home are giving way to a new gender equality orientation in the private sphere of the family. The proportion of families in which the wife alone or mostly takes care of household tasks decreases with an increase in education (Table 7). Wife's higher education seems to be a more effective means than husband's in reaching the goal of gender equality.

Table 7

Proportion of families with a traditional division of household tasks
(only or mostly the wife takes care of the task) according to education, %

| Household task | Education* | Husbands | | Wives | |
|--------------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| | | Estonia 1978 | Finland 1977 | Estonia 1978 | Finland 1977 |
| Shopping | primary school | 51 | 52 | 68 | 68 |
| | middle school | 50 | 50 | 67 | 57 |
| | more | 49 | 39 | 70 | 45 |
| Preparing meals | primary school | 72 | 72 | 87 | 80 |
| | middle school | 74 | 68 | 85 | 78 |
| | more | 72 | 52 | 72 | 62 |
| Washing the dishes | primary school | 66 | 70 | 72 | 76 |
| | middle school | 57 | 55 | 72 | 61 |
| | more | 59 | 48 | 67 | 60 |
| Home reparations | primary school | 9 | 2 | 27 | 9 |
| | middle school | 6 | 6 | 25 | 5 |
| | more | 5 | 6 | 25 | 11 |

Sources. See Table 6.

* Estonia: primary school = 8 years
middle school = 9—11 years
more = college = 16—17 years

Finland: primary school = 7—8 years
middle school = 9 years
more = student = 12 years,

In a great majority (70—90%) of Estonian and Finnish families' decisions concerning, for example, whether and when to have children, how to use money, educate children, use leisure time, and choose family friends are made together.⁴ If only one of the spouses makes family decisions, it is in most cases the wife.

Shared decision-making in the family is connected with a warm and harmonious atmosphere at home and congenial relations between the spouses. Estonian results indicate that "women power" in the family is connected with disharmony at home. It seems to be important that also the husband participates in the daily decision-making in the family and does not leave the responsibility for family affairs to the wife alone.

Our comparison of marital relationships in Estonia and Finland is based on I. L. Reiss' wheel theory of love.⁵ The four processes in the development of love, according to I. L. Reiss, are: 1. rapport, 2. self-revelation, 3. mutual dependency, and 4. intimacy need fulfillment. The theory supposes that there is a love cycle in which these four processes follow each other in the order of rapport→self-revelation→mutual dependency→intimacy need fulfillment. "The processes are interdependent, and a reduction in any one of them will affect the development or maintenance of a love relationship. For example, if one reduced the amount of self-revelation through an argument or by means of a competing interest, that would in turn weaken the rapport process, which would in turn tend to lower the revelation level even further. Thus, the processes flow into one another in one direction to develop love and can flow the other way to weaken a love relationship. The wheel analogy thus seems appropriate."⁶

The results of our study are summarized in Table 8.

1. In Helsinki couples experience a feeling of **rapport** (they have the same attitude to basic issues in life and a close relationship, and they feel very close to spouse) more often than in Estonia. Thus in our data on young husbands and wives in Helsinki they more often go through the first process through which love develops.

2. The second process of love, **self-revelation**, is more often experienced among Estonian than Finnish men. Among women there are no significant differences between the two countries. Self-revelation was measured by asking the respondents the following two questions: Can you always talk about difficult matters and your own emotions with your wife/husband? Do you tell your wife/husband everything which is important or interesting?

3. There are no differences between the countries in the **mutual dependency** between spouses. Women in both countries are more dependent on their husbands than men on their wives. Dependency was measured by asking the respondents the following two questions: Do you almost always take into consideration the opinions of your spouse? Do you try to help your spouse whenever possible?

4. The Estonian respondents feel they get more social support than the Finnish respondents. We asked respondents whether their spouse gives them a great deal of help, encouragement and reassurance when they run into problems or hardships. The highest phase of love i. e. **satisfaction of need for intimacy** is more often realized in young Estonian families than in Finland.

Young Estonian couples, and especially Estonian men, confide in their spouse and feel that they receive social and emotional support. Young Finnish couples experience the first process of love i. e. rapport more often

⁴ Kelam, A. The Family in Estonia. A Sociological Portrait. Tallinn, 1986, 29—31.

⁵ Reiss, I. L. Toward a sociology of heterosexual love relationship. — Marriage and Family Living, 1960, 22, May, 139—145.

⁶ Reiss, I. L. The Family Systems in America, 2nd ed. Hinsdale, Illinois, 1976, 96.

Table 8

Amount of marital love among young husbands and wives in Tallinn and Helsinki
in 1984, %*

| Phases of love | Items measuring love | Husbands | | Wives | |
|-----------------------------------|--|----------|----------|---------|----------|
| | | Tallinn | Helsinki | Tallinn | Helsinki |
| Rapport | Same attitude to basic issues in life | 65 | 81 | 61 | 80 |
| | Has a very close relationship with spouse | 52 | 71 | 50 | 73 |
| | Feels very close to spouse | 58 | 73 | 59 | 74 |
| | Average | 55 | 72 | 54 | 76 |
| Self-revelation | Can always talk about difficult matters and own emotions with spouse | 67 | 52 | 69 | 75 |
| | Tells spouse about everything which is important or interesting | 46 | 35 | 61 | 54 |
| | Average | 56 | 43 | 65 | 64 |
| Dependency | Nearly always takes into consideration the opinions of spouse | 34 | 34 | 36 | 35 |
| | Tries to help spouse whenever possible | 40 | 39 | 52 | 54 |
| | Average | 37 | 36 | 44 | 44 |
| Satisfaction of need for intimacy | Spouse gives a great deal of help, encouragement and reassurance if one has problems | 58 | 35 | 60 | 37 |
| | (N) | (293) | (297) | (308) | (297) |

* The items are based on I. L. Reiss' wheel theory of love.

than the Estonian respondents. The Finnish couples have not, however, reached the higher stages of love, self-revelation and satisfaction of need for intimacy as often as the more out-going Estonians.

In addition to analyzing data on young families in Helsinki by using concepts developed by I. L. Reiss⁷, E. Haavio-Mannila and M. Holmila⁸ have made a factor analysis of the 14 items related to emotional relationships between the spouses and their marital satisfaction included in the interview scheme. Two factors emerged: 1. marital satisfaction and 2. rapport, self-revelation, dependency and support. The first factor was called happiness, the second companionship.

The highest loadings on the first factor, happiness, fall on the following items:

| | |
|--|----|
| satisfaction with emotional relationship with spouse | 73 |
| satisfaction with marriage | 71 |
| close relationship with spouse | 67 |
| considers marriage to be successful | 66 |
| satisfaction with sexual relationship | 66 |
| would have married one's spouse even if had known how marital relations will develop | 60 |

⁷ Reiss, I. L. Toward a sociology of heterosexual love relationship, 139—145.

⁸ Haavio-Mannila, E., Holmila, M. Juomiskumppanus ja juomisen rajoittaminen perhe-suhteiden ilmaisijana. — Sosiologia, 1986, 23, N 2, 117—126.

On the basis of the varimax-rotated two-factor solution of the Helsinki data, factor scores were calculated for the young couples in Tallinn and Helsinki. The respondents were divided into two approximately equal-sized groups on the basis of their scores on these two factors. Cross-tabulating the two dimensions gave the following four categories: 1. high on both happiness and companionship factor, 2. high on happiness, low on companionship, 3. high on companionship and low on happiness, and 4. low on both happiness and companionship (Table 9). In Helsinki young husbands and wives expressed more marital satisfaction or happiness than in Tallinn. However, Estonian husbands show considerably more companionship in their marriage than Finnish husbands. Wives in Helsinki felt a little more companionship than they do in Tallinn. The largest inter-country and gender difference is the high proportion of husbands in Helsinki, who reported happiness without companionship in their marriage. The result supports the thesis by M. Kortteinen who has stated on the basis of an interview study that in newly emerging modern suburban families men have difficulties in findings satisfactory role.⁹ This seems to be the case in Finland more often than in Estonia.

Table 9

Happiness and companionship* among couples in Tallinn and Helsinki in 1984, %

| | Husbands | | Wives | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| | Tallinn | Helsinki | Tallinn | Helsinki |
| Happiness and companionship | 47 | 39 | 42 | 48 |
| Happiness, no companionship | 13 | 26 | 13 | 12 |
| Companionship, no happiness | 15 | 11 | 16 | 18 |
| Neither happiness nor companionship | 25 | 24 | 29 | 22 |
| (N) | 100 (297) | 100 (293) | 100 (297) | 100 (308) |

* The classification into happiness and companionship is based on a factor analysis of the Helsinki data.

5. Leisure

There are clear differences in the ways of using leisure time in Estonia and Finland. In Estonia fine arts and literature are followed more keenly than in Finland. Physical exercise, entertainments, visits and handicrafts are more typical leisure time activities in Finland. Estonian culture is characterized by fine arts, Finland by sports and entertainment.

In both countries enjoying fine arts and going to restaurants increases with education. Following sports events and physical exercise are mostly favoured by people with a middle level of education.

The gender gap during leisure time is in Estonia smaller than in Finland, where particularly visiting theatre and concerts has become differentiated as women's activity, whereas mainly men attend sports events, restaurants and to some degree also movies.

Some leisure activities are in Estonia more familycentered than in Finland. In Estonia, whole families, children included, quite often attend the theatre together, movies, museums, and exhibitions. In Finland spouses attend these occasions mostly in the company of each other, or in the company of other people than members of their family. Children are less often included in the family community outside the home in Finland than in Estonia.

⁹ Kortteinen, M. Lähiö, Keuruu, 1982.

6. Views of life

At the end of the 1970s Finns were a little more sceptical than Estonians about the possibilities of women to succeed in life (Table 10). More often than Estonian men Finnish men thought that women have worse chances in life than men.

Table 10

Conceptions about possibilities of women to succeed in life as well as men of same age, %

| Possibilities of women to succeed in life compared with those of men are perceived to be | Men | | Women | |
|--|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| | Estonia | Finland | Estonia | Finland |
| better | 6 | 7 | 6 | 5 |
| same | 60 | 47 | 53 | 47 |
| worse | 34 | 43 | 41 | 43 |
| cannot say | — | 3 | — | 5 |
| (N) | 100 (885) | 100 (211) | 100 (987) | 100 (225) |

Sources. Estonia: Interviews of population aged 18—55/60 years, Tallinn, 1978.

Finland: Interviews of population aged 15 years and over. Finnish Gallup, 1977.

In both countries the traditional conception that household tasks should be left to women has been abandoned. Both in Estonia and Finland $\frac{2}{3}$ of men and $\frac{4}{5}$ of women are in favour of the principle of equal sharing of housework in the family. This attitude is held most frequently by educated women belonging to the group of intellectuals and by young women. However, actual behaviour patterns are not quite as equal as attitudes. As was shown above, women do a lot more housework than men.

L. Paavilainen has studied personal efficacy in Finland.¹⁰ We use her definition of this concept. People have very different views on to what extent they affect the course of their own lives. Some people believe that they themselves can decide the course that their lives will take and try actively to shape their living conditions. This is what we mean by personal efficacy. Others again believe that fate and other factors that they themselves cannot effect decide what course their lives will take and that human beings have to accept this. According to Paavilainen's study a person's social background and family life during childhood affect a person's attitude to life. Also education, socio-economic position, gender and language group are important factors in determining views on personal efficacy. Having a higher education or socio-economic position, being of male gender or belonging to the majority language group (Finnish) all correlate with believing in personal efficacy.

However, contrary to what one might expect, factors related to one's own (present) family have little effect on beliefs about personal efficacy. Paavilainen says that it is surprising to see that the relationship between the spouses has a very minor affect on beliefs about personal efficacy. Thus it can be assumed on the basis of these Finnish findings that the differences found in our study between Estonian and Finnish women in their views on personal efficacy relate to more general social differences between the two countries.

¹⁰ Paavilainen, L. Itsemäärämiseen ja sopeutumiseen vaikuttavia tekijöitä. Master's thesis in sociology. Manuscript at the University of Helsinki, 1986.

Our data reveal an interesting difference between the socialist and capitalist system, i. e. women in Estonia more often than women in Finnish cities see it as important to try to affect the course of their life instead of passively adapting to changes. The men in these two countries differ less as can be seen from Table 11.

Table 11

| Says that it is more important to try to | Personal efficacy, % | | | |
|--|----------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| | Men | | Women | |
| | Estonia | Finland | Estonia | Finland |
| adapt oneself to the changes brought by life | 27 | 34 | 33 | 44 |
| try to affect the course of one's life | 73 | 66 | 67 | 56 |
| (N) | 100 (618) | 100 (313) | 100 (819) | 100 (374) |

Sources: Estonia: Interviews of urban employed population aged 18—55/60 years, Tallinn, 1985.

Finland: Interviews of urban population aged 25—64 years, Helsinki, 1981.

To women in Estonia personal efficacy is as important as to men in both countries. Finnish women are more inclined to adapt to the demands of others. Several studies have shown that believing in personal efficacy is related to "being better off" or being in charge of one's own life. In socialist Estonia women seem to have better chances than in capitalist Finland to affect the course of their own life, or at least they consider it more important.

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PEREKONNAELU MÕNINGATEST ISELOOMULIKEST JOONTEST EESTIS JA SOOMES (KÕRVUTAV UURIMUS)

Artiklis on vaadeldud perekonnaelu eri aspekte, vaba aja veetmist ja tööd Eestis ning Soomes. Peatähelepanu on pööratud perekonnale. Hoolimata ühiskonnakorra erinevusest on perekond mõlemal maal keskne ühiskondlik institutsioon, mis kujundab inimeste ellusuhtumist ja elulaadi. Seetõttu on palju kokkulangevusi Eesti ja Soome perekonnaelus.

Eesti perekond on ühiskonnaga rohkem seotud kui Soome oma. Niisugune seos avaldub eriti selgesti töösfääris ja lastekasvatuses. Ka perekonnas elavate inimeste arv on Eestis suurem kui Soomes. Osalt on see seletatav varasema abiellumisega Eestis, teisalt aga ka suure arvu registreerimata abieludega Soomes. Viimaseid ametlik statistika ei arvesta.

Meeste ja naiste segregatsioon rahvamajanduses ning erinevused nende tööalases seisundis on Soomes suuremad kui Eestis. See peegeldab eri süsteemide suhtumist naiste töökäimisse. Eestis on see ühiskondlikuks normiks, Soomes iga inimese eraasi. Kui Soomes peetakse töö eest saadavaks tasuks eelkõige palgatulu, siis Eestis tunduvalt rohkem sotsiaalse ja moraalse iseloomuga hüvesid ning tunnustust.

Erinevad ideoloogilised lähtealused suhtumises naiste töökäimisse avaldavad mõju perekonnasuhetele ning põhjustavad erinevusi meeste ja naiste rollides perekonnas. Paljusid erinevusi perekonnaelus tulebki vaadelda läbi töökäimise prisma.

Niihästi Eesti kui ka Soome perekondadele on iseloomulikud abikaasade võrdõiguslikkusele rajatud suhted. Valdav osa tähtsamatest perekonda puudutavatest küsimustest otsustatakse ühiselt. Kodutööde jaotumine on aga ikkagi üsna ebavõrdne, seejuures rohkem Eestis kui Soomes. Ebavõrdsus koduse olme sfääris on aga kiiresti taganemas võrdõiguslikumate ja ratsionaalsemate suhete ees. Soolise võrdõiguslikkuse kujunemisel perekonnas on naise haridustaseme tõusul suurem mõju kui mehe hariduse tõusul.

Vaba aja harrastustest on Eestis tähtsamad teatris, kontsertidel ja näitustel käimine ning ilukirjanduse lugemine. Soome perekondade vaba aja veetmises on suurem kaal meelelahutusliku iseloomuga harrastustel, sugulaste külastamisel, matkamisel ja keha- kultuuril. Neid erinevusi põhjustavad peale ideoloogiliste ja kasvatustegurite suurel määral ka erinevused perekonna majandusoludes ja vaba aja veetmise võimalustes.

Abikaasade emotsionaalseid suhteid käsitletakse töös I. Reissi nn. rattateooriast lähtudes. Selle kohaselt läbib armastusprotsess oma kujunemises neli faasi, mis on üksteisega seotud ja järgnevad üksteisele. Need on: 1) vaimse läheduse tunnetamine, 2) usalduse tekkimine, 3) vastastikune sõltuvus ning 4) isiksuse emotsionaalsete eneseteostamise vajaduste rahuldamine.

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О НЕКОТОРЫХ ХАРАКТЕРНЫХ ЧЕРТАХ ЖИЗНИ СЕМЬИ В ЭСТОНИИ И ФИНЛЯНДИИ — СРАВНИТЕЛЬНОЕ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЕ

В центре внимания статьи — жизнь семьи в Эстонии и Финляндии, которая рассматривается в различных аспектах — работа, досуг, внутрисемейные отношения, область чувств. В обеих странах, несмотря на их различный общественный строй, семьи имеют много сходных черт. И там и тут она является основной ячейкой общества, где происходит формирование взглядов человека и его образа жизни.

В Эстонии семья больше связана с обществом, чем в Финляндии, особенно в сфере труда и в воспитании детей. Число живущих семьями также больше в Эстонии, чем в Финляндии. Частично это можно объяснить более ранним вступлением в брак в Эстонии и большим числом пар, живущих без юридического оформления отношений, в Финляндии.

Дифференциация мужчин и женщин по роду занятий и по степени занятости в общественном производстве больше в Финляндии, чем в Эстонии. В этом отражается различное отношение двух систем к женскому труду. В Эстонии это общественная норма, в Финляндии — личное дело каждого. Если в Финляндии платой за труд считают в первую очередь заработанные деньги, то в Эстонии большую значимость имеют предоставляемые блага, а также стимулы социального и морального характера.

Различные идеологические и практические подходы к женскому труду оказывают влияние на отношения в семье и на распределение функций мужа и жены. Различия в семейной жизни и следует рассматривать через призму трудовой деятельности.

Как в Эстонии, так и в Финляндии отношения между супругами строятся на принципе равноправия. Большинство важнейших семейных вопросов муж и жена решают сообща. Однако распределение домашних обязанностей в семьях еще далеко не равномерное, причем таких семей в Эстонии больше, чем в Финляндии. В этом деле изменения взаимоотношений супругов в сторону их равноправия и демократичности больше зависят от образовательного и культурного уровня жены, чем мужа.

В структуре досуга эстонской семьи важное место занимают посещение театров, концертов, выставок и чтение художественной литературы. Финские семьи отдают предпочтение мероприятиям развлекательного характера, занятиям физкультурой и спортом, походам; они поддерживают тесные контакты с родственниками. Кроме идеологических и воспитательных факторов, на эти различия оказывают большое влияние материальные возможности людей.

Область чувств супругов рассматривается в статье исходя из теории колеса Рейсса, согласно которой супружеская любовь проходит в своем развитии четыре взаимосвязанные фазы: 1) духовное родство, 2) возникновение доверия, 3) взаимозависимость, 4) удовлетворение эмоциональных потребностей личности.

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