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The Organization of School Day in Finland and the Concept of “Integrated School Day” in the MUKAVA Project

1. Why are morning and afternoon activities being introduced now in Finland?

The Finnish school system has been built upon the German school system, a half day school structure. This model applied well to the agrarian culture, when family members worked at home, but it leaves children of an industrialized economy without supervision when parents are working outside the home. Typically, both Finnish parents are working full time. When the number of paid work hours of the mother and father are added together, parents with small children work longer in a week than couples without children. Also inconvenient working hours are more typical among working parents: one third of mothers of school age children work in the evening, at night, or during the weekend. The work-orientation of parents is caused by economic reasons; taxing for families with children is heavier in Finland than in most European countries.

All children under school age have a subjective right to daycare services, but services end when children enter the school in the autumn of their 7th year. The proportion of the mothers of school-aged children employed is 85%. About 80% of employed mothers and 94% of fathers of 7-year-old children are working full-time as it is possible when the child under school age is in a full-day care; part-time work is rarely available. Consequently, students frequently go to homes where parents are not present, and where they are unsupervised. Even first-graders spend several hours daily unsupervised. The number of the lessons of first-graders is only 20 per week, but the parents are working 35 hours or more (in addition, commuting may take two hours per day). Indeed, many students from grades 1 to 9 may be unsupervised 20 to 30 hours per week, sometimes more. Some of the children who are unsupervised are as young as 6,5 years old. There is no law in Finland that would prohibit children under age 12 years being left alone.

Since 1996, I have actively highlighted the risks of children being alone in the afternoon after school as described in my book *Mukavaa yhdessä: Sosiaalinen alkupääoma ja lapsen sosiaalinen kehitys*. [Nice together: Initial social capital and the child's social development.] (2002). Richardson et al. (1993) have shown that 10 unsupervised hours per week increases the risk for depression, substance abuse, and school failure still in 14 year olds. Other studies (e.g., Hansen et al., 2003; Mahoney & Stattin, 2000, 2002; McHale et al., 2001) support these findings: time spent by students alone and in unsupervised contexts predict adjustment problems. These studies also emphasize the role of free time as an

important learning environment.

My concerns were supported by the spouse of former President of Finland, Martti Ahtisaari. Public reactions were defensive; parents were inclined to highlight their children's independence and surviving capacity. Together we were, however, able to increase the public awareness of the potentially negative consequences for children's development when they spend many hours a week alone.

A reform is included in the program of Finland's present government. Beginning in the fall of 2004, the law will mandate that supervision of children's activities in the morning and afternoon should be available throughout country for all first- and second-grade children and for children with special needs at any grade. The goals are *to support raising and educating children at home and school, advance emotional development and ethical growth, promote well-being and equality, prevent marginalization, and offer opportunities to participate well-supervised activities and enjoy rest in a tranquil environment*. The legislation that is being discussed in the Finnish Parliament in this fall will mean a major reform in our country for the support of the integration of the home-school-work triangle. Parallely, another legislation is being discussed in the Finnish Parliament. This law will mandate that one of the parents could shorten the work day until the end of the child's second school year. This right has been available and commonly used in the other Scandinavian countries for years.

2. What kind of morning and afternoon activities have taken place in Finland?

In the past, many schools offered club activities after regular school hours for older students and municipal afternoon care services for first graders. However, in the early 1990s, the economic depression in Finland reduced these arrangements. In the report of Nuori Suomi (Youthful Finland, 1998), public services were available in 1998 for 64% of children under 10 years old in Sweden and 62% in Denmark, but only 10% in Finland. As the result of the increased public awareness of children's unsupervised time, the Committee established by Ministry of Education analyzed the status of club activities in schools (1998), and found that once available activities had been reduced by more than half. In response to the concerns, afternoon activities were increasingly organized by church, sports and child welfare organizations, parents' associations, and communities.

The Finnish Government with Paavo Lipponen as Prime Minister included in its four year program in 1999 the extension and development of the supervised activities for school age children. And, as a result of a remark made within the OECD Country Note (Early Childhood Education and Care Policy in Finland, 2001) about the length of unsupervised time for Finnish school children, the Ministry of Education established a committee in 2001 to propose to the government a means to organize activities for children before and after school. This report was ready in the summer 2002 with five alternative solutions: (1) no changes implemented; (2) the arrangement of morning and afternoon care become the responsibility of municipalities; (3) the school serves as an activity center; (4) a full day school schedule; and (5) shortened working hours for parents. The Committee regarded the combination of the options 3 and 5 as the best solution.

The Committee Report (2002) acknowledged many problems. First, about 70% of all first and second graders needed supervision before or after the school hours, but only about 30% of them received it, with vast geographical differences in the various programs and a lack of continuity from year to year. Bigger towns (with populations over 75,000 inhabitants)

in particular were unable to organize these activities for children in need. And the supervision that was provided typically was organized by a variety of institutions: associations, a church, social services, youth workers, school authorities, the cultural life supporters (e.g., sports association Youthful Finland, The Mannerheim League for Child Welfare), etc. The present situation around the country is highly uneven and depends largely on the local impetus of individual parents. Current practices exclude from supervised activities many of the children who particularly would need them. Activity organizers may receive grants from statewide associations or the fees can be subsidized by communal authorities; either way, the support has been insufficient. Schools have rather seldom carried out morning and afternoon activities, although school premises have sometimes been used for these activities. After school activities often take place outside of the schools because the rental fees of the school buildings have been too high for the organizers, if the community does not support these activities.

According to the Committee Report (2002), each group activity for the children usually has at least one qualified (with a college or vocational degree) instructor and a number of volunteers or temporarily employed staff. But the situation varies from case to case. Organizers can receive financial support from the Ministry of Labour if they hire persons who have been unemployed. However, this increases the unevenness in competence and suitability for working with children, and often results in the change of supervisors because unemployment support is available only for six months per person.

3. What is the Finnish education system like in general?

The strength of the Finnish education system is the comprehensive school in which children from the first to the ninth grade are learning together without tracks or big differences between schools. Teachers are trained to work with heterogeneous groups. It is also good that school starting age is 7; children have more freedom for free play and child-directed activities compared to countries in which school starts earlier. Empirical studies have shown that when the child is cognitively and neurologically mature (at age 7) learning takes place fast. Earlier training does not result to a permanent proficiency. The results of the PISA study confirm that the late school starting age is not a disadvantage in Finland.

Finnish school is oriented to learning and teaching, although education has also other goals. According to Finnish law, school must “support the students’ development into humanity and ethically responsible membership of society and give them knowledge and skills that are useful in life.” This objective involves goals for socio-emotional development that cannot be reached simply through informational education. According to several estimations (e.g., Bardy et al. (2001), 15 to 20% of Finnish school children have alarmingly high levels of mental and conduct problems that threaten their capacity within society.

International comparisons made recently reveal that good academic skills as shown by the PISA study (Väljærvi & Linnakylä, 2002), or even good civic knowledge are not connected with high level social values or civic activities (Torney-Purta et al., 2001). While having best academic skills in the international comparison, Finnish 15-year-old students were poorest among 28 countries in the valuation of civic activities. In addition, the working climate of schools is not good in many European countries, including Finland (Väljærvi & Linnakylä, 2002). As Europe is becoming increasingly multicultural and complex, more is demanded of its citizens' social values. Ethical education and the educational role of teachers have, however, weakened (Launonen, 2003). The meta-ethics of school education has

approached individualism (Launonen, 2000).

4. What is the MUKAVA project and why was it established?

In the fall of 2001, I received an invitation from a group of Finnish Parliament members and representatives of Finnish companies who were interested in the design of a nationwide experiment to improve the social skills of school age students. This group shared a concern about students' manners and the social skills needed in an increasingly networked society and work life. In postmodern society, the school is a unique social institution because it reaches the entire age cohort of children, as well as their families. Therefore, the school could be a forum for developing cooperation, mutual trust, and shared values.

The invitation created an opportunity for me to apply ample research findings to benefit Finnish youths. I had conducted a longitudinal study on the social development of Finnish youth and adults by following the same individuals for more than 30 years, from age 8 to age 42. I designed a program called MUKAVA (the acronym comes from the Finnish words *muistuttaa kasvatusvastuusta* to remind adults of their responsibilities for raising and educating children). In addition, the word mukava refers to a person who is nice and easy going trustworthy, and to a pleasant atmosphere.

The MUKAVA project attempts to develop interventions to improve in a school context children's adaptation into society. It has several goals:

- 1) Child protection goal: to decrease the amount of time pupils are without adult supervision in the mornings and afternoons.
- 2) Psychological development goal: to facilitate the personal growth and socioemotional development of the students by creating a firm basis for leisure activities and by encouraging social skills and emotion regulation development.
- 3) Social psychological goal: to strengthen the social capital of the school and children.

The MUKAVA Program began in 2002 in seven schools within four communities (Jyväskylä, Kuopio, Sipoo, and Sievi), with about 2000 students from grades 1 to 9 participating. About 160 teachers are currently involved, as well as the principals of the seven schools. The Patron of the MUKAVA Program is the Speaker of the Parliament, Mr. Paavo Lipponen, and the Chair of the Board is Minister of Education and Science, Mrs. Tuula Haatainen. The project is directed by myself within the Human Development and Its Risk Factors programme, which has been approved as one of the Finnish Centres of Excellence by the Academy of Finland for 1997 to 2005.

The program involves seven sub programs targeting the child, the school as a learning environment, and the relationships among the school, its parents and its community. Great significance in the MUKAVA Program is placed on helping children develop the social skills that are crucially important in today's networked society. While social skills are learned first at home, schools may play central role in their development and maintenance.

5. Is there any research evidence to support the MUKAVA intervention?

Findings from the Jyväskylä Longitudinal Study of Personality and Social Development (JYLS), which I have directed since 1968, and in which the same individuals (originally 369 randomly selected school children) have been followed from the age of 8 to 42 (from the year 1968 to 2001; retention rate 83%), show that risk factors of development are involved both in the child's personal characteristics and parental involvement (Kokko, 2001),

and that *during school age*, adaptative processes or the cycle of maladaptation are emerging. Problems both in risk factors and social functioning tend to accumulate (Rönkä et al., 2001; Rönkä, 1999). Social and psychological functioning problems in adults are related to their lower child-centered and nurturant parenting (Metsäpelto & Pulkkinen, 2003; Metsäpelto, 2003). Thus low social functioning capacity tends to be transmitted from generation to generation if interventions do not break the cycle. The JYLS study also shows that it is possible to promote successful development: favorable background including good relationships at home is protective against the effects of risk factors (Kokko & Pulkkinen, 2000), and is highly related to good social functioning in adulthood (Pulkkinen et al., 2002). Better social skills help adjustment in school context and advance school achievements.

Studies on the effects of extra-curricular activities on children's development show that the most favorable results are achieved if activities are organized on the school premises (Eccles & Barber, 1998; Mahoney & Cairns, 1997; Mahoney & Stattin, 2000, 2002). The concept of social capital enhancement helps explain this result. Extra-curricular activities at school strengthen children's contacts with other children within the same school and with the staff at school. Students who participate in extra-curricular activities receive higher grades and feel more attached to school (McNeely et al., 2002). Particularly, so-called weak ties (Granovetter, 1973) develop across classes and grades as social bonds through participation in hobbies and extra-curricular activities (Hansen et al., 2003; McHale et al., 2001).

6. What does the concept "integrated school day" mean?

The new law concerning morning and afternoon activities will give much freedom to organize these activities either inside or outside of the school. It does not specify the organizer of morning and afternoon activities; it may be school board, the board of social welfare and health, a private service producer, an organization, or anything else as decided in the community. Therefore, the role of school is being left open in the law, which I have critical opinions of.

The MUKAVA project has explored a school-centered model for morning and afternoon activities with the goal that the school is being developed into a networked activity center with integrated school day and parent involvement. The term *integrated school day* refers to a new learning culture with different learning, care, leisure offers in cooperation between several professions. It is achieved by reorganizing school work to provide greater scheduling flexibility. Before school, during lunch break, between lessons, and at the end of the regular school day, two types of activities are being organized: (1) First and second graders need a "care" style of supervision, that is supervision of children's rest, free play indoors and outdoors, and doing homeworks. (2) *Goal-oriented* leisure activities in clubs and hobby groups are offered and led by teachers (if they like) and other qualified instructors in partnership with the local communities. Students can attend these goal-oriented activities from their care groups since both types of activities are organized in school premises under the supervision of school principal.

In the Finnish half-day school, a schoolday of a first-grader may include 4 lessons from 8 to 12. On a second day, he or she may have 3 lessons from 10 to 13, and so on. There is no regularity in schooldays, although parents have regular workdays mostly from 8 to 16 (white collar) or from 7 to 16 (blue collar). In the MUKAVA project, some schools have a schedule in which schoolwork starts at 9, but students come, if needed, at 8 or even at 7 and their activities are supervised until 9. Lunch break is commonly short, 20 min, but in the

MUKAVA project it is for one hour, from 11 to 12. In the afternoon, there are lessons, hobby clubs, and supervised free play and rest until 17, if needed. A child's school day may be from 9 to 14, if the parents adjust their working hours to the school rhythm and if they do not want their children to attend activities at school. Or the day may be at maximum from 7 to 16 or from 9 to 17, if supervision is needed or wanted.

Older students (up to age 16) who have more lessons daily participate in goal-oriented activities mostly organized after the regular school day. It is notable that the new legislation concerns first and second graders. Many third graders are only 8.5 years old when the school year begins. They also need supervision and activities. In the MUKAVA project, the integrated school day is applied for all grades (1 - 9) of the compulsory school.

7. What kind of activities are taking place? Will teachers be expected to supervise the activities?

The younger children are, the more they need a "care" style of supervision. From the early school years, children are also interested in supervised goal-directed activities in clubs and hobby groups which they can attend from care groups. Club activities have been organized on various types of sports, music, visual arts, drama, information technology, cooking, handicrafts etc.

Clubs organized for older students may have higher goals, such as volunteerism. The schools partner with their local communities to organize clubs in which the students are trained as volunteers. The students then take part in various volunteer activities, e.g. a school for visually handicapped children, homes for the aged, hospitals or in the social work of the church. Students also can volunteer in support of their own school in various practical ways. Studies (Eccles & Barber, 1998; Youniss & Yates, 1997) have shown that, among extracurricular activities, volunteerism has the strongest impact on the students' social skills (see Pulkkinen, 2002a).

As part of the integrated school day, the opportunity for learning computing skills under supervision will be accomplished by establishing a Peer Tutoring program, such as the one developed in Switzerland (Grob et al., 2003) with the support of the Jacobs Foundation. In that program, students who are very advanced in computing skills act as tutors and club instructors for the novices. The tutors, in turn, are supervised by professional instructors, such as university students recruited from the Faculty of Information Technology.

Teachers are offered an opportunity to lead a hobby group in music, arts, information technology, and so on. If they do not have time or want to do it, then external instructors are recruited from teaching assistants or community. In the Finnish system, teachers are paid for lessons. If they lead a hobby group, they must be paid extra. Teachers' work days only include lessons, and consequently, the work days of lower class teachers may be very short. The Teachers' Union closely monitors any extra work and payments for it. Teachers' whole day work has been debated for years, but although the work load of university teachers (including professors) has been defined in terms of total hours (1600 hours) per year, no solution has been found for school teachers. Therefore, morning and afternoon activities have to be organized on a multi-professional basis. All schools are not open to other professions, but in the experimental schools of the MUKAVA project, multi-professional work has been excellent.

Members of sport, child welfare and parental organizations, students in local colleges, church personnel, free lance artists, and many others are potential instructors of clubs. It is,

however, recommended within the MUKAVA project that a new professional group “*school supervisors*” would be trained and hired to work permanently for morning and afternoon activities. They could serve as teaching assistants during lessons in case there are children with special needs, and assist the school principal in the organization of activities. School supervisors should study developmental psychology to increase understanding of children’s individuality and developmental processes, and each one should be skillful in at least one specific area in order to lead hobby groups and deserve the appreciation of students.

8. *What is the role of the parents?*

One of the advantages of the school-centered organization of morning and afternoon activities (compared to a centralized organization for the whole community) is that at school, activities can be planned in a close cooperation with parents. The individual needs of children and parents can be taken into consideration. Within the MUKAVA project, children’s interests and participation have been and will continue to be investigated using a questionnaire (VAPSU) on free time activities sent to homes in the spring to be filled in jointly by children and their parents. Activities during the next school year are organized accordingly. Attention is paid, particularly, to children who do not have any hobbies to encourage their participation. Special emphasis is focused on children with disabilities and children of immigrants.

Parent involvement in the planning of activities is strongly encouraged on a classroom basis. Parent involvement, also referred to by the concepts of partnership or empowerment, is a multidimensional construct (Epstein, 1996). Its goal is to develop and conduct better communications with families across the grades in order to facilitate success in school. Studies show that parents want to be more involved with their children’s education, and that school factors - especially teachers (Rosenfeld et al., 2000) - have a primary influence on parental involvement: When parents feel schools are doing things to involve them, they are more involved in their children’s education (Booth & Dunn, 1996). Yet, in Finland as in many other countries (Hargreaves, 2000), parents are rarely involved in developing or implementing curricula and participating in day-to-day school life. Therefore, the National Board of Education incorporated parent-teacher cooperation as a norm in its core curriculum (National Board of Education, 2002).

In the MUKAVA project, parent involvement is being encouraged on a class-room basis in two ways. First, teachers are encouraged to organize face-to-face meetings with the parents of children in a given class. Second, a *new digital communication system* (Kivahko) has been developed to provide a fast and easy-to-use means for communication between schools and homes, thereby enhancing parent involvement, and communication between the parents of students in a given class-room. The equipment required for Kivahko is a mobile phone or a computer with Internet-connection. While these communication means are already found in most homes, traditional paper messages and personal contacts are still used with parents without these technologies. Kivahko will be used for facilitating communication in school context between school personnel, parents, and children. Pilot tests with Kivahko have given promising tentative results: both parents and teachers confirm that communication and cooperation between home and school has improved by the use of the new technology and increased all kind of contacts between parents and teachers.

9. *Will morning and afternoon activities be compulsory for everyone? How will this be*

funded?

Morning and afternoon activities have not been compulsory in the MUKAVA project, and they are not compulsory in the law proposal. According to our observations, students participate and continue to participate in well organized activities, but drop out if the supervisor or coach is not competent. Hobbies organized in the afternoon decrease the parents' need for driving children to clubs in the evenings, and thus leave more time for family life. In rural areas, extracurricular activities organized at school may be the only chances to attend. Urban students have more choices for activities outside of the school, but students who are at a risk for marginalization may not attend them. The MUKAVA project may function as a protective factor against marginalization because of its goal to individually analyze needs for activities and encourage attending them. The psychological development and social psychological goals of the goal-directed activities in the MUKAVA project have been highlighted as general resource factors for the child's development to the parents who argue that their children do not need supervised activities in case one of the parents is at home.

It has been estimated by the Ministry of Education that each first- and second-grader should receive 570 hours of supervision during an academic year, that is, 3 hours daily. The total costs are estimated to be 821 euros per child per year. According to the law proposal, the government will provide 57% of total costs starting in fall 2004. Parents can be charged up to 60 euros per month. Resources per student for a school year (9.5 months), without local municipal support, are at maximum 1036 euros (governmental support 468 euros and parental support 570 euros). If the parents are unable to pay (living on social welfare), the payment should be smaller or the supervision should be free, costs being covered by the municipality. Snacks in the afternoon are included in these costs. In Finnish schools, *students have had free lunch* for 50 years.

In the MUKAVA project, morning and afternoon activities were organized in seven schools (2000 students) on a fund from SITRA (The Finnish National Fund for Research and Development). The parents of first- and second-graders shared costs if the child needed care style of supervision. Total costs of the school-centered organization of morning and afternoon activities in terms of the integrated school day have been lower than the calculated frame presented above. If activities are organized outside of the school, costs are higher.

10. What are the expected outcomes of the MUKAVA project?

The integrated school day and parent involvement are expected to increase opportunity structures for activities and communication (Figure 1). Opportunity structures become materialized in, for instance, the number of hobby clubs organized, the rate of participation in them, and the quantity of contacts between parents and teachers, or among parents. The hypothesis is that the students' and parents' participation in activities offered would, on the one hand, increase the social capital of school indicated by the values and norms of reciprocity, networking and volunteerism, and trust in human relationships. On the other hand, supervised activities during the integrated school day and the parents' increased involvement in their children's activities are expected to improve the social competence of children.

Both the social capital of school and the improvement of children's social competence are assumed to advance children's socio-emotional development. Socio-emotional

development covers emotion regulation, social relationships, and dimensions of interpersonal behavior in the social domain (Pulkkinen, 2002b). The adaptation of an individual into society enables him or her to function successfully with other individuals. Maladaptive socio-emotional functioning may be indicated by internalizing or externalizing symptoms. Internalizing symptoms, such as depressed mood and anxiety, reflect failures in internal adaptation, whereas externalizing symptoms, such as hyperactivity, aggression, trouble with the law, and school or job failure reflect failures in external adaptation.

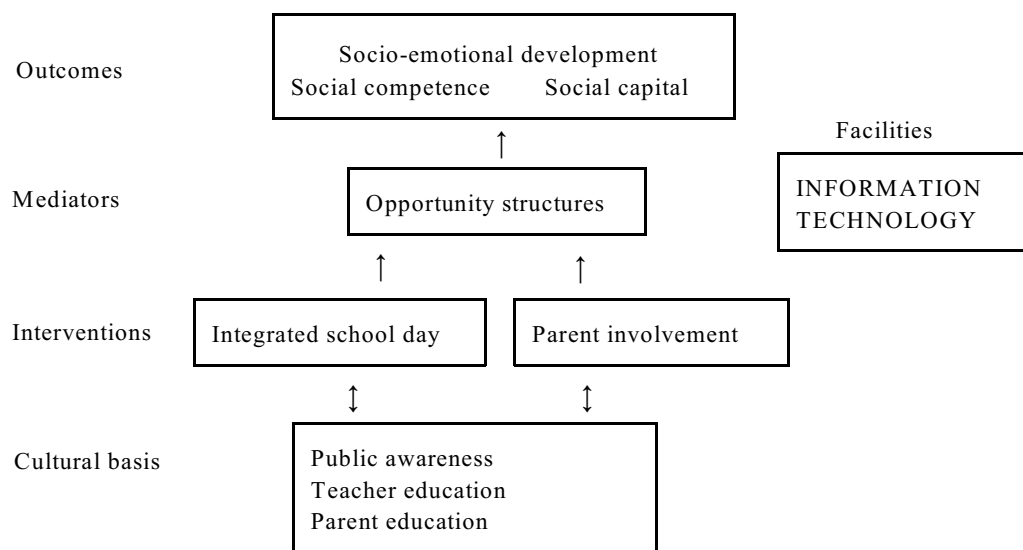


Figure 1 Conceptual map of the project.

The concept of social capital in the context of education was discussed by American sociologist James C. Coleman (1988). He remarks that social capital exists in the relations among persons and involves trustworthiness, information channels, and the norms that one should forego self-interest and act in the interests of the collective. Coleman argues that social capital facilitates productive activity: “A group within which there is extensive trustworthiness and extensive trust is able to accomplish much more than a comparable group without trustworthiness and trust” (p. 101). There is an effect of social capital that is especially important: its effect on creating human capital in the next generation. Social capital only exists in the family if there are strong relations between children and parents. The child does not profit from the parents’ human capital if social capital is missing. Coleman’s findings with school drop-outs suggest that the poor social capital of the family plays a role in the poor outcomes of education.

The social capital that exists in the relationships of a child in his or her intimate environment is called initial social capital, as suggested by Pekonen and Pulkkinen (2002; Pulkkinen, 2002a; Mustonen & Pulkkinen, 2003). The child receives the origin of initial social capital from his or her parents, but it accumulates during the child’s formative years through the home, school, and other microsystems in which the child moves. The components of initial social capital are (1) values and norms of reciprocity, (2) the amount of networking, and (3) trust prevailing in human relationships. Children come to school not only

from different socioeconomic backgrounds but also with varying amounts and qualities of initial social capital.

In the present project, we have adopted Putnam's (1995, 2000) communitarian view of social capital, but have kept the critique by Bourdieu (see Pekonen & Pulkkinen, 2002) in mind. Bourdieu aimed to disclose the class structure of the society and the mechanisms, which upper class people use to accumulate different forms of capital for themselves and to secure the transmission of that capital to the next generation or to closed ingroups for their exclusive benefits. Our goal is that the development of interpersonal networks in schools would not be exclusive, but rather open to all students, including children with disabilities and children of immigrants, and to parents regardless of their socioeconomic or ethnic background. The Finnish comprehensive school has a potential for increasing the social capital of the society beyond a class division, and thus for strengthening the democratic society.

The cultural basis of the successful intervention aiming at a school reform is in the public awareness of the need for a reform. In addition to parents, teachers remain key persons in the reorganization of a current school schedule in terms of the integrated school day. A school does not change unless the teachers are developing professionally (Stenhouse, 1975). Hargreaves (2000) suggests that if teachers want to become professionally stronger, they must be willing and able to create relationships with parents that are open, yet authoritative. Teacher education can facilitate the change. Furthermore, teacher education should pay more attention to the role of leisure time as learning environment. The present intervention project is being carried out with a close collaboration with teacher education.

Conclusions

For several reasons, both supervised styles of care and club activities in the mornings and afternoons should be organized within the oversight of the school board and on the school premises for school age children, so as not to separate them into a daycare system and the school. It is important to support the child's transition from daycare to school. A child in a care group could easily attend structured club activities in sports, arts, etc., at school since both are organized in one place, thus enabling first and second graders to become active participants. Transportation is not needed, which increases the children's safety and maintains the coherence of children's days. Club activities can build a basis for the ways children will use their leisure time in later years, create mentor relationships, and strengthen self esteem. It is also more economical to use the space, buildings and organization that already are available, rather than build new ones.

By restructuring the school day, the need for the supervised care in the afternoon could be diminished. It would be good for children if the school days would have the same rhythm. All children, no matter if a parent is at home or not can benefit from the enhanced integrated school day. Students older than first and second graders would also need supervised activities, but we understand that the state has to start with something.

The quality control of the supervision of activities should take place at the school. The principal should have the primary responsibility for the organization of the activities and the recruitment of personnel. Services for the supervision of care groups could be offered by a third sector or private enterprisers, but a new profession of school supervisors would also be needed. A close partnership between the school and home should be established for the successful supervision of children's morning and afternoon activities in which the needs of

the parents and children are met.

Research concerning the MUKAVA project is going on. The type of data collected and to be collected are described in a separate paper. In a couple of years, we shall see whether any of our expected outcomes would be empirically confirmed.

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