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Important things in life from the view of Finnish and Indian children age of six

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Important things in life from the view of Finnish and Indian children age of six

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Opinnäytetyö on toteutettu yhteistyössä Laurea ammattikorkeakoulun ja Kalinga Institute of Industrial Technology instituutin kanssa. Tutkimus on osa Finnish and Indian Wellbeing through Education -projektia, jossa tutkitaan lasten hyvinvointia Suomen ja Intian välillä löytäen hyviä käytäntöjä jaettavaksi. Tutkimuskohteena tässä työssä ovat 6-vuotiaat lapset ja heidän hyvinvointikokemuksensa. Tutkimuksen tavoitteena on selvittää, mikä kuusivuotiaiden suomalaisten ja intialaisten lasten mielestä elämässä on tärkeää. Tutkimus on tehty englanniksi.

Tutkimuksen teoreettisena viitekehiksenä on käytetty Minkkisen (2015) jaottelua hyvinvoinnin neljästä eri osa-alueesta: fyysisestä, psyykkisestä, sosiaalisesta ja materiaalisesta. Kun kyseessä on lasten subjektiivinen hyvinvointi, oli relevanttia ottaa mukaan myös Amartya Kumar Senin (1999) kyvykkyyshäestymistapa ”Capability Approach”. Tämän näkökulman mukaan lapset voivat itse vaikuttaa omaan hyvinvointiinsa elinympäristönsä suomien puitteiden rajoissa. Resilienssin käsite on voimakkaasti yhteydessä Capability Approachiin.

Työ on empiirinen tutkimus, jossa on käytetty kvalitatiivisia tutkimusmenetelmiä. Tutkimusmenetelmänä on fenomenologinen lähestymistapa, missä korostetaan kokemuseräisyyttä ja yksilöiden syvempi ymmärtäminen voi olla mahdollista. Aineisto on kerätty Intiasta tammikuussa 2017 ja Suomesta maaliskuussa 2017 käyttämällä puolistrukturoitua teemahaastattelua. Molemmissa maissa haastateltavia oli 11, eli tutkimukseen osallistui yhteensä 22 lasta. Ennen haastattelua käytettiin ”jään murtajana” piirtämistä, jotta tutkittavat rentoutuisivat. Analyysinä on käytetty teoriaohjaavaa sisällönanalyysia.

Opinnäytetyön tuloksiksi nousi kolme eri asiaa. Ensimmäiseksi, molempien maiden lapset pitivät elämässä tärkeänä leikkimistä, ihmissuhteita sekä mahdollisuutta käydä koulua. Perustelut koulun käynnin tärkeydelle olivat kuitenkin erilaiset. Intialaislapset kokivat sen määrittelevän pitkälti heidän tulevaisuutensa, kun taas suomalaislapset kertoivat oppimisen olevan hauskaa ja koulun olevan tärkeä paikka kohdata ystäviä. Toiseksi, suomalaisten lasten hyvinvoinnissa korostui materiaalsen hyvinvoinnin osa-alue ja sen myötä lasten tavat viettää vapaa-aikaa erosivat maiden kesken. Kolmas tärkeä havainto oli, että haastattelujen sisällöt erosivat toisistaan lasten kuuntelemisen kulttuurien myötä. Intialaiset lapset etsivät ”oikeaa vastausta”, joka saattaisi miellyttää aikuista, ja he olivat arkoja ilmaisemaan omia mielipiteitään. Suomalaiset lapset olivat puheissaan rohkeita ja kykenivät perustelemaan ajatuksiaan.

Asiasanat: hyvinvointi, lasten hyvinvointi, subjektiivinen hyvinvointi, capability approach, resilienssi, lapsihaastattelu, koulutus

Elisa Ratilainen

Important things in life from the view of Finnish and Indian children age of six

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This thesis is executed in collaboration between Laurea University of Applied Sciences and Kalinga Institute of Industrial Technology. Research is part of Finnish and Indian Wellbeing through Education -project, which explores children's wellbeing between Finland and India, trying to find good practices to share. The research subjects of this study are six-year-old children and their experiences of wellbeing. The aim is to find answers for the research assignment. The aim of this study is to find out, what is important in life from the view of Finnish and Indian children age of six. The research is written in English.

The theory base can be found from the four levels of wellbeing partitioned by Minkkinen (2015): physical, psychological, social and material. When researching children's subjective wellbeing, taking Amarty Kumar Sen's (1999) Capability Approach into account was relevant. According to this view, children themselves can effect wellbeing inside the frame of their environment. The concept of resilience is highly attached into Capability Approach.

This is an empirical study, where qualitative methods are used. The approach is phenomenological, which brings up the experimental side and therefore understanding individuals on a deeper level is possible. The data was collected in India in January 2017 and in Finland in March 2017 by using half-structured theme interviews. In both countries there were 11 interviewees, so altogether 22 children took part in this research. Before interviews, drawing was used as an "ice-breaker" for examinees to feel more relaxed, not even realizing that they were answering the questions of a research. Analysis is executed by theory-guided content analysis.

There are three important results. First, children of both countries felt that playing, having relationships and possibility to attend schooling are important things in life. However, reasons for the matters of attending schooling were different. Indian children experienced that education defines their future, where as Finnish children said that learning is fun and school is a place to meet friends. Second, in the wellbeing of Finnish children, material aspect was pronounced and therefore the ways of spending free time were different to Indian children. The third result is that the content of interviews were diverse between countries because of cultural differences in the field of listening children. Indian children were searching "the right answer" that might please an adult and were shy to express their opinions. Finnish children were brisk in their speech and were able to give arguments for their thoughts.

Keywords: wellbeing, children's wellbeing, subjective wellbeing, capability approach, resilience, child-interview, education

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1 Introduction

Children's wellbeing is a much investigated area but usually it is made by from the view of being sick and malaise instead of being healthy and happy. Researches are generally executed nation-wide instead of international level or nation-to-nation extract because of the challenges of comparing the results. Different cultures and living environments bring their own impact into the results. Keskinen (1999) "Kulttuurien välisen tutkimuksen metodisia haasteita" and Hujala (1999) "Kansainvälinen vertaileva tutkimus varhaiskasvatuksessa", were both very helpfull sources at the beginning of this thesis while trying to find the most suitable method of researching children's wellbeing in the level of nation-to-nation.

Andrews and Ben-Arieh (1999) have been measuring and monitoring children's wellbeing across the world from the view of seeing children as an active members of societies. World Happiness Report (2013), World Health Organization's publications (2010, 2014) and The United Nations Children's Fund publication "The State of the World's Children" (2004) have opened up the benefits of measuring subjective wellbeing in this study. In the level of European Union, Ravens-Sieberer, Horka, Illyes, Rajmil, Ottova-Jordan & Erhart (2013) have researched children's quality of life in 27 countries. This thesis patches the area of international research of children's subjective wellbeing, which occurs in a low scale. This thesis also brings up positive indicators by focusing into the matters that are important for children themselves rather than seeing things that are creating dissatisfaction.

A starting point of this study is in cultural understanding especially from the aspect of children's wellbeing. Finland as a welfare state and India as a development country create a very different base for children to grow, learn and be healthy and happy. According to Canelipuu Ry (2017) in the rural areas of India many families are struggling to keep their children in school. Meanwhile in Finland attending into education is mandatory and many times self-evident. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (2014) underlines that education is the best and perhaps even the only way of reducing poverty and at the same time improving equality. Children's wellbeing is highly attached into the possibilities of attending into education.

The most important sources used in this research are the thoughts of Ben-Arieh (1999, 2006, 2011) who has researched and measured a lot of children's wellbeing. The works of Jones (2003) will helpfull through the interview process, which with children will likely bring along challenges - but also opportunities. This thesis is executed as a collaboration with Laurea University of Applied Sciences, Finland and Kalinga Institute of Industrial Technology, India. The research is part of the Finnish and Indian Wellbeing through Education -project that has a

core in children's wellbeing. The data is collected in India in January 2017 and in Finland during March 2017.

Despite the fact that there are two different datas, this is not a comparative research. The main focus is in children's subjective wellbeing and seeing important things in life from their point of view. The key of finding answers into the research assignment is not in comparing in itself, but instead trying to truly understand children's opinions by respecting them and finding the right methods of asking questions and analysing the answers. There might be something for us adults to learn from kids, if we just listen carefully enough. Therefore the interest of this research is in children's subjective wellbeing: in their inner world, their thoughts and feelings. Limiting the subjects to children of the age of six was chosen due to the researcher's own background, which is in the field of early childhood education. Curiosity towards children's subjective wellbeing has always been present in the researcher when working with pre-schoolers.

As a student in the Master's Degree Programme in Crisis and Emergency Management, getting into the Finnish and Indian Wellbeing through Education -project was a lucky strike. My personal aim for studying in this degree was clear all the way from the beginning: helping children internationally not just on concrete, day-to-day level, but also by listening and hearing them, and raising up their voices. Crisis management as a specialization brings to mind images of working in situations where people are screaming and running for their lives. World Health Organization says however that "being well is not only an absence of pain and sadness". This is the sentence that leads this thesis: concentrating on the things that are important and good in life, instead of looking for what is missing or could go wrong. This research explores the area of wellbeing without using negativity as an indicator. The belief that good crisis management is not just acting when something terrible happens, but also prevention, is important for the development of societies. One way of preventing nausea is to ask about wellbeing from the people.

In the field of early childhood education it is vital to research matters also from children's perspective, so societies could truly understand children's needs and therefore improve the quality of their lives. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (2013, 5, 37.) underlines the importance of researching wellbeing not just inside one culture but also across different populations and over time in order to have a solid evidence of information on how and what to develop.

The aim of this thesis is to search answers for the research assignment "What is important in life from the view of Finnish and Indian children age of six?" First it is significant to get deeper into the theory of the subject. This happens by clarifying the concept of wellbeing by

using four levels partitioned by Minkkinen (2015). These are physical, psychological, social and material. When researching children's subjective experiences, the Capability Approach of Amartya Kumar Sen's (1999) is also taken into account. From the view of Capability Approach it is possible to see children's own potential of effecting their wellbeing both in the present and in the future.

2 Conceptual framework

It is meaningful to be clear about the scope and nature that are being measured before going deeper into the research in itself. The concept of wellbeing is not easy to define, it being so multifold, changing continuously through life and varying in, for example, historical changes (Ben-Arieh & Frones 2011, 463, 465). Good example of changing through time is that some decades ago, getting married at the threshold of maturity was what we were expected and taught to want by our society already at a young age, but nowadays for instance high education is one of our priorities.

The concept of wellbeing is not remoulded just by historical changes, but also the factors producing it at a certain age, and they do not necessarily have the same influence on another. The matter of wellbeing has to be seen inside the framework of age and culture together with relation to individual preferences and structures. Exactly the same resource does not necessarily bring the same level of wellbeing for different individuals. Depending on the culture, time, environment and the individual's resilience, some matters bring out happiness to others, while for some they do not. Wellbeing is a dynamic relationship, not just a reflection of incomes and outcomes of persons. Among the others, for example values inside cultural frameworks most likely vary, having an effect on a feeling of wellbeing. (Ben-Arieh & Frones 2011, 463.)

Wellbeing is a state of being happy and healthy, but it is also related to, for example, living conditions. Generally the definition of wellbeing is understood as quality of life. It is clear that there is no one and only way of determining wellbeing since it can be viewed from many different angles. However there is some agreement found in different sources that are obvious. It is evident that wellbeing is multifaceted, dependent on context, and inclusive of social, economic, environmental, psychological, emotional and cognitive components. (Gillette-Swan & Sargeant 2015, 141; Ben-Arieh & Frones 2011, 463; Ravens-Sieberer, Horka, Illyes, Rajmil, Ottova-Jordan & Erhart 2013, 1-2; Lippman, L.H, Moore, K.A & McIntosh, H. 2009, 17.)

Children's living conditions vary remarkably in different countries. The starting point for children's wellbeing is determined already at birth by nationality, gender, socioeconomic status, geographic location, physical and mental abilities, family, culture and societal situations combined with other substantial factors. Resources and opportunities are not the same for all and are given to us by circumstances of birth. These can change at the same time as children develop but it is obvious that the base is not the same for everyone. (Andrews & Ben-Arieh 1999, 109.)

When researching wellbeing, it is important to remember that what is true to society does not necessarily mean the same to an individual. Likewise, what is good for an individual is not a straight link to the wellbeing of the whole society. Wellbeing as a research target on international level is even more dimensional than inside a certain society. Basic finding on exploring wellbeing between different countries is that people living in richer societies are not any happier than the ones living in developing countries. This is the truth, even a connection of good income and higher level of wellbeing has been certified many times. (Pillai 2013, 8.)

One way for countries perceived as poor and countries perceived as rich to be equally happy is the need of achieving more instead of settling for when incomes are good. It could be assumed that when you have money, you have no worries. However that is not how people's minds work. When rising above the poverty line, the aim is not necessarily anymore in making more money, but for example creating and cherishing relationships or prospering in sports. It could be questioned should a society's wellbeing be measured only on a subjective level, since an objective level obviously does not tell the whole truth. Nowadays a large number of research is executed by taking the subjective side of wellbeing into account, since it can be seen to tell more about life satisfaction than just the matters inside the frame of objective wellbeing. (Pillai 2013, 8.)

2.1 Objective wellbeing

External level of wellbeing is called objective wellbeing. It includes material resources, for example prudential value, the resources that are available and material wellbeing, as well as social attributes, such as health, longevity, literacy, and the possibility to attend into school. These are matters that fullfill basic needs, and actually the core of determing objective wellbeing is all about creating a list that includes agreed matters of these basic needs. (Fletcher 2013, 206; Alatartseva 2015, 36-39; Western 2016, 2.) Environment is a part of objective wellbeing. It frames the concept of safety and security inside of it as well. Being aware of social and civil rights is also a need in objective wellbeing. (Alatartseva 2015, 37-38.)

Objective wellbeing can often be measured, for example the level and stability of income are possible to study through taxonomy. Evaluating objective wellbeing among groups, even bigger ones, is possible. There is an opportunity to research matters such as how many study subjects have reacted to some factor of wellbeing and why, or how healthy people are in an certain area. Measuring objective wellbeing is not always simple, but there are patterns that can be observed to get the best results. (Alatartseva 2015, 38.)

The challenge of measuring objective wellbeing is that often it brings out the illbeing of people instead of the concept of wellbeing, and not always even that truthfully. If measuring for example income, then a family who is on the low level are directly defined to be not well off. The truth however might be that despite the amount, earnings they make are enough to fulfill that specific family's everyday needs. (Alatartseva 2015, 38.)

Objective and subjective wellbeing are linked to each other. If matters of objective wellbeing are in order, it is more likely that there are better possibilities to feel well on a subjective level too. Likewise, high subjective wellbeing is linked to healthier eating habits or avoiding the use of intoxicants. Actually happier individuals tend to even live longer than people with low feeling of subjective wellbeing. Still, feeling of high subjective wellbeing is not a direct way to a better life. Happy people face difficulties too. (De Neve, Diener, Tay & Xuereb 2013, 3-4.)

2.2 Subjective wellbeing

For a long time it was assumed that the factors measuring wellbeing could be determined just by looking at people's behaviour and evaluating their environment. This is the objective way of looking at wellbeing. Nowadays there is a term of subjective wellbeing beside it. Instead of observing, people are asked about their happiness, thoughts and feelings. It is about researching positive and negative definitions of the experienced situations in life. On the other hand, we are measuring the individual's satisfaction of life. (Papavlassopoulos & Keppler 2011, 476-478; Western & Tomaszewski 2016, 1-2; The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 2013, 28-34.)

Subjective wellbeing - or another way said, internal wellbeing - consists of the inner world of an individual. It is personal happiness and the experiences of wellbeing with the individual's own characters and features, which underline everyone's own way of estimating quality of their lives. (Western & Tomaszewski 2016, 2; Alatartseva 2015, 36; Papavlassopoulos & Keppler 2011, 476, 479.) Measuring subjective level of wellbeing is challenging for it being so multifold, and there usually are not straight measures or taxonomies to do that. Evaluating subjective wellbeing is more complex, more individualized, and more directed on influence and impacts than measuring what objective wellbeing is. The aim is to find out what gives quality to life and gives value to it worth living for. (Alatartseva 2015, 36, 39; Papavlassopoulos & Keppler 2011, 476, 479.)

When measuring subjective wellbeing, the focus is on an individual's own thoughts and feelings, and the base is on the level of experience. Subjective wellbeing can be researched for example by focusing on self-esteem and self-confidence, satisfaction, awareness, social relations and feeling of love. The subjective aspect is not limited by objective wellbeing, since it is all about the inner world of an individual. (Alatartseva 2015, 39.) This explains why children coming from poor living conditions can feel happy and define themselves "being well". Therefore it also explains why children, who have all the welfare around them, can be miserable.

Experiencing high subjective wellbeing has effects on holistic wellbeing too. For example, a risk of suicide or using intoxicants is minimal among people with the feeling of good quality of life. The results are not the same on objective wellbeing: A person, who has a high quality of objective wellbeing in his life, can still feel unhappy. High level of subjective wellbeing can have effect on an individual's, or even a whole society's health. It has a snowball effect inside societies: happy people will very likely spread happiness around them. Happy people are also more productive, more creative, more sociable and they experience the quality of their relationships as being higher than people with low feeling of subjective wellbeing. (De Neve et al. 2013, 10, 17, 20.)

Many measures are about economic wellbeing, but the level of experienced wellbeing seems to be more important for individuals. For example the feeling of good health, relationships, and feeling of safety among a possibility to attend school are matters that come up when areas of wellbeing are asked about. All in all, it seems that being happy and living a life that brings satisfaction - either indicators agree it to be that or not - is the most important goal of human life. (Pillai 2013, 6.)

3 Holistic wellbeing

World Health Organization defines wellbeing as a quality of physical, mental and social health that doesn't only mean not being sick, but also being well. According to many indicators, it seems to be that too often wellbeing is measured by being sick or malaised. At the beginning of determining wellbeing, it is important to remember that being well is not only an absence of pain and sadness. (World Health Organization 2014).

The definition of wellbeing has been developing during the years. At first, it was just about financial and physical aspects, and now the term includes a whole number of holistic interests. Nowadays there is a range of elements determining holistic wellbeing without having a permanent definition since the experience of wellbeing is always dependent on time and place. Hence this evaluation of wellbeing is never complete. (Gillett-Swan & Sargeant 2015, 137, 139.)

Minkkinen (2015, 25) adds material wellbeing on the side of physical, psychological and social wellbeing. These all together combine holistic wellbeing of children, and when the individual is experiencing his life on these areas as more positive than negative, it can be said that he is feeling well. The feeling of it however it is not permanent: it varies through the circle of life due to things that happen, achievements and failures, losing or creating social relationships, possibilities and adversities, society's demands and offerings and also development. Everything that children go through either on the concrete level or inside of their minds, define wellbeing. When a life situation changes, so does the experience of wellbeing. (Minkkinen 2015, 25.)

3.1 Physical wellbeing

Physical wellbeing consists of health and physical comfort. Children need a certain standard of living including clothing, housing and sufficient nourishment. Moreover, children need to have health care services both for prevention - like vaccinations - and treatment. Physical wellbeing includes the absence of abuse and environmental hazards. The indicators of physical health are the most measured ones for their substance. It is easy to monitor things that can be seen, like the stability of the home or the lack of a home, the quality and amount of nutrition, health care, absence of physical disability and freedom from abuse. (Huston, 2002, 62, 64; Ben-Arieh & Frones 2011, 461.)

The base of physical wellbeing is in a person's genes. The biological genotype defines our physical attributes, our appearance, and some health ranges, for example weight, height and our predisposition to hereditary illnesses and addictions. (Minkkinen 2015, 25.) Hence many times the way we act and the choices we make define our physical wellbeing more than our genetical base does. For example, the amount and quality of physical exercise can help us in preventing obesity, even when it runs in the family.

Problems shown globally in children's physical health and safety are almost without an exception challenges faced in the poorest and the most marginalized countries, where health services and housing, not to mention the quality of nourishment or hygiene, are at a low level. According to World Health Organization, more than 6 million children under the age of five die every year. One out of three children do not gain their full developmental potential. (Huston 2002, 64; World Health Organization 2010, 3.)

Intensive qualitative interviews with mothers living in poverty have shown that most parents use what little money they have on the benefit of their children. When growing up, a sense of material hardship and economic strain in a family can have a major effect on children's wellbeing. Even more essential is the way that children see their family situation like this, and what the low amount of money is used on. (Huston 2002, 64.) This explains that the feeling of wellbeing can be felt among children despite the undesirable situation. Showing children that they are precious, and that their parents are willing to bargain from their own wellbeing for them, can bring such an experience of security that the child feels safe. Vice versa, children coming from high living conditions can have a poor quality of care, and therefore lacking in physical wellbeing. For example, parents who work too much might not pay attention to their children's safety or use of intoxicants.

3.2 Psychological and emotional wellbeing

Psychological and emotional wellbeing are very close to each other, almost the same. However, there are few differences when observed closely. Psychological wellbeing of children births a feeling of self-worth and control. It is also freedom from anxiety and depression or other mental illnesses. Emotional wellbeing, on the other hand, is including morality and responsibility and the feeling of right and wrong, which is often taught by the society that the children live in. (Huston 2002, 62.)

Like physical, also psychological wellbeing has its roots in our genes. For example, several mental disorders can be transferred from a parent to the child. But we are not doomed to live in the shadow of it, since our strenghts can weight more in scale than heredity. Minkkinen

(2015, 25) talks about resilience and coping. Shortly put, these mean the individuals capability to be flexible, ability to handle the psychological pressure in misfortune and their feeling of self-esteem. The feeling of coping in different situations of life increases wellbeing.

Being mentally well is not just an absence of disease. It is a wide series of an individual's emotions and the stories behind them. (Gillette-Swan & Sargeant 2015, 142.) When talking about wellbeing, especially psychological and emotional, also quality of life or, in another way said, feeling of happiness can be discussed. It is defined according to an individual's position in life, as well as the cultural and value systems in which they live in. What is important to understand is that the feeling of wellbeing is not just attached to the environment, but also on the inner world of individuals: their expectations, standards, concerns, aims and the relations between these. (Ravens-Sieberer et al. 2013, 1-2; Andrews & Ben-Arieh 1999, 105.)

An individual is always responding to both present and past conditions. What has happened in your past defines a big part of your psychological wellbeing. For example, the matter of was anyone encouraging and supporting a child affects one later in life even more than we are conscious of. When past and present both determine our psychological wellbeing, it can be seen more as a process of living. From this point of view, wellbeing is never complete and the focus of achieving it lasts all through human life. All lives are unique and therefore the concept of wellbeing cannot be clearly defined. Needs are also connected to age: an infant has very different requirements for his wellbeing than an adolescent. (Gillette-Swan & Sargeant 2015, 139-140.)

Children's psychological wellbeing is highly contingent on the parents' psychological wellbeing. A caretaker's emotional or mental illnesses effect the mother/father-child - relationship directly and therefore impact the quality of care. (Huston 2002, 70; Sinkkonen & Korhonen 2015, 38.) Psychological wellbeing is not just in the hands of an individual's temperament and ability of handling pressure, but it is also highly tied to social relationships and the feeling of being loved.

3.3 Social wellbeing

Children's social wellbeing is consist primarily of relationships. Family or other adults who care for the child and are reliable, and who love and encourage them, are one of the most important things for the child's development and wellbeing. With the help of caretakers, children can practice skills in relating to others, such as empathy and cooperation. When

grown up, an individual has the ability to support himself and his family, to be a loving parent and a member of society without committing crimes or abuse. (Huston 2002, 62, 64.)

Relationships are extremely important for the development of a child. A feeling of social togetherness plays a huge role - maybe even the biggest one - in children's wellbeing. The quality of the closest relationships define wellbeing both in the present and in the future. Many studies have shown that children coming from families in which eating dinner together is regular have better outcomes as adults, than children that grow up in families without such a tradition of shared meal times. (Lippman et al. 2009, 3, 17.)

Children's lives are often monitored by social indicators. Methods are both quantitative and qualitative and interests of measuring are in health, education and economic life. All these together measure children's wellbeing, but in reality, perhaps one of the most important measures of wellbeing is social connectedness. Many international studies have proven that children from poor economic living conditions may still have a high quality of life. (Andrews & Ben-Arieh 1999, 105, 108.)

One indicator of social wellbeing is the parent-child relationship involving, among others, warmth and social support of parents (Huston 2002, 62). Measuring this is difficult even inside one nation, but especially on an international level. The definitions of good parenting vary in time and are tied to culture and an individual's vision. For example, in Finland there is a saying "Who saves the rod, hates his child", and this truly was a way of thinking some decades ago. Now the same act gets the child-welfare authorities moving.

Indicators more easier to clarify than a child-parent-relationship are children's positive behavior and social skills among other people. Especially interaction with other children matters. (Huston 2002, 62.) A peer-group is where a child practices social skills and develops them. The older a child gets, the more important feelings of belonging into a group of children of his own age becomes. (Sinkkonen & Korhonen 2015, 233.) Relationships outside the family grow and get deeper.

3.4 Material wellbeing

One important aspect, which is not so often mentioned except in empirical studies of "being well", is called material wellbeing. Children nowadays are seen as physical human beings with psychological and social understanding, but what might be forgotten is the environment and the effects of it. Mostly living conditions and the financial level of the family and the society

children are growing in are the defining major parts of their wellbeing. (Minkkinen 2015, 22, 24.)

Material wellbeing does not give straight answers to the question of whether children are feeling well or not. In some theories, material wellbeing is not seen as a part of “wellbeing” at all, but a producer of it. It is understandable that for example a lack of good nutrition causes malaise in children on many levels. Still, it has not been proven that the lack of material welfare directly makes people perceived as poor any unhappier than ones lucky enough to have all the riches they need in their lives. (Minkkinen 2015, 22.)

In all societies, more money usually means more happiness. Material is made for increasing wellbeing by making people more satisfied, and it is working. There is a certified positive link between income and the feeling of happiness, even though happiness and economic status do not always correlate. If we raise the income of all people, it would not increase the happiness of all or eliminate unhappiness. (Papavlassopoulos & Keppler 2011, 477, 485-486; Pillai 2013, 8.)

Welfare countries have been trying too much and for too long to fill the feeling of satisfaction by material. But even if material poverty could be erased, there is still a lot to do in the field of wellbeing. (Pillai 2013, 4-5.) Alartseva (2015, 39) claims that material welfare can make people more happy by expanding their choices and making daily duties easier, but only if a nation uses material for its right purposes. The real focus of the area of wellbeing should be on the people, not on the material aspect. If there are matters attempted to be patched by material, it does not increase wellbeing, but instead lowers it.

Material wellbeing is not a very researched area as of yet, and there are many opinions about it even belonging to the “wellbeing-family”. It is true that wellbeing is not just the areas of life that can be measured, even though it is a big part of it. Everything cannot be seen by the eye. Some parts of wellbeing depend on an individual’s thoughts, feelings, relationships, attitudes and other inner parts of the soul. It is important not to diminish any of these sides of the entirety of a person when researching wellbeing as a holistic completeness. Wellbeing consists of many different actors, and when children are feeling well, their experiences from these areas are more likely positive than negative.

4 Capability Approach

One way to approach a definition of children's wellbeing is found in the Capability Approach of the Indian philosopher Amartya Kumar Sen (1999). His theory includes understanding towards not just individuals and groups, but in what they are capable of achieving inside a frame of values and possible transactions of their environment. It is also about interaction and relationships, not just resources. According to Sen, children's wellbeing is dependent on relations in social and physical environments. (Ben-Arieh & Frones 2011, 464.)

The base of the Capability Approach is in people's own values and in what they are capable of achieving inside the frame of their own environment. In Sen's theory, an individual's health is mostly based on his abilities to be and do things that bring satisfaction. The individual is free to develop his wellbeing by the actions and choices he makes. (Stephens, Breheny & Mansvelt 2015, 717-718.) Paying attention to capabilities, it can be seen how wellbeing is possible in the societies in developing countries.

The Capability Approach includes two dimensions. First is seeing a child as an individual, who has the ability to act and make decisions. The second dimension is about the opportunities a society gives for developing, in other words, using the capability that individuals already have. The existence of these opportunities create a foundation where the individual is able to choose his own path and what is thought of as a good life. (Ben-Arieh & Frones 2011, 464.) Sen's theory proves that wellbeing is not attached just to status. He disagrees that poverty is a fence for development and having a good life. An individual has a capability to adapt and remodel his life.

Sen's theory is all about how to compare expanding poverty and inequality to the capabilities that an individual should have to live a fulfilling life. What then are these capabilities? It is not easy to determine this, but there can be some similarities found to open up the features that helps the individual to be more capable to feel happy. These are, for example, physical health and integrity, ability to think and imagine, aptitude to express feelings, independence, respect towards life and honorable ways of living, playing, living close to nature, political and economic effecting, ability to attend education and work, and political and social participation. (Western & Tomaszewski 2016, 2.)

As a theory, the Capability Approach has overturned some indicators of wellbeing by bringing out the power of an individual's own vigor. Instead of direct measures, Sen adduces areas of wellbeing via opportunities of an individual inside of the frame of his environment. The theory is not airtight. It leaves out the fact that people are not fully rational, and the choices they make will not necessarily increase their opportunities in life. Also, individuals' decisions

cannot always be based fully just on their own opinions and wellbeing. (Pillai 2013, 7.) For example, Indian children can get into a situation where they need to stay at home and take care of the household instead of going to school. They most likely know that attending education every day would increase their wellbeing.

The content of resilience is highly attached to the Capability Approach theory, since it is achievable to all people, even for small children. Resilience is a psychological term which means mental strength and flexibility. A person with high resilience can adapt and cope better during changing and stressful situations. Resilience can also be seen as a skill to maintain performance during change. (Stephens et al. 2015, 715-717.) Resilience can be encountered on many levels: among individuals, families, communities or even countries. Ability to react and effectively go into new situations and to find new solutions strengthen a person's adaptability. For example, by improving development a country's resilience, its capability to cope better without help from outside increases. (United States Agency International Development from the American people 2012, 5.)

There are situations in everyone's life that are challenging or feel even impossible to overcome. The way to relate to these occasions and how a person is coping describe the level of resilience. People often think in a problem-orientated manner, but a person with high resilience starts to find solutions instead of sinking deeper into the problem. This enables a positive way of thinking and helps to keep focus also in positions that require staying resistant to pressure. (Walker & Salt 2006, xiii.)

Resilience explains why people react differently and why some manage better in crises than others. For example a person, who has experienced more crises during his life - like losing someone close to him, or becoming seriously ill - does not necessarily estimate his level of stress any higher than someone who has been able to avoid crises. Resilience has a huge meaning for a person's wellbeing, both in crisis as well as in everyday life. (Seery 2011, 391.)

One important matter that effects on the level of resilience, is one's own life situation. When an individual has strong social relationships or an empowering job, his ability to face crisis is stronger than in a situation where quality of life is not experienced to be satisfactory. (Seery 2011, 392.) Small children live mostly in the context of their closest relationships. Adults can affect their lives in ways that can never be possible for children. For instance, when a relationship is not satisfying, adults can leave, but children are forced to stay unless someone takes them away.

Resilience is something that can be enhanced. It is true that we are born with certain kind of features, and coping in hard situations is one of them. However, resilience can be developed

by changing the way of thinking. The world is changing, unexpected things happen, and there are situations that you cannot affect by yourself. By understanding this, the capability to handle changes can increase. (Walker & Salt 2006, 14.) Usually resilience grows due to crisis experienced, when a person realizes that he managed even when it felt insurmountable. It is difficult to think that something good could be born from the moments that caused only pain. Often it can be seen only afterwards: "What does not kill you, makes you stronger". (Seery 2011, 390.)

Resilience of children reflects a community's ability to offer them what they need in a way that has value. For example when it comes to education, if children are offered features that are useful for them, they will be motivated towards learning. School is actually one of the major matters on growing resilience. It is a place for children to practise negotiation and other social skills with their peers. (Ungar 2007, 6.) High stress levels in childhood years, without having a way to dismantle it, causes inflammation later in life. The feeling of wellbeing therefore reduces it. (De Neve et al. 2013, 4.)

According to Linde-Leimer & Wenzel (2014, 11-15) most parts of resilience are received at birth and during the years of early childhood. Unfortunately, what is not yet searched is how the environment, culture or matters of material wellbeing shape children's resilience. The rare studies that have been done are about children living in welfare countries, and even then the sampling has been small. It has just been assumed that what is good for this slim group is good for all the children around the whole world, despite their living conditions. (Ungar 2007, 2.)

5 Children's wellbeing as a research object

Children are human beings at the early stage of life. They are learning and growing on physical, psychological and social levels. Children are members of the group and community into which they are born. It is imperative that children receive practice in all of their skills and therefore they need a supportive adults around them. The concept of childhood is known as the early phase of life that all people go through on the path to becoming adults. (Allison & Adrian 2008, 14-15, 22.) Seeing children as a specific group, separate from the other social groups, we can see them from a different view. Giving childhood a value of its own, with specific needs and challenges, rather than seeing it just as a phase towards as becoming an adult, will give us new way of measuring wellbeing. (Lippman et al. 2009, 5.)

The United Nations Children's Fund emphasises that there is a need for an agreed international method of measuring and monitoring children's wellbeing across countries and over time. Improving the conditions in children's life demands understanding of many different perspectives. This need has increased attention towards children's wellbeing. (The United Nations Children's Fund 2016; Ben-Arieh 2006, 799.) The world is changing all the time and therefore it is obvious that childhood and children change with it. It is important to monitor children's lives on mental, physical and social levels, so governments can find ways to promote wellbeing - not just minimize the malaise. (Lippman et al. 2009, 1; Andrews & Ben-Arieh 1999, 108.)

People all over the world try to work for what is perceived as best for the children, but they are often doing it from their own perspective as adults. Usually, indicators of children's wellbeing are based on studies considering, for example, mothers, and not directly on the children themselves (Andrews & Ben-Arieh 1999, 109). In these cases, children are often times invisible and their voices are not heard. Listening to children's thoughts or trying to look at things through their eyes with dignity is the key in understanding them. (Andrews & Ben-Arieh 1999, 105-106, 109.)

Investing in wellbeing of children can provide common goals for the society, if presented in positive ways. (Lippman et al. 2009, 23.) It is important to monitor not just bad behavior or the sickness of children, but also wellbeing. Appreciating childhood itself and not just seeing children as adults-to-be will bring us closer to understanding the true meaning of what "being well" means for children, and what is important for them in life.

The realization of this thesis started from the researcher's own personal interests, combined with the goals of the Finnish and Indian Wellbeing through Education -project which was executed in cooperation with Finland and India during 2016-2017. The aim of the project is to

view how children's educational systems work in India and Finland and how they improve wellbeing. This thesis is made in collaboration with Laurea University, Finland and with Kalinga Institute of Industrial Technology, India. Data from India was collected in January 2017 and the Finnish data in March 2017.

There are two different target groups in this thesis, which have different living conditions including physical, social, psychological and material dimensions. The goals was to research what is important to children of the age of six, and how tightly attached different concepts of wellbeing are for children when the other half of the examinees are from a developing country and other half from a welfare country. In this case, due to the Finnish and Indian Wellbeing through Education -project, these countries were India and Finland. Is there huge disparity between these target groups, or is children's subjective wellbeing attached to something deeper than what eyes can see? When six-year-old children are telling about what is important in life, is there something for us adults can learn from them?

The amount of participants depends on the function of the research. It is typical that in qualitative research there is a specific group selected to appear as a sample. Questions are asked in the same form from all of them to get the data in a standardized state. With this method, analysing the given data and elaborating both differences and similarities becomes possible. It is not rare that there can be just a few individuals taking part in a research like this. The way to understand the amount of participants needed is called saturation, which explained in simple way means that there are no more new answers appearing in the data. The samples are repeating themselves. (Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2011, 58-60.) In this paper, the sample size of the participants was 11 children from both in Finland and India, bringing the full sample size to 22 children. This appeared to be quite a large amount of data for the research of exploring what children see as important in life at the age of six. The answers of the participants started to repeat themselves in both countries. This was a sign to stop collecting, as saturation had started.

Hirsjärvi & Hurme (2011, 14) and Kananen (2014, 20-21) agree that the most important step of successful research is collecting data in a way that brings forth answers that best fit into the research question. Kananen (2014, 20-21) verifies that the form of research assignment creates the base of choosing the right method of data collection. It can never been selected randomly, as there needs to be a good statement of reason on why the researcher chooses a certain method.

5.1 Research assignment and strategy

In this thesis, the starting point was the researcher's occupational interest towards children's culture, which arose when working in the field of early childhood education for approximately six years. After being approved for the Finnish and Indian Wellbeing through Education - project, the concept of "wellbeing" became even more relevant than before. When familiarizing oneself with the theory of children's wellbeing and not just malaise - which seems to have been studied a lot more all over the world instead of wellness - the real research assignment started to become clear:

"What is important in life from the view of Finnish and Indian children of the age of six?"

After the research question had been formed, it was time to start thinking about the ways to find answers to this problem. There are plenty of different methods on executing the research, but before that it needed to be decided if either quantitative or qualitative method would answer to the research assignment better. According to Ala-Suutari (2011, 24) when exploring empirical experiences, the inner world of thoughts and feelings, the qualitative method is usually the way to find answers.

Qualitative research provides a chance to see the phenomenon on a deeper level. It will not give answers in general way, but instead helps to understand thoroughly the given meanings of the participants. Specific to qualitative research is that it happens in a real environment, and data collection is executed interactively. The aim is to form a comprehensive understanding of the research assignment, while keeping the focus on the given meanings and in the view of the examinees. Therefore, sometimes just a few interviews is enough data to answer the research question. All in all, the qualitative method explains a phenomenon by words instead of the quantitative way by numbers: it focuses on a specific group, carefully selected, and tries to understand meanings given by them. (Kananen 2014, 16-19.)

This thesis is empirical research which qualitative methods are used. In empirical research, the methods the investigator uses are at the center of it all: results are formed by analysing and measuring concrete observations. The data is at the core of the whole research, but still an empirical study requires familiarizing oneself with the theory base that supports the analysis. As a conclusion, it can be determined how well the already existing theory bolsters results of the research's own data. (University of Jyväskylä, KOPPA 2015a; Hirsjärvi & Sajavaara 2009, 184.)

As a research strategy, it underlines the importance of the aspect of experience and hence, understanding the examinee on a deeper level. When executing a phenomenological approach, it is critical for the researcher to have an open mind towards the assignment. Without openness, reflection in the way demanded by this approach is not possible.

(University of Jyväskylä, KOPPA 2015b; Wertz 2011, 124-125.) Phenomenological approach is descriptive and used a lot on the field of human sciences. The focus is on understanding the mental life and how meaningful different situations in life are. The aim is to truly and deeply see the lived experience of an examinee, without adding or leaving anything out. (Wertz 2011, 124-125.) In this thesis, the phenomenological approach was chosen because the aim is to understand examinees on a deeper level. The focus is in their own thoughts, feelings, opinions and experiences.

In qualitative research, the research assignment defines the target group. It can be a company, community or a certain individual. (Kananen 2014, 31.) In this thesis, the target group is outlined with two important factors. The first one is age, which makes comparing the answers in the data easier and more reliable. Imagine trying to compare answers of a four-year-old and twelve-year-old, as their experiences and thoughts about wellbeing are likely very different, according to their needs at a certain age. The reason of choosing children of the age of six is the researcher's own background working with pre-schoolers, who in Finland are of the age of six.

5.2 Research methods

There are several ways to get results for research questions, and these practices are called research methods. Methods are guided by rules, and when obeyed, the results can be found to be reliable at least methodologically. One of the most used methods is interview, which aims to produce data on the examinee's thoughts, feelings and experiences. (Hirsjärvi & Sajavaara 2009, 183-184.) The benefit of this method is that the researcher can have deep interaction with examinees and make observations. There are different types of interviews, for example themed interviews, group interviews and expert interviews. (University of Jyväskylä, KOPPA 2015c.) In this research, data collection is executed as a semi-structured theme interview. When there is a need for knowing about the matters of subjective wellbeing, it is wisest to ask about it straight from the people themselves.

Theme interview as a method supports research when finding given meanings and the thoughts of individuals. It also enables interaction between researcher and interviewee more than just using a form, but then again keeps the conversation inside a frame defined in advance. In its formality, theme is ranked somewhere in-between form and in-depth interviews. Theme, according to its name, is based on ready built themes to have a conversation with. A researcher can use elaborating questions during the interview. All in all, interview is a flexible method which is suitable for many different kinds of starting points. (Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2011, 14, 43-47.)

The questions used in this research to find out the answer to the research assignment were selected carefully. With children, it is very important to consider not just what to ask, but how to ask it. According to Hirsjärvi & Hurme (2011, 130-131) questions can be proposed so that it is easier for children to answer them: for example, giving options or dropping a hint that other children feel the same way can be encouraging for an individual and might get them to start talking. However, methods like these are not used in this data collection, since the answers can therefore be seen as more reliable. Acts of encouragement such as the previous are something to be really sensitive about, and it should be carefully considered are they worth the risk of leading children towards a certain answer. For example, sample options for children to choose from would risk the reliability of this research.

Feelings of being safe to share opinions were created by engendering a warm interaction with the children. Jones (2003, 127, 148) states that besides the questions that search for an answer to a research assignment, using so called icebreakers before starting the actual interview has appeared to be a good practise among children. According to Heikkilä et. Al (2007, 23-24.), artistic experiences are one of the most natural ways for children to act and express themselves. The researcher's own experiences among the field of early childhood education supports this. After considering how to make children feel more loose and make the interview as a situation as pleasant as possible, drawing was chosen to be the icebreaker in this case. A colouring task was an easy way for children to start and open up to the researcher.

"Draw what is important to you."

In practice, the task is to "Draw what is important for you", with the children using a white A4-sized paper and crayons. Their colourings are meant to be a path towards the questions. First the researcher admires the colouring together with the child, who what ever he wants about it. The researcher can ask questions about the drawing and then, without the child even realizing it, she inches towards other questions. This is how the situations stays comfortable and relaxing for the child, instead of the feeling being interviewed and under pressure.

"What is important to you?"

"What are the main things in life that make you feel good?"

"What do you need to feel happy?"

"Is there things that make you feel unhappy?"

"Can you effect your wellbeing? How?"

"Who are the most important people for you?"

"Can these people effect your wellbeing? How?"

"What is the best place in the world? Why?"

The background of the research questions can be found from the areas of subjective wellbeing. The focus is on individual's own thoughts, opinions and feelings. There are no right or wrong answers, which was emphasised many times. Especially children in India needed encouragement to open up. When choosing the research questions, the aim of all of them was to somehow answer the large theme of "important things in life from the view of Finnish and Indian children of the age of six". Especially when interviewing children, the questions need to be very carefully selected. Questions too complex or too complicated are difficult for children to answer. Simple and short questions presented one at the time helps children to concentrate.

5.3 Interviewing children

Interviews with children have increased during the last few years. The reason for this can be found in Western societies, where nowadays the attitude towards children is more equal than it was before. Children are seen as individuals, and their thoughts and opinions as important. They are a part of society, and more and more participating in it and instructed to be active. Childhood in itself is a precious moment of life and not just as a path to becoming an adult. (Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2011, 128.) Before beginning to research children's experiences, it needs to be understood that there is not a "one childhood", but it is always formed due across time, place and different kinds of social, cultural, natural and economic systems. Also historical and institutional aspects occur. When a childhood is formed in the middle of all these, it can be assumed that children's experiences vary when these do, too. (Freeman & Mathison 2009, 1, 9.).

When researching the kinds of meanings people give and how they perceive the world, data should consist of their own words instead of formulated options made by the researcher (Ala-Suutari 2011, 83). Having a conversation is the most natural way of clarifying what people think and why. Interview is usually pleasant for both the researcher and the interviewee: discussion is a part of our everyday life and by having a defined topic for it, the researcher will gain answers to his assignment. (Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2009, 11.) However, words are often not enough to get the answers, especially when interviewing children. It has been verified that when it comes to opinions, feelings and other abstract factors, children start to express themselves by words approximately at the age of six. Until then, their vocabulary is still limited and the interview as a situation can be odd for younger children. (Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2011, 128-129.)

In practice, there are a few things a researcher needs to think through before starting. These are the, for example, the actual time, place and length of the interview. The researcher needs to decide what is the best time to execute data collection. (Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2011, 73-77.) Especially with small children, time of day matters a lot. The right time for interviewing is not when children are hungry, tired, sick or they just had a class or other activity which needed their full attention. Children's capability to concentrate is limited and they need free time to play and exercise before being able to settle down again. (Jones 2003, 140-141.)

Framing the questions with words carefully chosen and sentences kept short enough are one key towards more successful interview. It is recommended that the sentences said to the children contain approximately five subject matter words that all are already familiar for the examinees. Children might be shy at first and due to this, data might not be truthful without making them feel comfortable at first. By interacting with children and getting to know them, the researcher will gain their trust and children will feel more open and relaxed when the interview is about to start. (Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2011, 128-130; Jones 2003, 19-20.)

Even if the researcher and examinees are already at least somehow familiar to each other, children can still feel insecure during an unfamiliar situation, like an interview. They may also think that they can answer incorrectly to the questions asked from them. It is important for the researcher to remind children being interviewed that there are no right or wrong answers. Encouraging and complimenting children are good ways of showing them that they are doing a great job simply by answering. At the end of an interview, it is important to thank, and if children want to, let them listen to a part of the taped interview. (Jones 2003, 10, 30.)

The duration of the interview cannot be very long when executing it with the children. Capacity to concentrate is still limited and bound to the age of a child. Maximum length is 20 minutes. There should not be too many questions, since children need time to answer. Children often simply answer everything, even if they have not understood the question. It is not uncommon for children to speak shortly, since they often prefer a quick way to get out of a situation that might be confusing to them. One way to make sure that a child has understood is to avoid "yes or no" questions. (Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2011, 130; Jones 2003, 119.) When collecting the data of this research, all the questions were carefully selected so that children cannot answer just affirmatively or negatively. Questions often started with the word *what*, which leads children to answer in longer ways.

The environment has a huge difference. Children react more to things happening around them than adults. Atmosphere should be safe and the surroundings peaceful. Small things, like toys

or games on the shelf, voices or smells or even clothing of an adult can disturb children, who are always quick to observe. It is a natural way for them to learn and cannot be switched off, but can be guided into a thing desired of them, in this case to the interview. To begin with, it is good to tell children they were brought into another space and what will happen there. (Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2011, 130; Jones 2003, 129; Heikkilä et. al 2007, 31-32.)

When considering whether to interview children together or as individually, the researcher must weight up the possibilities and disadvantages of both techniques. Children's shared reflection can help data become deeper and more diverse. It might also be easier for children to answer when having peer support. However, a shared interview may cause echoing the thoughts of other children, causing the data to lose reliability. Also the roles of children intensify when they are together instead of being separated at the time of interview. (Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2011, 58-63.) In this research, the risk of impact coming from another children is seen as too big, and therefore interviews are executed among individuals.

5.4 Analysing

Analysis is a challenging process, especially when it comes to qualitative research. Creativity is needed when scrolling back and forth between the analysis and the data, trying to generate results. When data collection has begun, it is also a time to start the analysis. Unlike is expected sometimes, these walk hand-in-hand, and there is no reason to wait for the entirety of the data to be collected before analysis can begin. Actually, even if the data is recorded, it is relevant to write down observations that have been made as soon as possible. (Jones 2003, 129; Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2011, 135; Kananen 2014, 18.)

The activity level of a child, effects of the environment and possible notes in the interaction might be significant for the final conclusions and are perhaps forgotten if analysing is delayed. The researcher by herself is the instrument when trying to find the answers to the research questions. Methods of analysis and theoretical background are tools for getting closer to the final conclusions. (Jacelon & O'dell 2005, 217; Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2011, 135-137; Kananen 2014, 18; Jones 2003, 129.) In this study, it would have been irrelevant to wait for all the data to be collected before analysing at least part of it, since the Indian data was collected in January 2017 and the Finnish data in March 2017.

Execution of the analysis was theory-guided. The most important documents used in this study were articles and other literature, and the results of the data are reflected in the contexts of theory. However, results not based purely on theory were also found, and therefore this method cannot be named as theory-driven, but merely guided by it. According

to Tuomi & Sarajärvi (2004, 224.) in theory-driven content analysis, all the results are based upon previous knowledge, which is discussed in the theoretical part of the study. In the theory-guided method however, the most important factors of the subject need to be internalized, but the researcher can be open-minded towards new information as well.

The first step of content analysis consists of reducing, where the idea is to leave out everything irrelevant from the data (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2009, 112). Transcribing the recorded interviews is a good way to start. When typing, the researcher can use her own judgement on which parts are significant to the results. (LeCompte 2000, 146; Kankkunen & Vehviläinen-Julkunen 2009, 131.) Sometimes the researcher may feel like this part of analysing is unnecessary and a waste of time, but this is inevitable before proceeding to the next phase. The aim of the content analysis is to create compact material from wider text to bring forth results. In order to make them reliable, each phase needs its own time and attention. (LeCompte 2000, 148; Hirsjärvi & Sajavaara 2009, 135.)

After data is reduced, it is time for the second phase of the analysis, grouping. Simply said, this is organizing reduced data into new groups based on similarities. (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2009, 111-114.) In qualitative data, similarities and differences are important to find, because they often lead the researcher toward the final answers: what things are causing deviations and how can we understand these effects. Content analysis brings out the meanings that examinees have been giving. (Alasuutari 2011, 43; Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2009, 111-114.) In this phase, a researcher starts to form results on a concrete level. There are many ways of doing so, and none are better or worse than others. The researcher can find herself a way of grouping that feels own and the experience, perhaps profession and theoretical background will guide her. (Jacelon & O'dell 2005, 218.)

Third phase of content analysis is abstraction that is to say, creating theoretical concepts and headlines (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2009, 114-115). The transcribed answers are broken down into pieces in an effort to create a whole new body of information out of them. Codes created by this action need to be organized. It is important to see each piece of data related to another - some answers according to their content can go under more than just one theme. It may feel like a jigsaw puzzle, but by organising the data over and over again, the results will become clear. (LeCompte 2000, 147; Jacelon & O'dell 2005, 218.) A simple way to say what happens in the final step of analysis in itself, creating new headlines, is putting together items that are similar in a well-founded way (LeCompte 2000, 149). When analysing the data of this research, while breaking the answers, they were printed and placed onto different coloured papers one by one, with the other answers associated with each other. After all the answers were divided, headlines for the coloured papers were given. The results were ready.

5.5 Research between two cultures

In comparative research, there is a specific strategy to use that brings out the similarities and differences of the matter under exploration. The object of the review is always an ensemble, like a country or a territory. (University of Jyväskylä, KOPPA 2015d; Luoma 2006, 1.) When researching two different cultures, comparing results is inevitable. However, this thesis is not executed with the comparative method for three reasons: The interest is not in comparing in itself, but in truly understanding subjective wellbeing. There are also two reasons that can be determined that make the data not proportional. First, the answers of Finnish children were longer and richer than the ones given by Indian children. Second, the area for performing data collection was diverse: in Finland a city, and in India the country side. Due to these reasons, this study is not comparative research, but nevertheless, understanding how research and studying the data collected from two countries works is required.

Researching different cultures has always had a double meaning. On the other hand, we are trying to find uniformity, when on the other hand we want to understand and explain the dividing factors of our societies. When we go into the area of children's welfare and education, it resonates with all people, no matter their cultural background. Care and education are two of the main definers of our societies, even we do not always realise it. What kind of life and future we can offer to our children is a question at the core of wellbeing also for adults. (Hujala 1999, 388-389.)

People's thoughts, actions and behaviour are highly attached to the system that they are operating in. Therefore, it is not easy to research human behaviour. The area of researching two cultures can never negotiate the differences caused by history, financial situation, level of education, familial or age structure of the population. (Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2010, 17; Keskinen 1999, 425.) However, this does not have to be a negative thing. The whole idea is to explain and understand the actions of people. If everyone had the same starting point and background in life, it would be unnecessary to research human behaviour. (Alasuutari 2011, 55-57.) In this thesis, it is important to remember that we are dealing with two different cultures and a society can - and most likely will - effect on the experiences of wellbeing among children. Finding the differences of what children see important in their lives is just as fascinating as finding the similarities.

One of the biggest challenges found when researching two different countries is language. In case a researcher does not speak both languages, she needs to translate every phase of data collection. It is not absolutely certain that words carry their meaning when translated into

another language. Even if the word is still the same, it can carry a slightly different meaning in another culture, which is just enough to cause another meaning when interpreted. (Hujala 1999, 398.) While executing the interviews in India, the researcher and the translator looked through all the questions in written form. Word by word, it was ensured that the meaning was kept the same even when formed in another language. In this research, there are three languages: Uria in India, Finnish in Finland, and both translated to English for writing the results, so each side attending into the Finnish and Indian Wellbeing through Education - project can have equal benefit from the study.

5.6 Ethicality and reliability

Ethical questions are important in all research, but they truly increase when exploring given meanings and experiences given directly by individuals. Sometimes questions can be sensitive and can even cause stress to examinees. Especially with children, a researcher needs to be very considerate on what and how to ask, and notice if an individual is not willing to answer or is getting anxious. (Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2011, 20; Ruoppila 1999, 26.) In this thesis, questions are considering the area of wellbeing instead of malaise, and therefore it would be easy to suppose that children would not feel unease because of the content of the questions. However, it cannot be known what kind of history and backgrounds the children participating in this research have, and interviewing them can work as a trigger to those memories, causing stress. To be aware of this and knowing how to act in case of triggering a traumatic memory is meaningful. Education and occupational experience on the field of early childhood education is important when research is performed on small children.

Despite how comfortable the situation is, and the manner in which the researcher is respectful toward the children, the adult's supremacy over children is always unquestionable. The researcher needs to act moral not just when interviewing children, but also when choosing the questions and analysing the data afterward. Following good ethics is more than following what the law says. It is following one's own morality, a sense of right and wrong, one's own judgment. One guideline to keep in mind is the Convention of the Rights of a Child, which among others includes children's right of expressing thoughts and opinions; a right to be heard; and a right to privacy. (Ruoppila 1999, 26-27; United Nations Human Rights Office of The High Commissioner 2016; Nirhamo, Alanko-Nuikkinen, Autti, Kivinen, Koskinen, Kumpula, Mäkinen, Seppälä, Sinko & Tuusa 2005, 7-8.)

The permissions and willingness on participating research must be collected both from the children themselves and of course from their parents, since examinees are minors. According to Hirsjärvi & Hurme (2011, 20) it is important to share at least the main points of the

research, the reasons and methods of making it, and where the results are published. Ensuring reliability, anonymity to all examinees and their parents is one of the most important ethical features in every research unless otherwise agreed upon.

In India, ethics was a question of grey areas. There was no possibility to meet the parents in person, and so the permission of participating in the research came from the children themselves and from their teacher. The ethical committee of Finland has divided the ethical principles of anthropology into three sections in their guideline (2009, 4.) First one is respecting the examinees' self-determination - which was achieved here by asking permission from the children themselves for attending both the drawing task and the interview, and their consent to use these in this research. In Finland, the permissions were collected officially also from the legal guardians of the children. For a researcher, it was a lot more pleasant to interview children who had not just by themselves, but also through their parents been given a permission to attend. Anonymity of all the children in both countries is secured, and when the subject of the thesis is measuring wellbeing instead of illbeing, there is likely no harm done to the children talking about it. Answers of the children were never lead into any direction, and questions were planned to a form that left it open for children to actually answer independently instead of feeling a pressure to answer correctly.

Second aspect that the Ethical Committee of Finland brings out in their ethical guideline (2009, 4.) is avoiding doing harm. During the interviews the atmosphere was relaxed and the children enjoyed the drawing task, but also the attention they had all to themselves during the conversation. However, in India a couple of rare situations came up that caused several feelings in examinees. Some children brought out the fact that they have been abused. When seeing tears in their eyes, the researcher really needs to weight if this interview brings harm to the children. As a solution, in situations like these, children were always asked if they want to continue or not. They were also shown empathy due to what had happened for them. Every examinee wanted to continue, and after the interview they were happy and proud. As a result, it can be seen that talking about painful memories is not harmful in itself, but can also be liberating. Examinees seemed to feel better after bringing up the mistreatment and hearing that what had happened to them was not their fault.

When a child tells you about being physically punished, the first feeling is not to leave it there, but as an adult make sure that something like that never happens to him again. Sadly, in India that was not an option. In light of cultural aspect, in the rural areas of India physical punishment is a way of disciplining and raising children. The way to change this is a long process, which has to start from the roots - not from these interviews. Most important fact to consider is also individual's right to privacy and autonomy: He has just said that his teacher hits him, so does the researcher gain his trust by telling about it? Who to tell, when the only

adult with this child is his teacher? In Finland, this would have been reacted to differently. In India, the best thing a researcher could do, was to listen to a child and comfort him, and make sure to write down all the results truthfully - not to add anything, not to leave anything out. This is how the knowledge will be forwarded.

The third section in the guideline (2009, 4.) of the Ethical Committee of Finland brings out is anonymity and privacy protection. Good ethics need to penetrate the entirety of the research. The researcher has to respect the examinees and their privacy. (Ruoppila 1999, 26.) In this thesis, the children's anonymity has been assured, since their real names have not even been written down at any point. The locations of the data collection sites have been left unsaid and published only on the country level: Finland or India. None of the children had been pressured into the research, having all been asked if they would like to participate. After parents, or in the case of India a teacher, having given their permission too, interviews could be executed. All the children selected as interviewees were willing to take part in the study.

It can be hard to prove that when interviewed, what children are talking about are their real thoughts and feelings. Behind this can be different causes, like children's fear of consequences, them protecting other people, or their own self-esteem. Children might think that there are right and wrong answers, and are just trying to do well. When interviewed together with other children, they can easily echo friends by answering the same way as they do. (Jones 2003, 23.) At least in India, the pressure coming from the teacher - and all-in-all just from the different kind of setting with the translator and the researcher looking nothing like the people children are used to seeing - might have effected the answers that children gave. Despite the fact that they were reminded many times that there were no right or wrong answers, some children still were seeking some. However, luckily most of the them began to relax already during the drawing task, and were enjoying the interview all the way from the beginning.

One of the biggest matter that needs to be noticed, was the diversity of the children's answers. It was noticeable already in the phase of executing the interviews that Indian children were not used to being asked about their opinions or feelings. They seemed to think about what would be the "the right answer" that would please an adult - in this context, the researcher. Most of them were very terse, unlike Finnish children who enjoyed their moment of full attention and acted brisk and willing to chat about their thoughts. Due to this fact, the results of the interviews are not proportional to each other on all the levels.

Reasons for the scope of the interviews being so different can be examined. The presence of the interpreter created a different situation than what Indian children were used to. Another

factor can be found from the confusion among children due to the researcher's different looks and habits. One of the Indian examinees thought the researcher was blind because she has blue eyes, and another assumed the researcher to be very sick she was so pale. Children had perhaps never seen a white person before, which created both admiration, but also bewilderment.

The second reason that can be seen as a source to the lack of speech among Indian children, is more likely more significant than the matters during the situation of interviews in itself: Indian examinees are not used to being asked about their opinions. This is presumably a cultural thing. Finnish children are taught all the way from early childhood to a critical way of thinking and expressing themselves. It is very familiar for them to be asked questions about their feelings, and they are even prepared to give the reasoning behind their thoughts, whereas Indian children are raised into the idea of the adult always being right, and to not question them. Parents and teachers are authorities, and questioning adults tells about a lack of respect. Learning always happens via books instead of cogitation. Due to these factors, it is no wonder that children of the age of six - who have always been taught to learn from books and answer correctly - are confused and even speechless when asked about the matters of subjective wellbeing.

When exploring two different cultures, there is a risk that researchers own background is effecting on the results. This is paramount to realise when starting the research, so reflections of the researcher's personal paradigm will not interfere with the actual data. The reason for this reflection is purely humanity. (Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2011, 16-18.) The researcher is still a human being and might not understand why interviewees from different culture live, think and act as they do, and this can be confusing. This also makes comparing the habits of two cultures fascinating: By comparing cultural dimensions by qualitative research, we can make the unique things of another countries understandable and visible to each other. (Alasuutari 2011, 218-219.) Even if a researcher's visions are effecting the process, the results should always reflect the experiences of examinees rather than the researcher (Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2011, 18).

The ideal situation in India would have been to execute the interview with the help of the students of the school that Finnish and Indian Wellbeing through Education -project was collaborated with. Student's should have had experience of working with small children. This seemed important since pedagogical knowledge will be beneficial when interviewing children. Also, when a student is able to speak the same language with the children, no interpreter is needed. Presence of the other people can effect the reliability of the answers and results. This is a possibility to consider, especially when interviewing children, whose capability to

concentrate is often limited. It is important to calm the situation and environment to be just about the matter at hand.

Finland is the researcher's home country and therefore Finnish is her native language, so collecting data was executed by her alone. In this case, when one of the areas where data is collected from is the researcher's home country, it is necessary to not let this effect the results. The researcher needs to be aware that some of the answers might surprise her, but then again some answers she might find self-evident, having grown up in the same culture. Being aware of the possibility of these reactions, feelings and thoughts, and not letting them have an influence on the data will keep the research reliable.

6 Research results from India

The data collection happened in January 2017 in a rural area of Southern India. The place was a learning event for children aged 5 to 16 years. The aim of this event was to bring out that learning is most efficient when children are having fun. There were approximately 2500 children attending during those three days when collecting data for this research was executed. In this thesis, children are marked by country and gender, and numbered on the actual order of having the interviews. To make reading more pleasant, for example Boy India One has been shortened to the first letters and number: BI1.

Collecting data was very challenging, since people were not expecting the researcher to appear. They had not been informed about this. The teacher of the children attending on day one was really tense due to this, and anxious about the activity. It could be felt and even seen that the children were anguished in front of the pressure coming from teacher, who they want to please and are maybe even afraid of. This setting might affect the reliability of the answers.

Children of the age of six spent 1,5 hours at the learning event. During that time, they were supposed to have their lunch, get to know the tents and attend the interview. Due to this, time of executing interviews with examinees was very limited: approximately 45 minutes per examinee, and drawing took around 20 minutes from that. There was hardly any time for getting to know each other before starting, which would have made children more relaxed. Despite the lack of time, interviews were executed with no hurry to make the situation as relaxed as possible. It was decided that it is better to have at least a couple of good interviews instead of plenty lacking ones.

On the first day, data collection was executed with children BI1, BI2 and GI1. This happened at an open theatre's main stage, which was promised for the researcher's use for the required time. Interviews happened at the stage and next to one of the exhibition tents. Children interviewed on day two were BI3, GI2, BI4, GI3, GI4, BI5, BI6 and GI5. Interviews on the second day happened in three groups: one group at the morning and two groups at the afternoon. The location was next to one of the main tents, but perhaps still one of the most peaceful places of the area.

Indian children were really active in the colouring. Their places were set so that it was impossible to see another's work, since children of the age of six might very easily copy from peer group members if they have a chance to do so. The interviews happened once the children were finished drawing. Talking about what they have drawn was a great way to lead the conversation towards the actual research questions.

Below there are two samples of conventional drawing of an Indian examinee age of six. All Indian interviewees draw a landscape which were including river or waterfall, trees, mountains, a sun and buildings. One of the reasons for the pictures being so similar between all the Indian examinees was clarified by the local interpreter. All the way from the childhood children are taught that “this is a beautiful drawing” and even “the right way for a child to draw”. In picture 1 child explained that buildings are presenting his home and school. In picture 2 interviewee draw a building with two signs that interpreter explained to delineate religious hindu symbols, which means she draw a temple. According to the drawing task, we can deduce that temple is important place for this examinee.



Picture 1. Sample of conventional drawing of an Indian examinee age of six



Picture 2. Sample of conventional drawing of an Indian examinee age of six

The interpreter was a 19-year-old student of IT industry, who had no experience either in translating or working with small children, which both can impact the children's behaviour and words given from and to the researcher in English. Despite the directions, on the first day translator was more interactive with the children than the researcher, and might have even used her own words instead of the researcher's, which made the data not so reliable. However, in situations like these - being in another country for a limited time, among people who were not expecting you to be there - it was amazing that a translator was possible even at all. The second morning, before starting the data collection, the interpreter's role was clarified to make the results more reliable.

6.1 Physical wellbeing

The area of physical wellbeing was pronounced in all the cases of Indian examinees in one way or another. Like Huston (2002, 62, 64) and Ben-Arieh & Frones (2011, 461.) adduced, physical wellbeing consists of health and physical comfort. Children need a certain standard of living including clothing, housing and sufficient nourishment. Besides schooling, the importance of home was brought up in 9/11 cases among Indian examinees, mostly for the reasons of it being a place to feel safe.

Researcher: "Why is your home important to you?"

BI5: "I like it. It is so beautiful to me."

Researcher: "What house is it?"

BI6: "Home protects us from outside environment."

Researcher: "What do you think, what are the things it need to protect you from?"

BI6: "Bears... Animals. And thieves."

Home was seen as a safe place to be, but children also mentioned it to be a place for hard work, which they felt to be a decreasing matter on physical wellbeing. The amount of work and hard duties can be explained by the living conditions of the rural areas of India. Without electricity or other comforts, there is certainly also more to do to keep the household working. In the drawing of BI4, there were pods on the yard of his home. When asked what are they for, examinee answers:

BI4: "The pods are for the water. They keep water on it's place."

Researcher: "Where do you get the water from?"

BI4: "From the well. It is hard for me to carry."

2/11 of the examinees told that the duties they were required to do at home felt burdensome for them. This reduces children's physical wellbeing. 4/11 children also talked about physical punishment, but did not say straight by whom it is done. When research is about subjective wellbeing, themes like experiencing violence were not dug into, but for sure were listened to if the children spoke willingly about it. When researching subjective wellbeing, even when done in a positive light, areas of negativity cannot be ignored when the theme is arising straight from the examinees. Everything relevant in the data needs to be analysed. In this case, also the fear of physical punishment. What appeared is that some Indian children of the age of six do experience at least some level of abuse by adults, as well as older children in order to keep discipline in the younger ones. During the interviews, a pattern of boys being abused, but not girls, was clear. None of the interviewees of the female gender talked about physical punishment. If this is a coincidence or the truth that according to data physical punishment during young age is focused only on the boys, cannot be confirmed by this research.

Researcher: "Do you want to get back into the question of what makes you unhappy?"

BI1: "Beating."

Researcher: "Who beats you and why?"

BI1: "Other people. When I don't listen."

A child who talks about beating makes continuing an interview hard for every party attending. Some stories of the Indian six-year-olds were harsh and even shocking. In an area where discipling is an acceptable way of raising children, there is not much a researcher can do, but to listen and comfort children. Stopping physical punishment needs to grow from within the culture in time, since the roots of this action are tight. All-in-all, the things in life which

made Indian children sad can be found in physical wellbeing and the feeling of being unsafe - experiencing or being afraid of violence or physical punishment. Luckily Indian children also had their experiences of unhappiness in another field of physical wellbeing more appropriate for their age, like in being sick sometimes. These are worries that children can handle.

Researcher: "Is there things that make you feel unhappy?"

GI2: "If I have a fever. It doesn't feel nice."

Besides home, a school was seen one of the most important places of the whole world. A possibility to attend a school system was mentioned in 7/11 interviews of Indian examinees. School was seen as a place to study and learn, and was elaborated even as the best place to be in the whole world for 2/11 children. The educational aspect was impossible to cite under just one area of wellbeing, for it affecting on every level of it: physical, psychological, social and material. Physically school can be seen as an institution that brings safety and security into children's lives.

Researcher: "What is the best place in the whole world?"

BI3: "My village."

Researcher: "Sounds nice. Why is that the most important place for you?"

BI3: "I have my school there."

Ungar (2007, 3) explains that school is a protective mechanism which helps children to grow up balanced. It also offers a place for an individual to succeed by using his own skills, which improves self-esteem and confidence. Attending education protects children. For example, children coming from poor living conditions can at least have one warm meal in a day, and children who face violence at home are recognized and referred to child-protection authorities.

Examinees live in a small village in South-Eastern India, a country side that can be called a rural area. Children are living in the middle of nature, right in the heart of it. In this tropical area, nature is jungle-like. Warm weather enables staying outdoors in every season of the year. For interviewees in India, indoors were not places of facilities and riches, or even places with electricity or running water. This might also be one of the reasons for Indian children finding nature so precious. It is an environment that they spend a lot of time in.

Researcher: "What do you need in life?"

BI5: "I need hills."

Researcher: "Why hills?"

BI5: "They look good."

Some of the children felt nature to be a part of their home, and familiarity was important. Nature was a place to spend time and enjoy. One of the major factors however, was that visual beauty was relevant for Indian children: hills are important since they look good,

waterfalls are beautiful because they flow. Among children, nature was appreciated by the looks, not so much for other intentions, like the possibility of using matters of nature for humanity's purposes.

One fact that always affects results, especially when interviewing children, is the present content and environment of their lives. Children live in the moment, and therefore things around them right now impacts their answers. This was very visible in this part of the data. Indian children who mentioned nature, almost without an exception, named it to be important due to plants giving us oxygen. Later on it became clear that meaning of nature had just been a subject at school. 9/11 children mentioned that trees are important, since without them people cannot breathe. In one of the exhibition tents there was a movie rolling, which explained the forming of oxygen and why people need it. The children were impacted by this, and it showed in the interviews.

Researcher: "Is there things that make you feel unhappy?"

BI4: "Without trees I'd be very unhappy."

BI4: "I need to breathe, otherwise I will die."

Importance of nature was named partly due to a school subject. When researching subjective wellbeing, things that are brought up truly are important for the examinees at the moment. The content of subjective wellbeing is all about the moment, and if asked after one year, one month or even one week, answers might be different. However, it needs to be noticed when making conclusions: the meaning of nature had just been as a school subject for examinees and therefore effects the results.

6.2 Psychological and emotional wellbeing

Taking part in school is not something taken for granted for Indian children of rural areas. In theory, there is a compulsory education of ten years, but in reality this does not come true very effectively. Not all children get a chance to start primary school, and then again part of those who do, have to drop out in some point. (Tooley 2012, 175, 178.) Examinees seemed to be very aware of the fact of being privileged in a way, having a chance to go to school everyday. Despite their young age, they found education as a direct definer of their future not just in a physical way, but also in psychological level.

Researcher: "What do you need in life?"

BI5: "I need shcool."

Researcher: "Why is it important to you?"

BI5: "I need to study."

Researcher: "What about you, is there anything that you can do?" (to effect on your wellbeing)

GI3: "Yes. I can study. I can learn to read and write."

Researcher: "Why is studying important to you?"

GI3: "I want to work when I grow up that's why it is important to study."

GI3: "I want to be a good daughter."

Examinees in India seem to internalize the meaning of education on a different level than children of Finland. As GI3 mentioned, it is not just for the future of the children themselves, they also want to make their parents proud. By managing at school and getting a good job, they honour the input of their parents by prospering at education. This is one of the major effects of the educational aspect that can be set on the level of psychological wellbeing.

Learning new things was something Indian interviewees desired. This is of course natural for children of the age of six, but 7/11 examinees felt like studying is the thing they like the most. Studying as a theme was raised more times than for example playing. As a result of the data collected in India, it can be found that attending school is definitely one of the most important factors in the lives of children of the age of six also in a psychological point of view.

Playing is one of the most natural ways for children to express their emotions. Children always learn while playing, but never play freely having learning as a goal. Playing is called "free therapy", since through it, children deal with matters happening in everyday life, and develop ways of thinking and expressing feelings. Playing is also important for creating relationships between other children. It is a straight way for children to have interaction with people. By playing, kids try new skills, learn from each other and also try their limits both on their knowledge and talents, but also on their behaviour. (Heikkilä et. al. 2007, 19-20, 38.)

Researcher: "What are the main things in life that make you feel good?"

BI1: "I'd like to play"

Researcher: "What do you need to be happy?"

BI2: "A ball for playing"

In the interviews, 5/11 children mentioned playing. Paucity does not mean that they don't view it as important, but it seems that there might not be enough time or appreciation towards playing given by adults. According to Ungar (2007, 5) in some cases of poor areas, very young children are demanded to take part in everyday work at home and take care of siblings alongside managing at school. In this research, 2/11 Indian children said that when at home they work hard: get water from the well, clean up, take care of smaller siblings or take care of the animals at the yard. Roughly said, half of their time is spent doing housework and other half at school studying. Experience of examinees is that there is not enough time or space for play in their lives, which they still obviously longed for.

The small time that Indian children told they have for playing was in the middle of transitions, like while waiting for a school bus to arrive. 3/11 children who mentioned playing, did also add that they play only at the park. During the interviews it came up that this specific park was right next to the bus stop on their way to the school. All the children came from the same area, so it is more than likely that they spoke about the same park.

Researcher: "What is the best place in the whole world?"

GI5: "A park."

Researcher: "What kind of a park?"

GI5: "School park at the bus stop."

Researcher: "Why do you like the park?"

GI5: "There I can play. I can swing."

Besides playing, India examinees found that drawing, dancing and singing are good for their wellbeing. Children mentioned storytelling and dancing as their ways to effect wellbeing by the parts that are possible for themselves. 1/11 examinees specified open theatres to be the best places in the whole world. 6/11 children mentioned artistic experiences, and partly these seem to be an important feature of their culture. All the way from childhood they attend shows and exhibitions that include dancing somehow.

Researcher: "What else can you do so you are happy?"

GI4: "I can draw. Sing songs."

Researcher: "Can you effect on your wellbeing?"

BI6: "Yes I can. By drawing. And story telling and reading. Story reading."

In India, artistic experiences were both a way to bring people together, but also a way that effects wellbeing. Indian children almost invariably felt that there is not much they can do to effect their wellbeing, at least not at a young age. The only answers they gave on "can you effect on your wellbeing" were artistic: colouring, reading, dancing, singing.

One factor of psychological and emotional wellbeing among Indian examinees was religion. Most part of the Indian population, approximately 80%, are Hindu. Hinduism as a religion includes a numerous amount of Gods with different personalities and powers. All the examinees in India appeared to be Hindu, and it was visible that religion has plenty of influence in their lives. This can be seen from the pictures they drew. For example GI1 drew a building on the right upper corner of her picture. Inside the building there is a bell and on top of it, a flag. On the wall of the building there are marks, which the translator explained to be two Hindu signs describing religious symbols, like a cross for Christians. Therefore, it can be assumed that GI1 drew also a temple on her picture. It would have been interesting and important for the data to have enough time to talk with her about this detail.

Researcher: "Who are important people to you?"

BI4: "God."

BI4: "The Lord Shiva."

Researcher: "What about people in your life?"

BI4: "I don't need people as long as I have my God."

It was eye opening listening to BI4 speaking even a bit monotonously about the matters of faith. When asking about important people or places, the first thought he had was not of parents or siblings, but of God. The examinee himself was not stressed or anguished, but it looked like the words he spoke were way too big for him to understand, since he got confused when asked to explain more. Speaking about the demons made the child shiver, so it needs to be pondered if being attached so tightly in faith is a good way of living for a six-year-old. Does it bring more comfort or more fear for a small child, who is yet too young to understand the matters of faith?

Like Huston (2002, 70) brings out, children's psychological wellbeing is highly attached to the parents' psychological wellbeing. Areas of wellbeing are multifold and walk hand-in-hand with each other. One of the biggest factors in children's wellbeing were relationships, which were important on the psychological level, but mostly on the social level of wellbeing.

6.3 Social wellbeing

Social relationships and positive experiences in interactions protect children from harm. Studies show that children living in areas where the feeling of community is high, like countryside, children are healthy and happy. They practise the culture of cultivation together with their parents and feel pride due to the knowledge they have about it. This does not mean, however that children of the cities are any less happy, but cultural continuity causes a feeling of belonging. This is usually stronger in the countryside than in big cities: "a village raises the child". (Ungar 2007, 4.)

Having a friend-relationships impacts on children's social wellbeing. There is a connection between mental disorders and feelings of loneliness. Friendships and relations to children of the same age, like siblings, helps children to develop their interaction between other people. Especially the skills of solving arguments increase in peer groups. (Sinkkonen & Korhonen 2015, 233-234.) Indian examinees found that friendships are one of the most important relationships in the whole world. The reasons for this feeling were likely the same: having a peer group and having someone to play with. 6/11 examinees brought out the importance of having someone to play with. Half of these interviewees named playmates to be their siblings.

Researcher: "Who are important people for you?"

BI2: "Friends."

BI2: "I am happy when I am with my friends."

Family was one theme that was expected to rise up already before starting the interviews. In a pedagogical way thinking, the smaller children are, the more dependent they are on their caretakers. Age six is still the early years of life, and therefore it is obvious that having a family is one of the most important matters for them. It creates the context of their lives. According to the results, Indian children's family consists of mother, father and siblings. 1/11 interviewee mentioned a pet.

Researcher: "Who are the most important people for you?"

BI1: "Mother, father and the siblings. Our dog makes me happy."

BI1: "I am very happy at my house. We have good conversations with mom and dad. We live happily."

Researcher: "What do you need to be happy?"

BI1: "To play with my siblings. I don't need anything more to be happy. I am already happy."

One of the biggest results in India was to realize the culture of listening to children. They were obviously not used to being asked about their opinions or feelings. This can be deduced about the fact that they were seeking "the right answer" to please the adult. The interpreter explained that especially rural areas of India, where parents might not have as much time to pay attention to their children as they would want to, children are not asked questions about their own thoughts. Likewise, they are taught at school to learn from literature instead of critical thinking.

A school system needs to enable interaction between other children of the same age, and therefore produce wellbeing on the social level (Valtioneuvoston asetus 2010, 4§-5§). 3/11 examinees mentioned that school is important, since it is a place to meet friends. The small amount does not mean that other examinees did not feel the same way, but the content of attending school system is culturally experienced more on other levels. It is not always self-evident for Indian children to attend school, and therefore the core of studying is inside the area of managing well in school subjects instead of learning social interaction. For 2/11 examinees, the teacher was named as the most important person in their life. Among 2/11 Indian examinees, also fear towards the teacher was brought up, but most of the times the teacher was an important person and authority that children looked up.

Researcher: "Who are the most important people for you?"

BI3: "Madame, my school teacher. She is so nice to me."

6.4 Material wellbeing

The demands that Indian examinees of rural areas have on materials were very minor. At first, it might be thought that children who don't have a lot, would desire plenty of the

material, but that is not the result of this data at all. In fact, this research showed that Indian examinees were truly happy on what they have, and also said it out loud: “I don’t need anything else, I am already happy.”

Still, materials were mentioned a few times. 6/11 children talked about the material aspect. The things they brought up, however, were little matters needed in everyday life, nothing special. Among others, clothes, books, chocolates and jewelry were named. Usually materials they mentioned were needed to achieve something else, like managing in school. Therefore, education as a producer of wellbeing came up also on the level of material wellbeing.

Researcher: “What do you need to feel happy?”

BI3: “I need books.”

BI3: “And a bag.”

Researcher: “What bag is it?”

BI3: “For school.”

Researcher: “What do you need in your life?”

GI2: “Flowers.. Bangus.” (Indian jewelry)

Researcher: “Ok, do you need anything else?”

GI2: “Chocolates.”

Education can be seen as a producer of material wellbeing. When an individual is succeeding in the school world, he will most likely also be a good employee in the future, and therefore gets paid well. With money, he can purchase material wellbeing which helps other parts of wellbeing - physical, psychological and even social - to bloom. (Minkkinen 2015, 27, 33.)

Indian examinees mentioned that they want to manage well at school to get a good job when they grow up. This finding supports the theory of Minkkinen (2015) when it comes to material wellbeing.

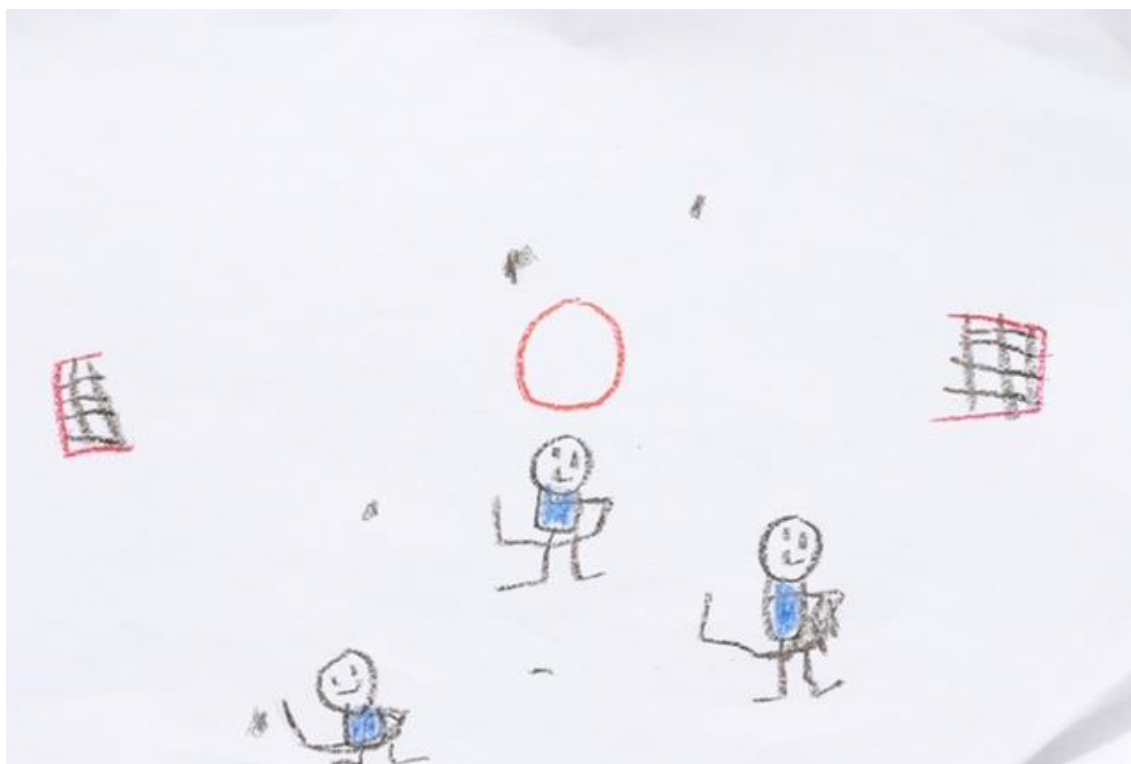
Examinees were not that much into material wealth, but mentioned it mostly in connection with educational factors. Focus seemed to be in other areas of wellbeing. Indian children were really adaptable with the small things they have. Pillai (2013, 8) explains, that even it could be assumed that poverty makes people craving for material, it is actually the opposite. They are settled with the belongings they have and are enjoying life in other parts of wellbeing.

7 Research results from Finland

The data was collected in March 2017 in a Finnish pre-school. It was executed in two parts during two days: in the first group there were seven children, and in other group, four children, altogether 11 examinees of the age of six. The amount of examinees seemed good, since it was the same in India, and the same happened in Finland as had happened there: answers and themes started to repeat themselves. Inside of these two Finnish groups, drawing tasks were kept so that all the children were together, and interviews were held with just the researcher. The space for the drawing task with the group of seven children was their own classroom, and the interviews took place in the same space as well. With the group of four children, the space for both activities was a small group-room that pre-schoolers were used to working in. It can be seen that a familiar environment made the children more relaxed.

The drawing task was given on the same way as to the Indian examinees: “Draw what is important to you”. In both groups, children were placed so that they could see each other, but not the drawings others were doing. This is how a risk of copying other children’s drawings was eliminated. Finnish children draw almost every day, and you could sense it. They were fast and for them, this task was nothing special, unlike in India where children were very enthusiastic towards the activity. They were done pretty quickly, for some it took just a few minutes, and the longest drawing process took 19 minutes.

Below is two examples of the drawings of Finnish children age of six. Pictures of the examinees were versatile, but still the same uniformity towards the core of “what is important to you”. In Picture 3 an examinee has draw ice-hockey players. This was not an unusual drawing among interviewees, actually 4/11 had a content of hobbying in their pictures. This infers that having a hobby is important for Finnish children age of six. In Picture 4 is examinee’s family walking a dog outside. Family was present in 9/11 pictures.



Picture 3. Draw ice-hockey players



Picture 4. Family walking a dog outside

In Finland, children's emotional life, skills of interaction, critical thinking and sharing opinions are highly respected and taught to children all the way from birth. During the interviews, all

eleven examinees were outgoing, self-confident and gladly shared their thoughts and opinions. They were even questioning the researcher's topics very open-mindedly. Obviously, these children had received attention and been asked about their opinions by adults many times before. It seemed that they had also become used to getting responses for their requirements, opinions and thoughts.

All the interviews had a peaceful setting. None of the examinees were nervous or wanted to quit the interview. Quite the opposite, they were enjoying the time spent together with an adult who had a high interest towards what they were saying. There were a few interruptions during the interviews: with GF1 and BF3 staff members of the pre-school entered the room and returned some equipment. Neither of these children acknowledged this too much and continued talking. With BF5, a staff member came in to ask about the timetable of the researcher. This interrupted the interview for approximately 2 minutes, and after the door was closed, the examinee continued on from where he was stopped at, without hesitation. It is estimated that none of these facts had influence on the reliability of data.

Besides the small interruptions of the interviews, the second thing that needs to be considered in the field of reliability is language. Interviews were executed in Finnish, and all the children attending had Finnish as their mother language. However for this thesis, their words needed to be translated into English when writing them down. Even though it was done strictly and carefully, there is a small chance that some word changes its meaning in the process of translation, or was translated differently than what the examinee meant.

7.1 Physical wellbeing

Home was brought up in the same context with family, and the meaning of these walked hand-in-hand through every area of wellbeing. Home as a place was seen as one of the most important ones in the whole world. Reasons for this from the view of examinees seemed to be that home is a safe and familiar place, where you can be yourself without any stress:

GF1: "It is so familiar. If I go another place, where there are different people, then I get shy."

BF3: "Because it is always safe in there, and I know that I don't have to worry about anything."

Finnish children, who mentioned the meaning of nature, were talking a lot about the summer and were waiting for it already. If this data had been collected for example in September instead of the spring, the result might have been different. It could have been that children were waiting for snow to fall to get to build snowmen and snowcastles, to slide, to skate and

to ski. However, during the time of the interview, children saw that summertime is important for them.

Researcher: "You mentioned sun. Can you tell me why the sun is important to you? Why does it make you happy?"

GF1: "It shines and makes me feel warm. I have been so excited that summer is coming."

Researcher: "So you like summer. Why do you like it?"

GF1: "Because then you can go swimming. When summer comes, Mom promised that (child's name) can come and visit and we can sleep in a tent outside. Nearby there is a good forest, and I have already been thinking about a good place there to make a camp."

From the view of Finnish children, summer and all-in-all, nature is something that combines family and friends together. 1/11 examinee drew a picture of him and his friends playing in the forest. From the answers of the interviewees it can be deduced that being outdoors is also a time spent together with the people who are important to you.

Researcher: "What kind of things do you need in your life to be happy?"

BF4: "All kinds of things... I need a lot of things, like being outside with my friends and... Things like those."

BF2: "There is a rock, and sun, and clouds. And here are my friends. This is me, and these are my friends (points). We are at the forest."

Researcher: "What are you doing in a forest?"

BF2: "We are playing hide and seek."

8/11 examinees mentioned nature and being outdoors, and were feeling loose and relaxed talking about it. Children who saw nature as an important thing in their lives, described it only in a positive light. They appreciated nature and its offerings, like berries, mushrooms and even animals to be hunted. Despite their young age, they did not seem to take a clean and affluent nature as a granted:

BF1: "Plants are important because some species you can eat. And animals and plants are important in other ways too. Plants are important, like... I don't know yet... That animals can eat them too that is how plants are important. They can help me. Plants can help me so that I can eat them, and in the same way the plants help also animals. And then animals can help me so that they can give me food or something to drink."

Children saw the forest as a place to relax and enjoy nature, but also as a place to play. For example, from the description of BF2, who mentioned that he plays hide and seek with his friends in the forest, and from the narration of GF1, who talks to the trees, importance of the nature for Finnish children of the age of six can be elaborated. Time spent outside is time spent with people who are important to you. This was also the only part of the interviewees in Finland where materials were not mentioned.

7.2 Psychological and emotional wellbeing

One very interesting finding from the interviews of Finnish children was the meaning of being alone. Examinees felt that spending time alone is a virtue. In Finland, this might also be a cultural thing, something that Finnish people are grown into. The matter of one's "own space" is really important, both physically and mentally. All the way from childhood Finns are been taught that aloneness is not necessarily a bad thing, but the opposite. For examinees of the age of six, it seemed to be a way to a calm, growing self-knowledge and self-confidence.

GF4: "It is so nice to be alone sometimes."

Researcher: "Can you tell me why it feels nice?"

GF4: "So none of your friends cannot be like 'Let's play hide and seek' or they just talk. So you can sometimes hear just your own thoughts."

GF3: "That it is nice to be alone for a moment. I play by myself in my own peace. No one disturbs me, and I don't have to listen others yelling."

6/11 Finnish interviewees felt that they need some time alone and just for themselves. In many cases, this meant actual time and space spent alone, but there were also children who mentioned that they can be by themselves also inside their head, even when there are other people around. Hobbies and pre-school were the places where concrete aloneness was not possible in other ways than inside one's mind:

GF4: "Well, well... Because it helps me a little bit, like it teaches me... It teaches me how to relax."

Researcher: "How do you relax?"

GF4: "I just lie on my back and it is fun. There is always also something really exciting about relaxing."

BF1: "That... I can help myself by myself. So that... I can say to myself in my mind that I can do this."

Meaning of being alone did not come up in any of the Indian interviews. Unlike Finnish children, Indian examinees enjoyed the time spent with others, and disdained solitude. From the view of Finnish children, being alone did not necessarily mean loneliness, but was something they felt needed once in a while to empower themselves and to feel calm.

Most of the Finnish people are Christians, but compared to other countries all over the world, the Finnish people are not deeply attached to their religion. Nowadays, going to church is a rare occasion for most of families, even though there are families who like to practise their religion more frequently. In this research, 1/11 examinees mentioned "God" in its meaning. Others, who spoke about religious affairs, talked more about beliefs rather than religion itself. Matters of faith were important, but not according to the Bible. Children found comfort in their lives from the beliefs, for example in the sadness of missing grandparents:

BF5: "I think him when we go to sauna outside. I think him when I look into the stars and say: Hello grandpa, it is me in here. And then, I thought it would not work, because I thought it is a fairytale, but it is not. Every time I say so, a star twinkles, it just twinkles."

Researcher: "What do you think it means?"

BF5: "He says: Thank you, I love you too."

1/11 examinees in Finland was talking about God in its meaning. Besides him, 2/11 talked about beliefs. This in its part proves that religion is not a major actor in the lives of Finnish children, but then again for the one examinee who mentioned God, religion seemed really important. For him religion was empowering:

Researcher: "What things in life make you happy?"

BF1: "God."

Researcher: "Why does God make you happy?"

BF1: "He has created me."

Researcher: "Who are the most important people to you?"

BF1: "Everyone in the whole world are equally important. But God is more important, in the way that he has created all the human beings."

Finnish children are very demanding when it comes to activities around them. Finland is full of supply for families and small children, and nowadays, it is common to provide these activities for children. Children start their hobbies in Finland often times at a young age. Hobbies were seen important for the interviewees, and 7/11 talked about them by using the exact word "hobby". 3/11 examinees also drew according to their hobbies in the task given before the interview. The reasons for the importance of hobbies were in having fun, but also as a time spent by oneself. Examinees also saw the matter of exercise: they knew that sports are good for your health.

Researcher: "You also said it is important to exercise. Why is that important?"

GF3: "So I'll feel well."

BF7: "That is ice-hockey. That is my hobby and I like it."

Researcher: "Why is ice-hockey important to you?"

BF7: "It is fun. You get to skate."

Researcher: "You named it as your hobby. Why do you think having a hobby is important?"

BF7: "Doing sports is fun."

Children should feel that hobbies are empowering and voluntary for them. When it comes to children of a young age, the main idea of having a hobby is supposed to be about having fun and enjoying life. (Sinkkonen & Korhonen 2015, 90.) Hobbies were something that Finnish examinees enjoyed, and felt were "their own thing", which was important. Finnish children of the age of six are used to the fact that adults listen them. Their opinions and feelings are often taken into account, both in smaller and in bigger decisions. Therefore children also know how to demand, and they expect that adults, usually parents, take their word and wishes into account.

GF4: "And do you know what also was a lot of fun? When mommy and me... When I told to mom and dad late at the evening that my best wish is that we could go into the movies together someday, and then when we were going to watch Onneli ja Anneli ja salaperäinen"

muukalainen (name of the children's movie in Finland), then daddy came there all the sudden, and (child's name) said 'What is going on in here, what is he doing in here?' and daddy just said 'I came here, since I ordered the tickets in here.' He surprised me! He had ordered the tickets secretly. And I got to watch the whole movie next to my mom and dad. That made my dream come true."

In some cases, a "normal day" was felt to be boring and a lust of excitement seems to be present in Finnish lives all the way from childhood. Even though home is felt to be a safe place to be, it was also a boring place to spend time at when there are so many activities available outside the home.

Researcher: "You told that going into swimming hall and to HopLop make you feel happy in life, why is that?"

BF4: "Because there you can swim and run around."

Researcher: "Why is that important?"

BF4: "Because it is fun. And at home it is boring."

BF5: "I need something fun, I get depressed if the day is boring. Like going to HopLop or swimming hall, or I could have a new toy, or we could go into the restaurant."

Researcher: "What is your normal day?"

BF5: "That we just sit inside and maybe make a small loop outside, and go to visit granny."

Both Finnish and Indian interviewees felt that playing is important in life. Unlike expected, Finnish examinees (8/11) did not bring up playing as an important thing any more than Indian children (5/11) even they obviously have more time and maybe also permission by adults to play. In order of precedence, playing seemed to be on the same level with hobbies or attending to school. For Finnish examinees, playing is another activity and a way to interact with other children.

Researcher: "What things in your life make you feel happy?"

BF2: "Playing."

Researcher: "Why does playing make you happy?"

BF2: "Because there are also my friends."

Researcher: "What do you need in life to be happy?"

GF3: "Pre-school and playing."

Researcher: "Why do you need playing?"

GF3: "Because I like it, and because it cheers me up. It makes me even more happy."

Playing is one of the most natural ways of children to express themselves, and therefore it is interesting that approximately just half of the Finnish examinees mentioned it at all. This does not necessarily mean that playing would not be important, or that they would not play. Vice versa, the possibility to play can be considered so self-evident for Finnish children that they do not even realize to pay attention on it. The same goes to education: children are entitled to it, so at least during the years of early childhood, they are not aware of the privilege of attending this opportunity, unlike many children all over the world.

Some of the examinees did mention pre-school and school as an important thing and place. In India, children saw the matter of education mostly from the view of physical wellbeing. In Finland, children seemed to think that school is a bit like any other activity in their life, on the side of all the hobbies you have. They did not undervalue education, but at least in the years of early childhood, as the age of six is, the meaning of attending pre-school, and soon primary school, is in social relationships and learning new skills just for fun.

Researcher: "What do you need in life to be happy?"

GF3: "Pre-school and playing."

Researcher: "Why do you need pre-school?"

GF3: "So I can learn."

Researcher: "Why do you think learning is important?"

GF3: "So at school I can learn more... In school I can do a lot of things, and when I become an adult I can learn a lot too."

7.3 Social wellbeing

All the Finnish examinees brought up the meaning of important people of their lives during the interviews. This can also be seen in the drawings, which in almost in all the cases included a picture of mom, dad and siblings or alternatively friends. From the view of Finnish children of the age of six, family is seen important mostly because of the feelings of safety, love and belonging. When talking about "family" as a term, interviewees perceived that it sometimes includes more people than just the ones living under the same roof with you. This can also be explained by the fact that nowadays divorces are quite common in Finland, and therefore children can have two places and even two families to live in.

BF1: "Because I like them. I like them so that... My family is dear to me. I need my family to feel happy, because there are people in my family that are so beloved to me. Mom and dad are so important."

BF3: "Because they have given birth to me, and they have always been so carrying and loving towards me, and have protected me. They help me when needed."

Finnish children mentioned a pet as a part of family. They also added pets into the pictures they have drawn. Animals, especially pets, had a huge meaning in the lives of some Finnish examinees. This was concluded from the fact that pets' names were brought up more than just once during the individual interviews. 6/11 examinees mentioned pets and underlined that they are members of their family. Therefore, this matter can be handled under social wellbeing instead of dealing it with the context of nature.

GF1: "Because mom has always wanted that kind of a... That kind of a own cat which is not like (cat's name) and (cat's name), since they are not like exhibition style."

Researcher: "When you say it is a mom's dream, then can you explain why her dream is important for you?"

GF1: "Because I love my mom so much, and I would like that some day I could have a cat of my own. I always got so excited when a new cat comes along. Or a dog or something."

Besides pets, altogether 6/11 examinees saw that grandparents are really tightly part of the family. Children appreciated the time and the effort grandparents gave for the relationship. Even examinees that might be too young to put it in words described the importance of this special relationship by telling about their grandparents in other ways.

GF4: "And my grandpa is also very important to me, because we have a lot of fun playing together, and with grandma too. But grandpa throws me at pillows and that is so much fun! And grandma lets me cook with her."

Some children talked about their grandparents who had already passed away, cherishing the memories they have from them. A few of the examinees were afraid of losing their own grandparents after realising it is possible:

BF3: "For example that they live long, and won't die fast or right away. That would be really awful."

GF4: "The person who has the memories can remember why those people are important."

One examinee even described friends as a part of his family. Altogether 10/11 examinees underlined the importance of having friends. Finnish children answered the question "Why friends are important to you?" that you have someone to play with. Playing is a way for children to interact, so it can be seen that examinees also covered social relationships with people of their own age by referencing playing.

BF5: "They are nice. And they are important, since they are so funny, and they are like part of the family."

Examinees described that with friends - as well as with siblings - they practice important social skills, like solving misunderstandings and arguments. Finnish examinees seemed to have time for playing, which means time spent with other children, and then again more time to have disagreements.

BF3: "For example, if someone hits me, then I am going to feel really sad and angry. Like in the classroom (child's name) said that the block is his, even I already had it in my hand, but I did not build with it, just played tricks. Then (child's name) slapped me. I did not like that."

All in all, on the area of social wellbeing, Finnish examinees mentioned family, pets, grandparents and friends, but also one very important and even surprising issue came up. 6/11 children felt "other people" important, too. Neighbours and teachers of the pre-school were mentioned in a few interviews, which is understandable, since children have interactions with them as well. But there was more: 3/11 examinees talked about "people

around”, not being specified who they were. Children were not able to explain who they meant, “just people” or “people at the store” when asked to elaborate. For Finnish children, it is important to belong into a group of people like adults do. It is interesting when considered that 6/11 children also appreciated being alone once in a while.

BF1: “Everyone in the whole world are equally important.”

7.4 Material wellbeing

Materials, mostly toys, were highly attached to the subjective feeling of happiness among examinees. Stores in Finland are full of toys, the TV is filled with commercials intended for small children, and nowadays, from the view of parents, there is a pressure of “offering the best for your children”. This “best” is sometimes material. 3/11 interviewees brought up that they sometimes value people from the view of getting material from them. Parents are seen as important, but in some cases reason to it was that they give you toys or “stuff”:

Researcher: “What makes you feel happy in life?”

BF2: “When mom and dad give me stuff.”

When analysing the data, it was revealed that Finnish children are aware of the fact that they have a lot of toys, and they would not necessarily need more of them. Despite this, they still lust for more material, not even knowing why it is so:

Researcher: “Do you want to tell me something else considering about happiness and important things in life?”

BF5: “If I put the most important items in order, then yes.”

Researcher: “Okay, please share.”

BF5: “All my games, all my toys, all my stuff. I always start to cry if some toy gets broken and needs to be tossed away... Or actually I don’t even mind if it is tossed away. But mom and dad toss it if it gets broken, even I would not want to lose it.”

Researcher: “You mentioned that you don’t mind if it is tossed away. Why is that?”

BF5: “Because I can replace it, I have money and I can just buy another toy.”

Only 1/11 of Finnish examinees who talked about playing video games showed no anxiety at all. The result of playing video games not proper to their age made 4/11 examinees feel anguished and according to their own words, even afraid. Children told they fear zombies, “bad people”, people with mental disorders, and going into the woods. They stated these dreads are born by the games not according to their age that they play.

Researcher: “What do you think, what might be the reason for these nightmares?”

BF5: “My games, and I watch some scary shows during the evening, and I play games with violence.”

Researcher: “You still want to play these, even you are scared of them?”

BF5: “Yes, because they are also good games. I like violent games and in my games there is a lot of fights.”

Researcher: "What do you really think about violence and fighting?"

BF5: "Well then... I am not really happy about it. In games I like it, but not in real life."

Researcher: "Can you tell me why do you like it in games?"

BF5: "In the games it is neat and logical. There is cool movements and other stuff. A lot of action."

8 Conclusion

Finding differences and similarities is one key of understanding children's subjective wellbeing of two cultures in this thesis. The matters that are important often vary inside the frame consisted on living conditions, the environment, the culture and social aspect of where we are looking at. Also the experience of subjective wellbeing changes depending on the children's age, not just the place. Time is a major force, not just in the aspect of children growing up, but also seeing it from the historic view: wellbeing was different 100 years ago than it is now - in both countries. Also results would more likely be varied after 100 years from now. Even though this research is not comparative but written from the view of subjective wellbeing of individuals, making perceptions among two cultures inevitably generates comparison. As a conclusion there are three interesting headlines born: differences, similarities and education as a producer of wellbeing.

It is understandable that environment and culture has a huge impact on children's answers. Therefore, it is highly interesting to research the data given by two countries so unlike. Results show that children of India and Finland are both happy in their lives, lives that in a way are so far from each other, but then again, when diving into the area of subjective wellbeing, the things which mattered the most were the same. This explains why children growing up in the rural area of India can be just as happy as the children of a welfare country like Finland.

At the moment, most of the Finnish children are feeling well. However, the inequality in the area of wellbeing has grown during the years, and there is a group of children who are feeling very unwell in their lives. This means that there are people in a risk of not having a happy and stable childhood, which causes problems later in the future. Many times, experiencing the lack of wellbeing piles up, and the children who are already feeling unwell will face more challenges. The reasons for not feeling well can many times be found in the fact of parents not being able to spend enough time with their children. Also the pressure of succeeding at school and in hobbies have taken their toll on Finnish children's wellbeing. (Aula 2007, 5, 9-10.)

It is left to be considered if the feeling of happiness among Indian examinees is due to the fact that they don't know about life of any other kind. If they would know the possibility of living a life full of material and riches, or for example their classmate would have lot of toys, would they lust it too? You want the same as your peer group. Likewise, it should be pondered if Finnish children would be happier without all the material and activities around them, which is partly ruining their possibility to grow in an peaceful environment without all the fuss around them. Material can also bring constriction with it.

Ravens-Sieberer et al. (2013, 1-2.) and Andrews & Ben-Arieh (1999, 105.) both try to open the content of “quality of life”. They underline that it is not just attached to the matters coming from the outside, but mostly on the inner world of individuals: their expectations, standards, concerns, aims and relations of these. After concluding this research, it looks like resilience of an individual is the core of subjective wellbeing. The base of wellbeing for Indian and Finnish examinees is hardly the same, but still the result is that children of both countries are happy on the subjective level of wellbeing. The experience of the quality of your own life is what matters the most. This is the reason why Indian children can be just as happy despite all the dearth around them, as the Finnish who have all the opportunities already at the starting point of their life.

Results were challenging to place under the definition of wellbeing for them being so multi-dimensional. Physical, psychological and emotional, social and material levels walk very easily hand in hand, and for example material health can bring forth physical health, and children can feel emotionally better if they have safe and warm relationships. Despite the challenges, in this research the most visible content lead the setting of each theme under a certain headline - without one exception, education.

Data of both countries brought out the meaning of education. Possibility to attend schooling was visible in every area of wellbeing in this research. Physically, school was an important place to be for it being safe and familiar, and giving children a chance to have an effect on their lives. Psychologically, it brought examinees a way to express themselves and develop. Socially, it helps in creating and maintaining relationships by being a possible place to meet other people. According to Minkinen (2015, 27, 33), children who manage at school will more likely get a good job and increase their wellbeing also on a material level. Due to these matters, education could not been placed under just one headline of wellbeing.

This thesis is executed theory-guided, which leaves the opportunity of creating new information instead of only proving the matters already known to be true. In this research, it can be seen that education is a producer of wellbeing in the lives of Finnish and Indian children age of six. Due to this reason, the educational aspect is given its own value as one area of wellbeing alongside with physical, psychological, social and material wellbeing.

8.1 Differencies

The reaction towards the researcher was very different in the Indian and Finnish examinees. It needs to be taken into account that the appearance of a translator, and the fact that the

researcher looks different than the people children have used to, might have been effecting on the acts of the Indian examinees. In Finland, no translator was needed and the looks of the researcher were familiar to interviewees. However, the main reason for Finnish children being more open might mostly be in other matters than in the content of this research. Deeper, ingrained in the culture. It seems that Finnish children are very well used to the verity that they are listened to and adults ask for their opinion. They are equal and depending on the case, they can be a part of making decisions. Finnish children were not tense, not even a bit. Likewise, they truly enjoyed the time and interest given to them by an adult and wanted to stay and chat after the interview was over already.

Indian examinees were careful on their words. They were not tense, but still a bit keyed up and obviously wondering what would be “the right answer” to the question asked from them. Interpreting must have brought it’s own kind of pressure for children. There were moments that children tried their very best to please the adult and answer in the way that makes her satisfied. It took some time to make examinees understand that there were no right or wrong answers, and that the researcher truly has interest only towards their thoughts and feelings. Deduce from this, Indian children most likely are not being asked for opinions as much as Finnish children are. This is not a straight reference to Indian families not paying as much attention into their children than Finnish people, not at all. This looks like a cultural difference: childhood has a different meaning in different cultures.

According to Aula (2007, 11) children are entitled to be listened, and their voice needs to be heard in the way that is best for them when taking their age and level of development into account. Children deserve to be treated equally. From the results, it can be deduced that this realised in the target group of Finnish examinees very well. Ungar (2007, 6) adds that one of the matters which improves children’s wellbeing is a feeling of control in the parts of life where they should have power to say something. One important difference that appeared in this research is that Finnish examinees are able to have effect on their lives already during a young age, more than Indian children are. They are listened to in a way that is equal with the opinions of adults. One examinee even told that a decision if the family moves into another location was made together.

Finnish children are equal with adults in every level. This is the major reason for them being so demanding. They question adults, they need to hear arguments when they are told to do or not to do something. Adults show interest towards children’s thoughts and opinions. The demands that Finnish examinees brought out were mostly material, but also attached to how to spend free time. For example, timetables set for playing video games seemed unfair from the view of many interviewees, and they were frustrated when not being able to have a say in

this decision made by their parents. Some of the examinees said that they can decide even matters like these by themselves.

The demands that Indian examinees brought out were minimal. Actually, there were hardly any. Indian children settle with the things that they already have, and do not have demands for their parents. This might be a cultural, but also a material thing. Cultural in the way that it is not allowed for children to question adults, and material because maybe Indian examinees don't know what to ask for. What comes to playing, for example, Indian children just needed a "ball for playing" to be happy, and emphasising this in their answers, time for the free play. It can also be seen that a place had different meaning for Indian than for Finnish children, who saw any place proper for playing. Nature and parks were the best places for Indian children, because "there I can play". Finnish children are used to the set-up that playing is allowed almost everywhere they go. Indian children feel that there are specific time and a place for playing. Maybe this is one of the reasons why nature is felt as so precious among Indian children.

Material wellbeing has come to stay as a new member of the "wellbeing-family". Holistic wellbeing has consisted of physical, psychological and social welfare for a long time, but this research is also proof on the truth that material wellbeing is part of holistic ensemble just as well as are the previous three ones. Welfare countries are full of equipment, material and production made for consumers. Some of the material is necessary for people living in countries with high standard of living, but people would do just fine without it.

Finnish children, who are growing up in a welfare country, are not satisfied with the material they have - and the children of Indian rural area are not asking more despite the fact that they don't have a lot. Answering the research questions of "what do you need to be happy?" or "what are the main things in life that make you feel good?", many Finnish examinees answered something attached to material: "I need my toys", "I am happy if I get a new game". The result that Finnish interviewees underline the importance of material way more than Indian examinees, shows them in a light of being more materialistic than Indians are. When considering reasons to this, children who see advertising about toys all around them all the time - at the store, in pre-school, on TV, in magazines - they lust for them. Indian examinees more likely don't even know that there is a world of toys around them.

When living in an environment full of material, there is a risk of learning the way of living where owning is everything. The individual starts to lust things he believes he needs, instead of desiring matters that he actually needs. (Pillai 2013, 8.) It is important to always have a new one, a better one, at least the same one that others have. One of the Finnish examinees felt that he does not mind if something gets broken, since he can always have a new one. The

happiness of Finnish examinees consisted partly purely out of material. There is a reason for all the equipments around people: to make life more easy and more enjoyable. Pillai (2013,8.) is worrying that material starts to become the heart of wellbeing.

When observing the area of material wellbeing, it is highly important to take into account that the scope of the answers between Finnish and Indian examinees are not comparable into each others. Only 4/11 interviewees in India mentioned the material aspect. They stated marbles, jewelry, chocolates and books for studying. 11/11 Finnish examinees mentioned the material, and mostly these were games and toys. It is left to consider, are Finnish children living such a fulfilled life in material way that nothing will ever be enough - or is material only a bridge between relationships: toys to play with your friends, stores to go and spend time with your parents?

When Indian examinees saw studying as the most important content of their lives, and spend all their free time either working at home or if possible, playing, Finnish children attend activities. For Finnish examinees, playing and studying were one option of spending time. However, in the country full of activities “just playing” seems to be at risk of losing it’s shimmer. Finnish examinees have a huge lust of excitement. This is brought to them for example by different kind of amusement parks, hobbies and video games.

7/11 Finnish examinees had a hobby. Gymnastics, skating, choir, swimming and ice-hockey were mentioned. 3/11 of the drawings Finnish examinees made were about hobbies. Finnish children seemed to feel that having a hobby is important for them, since it makes them feel good. It is important to “have your own thing” already during young age. All the examinees that mentioned having a hobby saw it as empowering. Only one of the examinees felt pressures of being in time to attend, but still saw her hobby as a pleasant thing in her life. What comes to Indian examinees, none of them mentioned having a hobby.

While Indian examinees spend their free time by playing, Finnish are on the side of hobbying and playing video games. Some of the examinees felt constriction and even shared fear states caused by playing violent games. Children who mentioned this were very open and explained with their own words that being scared in life has most of the times its roots in the games they play. The Same children were also aware that games and the contents of them take up a huge capacity of their thoughts and time. They were not enjoying it so much, but were hooked on the games. The reason for the difference of Finnish examinees being addicted to video games and Indians not even mentioning it, is probably purely financial. If Indian children of rural areas would have the chance to play video games, they might have been just as thrilled as Finnish children are.

8.2 Similarities

Childhood is a phase of life formed by many different matters. One of the biggest factors is living conditions. The environment and culture children are born into define a lot of their wellbeing. Despite about very different living conditions of the examinees, results still showed remarkable similarities in what children value. The reasons for the happiness index, unbelievably, were the same for examinees of both fields. Common results for the main reasons were not the ones able to be measured by objective measures. Social relationships, education and play were raised up during the interviews. Even though there are not as many similarities than differences, it needs to be underlined that similarities were more visible in the whole data than diversities were.

It looks like children are children, no matter where in the world you go. The main things in life were same for all the examinees. Despite the living conditions or other visible indicators, people are the ones that make the home. At least this is how all the examinees felt, notwithstanding their home country. Having a family consisting of parents and siblings, and in some of the cases from Finland, also grandparents and pets, is the most important thing in the life of examinees. For most of them, home is the best place in the whole world, because they live there with their families. Home was seen as a place for being safe, and being able to be yourself. This is not because of the fine house with all the facilities. From the answers of the interviewees, it can be felt that people living with you made home. Family is your home.

Already during a young age, friends were seen highly important in both for Finnish and Indian examinees. Friends seemed to be to one to give the meaning to everyday life. Learning new skills, playing together and even settling after having an argument were important for children of the age of six, despite the home country or background. Actually playing with or without friends was the second important similarity. Playing is perhaps the most natural way for children to act, learn and express themselves, and also to interact with other people. Playing is one of the major contents in children's lives. However, there was slight differences inside the culture of play between Indian and Finnish examinees.

Finnish children, when talked about playing, added material aspect into the conversation. Toys were highly attached into "good play". They seemed to feel that without toys you cannot play. Still, there was one exception: when staying outside in the nature, toys were not mentioned. When talking about playing at the forest, toys were not brought up in any place. Maybe bringing toys into the nature is not allowed by adults, or carrying them is too laborious, but it was obvious that while playing in the forest, children did not bring toys with them.

When Indian interviewees talked about playing, toys did not have a big role in their answers. Only 1/11 examinees mentioned marbles. However, time as a facilitator did have a meaning in the parts of interviews considering play. Indian children felt that there was not enough leisure time for playing, since all the time they have is spent at school or doing household chores. The time they have for play seemed to take place in the park near the bus stop when going to school. This short moment was obviously very precious for the children.

It is clear that playing is important both to Indian and Finnish examinees mostly in psychological and social ways. The difference of playing culture can be found inside the content and possibilities of playing. Finnish children have time and adults' appreciation towards playing, but their minds are often saturated by the need of material and excitement. Among Finnish examinees, material wellbeing was highly attached to playing. Indian interviewees need playing just as much as other children around the world do, but felt like they never have time for that, or adults don't appreciate playing as a way of learning or in any other way. Indian children lust for playing in the environment not enabling it, and Finnish children seemed to be bored about "just playing" in the surroundings full of excitement and video games.

Education was maybe the most underlined theme in the interviews. 7/11 examinees in both countries raised it up. The importance of attending school was similar, but the reasons to seeing it significant were diverse. Finnish children appreciated school as a place to maintain friend-relationships and wanted to attend since learning is fun and good for them. Indian examinees brought out that schooling is the content of their lives, and managing in studies defines your whole future. Due to the fact that education cannot be put either under the headline of similarities or differences, and it still is one of the biggest results for the whole data, it is elaborated upon in its own section.

8.3 Education as a producer of wellbeing

Schooling was one of the first rights given to children, even when the idea of it was not at first anything else than keeping society alive by preparing them to work. Children were the property of adults and not yet people. Nowadays education is not important just from a view of studying, but is also considered to be one of the most important aspects of society as a primary way of building community. Children are seen as precious human beings. The aim of education is to protect human rights and produce wellbeing for children both in present and in future. (Jiang, Kosher, Ben-Arieh & Huebner 2014, 181.) It is well-known that children learn better by being active, having fun and trying new things with a presence of supporting adults. Practising new skills in action by moving, exploring, playing and doing arts on

different forms allow children to assimilate the knowledge. Motivation towards learning has a huge meaning in education. (Dowling 2010, 103-105.)

Like in so many situations, also in schooling the effect of parents or other close people in children's lives make a difference. If a family is reacting positively towards education and is encouraging children to try their best, they will feel that this is important both now and also in the future. But when parents feel that being at school is useless, children will more likely avoid learning and even attending school. Helping children all over the world to get into education and assure their equal possibilities must be started from assuring adults, such as parents and policy makers of government, that education truly is one of the best ways for children to have a stable and safe life. Via education, a person's area of decisions is wider and in the same line with others.

Attending school and getting an education were admittedly the most underlined theme in the interviews of Indian six-years-olds. 7/11 examinees mentioned school as a big part of life. Data shows them believing that how they managed in school defined their future. Interviewees seemed to be very aware that it is not always easy for their parents to offer them a chance to attend school. In addition to a high appreciation towards education, school was a content of their every day. According to Ungar (2007, 5) even education is seen universally appreciated, children of rural areas see education as more important in life than children coming from Western societies.

Inequality of wealth in India is growing all the time, and families are struggling to keep their children in school. Even though the fares are low, and the nation is tempting families to put their children into school for example by offering a free meal once a day, paying the fees are still too much to handle. Especially in the rural areas, children attending school means more work at home for adults. Sometimes the reason of pulling children away from school is them to be very needed at home for working. (Canelipuu Ry 2017.)

Primary education should be compulsory and free to all children. Also after the compulsory part of education children - or adolescents - should be encouraged to study for an occupation. (OHCHR 2016; Jiang et al. 2014, 182.) Access to education is one of the most determining actors in children's life. Without education, finding a legal job can be hard. Skills of reading and writing in itself already offers a lot more options to find a job which is takes human dignity into account.

It is important to look from the view of Finnish examinees of the age of six not yet being a part of the school system, but pre-school, which is not identical. Indians of same age have started school years earlier, so as a matter it is more present in their lives than for Finnish

children. Still, Finnish did not mention pre-school as often as Indian examinees mentioned school, so the meaning for educational activity is different anyhow. For Finnish children, attending to school seemed to be one activity among the others and a place to meet friends.

Learning is fun for Finnish examinees, but this does not mean it would not be important for their future. Just like it does not mean that the thought of education being a descriptor of your whole future would make learning any less fun for Indians. Common fact is that children of both countries enjoy studying and see it as important, but from a different view. Finnish children see receiving an education as self-evident, but for Indian children of rural areas it is everything and defines their future.

Not all children can participate in education, even if it is nowadays compulsory in India. Especially children of rural areas, who are also needed at home for working, cannot always attend. Lack of money is presumably the main reason for children to skip schooling. Even if the costs of schools are small, so are the incomes of some families. Albeit they would put everything they have to give their children an opportunity to study, it might still not be enough. (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization 2014, 126; British Council 2014, 10, 13; Canelipuu Ry 2017.) Indian examinees understand this reality and therefore the meaning of school is huge for them. Attending education is not a self-evident for them.

Education is probably one of the best solutions for poverty and illbeing of developing countries. Education brings knowledge, and knowledge brings freedom. With education, equality improves on a country level but also between genders. Everyone has the same opportunities. Education can also be seen as supportive to children's self-esteem and skills of building social relationships. (British Council 2014, 10, 13; Canelipuu Ry 2017.) It seems to be that in the level of wondering about their future and the meaning of education, Indian children need to act older than they truly are, and are completely thankful for the opportunity to study. Then again, Finnish of same age get to be careless and enjoy their childhood without concerns of how their lives will be in 20 years.

9 Reflection

Writing a thesis about the wellbeing of children has been challenging. The area of child-research by positive indicators is not very studied, especially among different countries. Despite the challenges, this research has given so much more than expected at the starting point. Collecting data gave answers not anticipated on the side of reckoned ones. The base of this research is in a holistic approach to wellbeing, respecting the view of subjective wellbeing and taking Amartya Kumar Sen's (1999) Capability Approach into account when analyzing the data. Comparing of the results was almost inevitable, and to be honest it was very tempting. However, as already highlighted before, the data are not comparable to each other due to different situations for Indian and Finnish examinees, and the magnitude of the answers between these groups.

The timetable of the research was well planned, but unexpected matters, like lack of time when doing the interviews in India, complicated collecting data. After the changes made due to the challenges appearing on first day of the interviews, collecting data started to roll forward. Afterwards it can be seen that the results of both countries were reliable. Interviews were made by following good ethics and obeying the features of research and analysing methods selected carefully to answer best into the research question. Altogether there were eleven interviews in both points, in total 22 interviews which in a qualitative research like this is quite a lot.

It is important to see the strengths in communities rather than problems one after another. Presenting the areas of development in encouraging way will more likely motivate people to act: a goal to reach together is a lot more activating than a problem to solve. Nevertheless according to Lippman et al. (2009, 1-2.) there is one challenge in positive indicators. A fact that the media and by implication also the public is not that interested in positive behavior like they are in the negative and therefore, positive studies cannot achieve as high attention as indicators presented in a negative light. As a researcher, I still find myself appreciating the more positive indicators, since they represent good science and using them is not creating a feeling of insecurity among the public: "things are bad for children and getting worse".

The Capability Approach of Amartya Kumar Sen (1999) is interesting, but still there is some shortcomings that appeared during this research. For example emphasising the element of freedom, which is hard to estimate for it being so multifold. What is freedom? Is it freedom of movement, freedom from abuse? In some states for example freedom of speech is limited. Can people born in this kind of culture never achieve quality of life if not being totally free? Sen also does not take a stand on awareness. Many people - especially children - are not

aware of their rights for example towards schooling or physical abuse. Can a person with deficit of consciousness be free to feel well?

Another critical point of view towards Sen's theory is his definition that owning material can make people happier. This is irrelevant according that one object can be useful in Europe but not necessarily in Africa. Although Sen also underlines that owning material cannot be a straight measure of wellbeing. Despite the critical view, this research for its own part proved that Sen's theory of material aspect is attached into feeling of happiness, at least in welfare countries. Already children of the age of six, who grow up in an environment full of material wealth, learn to appreciate it as a producer of blessings. According to the results of this research, this is not a straight measure of wellbeing - yet. But still it can be seen increasing matter, so what about for example after 100 years?

When it comes to researching children's wellbeing, despite the critics, the Capability Approach is a great base for reflection. It takes an individual's own capabilities into account and notices the possibilities of achieving better wellbeing inside the frame of environment they are living in. Especially children - who are living in the circumstances given to them at birth and usually are powerless to change these - can be seen as strong and achieving individuals due to the Capability Approach. To be said in the part of reflection of this study, Sen's theory can be seen both as a positive way of researching, but also a theoretical commitment for children's justice and wellbeing.

Sen's theory is essence in a world changing all the time on national and international levels now even faster than ever before. Sen is taking into account that children are living in different circumstances and therefore comparing for example wellbeing of India and Finland is possible in certain ways. It is important to survey children's capabilities and opportunities in the context that they live in. Subjective wellbeing can be seen as just as important for the individual than the areas of objective wellbeing that are easier to examine and measure.

To consider things that could have been done better in this thesis, one option would have been to include children in the research process. As co-researchers, they could have been more creative and self-expression might have been more open and above board. As an active member of making the research, children can also feel more proud of their effort, instead of when just being interviewed. Besides, depending for example on children's age, background and temper, not all at the age of six are capable of expressing themselves verbally. This element was seen in India, where children had not been asked for opinions that much, and therefore it was difficult for them to give reasons for their thoughts.

In this thesis, examinees drew a picture of the theme “What is important to you?”. This was executed, so to speak, to break the ice and make the children less tense. After all, artistic experience is one of the children’s natural ways of act. The first thought was to use pictures as a part of the data, but lack of time in India counted out that option. The idea of it however stayed alive. Pictures give a whole new level of bringing out the voice of children than just words can. According to Halkola, Mannermaa, Koffert & Koulou (2009, 230-234) using a camera as a tool of interaction between children and an adult brings a lot of opportunities. People are expressing important things, humans and places by taking pictures. When children are taking photos, adults get a chance of seeing a flash of their world.

In further research, children attending could be residents of more than two countries and perhaps only one examinee per country would do. As a result, there would be an exhibition from the pictures they have taken either on the internet or in physical form if needed. It is important that all the children taking part in making the research could see the final result. Photos of the exhibition could also consist of the areas of wellbeing: physical, psychological, material and social. When several countries of the world are involved, this time instead of words we can find similarities and differences by looking at the photos taken by children and maybe can see that there are many customs of wellbeing. Ours is not the only one, and there is not just one way of being happy. A picture tells more than hundred words.

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