

SUMMARY

The Canadian Advisory Committee on Election Expenses

Khayyam Z. Paltiel

The author, professor of Political Science at Carleton University, Ottawa, and the Research Director of the Canadian Advisory Committee on Election Expenses examines in his paper the reasons for attempts in his country to control the spiralling election expenses.

The immense rise in the election expenses that is to a large extent due to the increasing importance of mass media (radio, TV) in election campaign has even in Canada led to a series of malodorous scandals centering around the methods of the political parties in collecting funds for financing their campaign.

The legislative control of campaign expenses is on federal level still mainly based on the same ideas as expressed in the old Act of 1874. Consequently there exists only the requirement that the candidates' agents must report the funds collected and spent to the constituency Returning Officer. These reports are conceived by the candidates to exist only pro forma and the consolidated lists based on them are prepared only upon the request from the House of Commons. Because of the indifference and rightdown negligence of the candidates, these lists do not give a truthful picture of campaign contributions and expenses.

On provincial level the Quebec's Liberal Party introduced the idea of legislative limitations of electoral expenses and after gaining power in 1960 its attempts to this end were realized in the new Quebec's Election Act, that also provided for government subsidy for parties and candidates.

It is partly due to the example set by the Quebec Liberal Party that the National Liberal Federation took the control of the election expenses on the federal level into its national platform. After returning to power in 1963 it started to realize this idea. The first step was the establishment of the Advisory Committee on Election Expenses.

The Committee is composed of representatives of the main political parties and scholars and it is assisted by a research group. The Committee does not possess the subpoena power nor the power to compel production of documents. Consequently it must focus on extensive research in order to provide data and information needed by the members of the Committee to carry out the terms of its mandate.

The research group of the Committee, and some outside scholars contracted by the Committee for special studies carry now out an ambitious research project. This project includes a detailed study of the present Canadian system of covering campaign expenses and investigations into its historical and social background; comparative international studies on party systems and

election expenses, on central concepts connected with the problem of election expenses, and on reporting disclosure and publicity techniques; national and international study on mass media (press, radio, TV) and their relationship to the problem of election expenses; and a survey research on the public's behavior and attitudes with particular reference to party financing.

Because the research activities started in a larger scale but spring 1964, it is too early to try to report detailed results. The general nature of the findings and some broader hypotheses can be indicated, however.

One of the most important hypothesis is no doubt the one that is concerned with the relationship of the industrial and financial structures of Canada, the structure of the political parties and the type of party financing. The Canadian old parties, Conservatives and Liberals have traditionally obtained their funds from a common resource, i.e. from the centralized corporate industrial and financial structures located in Toronto and Montreal. These resources were available only to the central federal party organizations and this consequently affirmed their power and produced integrative effects that opposed the centrifugal forces of Canadian political life. The breakdown of the two-party system since 1919, and the resurgence of the provinces in the political and especially on the economic sphere because of the increasing importance of province-controlled resource and extraction industries has changed the picture completely. Provincial governments and provincially based political parties are now able to compete successfully with federal government and federal parties.

Within this broad analysis of the trends of development the Committee must try to find out, how different ways of controlling the electoral expenses and/or establishing a subsidy system would feed back on the general development and furthermore influence on the adequacy of the Canadian party system to fulfil the needs of a bicultural, bilingual and federal society.

Political Opinion Formation in Finland

Martti Noponen

Customarily, the party strength figures — the outcome of the choices made by individual citizens at the polls — are used as the sole indicators of political opinions held at any particular point in time. But, as Pertti Pesonen has shown, elections and election campaigns are in fact a comparatively transient and exceptional phase of political activity, during which the political parties abandon their normal activities in order to concentrate on attempts to affect the citizens' voting intentions. Individuals also hold political opinions other than those connected with the choice of party; but the choice of party obviously often precedes and, hence, regulates their other opinions as well. Political opinions are not expressed exclusively at the polls; however, in parliamentary elections these opinions can be recorded clearly, according to party lines distinguishable from one another.

In Finland the need for influencing political opinions, in a true sense of the word, only arose, in connection with the parliamentary reform of 1906.

The number of those entitled to vote increased very sharply, and the electoral districts were enlarged; as a result, it became impossible for authoritative individual persons or leader parties to succeed at the polls without intensified efforts. Like the Social Democratic party, the bourgeois parties then found it necessary to have a permanent party staff and a permanent propaganda machinery. Concurrently, the influencing of opinions assumed fixed, though gradually diversifying forms.

In Finland, just as elsewhere, two methods have been used to eliminate the difficulties resulting from the secret vote in the elucidation of the motives for the choice of party: the ecological method, through which information can be obtained about the support of the different parties, and its permanence, on a regional basis; and the interview, which is the only method through which information can be gained about the factors influencing the motivations of individual voters and about the possible changes in their opinions as a result of electioneering, in particular. The first type of research has been represented in Finland by Erik *Allardt*, Jaakko *Nousiainen* and Onni *Rantala*: the second procedure of approach has been applied by Pertti *Pesonen*, in particular, and also by Onni *Rantala*.

The studies carried out on a regional basis have shown that economic factors play a less decisive role in the support enjoyed by the different political parties than had been inferred previously. Nevertheless, economic factors may have given rise to permanent behaviour patterns; the tenant-farming system, say, or reminiscences from the unemployment period during the Great Depression have perhaps created regions homogeneous in respect of the prevailing political views. The stability of the party conditions in Finland already suggests that political opinions in this country can only be influenced to a very minor extent. Many of the observations *Pesonen* has made in his interview studies also demonstrate that a political party once chosen is, as a rule, also adhered to; for example, 83 per cent of the interviewed inhabitants of Tampere stated, before the 1958 parliamentary elections, that they continued to be supporters of the party they voted in 1954, and their motivations were similar even in the parliamentary elections of 1962. This unchangeability of political views has usually been explained in terms of the influence of small-groups, particularly of the influence of an individual's family and his circle of friends. This unchangeability, in turn, has enhanced the unchangeability of voting decisions. On the other hand, where there has occurred social or geographical mobility, these have made for uncertainty and estrangement from the parents' political views. Personal communication has been the most efficient method through which changes have been brought about in voters' opinions; via so-called opinion leaders, however, the media of mass communication have also been employed to direct political opinion formation.

The ecological and the interview methods have supplemented each other in the elucidation of the voting behaviour of Finns. In recent years the focus has been on the investigation of individual voting behaviours; however, there are signs indicating that the centre of emphasis may shift to political ecology in near future; that is, to analysis of the coming into existence of political regions, regional differences in the support of various political parties and the basic dimensions determining people's political views by means of elaborate methods and employing a large number of sociological variables.

Trends of Development in Political Sociology

Ilkka Juhani Heiskanen

The author analyzes two recent books in political sociology and compares them with each other and to standard works in the field. Both books, S. N. Eisenstadt's *Political Systems of Empires* and Erik Allardt's *Yhteiskunnan rakenne ja sosiaalinen paine* (Social Structure and Social Pressures, published in Finnish and Swedish) break new paths in political sociology in the empirical basis of the analysis and the type and the strategy of theory formation.

The empirical material Eisenstadt analyzes in his book is no doubt unique in political sociology. In order to analyze the political systems of societies he calls »historical bureaucratic empires» Eisenstadt has collected detailed data on social differentiation, scope of political struggle and position of bureaucracy in 27 historical empires, such as Carolingian Empire, Inca Empire, Sassanid Persia, Mogul Empire and Byzantine Rome. Allardt, on the other hand, bases his »theory of human mass behavior» on data from different spheres of social life although political phenomena are prominent among his empirical material.

The focus of the theoretic analysis of both Eisenstadt and Allardt are a few basic structural dimensions of society. In Eisenstadt's analysis these dimensions are social differentiation and release of free resources, the tendency of the political sphere toward autonomy, and the basis of legitimation of the rulers. In Allardt's analysis the basic structural dimensions are division of labor and pressure toward uniformity. Both build a kind of tension model: in Eisenstadt's case there is the possibility of tension between the extent of social differentiation and the type of rulers' legitimation; in Allardt's case there is the possibility of tension between the combinations of the structural variables and the type of human interaction.

Despite this similarity the theoretical analyses differ radically. Eisenstadt's analysis is basically an analysis of a specific type of political system, although the basic hypotheses are stated in generalizing terms. Allardt's analysis offers a theory of solidarity and legitimacy conflicts applicable to a wide range of social situations. Eisenstadt is closer to the institutional sociological theories and Allardt's analysis comes closer to the socialpsychological theories. These differences are clearly reflected in the radically different use of such concepts as »differentiation» (division of labor) and »exchange».

Although it is probably not possible to combine these different approaches, both can, however, complement each other. If Eisenstadt had used Allardt's analysis of solidarity and legitimacy conflict, he could have raised the level of generality in his analysis of the political orientations and political activities of the rulers and the main social groups of historical political empires. Similarly, attempts to apply Allardt's theory within different institutional theoretical framework might contribute to its refinement.

An important similarity in Eisenstadt's and Allardt's strategy of theory construction is that they avoid the use of any strong functionality assumptions. This leaves their theoretical analyses open, and allows their further refinement to a more dynamic direction.

All in all, the instructive aspects of the analysis of these two works in political sociology can be summarized in with three points:

1. It is important to broaden the empirical basis of political sociology in two directions. First, it is important to obtain more empirical data about the historical and non-western societies. It is also important to compare political phenomena with non-political, and attempt to analyze them within the same theoretical frame of reference.

2. It is important to start theory formation with few simple and structural dimensions, such as differentiation, pressure toward uniformity, independence of different spheres of social life, and then broaden the analysis by connecting these dimensions to useful theoretical concepts and theory sketches.

3. While striving for broad dynamic theories, it is important to avoid the use of functionality and efficiency assumptions that tend to lead to narrow and closed theory formation.

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terin sihteerin
silmin* T. H. HEIKKILÄ
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Merkittävä dokumenttiteos, jossa pääministerin sihteerinä vuosina 1944—48 toiminut suurlähettiläs Heikkilä tarkastelee tuon murroskauden poliittista elämää virka-asemansa suomasta kulissien-takaisesta näkökulmasta: välirauhansopimusta seuranneita mielialoja, sotasyllisyyssasian vaihteita, valvontakomission ja Valpon toimintaa, lakkoliikkeitä, vallankaappausyrityksiä ja erikseen ajan henkilöahmoja Marskista pakinoitsija Järvettiin. Persoonalliseen tekstiin liittyy kiintoisa, suurelta osalta aikaisemmin julkaisematon kuvamateriaali. 16:50/19:—

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