

SUMMARY

Active Party Members' Perception of the Participants in the Finnish Pre-election Tv- and Radio Panel Discussion

by Kaarle Nordenstreng and Anna-Marja Nurminen

The research reported here aims at explicating the images of the party politicians such as they emerged to watchers and listeners during the »great» Tv- and radio panel discussion that was held just before the Finnish 1968 presidential elections. The main purpose of the research was to analyze the relationship between the active party membership and the perception of the own party's representatives and of the representatives of the other parties. Consequently a questionnaire was sent to 20 active party members of each Finnish political party the total number of the respondents thus being 160. About 80 % were correctly filled and returned, and the analysis was based on these answers. The method used was the Semantic Differential, i.e. the respondents were asked to judge the panel representatives of the different parties by seven step scale along four dimension: reliable-unreliable, brave-shy, liberal-conservative and arrogant-collected. In addition the respondents were asked to rank the participants according to the qualities of their performances: pleasantness of voice, ability to participate in discussion, rethoric abilities, matter-of-factness, and ability to make people assured. Table 1 gives the ranking of the participants by parties (Skdl = Communists, Tpsl = Social Democratic Opposition, Sdp = Social Democratic Party, Kes = Centre Party (earlier Agrarians), Smp = Finnish Rural People's Party, Lkp = Liberal People's Party, Kok = Conservatives and Rkp = Swedish People's Party) and by high (eniten) or low (vähiten) qualities of performance (Keskustelutaito = ability to participate, kaunopuheisuus = rethorics, asiallisuus = matter-of-factness, uskottavuus = ability to assure). Among the respondents from each party there was a clear cumulative tendency to rank the representatives of their own parties highest although some individuals like the chairman of the Conservatives, Rihtniemi, were ranked sometimes as high or higher than the own representatives in some qualities. Along the dimension measured by the Semantic Differential the cumulative tendency to rank

⁴ Killinen, K., *Demokratia ja totaalinen sota*, Porvoo 1956, s. 17.

⁵ Janowitz, mt. s. 427.

⁶ Tervasmäki, mt. s. 380.

⁷ Pajunen, Aimo, *Puolustuslaitos demokraattisen yhteiskunnan osana*, *Politiikka* 1/1965, s. 27.

⁸ Pajunen, mk. s. 31—32.

⁹ Pajunen, mk. s. 34.

¹⁰ *Maanpuolustuksen Tuki ry*, esite.

¹¹ Janowitz, mt. s. 73.

¹² Janowitz, mt. s. 38.

the own representatives high was still clearer than in case of qualities of performance (Figures 1—4). Only clear cut exceptions were found within Swedish People's Party that in the election had set up candidates for both main competitors for presidency, Kekkonen and Virkkunen. In addition it was obvious that there were participants, that were generally »disliked», and others, that were more or less commonly »accepted» by the representatives of all the other parties.

The overall correlations of the rankings for the panel participants were high within each party, the only exception being again the Swedish People's Party, where ranking of pro-Kekkonen and pro-Virkkunen representatives had zero correlation.

The overall correlations between the panel participants (each value dimension separately) were factor analyzed in order to find some basic dimensions used in ranking (Table 2). The dimensions obtained reflected most clearly the left-right division and the basic antagonism between the Centre Party and the Finnish Rural People's Party. The factor analysis combining all the value dimensions brought forth also the antagonism between the supporters of different candidates (»anti-Kekkonen factor») and the somewhat isolated position of the Centre Party (»Centre Party factor»).

The correlations between the four semantic Differential dimensions within each respondent group are given in Table 3. The highest correlations within each party are between the reliability and collectedness, and the dimension brave-shy has in general low correlation with the other dimensions.

The authors carried out furthermore a factor analysis based on overall correlations of the dimensions used by all the parties (Table 4). Already the correlations indicate clearly the congruity or incongruity in the use of value dimension by different parties. Thus e.g. the conceptions of the »liberal» of the respondents of the Communist group correlates positively with that of the Social Democratic Opposition (.91) and negatively with that of the Conservative Party (-.72). The factor analysis itself brought forth such basic dimensions as »party determined reliability», (I), »non-party reliability», (II), »general streight-forwardness» (III), and »special Social Democratis evaluation» (IV).

The authors indicate that the basic dimensions of the research do not seem to have any direct relationship with the outcome of the elections. This is also true in case of the dimension »reliable-unreliable» that one could expect to be most closely connected with the outcome. The authors conclude in saying that the evaluations by the voters seem to be altogether different from those by the active party members.

Military Elite in Finland

by Antero Krekola

The author discusses first the five main working hypotheses presented by Morris Janowitz in his »Professional Soldier». These five hypotheses relate the development of the military establishment in the western countries to their general societal development. The most essential hypothesized changes are the democratization of the authority relations in the army, the increased similarity of the technological aspects of the action in the army and the civil life and the corresponding levelling of the differences between the military and civil experts and increased ease of moving from military elite to civil elite groups and vice versa, the increased emphasis on civil servant aspects of the military career, and the increased interest of the political aspects of the warfare by the military leaders.

The author next analyzes the historical development of the Finnish military elite, and the political and social conditions influencing on its formation during the different periods of Finnish independence paying at the same time attention to the correspondence of this development to Janowitz' hypotheses. The author analyzes in particular the social and regional background of the highest military leaders (the generals) in three separate points of time (1922, 1938, 1967) and makes also general comments on the relationship between the military elite and the other societal elite groups.

One could say that Janowitz' hypotheses hold by and large in case of the development of the Finnish military elite. The clearest evidence is offered for the broadening and democratization of the bases of recruitment of the military elite. There are, however, clear national political and social factors that obviously have hindered or accelerated the development to the direction predictable on the basis of Janowitz' hypotheses. Especially the mobility between the military elite and other elite groups is rather low in Finland so that extra-military qualifications (e.g. technical and administrative) seldom guarantee position or faster promotion in military hierarchy, and some civil elite positions (e.g. higher non-military civil service jobs) are out of the reach of the persons with military background.
