

SUMMARIES

The current state of Finnish political science research

By Ilkka Heiskanen

In his editorial article the author first sketches the main stages of development in Finnish political science. The last decade 1959—1968 is then somewhat closer scrutinized as a background for the analysis of the present state of Finnish political science.

The author first indicates the fragmentary nature of the information Finnish political science has brought forth on the descriptive level about the Finnish political system. Even the ambitious adventures of Finnish political scientists toward generalizing and explanatory research have been rather limited and accidental. Although Finnish political scientists lately have become interested in modern research techniques, methodological experiments and theoretical analyses, this new orientation has not yet stimulated any larger scale research projects aiming at scientifically interesting results.

In order to explicate the causes of the uneven and fragmentary development the author points out the weaknesses in the organization and supervision of research, in training the researchers and in the allocation of research grants. All these weaknesses are intercorrelated and reinforce each other. It is but lately that the Finnish political scientists have become aware of these problems, and they were more specifically discussed in a conference arranged by the Finnish Political Science Association last December. Part of the proceedings of the conference are published in the present issue of *Politiikka*, and they indicate, how Finnish political science has now definitely entered into a period of self-analysis and self-criticism.

Comparison of the voting positions of the Parliamentary Groups

By Pekka Nyholm

The author first indicates the need for quantitative analyses of the relations between Parliament and the Cabinet in Finnish political science research. The possibilities for a quantitative approach have improved considerably, since practically all the roll calls have been recorded on the basis of individual votes since 1952.

Some lines of simple research techniques that seem to be promising for quantitative analysis are indicated. The starting point is Stuart Rice's index of difference, which can be used effectively in comparing the voting positions of parliamentary groups in one and the same roll call. For a given roll call the index of difference sets the parliamentary groups equivocally on one dimension so that one group's index of difference with respect to two other groups also determines the index of difference between these two latter groups. However, if several roll call votes are combined by taking the average of the indexes of difference, the position of the groups on one dimension is not necessarily equivocally determined by one another's averaged indexes of difference. Thus the matrix of the averaged indexes of difference must be geometrically depicted multidimensionally. However, the multidimensionality of the matrix of differences also reflects the multidimensionality of the roll call votes averaged.

The interpretation of the averaged index of difference matrix as the empirical counterpart of the »party space» is not, however, totally exact, because sometimes certain slight changes in the mutual positions of nearby groups are registered as the switch to multidimensionality, and sometimes rather obvious dimensional changes in the position of groups between two extreme parties are not registered. However, the averaged matrix of index of differences can be interpreted as an approximation of the multidimensionality of the roll call votes and it can give obvious clues for more technical investigation of the multidimensionality of the roll call votes.

The regional support of the Helsinki City Councillors in the 1968 communal election

By Risto Sänkiäho

In countries with a proportional electoral system very little attention has been paid to the regional electoral support of the individual candidates. The research has mainly focused on party support and the factors determining it. In this report the author maps out the covariations in the votes received by the candidates in the Helsinki communal elections of 1968 and also indicates the strength of some ecological factors that can be expected to determine the individual votes received and their covariation.

The author correlates the support of the elected candidates ($N = 77$) by voting district ($R = 192$). The correlation coefficients are presented in Table 1. The correlation matrix is then factor analyzed and three basic factors are obtained: the factor of Finnish language non-socialist support, the factor of socialist support, and the factor of Swedish language non-socialist support. These factors appear as was expected, and also indicate that the voters' first choice the party and choose their individual candidate only after the party choice has been made.

The correlational analysis also shows that within each electoral alliance (party or association of parties) there are »brotherhoods», groupings of similar

candidates that receive their support from the same voting districts. In general, the best vote collectors of each electoral alliance belong to the same »brotherhood». The votes received by an individual candidate correlate strongly with the vote received by the electoral alliance he belongs to. This correlation is of course partly technical, but there are several candidates whose personal vote does not correlate (or correlates negatively) with the vote of his own electoral alliance, and these cases seem to lead to fruitful further analysis.

The personal support of the candidates was rather uneven in different parts of the city. On the basis of an ecological factor analysis the city was divided into four SES-regions: upper class, middle class, upper working class and lower working class. Although party voting in general was congruent with the SES-classification there were remarkable differences even within the same party in respect to the regional origin of the votes of individual candidates.

The home district of the candidates seems to have a rather strong impact on the voting support of the candidate. Especially in the suburban regions one could find local »emperors» that received the majority of their votes from their home district.

Citations From editorials in the Finnish daily press

By Erkki Teikari

The research is concerned with a newspaper section which is very common in Finnish and Scandinavian dailies. This column is placed on the editorial page, usually after the editorials, and is composed of clips from the editorials of other newspapers or magazines. This is a very important form of »press discussion», because the editor, who is making up this column usually puts a short interpretative writing before each clip. The discussion may happen, of course, directly in editorials or in by-line stories.

This research tried to throw light upon the ways in which the Finnish dailies take those clips from other papers: do they take citations only from the dailies of their own party, do they put their own views into the interpretative parts, which papers or groups of papers are cited most often and which are the subjects of citations. The sample included the issues of 31 dailies during two weeks.

One of the characteristics of the press in Finland is its strong political attachment. These sections under research, which are usually put under a combination head, for instance »Other Papers», »Press Discussion», »The Opinion of Others» and so on, are not however so tightly bound by party limits as one may think. But some other lines are very clear. For instance the language line makes a wall between the Finnish-language and the Swedish-language press. The latter takes most of its citations from its own group of papers.

Also the old ideological order has an influence upon the ways these columns are made up. The dailies of the National Coalition (Conservatives) were in this respect most anti-socialistic. Next on this line was the independent (bourgeois) press, then the Swedish-language press (Swedish People's

Party) — there was very little difference between these two latter ones — the fourth was the press of Centre Party (Agrarians) and then the press of Social Democratic Party. The only daily of the Social Democratic League of Workers and Smallholders took a slight majority of its citations from anti-socialist dailies. The communist press took the majority of clips from socialistic dailies, and it used most the dailies of its own group. The independent press had the same characteristic.

Also the views put forward in connection with the citations followed this socialist-antisocialist line. Thus when a bourgeois daily put its own opinion before a citation taken from a socialistic paper, it was negative and vice versa.

The most cited press group outside any paper's own group was the independent (bourgeois) press. The second one was the press of the National Coalition. The last one was the Swedish-language press, and here we meet that language wall again: it takes a little trouble to translate citations from Swedish into Finnish. The two most cited press groups contain dailies of large circulation and those papers are usually also »the first papers» in the places where they appear.

Economic problems were the most favoured area of citations (40 per cent). This reflects also the subject area of editorials, because they are the materials of these »other papers»-columns. Domestic policy and international policy were next.

Political areas and party preferences

By Tapani Valkonen

The study deals with contextual effects of small political areas. The relevance of primary group membership to political attitudes and behavior has often been pointed out in survey research. On the other hand, the significance of large political regions has been the subject of ecological research. In this study both survey data and ecological data are used to illuminate related phenomena on the level between primary group and political region.

The study was carried out in connection with a larger project of the Institute of Sociology at the University of Helsinki in a rural commune in South-East Finland. The population of the commune, Ristiina, is about 6000.

In Ristiina there are 17 precincts corresponding to primary school districts and, in a sense, villages. To determine the political areas in Ristiina the precinct differences in vote distribution among parties were analysed using data on the 1964 local elections. By means of this analysis four types of precincts were found: precincts of strong leftist support, precincts of average leftist and Agrarian Union support, precincts with a Smallholders' Party foothold and precincts of Agrarian Union hegemony.

The precincts belonging to each of the classes were adjacent. It thus seems appropriate to say that the precincts of each class form a political area. From a general point of view it is interesting to note that in a rural area with seemingly homogeneous population there are smaller areas differing considerably from one another in the structure of party support.

The main hypothesis of the study was that the political climate of a small area has an influence on the party preferences of its inhabitants. It was thus hypothesized that individuals similar to each other with regard to social class and other individual properties may prefer different parties, depending on the area where they live. On the basis of theoretical considerations it was further assumed that the largest party in an area has a tendency to get support also from people who under average conditions would prefer another party.

The hypothesis was tested using interview data on party preferences. The sample consisted of 437 men representing the 20—62-year old male population of Ristiina. In a preliminary correlational analysis of 16 variables, five variables (occupation, occupational prestige, education, father's occupation and age) were selected. These variables were considered to contain all essential information to be taken into account in explaining party preferences by individual level variables. A discriminant analysis of three party preference groups (supporters of the Agrarian Union, supporters of the leftist parties and others) with the five variables just selected was carried out. In this analysis the probability of a given individual belonging to each of the party preference groups was determined. These *a posteriori* probabilities measure the disposition of a given individual to prefer a party (or group of parties in this analysis), when the disposition is not influenced by the properties of the environment of the individual.

Summing the probabilities of individuals living in each of the political areas of Ristiina it was possible to estimate what would have been the expected size of party preference groups in the areas had there been no contextual effects. The hypothesis of the study could now be tested comparing the observed group sizes with the expected sizes.

The results did not quite support the main hypothesis: in one of the areas, where a contextual effect should have been found (the area of strong leftist support) there were only very small differences between the observed and expected group sizes. On the basis of the analysis of the results the following conclusions were made as hypotheses for further studies:

1. If a party has a clear majority support (say over 70 %) in a small area, the political climate has an influence on the potential supporters of other parties. This influence may be observable in the «irrational» support of the strongest party or in withdrawal from the choice. If the majority of the strongest party is not clear this kind of contextual effect is not to be expected, since the pressure to the supporters of other parties towards changing their preference cannot become very strong.

2. If two or more parties are competing for the same potential supporters (e.g. Social Democrats vs. Communists or Agrarian Union vs. Smallholders' Party) large differences in relative support of the parties among small areas are frequent. These differences cannot be explained by different population structures; instead global properties of the areas, such as leadership or traditions of party organization have to be taken into account.

One of the purposes of the study was to get some experience in analysing contextual effects using the procedure based on discriminant analysis. This procedure is applicable when the dependent variable is a nominal scale with several classes such as party preference. The procedure seemed to work satisfactorily, although the lack of a significance test is a serious handicap.

Some Political and Administrative Consequences of Comprehensive Societal Economic Planning

By Jaakko Nousiainen and Ilkka Heiskanen

In the first part of the paper the objectives of the study of planning and different approaches to the problem are discussed. First it is pointed out that there is a need of studying societal planning within the wider system-theoretical framework, where attention is being paid both to the »main field» that is being planned, and the »side-fields» that may be affected by establishing a planning organization and by the planning process itself. A distinction is made between »pure» research on planning, and applied »planning of the planning», which aims at the optimal solution indicating the best possible conditions for carrying out and realizing the planning and simultaneously minimizing the potential harmful side-effects in the »sidefields» of planning. The authors themselves take the »planning of the planning» approach, and continue their analysis on this level.

The total system of societal economic planning is outlined indicating the main sectors of the object field, the main institutional spheres of the politico-administrative side-field, and the main processes that must be provided in creating the organization of comprehensive societal planning. The »initial societal conditions» that determine the type of planning organization and the possibilities of the mechanisms of controlling the planning are also indicated.

In the second part of the paper the potential impact of comprehensive societal economic planning on politico-administrative side-field in Finland is discussed. The impact of planning on the position of individual citizens, on the power relations between and within the political and administrative institutions, and on the relations between political/administrative institutions and the »private» sectors of society are also analyzed. It is emphasized that societal conditions in Finland give a rather low starting point for planning and realizing the established plans and thus the curbing of the potential negative side effects of economic societal planning is only a secondary means of aiming at the optimal solution in »planning the planning».

The authors also indicate that the Finnish Parliament is in a rather strong position vis-a-vis the Government, whose position the establishment of a comprehensive planning organization may enhance. The position of the Parliament as well as the position of the individual citizens may be further safeguarded by an information system that would communicate the results of the planning both to the Parliament and to the public. This kind of information system may also bear pressure on the political decision makers to begin to realize the suggested plans, thus improve the acceptance of planning and consequently optimize the results of planning.